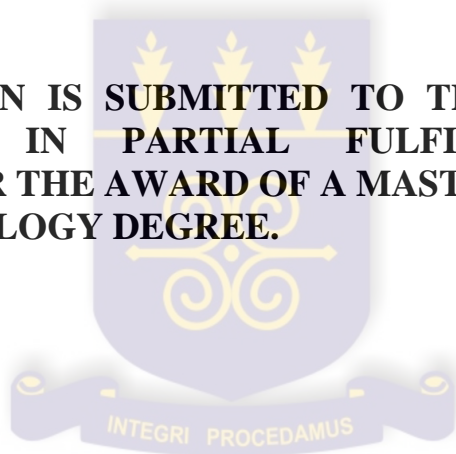


**HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF GERMAN COLONIAL HERITAGE
AT ZIAVI, IN THE HO MUNICIPALITY, VOLTA REGION, GHANA.**

**BY
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(10278925)**

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
(M.PHIL) ARCHAEOLOGY DEGREE.**



JULY, 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research was undertaken by me under the supervision of my supervisors, Dr. Wazi Apoh and Professor Kodzo Gavua. This thesis has not been submitted for another Degree in this University or any other University.

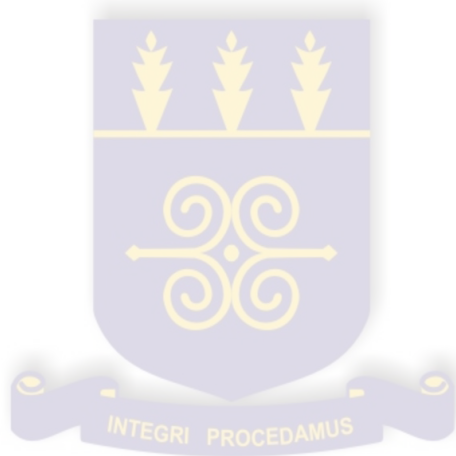
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents Mr. Emmanuel Kofi Dogbey, Miss Elisabeth Abla Kaka and my late step Mother Miss Enyonam Azah. It is also dedicated to my cherished siblings, Vivian Atsufe Dogbey, Christine Atsufe Gavua, Dzifa Adu, Faustina Adu and to the entire youth population of Wusuta- Dzobi, where I was born.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The success of this thesis is as a result of valuable support from a host of people I would forever be indebted to. The greatest thanks go to *Mawuga* (Almighty God) for his enabling strength and grace from the start to the finish of this work. *Mawu*, I say *Akpena wo*. (Thank you)

I express a heartfelt thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Wazi Apoh and Professor Kodzo Gavua for their vigilant supervision of this work. To Dr. Apoh, I say my financial worries and fears were curtailed as a result of the sponsorship I received under his VW funded Post-doctoral project on ‘The Archaeology of German Colonial heritages in Ghana’. It would have been a great challenge to raise the funds needed for this research, but he made things easier a great deal, from my first year in graduate school until the completion of this work. His facilitation of the project through field work and proof reading of drafts of the thesis at different stages helped me in many respect. I am adequately thankful to him and his funding agency.

The tactful critiques and comments of my co-supervisor, Professor Kodzo Gavua, straightened different aspects of this thesis. The result of his treasured inputs is the completion of this thesis. To him I say ‘*Akpe na wo*’. A sincere thanks also go to my parents Mr. Emmanuel Kofi Dogbey (Chief Goman), Miss Elizabeth Kaka as well as to my late step mother Miss Enyonam Azah for all the sacrifices, love, and varied support they offered me throughout my educational life.

The 2014/2015 final year Archaeology field school students, particularly the Ho group of students including Assistant lecturer and teaching Assistant, Mr. Daniel Kumah and Mr. Edward Nyarko respectively, deserve a great mention for their assistance and support during field work. A special thanks also go the paramount chief of Ziavi Traditional Area, Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV and his sub chiefs and elders as well as to all my informants and the entire community of Ziavi for their priceless support and co-operation during my ethnographic field

work. The bounteous words of encouragement and motivation from Mr. Kofi Arne (Zickylala) spurred this thesis on to completion. His breath of hope into my days and times of confusion and frustration during this pursuit is deeply appreciated. To you I say ‘*Akpega na wo*’

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I am profoundly grateful to all the teaching staff of the Department, especially the Head of Department, Professor Benjamin Kanpeyeng and anyone I have blindly not acknowledged but has somewhat played a part towards the completion of this thesis. To you all I say, I made it because of you.

Finally, to all those who have been inspired by a ‘Ph.D’ (pull him down) syndrome, to monitor the progress of this work and hoped that it was never completed, I say thank you for having ostensibly spurred me on to this feat. As you may be aware, “Many are the devices in the hearts of men nonetheless, it is the counsel of the lord that shall stand” (Proverb 19:21).

ABSTRACT

This thesis was aimed at investigating the Archaeology of German colonial encounters with local agency at the Galenkuito site of Ziavi, in the Ho municipality of the Volta Region of Ghana. It garnered oral and documentary accounts to contribute to the knowledge of the migration and settlement histories of the early Ziavi indigenes prior to colonial times.

The study used ethnographic research to document the contemporary life-ways of the people. These included chieftaincy and traditional authorities, subsistence, popular culture (festivals, music and dance), indigenous technologies, clan identities and functionalities, building technology and architecture, social organization as well as the cognitive structures and the religious identities of the people of Ziavi.

Archaeological excavation was carried out at Galenkuito to unsheathe the remnants of the indigenous and colonial material representations of the people through time. Analysis and interpretation of the material remnants including ceramics, slag, metal objects, smoking pipes, building structures, flora and fauna provided insights into the nature of material culture varieties, agency and contacts among the occupants of the Galenkuito site at Ziavi.

It is revealed that the emic world-view of Ziavi in respect of its indigenous culture is continued and maintained in spite of their interactions with the German colonial powers decades ago. While the occupation of the Germans have impacted on the town planning and road network of Ziavi, their extant material relics, many of which are in ruins, have possibilities of being restored and preserved for purposes of cultural resource management and development.

The present reality of remembrance and de-remembrance of the 19th Century German-Ziavi interaction and its implication for the contemporary society of Ziavi is also discussed.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of Study

Throughout history, contact between European and African societies have barely been on equal level. This is mainly due to imbalances in economic relations between European and African societies. Such economic imbalances in economic relations make European countries tend to suppress and to exploit African societies to advance their interests (Brako and Frimpong 2013:221). Towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, virtually all of Africa was politically and economically influenced by imperial powers of Europe (ibid 2013). This ushered in a harsh period of colonial exploitation of Africa. All the European countries that participated in this colonial enterprise did so for virtually the same reasons; ultimately for political domination and for economic exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources (ibid 2013:221).

This thesis aims to shed light on German colonial exploits at Ziavi from the 1880s to 1914. This aspect of shared history is often overlooked in Western historiography, and yet is deeply entwined with the history of Ghana. The thesis examines the legacies of German colonial encounters in the Ziavi community of the Ho municipality located in the Volta Region of Ghana. It also examines the agency of the indigenous people in the face of German colonial hegemony in the area.

The subject of German colonialism is of major significance to our understanding of the history as well as the historical archaeology of Ziavi (see map: fig. 1.1) As a society that is characterized by postcolonial connectivities including political, cultural and economic contacts with colonial Germany, the study explores the remnants of the tangible and intangible shared past of Ziavi. The investigation of the socio-cultural creations and reconstructions of vestiges or memories due to such interactions provide understanding into the interplay between the

former colonizers and their subject colonies of the past and the shared memories of both contemporary societies

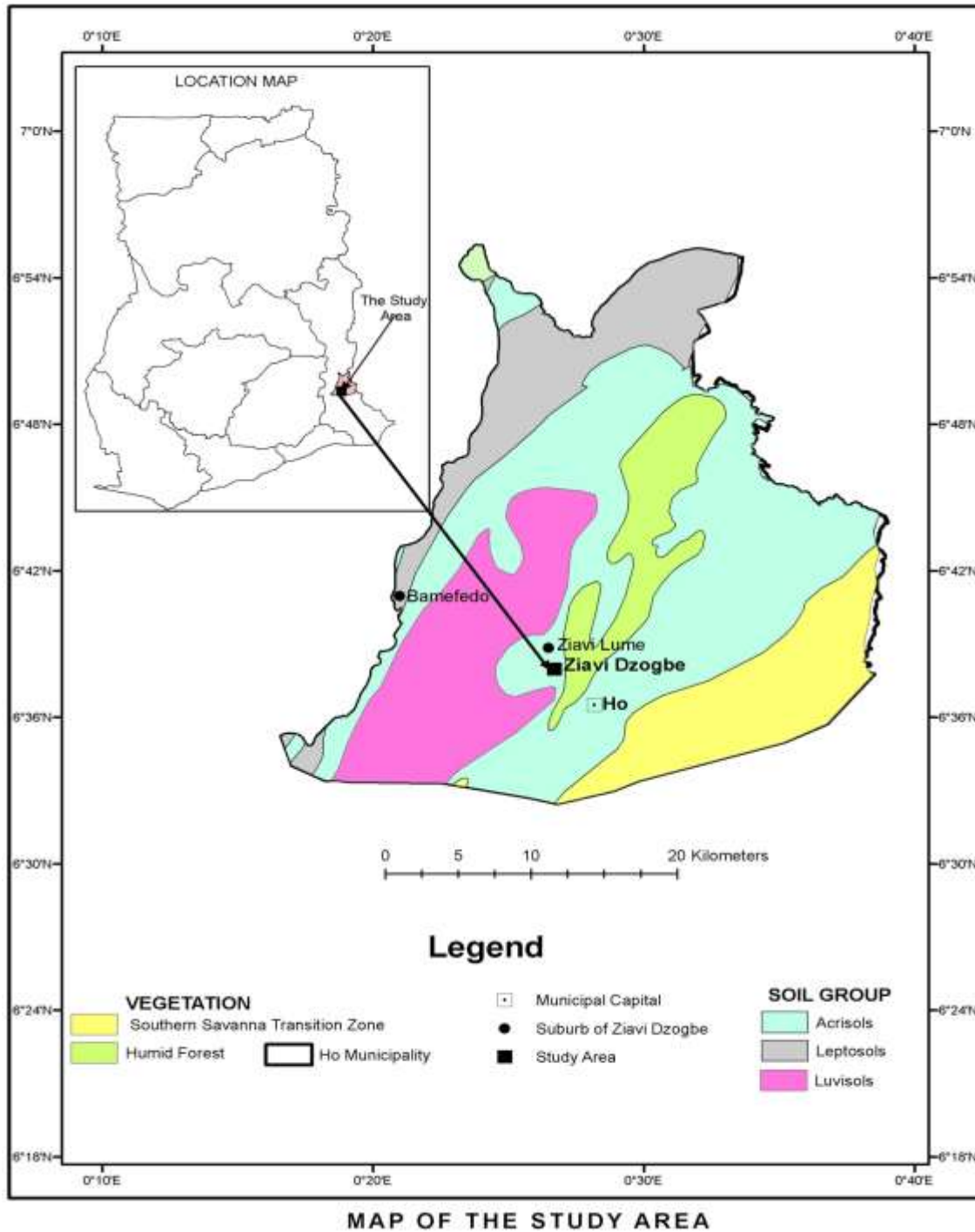


Figure 1.1 map of the study area (Source: The Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, 2015).

German colonial rule lasted in West Africa, specifically in Togoland and Cameroon between 1884 -1914 with Togoland being hailed as Germany’s model colony (Laumann 2003;

Lundt 2013). Although a century has passed, the history of German colonialism remains unforgotten and “the cultural memory of the German activities in the east and also in the north-east and central Volta Region of Ghana is still very strong and alive today” (Lundt, 2013:21).

