AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF NKONYA WURUPONG AND ITS GERMAN ENCOUNTERS, VOLTA REGION, GHANA.

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
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BY
DESMOND OWUSU-ANSAH
(STUDENT ID. 10339509)

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

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**Declaration**

I do hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research carried out in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana under the supervision of Dr. Wazi Apoh and Dr. Aba M. Eyifa-Dzdzieyono. This thesis has not been presented either in full or in part to any other institution for the award of a degree.

DESMOND OWUSU-ANSAH ......................................................... ........................................

(CANDIDATE) (SIGNATURE) (DATE)

DR. WAZI APOH ................................................................. ........................................

(PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR) (SIGNATURE) (DATE)

DR. ABA M. EYIFA-DZIDZIENYO ............................... ........................................

(CO-SUPERVISOR) (SIGNATURE) (DATE)
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to Dr. Wazi Apoh and the Volkswagen Stiftung Foundation. I also devote this work to my parents (Mr. Daniel Owusu-Ansah and Mrs. Agnes Owusu-Amoako), siblings and all loved ones.
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My utmost appreciation goes to the Almighty God for granting me good health throughout the study. This thesis became successful through the selfless efforts of numerous people.

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Abstract

This research revolved around the study of the precolonial and colonial cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. This archaeological investigation was carried out to assess the impact of the 19th and 20th centuries cultural contacts and interactions among the Nkonya people and with other local groups of people (especially the Akan imperial forces) and the colonial authoritative force (Germans) in Nkonya Wurupong, Volta Region of Ghana. An eclectic approach was employed in this study in an attempt to understand and interpret the nature of these encounters and interactions among the various groups of people at Nkonya Wurupong. The eclectic approach included information gathered through a review of archival and documentary sources, ethnographic research, reconnaissance survey as well as archaeological excavations. The study revealed that the interactions between Nkonya Wurupong and the Akan imperial groups led to the usage of some Akan cultural traits in the Wurupong community. The study also revealed that the contacts between the indigenes of Wurupong and the German colonial administrators at Nkonya Wurupong brought about transformations in their education, healthcare services, religion and farming systems. The study has unearthed and provided insights into how the presence of the German colonials in Wurupong relegated the authority of the traditional set-up. The vestiges of the German colonial past in the area serve as shared heritage resources that buttress the presence of the Germans in the Wurupong community. Recommendations were also made on how best to develop the heritage resources of Nkonya Wurupong into tourist attractions.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ..........................................................................................................................i
DEDICATION..............................................................................................................................ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT ............................................................................................................. iii
ABSTRACT ................................................................................................................................. iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..............................................................................................................v
LIST OF FIGURES ......................................................................................................................ix
LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................................................................... xii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY ...............1
1.0. Introduction .......................................................................................................................1
1.1. Background to the Study ...............................................................................................1
1.2. The Research Area .........................................................................................................4
1.2.1. Geography of the Study Area ....................................................................................6
1.2.2. Climate of the Study Area .......................................................................................6
1.2.3. Vegetation of the Study Area ..................................................................................6
1.2.4. Relief and Drainage of the Study Area ....................................................................7
1.2.5. Geology of the Study Area ......................................................................................7
1.3. Research Problem ..........................................................................................................9
1.4. Research Aims ...............................................................................................................12
1.5. Research Objectives .....................................................................................................12
1.6. Research Questions .......................................................................................................12
1.7. Sources of Information and Research Methods ..........................................................13
1.8. Limitations to the Research .........................................................................................13
1.9. Thesis Organisation ......................................................................................................14

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK...16
2.0. Introduction ....................................................................................................................16
2.1. Research Methods .........................................................................................................16
2.1.1. Archival and Library Research ................................................................................16
2.1.2. Reconnaissance Survey ............................................................................................17
2.1.3. Photography ..............................................................................................................19
2.1.4. Ethnographic Methods................................................................. 19
2.1.5. Ethical Consideration.................................................................. 21
2.1.6. Archaeological Excavation.......................................................... 21
2.1.7. On-Site Classification and Post Field Laboratory Analysis.............. 23
2.2. Conceptual Frameworks.................................................................. 24
   2.2.1. Material Culture Studies.............................................................. 24
   2.2.2. Culture Contact Studies.............................................................. 27
   2.2.3. Agency...................................................................................... 30
CHAPTER THREE: PRECOLONIAL IMPERIALISM & GERMAN COLONISATION OF
   TOGOLAND (VOLTA BASIN) ................................................................. 31
   3.0. Introduction............................................................................... 31
   3.1. Precolonial Imperialism in the Northern Parts of Present-day Volta Region of Ghana...... 31
   3.2. Assessment of the Presence of Germans in Togoland and their Impact in Nkonya Area…32
   3.3. Nkonya State under Foreign Imperial Forces.................................... 38
   3.4. Review of the Archaeology of Germans in the Volta Region ................. 40
CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNOGRAPHIC FINDINGS IN NKONYA WURUPONG...........43
   4.0. Introduction............................................................................... 43
   4.1. Ethnography of Nkonya Wurupong.................................................... 43
      4.1.1. Toponomy of Nkonya and Wurupong........................................... 44
      4.1.2. Migration or Settlement Histories of Nkonya People.......................... 45
      4.1.3. Linguistic Perspective................................................................. 52
      4.1.4. Political Structure................................................................. 53
      4.1.5. Religious Belief Systems............................................................ 56
      4.1.6. Organisation of Wurupong Community and Its Clan System............. 58
      4.1.7. Forbidden Acts................................................................. 62
      4.1.8. Traditional Festivals............................................................ 63
      4.1.9. Economic Engagements.......................................................... 65
      4.1.10. Waste Disposal.................................................................. 66
CHAPTER FIVE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK AT NKONYA WURUPONG.....69
   5.0. Introduction............................................................................... 69
   5.1. Archaeology of the German Colonial Rest-House............................. 69
5.2. Test Pit Excavation........................................................................................................71
5.3. Archaeological Features..................................................................................................75
5.4. Archaeology of Api-Tor Site of Wurupong................................................................. 76
  5.4.1. Trench One Excavation ........................................................................................... 76
  5.4.2. Trench Two Excavation .......................................................................................... 81
  5.4.3. Trench Three Excavation ....................................................................................... 84

CHAPTER SIX: CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF EXCAVATED
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS ......................................................................................... 89
  6.0. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 89
  6.1. Analysis of Excavated Materials from the German Colonial Rest-House site........... 90
    6.1.1. Local Pottery from Rest-House site ................................................................. 90
    6.1.2. Pottery Fabric Characteristics (Texture and Temper) ....................................... 91
    6.1.3. Pottery Surface Finish Characteristics (Surface Colour and Treatment) ........ 92
    6.1.4. Analysis of Decorations on Pottery ................................................................. 93
    6.1.5. Vessel Forms from Rest-House site ................................................................. 93
      6.1.5.1. Jar Forms ...................................................................................................... 93
      6.1.5.2. Bowl Forms ................................................................................................ 94
    6.1.6. Base Forms ........................................................................................................ 95
  6.2. Metallic Objects ........................................................................................................... 96
  6.3. Adobe/ Daub ................................................................................................................ 96
  6.4. Imported Ceramics ........................................................................................................ 97
  6.5. Glass Objects ............................................................................................................... 99
  6.6. Beads .......................................................................................................................... 104
  6.7. Fauna Remains from Rest-House site ....................................................................... 105
  6.8. Analysis of Excavated Materials from Api-Tor site .................................................. 107
    6.8.1. Local Pottery .................................................................................................... 107
    6.8.2. Pottery Fabric Characteristics (Texture and Temper) ...................................... 109
    6.8.3. Surface Finish Characteristics (Colour and Treatment) .................................. 111
    6.8.4. Analysis of Decorative Motifs on Pottery ....................................................... 114
    6.8.5. Vessel Forms from Api-Tor site ...................................................................... 123
6.8.5.1. Jar Forms........................................................................................................123
6.8.5.2. Bowl Forms....................................................................................................127
6.8.6. Pottery Thickness.............................................................................................130
6.9. Locally Manufactured Smoking Pipes.................................................................131
6.10. Stone Implement/Tools.......................................................................................132
6.11. Faunal Remains from Api-Tor.........................................................................133
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS………138
7.0. Introduction.........................................................................................................138
7.1. Summary.............................................................................................................138
7.2. Concluding Thoughts........................................................................................146
7.3. Recommendations..............................................................................................151
7.4. Significance of the study....................................................................................152
BIBLIOGRAPHY.......................................................................................................154
APPENDIX................................................................................................................171

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1. Biakoye District Map....................................................................................5
Fig. 1.2. Geological Map of the study area...............................................................8
Fig. 1.3. German Colonial Rest-House......................................................................10
Fig. 1.4. Dr. Gruner’s 1913 Map of Togoland ..........................................................11
Fig. 2.1. Reconnaissance Survey at Owarebour and Api-Tor mountains...............19
Fig. 2.2. Focus Group Discussion.............................................................................20
Fig. 2.3. Traditional Protocol Observation..............................................................22
Fig. 4.1. Migration route of the people of Nkonya...................................................51
Fig. 4.2. Artistic Impression of how the Nkonya people are believed to have crossed the Volta River.................................................................52
Fig. 4.3. Diagrammatic representation of the Traditional Hierarchy of Nkonya Wurupong..55
Fig. 4.4. St. John Vianney Catholic and Rev. Peter Hall Presbyterian Churches.......57
Fig. 4.5. Islamic Mosque...........................................................................................58
Fig. 4.6. Sketched Map of Nkonya Wurupong.......................................................59
Fig. 4.7. Economic Engagements............................................................................66
Fig. 5.1. Clearing the Rest-House site.................................................................70
Fig. 5.2. German Rest-House site after exposure of foundational walls.............. 70
Fig. 5.3. Surface of Test Pit before Excavation..................................................72
Fig. 5.4. Test Pit Excavation in Progress............................................................73
Fig. 5.5. Sterile level of the Test Pit.................................................................73
Fig. 5.6. Soil Profiles of the Test Pit...............................................................72
Fig. 5.7. Abandoned Roman Catholic Mission House......................................76
Fig. 5.8. Surface of Trench One before Excavation.........................................78
Fig. 5.9. Trench One Excavation in Progress..................................................78
Fig. 5.10. Sterile level of Trench One..............................................................79
Fig. 5.11. Soil Profiles of Trench One.............................................................79
Fig. 5.12. Surface of Trench Two before Excavation.......................................82
Fig. 5.13. Trench Two Excavation in Progress................................................82
Fig. 5.14. Sterile level of Trench Two..............................................................83
Fig. 5.15. Soil Profiles of Trench Two.............................................................83
Fig. 5.16. Surface of Trench Three before Excavation......................................86
Fig. 5.17. Trench Three Excavation in Progress.............................................86
Fig. 5.18. Sterile level of Trench Three............................................................87
Fig. 5.19. Soil Profiles of Trench Three...........................................................87
Fig. 6.1. Variety of Jar Form 1 (Rest-House) ...................................................94
Fig. 6.2. Variety of Bowl Form 1 .................................................................95
Fig. 6.3. Variety of Base Form .................................................................95
Fig. 6.4. Sample of Metallic Objects............................................................96
Fig. 6.5. Sample of Daub.................................................................97
Fig. 6.6a. Pearlware with blue floral transfer print.........................................98
Fig. 6.6b. Undecorated Creamware..............................................................98
Fig. 6.6c. Porcelain with blue under glazed decoration....................................99
Fig. 6.7a. Seam lined crown top beer bottle.................................................100
Fig. 6.7b. Case gin stippled base bottle.........................................................101
Fig. 6.7c. Threaded string rim bottle.............................................................101
Fig. 6.8. Medicinal Vials .................................................................102
Fig. 6.9. Pyrex Glass Bakeware ..................................................103
Fig. 6.10. Perfume Bottle ..............................................................103
Fig. 6.11. Beads .................................................................104
Fig. 6.12a. Sample of Faunal Remains ...........................................106
Fig. 6.12b. Sample of Molluscs Shells ..........................................106
Fig. 6.13. Variety of Grooves decoration .....................................118
Fig. 6.14. Sample of Incised decoration .......................................119
Fig. 6.15. Comb Stamped decoration .........................................119
Fig. 6.16. Variety of Perforated decoration ...................................120
Fig. 6.17. Sample of Wavy lined decoration .................................120
Fig. 6.18. Sample of Dot stamped decoration ...............................121
Fig. 6.19. Sample of Channeling decoration ...............................121
Fig. 6.20. Sample of Rouletted decoration .................................122
Fig. 6.21. Variety of Multiple decorated pottery .........................123
Fig. 6.22. Variety of Jar Form 1 .................................................125
Fig. 6.23. Variety of Jar Form 2 .................................................126
Fig. 6.24. Variety of Jar Form 3 .................................................126
Fig. 6.25. Variety of Jar Form 4 .................................................127
Fig. 6.26. Variety of Bowl Form 1 .............................................138
Fig. 6.27. Variety of Bowl Form 2 .............................................129
Fig. 6.28. Variety of Bowl Form 3 .............................................130
Fig. 6.29. Variety of Clay Smoking Pipes .................................132
Fig. 6.30. Sample of Grinding stones (querns) ..........................133
Fig. 6.31. Sample of Faunal Reamins .........................................134
Fig. 7.1. Map of precolonial trade route in Eweland ..................146

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Clans and Totems in Nkonya Wurupong ......................60
Table 5.1. Summary of Surface Collected Remains from Rest-House site ....75
Table 5.2. Summary of Artefacts from the Test Pit .......................75
Table 5.3. Summary of Surface Collected Remains from the Api-Tor site.........................80
Table 5.4. Summary of Artefacts from Api-Tor Trench 1.............................................80
Table 5.5. Summary of Artefacts from Api-Tor Trench 2.............................................84
Table 5.6. Summary of Artefacts from Api-Tor Trench 3.............................................88
Table 6.1. Summary of Total Finds (Rest-House and Api-Tor sites) .........................89
Table 6.2. Vessel Parts from Surface Collected Remains (Rest-House site) ...............91
Table 6.3. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper..........................................................92
Table 6.4. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment.......................................................92
Table 6.5. Analysis of Decorations on Pottery...........................................................93
Table 6.6. Vessel Parts from Surface Collection (Api-Tor site) ................................107
Table 6.7. Distribution of Pottery from Api-Tor Trench 1.........................................108
Table 6.8. Distribution of Pottery from Api-Tor Trench 2.........................................108
Table 6.9. Distribution of Pottery from Api-Tor Trench 3.........................................108
Table 6.10. Total Vessel Parts from the Api-Tor Site.................................................109
Table 6.11. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Surface Collection .................109
Table 6.12. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor Trench 1...............110
Table 6.13. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor Trench 2..............110
Table 6.14. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor Trench 3..............110
Table 6.15. Summary of Pottery Surface Texture and Temper .....................................110
Table 6.16. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment from Surface Collections ...........112
Table 6.17. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment from Api-Tor Trench 1............112
Table 6.18. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment from Api-Tor Trench 2..........113
Table 6.19. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment from Api-Tor Trench 3..........113
Table 6.20. Summary of Total Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment.....................113
Table 6.21. Distribution of Decorative Motifs on Pottery from Api-Tor Excavations......116
Table 7.1. Summary of Wurupong Pottery Similarities with other Sites in Ghana........144
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE STUDY

1.0. Introduction

This introductory chapter encapsulates themes such as the background information to the study, the research area, research problem, research aims and objectives, research questions, sources of information of the study, research methods and techniques, ethical considerations and limitations to the research.

This research is about Nkonya Wurupong which is located in the northern part of the Volta Region of Ghana. It focuses on the archaeological study of the precolonial cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. It also examines the archaeological relevance of the encounters and interactions that transpired between the indigenes of Nkonya Wurupong and the German colonial administrators as well as with other local hegemonic powers in the study area through time. This research focused on these issue because of the fact that humans, since time immemorial, have been on the move from one geographical area to another in the quest for favourable environmental conditions such as fertile lands, sources of water, security and defense. In the process they get into contact with people who are doing or have done the same. Gosden (2004:5), opined that no society can be considered as an island or any culture as living in isolation. This is because all cultural forms have always moved and interacted with others for periods of time. Hence, the need for this study at Nkonya wurupong.

1.1. Background to the study

Africa, particularly Ghana, witnessed the presence of Europeans in her homeland as early as the 15th century with the first Portuguese ship landing on the coast of Ghana (then Gold Coast)
Boahen 1985:1; van Dantzig 1980:90). As at 1880, about eighty percent (80%) of Africa’s continent was governed by her own traditional authorities such as kings, queens, clan and lineage heads within chiefdoms, empires, kingdoms, communities and polities of various sizes and shapes (ibid). However, the ways of doing things by Africans before and during 1880 experienced remarkable and radical transformations within a period of three decades. These transformations emerged as a result of the encounters with different groups of Europeans (Boahen 1985:1) and locals.

According to Cogneau and Moradi (2011:4), the European presence in Africa was largely limited to the coastal trading posts and the immediate areas surrounding the forts in the beginning of the 19th century. It was however in the second half of the 19th century that European hegemonic powers began to extend and exercise imperial control of the interior of Africa. Cogneau and Moradi (2011) further intimated that the choice of colonies was not per chance. But, it was consciously guided by geopolitical considerations and commercial interests (ibid). The Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, Swedes, Danes and Brandenburgers for instance, competed for trade in coastal Ghana from the 16th century onwards (DeCorse 2001:12).

Apparently, no matter how transient the colonisation by European nations in an African country may have been, such encounters and interactions inevitably left traces behind. The presence of early Europeans in Africa left behind indelible marks and legacies in the form of trade castles, forts and lodges situated mostly in and around coastal areas (Anquandah 1999; Lawrence 1963; van Dantzig 1971), as well as residential colonial stations situated in the hinterland areas such as Kpando, Kete-Krachi, Yendi among others. German rule in Africa was the shortest-lived of all colonial administrations (Bulhan 2015:103). It started in the late 1880s and ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919; after the defeat of Germany in World War I. In the view of
Ladzekpo (2013), despite the fact that the German colonial administration in Africa lasted for only three decades, it bestowed on her colonies innumerable cultural traits (cited in Ocloo 2017:2-3).

Van Dantzig (1980: vii) posits that more than sixty castles, forts and lodges were built along a stretch of coast that was less than 300 miles (500km) in height within the space of three centuries in the Gold Coast. These structures once functioned as store-houses where major European imports such as ceramics, gunpowder, metal products, glass beads, guns and alcoholic beverages were kept and traded for African commodities such as palm oil, ivory, gold and later slaves (see also; Biveridge 2005; Gyam 2008; Nyarko 2013; Ocloo 2017). The buildings also served as living quarters for permanent commercial and administrative staff of the colonial nations as well as military staff and fort workers (van Dantzig 1980: vii).

The lengthy period of interactions between Europeans and Africans inevitably affected settlement patterns, exchange systems, socio-political organization, demographic patterns as well as agricultural and architectural landscapes of the West African sub-region (Bredwa-Mensah 1999:5).

Predominantly, the primary imports of the Germans into their colonies included cotton goods, hardware, tobacco, haberdashery, kerosene oil, tinned provisions, biscuits, lamps, candles, salt, jam, canned foods, bicycles, guns, gunpowder, copper, wine, fish, agricultural implements, enamelware, glassware, clocks, watches, perfumes, powder, patent medicines, furniture, soaps, mineral-water, sweet syrups, flour, baking-powder, basket ware, carpets, wire rope, clothing, cotton yarn, dried fish, empty barrels, empty kernel bags, hats and caps (Calvert 1916:280). Apparently, the importation of European materials by the Germans into their colonies was not different from the relics they left behind at Nkonya Wurupong, the research area.
1.2. The Research Area

Ghana as a West African country is a sovereign unitary state with ten (10) administrative regions as at 2017. Notable among these ten (10) regions is the Volta Region. This particular region was once part of German-Togoland (Amenuney 1996). The Volta Region occupies a land mass of about 20,570 square kilometres (Asamoah 2014:22). Its administrative capital is Ho and it is mostly inhabited by Ewes and some other ethnic groups who are in the minority. The Volta Region had twenty-five (25) administrative jurisdictions as at 2017.

Nkonya "Dupong" corrupted as Wurupong is one of the several towns located within the Biakoye District of the Volta Region of Ghana (see Fig.1.1). The capital town of the district is Nkonya Ahenkro and it is located about 70 kilometres from Ho, and about 185 kilometres from Accra (Ghana Statistical Service 2014:1). The district shares borders with Hohoe and Jasikan Districts to the east, Kpando Municipal Assembly to the south, Kadjebi and Krachi East District to the north and the Volta River to the west. The Biakoye District lies in the middle of the Volta Region within longitudes 0˚ 15′ E and 0˚ 45′ E and latitudes 6˚ 45′ N and 7˚ 15′ N (ibid). The Nkonya communities as well as the Nkonya people are a part of Guan speakers in the northern part of the Volta Region (Amenuney 2011:6; Asamoah 2014:23; Ghana Statistical Service 2014:3; Kumah 1966:1; The Spectator 2014:31).
Fig. 1.1. District Map showing the study area, Nkonya Wurupong (Source: Ghana Statistical Service 2014).
1.2.1. Geography of the Study Area

The Biakoye District, where the study area is located, was formerly part of the Jasikan District in the Volta Region of Ghana (Akuamoah 2015:5; Midodzi 2013:54). It was carved in 2007 as an autonomous district through a Legislative Instrument of Parliament (LI 1910 of 2007). However, the district was inaugurated in March 2011 (Biakoye District Assembly 2007; Ghana Statistical Service 2014). In 2010, the district had a total population of 65,901 out of which, Nkonya Wurupong had 2,751 inhabitants (ibid). The stretch of towns within these districts (Biakoye and Jasikan) is characterized by varied geographic features (Graham 2013).

1.2.2. Climate of the Study Area

The area falls within the wet equatorial agro-climatic zone and experiences an alternating wet and dry seasons with a double maxima rainfall regime each year (Dickson and Benneh 1985). The major rainy season occurs between May and July with the peak occurring in June while the minor one occurs between September and October with the peak being experienced in October (Biakoye District Assembly 2007; Ghana Statistical Service 2014). The mean annual rainfall generally varies between 1250 mm and 1750 mm. The dry season is mostly experienced between December and February. The mean maximum temperature is 32ºC and it is usually recorded in March whiles the mean minimum temperature of 24 ºC is usually recorded in August (Dickson and Benneh 1985; Graham 2013).

1.2.3. Vegetation of the Study Area

The District is located within the Forest-Savanna Transitional Ecological Zone of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). The area is generally covered with the moist Semi-Deciduous Forest. The vegetative cover is made up of timber resources such as Odum, Asanfins, Papao, Kyere,
Oprono, Wawa, Ofram among others. Medicinal plants such as neem, mahogany and teak also exist in the forest. The area is also noted for the cultivation of shallow-rooted crops such as pineapples, sugarcane, vegetables, maize and rice (Biakoye District Assembly 2007; Dickson and Benneh 1985).

1.2.4. Relief and Drainage of the Study Area

The topography of the area is hilly, undulating and almost flat in certain areas. The area is surrounded by mountain ranges, typically the Buem-Togo Ranges which is an extension of the Akuapem Ranges (Biakoye District Assembly 2007). The eastern parts of the area are relatively higher with heights ranging between 260m – 800 metres above sea level. The area consists of the western ridge which comprises the Odumasi-Abutor range in the south, the Akayoa-Abotoase range in the middle and the Tapa range in the north. The District is well drained with several rivers and streams. These include Konsu, Bompa, Kabo, Ufuo and Asukawkaw. Some of these rivers provide fish and drinking water to the communities. Some of the rivers to join the Volta Lake (ibid).

1.2.5. Geology of the Study Area

According to the Biakoye District Assembly Report (2017:9) and Graham (2013:26), the geology of the referred area is primarily dominated by the Buem Formation which defines the eastern limit of the Voltaian Basin in Ghana (Fig. 1.2).
Fig. 1.2. Geological map of the study area (Source: Graham 2013).
1.3. Research Problem

Archaeological investigations relating to historical archaeology have mainly been confined to the coastal areas in Ghana. Unbridled interests are directed to the forts and castles due to the abundance of the relics of Africans’ encounters with the Europeans (Anquandah 1998; DeCorse 2001; Gyam 2008; Kumah 2013, Nyarko 2013). Limited knowledge, with respect to archaeology, is known about the culture contact situations that transpired between the indigenous populations and Europeans in the hinterlands of Ghana. For instance, German colonial rule in Africa, specifically Togoland was very transient, but there exists significant legacies in Ghana and Togo that attest to their presence (Apoh 2008; 2013).

The indelible footprints indicating the presence of Germans in German-Togoland have been documented (see Amenumey 1969; 1996; 2011) and some have been archaeologically investigated through the effort of Dr. Wazi Apoh and his students. Areas such as Kpando-Todzi site, Galenkuito, Ziavi, and Kpodzi sites of Ho, the sites of Amedzofe, Peki-Blengo and Kete-Krachi, among others, where indigenous communities had interactions with German colonial authorities, missionaries and merchants, have been archaeologically investigated under Dr. Wazi Apoh’s Volkswagen Foundation Sponsored Senior Postdoctoral grant.

Nkonya Wurupong as a community served as an important trade centre and polity in the north-south trade route. It is also the community that housed a mission station and rest-house of the German colonial administration (see Fig. 1.3 and 1.4). However, Nkonya Wurupong has seen no scientific archaeological research in the area up until now. The need to document the presence of Germans and their impact on the indigenous people as well as the cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong is the basis for this archaeological investigation in the area. Earlier researchers like Akuamoah (2015), Asamoah (2014), Gariba (2015) among others, have mainly
focused on the long lasting internecine conflict existing between the Nkonya and their neighbouring people of Alavanyo. In addition, Ampene (2011), Darko (1966), Kumah (1966) and Nyinanse (1984) have made adequate efforts to conduct historical and sociological research on the Nkonya communities. Nevertheless, their investigations have been concerned mainly with the documentation of the migration histories and traditions of the Nkonya communities with very little attention to their archaeological heritage. It is against these considerations that this research sought to archaeologically investigate the precolonial lifeways as well as the remnants of the encounters and interactions between the German colonial authorities and the local population of Nkonya Wurupong.

Fig. 1.3. An image of the German Rest-house once sited at Nkonya Wurupong. Image taken by Sonja Strittmatter Wagner in 1993 (Retrieved from Wolf-Ruediger Wagner 2017)
Fig. 1.4 Gruner’s 1913 Map of Togoland. Arrows pointing to Nkonya Wurupong (blue), German Rest-house (red) and Mission Station (green) (Source: Wolf Ruediger Wagner 2017).
1.4. Research Aims

The ultimate aim of this research was first to assess the nature of the precolonial lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. It also sought to archaeologically investigate the nature of the relationship and impact of the encounters that existed between the German colonial authorities and the indigenous peoples of Nkonya Wurupong and their surroundings.

1.5. Research Objectives

The specific objectives that aided in the achievement of the aims of the research included:

- To document the settlement histories of the people of Nkonya Wurupong and their cultural lifeways.
- To examine the nature of Nkonya Wurupong people’s interaction with local political hegemonies, specifically, the Akwamu and Asante.
- To excavate and examine the material cultural remains at the precolonial site of Api-Tor and the German Colonial Rest-House at Nkonya Wurupong.
- To explore the potential of the heritage sites of Nkonya Wurupong for tourism development.

1.6. Research Questions

A number of specific questions were posed to solicit for information to realise the research objectives. They included the following:

- What are the migration and settlement histories of the people of Nkonya Wurupong?
- What revelations do archaeology shed on the settlement histories of Nkonya Wurupong?
- How has local imperial interaction in the area affected the indigenous community?
- What brought the German colonial administrators to Nkonya Wurupong and what factors informed the building of the German Rest-house at Nkonya Wurupong?
How did the local population relate with the German colonial administrators and vice versa at Wurupong?

What kinds of artefactual or heritage remains are evident in Nkonya Wurupong and how can they be developed into tourist attractions?

1.7. Sources of Information and Research Methods

It must be stated that a detailed discussion of the research methods and sources of information for this study are captured in Chapter Two of this thesis. However, it is worth noting that an eclectic approach was adopted in conducting this research as it is useful in historical archaeological studies. The eclectic approach as propounded by Anquandah (1992), combined oral accounts, historical and archival records, ethnographic studies and archaeological excavation to assess material remains and the impact of both local and foreign hegemonies on the local people of Nkonya Wurupong.

1.8. Limitations to the Research

The bottlenecks encountered during the fieldwork were not different from the problems mostly faced by researchers in the Ghanaian environment. However, some unique problems were encountered. As at the time my crew and I were undertaking the research, the Government of Ghana in conjunction with the Ministry of Defense had issued a state of emergency in the area due to the ongoing ethnic conflict between Nkonya and Alavanyo. As a result, we could not go out into the community in the evening to interact with the local people and properly observe their daily lives after day’s work on the field (bush).

Another constraint to the study was the inadequacy of archival documents on the German operations in the area. Some of the few archival records were written in German which brought limitations on the magnitude of information that could have been gleaned from the literature.
Archival research was also impeded by the limited availability of relevant materials as some of the documents could not be found despite the fact that they were in the search catalogues of the National Archives in Accra.

The reluctance of some informants to provide information on the field was also a challenge for this study. This is attributed to the fact that, I was regarded as an alien (by some of the indigenes) who had nothing to do with their culture. Some community members also felt I was digging into their deliberately hidden culture. Despite these limitations, significant amount of essential information was collected from the limited opportunities I had while on the field for this study.

Another crucial problem encountered on the field was the fact that the German Colonial Rest-House site was destroyed to the extent that it was a herculean task for the research crew to identify a place to excavate. This was because the stones, rocks and clay soils (adobe) used for building the Rest-house had been dug out for other uses by the community members.

1.9. Thesis Organisation

This study is organized into seven chapters. The first chapter has already been discussed above. Chapter Two focuses on the various research methods employed on the field to gather data. It also looks at the conceptual framework that aided in the analysis and interpretation of the artefactual and ecofactual remains that were unearthed through archaeological excavations. Chapter Three was devoted to a review of the precolonial imperialism and German colonialization of Togoland (Volta Basin). Attention was focused on understanding the German colonial impact in German-Togoland. Some archaeological investigations conducted in the Volta Region of Ghana in connection with German colonial activities were also reviewed.
Chapter Four borders on the ethnographic findings in Nkonya Wurupong community. The ethnography section includes the migration and settlement histories of the people of Nkonya Wurupong, the contemporary culture of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. Chapter Five focuses on the archaeology of the study area. It presents a systematic overview of the archaeological excavations carried out at Nkonya Wurupong. Chapter Six is confined to the classification and analysis of the data recovered from the eclectic research. Chapter Seven is concerned with the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and significance of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

This chapter primarily looks at the research methods used for this study and the conceptual frameworks that aided in the analysis and interpretation of the data set that were unearthed through this eclectic study.

2.1. Research Methods

Research methods as used in this context, refer to the full-range and varied tools and techniques my team and I employed on the field in the collection of data during this research. As indicated in Chapter One, the research method was eclectic in approach. The methods included literature review, archival and library research, reconnaissance survey, excavation, post-excavation analysis, ethnography, sampling and photography as well as museum visits.

2.1.1. Archival and library Research

Attempts at searching for information to complement fieldwork included archival and library research. Information gathered from these sources served as the basis for the models that were tested in the archaeological record. It also informed on some questions that were asked during the ethnographic study. Archival search was undertaken to document primary and secondary information bordering on the precolonial and colonial exchanges at Nkonya Wurupong. The library and archival research revealed written documents on the past activities and the general lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. The archival data was accessed from the Public
Record Administration and Archive Department (PRAAD) in Accra. Other information on the migration, pre-colonial and colonial histories of Nkonya Wurupong and Nkonya in general were gathered from libraries within the University of Ghana Campus. They included the Balme Library, Institute of African Studies Library and the library of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies. In addition, internet sources of relevant information were used as supplementary information.

Published and unpublished literature and manuscripts were examined to provide theoretical and methodological insights into the conceptual frameworks used in this study and in understanding the practices of historical archaeology. Also, some researches done on the archaeology of European-African interactions in Ghana like Apoh (2008, 2013), Apoh and Lundt (2013), DeCorse (2001), Dogbe (2015), Fiador (2017) and Ocloo (2017) were assessed. Published literature used in the study included, Apoh and Gavua (2010), Bourdieu (1990), Cusick (1998b:4), Gariba (2015), Goody (1963), Gosden (2004), Heine (1968), Kropp-Dakubu (2006), Peacock (2007), Prown (1982), Snider (1989), Van Dyke (2015a; 2015b) among many others. Furthermore, unpublished MPhil and PhD theses including Darko (1966), Kumah (1966), Nyinanse (1984) and others accessed from the libraries were reviewed.

2.1.2. Reconnaissance Survey

A surface survey was undertaken on the sites. Reconnaissance survey, according to Gandhi and Sarkar (2016), is an exploratory survey of an area to find and document the surface distribution of artefacts and features. This involves walking across all the areas on the site to note concentrations of artefacts, ecofacts and features. Preliminary visits to the research area were undertaken in the months of March and September, 2017 to assess the nature, content and extent of the site.
Reconnaissance survey at the site of the German Colonial Rest-house was conducted around the premises of the Old and New Roman Catholic Mission Houses, Roman Catholic Church and Roman Catholic School. The site covered about 150m x 100m in area. The purpose of this was also to familiarize oneself with the site's layout and to enable the researcher to locate and identify all possible areas for excavation. Through this survey, a few German relics were identified. They included the foundation of the old German rest-house, a cistern, the abandoned Roman Catholic Mission house, teak and mango trees. The survey of the sites was undertaken by a team of nine people.

The reconnaissance survey was extended to the ancient settlement sites (Fig. 2.1a&b) of the Wurupong people. They included the Owarebour (about 838.20 metres above sea level) and Api-Tor mountain sites (357 metres above sea level). The Wurupong community as it is, has multiple settlement sites on the Mountain range that border the current community. These early sites were inhabited by the indigenous people before and during the German colonial era. It was on the basis of this that the archaeological survey was extended to the mountain-top settlements to identify possible sites for excavation. This was also done to help provide better comprehension of the precolonial and colonial cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. At the Owarebour site, remains of iron slag, remnant of several stone terraces arranged in a circular manner and scraps of grindings stones (querns) were identified. The site currently serves as the ancestral home of the Wurupong people especially, the Nkentia clan. Due to the sentive and remote nature of the site, it was not archaeologically investigated. On the Api-Tor site, there were countless broken pottery scattered across the area. The surface finds and features on each site were documented and photographed before excavation began.
2.1.3. Photography

A digital camera was used to visually document scenes of traditional practices, interviews, historic features on the sites, reconnaissance surveys, excavation processes and excavated artefacts (both in-situ and during laboratory analysis). This method helped to capture events in their original contexts.

2.1.4. Ethnographic Methods

The ethnographic methods that were used in this study involved a-ten-day fieldwork in the Nkonya Wurupong community. During this period, daily activities and the historical remains in the area were observed. My team and I also wrote field notes and participated in some cultural activities. Various forms of focus group discussions were held at the Osaase Lodge at Wurupong (see Fig. 2.2) to collect oral accounts of the area from some members of the community. Through the use of the methods of observation, discussions and semi-structured interviews, the emic perspectives of the indigenes on various significant issues were documented. The reason for the choice of this
technique was that it allowed for free follow-up questions that did not form part of the substantive questions while at the same time, enabled the researcher to stick to the questions on the interview guide. In addition, a purposive sampling technique was used in selecting a unit of the population (20 informants) for interviews. This strategy was chosen on the premise that the kind of data the researcher sought for, rested in the knowledge and wisdom of certain key informants (eg; chiefs, queen mothers, clan heads among others) in the community who are believed to be knowledgeable about the subject matter. The oral accounts documented through interviews coupled with the archaeological remains aided in understanding the past lifeways and the transformations that occurred before, during and after the German encounters in the area. Apart from the semi-formal interviews conducted, cognitive aspects of culture like customs, taboos, religion, economic activities and waste disposal were documented.

Fig. 2.2. Photo showing focus group discussion with Nana Asiakwa II (in cloth) and other members of the community (Photo by Emmanuel 2017).
2.1.5. Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations in archaeological research were adhered to. As regards archaeological excavations, permission was obtained from the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), the mandated government institution responsible for the issuance of excavation permit, before archaeological excavations were executed. Another important ethical approach taken into consideration was the observation of protocol at the local level. Authorization was sought from the chief of the area (Nkonya Wurupong) and his traditional council as well as from individuals whose lands were excavated. Before the commencement of excavations, traditional leaders demanded schnapps to pour libation and also to ask for blessings from their ancestors. Permission was also obtained from the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, Wurupong, where the German Colonial Rest-house is sited before the excavation was conducted. Consents were sought for before photographs of individuals and certain cultural scenes used in this thesis were taken.

2.1.6. Archaeological Excavation

The commencement of the field work began with the observation of traditional protocol, as required, to pave way for the research in the community (Fig. 2.3). The observation of traditional protocol was led by Dr. Wazi Apoh (supervisor) at the palace of the Omanhene of Nkonya Wurupong Traditional Area. Following the reconnaissance survey, judgmental sampling technique was employed to select specific areas for excavation. This kind of technique is also known as purposive sampling or authoritative sampling. It is a non-probabilistic sampling technique where the researcher purposefully selects more representative areas to be excavated based on his or her knowledge, research questions, professional experiences and judgment that can bring more accurate results (Doherty 1994:3). Visual assessment of surface distribution of artefacts and the colouration of the soil informed the choice of the areas that were excavated.
In the view of Barker (1993), archaeological excavation is the systematic and controlled digging of material culture lying on or below the surface through the use of various tools. Archaeological fieldwork was carried out from November to December 2017. A survey and excavation of the German Colonial Rest-house site (Fig. 1.3) was firstly carried out. A 1m by 1m Test-Pit was dug at the rest-house site. In addition, the old foundation walls of the German Rest-house was excavated by removing soil around them. However, at the old settlement site (Api-Tor mountain; Fig. 2.1b) of Nkonya Wurupong, three (3) trenches, each measuring 1m by 2m, were dug. Most parts of the sites were overgrown with trees and weeds. More importantly, the sloppy and mountainous nature of the Api-Tor site had caused running water from the mountain to erode the site. Areas with much surface configuration of artefacts on the site were selected for excavation.

The tools and equipment used for the excavation at Nkonya Wurupong included hammer, metal and wooden stakes, measuring tapes, line levels, cutlass, roots cutter, pocket knife, hand picks, shovels and spades, hand trowels, brushes, dustpans, sieve, prismatic compass, handheld global
positioning system (GPS), digital cameras, zip lock plastic bags, gloves, field notebooks, clipboards, graph paper, Munsell soil colour book, level record sheets, pencil, pen and markers.

The main aim of the excavation was geared towards acquiring primary data that could explain the type of activities and exchanges that occurred on the sites in order to understand the local and foreign (German) interactions on the sites. See photos of the excavated unit and trenches in Chapter Four.

2.1.7. On-Site Classification and Post Field Laboratory Analysis

Basic classification of the cultural assemblage into various categories was done on the site during and after each day of excavation work. The recovered materials were classified into groups such as local pottery, faunal remains, imported ceramics, glass objects (e.g. bottles), metal objects, smoking pipes, querns, among others. The recording of detail information about an excavation process is pivotal in archaeology. This is because archaeological excavation is destructive and it is an irreversible intellectual engagement which can only be reconstructed through the analysis of the excavated finds, notes and photographs taken as well as drawings made. On the basis of this notion, deliberate attempts were made to accurately record every step in the process of retrieving cultural remains before, during and after the excavations. The level record forms were used to document preliminary information about the finds. The stratification and other observations within each cultural stratum during the excavation were noted. A tag with written provenance information was attached to each bag. Local pottery, imported ceramics, glass objects and other artefacts were washed with water both on the site and in the department. Metal objects and bones were cleaned with bristle brushes.
The characteristic soil colours of the layers of each trench were described by using the Munsell Soil Colour Chart. Soil texture and structure as well as associated cultural materials were documented. The soil profiles of the walls of the trenches and unit were drawn using a graph sheet. Above all, some materials, especially faunal remains, metals and local potteries were analysed with the help of the technical and teaching staff of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies at the University of Ghana. The preservation and conservation metal objects were done with special aid from Mr. Gideon Agyare. Also, the classification and examination of the faunal remains was done with the specialist support of Mr. Bossman Murey.

2.2. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual frameworks of culture contact, agency and material cultural studies were used as interpretive models for this study. This is because they were useful and appropriate in the attempt to investigate and have a holistic view of the excavated material remains and the nature and effects of the interactions between the indigenous people of Nkonya Wurupong, the local political imperialists as well as the German colonial administration. These conceptual frameworks helped in the analysis and interpretation of the corpus of data recovered from the study.

2.2.1. Material Culture Studies

The concept of materiality as espoused in material culture studies is based on the underlying principle that there is an intimate relationship between material forms and the societies within which these forms are created (Oestigard 2004; Prown 1982). Material culture primarily refers to any tangible objects crafted by humans (Van Dyke 2015a, 2015b). Material culture studies is also considered as the investigation of cultural materials through which the beliefs, values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions of a particular community or society at a given time can be ascertained
Material culture studies, according to Miller (1985:4), involves the study of all aspects of the relationship between the material and the social. Further, it concerns “the investigation of the relationship between people and things regardless of temporality and space in which the perspective employed may be global or local and may concern the past, present or a mediation of the two” (Miller and Tilley 1996:5). Material culture studies, as Miller (1985) advances, aids in the understanding of the complexities and intricacies of the interactions between social strategies, artefactual variability and material culture (quoted in Fahlander and Oestigaard 2004:26-27). The concept of material culture implies that the existence of a human made object is a concrete evidence of the manifestation of human intelligence operating at a given time of fabrication, exchange and use. The underlying premise is that objects made or modified by humans do reflect, either consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them, and by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belong (Buchli 2004; Miller 2002). Apparently, objects created in the past are the only historical or prehistorical relics that continue to exist in the present. In that, they offer opportunities through which “we encounter the past at first hand, and have direct sensory experiences of surviving historical events” (Parrott 2001). The application of this concept is very crucial to this research. This is because the artefactual assemblages from the excavations and features are believed to have survived oral and historical events and by interpreting them, one is able to unravel these events in the past. For example, the foundation of the German Colonial Rest-house at Nkonya Wurupong reflects the colonial relic of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Furthermore, Apoh and Gavua (2010:212), intimate that the study of material culture has the potential to reveal the functions, signs, and meanings represented in artefacts. In that, artefacts embody the meanings of past human activities and have different kinds of values. Expatiating this
view, Hodder (1982b) contends that it is imperative for archaeologists to study the relationship between materiality and humans. This is because, he believes, material culture does not merely reflect culture but it also actively constitutes it. Oslen (2003:88) also refers to the physical entities regarded as material culture as “beings in the world together with other beings such as humans, plants and animals which have relations, share substance and membership in a dwelt-in world”. Therefore, material cultural studies can help create social identities depending largely on how materials are employed in daily practice. Materials may be vested with special meanings in diverse contexts; for instance, aspects of culture that are witnessed in the archaeological record like food preparation and care of household space can provide insights into a person’s social relations and identities of various agents, be they local or foreign in the community (Lightfoot et al., 1998).

Moreover, it is argued by Glassie (1999) that only a small fraction of the world's population was literate prior to Europeans explorations. For that matter, it was unusual for people to write literature or keep diaries before and during the colonial era. A lot of the historical writings on culture contacts during the colonial periods have centred primarily on the activities of the ruling classes like priests and priestesses, chiefs and German agents without much attention to the ordinary people who provided labour for farming and infrastructural development (ibid). To overcome such a bottleneck, it is important to study the objects used by the local populations as they embody history and serve as a representation of information more than words of mouth or written data. The objects used by the local people offer the possibility to understand the mind of the majority of the non-literate peoples’ past and present, who remain otherwise, inaccessible except through the archaeological record and who are often distorted by the views of contemporary literary elites (Prown 1982:3).
Material culture studies provide the avenue to understand production, function and style, meaning, context, exchange, consumption and transformation of cultural traits in a society. It also provides the opportunity to appreciate the processes of culture change and continuity, social relations, aesthetics, ideology of the makers and users of the materials in a colonial context (Fiador 2017:33), such as Nkonya Wurupong. The analysis of the recovered material assemblage aided in the comprehension of the signs of status distinction or symbols of social integration from the contact sites of Nkonya Wurupong.

2.2.2. Culture Contact

Culture contact is a “predisposition for groups to interact with ‘outsiders’, a necessity created through human diversity, settlement pattern, and desire for exchange and the crave to control that interaction” (Cusick 1998b:4). Alternatively, Schortman and Urban (1998:102), also define culture contact as “any case of prolonged and direct interchanges among members of social units who do not share the same identity”. Silliman (2005:58) on the other hand, is also of the view that “culture contact interaction in its holistic sense, could range from cordial to aggression, extensive to minor, short duration to long term, or ancient to recent, and it may include a variety of elements such as exchange, integration, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and diaspora”. In the case of Nkonya Wurupong, diverse forms of culture contacts were experienced with different groups of people like the Asante, Akwamu, Akim, Accra, Kwahu and other Ewe groups (PRAAD, CSO 21/91/20), through migration, war-fare and trade. They also had colonial interactions with the Germans (Kumah 1966), through exploration and colonization.