European presence in West Africa has left behind lasting landmarks and legacies in the form of trade castles, forts, and lodges, located mainly in coastal areas (Anquandah 1995; Albert, Priddy and Van Dantzig 1971; Lawrence 1963) as well as residential colonial stations at some inland areas such as Abutia, Kpando, Kete-Krachi (Apoh 2008) and other places (Map 1.2). One of such inland residential/administrative colonial stations located at Galenkuito at Ziavi Dzogbe in the Ho municipality (see fig.1.3) is where this study was conducted. Plantations of food and cash crops such as cocoa, rubber, palm nut, mango, coffee, cotton and kola nut are among other legacies left behind by the European colonizers (Mbowura 2013; Pohl and Longi 2013). Imported ceramics, building bricks and blocks, glassware, stoneware, smoking pipes (Anquandah 1999; Apoh 2008; DeCorse 2001; Gyam 2008) as well as some intangibles such as administrative policies, governance, and judicial systems (Boahen 1990) are among a host of other legacies bequeathed by the colonial system of governance in Ghana and other West African societies.



Figure 1.2 Map showing German colonial and mission stations in Togoland (Source: Mareike Heller and Vincent Dogbey, 2015)

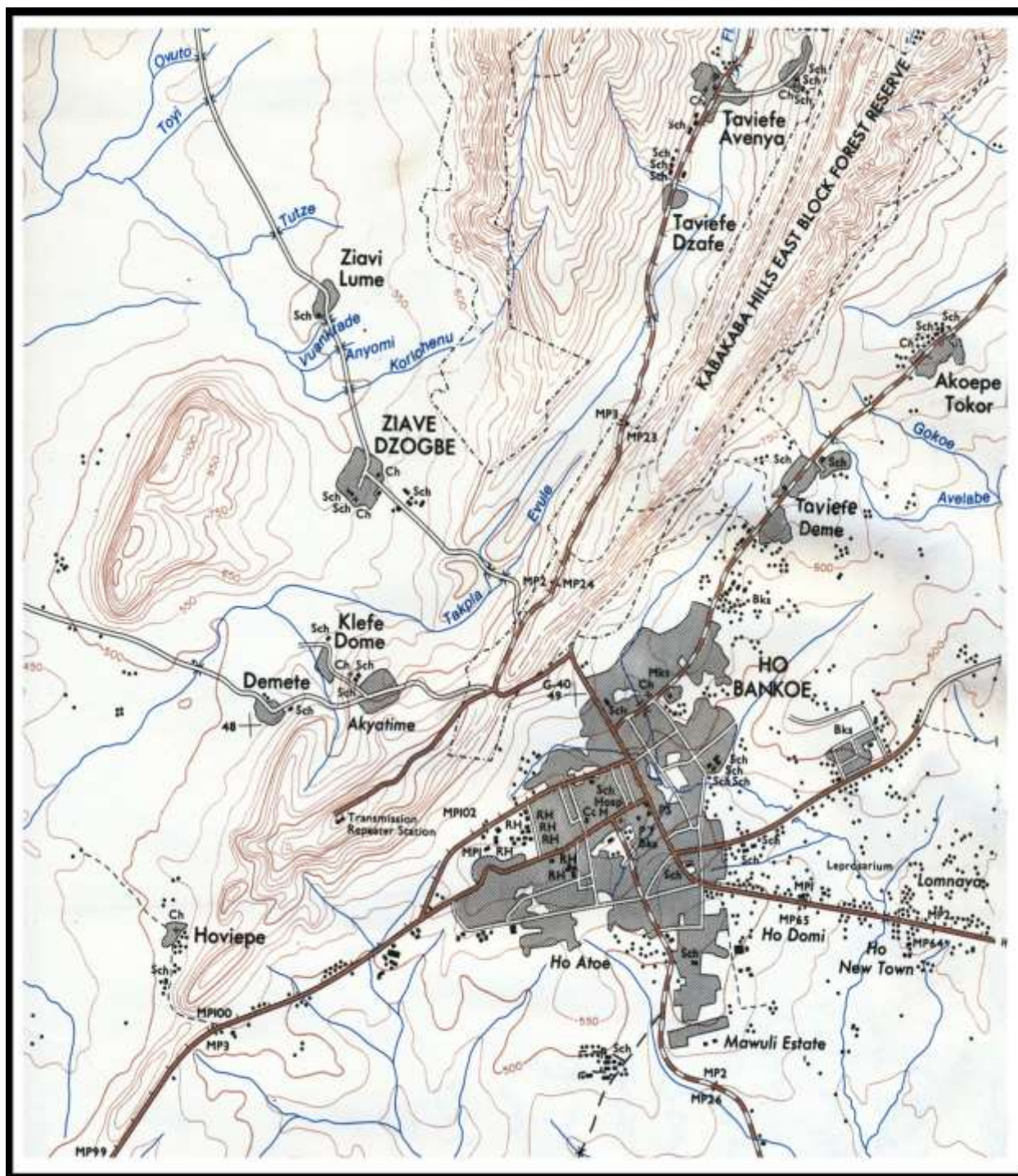


Figure 1.3 Topographic map of the study area (Source: Ghana Survey Department, Accra, 2015).

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

African-European interaction on Ghana's coastal settlements have received a degree of archaeological consideration (e.g. Anquandah 1992, 1997; DeCorse 1989, 1992, 2001; Gyam

2008). Although there has been a number of dedicated archaeological researches in the interior regions of Ghana, these are not in equal measure compared to work done on Ghana's coastal sites (e.g. Apoh 2008; Kumah 2013; Stahl 2001).

Research on African-European contact sites have generally been limited in scope. They usually concentrate on the identification and description of architectural structures (DeCorse 1996:42) as well as trade forts and castles (Anquandah 1992, 1997; Dantzig 1980; Lawrence 1963, 1969). There has been inadequate assessment of associated material culture. Established on the fact that material culture is meaningfully constituted, this neglect and inattention had resulted in the distortion of the colonial histories of previously 'micro' colonized African societies and perhaps on how they had been influenced or hampered by the agentive practices of Europeans decades and centuries ago.

This research sets out to investigate how such African-European interactions played out at Ziavi. It lays emphasis on material culture analysis and interpretation in order to review and make visible Ziavi's prehistoric and immediate past to understand its present. It also attempts to reveal not only the town's socio-cultural patterns as influenced by the Germans but also the physical layout and town planning patterns of Ziavi at the time of German colonial rule.

1.2 The site

The Ziavi Galenkuito site is located about 3km northeast of the Ziavi Township. According to oral accounts, the Germans settled on the site in the 19th Century. The British also resided on the site from 1914 and left in the 1950's. After the Germans and later the British had left the site in the mid twentieth century, the Forestry Department of Ho took control of the site. Though there are shortfalls, the takeover by the Forestry Department has contributed to the preservation of the site against encroachment. However, the activities of the Forestry

Commission has to some extent led to the disturbance of some sections of the site over the years.

The site, whose vegetation is presently overgrown with teak and Mango trees (see fig 1.4), is also characterized by rocks. The remains of the rock building foundation especially, corroborate and evince European occupation of the site in the late nineteenth century as it contrasts with the wattle and daub building technology of the early local settlers. The southeastern part of the site offers a stunning view of parts of Ho township. Its strategic location and serene atmosphere has attracted some religious groups who converge there occasionally for religious activities.



Figure 1.4 Remnant of the mango tree avenue at the site. These were planted by the Germans on the site (Field photo, 2015).



Figure 1.5: Ruins of the main house foundation showing cemented floor (Field photo, 2015).

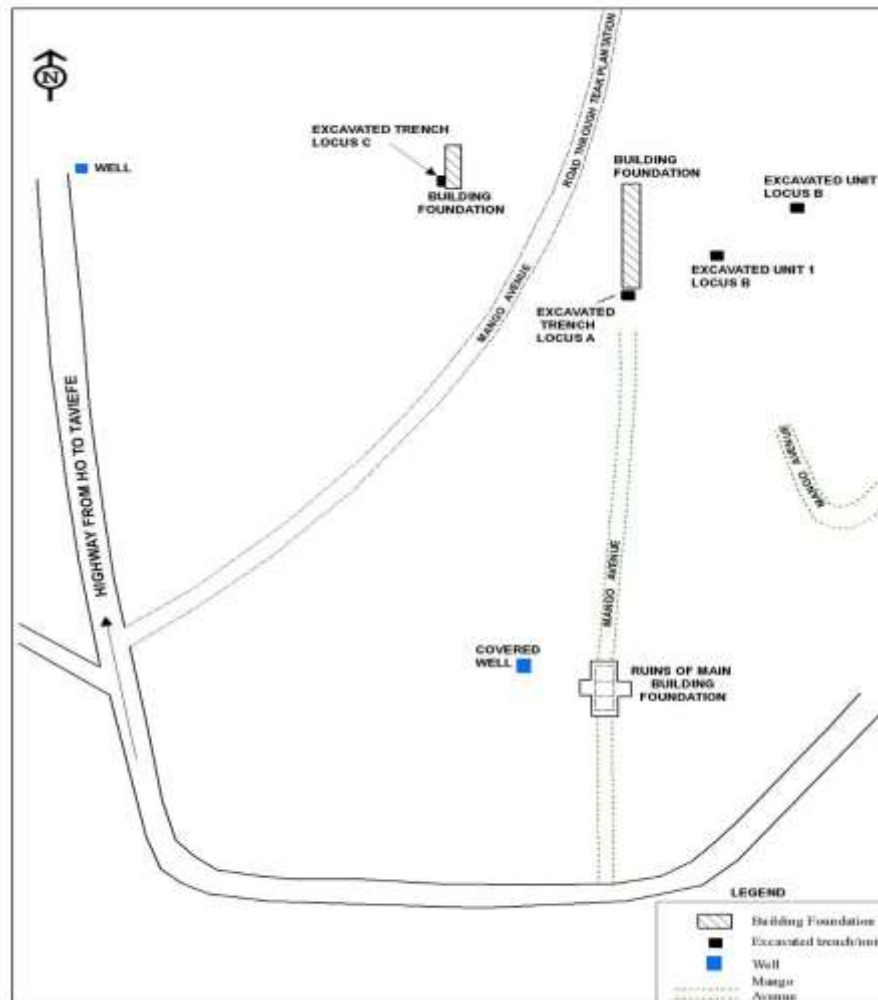


Figure 1.6 Site map at Galenkuito in relation to ruins of the main colonial building (Source: Dr. Apoh, 2015).

1.3 Aim and Objectives of Research

The aim of this research is to investigate and assess the archaeology of Ziavi with reference to its 19th Century interactions with the imperial German colonial regime at the Galenkuito site.

In relation to specific objectives, the study examined and documented the settlement histories of Ziavi based on oral and historical accounts in order to understand their pre-colonial lifeways. Past and present material culture manifestations of Ziavi were examined to understand the material use and discard ways of the people. The study also assessed and

analyzed the characteristics of the features and material culture expressions of the Germans as well as the varieties of their extant colonial heritages. Finally, the study questioned the development and impacts of German colonial presence on the indigenous and contemporary world-view of Ziavi including the people's remembrance or de-remembrance of the German occupation.

1.4 Research Questions

Relevant questions were posed to tease out answers that bordered on the research aim and objectives. They include: What are the settlement and pre-colonial histories of Ziavi? What are the pre-colonial cultural legacies of Ziavi? what are the indigenous and colonial material culture manifestations at Ziavi? what was the nature (direct or indirect) of interaction between the German colonizers and the colony of Ziavi? what are the memories of German occupation at Ziavi? what are the impacts and development of the German colonial presence on the indigenous culture of Ziavi? and finally, what is the extent and current state of the Ziavi Galenkuito colonial site?

1.5 Study Approaches

An eclectic approach was adopted to ensure the achievement of the study aim and objectives. The study combined results from reconnaissance survey and ethnographic studies at the Galenkuito site and the Ziavi community. Archival research, photography, and assessment of historical documents were employed to provide datasets relevant to the research aim and objectives.