The culture contact interactions between Germans and their African counterparts were cordial at some places whereas in other areas were ‘diabolical’. For instance, the contact situations in Amedzofe, according to Ocloo (2017), and most places in Togoland (Mbowura 2013), were to a
significant extent, amicable. But, this was not the case with Kete Krachi. In the view of Fiador (2017), it was harsh. With respect to the culture contact situation at Nkonya Wurupong, the German colonial authorities employed the means of military force and threats to impose the German flag on the indigenes who had beforehand rejected the Germans. The Germans eventually also applied aggression to conscript the indigenes into the German colonial army. It must however be stated categorically that these German culture contact actions at Wurupong were bloodless (Kumah 1966:7). Generally, German colonial record in Africa is considered harsh and repressive (Gann and Duignan 1977; Knoll 1978). However, the indigenous culture contact between the Wurupong people and the dwellers of the Owarebour mountain was violent and deadly (ibid). This led to the assimilation of the autochtones into the Wurupong culture. Also, the contact situation between the the Akan groups and the Wurupong people in the Krepi area of the Volta Region of Ghana was exploitative and suppressing (Atakro 2014:27). The proliferation of the politico-military incursions of the Akan groups; particularly, Akawmu and Asante into the Krepi area has led to the adoption and usage of some Akan cultural traits in the Wurupong community (see further discussion of the Akan group in Krepi area in Chapter 3)

Colonialism as a facet of culture contact involves the exertion of control over an indigenous group of people and territories by another group (a city or nation-state) outside of its geographical boundaries (Silliman 2005:62). According to Silliman, colonialism is “not about an event, instead, it is about processes of cultural entanglement, whether voluntary or not, in a wide-ranging world economy and system of labor, religious conversion, exploitation, material value, settlement, and sometimes imperialism” (ibid). Silliman avers again that “colonialism in general terms encompasses institutional and personal relations of power, labor and economic hierarchy, attacks on cultural practices and beliefs, and often racism with direct effects on indigenous people and
their strategies or abilities for survival”. Therefore, any attempt to disregard the piercing edge of colonialism is like undermining the areas in which the local populations often found themselves labouring in plantations, ranches, forts, mines, and farms (*ibid*:64). This was buttressed on the field during my ethnographic study that the ancient people of Nkonya Wurupong and the surrounding communities were forced to work when the German colonial administrators were putting up the Rest-house, the old Roman Catholic mission house and church by carrying sand and stones whiles others worked in the experimental cocoa farms set up by the Germans in Nkonya and its environs (Nyinanse 1984). Silliman (2001b) however reasons that agents of colonisation (missionaries, merchants and administrators) many a time, employed labour as a transformational tool and as a means of sustaining the colonial community.

### 2.2.3. Agency

Another framework that aided in the analysis of the recovered materials is the concept of Agency. This concept emerged in the 1970s mainly in the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1990) and Anthony Giddens (1979; 1984; 1991; 1993). The underlying idea of Bourdieu’s concept is that human beings are created with “habitus, an individually unique schema of unconsciously internalized dispositions which govern how humans perceive and act in the world” (Bourdieu 1977:72). He further intimates that these dispositions are structured and can also structure, with respect to, the external systems of the world (*ibid*).

Giddens (1979:57) also introduces the theory of structuration which is based on the view that humans tactfully apply “tacit knowledge in designing ways of conduct, in which case, the human is unable to freely formulate”. This means that humans have the inherent ability to influence the ways of conduct in the event of a political domination. Agency as a philosophical thought straddles the premise that people are not uniform robots (rigid beings), merely reacting to changes in the
external world. Instead, they “play a role in the formation of the social realities in which they participate” (Barfield 1997:4).

Material culture, which results from the interplay of agency and social reproduction, is a reflection of the everyday social actions, long-standing cultural institutions and total culture change of indigenous groups of people (Dobres and Robb 2005:159). Hence, everything that survives or transforms in the archaeological record is a testament of agency. It must be noted that human actions (agency) are modeled and influenced by institutions (structure) which culminate in their material creations (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005:365). These conceptual frameworks and their facets have been confirmed through the reconnaissance survey I undertook at the Owarebour site as well as the excavation of the Api-Tor sites. By carefully examining the artefacts and ecofacts retrieved from the excavations and the archaeological features at the contact sites of Nkonya Wurupong, vital information was gathered to facilitate the reconstruction of the various dimensions of the cross-cultural encounters that ensued between the indigenous people of Nkonya Wurupong and other local entities as well as the German colonial administrators through time. These encounters were well represented in the cultural assemblage recovered at the Nkonya Wurupong sites.
CHAPTER THREE

PRECOLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND GERMAN COLONISATION OF TOGOLAND
(VOLTA BASIN)

3.0. Introduction

This section assesses the precolonial imperialism, the history of the presence of Germans in West Africa particularly in German-Togoland and the Volta Basin. It again highlights the ulterior motives behind German colonisation of Togoland. Further, this section concerns itself with the impact of German colonialism on the indigenous political systems, economic lifeways, belief systems, healthcare practices and infrastructural developments in Nkonya Wurupong as well as an assessment of some archaeological investigations done in the Volta Basin.

3.1. Pre-colonial Imperialism in Northern part of present-day Volta Region of Ghana

The people of the Volta Region of Ghana experienced varied forms of local and foreign imperialism. Prior to the proliferation of the Ewe groups of people in the Volta Basin area, part of the region was already inhabited by Guans. These earlier settlers of the Krepi area included the Lolobi, Akpafu and Wurupong people (Amenumey 1986; Le Lievre 1925). The short-lived Krepi Confederation which consisted of both Ewes and non-Ewes (Guans) in the northern part of present-day Volta Region of Ghana was formed in 1833 under the leadership of Kodzo Dei I. this was done to avoid the dominion of the Akwamu people and the subsequent reprisal attacks from the Asante in 1869-72 (Ansre 1997). In the views of Atakro (2014:22), the Krepi Confederation was made up of a group of independent towns. Before this Confederacy, most of the member states were vassal states of the Akwamu Kingdom.
In the 17th century, the King of Kwahu (an Akan subgroup) based at Asabi on the Volta River, extended his control over some of the Ewe states in the Volta Basin. Nevertheless, the suzerainty over the states by the Kwahu was very brief. This was due to the fact that Kwahu was superseded by the Akwamu Kingdom at the dawn of the 18th century (Atakro 2014:24). According to Reindorf (1889:60), cited in Atakro (2014), from 1629 onwards, the minor Guan states in the area north of modern day Akwapim were absorbed by the Akwapim people through their programme of conquest and expansion. The Ga and Ladoku Kingdoms between 1677 and 1681, experienced similar attacks from the Akwamu Kingdom (Wilks 1958:24). This military and political incursion by the Akwamu Kingdom over these areas was because of the political and economic benefits of the lucrative trade in humans on the coast (Kimble 1963:129).

In an attempt to control the trade around the Volta and east of it, the Akwamu people carried out a period of imperial expansion during the first decade of the 18th century which culminated in the conquest of most of the Ewe States (Kea 1967:17-18). It is further argued that due to the gross lack of a common bond of harmony that could unify the people of the various autonomous Ewe and non-Ewe states into a formidable force against any encroachment upon their independence, they were vulnerable to well militarized invaders (ibid). However, it is possible that not all of these societies were defeated by Akwamu people through warfare. Some willingly aligned themselves with the Akwamu people. The intrusion of Akwamu into the Volta Basin which initiated more conflicts culminated in the conquest of the Kwahu and their political power in 1710 (ibid).

In the 1730s, Akwamu people surrendered to the onslaught of the Akyem, Accra, Akwapim and Agona warriors and relocated to their present location at Akwamufie (Murray 1818; cited in Atakro 2014:33). This reduced the imperial grip of the Akwamu Kingdom over the Ewe and non-Ewe states in the Volta Basin of which the Nkonya people were a part. However, due to the
proximity of the Akwamu people to the Volta, the trade relations with the dwellers of the Volta Basin strengthened. It is important to note that after the 1730s, Asante imperial influence became more conspicuous in the Volta Basin after Akwamu became a subject state of it (ibid). The Asante made use of the trade routes through Krepi as well as Akwamu to the coast as a result of their supremacy (Bowdich 1966:235).

Atakro (2014), mentions that the Asantehene supported the operations of the Akwamuhene. With this political support of the Asante, Akwamu people exploited the resources of Krepi as much as she could with the aim of maximizing the economic benefits accruing from the trade in slaves and ivory originating from Krepi (ibid). As time went on, the Asante-Akwamu alliance continued in diverse forms. However, there were sporadic breaks (for example, the Katamansu war of 1826). Eventually, the Asante military power and imperialism in the Volta Basin receded in 1874 and the Akwamu State was also assimilated into the Gold Coast Colony in 1886 by the British (ibid).

The interactions between societies along the coast (for example, Ewe, Ga, Fante, Ahanta, Nzema) and those of the immediate hinterlands (Akwapim, Asante, Akwamu, Akyem and Denkyira), led to exchange of commodities, ideas and some cultural practices (Apoh 2014:164-5). Apoh additionally opined that through the contacts and interactions between the coastal and hinterland communities from the 17th to 20th centuries, elements of the Akan culture crept steadily into the communities they interacted with and beyond (ibid). This assertion of impact is not unique and different from what the Nkonya Wurupong people encountered in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Nkonya, being one of the autonomous states that joined the Krepi Confederation and being a subject of the Akan (Akwamu and Asante) imperial forces, adopted aspects of the chieftaincy institution of the Akan. These include the position of Omanhene, Ohemaa, Kurotihene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Adontenhene, Akwamuhene, Gyaasehene, Abontendohene, Twifo, Kyidomhene.
Beyond that, the adoption of Akan names like Adu, Fordjour, Osafo, Owusu among others is common in the Wurupong community.

3.2. Assessment of the Presence of Germans in Togoland and their impact in the Nkonya Area

According to Lundt (2013:15) and Knoll (1965; see also Apoh 2008:83), before the Germans rejuvenated trade along the West African coast in the 1840s, there had been transient trade relations with the Brandenburgers of north-eastern part of Germany and the African Company of the then Gold Coast in 1681 at Cape Three Points. Commodities such as gold dust, slaves, grains, palm oil and salt were exchanged for glass or ceramic vessels, clothes, liquor, guns and other European products (Knoll 1965:15). During the 15th and 16th centuries, Grand Popo, Petit Popo and Elmina for example, served as slave stations for the Portuguese in the coastal regions of Togoland and Gold Coast respectively (Apoh 2008:83). Subsequently, from the 17th century through to the 19th century, the Dutch, Danes, and British competed for control of the slave stations and replaced the Portuguese monopoly on the Gold Coast (Darkoh 1964:108). The succeeding German commercial activities on the Togoland coast culminated in a competition between the Germans and French over Anecho and Porto Seguro areas of Togoland as well as with the British on the western front until German rule started in 1884 (ibid).

German colonial interest in Togoland began in the late 1800’s. However, it was in 1884 that the Germans claimed ownership of Togoland which included most parts of present-day Volta Region of Ghana as well as the Republic of Togo. This was however modified again by the Heligoland Agreement in 1890 (Kropp-Dakubu 2006:3; Laumann 2003:196). The Germans, in the quest to colonise part of the West African region, adopted many strategies. These included the use of
chartered companies, missionaries, the signing of treaties and agreements with chiefs and traditional leaders as well as the practice of explorations and the method of divide and rule in establishing her influence in West Africa; especially in Togoland (Braimah and Goody 1967:157; Henderson 1935:152; Laumann 2003:196). For instance, the Germans in arbitration with several chiefs in Togoland in 1884, convinced and pledged to the chiefs that they would be supportive. With the acceptance from the chiefs, the Germans seized control of Togoland away from the Dutch and Danes (Missionary Atlas Project Africa, Togo n.d:6). Afterwards, Dr. Gustav Nachtigal on July 5, 1884, signed an agreement of protection with King Mlapa and declared the main coastal settlements (Be, Guin, Watchi and Anecho) and about 57 kilometers of the territory along the Togoland coast as a German protectorate (Knoll 1978:21; Missionary Atlas Project Africa, Togo n.d:6). The annexation of the coastal belts and their immediate hinterlands was done through treaties obtained by the schemes of bribery, cajolery or deception of African chiefs (Stoecker 1986; see also Apoh 2008:90).

In the quest to extend Christianity to Africa, the Danish colonial government in the Christiansburg area of Accra invited missionaries from Herrenhut, Germany in 1827 (Apoh 2008:78). The missionaries from Germany were expected to set up missions so as to soothe and convert the locals. In effect, the German missionisation or religious colonization of Togoland continued and developed with the coming of the North German Bremen Mission Societies and Swiss Basel missionaries in 1847 (Greene 2002; Haenger 2000; Kaulich 2001; Meyer 2002). In support of this view, Spieth (1906), mentions that the Ewe people had lasting contact with the Europeans from 1847. The first Bremen missionary to have settled and worked among the Ewes in Peki was Lorenz Wolf (Dorvlo 2013:122). Apparently, it was from Peki that the missionaries evangelized and
established out-stations at Ho, Hohoe, Amedzofe, Anfoega, Nyangbo, Kpando and Logba (Apoh 2008:79; Spieth 1906:55).

In the area of Nkonya, missionary work first began with the Basel Mission around 1870 after which by 1996, had received about 5,000 adherents with 8 national workers who used the Ewe language to preach to the people (Missionary Atlas Project West Africa, Ghana n.d:58-59). In 1890, the Roman Catholic work also commenced in the area and by 1996, had won about 12,000 converts in Nkonya area. The Catholics had 21 local workers who communicated with the people in the Nkonya language (ibid). On the basis of this, it is not out of place to mention that active missionary work at Nkonya Wurupong postdate the 1890s. In connection with the presence of missionary work at Nkonya Wurupong, van Brakel (2002:158) indicates that by 1950-1970, besides the existing central mission stations, new out-stations were opened with one in Wurupong in 1950 which was led by Father Zijlstra.

It is believed by many scholars that economic developments in Germany in the 19th Century was one of the main reasons, if not the ultimate motive, for Germany to join other European nations like Britain, Belgium, France, Portugal and Sweden among others to partition Africa among themselves (Apoh 2008; Bullard 2003; Cognea & Moradi 2011; Darkoh 1964; Gavua 2013; Laumann 2009; Stoecker 1986). The Germans, like all other European imperialists, were mainly interested in controlling African labour and economic activities (Laumann 2009). In support of this view, Bulhan (2015:103), explicitly expresses that Germans as late-arrivals to Africa, went into their colonies with the ulterior agenda to economically exploit the areas and maximize their economic power as quickly as possible. Smith (1978) shares the view that competition over resources in Europe, lengthy periods of price deflation and harsh business downturns among others
in the 1870’s forced Germans to try to expand markets and to obtain raw materials required to feed industries back home in Germany.

One main economic policy the German colonial government implemented revolved around agriculture. The German colonial administration with the aid of merchants encouraged cocoa plantation in 1896 in the forest hills of northern Volta Region including Nkonya (Nyinanse 1984:6). They cultivated palm oil, palm kernel, rubber, copra and cotton, and procurement of ivory, live animals and skins for export (ibid). For instance, the missionaries in Ho re-established their coffee and fruit farms by the late 1870s and 1880s. Agents from European firms were stationed in the area and travelled to other places to buy maize and cotton (Spieth 1906). The Germans established Agricultural Colleges in Togoland to train students. This attempt was made to ensure continued agricultural production in the colony. The students, upon successful completion of their studies, either served as pupil teachers or were posted to the villages to teach and offer practical instructions in farming (Calvert 1916:232-233).

Food crops like cotton, maize, rice, sweet potatoes (African), beans, groundnuts, and ground-beans among others were experimented with in German-Togoland. These consisted of twenty varieties of cotton, nine varieties of maize, four kinds of sweet potatoes, and twenty-three varieties of beans (ibid). In addition, a significant number of cattle were kept at the agric colleges for breeding and ploughing (Calvert 1916:233).

The successful development of the experimental farms with cocoa enabled the German colonial administration to establish several cocoa industries in communities like Nkonya Ahenkro, Wurupong and Burbulla, and in other areas like Kwamekrom and Mempeasem in Bowiri and Akpafu respectively (Nyinanse 1984:6). In the same vein, huge farms were set up in areas suitable
for farming important cash crops like sisal, tea, coffee and cotton (Bulhan 2015:103). The increase in demand for agricultural produce had consequential effects on the existing horticultural practices (Sebald 1986:176). Agricultural production in the past mainly involved gathering and peasant production of staple foods like rice, yams, cocoyams and millet for local consumption and exchange (Nyinanse 1984:3).

3.3. The Nkonya State under Foreign Imperial Forces

As part of the efforts of the German colonial authorities to consolidate their domineering authority in Togoland in the late 1800s, they carried out an expedition under the leadership of Dr. Hans Gruner to Nkonya. Hitherto, two English officers led by Mr. Charles Riby Williams had made visit to Wurupong during the reign of Nana Djanti Kwadwo in 1886 to reach a peaceful agreement in which the Nkonya people pledged their loyalty and support for the English (Kumah 1966:10). After the departure of the English officers, a German colonial expedition was takem to Kete-Krachi. Upon reaching Nkonya Ahenkro (Wurubito), they gave the chief a German flag and did same at Nkonya Wurupong. Unfortunately, the Wuruponghene, Nana Kwadwo Djanti declined the request of the German colonials on the basis that, he had already pledged his loyalty to the English (ibid:7). Being unhappy with the response of the Wuruponghene, the Germans conveyed a number of military troops to the town and fired shots which forced the Wurupong people to accept the German flag. Subsequently, the German colonial officials forced and used the natives as labourers for the construction of roads from Kpando (south) to Kete Krachi (north). Again, they conscripted some of the indigenous people to serve in the German colonial army (ibid).

Aside this, the German officials also impacted the Wurupong community by way of education. They educated some community children at Lome and Kpalime. In addition, they practically taught them manual works such as carpentry, machinery and smith works. The locals often recall that the
Germans used force and aggression to advance their aims (ibid). According to Fordjour (personal communication 2017), due to the serene and attractive environment (timber, minerals in the soil and vegetation) of the community and its proximity to Krachi and Salaga, the German colonial government built and maintained a small Rest-house at Nkonya Wurupong which served as a stop-over for the Germans that plied the route from Kpando to Kete Krachi. He further recalls that, as a young boy in the late 1940s and early 1950s, community members occasionally called on the colonial medical officer stationed there for either vaccination or for routine medical checks. He intimates that as a colonial government facility, it did not only serve as a mini clinic but, was more importantly, used for all political, educational and cultural interactions with the indigenous peoples. It must however be stated that the rest-house built by the German colonial administrators is no longer in existence. What was visible at the time of this research was the remnants of the rocky foundation. This was archaeologically exposed by the researcher (see Fig. 5.2).

The colonial authorities, according to Drechsler (1980), depended on African labour to build and maintain infrastructure (eg, roads, railways, bridges, and telegraph lines to government offices and rest-houses). This situation was not different from Nkonya Wurupong (Kumah 1966). The German colonial authorities in the 1890s used the stations of the Mission at Ho and other areas as camps for their soldiers (Ustorf 2002). This practice was also true in the case of Nkonya Wurupong. It must be noted that the German Colonial rule in Togoland and in the Nkonya area was short-lived. The occurrence of the World War I which resulted in the defeat of the Germans by the combined forces of the British and the French ended the colonial domination of the Germans in Togoland (Mokake and Kah 2013; Nkwii 2013).
3.4. Review of the Archaeology of Germans in the Volta Basin

The archaeology of German missionary, merchantile and colonial presence in Ghana, specifically, the Volta Region is very revealing. The extensive work by Apoh (2008; 2013a, b; 2016a, b) coupled with other works carried out by his students like Dogbey (2015), Fiador (2017), Mensah (2017) and Ocloo (2017) in the Volta Region of Ghana provide remarkably satisfactory knowledge in this regard.

The extensive research undertaken by Apoh (2008) in the Kpando area has provided insightful knowledge with respect to the colonial interactions that transpired among the Kpando people, the Germans and later the British. This study has revealed the impact on both the local and foreign daily practices of the area from the 19th to 20th centuries. Artefactual materials like local pottery, imported ceramics, glassware, metal objects, beads, coins, buttons and faunal remains were recovered from the excavation (*ibid*:198-242). Even though the site was a segregated settlement, Apoh reasoned that the archaeological revelations of the Kpando-Todzi site showed no apparent social distinction among the foreign and local occupants of the colonial site at Todzi. This is due to the fact that there was evidence of the use of both local and foreign domestic utensils/vessels, local fauna, imported food as well as the use local foods such as palm kernel by local cooks to prepare meals at the site of Kpando-Todzi in terms of foodways. However, there were changes in the dietary and consumption patterns and the use of other material culture in both the colonial and African settings on the site (Apoh 2013). He concluded that the archaeological evidence from Kpando-Todzi shows transformations in settlement patterns and craft production as a result of European contact (Apoh 2008:268-270).

Another study which focuses on African-European encounters is the one conducted by Dogbey (2015) at Ziavi in the Volta Region of Ghana. The study was aimed at investigating the German
colonial activities at Galenkuito and Ziavi from the 1880s to 1914. Artefacts recovered from the excavations were local and European ceramics, metal objects (such as, a finger ring, hook of a belt, and folded aluminum object, coins, one tiny spring metal object and bullet cartridges), glass bottles, lithic tools (grinding stones, querns, polished stone blade, bored stones and a slate pencil), daub and fauna among others.

He argued that the bullet cartridges which were however corroded, were probably used by the German colonial officials. In his view, the pieces of iron slag found in the archaeological record is suggestive that iron smelting was practised by the early Ziavi inhabitants of the site, despite the unavailability of furnaces at the site or farm equipment from the excavations. The presence of a variety of faunal remains in the archaeological record reveals that ancient inhabitants of Ziavi exploited the bush meat resources to satisfy their dietary requirements. Dogbey (2015:110) however, opined that despite the fragmentary nature of the glass bottles found in the archaeological excavation, some of the body sherds indicate that they possibly served as wine or alcoholic beverage containers. He further added that these were used by the German colonial administrators who inhabited the site or were probably used by the early Ziavi settlers in practising the African Indigenous Religion (ibid).