Reconnaissance survey at the Galenkuito site was carried out through site-walking over a 450m square across the site area. The walkover was undertaken in transects to discover material remains on the site. The vegetation on the site consisting of teak trees did not allow extensive survey of the full extent of the site. Surface scatter of artefacts and features were meticulously recorded and photographed prior to their collection. The survey also helped to

assess and to establish the broad layout of the site as well as the distribution of the site's artefacts and features.

The ethnographic studies included meetings, interactions, and interviews with the paramount chief of Ziavi, Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV and his council of elders for information on the migration and settlement histories of Ziavi. Interviews and meetings were also carried out between other clan chiefs and elders from the Anaviefe, the Agorvieve, the Tsadaviefe, the Akpevi, and the Tsimé clans. These helped to assess complementary information on the migration and settlement histories of Ziavi as well as their reminiscences of the colonial history of Germans at the Galenkuito site.

A focus group discussion was also used to solicit information. The group was made up of current and retired educational workers, in the person of Mr. John Agati, Mr. Agbeko Elorm, Mr. Gbadegbah Mawusi, Mr. and Ahiaglo Sampson. Some youths were also part of the group. They included Dzifa Asamoah as well as Yayra Amenudziku. Togbe Gameli, an opinion leader and members of the research team were also part of group. The discussion helped to document and analyze knowledge and views on the contemporary lifeways of the community and memories on the contacts between their forebears and the German occupants on Ziavi's landscape. Aspects of Ziavi's oral accounts (oral history and oral tradition) were also recorded during this phase.

Consultation and interaction with the Acting Regional Museum Curator, Mr. Honour Arku, yielded many insights. Archival enquiries at the national and regional archives in Accra, and Ho were explored to provide additional information that pertained to the indigenous affairs of the people of Ziavi. This also helped to assess data on the German colonial activities in the research area.

Local stories, myth, folklores, and legends were recorded on a voice recorder for supplementary information on the settlement history and pre-colonial life ways of the people. This method was combined with the use of the camera to engage in visual documentation of relics of past German legacies at the Ziavi archaeological site.

Library research at the Balme and African Studies libraries of the University of Ghana provided useful historical and written sources of information on European expansion into West Africa. Published books and articles on colonial encounters, particularly on German colonialism, also proved resourceful as far as the intricacies of German colonial activities in West Africa is concerned. Notable examples among such publications include Amenumey (2011), Boahen (1990), Sebald (2012), DeCorse (2001), and Laumann (1999; 2003).

The research team, which comprised professionals, field workers and students undertook a “trowel’s edge” (Hodder 2013:4-5) excavation on the site. The material cultural objects recovered from the excavations served as primary and supplementary data to other secondary data sources obtained for the study.

Archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork was carried out from the 6th of January through to the 16th of January, 2015. This was done as part of the broader VW funded project on “The Archaeology of German Colonial Heritage in Ghana’, directed by Dr. Wazi Apoh and also with funding from the University of Ghana. The project was also assisted by Mr. Daniel Kumah (an Assistant Lecturer at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies), the 2014/2015 academic year field school students of the Department and Mr. Edward Nyarko, (a Teaching Assistant) from the Department. The activities which were carried out during this phase included archaeological field survey and excavation on the Galenkuito site as well as ethnographic research on contemporary socio-economic and cultural behaviours of the people of Ziavi Dzogbe and Lume.

As part of the ethnographic research, we participated in and documented the Yam and Town development festivals (*Teduduza* and *Dututudoza*) of the Ziavi community. This helped to record the rituals and customs associated with these annually celebrated festivals among the people of Ho- Ziavi. The religious identities, practices and associated materials and popular culture (music and dance), subsistence and indigenous technologies, settlement histories, hierarchy of traditional authorities, settlement patterns, and architectural styles as well as the cognitive structures of the people of Ziavi were studied and documented.

The archaeological field survey led to the identification of the remains of the German constructed well (fig.1.7) at the Galenkuito site on the ‘Kabakaba hill’ (fig.1.3). According to the local informants, the German constructed well was the main source of water that sustained the domestic activities of the colonial officials who lived on the Galenkuito site. The ruins of their colonial structures are still visible on the site (fig.1.5 and 1.8).



Figure 1.7 Remains of German constructed well at Galenkuito (Field data, 2015).



Figure 1.8 Ruins of one of the German buildings at the site (Field data, 2015).

The selection of the excavated areas was done during the reconnaissance survey based on judgmental sampling technique (Shennan 1992:385-7). Using the Pythagoras theory, ($\sqrt{a^2 + b^2} = c$), the selected areas were triangulated and measured according to units and trenches. In all, two (2x2) m units and two (2x3) m trenches were excavated at the loci (Locus A, Locus B and Locus C). Locus A is associated with the house foundations of the main building located towards the southwest while Locus B is located towards the northeast of the site.

Archaeological materials such as pottery fragments, bottle fragments, broken glasses and metal objects were analyzed with assistance from graduate students, teaching and technical staff of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana. Analysis of fauna remains, particularly of the bones, was done with expert and technical assistance from a fauna analysis specialist, Mr. B.M Murey, formerly of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies University of Ghana.

1.6 Thesis Structure

Chapter Two reviews literature on conceptual propositions on agency, culture contact studies, historical perspectives on African-European interactions, in addition to discussions on the archaeology of German colonial history in Ghana.

The contemporary socio-cultural practices, lifeways, religious identities, subsistence activities, popular culture, settlement patterns and architectural styles, clan systems and functionalities including the migration and pre-colonial histories of the people are presented in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four provides details on the archaeological research undertaken at the Ziavi Galenkuito site, including the description and illustration of excavated units and trenches.

Chapter Five provides specifics on the classification and analysis of archaeological findings recovered from excavations. Matters arising from the classification and analysis of the archaeological materials are discussed. Finally, Chapter Six summarizes and concludes on the major findings and their implications for the community being studied as well as the historical archaeology of Ghana. It includes a summary on the archaeological, indigenous, and cultural manifestations of colonial interaction as well as a summary on the contemporary life ways and ethno-histories of the people of Ziavi.

1.7 Significance of Research.

This research is very significant in many respects. Firstly, it contributes to the limited existing body of knowledge in the sphere of historical archaeology of Ghana; particularly in the Volta Region of Ghana. Being part of an ongoing and pioneering archaeological project in the Ho municipality of the Volta Region of Ghana, this study serves as a basis for comparative study and a point of reference for future researchers working on the archaeology and histories of communities located within the Ho municipality as well as across the other regions of Ghana.

Finally, the study contributes to documentation on the collective and shared memories of the past German interaction with the people of Ziavi. It also brings to bear the variety of the extant German colonial heritages on the site that have the potential of being reconstructed and repackaged for tourism growth and development in the area or region for that matter.

1.8 Research Constraints

The researcher was confronted with a number of constraints in the conduct of this study. Due to the large size of the site, a complete surface survey of the entire site became a difficult task. It was impossible to completely survey the whole site within the limited period of time.

The teak tree vegetation cover of the site and the site's rocky characteristics made excavation more complicated and challenging. The process of excavation was for example, characterized by frequent and boring pauses in order to cut intruding rootlets or to remove stones within pits being excavated. Another major challenge encountered in the course of this study was the indiscriminate activities of some workers of the Forestry Authority in the area. Their untoward activities have resulted in the wanton destruction of many of the building remains of the Germans on the site. This blurred and hindered a complete overview of the building remains.

Furthermore, there were limited archival records from the national and regional archives on the activities of the Germans in Ghana. Unfortunately however, some of the few available records from the national archives in Accra and Ho were German-written and therefore the researcher was confronted with translation difficulties within the stipulated time frame of the research.

The final challenge, especially during the ethnographic research, was not only the lack of German descendants in the community but also the lack of eye-witness accounts of people at the time of the German-Ziavi encounter. They would have probably been able to contribute their vivid and personal experiences of the colonial encounter to further buttress the archaeological as well as the ethnographic evidence.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on the conceptual and methodological matters on agency, culture contact representations, as well as discussions on historical and archaeological works undertaken on German colonialism in Ghana. It also provides a brief overview of an aspect of colonial heritage as it relates to the Germans in ‘Togoland’ especially the central Volta Region of Ghana.

2.1 The Conceptual Framework of study

This research is mirrored in cultural representation as a concept that acknowledges how the world is socially constructed and represented to us and by us (Barker 2000:8; Kivisto 2013:21). The central fiber of cultural studies demands the investigation of the modes by which meaning is produced in a variety of contexts (Barker 2000). This is to say individual/group behaviour is somewhat reflected in daily representation of cultural material objects.

In the context of culture contact studies as a body of knowledge for instance, exchange of indigenous/colonial images, ideas, technologies features, objects, artifacts among others are viewed as direct evidence of interactions between groups, economies, and societies (DeCorse 1999). It offers an avenue to understand the nature and variability of the daily life ways of people within time and space.

This research is undertaken based on the fact that “there is no such thing as an isolated culture” and that no human society has ever existed for any material period of time in isolation from others and that culture contact is a basic human fact (Cusick 1998).

The research takes into account the conscious creative activities and mindset of individuals and their dispositions to resistance or conformation. Agency recognizes the recursive relationship between the individual and his external forces. It is therefore indispensable in the light of agency and practice to engage in the analysis of cultural materiality of human society within time and space (Siatta 1994; Silliman 2001; 2005; Dorman 2002).

The dynamics of cultural representation, agency, and practice reinforces specificities of interaction and negotiation between the agency of Ziavi and former German colonial representatives in the Ho municipality.

An eclectic approach anchored in the ‘content and practice of historical archaeology’ utilized documentary sources, oral accounts, ethnographic research, archival data in addition to primary archaeological record (DeCorse 2014) to understand the interactions between German occupants and the people of Ziavi in the late 19th Century.

2.2 The Nexus of Agency and Colonialism.

“The most beautiful part of our globe is still uncultivated and luxuriate in inexhaustible exuberance, waiting the hands of man to fashion them, and the Germans possess these human hands in greater measure perhaps than any other people. For is there any nation in the world as capable and energetic as the German nation.” –Hubbe-Sehleiden (Debrunner 1965:100).

This quotation, by the Hamburg merchant, Hubbe-Sehleiden, and a German protagonist of colonialism (Debrunner 1965) may be considered as typical of the attitude of minds and perceptions of the pioneers of German colonialism. The drive of the Germans like any of the world’s former colonial powers was to explore and exploit the natural, economic, and human resources of its colonies.

The core of agency theory is based on the fundamental consensus that, people are not uniform automatons merely reacting to changes in their external world but rather play active roles in the formation of the social realities in which they participate (Barfield 1997:4). The

dialectics between agency and structure (for example colonialism), borders on the creative activities of individuals within social structures (Bourdieu 1977: 8; Giddens 1979:16). Lopiparo and Joyce (2005) argue that agency and structure are two indivisible parts of a single process through which society is continuously created over time and that everything that persists or changes in archaeological sites is evidence of agency. This was confirmed at the Galenkuito site of Ziavi where excavation was done. Apparently, the presence and activities of the European occupants were attested by recovered remains such as European smoking pipes, ceramics, European coins, remnants of building structures, a mango avenue, teak vegetation cover and a constructed German well. The activities of the early local settlers' were also revealed in the recovered remains such as local ceramics, daub, iron slag, metal objects as well as flora and fauna remains. This allows overview of coordinated activities of the former German colonial officials and its effect on Ziavi's societal landscape through time.

With agency as an analytical tool in the social sciences (Dobres and Robb, 2000), there has been a reflected desire by researchers to counter deterministic models of human action by acknowledging that people purposefully alter their external world through such actions. The ways in which human actions are constrained, enabled, constructed, and manifested within social systems/structures have been the concern of most social science researchers (Ortner, 1984: 148). In this light, this research investigates how the colonial structures of German administration influenced the indigenous culture lifeways of Ziavi and the vice versa.

In this study, the concept of agency is used to aid in the analysis of the socio-cultural reproductions of the people of Ziavi as influenced by colonial agentive practices. The relationship between material culture and everyday social action is best understood within the framework of agency and structure (Dobres and Robb 2005). According to Dobres and Robb (2005), what has been under-explored in archaeology is the linkage of observable material patterning to the agency of social reproduction and how to understand the role of material

culture in such dynamic processes. Strengthening this view, Dorman (2005:304) notes that, “agency is alternately equated with the individual, individually unique cognitive structures; resistance to social forms, resistance to power inequalities, capacity for skillful social practice, freedom from structural constraints and free will”. Similarly, agency is posited as rooted in purposeful or intentional action; rational action; conscious practice; unconscious dispositions; and subjective experience (ibid 2005). The archaeological data recovered from Ziavi provides insights into such intentional and conscious creations of individuals/groups within the framework of culture contact interactions.

Corollary to Dorman (2005)’s position on intentionality and rationality of individual’s action, European colonial penetration into West Africa is undoubtedly founded on some purposeful/intentional/rational/conscious motives. As was examined by Brako and Frimpong (2013:221), the drive for all European countries’ seizure of territories in Africa across time and space was virtually for the same reason, that was, for the exercise of economic control and the exploitation natural and human resources.

The interconnection between colonialism as structure and agency as practice or action is therefore necessary for illuminating specific roles played by both colonial and indigenous actors in shaping Ziavi society. Agency as both a theory and a form of social practice (Dobres and Robb 2005: 161), clearly helps to access the meaningful world of the past through the fragmentary relics of the archaeological record.

Similarly, “rather than analyze material culture in only pragmatic and functional terms across theoretical spectrum, archaeologists now also appreciate that, material culture is-and was in the past, meaningful to the degree that it could ‘act back’ on its makers and users” (Gell 1998:54; Hodder 1987:39). Thus, from an agency perspective, the relationship between material culture and people is complex, context-specific, and dialectical. The use of agency in material culture analysis is not only “central” to social reproduction but also constitutes social

relations and meaning making. In the context of Ziavi, the functions and meanings of the material culture remains (building remains, European coins, bullet cartridges, local and foreign ceramics) from the site were ascertained in addition to the makers and users of these material assemblage through the analytical lens of agency and structure. The analysis of the material constituents and decorative styles of local ceramics reveals similar affinities with pottery fragments from the Kpando area of the Volta Region. Similarly, the European ceramics upon analysis, were identified to have come from England or Europe in general while the building remains were concluded to have been German built colonial structures in the late 19th Century. Stoler (1992) notes that, in the late 1970s and 1980s most social science researchers emphasized the question of agency by looking at how individuals and their lifeways were constrained by the structures of colonialism and oppression.

Stoler argues that, rather than focusing on the dialectics of agency by some antecedent scholars, contemporary scholars should focus on identifying the active agency of colonized population and their ‘modus operandi’ of resistance to such colonial impositions in a bid to alter the conditions of such encounters. Interrogating the active players of colonialism – merchants, missionaries, and administrators, with particular attention to the ‘specific roles’ they played in West African societies, is relevant to understanding agency of socio-cultural formations and constructions within such societies. In this way, the pre-colonial lifeways of Ziavi society and how it has been influenced by the agency or practices of Germans can be ascertained. The extent of influence is the question to be posed since we cannot predict the response of local people to external forces (Isaacman and Robbers 1995:2-3), but “rather we must garner diverse evidence to characterize the form and impact of external forces in specific cultural contexts.”

Although the data collected from the site and the community for example, were unable to clearly define the modes by which the local people of Ziavi resisted the active players of

colonial influence, there were evidence from the ethnographic data that attempts by the Bremen Missionaries to break the African indigenous and religious leadership of Ziavi failed. Nevertheless, they succeeded in constructing the earliest church auditorium in Ziavi for their converts in 1907. The construction of this church, the Evangelical Presbyterian church according to the information gathered marked the beginning of the weakening of African Indigenous Religion and the traditional leadership of Ziavi.

This challenges researchers not to only document the specificities of actions and lifeways of individuals, whether locals or colonials, but also to assess and examine their cultural/material representations in order to identify similarities and variations within space and time (DeCorse 2001; Stahl 2001). The reconnaissance survey carried out at the Galenkuito site showed varieties of German colonial features, which ranged from the teak vegetation, the mango avenue, the German constructed well to the assessment of the colonial administrative building remains. Site excavation on the other hand, revealed different colonial and local material culture, which among others included European smoking pipes, imported ceramics, European coins, metal objects, local ceramics, daub pieces, bead, slag, fauna and flora remains. On this note, Lopiparo and Joyce (2005:372) urge archaeologists to be well grounded in order to identify “sequences of action – chains, networks and citations over time at multiple scales”, as a requirement for linking the ‘everyday’ local (reproductions and reconstructions of) practices to the global and the historical”

On a more practical level, the search for past intentionality can be herculean. As Pauketat (2001) suggests, attempts to understand the “complex events of the past demands a broad based information about the actual dynamics of social practices and shared values of historical actors.” Thus, archaeologists need to provide the broadest possible context based on multiple source of data that teases out the character and effects of “specific ways” in which lives were intertwined within a system or structure. In line with this, this study combined and

integrated multiple sources of data such as primary archaeological data, documentary records, ethnographic source data, and archival data not to only understand the character and effects of the interaction that once occurred between the local people of Ziavi and the German European powers in the late 19th Century but also examined similarities and differences in the cultural/material representations of the former German occupants and the people of Ziavi

2.3 The Nexus of Culture Contact and Colonialism

Enquiries into issues of colonialism and culture contact have assumed an identifiable position in contemporary historical archaeology. Archaeologists have made enormous strides in documenting the complexities and intricacies of interactions between African indigenous people and the expanding European mercantilist and capitalist world economy and political spheres of the last half- millennium (Silliman 2005:55). To Silliman, the implications of colonialism and culture contact affect understanding of local histories, identities, and indigenous cultural survival. In this way, they also serve as a linear continuous development, which is conceived of the past as qualitatively different from the present (Conrad 2012:126).

Conrad further contends that, colonialism is not limited to the period of formal territorial rule that ended with the treaty of Versailles in 1919 but still continues in varied forms and shapes in different contexts of human encounter. It is particularly true for colonies that continued to be shaped and hampered by the decisions and paths taken in colonial times (Conrad *ibid*).

Silliman (2005) generally defines colonialism as the process by which a city or nation exerts hegemonic control over people (termed indigenous) and territories outside its geographical boundaries. Colonialism is “often operated on fixed orders of racial and cultural difference” (Gosden 2004:22). These “fixed orders of racial and cultural difference” may be underpinned by such inspiring factors as political domination and exploitation of natural and human resources. This is to say that, these motivating factors would always spur a city or a

nation to want to extend its sovereignty to other jurisdiction other than its geographical landmarks.

Culture contact stands as a broad-spectrum term that refers to groups of people coming into or staying in contact for days, months, years, decades, centuries, or even millennia (Silliman 2005). Culture contact is dynamic and may be varied in many respects. It may for instance range from “amicable to hostile, extensive to minor, long term to short-term duration or ancient to recent” (ibid 2005). It may also include a variety of essentials such as exchanges, integration, slavery, and imperialism (Silliman 2005:58). Cusick (1998c) defines culture contact as “a predisposition for groups to interact with outsiders, a necessity created through human diversity, settlement pattern, a desire for exchange and the decision to control that interaction.” Moreover, Schortman and Urban (1998:102) define culture contact as “any case of protracted direct exchanges among members of social units who do not share the same identity.” The exchanges could take the form of tangible material culture such as buildings, architectural designs, ceramics, textiles, food, and trade items. The intangible elements could include administrative policies, cognitive structures, political and judicial systems, socio-cultural practices as well as religion and ritual essentials.

In the case of Ziavi, interactions between the local people and the German colonial agents were represented in varied material objects such as ruined building structures, European and local ceramics, European smoking pipes, European coins, bullet cartridges, mango avenue, forest reserve and so on. European activities in most African societies are ostensibly premised on initiating cordial relationships; usually on the grounds of establishing treaties of friendship and sometimes of protection with the African population. Culture contact has not only been pervasive and indispensable but the tensions of external demands and internal responses have been typical of contact settings throughout the history of human society (DeCorse 2001).

In the historical archaeological investigation of Elmina, DeCorse (1992) reveals that, while the local Elmina people of the Gold Coast maintained their indigenous life ways and worldview, the European officials at Elmina exercised a degree of socio-economic and political control over their trade fort and immediate vicinities. Gramberg (1861) further argues that African use of imported trade goods was simply an imitation of European behavior yet an avenue for changing their non-material beliefs and epistemologies. While this is somewhat true, one cannot also deny the fact that the Europeans also became acculturated to the use of locally produced goods, as they were relatively and economically cheaper compared to some imported items. Evidently, local material culture remains such as pottery fragments, fish bones, local smoking pipes, and metal objects recovered from the residences of the Europeans and the locals at Elmina (DeCorse 2001) and at Fort Crevecoeur, Accra (Anquandah 1999, 2001) attested to this fact.

Dietler (2005) notes that an engagement in the historicity of colonization is necessary for revealing the socio-cultural construction of ideologies of modern imperialism and the practices of modern colonialism (ibid 2005:53). This aspect of imperialism, emerging from contact is noticeable at Nawuri, in the Northern Region of Ghana in the nineteenth century. Here, the German colonial authorities exercised hegemony when they attempted to alter the subsistence nature of the local economy of Nawuri by coercing them to venture into commercial cotton production; firstly for local consumption and ultimately for export into the metropole. This external demand by the colonial agents, nonetheless, was met vehemently with internal resistance coded in 'hiding' (Mbowura 2013:208). At the news that the Germans were approaching the Nawuri community, the people, especially the farmers, would run into hiding at their settlement shrines located at the outskirts of the community where no stranger knew. The hiding in such settlement shrines, which is a non-combative form of resistance, was aimed at protection against capture by the German colonial authorities (Mbowura 2013:208-209).

The German textile industry had an enormous need for raw cotton and their textile industry had become an extremely important industry by 1900 (Pohl and Longi 2013:186). They thus found it necessary to manipulate the people of Nawuri community to increase cotton production and supply to the textile industries in Germany. The circumstances that surrounded this encounter at Nawuri did not suggest that the nature of the interactions was a peaceful one but rather a hostile one. Drawing from Mbowura's (2013) studies, the strict and severe punitive measures adopted by the colonial authorities, such as 'flogging' of those they considered not industrious and 'lazy' rather became a disincentive to majority of the people who could not escape but remained to participate in the cotton growing business.

Culturally, colonial activities in most parts of West Africa undermined the indigenous culture and heritages of the local societies they interacted with. Boahen (1985:336) for instance notes that, the European colonial actors (missionaries, traders, administrators, settlers, engineers and miners alike), who invaded Africa during the colonial era were generally filled with the spirit of cultural and racial superiority and therefore condemned everything African. African music, arts, dance, religion, marriage, names, and system of inheritance were all looked down upon and disrespected by the colonial actors as backward and uncivilized. Anyone who had to be baptized and accepted into the church (colonial established church) for instance, had to change his/her name and be willing to renounce his 'Africanness'.

This notwithstanding, the assertion by Boahen (1985) needs to be swallowed with a grain of salt because it is not entirely the same in all European colonized areas; more especially where missionary works and their associated changes in identities were concerned. Some examples that attest to this includes places such as Old Accra" (Anquandah 2000), Elmina (DeCorse 1997, 2001), Axim (Gyam 2008; Valsecchi 2014), Awudua-Dada (Kumah 2013), Banda (Stahl 2001), PrincesTown (Nyarko 2013) and Osu (Wellington 2011), where historical and archaeological enquiries on European contacts were conducted. There were silences on

how missionary activities played out especially in the Christianization of the local people in these research areas. Owing to this however, changes in the identities of colonized local people may not be generally considered as Europeans standard of practice.