Again, a study which concerns the archaeology of Germans in the Volta Region of Ghana is the investigation carried out by Ernest Fiador (2017) in Kete-Krachi. The aim of the research was to archaeologically document the indigenous cultural lifeways and the results of the cross-cultural encounters that ensued between the Africans and the Germans at Kete-Krachi from the 1890s to 1914. Locally manufactured pottery, imported ceramics, glass objects, fauna, metal objects, beads, cowry shells, fragment of clay tobacco pipes, buttons and others were retrieved from the excavations (Fiador 2017:65).
He contended that the cross-cultural encounters between the Kete-Krachi traditional ruling class and the Germans were remarkably radical and transformative. This is because it created a new colonial hierarchy which was characterised by profound changes in the socio-economic and political system of the area (Fiador 2017:127). He further mentioned that the Germans reduced the power of the indigenous people of Kete-Krachi and the importance of the Bosomfo of the Dente shrine and conversely uplifted the power of the headmen of the migrant communities.

He concluded that the study of the tangible and intangible manifestation of the cross-cultural contact in Kete-Krachi between the indigenes and the Germans shows both a positive and negative impact. He conversely avered that despite the efforts of both the locals and Germans toward the survival of each other on the site, the socio-economic impact of the Germans in Kete-Krachi outweighed that of the Africans (ibid). These researches have provided adequate data for a comparative study of the impact of the cross-cultural interactions that took place in the Volta Region of Ghana from the 19th to 20th centuries.
CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNOGRAPHIC FINDINGS IN NKONYA WURUPONG

4.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the ethnography of Nkonya Wurupong. This borders on the migration and settlement histories of the people of Nkonya with special attention on Nkonya Wurupong. It also takes into consideration the contemporary daily activities, taboos, festivals, subsistence strategies, religious belief systems and discard behaviour among others.

4.1. Ethnography of Nkonya Wurupong

The people of Nkonya Wurupong are a fraction of the large groups of people in Ghana who belong to the Guan ethnic group (Akuamoah 2015; Amenumey 2011; Kumah 1966; Midodzi 2013; Nyinanse 1984). Guan as an ethnic and linguistic group of people, in the view of Ampene (2011), are the aborigines of Ghana and their languages have been categorized into four main groups by Dakubu (1988) and Painter (1967). They classified the guan language into Northern Guan comprising Gonja, Nawuri, Choroba, Gichode, Ginyanga, Nchumburu, Krachi, Yeji, Prang, Dwang, Ewoase and Bassa. The southern Guan includes Nkonya. The Hill Guan consists of Larteh, Kyerepong and Anum and the Coastal Guan include Awutu and Efutu (see also Animah 2015:6; Obiri 2013:7). Nkonya as a state consists of nine towns namely Ahenkro (Wulubito), Betenase (Akloba), Asakyiri (Kpakplawusu), Ntsumuru, Kadjebi, Tayi, Ntumda, Tepo and Wurupong (Nyinanse 1984). However, Nkonya Wurupong town is made up nine smaller communities (Kumah 1966:1). These are Adenkensu, Ahobrase, Ahoto, Burbulla, Nsuam, Odomitor, Subriso, Tadiam and Wurupong itself where the paramountcy is situated. It must however be mentioned that there is a resettled community located within the Wurupong township.
4.1.1. Toponymy of Nkonya and Wurupong

According to Nyinanse (1984:10-11), the traditional accounts narrated by Oheneba Kwabena Mensah of the Ahenkro Royal house and Nana Stephen Kofi Nyansa, the then Kurotihene of Nkonya Wurupong, state that the word “Nkonya” is a derivation of two Guan words. These are “Ko” (fight) and “Nya” (get). These words in later years have been corrupted to be “Nkonya”. The name therefore is suggestive of the struggle the Nkonya people encountered in their areas of settlement during the course of their migration to their present home. Another version narrates that “Nkonya” means “will never yield” (ibid) or “Unconquerable” (Kumah 1966:1). This reflects that the Nkonya people were courageous fighters who jealously guarded their independence throughout their history.

According to Gariba (2015:142-143), there are three possible reasons why the people of Nkonya call themselves as such. The first explanation has it that when the ancestors of the Nkonya people settled on the land on which they now live, they said “ani to ko nya” which means “we fought and got”. The second reason proposed by Lilley (1925), however, suggests that Nkonya means “will never get”, which means no one can forcefully appropriate their land. Thirdly, Aduamah (1963), says Nkonya means “the invincible” that is, the spiritually powerful people. In the view of Gariba (2015:143), the Nkonya people have come to identify themselves with all these derivatives but they are more especially inclined to the one referring to “will never get” (perhaps referring to the fractured relationship between them and their neighbours, Alavanyo) as an emotional and psychological device to give meaning and energy to the culture of resistance and the politics of insistence in the struggle over the disputed land with the Alavanyo people.
4.1.2. Migration and Settlement Histories of the Nkonya People

With respect to the origin, migration and settlement history of the Nkonya people, there are different myths/stories surrounding the beginnings and identity of the Guan ethnic groups to which the Nkonya belong. These stories are in relation to how Guans spread over a wide geographical area in Ghana. These accounts are so fragmented that one finds it difficult to articulate a coherent narrative. Ampene (2011:10), acknowledges that “very little has so far been done on the history of the Guang, and any student who has to rely on secondary sources has very little to go by”.

According to Ampene (2011), the beginnings of the Guang people could be traced to the Black and White Volta basin in central Gonja, though, he has difficulty in establishing when the Guangs first started to inhabit the area in modern day Ghana. He illustrates that from other historical literature, the Guans are the “aborigines” of Ghana and in the lenses of linguistics and culture, the Nkonya people share a lot with the Gonja, Nchumuru, Kete Krachi, Afutu, Cherepon, Anum, Nkami and Larteh who live in different parts of Ghana. He, however, states that though these groups have the same roots and understand each other fairly well, there are still customs, norms and practices that differentiate one group from another (ibid).

A review of the various narratives of earlier researchers on the migration chronicles of the Nkonya people can be summed up in three narratives. Narrative One ascribes the origins of Nkonya people to somewhere in East Africa most especially, Kenya. This version is recorded in the works of Ampene (2011), Kumah (1966) and Nyinanse (1984). Narrative Two version traces the cradle of the Nkonya people to Nyenyanu which is located on the Sekum River near Cape Coast. This account is documented by Darko (1966) and Lilley (1925). Narrative Three points to Jadum in Asia as the ancestral home of the Nkonya people. This version is recorded by Akuamoah (2015) and Kumah (1966). However, inasmuch as there are clear-cut divergence in the three narratives,
there appear to be points of convergence. The narratives that trace the origins of Nkonya people to East Africa and Asia at a point mentioned that the Nkonya people migrated to the then Gold Coast and settled along the coast at an area between Cape Coast and Winneba before the coming of the Europeans.

There is a popular myth among the Nkonya people with particular reference to their migration history as recorded in the Narrative One (Ampene 2011; Gariba 2015; Nyinanse 1984). The myth says that the Nkonya people migrated from Nyansaland in East Africa in the 12th Century with the Gonja people as a result of a struggle between two princes over who had the right to the throne. It is said that one of them, Atu Tenten, (meaning the tall Atu), a warrior and a hunter wearied by the struggle, decided to leave with his followers who are today the Nkonya people or the Atu Ade, that is, Atu’s people. Thus, Atu Tenten became the mythical founding father or ancestor of the Nkonya.

The Narrative Three as documented by Akuamoah (2015) and Kumah (1966) also mention that the Nkonya people migrated from an area known as Jadum somewhere in Asia. Due to the incessant pressure from wars, the Nkonya people moved with the bulk of Guans to settle at a place in Kenya which they hardly remember under the leadership of Yaw Srosi. They further migrated to Guandia somewhere in the Old Ghana Empire. In the midst of series of wars, they further moved to Timbuktu and later to Bole. According to the oral account, these movements happened around the dawn of the 15th Century AD (ibid).

The Narrative Two as recorded by Lilley (1925) intimate that the Nkonya people who were a part of the Efutu division originally settled at Cape Coast. But, the Akan invasion in the area around the 17th century drove them eastwards and brought them to their present location after many years of sojourn (also see Ampene 2011; Gariba 2015:138; Nyinanse 1984:12). This position has been
supported by Darko (1966:5). He is of the view that from the 16th to 19th Centuries, the western and northern parts of Buem were inhabited by the Guan speaking people, Nkonya and the Akan speaking people (see Fig. 4.1). He further intimated that many settlers arrived from southern Gold Coast in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Among these were first, the Bowiri people who came from Mouri near Cape Coast who were eventually followed by the Nkonya people who came from Nyanyanu on the Sekum river near Senya Breku on the coast of Ghana (ibid:9). These narratives point to Nyanyanu in the Central Region of Ghana as the cradle of the Nkonya people. The tradition continues to state that while on the coast, the Nkonya people traded in salt with the inland people.

During the pre-Atlantic contact period, “Saltpond”, a leading market at that time was known as Akyemfo which is believed to be a corruption of three Nkonya words namely; Ayo meaning “we are going”, Kye meaning “see” and Mfole meaning “salt”. “We are going to see salt” which according to this version is the meaning of Akyemfo was an expression used by the Nkonya people for the inland people who came to the coast to trade. Later, “Akyemfo”, became the name of the salt market itself (Nyinanse 1984:12). However, due to the increasing demand for slaves by the Europeans on the coast, there occurred constant slave raids and the loss of Nkonya children who were either sold or exchanged for Danish guns. This caused instability among the Nkonya people on the coast. For example, a young princess was kidnapped and eventually sold into slavery. The sudden loss of the princess caused much anxiety among the royals. In their outcry, the royal family composed the song below:

“Okuipo desu no abi, Mosoaane metale tsia”.

This is translated as “the lamentation of our mothers has reached such a degree that we can no longer afford to stay” (Nyinanse 1984:13)
Owing to the pains from the loss of the princess and the quest to look for a dwelling place devoid of wars, the Nkonya people moved from the coast to settle at a place called Nyanpoase which was located north of Nyenyanu. They again moved to Nyanoase near modern-day Nsawam (Nyinanse 1984). But, in the narratives recorded by Kumah (1966:2), the Nkonya people from the coast, migrated to Senya Breku where they made contacts with the Europeans and intermarried with the natives they met. Following the contacts and intermarriages, they formed new settlements at Sekum (between Accra and Cape Coast).

According to Nana Nyansa (an informant) as documented by Kumah (1966:2) in Narrative Three, the Nkonya people were moved to Nyanoase under the direction of King Ansa Sasraku. The tradition further stated that the Nkonya people migrated with the Efutu and Breku people to wherever they went and settled with them. Nana Nyansa explained that the constant wars with the Portuguese, the Fante and the Ga were probably part of the reasons why the Nkonya people fled to Nyanoase which later, became the capital of the Akwamu Kingdom in present day Akuapim District.

The tradition maintains that following the establishment of the Nyanoase town, the inhabitants made lots of trading contacts at the coast especially with the white people who were believed to be Danes and Portuguese. The trade interactions made the Akwamu Kingdom very rich and powerful and later, afforded the Akwamu to control the coastal plains of Accra and the whole lands around and beyond Akuapim. Apparently, the sort of control which Ansa Sasraku exercised over the Coast coupled with an affair that an Nkonya man had with the wife of a renowned Accra-man, probably the Ga Mantse (chief of Accra), led to wars between the Akwamu and the Ga people. The Nkonya people were woefully defeated and this resulted in the death of Ansa Srasaku. According to the traditions, the eldest son of Ansa Sasraku, Nana Asiakwa I succeeded his father.
and led his people to settle at Larteh-Akuapim. The narrative revealed that the branch of the Nkonya people who moved with Asiakwa I to Larteh was the Wurupong people. The remaining factions settled at Asisieso (Kumah 1966:3).

The imperial moves of Asiakwa I to exercise dominion over the inhabitants around the Larteh area threatened the Eastern Akim (Abuakwa) and the Akuapim people. These two groups consequently joined forces and declared war against Asiakwa I and his Nkonya subjects. This war resulted in the general exodus of the Nkonya groups from Akuapim-Larteh and the Akwamu Kindom. It is recorded that the first two wars fought at Sekum and Nyanoase drove a number of the Guan ethnic groups towards the north with the exception of Nkonya and the Pai (Paiwurubi in Krachi) people. Subsequently, some of the Nkonya people and a branch of the Guan ethnic group moved out to settle at Blende near Liati in Amedzofe. Others also went to Atakpame in present day Republic of Togo.

A branch of the Nkonya people under Asafoatse Akpatasi of Wurubito (Ahenkro) crossed the Volta at Senchi (Fig. 4.2). When they arrived at the bank of the Volta River, a hunter attempted to cross the river, but as he made advances, the river got deeper. The people standing behind, fearing that he might drown called him to return or come back by saying, “Senchi” or “Sankyiba” (ibid). The chief priest therefore consulted Nana Sia (deity of Nkonya) who caused river turtles to appear in the Volta River on whose back the Wurubito people crossed the Volta. When they successfully crossed the Volta River, the Nkonya Ahenhro people came to the present-day Akwamufie where they settled shortly and later, moved to their present location. At Akwamufie, Nyinanse (1984:16) reveals that, according to the Ahenkro (Wurubito) tradition, their leader Akpatasi planted a sword at the site. The sword was regarded as a deity and was worshipped by the Akwamu people when they arrived at this place upon their defeat and escape across the Volta in 1730.
Another version of the Wurupong people contend that, upon the defeat of Nana Asiakwa I at Larteh-Akuapim, the Wurupong, Pai and Ntumda people migrated to northwards and kept to the west bank of the Volta River. They crossed the Afram River and settled between Kodiabe and Asabi in the Kwahu area. It is claimed by the Wurupong tradition that the area where they settled was unproductive hence, they again moved northwards. However, this version is challenged by other traditions recorded by Kumah (1966:4). The Nkonya people are believed to have interacted with the Kwahu people who made the Wurupong people their subjects and used them as warriors. Owing to this, the Wurupong therefore moved and settled at Pai-Wurupong Kwae (forest) within Obosom and Afram Plains. It was at this point that the Pai (a Guan group in Krachi) whose leader was Aponkoni and Wurupong (Guan in Nkonya) under Asiakwa I, parted company.

According to the Wurupong perspective, before Asiakwa I and Aponkoni could part company, a section of the Nkonya group had already crossed the Volta River and settled at a point close to their present site of settlement. Similarly, the Wurupong under the direction of Asiakwa I, probably as a result of the pressure exerted on them by the Kwahu people or the unproductive nature of the land they occupied, moved further north to Nkrofenan meaning “where are you passing or where did you pass”? Later, they decided to cross the Volta to the east bank. According to the account, the first person to cross the river was a man named Kotoku. He crossed the Volta with a forked stick on the back of the turtles. The rest of the Wurupong people crossed the river in the same manner to the east bank of the Volta to a place around Owarebour mountain. Exploration for suitable abode by hunters led by the chief hunter Akpoa, revealed that the areas around the hill were suitable for settlement. However, when the Wurupong arrived, the area was not as empty as they expected. They met people who lived on the hill top. To the Wurupong, the people they met on the hill top had a strange language which was unintelligible to them. The Wurupong people
referred to the hilltop settlers as Adjantufo, Atutundjafo, Alilofo, Akpafo and Akentinafo (ibid:5; The Spectator 2014). Subsequently, the Wurupong people waged war on them, defeated and drove the indigenes from the hills. It is mentioned that the war was fought with stones and guns at the autochthones capital town of Owarebour. Following the defeat of the indigenes, the leader of the aborigines Oware, was slain by the Wurupong warriors who, according to tradition, preserved his skull of on their native drum (Kumah 1966:5). Nana Asiakwa I sent messages to the rest of the Nkonya people who were under Asafoatse Akpatasi in the neighbourhood of Kpando to help in the attack on the Nkebu hill top people. Akpatasi joined forces with the Wurupong and defeated the Nkebu on the hill. Most of the captives, according to tradition, were absorbed into the Nkonya State and the women got married to the Wurupong men (Kumah 1966).

Fig. 4.1. Migration route of the Nkonya people (Source: Darko 1966).
Fig. 4.2. Artistic impression of how the Nkonya people are believed to have crossed the Volta river (Source: Project Photo 2018).

4.1.3. Linguistics Perspective

According to Goody (1963), the distribution of the Guan languages suggests movement of the ethnic group between north and south. He further posited that the area roughly between Krakye and Salaga was likely "the main area of concentration" of the Guan languages. In the views of Kropp-Dakubu (2006), the Guan people migrated down the Volta from the Gonja area to the coast around 1200 AD. In that regard, Nkonya is considered as North Guan together with Gonja and other languages to the north (Snider 1989). Contrarily, evidence from Nkami, a closely related variety of Nkonya language shows that Nkonya is in fact, a South Guan language (Peacock 2007). Supporting this, Heine (1968) argues that the Nkonya moved eastwards with the Akwamu from
Nyanoase in the 1st half of the 15th century, and then moved northwards after the founding of Akwamufie. In the view of Kropp-Dakubu (2006), the Nkonya people arrived in the Wurupong area circa 1730.

4.1.4. Political Structure

Nkonya Wurupong and all other Nkonya communities are governmentally managed by the Biakoye District Assembly in the Volta Region. (Ghana Statistical Service 2014; Biakoye District Assembly Report 2007). At the pinnacle of the politico-traditional hierarchy, the duties (that is, traditional management of the community) were performed not by a chief but by “old men and politico-religious leaders who operated without stools” (Amenumey 2011; Gariba 2015:46; Nyinanse 1984:74). One of such persons was the High Priest of the indigenous deity Nana Sia. This Priest of the traditional religion could be compared to a paramount chief today. Beneath the High Priest was the eldest surviving male of the clan who is responsible for the maintenance of law, order and peace (Nyinanse 1984). It is important to mention that the Nkonya throne is a large leather cushion filled with sacred objects, valuable jewelries and charms. This precolonial leather throne, has been transformed into a wooden stool with hollow mid-space to contain sacred objects. The conversion of the leather throne was done by King Lawu Gbomgbo (one of the earliest Kings of Nkonya), whose royal appellation was Kpɔŋkɔŋ, signifying greatness (Nyinanse 1984; PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). This exposition was confirmed on the field during my interviews with traditional authorities.

According to Gavua (2000) and Nyinanse (1984) (cited in Gariba 2015:47), the encounter of the Nkonya with the Asante in the 18th Century transformed their traditional political system and led to the adoption of the symbol of the sacred stool and the idea of chiefs, (ahenfo or ohene) which is central to the Akan (Akwamu, Akim, Kwahu and Asante) political systems. This process of
transformation and adoption of Akan cultural traits is referred to as *Akanisation* by Nyinanse (1984:68) and Gariba (2015:47). Three possible reasons must have adduced for the adoption and formation of a formidable political structure in the Nkonya traditional set-up (Gariba 2015). According to Gariba, by that time, the religious-secular role of the high priest and his council had become obsolete and was no longer capable of uniting the people. Secondly, the numerous attacks from the Akans pushed the Nkonya people to introduce a new form of leadership and a strong army, especially to withstand the frequent attacks from the Asante and Akwamu. Again, there was a need for a new form of leadership to fight against the prevailing command of the British colonial powers that attempted to influence the local political organisation in the area (Gold Coast) around the 18th century.

It was ethnographically observed that Nkonya Wurupong is governed by a traditional authority or set-up with the Omanhene (King) and Omanhemaa (Queen mother) at the pinnacle. They are referred to by their stool names as Nana Asiakwa II and Nana Afua Kobri II respectively. Nkonya Wurupong shares traditional paramountcy with Nkonya Ahenkro which previously had the sole recognition of supremacy. The Omanhene is subordinated by the Kurotihene or Mankrado who in turn, is followed in command by the right (Nifahene) and left-wing (Benkumhene) chiefs respectively. Below these positions is the Adontenhene. The Adontenhene is also followed by the Akwamuhene and Gyaasehene. Abontendonhene, Twafo and Kyidomhene follow respectively, in order of command (see Fig. 4.3). The Queen mother has a similar structure of sub-queens. Though somehow similar to the traditional structure of Akans, it must be said that there appears to be modifications in the hierarchy of Wurupong people as compared to that of the Akans. Beyond these, clan heads play pivotal role in the governance of Wurupong traditional area. Enactment of customary laws, community prohibitions, among others are discussed and agreed upon by elders
of the community before they are publicly announced to the whole community. Issues relating to women and children are chiefly spearheaded by the Queen mother and her sub queens.

Fig. 4.3. Diagrammatic representation of the traditional hierarchy of Nkonya Wurupong.
4.1.5. Religious Belief Systems

In Nkonya Wurrupong community, there are three (3) main forms of religion. They include Indigenous African Religion, Christianity and Islam. The Indigenous African Traditional Religion is the primarily faith of worship among the people of Nkonya Wurupong. The greatest of the deities they worship in the community is Nana Sia which is housed in the Wurupong community. All Nkonya communities, since precolonial times, have a strong belief in the Priest of Nana Sia. Nana Sia is said to grant victory during war, bless childless couples with children and grant other blessings (Gariba 2015:143). Symbolically, the deity is represented by a set of three drums. The biggest drum represents Nana Sia (male), the bigger drum represents Lakpa (a goddess) which according to oral tradition, was left behind at Labadi during their migration, and the smallest drum represents the offspring of the two spirits.

According to oral accounts, Nana Sia spiritually possesses only males in the community and chooses his Priest to serve as intermediary between him and the community. However, in the absence of a divinely chosen person from Nana Sia, the chief and other community elders unanimously select someone to communicate with Nana Sia temporarily until a substantive one is possessed by the deity. In addition, there are other deities in the Wurupong community. Among them are Bediako, Nyinke, Mframamfa, Dente, Kuntunbi, Api and Kompi. Women normally serve as priestesses to these deities.

Another form of religion that is conspicuously expressed in the Wurupong community is Christianity. Christianity is believed to have been introduced into the community by the Germans. Eventually, several denominational churches have sprung up in the community (Fig. 4.4a&b), with the prominent ones being Roman Catholic and Evangelical Presbyterian churches. Apart from
spreading the gospel, these institutions have also put up academic structures (schools) which equip the school going children with the requisite knowledge and skills.

Fig. 4.4a. St. John Vianney Catholic Church at Nkonya Wurupong
(Photo by Author 2017).

Fig. 4.4b. Rev. Peter Hall Presbyterian Church at Nkonya Wurupong
(Photo by Author 2017).