Interchanges and conformation to dietary patterns and foodways, a common feature of culture contact was yet another point made by DeCorse at Elmina. DeCorse (2001:114) points out that by the early nineteenth century, some of Elmina's residents had adopted European foodways. In 1823, George Howard, an American ship captain wrote:

“Having to do all the business of trade ashore I was often invited to dine with them (African merchants). They live in good style, having rich chased silver plates and dishes and silver and gold handled knives and forks and spoon. Their dinners consists of several courses, soups, meats, chicken, & fish all well-cooked, and fruits, nuts and sweet meat for desserts, and choice wine liquors, and porter for drink” (quoted in Bennett and Brooks 1965:118 cited in DeCorse 2001:114).

2.4 Historical Survey of German Colonialism in Togoland

Colonial historiography records that Germans earliest colonial adventure in West Africa was by the Kurfurst Friedrich Wilhelm I of Brandenburg from 1620 until 1688 (Van Der Heyden, 2001:42). Kurfurst Friedrich Wilhelm was called the “Der Große Kurfurst” because of his achievements in German history (Lundt 2013:15-16). Drawing from Lundt's introduction to the book entitled “Germany and its West African colonies” (ibid 2013), Brandenburg, the north-eastern part of Germany with its capital at Potsdam was the first German speaking country to have engaged in colonialism. Subsequently, a castle was built in the then Gold Coast and named Gross-Friedrichburg” after Friedrich Wilhelm I.

In West Africa, particularly Ghana, studies such as Anquandah (1997, 2001), DeCorse (1992, 2001), Gyam (2008) and Nyarko (2013) have focused on African-European contact. Anquandah's (1997, 2001) for instance, which dealt with the encounters between the people of ‘Old Accra’ (Present-day Jamestown) and the Dutch in the period 1640-1867 and subsequently the British in 1867 discussed aspects of the daily life ways and exchange behaviours of the

Europeans and the local indigenes. Analysis and interpretation of the archaeological finds revealed that, the Europeans relied heavily on locally produced food sources and pottery rather than imported food sources and culinary objects.

This was evident in the overwhelming predominance of local pottery and fauna remains as compared to imported ones in such an European site. With reference to this, Anquandah concluded that the Europeans ultimately must have become acculturated and adapted to the use of indigenous ceramics and subsistence life ways since they were economically cheaper. DeCorse's (1992, 1997) studies, which investigated the interaction and daily negotiations between the Dutch and the people of Elmina, showed interactions in trade, exchanges in food ways, social class stratifications among other findings. Similar colonial encounter was researched at Axim, between its people and the Dutch, Portuguese and the English by Gyam (2008).

Gyam's (2008) studies, revealed among other things how the early Europeans for instance, used wine to get the local Axim people intoxicated in order to smoke the 'peace pipe'. This unfortunately led the locals to the release the parcel of land on which the early Europeans built their fort. He also indicated based on the quantity of ceramics recovered from the excavations the concurrent use of local and European ceramics by the local and European occupants of Fort St. Anthony. Differently put, the European occupants may have been assimilated to the use of local ceramic vessels perhaps for their subsistence and foodways. The nativization of some socio-linguistic elements such as *bokiti* (bucket), *'panoo'* (bread), *'aspatre'* (shoe) of the people Nzema Gyam (2013) argued, was as a result of the presence of Portuguese in the area around the 16th and 17th Centuries. Europeans presence at Axim according to Gyam also led to the introduction of western type of education.

Wellington's (2011) recounted the tangible and intangible cultural heritages of Osu. Osu is a cosmopolitan community characterized by people of divergent origin and unique family histories in Accra, Ghana's capital. Wellington's (2011) studies, showed aspects of the Danish tangible and intangible heritages as noticeable in their building types, styles and architecture and identity changes in Osu, which once served as host community of the Danish merchants, plantation owners and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Wellington (2011) revealed how the interaction between the Danes and the people of Osu in some cases, changed the identities of some local people, as their names were changed into Danish names. Ibid's (2011) enquiry nonetheless, lacked archaeological perspective that could have revealed the holistic material culture that characterized the Danish-Osu encounter. Owing to this, there is therefore the need to revisit this "story" in the light of a contextual archaeological investigation in order to unsheathe the full story.

Arguably, such an Africa-European episode cannot be told without an ethno-archaeological 'point of view'. This research therefore, on 'investigating the Archaeology of German colonial heritage at Ziavi', as a point of call, is informed to transcend the popular description of the architectural vestiges of German colonialism at Ziavi, to considering other associated material cultures through site excavation.

The ultimate agenda of economic exploitation by the colonial Germans and the other Europeans was demonstrated in virtually all their settled areas. Zimmerman (2005:137) argues about how Germans for example, sought to spread and expand the cultivation of cotton in many parts of German Togoland after they had realized in 1889, that the people already produced cotton but on small scale for local consumption (Pohl & Longi 2013:186). This attempt of the Germans however, failed due to the agency of local resistance against the cruelty and harshness used in the implementation of their colonial policies (Beckert 2005; Zimmerman 2005).

Ntewusu's (2013) historical investigation on how German colonial rule played out in Kete-Krachi showed how the Germans penetrated Kete-Krachi's landscape and their subsequent interactions with the people. The German administrators, who arrived on an exploratory visit to Kete-Krachi later established an administrative capital there in December 1894 (Klose 1964:33-34). The genesis of their interference in the traditional and economic affairs of Kete-Krachi started when they were invited by the Hausa traders in Kete to help arbitrate disputes among them (the people of Kete) and Krachi, which were then separate towns prior to the arrival of Germans in 1894 (ibid 1964: 40).

The Germans readily welcomed the invitation because it was viewed as an opportunity to initiate contact with the people, for which means they would subsequently advance their economic interest. The unique geographical location and vibrant trade networks of Kete-Krachi were among other attractions that goaded German occupation at Kete-Krachi (Klose 1964: 33-34). Kete-Krachi, which was for instance, a major terminus for traders that came from Salaga, Yendi, Accra, Yeji and the Sahelian regions also had kolanuts as a significant trade item (Weina 2009).

What also attracted international missionaries; the Catholic Steyler Mission, the Wesleyan Mission and the Protestant North German Mission Society (PNGMS) to Kete-Krachi was because it was then viewed as a haven for all forms of "demonic" and "occult" activities due to its deity, Dente (Ntewusu 2013:236). Owing to the missionaries' perceptions on veneration of deities, the PNGMS, popularly referred to as the Bremen Mission, among the three missionary groups that visited Kete-Krachi, became the core agency of Christianity in the area. For effective missionary work towards the eradication of veneration of deities among the people of Kete-Krachi, administrative and military systems were built in the area by the Bremen missionaries. Although the Christian Mission as argued by Ustorf (2002: 34), did not have any relationship with the imperialist interest of Germany since PNGMS occasionally

opposed the German imperial government's intervention in its affairs, Gavua (2005) argues their operations systematically dislodged the grip of the indigenous religion and leadership of many Eweland and this must have created an enabling environment that enhanced the imperial German's interest and their eventual colonization of the people of Trans Volta Togoland.

The focus of Ntewusu's (2013) studies bordered on some impacts and development that the German occupation had on Kete-Krachi's landscape and its people. These included extension of influence by Kete-Krachi into the Guan areas of Ghana, including Bimbilla, due to trade contacts and their common worship of Dente. All Guan groups paid taxes and offered labour as a form of allegiance to the German administrators at the time of German colonization. Interestingly, even after the departure of the Germans, all the Guan areas as well as Bimbilla had formed a kind of political alliance, which enables them to defend each other and to resolve their internal problem themselves.

The impacts of the German presence at Kete-Krachi were varied. According to Ntewusu (2013:239-241), the impacts included the introduction of formal banking system, the introduction of modern medical practices, the inculcation of the culture of tree planting in the people, the construction of the earliest school and church buildings, facilitation of modern roads, facilitation of improved communication systems as well as the enhancement of a vibrant trade system. Even though trade was already vibrant prior to Germans occupation in the area, the effort and strictness of the German merchants secured all trade routes from bandits. This made Kete-Krachi an important trading center in the colonial and post-colonial eras. The diversion of trade from Kete-Krachi to Dambai (one of the towns in the Krachi Traditional Area), was due to the construction of the Akosombo Dam in the 1960s.

On the contrary, as part of the negative impacts of German interaction with the people of Kete-Krachi, a few things were pointed out by Ntewusu (2013). These included the

weakening and disruption of the hold of Indigenous African religion in the area through the execution of the Krachi Dente Bosomfo (Chief Priest), Nana Jantrubi. This was carried out by a German firing squad in 1894 for allegedly sacrificing human beings to his 'deity' (Kuma 1970:17). The effect of this incidence has tended to make the mention of the term 'German'/'Germany' forbidden and is considered a taboo in Kete-Krachi's Dente shrine even in contemporary times.

Another impact was the diversion of taxes (in cash or in kind) from the Krachi Bosomfo (Chief priest) to the German authorities because the Germans felt the former trend would reduce their revenue. This went on until the Germans departure from the area in 1914 that was, the beginning of World War I. Ntewusu's (2013) studies, though very important lacked the examination of associated material culture that related to the Kete-Krachi-German encounter.

Against this backdrop, this thesis, which pursued how Germans presence played out at Ziavi, did not only document ethnographic evidence of the interaction but also examined associated material culture on the credibility of the fact that material culture is meaningfully constituted. The conceptual framework underlying this research which borders on culture contact studies as well as cultural representation and agency within historical archaeology, has enabled the assessment of the German-Ziavi interactions and their material evidence at the Galenkuito site.

The historical examination carried out by Mbowura (2013), has provided insights into the German colonial rule and its impacts on the Nawuri people of the in the Northern Region of Ghana. Mbowura's (2013) research was focused mainly on two areas of the people, namely their political and economic lives. The Nawuri area is part of the areas that fell under the neutral zone after a bilateral treaty was signed between the imperial Germans and British to demarcate their spheres of control (Benning 1973:229).

Even though it was not mentioned categorically by Mbowura (2013), the main reason that attracted Germans into the Nawuri area, it could probably have been economic since this was virtually the same reason for which they occupied Kete-Krachi.

The Germans established a number of experimental cotton plantations at many areas in Togoland. Some of these plantations were at Tove, Misahohe, Ho, Kpando, Sokode, Atakpame, Kpedschu Kpeve, and Kete-Krachi (Zimmerman 2005:15). By the same standard of practice, they attempted to encourage commercial cotton production in the Nawuri area (Mbowura 2013:210). The Nawuri people not only abhorred the way they had to travel long distances to Kete-Krachi on foot to obtain new varieties of cotton seeds and seedlings to complement the local varieties but also resorted to non-combative forms of resistance such as “hiding” in the shrines of their settlement deities located on the outskirts of the village (ibid 2013:211).

Mbowura (2013) pointed how the German colonial administrators truncated the leisure hours of the people by supervising them to work on either the cotton farms or on roads in Bimbilla and Kete-Krachi. Ranger (1985:12) thus notes that “the colonial administrators tended to be exceedingly strict, and in some cases unduly severe and cruel, which resulted in consternation, dissatisfaction and injustice.” In line with Ranger’s assertion, Mbowura’s (2013) argued the people of Nawuri were often met with severe punitive measures such as ‘flogging’, and ‘spanking,’ aimed at curtailing what were perceived as ‘laziness’ and ‘idleness’. Maier (1983:164) also revealed how male adults were obliged to undertake 12 days of labour annually for the German government. From 1909 however, this trend changed alternatively to payment of 6 shillings to the German administrators in place of labour (Maier 1983:164)

While attempts at commercial cotton production failed, the implementation of a horticultural scheme in the Nawuri area, also by the Germans was somewhat successful (Mbowura 2002; 2013). The scheme, which comprised the cultivation of teak and mango tree

avenues in the Nawuri settlements turned out to be a great gain. The mango avenues, for instance, were established at the heart of Kpandai on either sides of the Kete-Krachi-Kpandai-Bimbilla-Yendi-road. Maier (1983:164) contends that this was due to the fact that the Germans compelled all the people of the Kete-Krachi district to plant mango and teak trees. The success was also probably based on the fact that, mango was a perennial crop and was not cultivated yearly unlike cotton. It was also successful due to perhaps the people's quest for the taste and value of mango fruits. Until now, however, the benefits of the mango scheme is still evident in the Nawuri area as there is a seasonal abundance of ripe mango fruits between April and June of every year (Mbowura 2013: 214).

Mbowura (2013) argued that the second aspect of the Nawuri people that suffered during German colonization of the area was their political life. Colonial activities of the Germans in the Nawuri area is what has resulted in the emasculation of the Nawuri chieftaincy institution and the establishment of Gonja suzerainty over Nawuri. The outcome of the German colonial rule in the Nawuri area has been the foundation of the protracted dispute between the people of the Nawuri and the Gonja people which culminated in the 1991 to 1992 inter-ethnic Nawuri-Gonja war over allodial rights in the Nawuri Area (Mbowura 2002; 2013:217).

The question to be posed at this point is; to what extent were the German colonial administrators influenced or impacted by the indigenous people of Nawuri? Was it simply a one-sided relationship with no reciprocal effects? Notably, Mbowura (2013) was silent on the role of the Protestant North German Mission Society (PNGMS) in the colonial activities of the Germans in the Nawuri area. Could these silences have been probably intentional? Or was there no religious factor with respect to Germans in the colonial administration of Nawuri? The historical investigation of the Nawuri-German encounter by Mbowura (2013), like Nteuwusu (2013), was not only devoid of answers to these questions but also lacked archaeological merit.

This study, on the archaeology of German colonial heritage at Ziavi, was informed by the knowledge gap created in the assessment some German colonial sites like the Nawuri area. It therefore used both historical and archaeological approaches to understand how such a similar African-European encounter ensued between Germans and the people of Ziavi in the Volta Region of Ghana. The ensuing paragraph examines an archaeological investigation of German colonization in Trans-Volta Togoland in recent times. It focuses on the material evidence of the encounter between the Germans and a colonized society in Ghana.

2.5 The Archaeology of German Colonialism in Ghana

The first archaeological/anthropological investigation of a German site in central Volta specifically the Kpando area was by Apoh (2008). The study, which was on the “Akpinis and the echoes of German and British Colonial overrule at Kpando, Ghana” explored different aspects of the German/British encounter with the local people (Akpinis) of Kpando. Some of the aspects explored included the expansion of the German mission imperialism in Togoland, the expansion of German capitalist imperialism in Togoland, the expansion of British capitalist imperialism in German Togoland as well as indigenous resistance to such imperial rules and the archaeological material culture realities of the interactions. The expansion of missionary activities for instance, though not directly related to the imperial interest of the Germans (Gavua 2013:140), it turned out as a supporting mechanism that gradually brought the Eweland (of which the ‘Kpando people’ are a part) together and over time dislocated their traditional leadership structures, thereby making them receptive and susceptible to colonial rule and agenda of the Europeans.

Considering Kpando as an indigenous society, Apoh (2008) sets the premise by narrating the pre-colonial and settlement histories of the people, that is, their place of origin, present location, subsistence economy, religious and ritual practices, chieftaincy institution,

socio-cultural practices, foodways and general lifeways. These elements provided insights into the changes and continuities that had occurred with the people during and after the period of their colonization by the Germans and British.

The methodological approach adopted in Apoh's (2008) work included reconnaissance survey at Kpando Todzi. The survey revealed that the Germans built at least 6 houses for themselves and other quarters for the native support staff. These buildings, made of rocks, adobe and cement were roofed with aluminum and slate roofing sheets. The quarters consisted of five buildings that housed the families of attendants (cooks, gun/hammock bearers, clerks, Askari and messengers) of the Germans and later the British. He further noted that the takeover of the settlement by the British in 1914 led to its rehabilitation. The British built a court house and expanded the German jail into a prison which they named "Her Majesty's Prison." The Kpando Todzi structure have been continuously used by successive Ghana government officials for administrative duties into current times while the native support staff quarters are still being used in present times by prison guards and their families (Apoh 2008: 165)

Apoh (2008) emphasized that the location of the main German building that housed the colonial authorities on the edge of the Todzi plateau overlooking the town may have been selected for security reasons, a sense of dominance, the perceived need for colonial seclusion and a superior access and view of the spectacular panorama. More so, this strategic location before the occupation of the Germans and British, was a shrine site of a revered deity called Fiadjei, of the people of Kpando, which was eventually forced by the Germans to relocate to pave way for the construction of the administrative building (Apoh 2008: 159).

This colonial site of the Germans/British at Kpando Todzi upon careful analysis, somewhat seemed to have similitude with the German colonial site at Ziavi, where this research was conducted. While the settlement of Ziavi is located in a low land valley like that of Kpando,

the German/Galenkuito colonial site in the area is positioned on a secluded escarpment overlooking Ziavi community and parts of Ho. For all intent and purposes, the same motivation for security, a sense of domination and power-over and a superior view of the surrounding may have informed the location of the colonial administrative structures on the ‘Kabakaba’ hill.

One of the outcomes pointed by Apoh (2008) maintained that, albeit the indigenous building technology and style in the form of wattle and daub and adobe thatched-roofed houses were continued by the people of Kpando during the colonial period, some elites and wealthy indigenes of Akpini adopted the European style of building. They saw the upgrade in architecture as a way of enhancing their status in society. The current Kpando palace, a product of the expertise of the German colonial officials, and trained indigenous artisans for instance, was one of the first German-styled buildings in the area (Apoh 2008:88) In contrast to Ziavi however, except for the Evangelical Presbyterian church which was built by the Germans in 1907, there is no other extant German styled architectural building in the community. This perhaps implies that, the local people of Ziavi may have continued in their indigenous wattle and daub architecture as well as their indigenous world-view until the introduction of contemporary building styles in recent times.

Colonialism as a process and a concept (Silliman 2005:58) often generates material residues usually as products of culture. Such material residues may be relevant and meaningful but do not override the ancillary role played by intangible heritage in the quest to understand historic societies. Analysis of material objects in context, is therefore necessary for providing understanding into the nature of the object categories including how they were used and made redundant. Based on this, Hall (1996) argued that “the implication of material object analysis for understanding daily lives and the processes through which domination and boundaries are produced and blurred cannot be undermined”.

Apoh's (2008) archaeological studies at the Kpando Todzi site revealed material finds that shed remarkable light on the daily lifeways of the German and British colonial practitioners. The areas (the courtyard and environs of the main building, the rubbish mound associated with the local support staff quarters, and rubbish mound site associated with the main building) excavated, revealed material cultural objects such as foundation walls of a two-bedroom house, local pottery, imported ceramics, glass vessels, bone remains, beads, cowries, bullet shell casings and other metals, house remains, and flora remains. Analysis and examination of the local pottery by Apoh (2008) for example, revealed two categories of pottery forms. These included jar form (locally known in Kpando as Ze) and bowl forms (locally known as Kole). The ceramics, which were observed to have been expertly made by the Kpando local potters, comprised thin and thick-walled vessels based on their functions.

Other artifacts, ranging from metals, beads, local/foreign smoking pipes, bullet shell casings, cowries, buttons and glassware found in association with the faunal, flora and ceramics at the excavated loci suggested aspects of the socio-cultural lifeways and daily practices of both the local and colonial inhabitants of the site. Four bullet shells excavated from locus A courtyard of the main building, according to Apoh (2013:46), confirmed the oral account that the colonial officials shot into a baobab tree located at the northern end of the courtyard for entertainment and for target practice. Another conclusion he reached maintained that, while the colonial officials used imported food items and culinary vessels to maintain their European taste and a preference, they also became acculturated to the use of local food sources and products based on the fact they employed local cooks who may have used local food sources and cooking apparatuses to carry out their roles.

From the assemblage of the imported ceramics retrieved, there was one unique complete bone China earthenware plate of which he suggested could have been used in the main building by post-colonial government officials and discarded. The plate which has a gold

band and gilt on the rim as well as an embossed Coat of Arms close to the edge, obviously suggest its date to the post-colonial era and perhaps commemorates the change from the “Gold coast” to the ‘Republic of Ghana’ due to her independence in 1957 (Apo 2008; 2013b). Similarly, examination and analysis of the faunal remains revealed the possible kinds of fauna that each locus was feeding on. For example, remains of fish, sheep, goat, chicken and some delicacies of mollusca (*Archatina archatina*, *Arcasenilis*) were recovered from the main building. These suggest the protein content of food consumed by the colonial officials, Ghana government officials, and or their guests. The residues of both domesticated and wild/bush animals recovered from the rubbish middens equally suggest the different kinds of meats that were exploited by the occupants of the Kpando-Todzi settlement.

By similar standard of research approaches, which involved historical, ethnographic and archaeological accounts, this research reveals how the German colonial occupants/agents at Ziavi interacted with the local Ho-Ziaivi’s forebears including implications on their indigenous culture and resultant material objects as product of the culture contact.

In concluding this chapter however, I find Knoll’s (1978:47) assertion about the Germans as “having no fixed idea about how their subjects could be ruled and so had to proceed with experimentation with chiefs through direct and indirect rule” a bit unwarranted. I think of this assertion as hesitant and simplistic. This is based on the fact that, the use of chiefs and caboceers in colonial administration could not be viewed necessarily as “having no fixed idea” but rather as a “Modus Operandi” and for that matter, an object of experiment during the European’s business of colonization. Daaku (1975:59) argues for instance that, the use of chiefs and caboceers through direct and indirect rule was a practice initiated by the Portuguese that ran through all the European powers that participated in colonialism. It was necessary for any colonial power to as a matter of strategy, to develop a dignified alliance with chiefs and elders of an area that they want to perpetrate their colonial activities. Apparently, this would curtail

possible violence and “unnecessary” counter reaction by the indigenous people. At Kpando for instance the colonial agents together with the chiefs supervised the collection of taxes, reported contagious diseases, congregated villagers for tax work and cleared path and roads (Knoll 1967:422).

CHAPTER THREE

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ZIAVI

3.0 Introduction

Ethnography takes into cognizance the contemporary life ways and behaviour of a group of people with a common identity. This chapter provides knowledge on Ziavi's indigenous and contemporary cultural behaviours to understand the socio-cultural formations within which it is grounded. The chapter documents the migration and settlement history of Ziavi and discusses Ziavi's clan systems and functionalities, its religious identities, traditional festivals and leadership, cognitive structures, settlement patterns and architectural styles, subsistence and their indigenous technologies and socio-cultural organization and practices.

3.1 The Pre Colonial and Settlement Histories of the Study Area

Ziavi is located about 4 kilometers west of Ho and about 203 km northeast of Ghana's capital, Accra. The community is strategically placed in a valley surrounded by a range of mountains. It is easily accessible through the neighbouring towns of Klefe, Taviefe, Matse, Tsyome, Hlefi and Akrofu (fig.1.2) According to the Notsie narrative gathered from historical sources (see Amenumey 1986) and oral accounts, Notsie, located in the present day Togo, has been the last major home of the Ewes before they dispersed to their present settlements by the mid seventeenth century (ibid 1986).

The oral accounts of Ziavi note that the ancestors of Ziavi migrated from the East; particularly Ife in the present day Nigeria from where they migrated to Ketu, a walled city in the modern republic of Benin by the expanding Yuruba and Fon kingdoms to settle between the Mono and Haho rivers at Notsie, (probably between 1600 and 1700). In the course of the migration, they were pushed to Tado in present day Togo and later to Notsie. The Ewe people were presented as living together in a centralized state at Notsie before their dispersion. Hunger and perhaps overpopulation tied with the alleged tyrannical rule of King Agorkorli I, (one of

the kings of Notsie), triggered the migration of the Ewe from Notsie (probably in the early seventeenth century) (Darkoh 1970; Gayibor 1984; Laumann 2005) in three migratory groups (Speith 1906). Archaeological examination of the walled city of Notsie by Gayibor and Aquigah (2005) cited in Apoh (2008:27-28) revealed that the Notsie walls, which were about 6-8m in width and 25m in height covered a perimeter of about 15km. Evidence of subsistence economic activities such as hunting, farming, iron working and potting were recovered from the enclosures.