The Islamic faith has low patronage since the adherents of the religion are few. The Islamic religion (Fig. 4.5) is believed to have been brought into the community by migrants or workers from the
north who came and worked on farms in the community. According to my informants, majority of the Muslims who came from foreign countries left the community during the *Aliens’ Compliance Order* during K. A. Busia regime in the early 1970s. A fact worth noting is that there are syncretic practices in all the religions. This is where two or more forms of religions are practised concurrently by individuals in a community. In Wurupong community, some members go to church to pray and worship God but also pour libation (pray) to the deities like how it is done by worshippers of the Indigenous Traditional Religion. Those who practise Islam also adhere to some customary practices in the community.

![Islamic mosque at Nkonya Wurupong](Photo by Author 2017)

**Fig. 4.5. Islamic mosque at Nkonya Wurupong (Photo by Author 2017).**

4.1.6. *Organization of the Wurupong Community and its Clan (Woi) System*

The Wurupong community is culturally sectioned into three suburbs namely Omanti, Ososo and Osaase. However, there are two settlements which are not traditionally recognised by the Wurupong traditional community. These are the Zongo community made up of immigrants from
th north and the Resettlement Quarters made up of families relocated to the area by the Volta River Authority as a result of the inundation of the Volta Lake in the 1960s (Fig. 4.6).

There are fifteen (15) clans in the community although, some of the clans are contested by some members of the community. The clans are distributed in the surburbs. The Omanti suburb, located at the southern part of the town comprises clans such as Otibo – Ase, Owusu – Ase, Osafo – Ase, Akele – Woi, Atuade and Lank a Woi. At the western end is Osaase suburb and it consists of clans like Kpempie-Woi, Dehe-Woi, Awiebi, Nkentia and Okpayiase. The Ososo suburb located at the
eastern portion of the community is home to the *Katse-Ase, Oprau-Ase and Akyeremade* clans. At the northwest quadrant is the *Quarters* settlement which is made up of diverse groups of resettled communities. The *Zongo* community located in the northeastern end of the town is inhabited by Muslims.

Table 4.1 showcases the various clans and their respective totems. It must be stated that totems are of no importance to some of the people as they could not identify their clan totem(s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN (<em>WOI</em>)</th>
<th>TOTEM (S)</th>
<th>LOCATION IN WURUPONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Otibo-Ase</td>
<td>A pot on a hearth with the head of a ram on it.</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Owusu-Ase</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Osafo-Ase</td>
<td>Egg in the hand of a man.</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Akelɛ</td>
<td>Snake, woman with a bowl on her head and followed by a man with a gun on his shoulders and cutlass in his hand.</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Atuade</td>
<td>Cock</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lanka</td>
<td>Earthenware, Pot and Ladle.</td>
<td>Omanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Katse-Ase</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Ososo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Oprau-Ase</td>
<td>A pot on a hearth with the head of a ram on it.</td>
<td>Ososo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Akyerɛmade  Drum (Atumpan)  Ososo  Eastern part
10. Kpempie  Palanquin  Osaase  Western part
11. Dehe  Turtle  Osaase  Western part
12. Awiebi/Awiobi  Unknown  Osaase  Western part
13. Nkantia/Nkentia  Tortoise with an eagle on it  Osaase  Western part
14. Okpayi-Ase  Unknown  Osaase  Western part

From the above table, it appears that majority (n=6) of the clans are settled at the southern quadrant of the town. This is followed by clans (n=5) that are located at the Western part and clans (n=3) found at the Eastern end of the town.

According to the oral accounts, Otibo-Ase, Oprau-Ase and Agyadu-Ase are the royal clans in the community. Some members of the community have concerns about the Agyadu-Ase clan. They voiced out that it is a recent creation out of sheer politicking. It must be stated that there are basically two gates to the throne (that is, the Otibo gate and Oprau-Ase gate). Hence, chiefship or kingship rotates between them. The royal clans are together called Sunsua. Their totemic symbol is a pot on fire (hearth) with the head of a ram on it (pot). It is literally interpreted that whenever the parts of a meat are cooked together in a pot, one will obviously see the head. Proverbially, when different groups of people, clans or parties come together, there shall always be a ‘head’ or ‘the head will always be seen’. Moreover, it must be noted that only members of the royal clan enjoy the luxury of playing the biggest drum of Nana Sia. In brief, the Sunsua clan is the head of the town from which the Ṣmanhene (King) and Ṣmanhema (Queen) are selected.
It is of essence to state that some of the clans in Wurupong community have specific roles that they play in the traditional set-up. For instance, the *Dehe* clan has the turtle (*Lembu*) that represents the totemic symbol of all Nkonya towns. This is because the chief Priest (Atampo) who caused the turtles to appear in the Volta River to enable them to cross is from this clan. Hence, they are the custodians of the Nana Sia deity. In Wurupong community, this clan is believed to provide spiritual guidance to the chief and the entire community at large. Another clan with a special role in the Wurupong community is the *Lanka* clan. The clan has earthenware, pot and ladle as its totemic symbols. Clan members are believed to be the solely mandated people in the community to prepare “the special food” (porridge made of milled brown rice and goat meat) for Nana Sia during the Sia festival celebration.

4.1.7. Forbidden Acts (Taboos)

Just as there are rules and regulations or laws that regulate the actions and inactions of people in every human institution, so it is in the Wurupong community. There are cultural prohibitions (taboos) that prescribe the practices of the town. There are several taboos in Wurupong community. One of which is that circumcised men are not allowed to go near or enter the enclave of Nana Sia. It is a taboo for an albino to enter Wurupong community or go near Nana Sia (Nyinanse 1984; PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). In the past, albinos were used as ‘sacrificial lambs’ for Nana Sia but this practice has died out now. It is also an abominable act for anyone to carry a bundle of firewood home from the farm. It is a forbidden act for a chief to marry a widow in the Wurupong community. Furthermore, it is a taboo for anyone to carry a bunch of plantain and banana or a whole bunch of palm kernel to the town from the farm without dismembering the kernels first. It is also a taboo for a menstruating woman to enter the house of a chief, a traditional priest or an elder of the community (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). Finally, it is unacceptable for anyone from the Wurupong
community to till the land on a tabooed day which is Poε. The tabooed day can fall on any day depending on the traditional calendar of the Wurupong people.

3.1.8. Traditional Festivals (Nkε)

The Nkonya Wurupong people have three (3) main ceremonial festivals. They include the Yam, Sankyiba and Sia festivals (Ghana Statistical Service 2014; Kumah 1966; Nyinanse 1984). The Sia festival is a special festival celebrated by all the Nkonya communities. According to oral accounts, the festival is celebrated only in the Wurupong community to give thanks, pacify and to make request to Nana Sia. Nana Sia (deity) is believed to have led and offered great assistance to the people of Nkonya in the past during the ‘tribal’ wars. It also provided babies to unproductive couples among others (Gariba 2015:143).

The festival is celebrated to pay homage, renew spiritual protection or guidance and to make request among others. The reason for its celebration in only Wurupong community is that, according to traditions, the Wurupong community being the largest of all the Nkonya towns were the first people to settle in their present territory. As the custodians of Nana Sia, they are considered as the leaders of the Nkonya communities.

The oral accounts intimate that for about four decades or more, the Sia festival has not been celebrated. This is attributed to the inability of the Nkonya people to fulfill a key component of the celebration which requires an albino human sacrifice (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). Due to modernity and civilisation, Christianity and human rights activism among others, this aspect of the celebration cannot be observed hence, a halt in its celebration. According to oral accounts, during its celebration in the past, all chiefs, traditional rulers, community elders and some selected people from each respective Nkonya town come to Wurupong to offer special prayers to Nana Sia for his
heroic achievements for the Nkonya state. During the celebration, a pot of palm wine and a goat is offered to Nana Sia and community elders are prohibited from leaving the Wurupong town (Kumah 1966).

The Yam festival (Ejogyi Nke) is celebrated by the people of Nkonya Wurupong to mark the beginning of the traditional calendar year. Apart from marking the dawn of the traditional year, the Yam festival is celebrated because yam is a major crop that thrives well on the land and provides the people with bumper harvests. Archival data from PRAAD (CSO/21/20/91), indicate that yam was one of the major native food crops in addition to rice, maize, millet, guinea corn and ground nuts. Yam has been used by the ancestors of Nkonya Wurupong since time immemorial and presently, it is eaten and used for sacrifices to deities. The Wurupong people are predominantly farmers who believe, it is expedient to thank the deities for bumper harvests.

The Yam festival is annually celebrated from August to October. It is weekly observed on a six-day cycle which commends on a tabooed day (Poԑ). It must be mentioned that the Wurupong community as it is, has a six-day weekly calendar starting with Poԑ. The Poԑ is followed by Poԑ-Dekeiyike, Yinke, Kluԑ, Kluԑ-Dekeiyike and lastly by ̈deke-Trake which marks the end of the six-day weekly calendar. For example, if the Poԑ falls on Monday, Poԑ-Dekeiyike will fall on Sunday and that order until the sixth day. In preparation for the Yam festival celebration, members of the community with esoteric knowledge calculate the days in such a way that the first day for its celebration will always fall on Poԑ.

The first group of people to celebrate the Yam festival upon its commencement on the Poԑ are twins in the Wurupong community. The priestesses of the community celebrate theirs after the twins. Next in line are the Gyaasehene, the Akwamuhene and the Abontendonhene, the Adontehene and the Nifahene divisions. Bԑnkumhene and Kyidomhene divisions and the chief of
Burbulla division (who is the linguist of the Omanhene) celebrate their as well. The climax of the celebration is done by the Omanhene division. It is important to state that the day of birth of the first chief of each stool is named after the stool and that accounts for the reason why the celebrations are held on specific days after the Poe.

### 4.1.9. Economic Engagements

An assessment of some archival and documented records have revealed that the Nkonya people including the people of Wurupong, in the past, smelted iron on the hills. They manufactured cutlery, spears, arrow points, hoes, mattocks, knives, axes, hand hooks, needles and gong-gong bells. The women also dug clay and made pots, frying pans, dishes and water jugs. The men also grew calabash plants and made mats from a plant called *fimfe* (*Pandanus*) (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). They engaged in leather works, wood carving and the production of cotton for clothes. In addition, the Nkonya people are believed to have grown tobacco and made clay-pipes for smoking and traded in talisman and amulets (Nyinanse 1984:48-50). The artists among them made bracelets, foot rings from ivory among others. Currently, the inhabitants of Nkonya Wurupong are predominantly farmers (Fig. 4.7) (Biakoye District Assembly Report 2007; Ghana Statistical Service 2014; Midodzi 2013; Nyinanse 1984). They grow cocoa, maize, plantain, cocoyam, cassava, avocado and oranges. In addition, they rear livestock or breed fish, hunt game and tap palm wine from palm tress for sale or family consumption. Trading, teaching and taxi (trotro) and motorcycle (*okada*) riding serve as extra economic engagements.
4.1.10. Waste Disposal

Waste disposal refers to the collection, processing, recycling or deposition of the waste materials of human society (http://www.britannica.com). The term “waste” includes both solid wastes (refuse or garbage) and sewage (wastewater). Through my ethnographic study in the Wurupong community, it was realized that the forms of waste the indigenes make could be categorized into solid and liquid forms. The waste identified in the community included broken pieces of pots, bottles, collapsed buildings, weeds, plastics, faecal products, used bath water, food remains among
others. The most commonly found ones are the tangible waste. Solid wastes are usually put in containers at homes of individuals and later discarded at a designated place in the community either in the morning or evening by young girls or women. According to the elders, it is a taboo to discard waste products at the designated place of the community in the afternoon. On the other hand, liquid wastes, with the exception of faecal matter, are disposed off at the backyard of houses or poured into canals or gutters to be drained away.

One crucial waste which was of interest to the researcher was how dead bodies were discarded. This is because, entombment of deceased bodies in the Ghanaian environment is characterized by diverse forms of cultural values of particular communities which are very important to the study of archaeology. According to traditions, except for royals who were buried in their homes and at unknown places, the ordinary people or commoners were all buried at a cemetery located at the outskirt of the Wurupong community. In the past, deceased chiefs were wrapped and buried with a *fimfe* (*Pendanus*) mat in the absence of modern coffins.

In addition, when a chief died, the body was interrogated or queried to establish the cause of his death. This was done by carrying the corpse through the main streets of the town accompanied by elders of the community. When the dead body was queried and it happened that someone killed him, he would point or indicate the killer out to the people and elders. On the demise of a paramount chief, no funeral rites of the community are held at the durbar grounds until the dead chief has been given a befitting funeral and burial.

All these cultural practices have been transformed with the inception of Christianity and modernity. In modern times, the royal clans have their respective burial sites. In addition, the various denominational (Roman Catholic, Presbyterian among others) churches have exclusive
cemeteries. Traditionalists also have their designated burial sites. It must be stated that all modern interments are done with sophisticated coffins and some grave goods.
CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK AT NKONYA WURUPONG

5.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the archaeological excavations conducted at the sites of the German colonial Rest-house and the Api-Tor mountain at Nkonya Wurupong. It also presents a study of the architectural remains at the site (Rest-house site) and a general summary of the recovered artefacts from both sites.

5.1. Archaeology of the German Colonial Rest-House

Before excavation work began, my crew and I carried out a reconnaissance survey of the German Colonial Rest-house site and collected some surface cultural materials such as local potsherds, plastic beads, imported ceramics and European bottles. We also cleared and prepared the site for excavation work (Fig. 5.1). Apparently, the site had been culturally disturbed. The remnants (sand, clay, stones) of the collapsed German rest-house had been collected or dug out for other secondary uses. Hence, locating a place to excavate was difficult. Owing to this, we exposed the foundation walls of the rest house to establish the full layout of the building. The two horizontal foundational walls (layouts) oriented to the north-south direction were exposed (Fig. 5.2).

A partial foundational wall (forming the porch of the building) joining the two horizontal foundations was also exposed. We assembled some of the disjointed stones on top of the exposed foundation as a way of partially reconstructing the foundation of the Rest-house. The remains of the staircase leading into the Rest-house and a man-hole (possibly, a water reservoir or cistern) were revealed. The coordinates of the location of the German colonial rest house in the Nkonya
Wurupong community is 7° 10.582’ N and 000° 20.186’ E. The site has an elevation of 177 metres above sea level. In addition, the site has remnants of mango and teak trees. A characteristic feature of most of the German administrative sites in Togoland is the planting of fruit trees and teak to provide shade.

Fig. 5.1. Photo showing the clearing of the Rest-house site for archaeological work (Photo by Bright 2017).

Fig. 5.2. German rest-house site after exposure of foundational walls (Photo by Bright 2017).
5.2. Test-Pit Excavation

Excavation is the systematic and controlled digging of material culture lying on or below the surface through the use of various tools (Barker 1993). After exposing the foundation of the German Colonial Rest-house, a test pit was excavated at an abandoned dumping site near the colonial Rest-house (see Fig. 5.3 to 5.6 and Table 5.1 to 5.2). The excavation was carried out using an arbitrary level of 20 cm intervals. The coordinates of the test pit are 7°10.585’ N and 000° 20.192’ E and it is about 184 metres above sea level.

The Test-pit measuring 1m by 1m in dimension was excavated from the surface to a sterile level of 80 cm below datum. Artefactual materials like bottles, potsherds, beads and bones were collected from the surface. Glass object and bones were retrieved from Level One (1). Level two (2) contained metals, bones, imported ceramics, glass objects, daub and snail shells. Only metals were excavated from Level three. No cultural material was recovered at Level four.

It is important to note that though the excavation was done using an arbitrary level of 20cm, the levels matched the three cultural layers (exclusive of sterile level) of the Test Pit. Notably, the soil structure of the layers of the Test Pit was sandy loose to the extent that whenever I attempted to trim the protruding plastics and rubbish in the walls as depicted in (Fig. 5.5), the soil kept caving in. As a result, I decided to leave the plastics in the walls of the stratigraphy. The soil colours were determined by using Munsell Soil Colour Chart. Two wall profiles (north and west) of the test pit were drawn.

Layer one of the test-pit had dark brown (7.5YR3/4) humus soil with materials such as glass objects and bones. The layer had a loose soil structure with countless rootlets. The layer was conflated with plastic and rubbish constituents. At Layer two (2), the soil colour was dark reddish
brown (5YR3/3) moist clay and sandy soil with cultural materials. The cultural materials included glass objects, metals, imported ceramics and adobe. Bones and molluscs were excavated from this layer.

Layer three (3) was characterized by dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) moist sandy silty soil with metallic and other cultural materials. Layer three (3) had a slightly compact soil structure with a few rootlets. Layer four (4) was the sterile level and had no artefactual materials. It was characterised by dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) compact lateritic soil.

Fig. 5.3. Surface of the Test Pit before excavation (Photo by author 2017).
Fig. 5.4. Test-Pit Excavation in Progress (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 5.5. Sterile level of the Test Pit (Photo by author 2017).
Fig. 5.6a. Test Pit North wall profile

Fig. 5.6b. Test Pit West wall profile
Table 5.1. Summary of Surface Collected Remains from the Rest-House Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FINDS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POTTERY</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLASTIC BEAD</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLASS OBJECT</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAUNA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPORTED CERAMICS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2. Summary of Excavated Materials from the Rest-House Test-Pit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL (CM)</th>
<th>POTTERY</th>
<th>GLASS OBJECT</th>
<th>FAUNA</th>
<th>METAL OBJECT</th>
<th>IMPORTED CERAMICS</th>
<th>ADOBE/DAUB</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3. Archaeological Features

A number of archaeological features were identified at the old German site. These would potentially serve to enhance our understanding of the interactions that transpired on the site in the past. They include the Rest-House foundation which was built with basically adobe, rocky stones and concrete. A water storage tank, mango and teak trees and an abandoned Roman Catholic Mission House (see Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 5.7) were also identified on the site. The existence of these cultural vestiges in Nkonya Wurupong confirm the presence of Germans in the Wurupong community.
5.4. Archaeology of the Api-Tor Site of Wurupong

As part of the aims of the study, it was expedient for me to excavate one of the ancient settlement sites of the people of Nkonya Wurupong. The site chosen was the Api-Tor mountain site. At the Api-Tor site, three (3) trenches, each measuring 1m by 2m, were excavated. An arbitrary level of 20 cm intervals was used during the excavations.

5.4.1. Trench One Excavation

Reconnaissance survey and surface collections were conducted on the site before the excavations were carried out. Cultural materials like local pottery and a locally manufactured smoking pipes were collected from the surface.

Trench One (Fig. 5.8 to 5.11 and Table 5.3 to 5.4) was excavated at a location (7˚ 11ʹ 42ˮ N and 0˚ 21ʹ 10ˮ E) on the mountain slope with an elevation of 342 metres above sea level. The trench was excavated from the surface to a sterile level of 60 cm. However, since we excavated on a
mountain with a steep gradient, the trench had a depth of 110 cm when measured from the datum point to the sterile level and had three (3) arbitrary levels. Level one revealed local pottery and a bone fragment. At both levels two and three, fragment of smoking pipe, local pottery and charcoal samples were recovered. The north and west wall profiles were drawn. The north wall profile of trench one comprised four occupational layers (exclusive of the sterile level).

Layer one was characterized by black (7.5YR2.5/1) loose humus soil with rootlets. It had a loose soil structure and moist soil texture. The layer contained cultural materials. Layer two had dark brown (7.5YR3/3) soil mixed with cultural materials. The soil structure of this cultural layer was slightly compact. It also contained gravels with moist and sticky texture. Layer three was characterized by yellowish red (5YR4/6) soil containing cultural materials. The layer had compact soil structure and sticky soil texture. The layer had appreciable amount of gravels in its structure. It was also moist and clayey. Layer four consisted of reddish brown (5YR4/4) soil with gravels and cultural materials. The layer had a very compact soil structure and moist texture. Layer five composed of reddish brown (5YR4/4) soil. It contained no cultural materials and the layer was extremely compact.
Fig. 5.8. Surface of Trench One before excavation (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 5.9. Trench One excavation in progress (Photo by author 2017).
Fig. 5.10. Sterile level of Trench One (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 5.11a. North wall profile of Trench One.
Fig. 5.11b. West wall profile of Trench One

Table 5.3. Surface Collections from the Api-Tor Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTEFACTS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL POTTERY</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAY SMOKING PIPE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>279</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4. Finds from Trench 1 (Api-Tor Site)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL (CM)</th>
<th>POTTERY</th>
<th>BONE</th>
<th>LOCAL SMOKING PIPE</th>
<th>CHARCOAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>511</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>518</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four (4) charcoal samples were retrieved from levels 2 and 3 of Trench 1.
5.4.2. Trench Two Excavation

Trench Two was excavated at a location (7° 11′42” N and 0° 21′10” E) with an elevation of 348 metres above sea level (Fig. 5.12 to 5.15 and Table 5.5). The site had a steep gradient and the soil texture was moist and clayey. Using an arbitrary interval of 20 cm, this Trench was dug from the surface until the sterile level was reached at 70 cm. Because of the slope, the trench reached a sterile level of 150 cm measuring from the datum corner to the slopy wall. Trench two had four arbitrary levels. Local pottery and a grinding stone (quern) were the only cultural materials excavated from these levels. The south wall profile and its characteristics are discussed below;

The trench had three occupational layers aside the top soil. The top soil was black humus (7.5YR2.5/1). It was moist, loose and contained rootlets. It however had fine loamy texture. Layer one had brown (7.5YR4/2) loose humus soil and contained cultural materials. The silt loamy soil had a moist and rough texture. Layer two was characterized by dark brown (7.5YR3/2) soil with cultural materials. The silt loamy soil was moist, contained gravels and few rootlets. Layer three had a moist siltly loam soil texture and compact structure. It contained gravels and had reddish brown (5YR4/4) colouration. It also contained cultural materials. Layer Four (sterile level) of Trench two contained gravels. It was compact and moist. The soil of this layer was yellowish red (5YR4/6). No cultural material was excavated from this layer.
Fig. 5.12. Surface of Trench Two before excavation (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 5.13. Excavation of Trench Two in progress (Photo by Prince 2017).
Fig. 5.14. Sterile level of Trench Two (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 4.15a. South wall profile of Trench Two
Fig. 5.15b. West wall profile of Trench Two

Table 5.5. Finds from Trench 2 of Api-Tor Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL (CM)</th>
<th>POTTERY</th>
<th>STONE/QUERN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3. Trench Three Excavation

Trench Three was also excavated at a location (7° 11.697’ N and 0° 21.176’ E) of about 357 meters above sea level. This trench was excavated using an arbitrary level of 20 cm intervals from the
surface to a sterile level of 120 cm. However, due to the slope of the land, the depth of the trench was 150 cm when measured from the datum point to the northern end of the trench. This Trench consisted of seven levels. At Level one, cultural materials consisting of only local pottery were recovered. Fragments of locally manufactured smoking pipes and local pottery were retrieved from Level two. Local pottery was collected from Levels three and four. Also, charcoal samples were collected from Level four. Level five contained local pottery, charcoal samples and grinding stones (querns). Level six was characterised by local pottery and charcoal samples. Level Seven contained no cultural materials. It must be stated that Trench three consisted of three cultural layers. The east and west wall profiles were drawn but only the east wall profile is discussed here since they were similar.