By the time of the European partition in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Ewes had settled in their present locations between the Mono River to the east and Volta River to the west, and from the Atlantic Ocean in the south to about latitude 8° north. This is roughly within southeastern parts of Ghana and southern part of Togo and Benin (Amenumey 1989: 1-3; 2008: 19-22; Asamoah 1986: 1-9; Gavua 2000: 5-7).

According to the narratives, the ancestors of Ziavi were part of the second migratory group believed to have moved together with the people of Akovia, Takla, Kpenoe, Hodzo, Klevi, Sokode, Abutia and Adaklu. These people settled at the central zone between the northern zone (characterized by valleys and uplands) of the new home and the southern zone in the coastal region of the new homeland (Amenumey 1986).

The migration of the Ziavi people was in stages. According to the oral narratives, usually of most Ewes, the ancestors of Ziavi (then known at Notsie as Fiakpor) in the course of the exodus, settled temporarily at Hodzo, and Koklonenu in Taviefe, Adidokpohoe and Gbodzeme in the Volta Region of Ghana. It was the tradition of the people of Fiakpor (Togbe Noagbe, Pers.Com, 2014) that, when someone died, the body be left to decompose while they cry and mourn. On one of such occasion, an elderly person approached the relatives of the deceased person and advised them to stop crying and dig a grave to bury the corpse. They

heeded the advice of the elderly person and acted accordingly. Soon after the burial, they were relieved and the crying stopped completely. Consequently, the name Fiakpor was changed to the current name – Zi-avi (‘Zi’ means ‘stop’ and ‘avi’ means weeping) which literally means, “Stop Crying or wailing.” This signified the end of the age long tradition of ‘crying’ and wailing over a decomposing corpse.

The people of Ziavi were led by hunters, indigenous priests, and warriors who protected their chiefs and the people. The names of some of their leaders at the time include Asiam, Nyee, and Nuene. Under the leadership of Nyee (also known as Awatrofenye) and the then chief, Togbe Ayim who was the kinsman of Awatrofenye, the group moved to Hodzo, located at the south-west section of the Volta River. While at Hodzo-Gbegbe, there was a major scuffle over the possession of the vast plains. During the skirmish, the Ziavi narrative reports that one of the sons of Awatrofenye by name Ahogblonye led a section of the group away. They moved southward with the shrine of a deity by the name Dzoxor. These groups of people are the present day Dzoxornu and the related clans of Mefe.

Another version of the migration narrative also recounts that Asiam (one of the leaders) led another group from Notsie to settle at Agagata, a region around Taviefe. Due to certain mishaps however, the Asiam group split and a section of the group moved towards the southwest of Agagata. The present day Etordome, Botoku, Kpando Anyigbe people were their descendants. This second version of the oral narrative recounts that, Togbe Ayim and Awatrofenye with the remaining group moved to settle at Koklonenu near present-day Taviefe. They further moved to Ategbledome and asked Nuene to go look for more lands in order to expand their territories. Nuene is today known to be the founder of the present-day *Gbegbe* lands of Ziavi in the Volta Region of Ghana.

Ziavi oral narratives put it that the people of Lume who had also scattered during the Hodzo wars finally settled at Awli but later joined their kinfolks – the Awatrofenye group because of frequent wars with their neighbours. Awatrofenye eventually led the people to their present location at Ziavi. He also asked the remnants of the descendants of Asiam to join them to form a unified force against their enemies. Ziavi-Dzogbe, according to oral account sources, is the oldest settlement and hitherto the seat of the paramountcy. Three other suburbs include Ziavi Lume, Ziavi Adukofe and Ziavi Bamefedo, each having a traditional council of chief and elders who oversee the affairs of their respective settlement but pay allegiance to the high office of the paramount chief. The current paramount chief is Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV.

The people of Ziavi were combatants who always defended themselves against attacking forces. They practiced African traditional religion until the introduction of Christianity and formal education in 1907. They are largely food crop farmers albeit few people cultivate cash crops such as coffee and cocoa. From oral account sources (see fig. 3.1 and 3.2), Ziavi is famous for the high quality of coffee they produced and the indigenous term used to refer to locally processed form of Ziavi's coffee was 'Ziavitutui'. Non-farm activities of the Ziavi people include kente weaving, petty trading, teaching, carpentry, masonry, dress making and traditional medicine production.



Figure 3.1. Council of chiefs and elders narrating the oral accounts of Ziavi (Field Photo, 2015).



Figure 3.2. An elder and his entourage pouring libation before the narrative of Ziavi's oral accounts.

3.2 Background to Study Area

3.2.1 Climate

The climate of the area is tropical, greatly influenced by the southwest Monsoon from the south Atlantic and dry Northeast trade winds. It is characterized by temperatures of 21-32° Celsius (70 - 90° F) for most of the year. There are two rainy seasons, the major one from mid-April to early July and the minor one from September to November. The average annual rainfall varies from 900mm to 1300mm. The annual rainfall in this area is 60mm and relative humidity much less than that of the rain forest (Dickson & Benneh 1980). However, there are considerable variations during the onset, duration, and intensity of the monthly rainfall.

3.2.2 Soil

The major soil types in the area are the savanna/forest ochrosols and groundwater laterites (Dickson & Benneh 1980). The former is a sandy loam type of soil with local adaptation while the latter is a paleo-coloured, sandy or silt loam or mottled clay that hardens to form an ironpan on exposure (1980:60). Whereas the savanna/forest ochrosols are highly favored for food and cash crop cultivation, the groundwater laterite soil type is not too suitable for cultivation, given the fact that it has a poor drainage system. It becomes water-logged during the rains and compact during the long dry season. The savanna/forest ochrosols soil type of the area supported the cultivation of coffee and kola nut in the late 19th century a great deal and perhaps one of the reasons that informed the imperial Germans preference of the area as their administrative station, rather than other geographical locations. The introduction of teak plantation by the Germans was as a result of the fact that the area and soil support the growth of this plant.

3.2.3 Vegetation

The vegetation of the area is a mix of guinea woodland and moist, semi-deciduous forest (ibid 1980). The savanna woodland consists of grass with scattered trees including acacia (*acacia de currens*) bamboo (*Blyxa aubertii*), Afrormosia (*Afrormosia elata*), ceiba (*Ceiba pentandra*) and baobab (*Adansonia digitata*). The semi deciduous forests are found on the slopes of the Akwapim-Togo Atakora hills. There is usually a decrease in the luxuriance of the forest as the rainfall decreases while the effect of the dry Northeast trade winds increases (Dickson & Benneh 1980). Much of the forests however have been lost due to lumbering and farming practices such bush burning (www.ghanadistricts.com 2014).

3.3 Society and Culture

The culture of Ziavi and its suburbs can be considered as a cultural ecotone between the Ewe and the Akan cultures. A cultural ecotone because Ziavi was part of the Ewe groups that served as a refuge and solace for the Akan in the past, during the 1869 to 1874 war between the Asante and the people of Akwamu (Reindorf 1966; Hans Debrunner 1965). Most of the Akan people had to escape across the Volta Lake to settle with different Ewe groups, including Kpando, Ziavi, Ho and Peki at the time of the fray (Apoth 2008). The social organization of Ziavi is strongly patrilineal. Polygyny is rare, and post-marital residence is patrilocal. Local and political leadership is a preserve of the chiefs who hold juridical control over the settlement as well as the office of the priest. The chieftaincy structure consists of the overlord chief under whom other clan chiefs serve. Ziavi-Dzogbe clans include Tsadaviefe, Akpevi, Gbohome, Agorviefe, Anaviefe, Tome, Tsiviefe and Demee.

3.3.1 Subsistence Activities

Majority of the population of Ziavi are subsistence farmers who produce mainly root tubers such as cassava, and yam as well as cereals such as maize for consumption and for the local

markets. Hunting and gathering of snails, rodents, birds and other animals are still being practiced though in an unorganized small scale.

A segment of the population is entrenched in petty trade and commerce either within the community or sometimes travelling to nearby market centers at Ho, and Dzemeni during market days. Others are also employed in the civil service or are self-employed artisans such as masons, carpenters, carvers, painters, and Kente weavers

3.3.2 Social Organization

Communal living is usually very strong amongst the people of Ziavi. This is in view of the fact the joy and sorrow of an individual is often felt by his relatives, family members, neighbours and community. Information gleaned from interviews suggest that, Ziavi's social life and organization begins from birth through to marriage and death. No special rites are performed to usher children/adolescence into adulthood. However, young people are prepared to face challenges of adulthood through parental socialization.

There are two types of marriages practiced by the people of Ziavi. The first one is the customary marriage where the families of the courting couple meet and perform vital marriage rites during which they appeal for the blessings of their ancestors. It is seen as a platform to unite the families of the couples into one big family. It is also considered as an avenue to arbitrate disputes and grievances between the family members and to foster peace and harmony among them. The second type of marriage is usually an extension of the customary marriage, which most people do not often undertake. This is where the couple after the customary marriage appears before a priest or a pastor and his congregation in an orthodox or Christian church auditorium to be blessed. The couple, in this undertaking, is made to take an oath in the presence of the congregation to live together at all times in all circumstances without separation.

3.3.3 Settlement Pattern and Behaviour

The arrangement and distribution of Ziavi's households and other physical structures such as schools and churches are in a linear order. Buildings are built along untarred roads but are randomly scattered in some parts of the community. Every clan in the community is linked by an untarred road that leads to the community's central road to Ho. The origin of the central road network and town planning of Ziavi, can be attributed to the Germans. They demarcated pillars along the roads, which are still extant. According to the information gathered from chiefs and elders, the road system was later developed by the late Professor Mawusi Dake, who was an architect in the 1980s. This lends credence to the assertion of Conrad (2012:126) that the outcome of colonialism and culture contact may serve as a linear continuous development, which is conceived of the past as qualitatively different from the present. The older generation particularly of Ziavi community today, still remember the former German settlers and the late professor Mawusi Dake for this feat as was passed on to them.

A remarkable influence of Ziavi's topography on the settlement behaviour of its people is very evident. The rocky characteristics of Ziavi's land, and its downward sloping gradient from north to south, greatly informed the way in which buildings were constructed. In most cases, the foundations of indigenous buildings in Ziavi are underlain with rock foundation upon which the mud/clay walls are built. The building styles of Ziavi range from indigenous architectural styles (made mainly from locally generated materials such as wood, thatch, mud/clay, and bamboo), contemporary architectural styles (comprising building materials such as cement blocks, imported glasses/louvers, floor tiles, plastic doors, and designed roofing sheet), and combined architectural styles, being made from a combination of contemporary and indigenous building materials (see fig 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5).



Figure 3.3: A contemporary architectural style at Ziavi (Field data, 2015)



Figure 3.4: An indigenous architectural style at Ziavi (Field data, 2015).



Figure 3.5. A combined architectural style at Ziavi (Field data, 2015)

3.3.4 Chieftaincy and Traditional Authority

The chieftaincy and traditional authorities of Ziavi are headed by Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV, the paramount chief of Ziavi. The seat of the paramountcy is located in the Akpevi clan. Togbe and his paramountcy are driven and inspired by the iconology of the Ziavi linguist staff (see fig.2.3). This is symbolized by a chameleon and a snake which also serve as animals of inspiration. The symbolic essence of the chameleon is for instance mirrored in the fact is that it is an animal that changes its colour as a way of adapting to different and changing environment. Ziavi is therefore motivated to also change and being dynamic and adaptive like the chameleon, to the different and changing conditions and circumstances that confront her in the course of history (Togbega Kwaku Ayim, Pers.com, 2015). The snake, given its wildness and smartness, combines effort with the chameleon to triumphantly face all confrontations and challenges of Ziavi (see fig.3.6).



Figure 3.6: The linguist staff of Ziavi paramountcy symbolizing the combination of powers of the chameleon and the snake (Field Photo, 2015).