Layer one consisted of loose black (7.5YR2.5/1) fine textured loamy soil with cultural materials. The soil was moist and contained rootlets. Layer two of this trench had dark brown (7.5YR3/2) coarse gravelly soil and it contained cultural materials. The soil was loose and moist and contained roots and rootlets. Layer three of the trench consisted of brown (7.5YR4/3) soil and cultural materials. The soil structure was slightly compact with larger roots. The soil was moist and contained huge gravels. Layer four (sterile level) of the trench was typified by red (2.5YR4/6) soil which contained no cultural material. The layer was very compact, contained gravels and small rocks with few rootlets. Figures 5.16 to 5.19 show Trench three (3). Table 5.6 shows the distribution of finds from Trench three (3). A total of six (6) charcoal samples were collected from levels 3, 4 and 5 of the trench.
Fig. 5.16. Surface of Trench Three before excavation (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 5.17. Excavation of Trench Two in progress (Photo by author 2017).
Fig. 5.18. Sterile level of Trench Three (Photo by author 2017).

Fig. 4.19a. East wall profile of Trench Three
Fig. 4.19b. South wall profile of Trench Three

Table 5.6. Finds from Trench 3 of the Api-Tor Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL (CM)</th>
<th>POTTERY</th>
<th>BONE</th>
<th>METAL OBJECT</th>
<th>LOCAL SMOKING PIPE</th>
<th>STONE/QUERN</th>
<th>CHARCOAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-120</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER SIX

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF EXCAVATED ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sub-sections. The first sub-section concerns itself with the analysis of the cultural assemblage unearthed from the German Colonial Rest-House site. The second sub-section discusses the recovered materials from the Api-Tor site of Nkonya Wurupong. A total of three thousand, four hundred and eighty-nine (3,489) artefacts and ecofacts were recovered from the excavations (see Table 6.1). Basic classification of discovered materials commenced on the site. Post excavation classification and analyses were done in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies laboratory. The analysis proceeded with basic classification of the artefacts into locally manufactured pottery, imported ceramics, glass objects, metal objects, faunal remains, beads, locally manufactured smoking pipes, adobe/daub and querns.

A total of three thousand, three hundred and ninety-two (3,392) locally manufactured pottery fragments were recovered. Three thousand, three hundred and seventy-eight local pottery (3,378) were excavated at the Api-Tor site whereas fourteen (14) were retrieved from the German Colonial Rest-House. The local pottery was further broadly categorized into non-micaceous (Ware 1) and micaceous (Ware 2) wares. The Ware 1 constituted (n=3,196) and Ware 2 accounted for (n=196).

Table 6.1. Summary of Total Finds from the Excavations and Surface collections (Api-Tor and Rest-House site)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTEFACT CATEGORY</th>
<th>COUNTS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGES (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local pottery</td>
<td>3,392</td>
<td>97.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imported ceramics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottle/Glass</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Smoking Pipe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Querns/Stones</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adobe/Daub</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,479</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be mentioned that ten (10) charcoal samples were collected from the excavations at the Api-Tor site of Nkonya Wurupong.

**6.1. Analysis of Excavated Materials (artefacts and ecofacts) from the German Colonial Rest-House site**

Several archaeological materials were retrieved from the Rest-House test pit. They included locally manufactured pottery, metallic objects, imported ceramics, glass objects, beads, daub, fauna (snail shells and bones) (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2 in chapter five).

**6.1.1. Local Pottery from the Rest-House Test Pit**

The ultimate aim of the analysis of the local pottery finds was to identify their types and characteristics so as to ascertain their cultural and historical significance. The analysis was also intended to shed light on the relationship between pottery from other contact sites, trade networks and interactions between the studied community and other areas in Ghana. To achieve the above aims, the following characteristics were examined: vessel parts, sizes and thickness, vessel fabric and temper, surface finishing and types of decoration as well as vessel forms and shapes.
A total of fourteen (14) local pottery were retrieved from the rest-house test pit (Table 6.2). They included rims (n=7) and neck (n=1). In addition, four (4) body and two (2) base sherds formed part of the local pottery finds. The table below is the overall pottery parts recovered from the Rest-House test pit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Parts</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carination</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.1.2. Pottery Fabric Characteristics (Temper and texture)

The fabric of a pottery can be explained as the paste of the clay and tempering elements used in making the clay vessels. Critical attention was geared towards the temper of the sherds as they form a crucial analytical components of the potsherds under examination. In the view of Shepard (1956:25), tempering elements can be mixed with the fabric with the intent to mitigating shrinkage, enhancing workability and help in the firing and drying processes. Temper is any material (be it natural or artificial) added to clay before firing to improve the quality of the ceramic vessel. Natural tempers include geological materials such as rock fragments (laterites), sand and silt among others, whereas artificial tempers are manufactured materials originally intended for other uses or consciously prepared as fabric additives. An example of artificial tempers is crushed potsherds (grog).
Two main surface texture were identified on the pottery collected at the Rest-House site (Table 6.3). They were pottery with coarse texture and those with fine-grained texture. Out of the overall fourteen (14) pottery recovered, thirteen (13) sherds had fine-grained texture and one (1) sherd had coarse texture. There were also tempering agents visible in the paste of the pottery. They included laterite in the paste of nine (9) sherds of the total recovered pottery. Two (2) sherds had particles of sand in their paste and three (3) sherds had grog in their paste.

Table 6.3. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Surface Collection (Rest-House site)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Surface Texture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Temper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Fine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface collection</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.3. Pottery Surface Finish Characteristics (Surface Colour and Surface Treatment)

Two main colours were established on the pottery (Table 6.4). They included blackish and reddish fabric colours. Nine (9) pottery of the total fourteen (14) pottery were black in colour. The remaining five (5) pottery were greyish in colour.

Four (4) main surface treatments were identified on the pottery. They consisted of one (1) red slipped undecorated (SU) pottery. Four (4) rim sherds were burnished decorated (BD). Five (5) sherds had unburnished undecorated (UU) surface finish. Four (4) pottery finds were smudged (SM).

Table 6.4. Pottery Surface Colour and Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Surface colour</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Surface treatment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>SU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German site</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.4. Analysis of Decorations on Pottery

The pottery from this site were classified into decorated and undecorated pottery. There were eight (8) decorated pottery and six (6) undecorated pottery. Two decorative motifs were depicted on the pottery recovered. They consisted grooves and incisions (Table 6.5). The groove motifs were six (6) in number and the incised motifs were two (2) in number.

| Percentage % | - | 64.3 | 36.0 | 100 | 7.1 | 28.6 | - | - | 35.7 | - | - | 28.6 | 100 |

Table 6.5. Analysis of Decorations on Pottery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Decorative Motif</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grooves</td>
<td>Incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface Collection</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.5. Vessel Forms from Rest-House Site

There were seven (7) rims out of which the vessel forms were classified. One (1) jar form was deduced from the profile of three (3) rims. Also one (1) bowl form was deduced from four (4) rims. There were also two (2) base sherds from the Rest-House site.

6.1.5.1. Jar Form 1

This Jar Form (n=3) was characterized by a gentle slope on both the exterior and interior of the pottery (Fig. 6.1). The rim thickness ranges between 7 and 9 mm. This jar form have a rim diameter of 16 and 19 cm and they have rounded rim lip. They all have everted rims. Two (2) rim sherds have greyish fabric colour and one (1) sherd reddish in colour. It must be stated that one (1) sherd is red slipped. Two (2) rim sherds have grains of laterite in the temper. The other one (1) sherd
have constituents of sand in its fabric. Two (2) rims are burnished and decorated. The other rim is unburnished and undecorated. One (1) rim has both external and internal decorations and another one (1) is externally decorated. The rims were decorated with multiple grooves and multiple incisions.

![Fig. 6.1. Jar Form 1 from Rest-House site (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

### 6.1.5.2. Bowl Form 1

This Bowl Form (n=4) was marked by a gentle flowing slope on both the inner and outer parts of the rims ([Fig. 6.2](#)). They have rim a thickness of 6 to 12 mm and a rim diameter of 13 to 20 cm. They all have incurved rims. Two (2) rim sherds have slanted rim lip and the other two (2) have rounded rim lip. Three (3) of the rims are greyish in colour and the other one (1) rim is black/smudged. Two (2) rims are burnished and red slipped. The other two (2) rims are unburnished. Two (2) rim sherds contained grog in the paste. One (1) rim also has grains of sand and laterite in its fabric. The remaining one has specks of laterite in its fabric. One (1) rim has multiple groove decoration. One of the rims (A) was smudged and had soot on it, an indication of a possible exposure to bush fire.
6.1.6. Base Forms

Two (2) base sherds were found and both were from flat-bottomed pedestal base vessels (Fig. 6.3). They had tempering additives like sand and laterite. One (1) of the bases (A) was burnished and red slipped whilst the remaining one (1) was unburnished. The A base sherd had single groove decoration on its outer surface. They were greyish in colour.

Fig. 6.3. Variety of Base Pottery from Rest-House site (Photo by Author 2018).
6.2. Metallic Objects

Five (5) metal finds also formed part of the finds from rest-house artefactual assemblage. They included two (2) door keys (Fig. 6.4a), two (2) latches (Fig. 6.4b) and one (1) indeterminate metal object (Fig. 6.4c). These are probably of German origin. The metals (door locks) appeared to have been used by the German colonial administrators on the Rest-House that once existed in Wurupong. Identical latches in storage at the Museum of Archaeology, University of Ghana, were excavated from the Ho-Kpodzi German site in the Volta Region of Ghana.

6.3. Adobe/Daub

Two (2) samples of burnt clay were excavated from the site. These were used for building the German Colonial Rest-House site (Fig. 6.5). Building with burnt clay (daub) was a characteristic feature of the community, even in contemporary times. However, there has been gradual transformation in the choice of materials for building in the community presently. The forms of buildings observed in the community included wattle and daub building roofed with thatch, Terre Pisé (Atakpame) and sun-dried brick buildings coated with mortar and roofed with aluminium.
sheets as well as modern cement block buildings roofed with aluminium sheets are also found in the present-day community.

![Sample of daub](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

**Fig. 6.5. Sample of daub (Photo by Author 2018).**

### 6.4. Imported Ceramics

Three (3) imported European ceramics were recovered from the German Colonial Rest-House site. They consisted of pearl ware, cream ware and porcelain.

Pearl wares are “variants of cream wares which are distinguished by the manner in which the glaze appears blue in crevices” (DeCorse 1998:7). They are commonly decorated with underglaze blue prints, in an attempt to imitate porcelain (*ibid*). The one discovered at the German Colonial Rest-House site was decorated with a blue floral transfer print (**Fig. 6.6a**). This type of pearl ware is dated to the period between 1790-1840 (DeCorse 2001:152-153). However, Deetz (1993:186) provides an age estimation of 1790-1830. He further mentions that pearl wares must have originated from England and they usually appear in the form of blue, black, green, pink and red colours.
According to DeCorse (1998:6), “cream wares are smooth surface wares which are suitable for transfer printing” (see Fig. 6.6b). He further claimed that cream wares were first produced in 1760. However, they became very common in 20th Century during the period of Wedgewood production. The earliest pieces of this type of ware were deep yellow, a characteristic feature which became popular in 1785. An age estimation of 1762-1820 has been postulated for this type of ware (ibid).
One (1) Chinese porcelain (see Fig. 6.6c) sherd with blue underglaze decoration was also discovered from the excavation. “Porcelains are well fired wares that have pastes with tight grain and mostly range in colour from an off-white to pale-gray” (DeCorse 1998:4, 2001:152-153). Porcelains have blue underglaze decoration which may be either hand painted or with European porcelain transfer prints. They became prevalent in the late 18th century (DeCorse 1998:4). The excavated porcelain was characterized by two blue and white painted horses with a leafy image and three birds flying in the air. The setting seems to depict ‘a farmstead or desert’ These Chinese ceramics were probably used by the German colonial administrators who once used the rest-house facility.

Fig. 6.6c. Porcelain with blue underglaze decoration
(Photo by Author 2018).

6.5. Glass Objects

Glass objects were found in the excavated remains. The nine (9) glass fragments consisted of base, body and neck parts of bottles that could have contained alcoholic beverages, medicines and perfume. The glass objects also included glass bakeware. A set of the broken bottles (n=3) was
identified as crown top beer bottles (see Fig. 6.7a). The bottle fragments have a seam line (machine made) on the body, neck and the lip. The base of the beer bottle has the inscription “AGW”. These alcoholic beverages must have been used by the colonial administrators or the missionaries as part of their diet. Beer production is said to have began in the second half of the 19th century to the present (DeCorse 2016:72; Jones and Sullivan 1985:38; Rock 1981:12).

In addition, one (1) bottle fragment has the letter G and a-three-fingered crown symbol embossed on it. Adjacent to the letter G is the number 3. Also, the volume inscriptions of 0.75l and 9 are seen on the base (Fig. 6.7b). This case gin bottle could have contained alcohol which may have been used by the colonial administrators in the past. According to Jones and Sullivan (1985:86), stippled bases are deliberate effects found on machine-made containers. They usually consist of a regular pattern of slightly raised “dimples.”
One (1) bottle fragment with a threaded string rim was found on the surface of the German Colonial Rest-House site. This bottle fragment is plain and has a seam line from the lip to the base (Fig. 6.7c). In the view of Jones and Sullivan (1985:81), a string rim is the “ring that projects from the neck to just below the lip of a bottle. Threaded lip is a continuous projection or series of projections designed to hold a closure by screwing it onto a bottle”. They also intimate that threaded lip containers were rare before patents for making external threads were taken out in the United States of America in the mid-1850s (ibid).
One of the medicinal or injectable vials recovered from the excavation is a short bottle with a short neck and a relatively narrow bore (Fig. 6.8a). It is a plain glass bottle with a rectangular cross section and a seam line running from the lip to the base. It has a letter G at the base. This type of medicinal bottle has been ascribed to the second half of the 19th century (DeCorse 1998:33). The other injectable vial is a dark yellowish bottle with a metallic cork. The cork has a narrow bore in its middle (Fig. 6.8b). These medicinal vials are possibly of European origin. Similar vials were excavated at Amedzofe (Ocloo 2017:135) and at Kete Krachi (Fiador 2017:104). These medicinal vials confirm the assertion that the German Colonial Rest-House was used as a mini clinic where the people of Nkonya Wurupong and other surrounding communities received medical attention from the colonial medical officers.

![Fig. 6.8. Medicinal vials (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

One (1) white glass bakeware fragment with the inscription “…REX, Corning, U.S.A” written underneath (Fig. 6.9) was found. It has been established that the glass fragment is a “Pyrex glass bakeware product” produced by Corning Incorporated, an American Multinational technology company established in 1851 in New York, U.S.A. The company specializes in glass, ceramics, optic fibre amongst others (https://www.corning.com).
One (1) perfume bottle was discovered from the excavation (Fig. 6.10). It is a plain rectangular bottle with a protruding lip. The bottle has a screw top/continuous thread on its neck to the lip. It also has seam lines aligned on the shoulder of the bottle. The bottle has three (3) star decorations embossed on the body. This bottle probably dates to the 19th and 20th centuries.
6.6. Beads

Beads are small decorative objects that are formed in a variety of shapes and sizes from materials such as stone, bone, shell, glass, plastic, wood and others (https://en.m.wikipedia.org). They have narrow bores for threading or stringing (ibid). Two (2) plastic beads formed part of the excavated materials at Nkonya Wurupong (Fig. 6.11). Synthetic plastics were developed in the 1850s and now form a global medium for beads (Francis 1994:40). The most common ones include celluloid, casein, bakelite and polystyrene mostly produced in United State of America and Germany amongst others (ibid). They however rose to popularity as recently as the 1960s. The first recorded bead “throw” occurred in the mid-to late 1800s (https://theneworleans100.com). The plastic beads discovered were circular in shape with narrow bores and were blue in colour. The beads must have been brought into Wurupong community by the German missionaries (women or wives) who introduced the Christian faith into the area. They may have formed part of their Christain objects (eg. rosary)

Fig. 6.11. Plastic beads (Photo by Author 2018).
6.7. Faunal Remains from Rest-House Site

The faunal remains from the excavations were broadly categorized into bones and molluscs. There were a total of forty-six (46) bone remains from the excavation at Nkonya Wurupong. However, thirty-three (33) bone remains were excavated at the rest-house site. Ten (10) mollusca remains were also collected. The analysis of the faunal remains was done by Mr. Bossman Murrey, a retired technician of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. The faunal remains unearthed from the German Colonial Rest-House site included those of *Bos Taurus* (cattle) numbering six (6) (from surface collection and levels 1&2) and fifteen (15) *bovids* (goat/sheep/antelope) bones. These were collected from levels 1 and 2 of the test-pit unit. One (1) *Rodentia/rattus rattus* (rat) unearthed from level 2; five (5) *Aves/Gallus gallus* (birds) from levels 1 and 2, and six (6) *Carnis* (dog) bones (from levels 1 and 2) were also found.

The distribution of the fauna from each level of the excavations are displayed in a table in Appendix 1-3. The variety of animal bones included both wild and domesticated species (Fig 6.12a). The wild animals exploited were antelopes, cane rats, fishes and birds. The identified domesticates were cattle, dog and sheep/goats. The faunal remains suggest that the occupants of the sites depended on both wild and domesticated animals for their protein needs. Most of the animal bones excavated were fragmentary (broken) and some showed butchering marks. Some bones were probably fractured during consumption to extract bone marrow.
Ten (10) mollusca remains known locally as *Jbeen hontro* were also discovered from the excavation at the German Colonial Rest-House site (see Appendix 4). They were all classified as being in the *Achatina achatina* species (Fig. 6.12b). These snails (*Jbeen*) are dense forest floor molluscs that were collected for food and later disposed off in the abandoned refuse dump near the German Colonial Rest-House site.
6.8. Analysis of Excavated Materials from the Api-Tor site

This sub-section focuses on the analysis of the cultural materials recovered from the Api-Tor site. It involves the analysis of local pottery, clay smoking pipes, stone implements and faunal remains.

6.8.1. Local Pottery

The three thousand, three hundred and seventy-eight (n=3,378) local pottery from Api-Tor site were carefully separated into vessel parts of manageable proportions and for easy analysis. These parts consisted of rims, necks, bodies, bases and carinations (Table 6.6 to 6.10). The body sherds (n=2,141) predominated the pottery category. This was followed by the rim sherds (n=704). The neck sherds were 330 in number. Carinated and base sherds were 201 and 2 respectively. The fabric characteristics were analysed based on visual identification with the use of hand lens and a binocular microscope of 20x magnification. The thickness of each sherd was measured using digital Vernier Calipers. The rim diameter of each sherd was measured and reconstructed through the use of a standard rim diameter chart. The rims were measured so as to enhance the establishment of possible vessel sizes. Below are the tabular representations of the vessel parts of each trench and surface collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel part</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carination</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>278</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level (cm)</td>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>Neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level (cm)</th>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Neck</th>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Carination</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Neck</th>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Carination</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-120</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.10. Total Vessel parts from the excavations and Surface Collections from Api-Tor site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel parts</th>
<th>Counts</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>2,141</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carination</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.8.2. Pottery Fabric Characteristics (Temper and Texture)

The excavated pottery parts contained a number of tempering elements. They included laterite, sand, grog and quartz particles. Some of the pottery were well-fired and had very fine-grained clay. Some of the tempering materials were so conspicuous that they tended to make the paste characteristics of the vessels coarse. In addition, the colour of the core fabric, the inner and outer fabric was red, grey or black. Two main surface texture were recognized from the excavated potteries. These were fine-grained and coarse (rough). Table 6.11 to 6.15 below show the texture and temper constituents of local pottery from the excavations.

Table 6.11. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from surface collection- Api- Tor site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Temper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td></td>
<td>No Inclusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface collection</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.12. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor Trench 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Temper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Fine-grained</td>
<td>No Inclusions</td>
<td>Quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>197</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.13. Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor Trench 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Temper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Fine-grained</td>
<td>No Inclusions</td>
<td>Quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>110</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.14. Local Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Trench 3- Api-Tor site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Texture</th>
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<th>Temper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Fine-grained</td>
<td>No Inclusions</td>
<td>Quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.15. Summary of Total Local Pottery Surface Texture and Temper from Api-Tor site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Temper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Fine-grained</td>
<td>No Inclusions</td>
<td>Quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface collection</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>2512</td>
<td>3378</td>
<td>2093</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the tables above, it is clear that majority (n=2,512) of the local pottery had smooth fine-grained texture. Two thousand and ninety-three (n=2093) of the overall pottery also had no inclusions in their paste/temper. This may be attributed to the fact that the raw material (clay) used for the vessels was collected from a particular source which had fine grained constituents and was traded to other areas like the researched community. However, the raw material could also have been collected locally in the environment.

6.8.3. Surface Finish Characteristics (Surface Colour and Treatment)

The abbreviations used in the tables below are translated as: SU = slip undecorated, BD = burnished decorated, BU = burnished undecorated, UD = unburnished decorated, UU = unburnished undecorated, BSD = burnished slip decorated, BSU = burnished slip undecorated and SM = smudged. The colours of the excavated pottery consisted of red (n= 2635), black (n= 145) and grey (n= 597) (Table 6.16 to 6.20). The surface finish characteristics observed on the pottery included burnishing, slipping and smudging. It must be noted that some sherds had two or more surface treatments on them.

(i) Burnishing: According to Joukowsky (1980:380), burnishing involves the act of smoothing the leather-hard surface of a vessel with a hard or smooth instrument before the vessel is fired. This mode of treatment blocks the stomata of the vessels and makes the surface of the vessel smooth and sometimes shiny. A total of (n=58) of the recovered pottery from the Api-Tor site were burnished decorated. Twenty-seven (27) were burnished undecorated. One thousand, three hundred and thirty-five (1,335) sherds were unburnished decorated. One thousand, seven hundred and sixty-seven (1,767) were unburnished undecorated.

(ii) Slipping: A slip is a thinly levigated coat of fine clay suspended in water (solution) which is applied on a pot (Anquandah pers. comm 2017). The slip is usually applied on the complete vessel
surface, either by dipping the vessel into the liquid or by brushing the liquid on the leather-hard ceramic (Joukowsky 1980:375). The slipping occurs mostly on the exterior of the sherds. From the excavation, twenty-seven (27) of the potsherds were red slipped and undecorated. A total of (n=66) sherds were burnished, decorated and red slipped. Ninety-four (94) sherds were burnished slipped undecorated.

(iii) Smudging: Smudging involves the process of darkening the external surface of vessels by purposefully adding fresh leaves or grass into fire during the firing process (Boachie-Ansah pers. com 2017; Bredwa-Mensah 1996:54). This process generates thick smoke and makes the vessel appear dark. Apoh in a personal conversation with Fiador (2017:71), posited that the use of vessels on hearths and the taphonomic process of bush burning sometimes lead to the smudging of vessels and their parts. Five (5) of the total recovered pottery were smudged.

Table 6.16. Pottery surface colour and treatment from surface collections from Api-Tor site

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Table 6.17. Pottery surface colour and surface treatment from Api-Tor Trench 1

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### Table 6.19. Pottery surface colour and surface treatment from Api-Tor Trench 3

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### Table 6.20. Summary of Total Local Pottery surface colour and surface treatment Api-Tor

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The figures above show that majority (2,635) of the local pottery were reddish in colour. A total of 1,767 of the excavated pottery were unburnished and undecorated.

6.8.4. Analysis of Decorative Motifs on Pottery Finds

It must be stated that abbreviations are used in the table below and they are interpreted as follow: DM = decorative motif, L = level, S.GS = surface collections at German site, S.APT = surface collections at Api-Tor, I = incision, G = grooves, R = roulette, CS = comb stamp, PF = perforation, TS = triangular stamps, WL = wavy line incisuvions, DS = dot stamps, IP = incision and punctates, CHG = cross-hatched incisions and grooves, CH = cross hatched incisions, GDS = grooves and dot stamps, IDS = incision and dot stamps, PCH = punctates and cross-hatched incisions, CSG = comb stamps and grooves, WLG = wavy line incisions and grooves, GR = grooves and roulette, ICS = incision and comb stamps, DPG = dot stamps, punctates and grooves, IWL = incision and wavy line incisions, ITS = incision and triangular stamps, CL = curvilinear line, CN = channeling, GI = grooves and incision, PDS = punctates and dot stamps, ST = striation, ICH = incision and cross-hatched impressions, P = punctates, and grooves, PFCS = perforation and comb stamps, CSG = comb stamps and grooves and WLG = wavy line incisions and grooves (Table 6.21).

The analysis of decorations on the local pottery from the excavations at Nkonya Wurupong were broadly categorized into decorated and undecorated (plain) sherds. The decorated pottery consisted of 1,461, whereas the undecorated pottery consisted 1,917. Two main forms of decorative motifs were recorded. These consisted of single decoration and multiple decorations. The single decorative motifs from the excavations included grooves (n=513), incision (n=323), triangular stamps (n=5), roulette (n=13), wavy line impression (n=10). Comb stamping (n=93), dot stamps (n=118), cross-hatched incisions (n=22), curvilinear line impression (n=3), channeling (n=75), striations (n=5) and perforation (n=27) were some of the single decorations. Aside these, cross-
hatched and grooves (n=4), incision and dot stamps (n=27), grooves and dot stamps (n=63), and dot stamps and cross-hatched incisions (n=1) were the multiple decorations found on the sherds. In addition, comb stamps and grooves (n=101), wavy line impression and grooves (n=1), grooves and roulette (n=3), and incision and comb stamps (n=20) formed part of the multiple decorative motifs category. Again, included in this class were dot stamps, and grooves (n=3), incision and wavy line impression (n=3), incision and triangular stamps (n=6), grooves and incision (n=7). Furthermore, incision and cross-hatched (n=7), and perforation and comb stamps (n=1). Below is a tabular presentation of the various decorative motifs in all the excavated units and surface collections.
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<td>140</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table above, incised and grooved decorations were found on the local pottery from all the levels of the trenches and surface collections. Below are some examples of the various decorative motifs on pottery unearthed from Api-Tor site excavations.

(i) **Grooving:** Grooving involves the process of dragging or pulling a blunt round edged object over the surface of a freshly made vessel to produce single or multiple lines on the surface of the vessel (Bredwa-Mensah 1996:54). These decorative motifs appeared in the form of horizontal, vertical, oblique and curvilinear line impressions (Fig. 6.13). This decorative motif was found on 513 sherds of the total decorated pottery. Single and multiple grooves were the most common decoration and they occurred on the exterior of the sherds.

![Fig. 6.13. Variety of groove decoration (Photo by Gideon Agyare 2018).](image)

(ii) **Incision:** The process of achieving incised decorations is very similar to that of grooves. The dichotomy between the two is the instruments involved. The instrument used for making incised decorative motifs are sharper than those used for grooving (blunt edges). Some multiple incised decorations are achieved by raking a sharp object on the surface of a newly made pot (Boachie-Ansah pers. comm 2018). The decoration was found on 343 sherds (Fig. 6.14). It must be stated that some of the incisions were cross-hatched.
(iii) **Comb Stamping:** This technique involves the application of a comb or multiple-toothed tool in making regular marks or stamps on a vessel (Boachie-Ansah pers. comm 2018). This type of decoration (Fig. 6.15) was found on 93 sherds.

(iv) **Perforation:** Perforations, in the view of Joukowsky (1980:385), are achieved on vessels by the use of a solid or hollowed tool such as a stalk, reed or bone to make openings on a vessel. Perforations may be created for decorative or functional purposes. The perforated vessels are known as colander vessels or sherds. Those recovered from the excavations were probably used
for smoking, cooking or sieving diverse forms of food. A total of 27 perforated sherds were found (Fig. 6.16)

![Fig. 6.16. Variety of perforated decorations (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

(v) **Wavy Line Impression**: This design is created through the use of an object to make wavy lines on the surface of a wet pot. The design is usually depicted in multiple line impressions. Ten (10) sherds were decorated with this motif (Fig. 6.17).

![Fig. 6.17. Sample of wavy line decoration (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

(vi) **Dot stamps**: This involves the use of single-toothed object to make dots (mostly irregular) on a vessel. This decorative motif was depicted on (n=118) pottery of the total decorated pottery from the excavation (Fig. 6.18).
(vii) **Channeling**: This motif is produced by the use of a broad instrument to create a long broad channel on the surface of a vessel. These types of decorative motifs are comparatively much wider than grooves. This decorative motif ([Fig. 6.19](#)) occurred in singles and multiples, and the decoration was found on 75 sherds.

![Fig. 6.18. Sample of dot stamps decoration (Photo by Author 2018).](#)

![Fig. 6.19. Sample of channeling decoration (Photo by Gideon Agyare 2018).](#)

(viii) **Roulettes**: Rouletting involves rolling an object such as corn-cob, twisted cord on a roller or carved wood on a leather hard pottery to produce repetitive impressions on a vessel in a regular manner. The rouletted motif found on the pottery from Api-Tor are cord roulette ([Fig. 6.22](#)). They were found on 9 sherds.

![Fig. 6.22](#)
(xi) **Multiple decorated pottery:** These are combinations of two or more decorations on a single sherd (Fig. 6.21a&b). The decorations presented in Fig. 6.21a included multiple horizontal incisions and oblique groove (A), multiple circumferential incised lines and vertically aligned dot stamps (B), dot stamps and multiple grooves aligned in a curvilinear pattern (C), carved wooden roulette and double horizontal incisions (D) and roulette made of multiple horizontal grooves and wavy line impressions (E).

Decorations in Fig. 6.21b include multiple horizontal incisions and roulette with sub-squared furrows that end with a wavy line impression (F), multiple horizontal incisions and dot stamps (G), multiple horizontal incisions, multiple horizontal grooves and curvilinear grooves (H), roulette and single circumferential incision (I), multiple oblique incised line and comb stamps (J), obliquely aligned comb stamps and multiple circumferential grooves (K), multiple horizontal wavy lines and horizontally aligned dot stamps (L), dot stamps and multiple oblique incised line impressions (M), multiple horizontal grooves, curvilinear line impressions and roulette with sub-squared furrows (N) and multiple horizontal wavy lines and horizontally aligned dot stamps (O).
6.8.5. Vessel Forms from Api-Tor site

A number of vessel forms were realized from the classification and analysis of the recovered local pottery. These included Jar and Bowl forms. The vessel forms were mostly determined from their rim, neck and carination morphology of the pottery. The jar and bowl forms were analysed in order to determine their possible vessel types and functions. Jar forms are vessels whose body diameter is greater than their height whilst Bowl forms also are vessels whose body diameter is wider than their rim diameter. In all, four (4) different jar forms and six (6) bowl forms were identified.

6.8.5.1. Jar Forms

Four (4) jar forms were identified from the local pottery recovered. These were deduced from seventy-three (73) excavated rims. In the Nkonya Wurupong community, pots are generally called ṛl ṛl but when it comes to usage or function, the names differ from one another. The pottery in the jar form category referred to as ṛlepe yile (i.e, big pots) are commonly used for storage (Fig. 6.22 a-b and 6.24), except for palm wine which is traditionally stored in a medium sized pot known as
\textit{\textit{\textalpha l\textbeta bi}. The smaller sized pot referred to as \textit{\textalpha l\textbeta pe kusebi} (Fig. 6.22c) is usually used for storing non-liquid materials like jewelries, cowry shells amongst others.

**Jar Form 1:** This jar form (n=42) was characterised by an everted rim which curves gently at both exterior and interior to join the neck (Fig. 6.22). The rim ranges from 18 to 29 cm in diameter. The thickness of the rim ranges from 7 to 15 mm. Twenty-two (22) of the rims are reddish in colour and the remaining twenty (20) rims are greyish in colour. Twenty-seven (27) of the forty-two (42) rims have squared lips. The other fifteen (15) rims are characterized by rounded lips. Four (4) of the squared rims have glittering specks of mica in their fabric. The remaining twenty-three (23) rims have sand and laterite in their fabrics. All the fifteen (15) rounded rim lips also have grains of sand in their fabric. Fifteen (15) of the rims are burnished while the remaining twenty-seven (27) rims are unburnished. Twenty-eight (28) of the forty-two (42) rims are decorated whilst fourteen (14) are undecorated. Among the decorated rims, eleven (11) are internally decorated, ten (10) are externally decorated and seven (7) have both internal and external decorations. Of the twenty-eight (28) decorated rims, five (5) have their decorations on the lips, necks and bodies; eight (8) have their decorations on the lips only; thirteen (13) have their decorations on both the lips and necks and two (2) are decorated on their necks only. One (1) of the forty-two (42) rims is smudged; another one (1) has soot on its surface, an indication that the pottery must have been exposed to open fire and one (1) is red slipped. Nine (9) rims have multiple circumferential line impressions, seven (7) have multiple incisions; four (4) are decorated with comb stamps; two (2) are decorated with dot stamps and three (3) have cord rouletted (cord) decorations on them. Two (2) are perforated and one (1) sherd is decorated with wavy line impressions.
Jar Form 2: This jar form (n=19) is characterized by everted rims which curve sharply at the interior and the exterior to join the neck (Fig. 6.23). The rim of the jar is short. This jar form has internal ridges which are possibly made to support lids. The thickness of the rims ranges from 9 to 13 mm. The diameter of the rim ranges from 16 to 26 cm. All the rims are reddish in colour.

Fourteen (14) sherds had everted rims and five (5) sherds had incurved rims. Eight (8) of the rims have rounded rim lips, eleven (11) have squared rim lips. Six (6) sherds are burnished whilst thirteen (13) are unburnished. One (1) burnished sherd has is covered by soot on the surface, providing an indication of a possible use on open fire. Eighteen (18) of rims are decorated and one (1) rim is undecorated. Out of the decorated rims, twelve (12) are decorated at the exterior and six (6) are decorated in the interior. Five (5) rims are decorated on the neck, 12 rims had decorations on both lips and necks and one (1) rim is decorated on the neck. Eight (8) rims are decorated with comb stamps, six (6) have multiple grooves, two (2) have triangular stamps and two (2) rims have multiple incisions.
Jar Form 3: This jar form (n=11), like Jar Form 2, is distinguished by a sharp curve both at the interior and exterior (Fig. 6.24). The Jar form has longer rims than those of Jar Form 2. The rim thickness ranges from 6 to 15 mm. The diameter of the rims ranges from 13 to 22 cm. All the eleven (11) rims are everted. Four (4) of the rims have rounded rim lips. The other seven (7) rims have squared rim lips. Three (3) of the rims are burnished. Another three (3) rims are burnished and red slipped. The remaining five (5) rims are unburnished. Three (3) of the sherds have glittering specks of mica in the inner and outer fabric. Four (4) of the rims are decorated whilst seven (7) are undecorated. Dot stamps arranged in a horizontal pattern, cord roulette, channeling, single and multiple incisions are the decorations found on the rims.
Jar Form 4: This jar form (n=1) was characterized by a straight rim which curves to join the neck to form a concave profile at the exterior and a convex in the exterior (see Fig. 6.25). It has a rim diameter of 27 cm. The rounded rim lip has a thickness of 4 mm. It has a carination at the exterior wall. The carination separates the rim from the neck. The rim is decorated with multiple circumferential grooves and the carination is decorated with notches.

Fig. 6.25. Jar Form 4 (Photo by Author 2018).

6.8.5.2. Bowl Forms

Three (3) distinct bowl forms were identified. They were developed from one hundred and thirty (130) excavated rim sherds. It must be noted that the pots in this category were used for serving food or for grinding. They are generally called ṭwɛ (eg. Fig. 6.26a-c).

Bowl Form 1: This bowl form (n=100) is represented by sherds with incurved rims and ledges separating the rim from body (Fig. 6.26). The rims thickness ranges from 5mm and 12 mm and a diameter of 14 and 26 cm. These rims uniquely have wider external transition ledges on which most of them have their decorations. Ninety-six (96) of the sherds have rounded rim lips and four (4) rims have squared rim lips. Sixty-seven (67) of the sherds are burnished and thirty-three (33)
are unburnished. All the rims are carinated and inverted. Ninety-five (95) of the rims are reddish in colour and five (5) are in greyish in colour. Ninety-four (94) of the sherds are decorated and six (6) of the rims are undecorated. Twenty-two (22) of the sherds are decorated at both the interior and exterior; sixty-nine (69) rims are externally decorated and eleven (11) are internally decorated. Seventeen (17) have their motifs located on the rim lip and neck; six (6) sherds have their decorations at the neck and body; five (5) rims have decorations at the lip and neck and seventy-two (72) have their decorations at the rim neck. Fifty (50) rims have multiple grooves, eight (8) have comb stamps, Twenty-three (23) have dot stamps and thirteen (13) have channeling decorations on them. Three (3) rims have curvilinear line impressions, three (3) have wavy line impressions. All the rims had grains of sand and laterite in their fabric. Eight (8) of the total rims had soot, providing an indication that these vessels were possibly used on open fire.

Fig. 6.26. Variety of Bowl Form 1 (Photo by Author 2018).
**Bowl Form 2:** This bowl form \(n=3\) is an open hemispherical bowl with everted rim (Fig. 6.27). The rims were all unburnished. The rim diameter ranges from 14 to 22 cm. The thickness of the sherds ranges from 13 to 14 mm. Two (2) of the three (3) rims have slanted rim lips and one (1) has a thickened flat rim lip. Channeling, circumferential comb stamps and wavy line impressions were the decorations on the sherds.

Fig. 6.27. Variety of Bowl Form 2 (Photo by Author 2018).

**Bowl Form 3:** This bowl form \(n=27\) is a hemispherical open bowl with an almost straight rim (Fig. 6.28). The form is deeper than Bowl Form 2. Their rim diameter ranges between 20-28 cm and rim thickness ranges from 5 to 13 mm. Sixteen (16) of the twenty-seven (27) rims were reddish in colour whereas the remaining eleven (11) rims were greyish. Fourteen (14) of the rims have squared rim lips and thirteen (13) have rounded rim lips and one. Twenty-three (23) of the rims are unburnished; one (1) is burnished and three (3) are red slipped and burnished. Fifteen (15) of the rims are decorated and the remaining twelve (12) are undecorated. Thirteen (13) of sherds are externally decorated and two (2) ware decorated on both the interior and exterior. Four (4) rims have decorations on the lip and neck; three (3) also have decorations on the lip; six (6) have decorations on the neck, and two (2) have decorations on the rim neck and body. Five (5) rims were decorated with dot stamps circumferentially arranged on the vessel and six (6) sherds were
decorated with multiple incisions. Two (2) sherds have grooves on them and two (2) other sherds were decorated with channeling decorative motif. Four (4) of the rims have soot on them. This shows that the sherds were possibly used on open fire.

![Fig. 6.28. Variety of Bowl Form 3 (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

### 6.2.6. Pottery Thickness

Rice (1987:227), is of the view that the thickness of vessels is not entirely linked to the size of the vessel or the physical properties of the clay used in making the vessel. But it depends on the intended function of the vessel. The envisaged function and appearance of a vessel may require that the vessel be thickened to augment its strength when in use. The thickness of the excavated local pottery was measured by the use of a digital caliper to categorise them into ranges of 0-5mm, 6-10mm and 11-15mm. In all, two thousand, four hundred and sixty-seven (2,467) representing 72.7% of the overall three thousand, three hundred and seventy-eight (3,392) pottery were found to be in the range of 0-5mm. This is an indication that the pottery in this group were probably used for cooking purposing due to their seemingly light weight. Next in frequency were those that fell within 6-10 mm. They amounted to eight hundred and eighteen (818) sherds of the total pottery category from the excavations. This category had a percentage fraction of 24.1%. Also, one
hundred and seven (107) sherds accounting for 3.2% of the total pottery category were marked by vessel thickness of 11-15 mm. This may imply that this category of pottery was possibly used for storing food products like cereals and grains.

6.9. Locally manufactured smoking pipes

Six (6) fragmented local pipes were recovered from the excavation at the Api-Tor site of Nkonya Wurupong. Four (4) of these were quite diagnostic, though incomplete (Fig. 6.29 a, b, c and f). In respect of the diagnostic ones, two (2) of them (Fig. 6.29a and b) seem to fit well with Ozanne’s (n.d:5-6) type ‘1a’ category. According to him, this type of smoking pipe is a “round-based pipe in which the cross-section of the lower part of the bowl is elliptical”. He further ascribes a date of circa 1640 (ibid:26) to this category. Similar finds have been found in excavations carried out by Nunoo (1957) and Ozanne (1962) in the Accra Plains and at the Kofisah site of Akwamu (Nyanoase). One of the clay pipes (Fig. 6.29a) in this category has decorations on its stem and elliptical bowl. The decorations appear to be a rouletted impressions or multiple vertically/obliquely incised lines.

The other two (2) diagnostic finds (Fig. 6.29c and f), on the contrary, appear to fall within Ozanne’s (n.d:5-6) Type ‘2a’ category. This is because of their flat-bottom nature. Ozanne (n.d:26), has postulated a date of 1655-60 for this category. He reiterates that closely related finds have been excavated in areas such as Agona Asafo, Greater Accra, Adwuku, Kofisah, Shai, Ladoku amongst other sites (ibid). One of the local pipes (Fig. 6.29c) in this group has triangular stamp impressions probably achieved by rouletting. The other pipe (Fig. 6.29f) in this category has a multiple incised decorated flat-bottomed base. Archival data indicate that Nkonya people grew tobacco and made smoking pipes (PRADD, CSO/21/20/91). In that, I believe that they must
have learnt to produce pipes through their interaction with craftmen and traders they came into contact with.

![Variety of clay smoking pipes from Api-Tor site (Photo by Author 2018).](image)

**Fig. 6.29.** Variety of clay smoking pipes from Api-Tor site (Photo by Author 2018).

### 5.10. Stone Tools

Grindstones formed part of the archaeological assemblage. A total of five (n=5) worn out grindstones were recovered from the excavation at the Api-Tor site. These querns appear to have been used by the Api-Tor residents for grinding cereals and vegetables for food or for grinding herbal medicines (**Fig. 6.30**).
5.11. Faunal Remains from the Api-Tor Site

Faunal remains (n=13) formed part of the archaeological assemblage that were excavated from the Api-Tor site (Fig. 6.36). The fauna included fish (*Pisces*) bones (n=1) (trench 1, level 2) and cane rat/rats (*Rodentia/rattus rattus*) bones (n=1) (trench 1, level 1). In addition, a total of five (5) bovid bones (trench 3, level 1), not attributed to specific species were identified and cattle (*Bos taurus*) bones (trench 3, level 2 and surface collection) numbering three (3) were recovered. Two (2) unidentifiable bones (trench 3, level 2) were also found at the Api-Tor site.
Fig. 6.36. Samples of faunal remains from the Api-Tor site (Photo by Author 2018).
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0. Introduction

This research was undertaken to evaluate the ramifications of the precolonial political and economic interactions at Nkonya Wurupong. It also focused on understanding the German colonial entanglements at Nkonya Wurupong. The study aimed at assessing the past cultural lifeways of the inhabitants of Nkonya Wurupong through the lenses of oral and historical accounts as well as excavated data. In this regard, data from archival and documentary records, ethnography as well as archaeology were eclectically integrated in the study. This chapter provides a summary of the research, concluding thoughts and recommendations to future researchers. It also provides possible means for packaging the cultural resources of Wurupong for tourism development and outlines the significance of the study.

7.1. Summary

The people of Nkonya Wurupong prior to coming to their present settlement like other humans in the past, were wanderers who migrated through the thick forests of the Gold Coast to found their present location. Oral accounts and documented sources have revealed that before their encounter with the Germans, the people of Nkonya and for that matter Wurupong, participated in regional trade and exchange networks with societies and traders from the south to the north of the Gold Coast. The traditional religion of the area which was built around the Nana Sia deity and other deities served as a central factor in the development of Nkonya Wurupong through time. The veneration of the Sia deity influenced the cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong
and encouraged them to pursue various political and military actions that led to the development of the area as a state.

Three (3) main narratives were established regarding the migration of Nkonya and for that matter, the Nkonya Wurupong people. Narrative One ascribed the origins of Nkonya people to somewhere in East Africa; specifically, Kenya (Ampene 2011; Kumah 1966; Nyinanse 1984). Narrative Two traced the cradle of the Nkonya people to Nyenganu on the Sekum River near Cape Coast (Darko 1966; Lilley 1925) and Narrative Three pointed to Jadum somewhere in Asia as the home of the Nkonya people (Akuamoah 2015; Kumah 1966). However, all these three narratives tend to agree that the Nkonya people migrated to the then Gold Coast and settled along the coast in an area between Cape Coast and Winneba. This central theme ran through all the above-mentioned researches on the migration of the Nkonya people.

However, it is quite far-fetched to trace the origin of the Nkonya people and more especially, the Wurupong people to Kenya in East Africa and Jadum in Asia. This is because there is no place in East Africa and Asia where any of the closely related Guan dialect or any of its larger family unit, the KWA are spoken (Nyinanse 1984). Also, through the lens of linguistics, the Nkonya people are Guans whose language is more closely related to other Guan speakers like the Larteh, Krachi, Kyerepong, Efutu, Awutu, among others (Akuamoah 2015; Amenumey 2011; Fiador 2017; Kumah 1966; Midodzi 2013; Nyinanse 1984). Therefore, it is more convincing and reasonable to trace the ancestral home of the Nkonya people to somewhere in the Central Region of Ghana as espoused in the works of Darko (1966) and Lilley (1925). Although the archaeological materials, especially pottery which formed the majority of the excavated finds from Nkonya Wurupong, could not adequately trace the original home of the Nkonya people to the Central Region of Ghana as argued above, on the basis of the analysis of archival data, historical sources, documented
literature and ethnographic studies, I am inclined to subscribe to the position held by Darko (1966) and Lilley (1925).

The mention of Ansa Sasraku as the King of the Nkonya people in the narratives seems to be misleading. This is in the sense that from the documentary sources assessed, Ansa Sasraku was the first King of the Akwamu people. The name “Ansa Sasraku” also became a title that was used to name Akwamu leaders (Nyinanse 1984). However, it is a fact that the Nkonya people who were probably led by Lawu Gbomgbo, the famous leader of the Nkonya people (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91), were a part of the people of Akwamu at Nyanoase and possibly a part of the Larteh-Guan community on the Akwapim ridge, who in the 17th century, recognized the supremacy of Akwamu Kings. Alternatively, it could be that there was a political fusion between the Guan communities on the ridge and the Akwamu where the Akwamuhene exercised suzerainty over both the Akwamu and the Guan community on the ridge (Nyinanse 1984). It must also be noted that after the demise of Ansa Sasraku, Basua and Ado concurrently succeeded him and ruled the whole of the Akwamu Kingdom (Reindorf 2007; Wilks 1957:45-46). Following the death of both Basua and Ado, Akonno became the next king of the Akwamu kingdom (Buah 1980; Ofosu-Mensah and Ansah 2012; Reindorf 2007). My informants were unable to identify who amongst the succeeding kings of the people of Akwamu was Asiakwa I as narrated in the Wurupong traditions.

Furthermore, the incursions of the Akan groups (Akwamu and Asante) in the Krepi areas of the Volta Region of Ghana (Amenumey 1986; LeLievre 1925) led to some forms of cultural transformations or adoption of some Akan cultural traits (Apoh 2014) among the surrounding states. The institution of chiefly stools as a sign of traditional authority which was hitherto, unknown to the Nkonya Wurupong people (Amenumey 2011; Gariba 2015; Nyinanse 1984) is an evidence of the influence and impact of the Akans in the area. Again, the establishment of the
political structure of the Akan positions like ũmanhene, ũhemaa, Kurotihene, Akwamuhene among others, and the adoption and usage of Akan language and names such as Adu, Fordjour, Owusu, Osafo and others serve to buttress the precolonial impact of the Akan groups on the indigenous people of Nkonya Wurupong.

These facets of cultural exchanges strengthen the underlying principle espoused in the concept of culture contact that whenever groups of different social identities have the opportunity to interact, there is an inevitable tendency for them to exchange ideas, cultural traits and values, to integrate and at worst, enslave and colonise the other (Cusick 1998b; Schortman and Urban 1998). There is also the notion that when two or more groups of people who do not share the same identities interact, there is the desire for one group to control or dominate, assimilate or imperialise the other (Cusick 1998b; Schortman and Urban 1998; Silliman 2005). These practices have been revealed in the interaction of the Wurupong people with the autochthones of Owarebour mountain. Upon the arrival of the Wurupong people in their present settlement, they waged attacks on the dwellers of the Owarebour mountain. Following their victory, the Wurupong people brought the captives of the war down the mountain and assimilated them into the Nkonya culture as confirmed by documented sources like Kumah (1966), Nyinanse (1984) and my ethnographic findings.

Cultural materials, especially pottery, are the cultural documents or texts of non-literate societies of the past (Anquandah pers. comm 2017; Glassie 1999; Prown 1982). In view of this the excavated artefacts served as the material creations of the ancient people of Nkonya Wurupong that have survived past events. These materials have enhanced our understanding into the past and they have served to offer the opportunity to experience the past at firsthand and also, to have direct encounter with surviving historical events (Parrott 2001) in present times. The similarities of some excavated pottery (vessel forms) from Nkonya Wurupong with pottery forms in other areas both near and far
in the Volta Region are possible indications of the trade relations and interactions that took place in the precolonial era. These affinities have brought to light the possible communities and towns that traded with the people of Nkonya Wurupong.

The study of the perforated bowl form (see Fig. 6.16a) in the excavation has revealed close semblance to a perforated bowl form identified in the Manhyia Palace Museum which is supported to have been used as a weighing scale for trading in gold dust. It is therefore suggested that the perforated sherd found in the excavation could possibly have also been used as weighing scale.

This is because archival record (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91) shows a trade exchange in gold dust between the people of Nkonya Wurupong and the Akans and Gas. However, in some cultural settings in Ghana, similar perforated sherds are used for various purposes such as steamining or straining food or for keeping and preserving meat. This can attest to the position that the study of material culture and its relationship with the society within which they are found has the potential to unravel the functions, signs and meanings represented in them (Apoh and Gavua 2010). This implies that artefacts embody the meanings of past human activities (ibid). This artefact (perforated bowl) may also offer insights into the knowledge of capitalist movements and class relations that probably existed in the region and at those periods (Paynter 1988) on the assumption that the perforated bowl was truly used as a weighing scale. This is because not all the people in the region could have the opportunity to trade in gold dust. This trade was the reserve of the high class and ‘elite’ people in the past. Assuming the belief that this type of bowls, as revealed from my ethnographic research, are used for spiritual purposes (in which charms are kept and hanged on trees in the farm or on roof tops at homes) is true, then it buttresses the assertion that the investigation of material culture and its relationship aids in the revelation of the beliefs, values,
ideas, attitudes and assumptions among others, of a particular community or society at a given time (Buchli 2004; Miller 2002; Prown 1982).

Regarding food systems, the faunal remains discovered from the excavations provide insight into the dietary patterns of the occupants of the two excavated sites (Api-Tor mountain and German Colonial Rest-House site). Giant African snails (*Achatina achatina*), cattle (*Bos taurus*), goat/sheep/antelope (bovid), dog (*Carnis*), birds/poultry (*Aves/Gallus gallus*) and cane rats (*Rodentia rattus*) were the fauna excavated from the German site, whereas fish (*Pisces*) and cane rats/ rats (*Rodentia/rattus rattus*) remains were recovered from the Api-Tor site. *Achatina achatina* (the giant African snail) and *Pisces* (fish) were and are still among the favourite delicacies of the Nkonya Wurupong people. Their presence in the archaeological context of both the German settlement and the indigenous sites highlights the reliance of the people on snails and fish for their protein nutrients. It also reveals the continuity of these protein sources in the dietary patterns of the people of Nkonya Wurupong today. The archaeological record also corroborates the ethnographic account that the people of Nkonya Wurupong were and are still hunters.

The notion that Germans imported European materials into her colonies (Apoh 2008) has been attested to by the presence of European materials (ceramics, glass objects, metallic objects, beads) in the excavation at the German Colonial Rest-House site in Wurupong. The analysis of these artefacts, in addition to the rest-house relic and their relationship with the society within which they were found enables us to understand the functions of these material culture (Apoh and Gavua 2010) and the sort of interaction/activities that transpired in the past.

The appearance of the German colonial administrators in Wurupong community has had great impact on the indigenes, especially the ruling class. This is because the German colonial
involvement in arbitration or in settlement of grievances among the locals of Wurupong, relegated the power and authority of the traditional chiefs. It is a fact that the German colonials were the judges or final arbitors on matters of misunderstanding, theft and murder in their colonial jurisdictions. In addition, the German colonial administrators in conjunction with the chiefs meted out required sanctions to the offenders or culprits. German involvement in the disruption of the political organization of the Nkonya people is also an important impact. The recognition and acceptance of the chief of Nkonya Ahenkro (Nana Okoto Kofi I) over Nkonya Wurupong (Nana Kwadwo Djanti) by the German colonial administration during the late 19th century, as revealed by my informants on the field, has left behind simmering power tussle for paramountcy between the two groups. This revelation buttresses the position of Bredwa-Mensah (1999) that the interaction between the Europeans and Africans affected settlement patterns, exchange systems, chieftaincy and socio-political organization, demographic patterns as well as agricultural and architectural landscapes in the West African sub-region.

Furthermore, the German colonial administrators and missionaries worked hand in hand (Bulhan 2005) to destroy the religious status quo of the Wurupong people. To achieve this, they first offered formal education to some locals (Kumah 1966) to brainwash them (Gavua 2013) and subsequently, introduced the Christian faith to the local people. This was tactfully aimed at demonizing and relegating the belief and worship of ancestral spirits and deities. Though, this exercise ended in futility, the Germans managed to establish the Christian faith and to convert some of the indigenes (Kumah 1966; van Brakel 1997, 2002). As the German colonials attempted to demonize ancestral worship through the introduction of Christianity, the indigenous people responded by enacting prohibitions that precluded the German colonials from accessing their deities. Inasmuch as the German institutions (structures) restricted the actions (agency) of the locals, the locals also
influenced (structured) the movements and actions of the German colonials. This relates to the fact that the Wurupong people were not uniform robots (rigid beings), merely reacting to changes in the external world. They partook in the formation of the social realities that existed around them (Barfield 1997). The introduction of the Christian faith and formal education (structures) symbolized by the churches and schools respectively, influenced and modeled the actions (agency) of some of the locals (converts and literates) to disregard the traditional set-up. This attests to the premise on which Joyce and Lopiparo (2005) advanced their argument. They believe that human actions (agency) are modeled and influenced by institutions (structure) which are reflected in their material creations (ibid), both tangible and intangible. The manifestation of the colonial rest-house, old Roman Catholic mission house, church, and schools (material culture) which resulted out of the interplay of agency and social reproduction (Dobres and Robb 2005) served as the social structures (institutions or cognitive constructions) that shaped and manipulated the actions (agency or practice) of the people of Wurupong in the archaeological past and in the ethnographic present.

Economically, the German colonial administration and the missionaries provided professional and vocational training as well as agricultural education to the people of Nkonya Wurupong. These professions included carpentry, masonry and smith works (Kumah 1966) as well as cocoa farming (Nyinanse 1984). There has been discontinuity in some of the occupations of the present people of Nkonya Wurupong, with the exception of farming. Presently, taxi (car) driving, motor cycle riding and petty trading are common in the community. Moreover, with the help of the locals through the traditional authorities, the German colonial administrators managed to pave accessible road from the south (Kpando) to the north (Krachi to Salaga), Kumah (1966).

The German colonials on several occasions called on the traditional authority to rally the citizens for medical examination whenever the colonial medical officers passed by Nkonya Wurupong
(Forjour pers. comm. 2017). In line with this, Calvet (1916), has argued that “the German colonials networked with traditional chiefs to enact laws that would oblige the locals in their jurisdictions to avail themselves for medical attention” in the case of Nkonya Wurupong.

7.2. Concluding Thoughts

The oral accounts collected on the field by the research team on local pottery, its types and functions at Nkonya Wurupong revealed that pot making in the area was one of the many crafts in the past (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91). As documented through ethnographic study, clay vessels are still used in homes and in the celebration of traditional festivals but there are no potters presently in the community. With respect to the source of the raw material (clay) and the method of production, the present people could not tell exactly where the raw material was dug from. Archival data states that the people of Nkonya especially, the women dug out clay in their immediate environment and made a variety of pots for diverse uses. Presently, however, there are no potters in the Wurupong community. It is reasonable to suggest that the local pottery used by the people of Wurupong in present times are brought into the area through trade. However, the indigenes were able to establish the different types of vessels and their functions in households from the past to present times. It was recorded that the production of local pottery at Nkonya Wurupong and other Nkonya communities in the past was intended for daily use such as food preparation, storage and for drinking (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91).

Pottery similarities have been revealed from the vessel forms excavated at Nkonya Wurupong and other German and non-German colonial sites in Ghana. Table 7.1 provides a summary of the comparison.
Table 7.1. Summary of Nkonya Wurupong Pottery Similarities with other Sites in Ghana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Site</th>
<th>Pottery Category</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jar form 1a</td>
<td>Vume Dugame</td>
<td>Jar form 3b</td>
<td>Noel 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Figs. 2.f.ii; 17.b.i; 18.g</td>
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<td>Jar form 2a</td>
<td>Noel 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 9.i; 13a</td>
<td>Crossland 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ziavi</td>
<td>Jar form 1a</td>
<td>Dogbe 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar form 2c</td>
<td>Begho B2 site</td>
<td>Fig. 3.j.iii</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar form 3a</td>
<td>Amedzofe</td>
<td>Jar form 1</td>
<td>Ocloo 2017</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Bonoso</td>
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<td>Fig. 1.a.i</td>
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<td>Jar form 4</td>
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<td>Fig. L</td>
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Furthermore, European materials excavated at the German Colonial Rest-House site have been recovered from other German sites in the Volta Region. For instance, similar medicinal vials recovered from the Wurupong excavation (see Fig. 6.8) have been found by Ocloo (2017) at Amedzofe and Fiador (2017) at Kete Krachi. Similar door lock (latch) discovered from the Rest-House excavation (see Fig. 6.4b) has been found by Apoh (2013) at the Ho-Kpodzi site.
According to Noel (2006:89), pottery from Vume Dugame were sold to traders (customers) who came from Accra, Kumase and Aflao. Nutor (2010:14), argues that the Krepi towns which were located on the inland route and along the River Volta linked coastal Ghana with the market or commercial centres of Krachi, Salaga and beyond (see Fig. 7.1). On the basis of postulation, supported by archival data, it is not surprising that some of the vessel forms recovered from the excavation at Nkonya Wurupong are identical to some of the vessel forms excavated at some of the archaeological sites in Aburi, Amedzofe, Begho B2 site, Bonoso, Keta, Gonja Dimbia, Nyanoase, Ziavi amongst others. This position is taken in respect of the fact that archival data, documented literature coupled with ethnographic study in the researched community have revealed that the people of Nkonya and for that matter, Wurupong, traded with other towns both near and far in a variety of trade items. Again, the perforated bowl and its function seems to buttress the archival data that the people of Nkonya probably traded in gold dust among other trade items with the people of Accra, Asante, Akim, Akwapim at a market centre called Dodi (PRAAD, CSO 21/20/91).
In relation to the chronology of the site, it is worthy to note that the presence of the locally manufactured smoking pipe of Ozanne’s typology ‘1a’ provides a relative date of 17th Century. It must be said that the site however predates this period. This is because a number of local pottery and charcoal samples were recovered below the levels in which the smoking pipes were discovered. These charcoal samples are yet to be dated.
Generally, the precolonial cultural lifeways of the people of Nkonya Wurupong were marked by some war-like encounters. The cultural contact situation between the Wurupong people and the dwellers of the Owarebour mountain was violent and bloody. This culminated in the death of the leader of the autochthones, Oware, and injuries to many other people. Aside that, the invasion of the Akan groups in the Krepi area also pushed the affected groups (both Ewes and non-Ewes) to form alliances that later sprung up to rebel and defeat the military imperialism of the Akans. This study has revealed the various religious practices and worldviews, economic strategies, chieftaincy institution, other cultural values and practices and the possible communities, towns, individuals or groups that the indigenous people of Nkonya Wurupong interacted and traded with as well as the type of trade they engaged in, in the past.

Furthermore, regarding the encounters and relationship between the indigenous people of Nkonya Wurupong and the German colonials, it can be said that the encounter was entirely peaceful. However, the colonial administrators are remembered for being harsh disciplinarians and being aggressive toward the indigenes. The German colonials made both positive and negative contributions in shaping the Wurupong community.

The general impact of the cross-cultural contacts (both local and foreign) that transpired in the Wurupong community are varied. One of such involved the assimilation of the descendants of Owarebour dwellers into the Wurupong culture. The transformation of the leather cushion mat of the Nkonya Wurupong people into a wooden stool to serve as a symbol of royal or chiefly authority can be seen as an imitation of Akan royal symbol. Also, the adoption and usage of Akan language and names and the use of chieftaincy positions in Wurupong community are reflections of the impact of the Akans in the area. Besides, the invasion by the Akan groups (Akwamu and Asante) in the Krepi area led to the formation of alliances by both the Ewe and non-Ewe ethnic groups (eg;
Akpafu, Lolobi, Peki and Nkonya). This legacy is a manifestation of the impact of the Akan groups in the area. The presence of the German colonials at Nkonya Wurupong, generally, brought about significant transformations in the community.

Through the application of interpretive models on the concepts of materiality, culture contact and agency, the tangible and intangible archaeological materials as well as ethnographic and archival records on the researched community tend to provide insights into the various happenings that have led to the transformation and continuity in the sociocultural and political practices of the people of Nkonya Wurupong from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries.

7.3. Recommendations

Archaeology contributes immensely to development through heritage tourism. The archaeological objects and other cultural heritage properties; such as the German Colonial Rest-House relic and the old Roman Catholic mission house if properly managed alongside the earliest settlement sites like the Owarebour mountain, could enhance heritage tourism development in the area. The colonial vestiges at Nkonya Wurupong must be assessed and packaged to serve as avenues for wealth creation for the society. To realise the full potential of tourism in Nkonya Wurupong and its environs, there is the need for the establishment of a community museum at Nkonya Wurupong. The old Roman Catholic Mission building which has been abandoned or the foundation of the German Colonial Rest-House could be rehabilitated and reconstructed to serve as a community museum. This proposed museum could house some artefacts from the excavations, chieftaincy regalia, colonial vestiges and other cultural objects produced from the encounters between the foreign agents and the people of Nkonya Wurupong. Sensitive cultural materials which are in the custody of some private individuals could be considered as shared heritage properties of the people which ought to be preserved, conserved and showcased. Having such cultural properties displayed
in the museum would not only provide revenue generation opportunities for the community, but it would also serve as a centre of education at Nkonya Wurupong where visitors of the museum can have the opportunity to appreciate the precolonial and colonial lifeways of the Wurupong people.

To augment the above, the research proposes the following suggestions:

The local people should be informed about the relevance of the shared cultural heritage resources and their rich history for them to make informed decisions in protecting and preserving their heritage. Local investment (both financial and advocacy) should be encouraged in the area. This would greatly enhance the preservation, conservation and protection of the sites, and packaging initiatives that would enhance sustainable tourism development of the historic cultural remains in the area. Importantly, the packaging of these shared historic cultural materials should be collaborative and must involve all stakeholders (scholars, chiefs, opinion leaders and development partners) of the heritage industry. In addition, protective barricade should be built around the German Colonial Rest-House area to minimise the effect of soil erosion and destructions by the local people. Above all, more archaeological researches should be carried out in the study area especially at Owarebour so as to have a comprehensive dataset of the area.

7.4. Significance of the study

The decision to investigate the precolonial and colonial periods at Nkonya Wurupong is in two folds. First, the decision stemmed from the fact that no detailed archaeological investigations had been conducted on the impact of the encounters between the Wurupong people on one hand and other local people and German colonial agents on the other hand. This study has brought to the fore what has survived archaeologically at one of the earliest sites of Nkonya Wurupong and the remains of the German-Wurupong interactions. It has also augmented the few historical
archaeological investigations that have been conducted in Ghana, especially in the Volta Region of Ghana. The study has further complemented the existing knowledge in archaeology in relation to “the Archaeology of German Colonial and Missionary Heritages in Ghana” (Apoh 2008; 2013) and the collective and shared memories of the past German interactions with the people of Nkonya Wurupong. The findings of this study could serve as a basis for comparative studies with the archaeological findings from the other sites of German colonial activities in German-Togoland, for example; Adaklu Waya (Amedekey 2018), Abutia (Ayipey 2015), Kpando-Todzi (Apoh 2008), Ho-Ziavi (Dogbe 2015), Kete-Kratchi (Fiador 2017), Peki-Blengo (Mensah 2017) and Amedzofe (Ocloo 2017). More significantly, the research has unearthed surviving German colonial and indigenous relics that could be preserved and packaged to promote the development of tourism in Nkonya Wurupong and its surroundings.

Secondly, the inherent importance of this study is not only limited to the 19th century German encounters with the local populations but it has also highlighted the period prior to the arrival of Germans to Nkonya Wurupong. This work has opened new opportunities for academic research in the study area as it would serve as a reference material for future students and researchers. Above all, the study has partially satisfied the academic requirement for the award of a Master of Philosophy Degree in Archaeology.


Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.


_______ (2016b). Present Traces and Perceptible Consequences of the German Colonial Past in Ghana. In German Historical Museum Special Exhibition on German Colonialism. Berlin


___________ (2006). Pushing back linguistic time in the Trans-Volta movement, assimilation and loss. Workshop on oral traditions and reconstruction of the Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages, Ho. *All GTML; nko*


Archival Record


Periodicals


Internet Sources


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. FAUNAL ANALYSIS

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RECORDER: B. M. Murey  
DATE: March 2018

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**DATE:** March 2018

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APPENDIX 4. SHELL

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<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>LEVEL (CM)</th>
<th>ELEMENT/DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>COUNT</th>
<th>GENUS/SPECIES</th>
<th>HABITAT</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Test pit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shell</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Achatina achatina</td>
<td>Dense forest floor</td>
<td>Collected for food</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Where did you migrate from?

Did you settle first before coming here?

How was this settlement founded?

What caused your migration?

Where people here before your forefathers arrived?

Which person(s) led you during your migration?

What is the meaning of Nkonya and Wurupong?

What is the name of the clan you belong to?

What other clans are in this community and which one(s) is/are the royal?

How is this community governed?

What is the role of the clans in the community?

What are the various religious practices in Nkonya Wurupong?

What are the festivals celebrated by people of Nkonya Wurupong?

Which months in the year do you celebrate your festivals?

Why do you celebrate these festivals?

What are the various occupations that the people engaged for their survival in this community?

What kind of crops do you cultivate in the area?
Are there potters in Nkonya Wurupong or you get them from elsewhere?

Why did the Germans come to Nkonya Wurupong?

How did your ancestors relate with the Germans?

What negative impact do you think the Germans presence brought onto the ancient people of Wurupong?

What positive impact can you attribute to the Germans in Wurupongland?

What are your cultural heritage resources in Wurupong and its environs?