3.3.5 Traditional Division of Ziavi

Ziavi traditional area has two divisions, namely Ziavi Dzogbe and Ziavi Lume. Ziavi Dzogbe represents Ziavi's earliest settlement site and seat of the paramount chief. Ziavi Lume is a migrant group from Notsie, who had to settle about 2km away from Ziavi Dzogbe due to limited territorial space of Ziavi Dzogbe at that time. Ziavi Dzogbe comprises 8 clans while Lume comprises 4 clans. Each of the clans has a clan chief who is mandated to play arbitration roles among members and to oversee the affairs of their respective clans so as to maintain peace and cohesion among the people. Members of the two other suburbs of Ziavi, (Bamefedo and Adukofe) however, are not recognized as true indigenes of Ziavi. They settled and aligned with the indigenous Ziavi people for the sake of solidarity, security and protection. Thus Bamefodo and Adukofe do not have chiefs but community leaders who pay allegiance to the paramount chief of Ziavi.

3.3.6 Clan Identities and Functionalities

Ziavi is a patrilineal community and lives according to clan demarcations. A clan is composed of related families who trace their affinities and origin to a common ancestor (Dogbey 2012:21). There are twelve clans in the Ziavi community, each with specific defined roles and functions. They include the Anaviefe, the Tsadaviefe, Agorviefe, the Tsiviefe, the Tome, the Demi, the Gbohomo, the Kpevi, the Anaviefe, the Gativi, the Tsime, the Yomedofe, and the Dzigbe. The first eight of the twelve clans belong to Ziavi Dzogbe Division while the last four belong to the Lume division.

The Anaviefe clan, whose leader or chief is Torgbe Asiam XIV appeared to be the owners of the ‘Kabakaba Hill’ land on which the remains of the German colonial administrative buildings are found. The Anaviefe clan became the owner of the ‘Kabakaba’ hill owing to the fact that, after they left Agagata (an ancient settlement around Kpalime, Matse and Taviefe near Ho) where they had first settled, they were the first organized group of people to have occupied the hilly land. At Agagata, some of its people left to present day Tondome, Botoku and Kpando Anyigbe where the Anaviefe clan, for example has kinship ties. The Agorviefe clan is the defined warrior group, ‘Avagorgbefia’ (the vanguards), of Ziavi, who played leading roles in times of warfare against attacking enemies of Ziavi. This clan is noted by members of Ziavi community to have lots of strong and well-statured men who are always prepared to defend the course of Ziavi in times of war and peace. It is headed by Togbe Afari IV. The Agorviefe clan comprises four families namely the Tekpore family, Appoh family the Ankudevia family and the Darkey family.

The Tsiviefe clan of Ziavi are the ethno-medical practitioners. They have deep understanding and experience in ethno-medical practices as well as “supernatural power” practices. This clan was not originally part of Ziavi but came from Tsiviefe in present-day Togo. However, due to their overwhelming expertise in ethno-medicine, the people of Ziavi

invited them into their midst. The Tsiviefe clan is noted for the performance of customary rituals of Ziavi and have been responsible for legislating Ziavi's customs and traditions. In other words, the Tsiviefe clan has the oversight responsibility of performing customs and rituals to cleanse anyone who violate a taboo or does anything that has the potential of incurring the anger of any of Ziavi's deities. Similarly, customs and rituals that precede the installation of chiefs and queen mothers are performed by the Tsiviefe clan. Togbe Adza Wu Wuga III is their clan chief. Two extended families make up the Tsiviefe Clan and these are the Debra and the Eha Degbazor families.

The Tome clan of Ziavi like the Agorviefe clan, is a warrior group known in local parlance as the 'Asafos/Mankralos'. They played the role of protecting the people of Ziavi in times of warfare. Togbe Dexe II is their clan chief.

The Deme clan are the 'Dusimefiawo' (right wing) of Ziavi. The Dusimefia (right wing chief) therefore comes from this clan. To see the paramount chief on any major issue that borders on Ziavi, one is required to see the 'Dusimefia' especially during any traditional gathering. Its head chief is in the person of Togbe Tsetse II.

The Gbohome clan were the 'Abrafos' (executioners) of Ziavi, with their head chief being Togbe Nuene. Their role was to always be on red alert for the enemies of Ziavi and to fight them accordingly. Six families make up the Gbohome clan namely; the Nuene family, the Agbene family, Agorda family, the Nyame family, the Dewu family and the Geh family. Its totem is represented by a tortoise which signifies robustness, and that which can never be easily defeated because of its protective shell.

Tsadaviefe clan is a very large clan whose lineage started with Togbe Adza as the ancestral head. The indigenous warfare priest of Ziavi comes from this clan. They are the 'Dutofia' (landowners) of Ziavi community. Togbe Adza Nye II is the head chief, who oversee the affairs of the clan

The Akpevi clan is an offshoot of the Tsadaviefe clan. This came about as a result of chieftaincy feuds. The break-away occurred somewhere in 1945 (Noagbe and Togbe Ayim IV Pers. Com, 2015). The Akpevi clan is presently the seat of Ziavi's paramount chief, Togbe Kwaku Ayim IV.

The Gativi clan, one of the clans in Lume is made of four (4) families namely the Gosa (royal family), Dra, Broni and Agblegoe families. It is headed by Togbe Adza Kwadzo III, who also doubles as the divisional chief of Ziavi Lume. Gativi's clan totem is represented by a hawk standing on the back of a tortoise. According to the overlord chief, Togbe Adza Kwaku III, this signifies that, no matter how strong the hawk is, it cannot defeat or overpower the tortoise due to its hard shell cover.

The Yomedofe clan of Lume is comprised of three families and these are the Bosonkui, Dzah and the Agbodumenu families. They do not have a linguist staff and thus, is not identified with any totem. The Yomedofe is led by Togbe Dzah III.

Two broad families each, make up the Tsime and the Dzigbe clans of the Lume division. The Sunu and the Awude families make up the Tsime clan while the Adame and the Atta families make up the Dzigbe clan. The Tsime and the Dzigbe clans are led by Togbe Sunu and Togbe Adame respectively.

3.4 Cognitive Structures and Religious Identity

Like many other communities in Ghana, there are numerous taboos, rituals, beliefs, standards, values, customs and traditions that the people of Ziavi conform and adhere to. Some of such practices have been marginalized in present times, due to the impact of modernization and the introduction of Christianity. Some of the taboos include no keeping of dogs in the community as well as having no sexual intercourse in the forest, in the open or on the bare floor even in the secrecy of enclosed places (Togbe Eti Korku Pers. Com. 2015).

There is great tolerance for religious identities in Ziavi communities. Two religious identities, the African Indigenous Religion and Christian Religion are prevalent in the communities. Interviews with some clan chiefs like Togbe Tsetse, Togbe Adza, Togbe Nuene and Togbe Afari revealed that, the deities and shrines in Ziavi are either family or clan owned. Members of each clan occasionally petition these deities through the pouring of libation for some sort of spiritual intervention; contingent on the problem one is confronted with. Interestingly, the situation where people convert to Christianity but still partake of family and clan rituals through the pouring of libation is a common practice in Ziavi community. The situation where some Christians occasionally partake of practices of African Indigenous Religion is common while the supposed overly indoctrinated ones often shy away with the perception that such practices are probably ‘unrighteous’ before their ‘righteous’ God.

The community has about twenty-five Christian churches, ranging from pentecostal, charismatic to orthodox churches. Interviews with the head pastor of the Evangelical Presbyterian church, Rev. F. K Kuvor, revealed that the first of these churches was the Evangelical Presbyterian (E.P) church, which was introduced in the Ziavi community by the Protestant North German Bremen Mission Society (PNGMS), popularly known as the Bremen Mission in 1907.

3.4.1 Protection of Indigenous Culture and Values

Adherents of the African indigenous culture at Ziavi are determined to ensure continuity in the practice of core African values, particularly African Indigenous Religion in spite of the impact of modernization and globalization. The dedicated adherents continue to perform and practice core values such as pouring of libation, observing taboos, and engaging in animal sacrifices to maintain affinity with their deities and ancestors.

3.4.2 Safeguard of Family Traditions and Affiliation

It has become almost a difficult responsibility for most families to sustain affiliation with family traditions and customs due to Christianity and perhaps criticisms mainly from Christian religious leaders. Some adherents of African Indigenous Religion are holding fast to their faith because it was a legacy passed on to them by their ancestors. There is therefore the fear and worry that some misfortunes would befall them if they renounce the deities. In effect, the legitimization of their faith and religious identities are derived from their family background and histories. A critical look at this for instance, is the possession of some family members to serve the clan or family deities. For fear of being haunted and tormented, such family members would not and do not intend to abandon the family/clan deities by which they had been possessed. Apart from these category of believers or adherents of African Indigenous Religion, there is another category of members who have converted to Christianity but still pay allegiance to clan or family deities, hence the practice of syncretism of religions.

3.4.3 Shrines and Deities at Ziavi

Veneration of deities and shrines is active among the people of Ziavi. As stated earlier, the shrines and deities at Ziavi are either family or clan owned with priests or priestesses that oversee them. There are over 21 deities in the community (Togbega Kwaku Ayim Pers.com, 2015). These include Lavu, Tsii Kpoe, Gblovu, Gbaadu, Tsawoe, Bliwo, Aveno, and Tsindro. The others are; Awatokploe, Anyomi, Atiye, Mianɔ or Anyekunye or Gbesinu, Adompose, Avenyo-wle, Agagata, Agbosongoe, Nuwoeganu, Xomevee, Krachi-Dente, Mantsibi, and Kominini. Specific rituals are performed occasionally for these deities or shrines as a way of sustaining close relationship with them.

3.4.4 Traditional Festivals

There are three festival celebrated in Ziavi. Two of the major festivals are celebrated annually by the people of Ziavi while the third one is celebrated bi-annually. The Teza (yam festival), (see fig. 3.7) which is generally celebrated by the Asogli state of Ho, is also celebrated by Ziavi in the first week of September.



Figure 3.7: Togbega (Paramount chief) being hailed in his palanquin during the Tedudu Festival (Field data, 2015).

According to the oral account by Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV the celebration of the Teza festival starts on the first ‘Asitoe’ (Sunday) of September every year. It is done to celebrate the hard work of farmers in the cultivation and harvest of yam. It is also to encourage the youth to venture into the business of agriculture. The Teza festival is usually a week-long celebration with series of rituals preceding the grand durbar. On the first ‘Asitoe’ (Sunday), a fowl is demanded from each of the twelve clans for rituals to be made to the deities, especially to the Lavu and Awli dieties on Tuesday and Wednesday at Ziavi-Dzogbe and Ziavi-Lume respectively. The reason is that these two deities are believed to be the earliest and the most

powerful of all Ziavi deities. On Thursday, the town is swept with palm fronds and on Friday, it is cleansed by the sprinkling of water (concoction).

There are justifications for all the ritual activities that precede the celebration of the Ziavi festivals. According to the historical accounts, while the ritual on Thursday is meant to close all spiritual entry points to the community, that on Friday is to present the community spiritually clean without blemish prior to the arrival of the new yam on Friday. Dututudoza (Town development festival), the second annually celebrated festival takes place in the first week of every December; usually from Friday to Saturday. This development-based festival is used to raise funds to foster development projects such as the construction and maintenance of schools, clinics, community centers, portable water and market centers within the Ziavi community. The celebration of ‘Dututudo’ festival include such activities as aerobic exercises, communal labour and clean-up exercises to sustain the general well-being of the people. It is climaxed with a grand durbar on Saturday. All indigenes, home and abroad, are expected home to contribute their quota during this occasion.

The Avazorli (War walk) festival, also celebrated among the people of Ziavi rotate among six other communities in various areas of the Volta Region. These areas, which are usually referred to by the people of Ziavi as ‘ancestral routes’ include Mefe, Hodzo, Kpedzetodze, Botoku, Tondome, and Kpando Anyigbe. This festival is celebrated biannually to commemorate their migration from Notsie in present-day Togo to their present and respective settlement. It is also to honour the memory of the toil and blood of their forebears who led the migration. The Avazorli festival is meant to foster and to deepen nationalism and patriotism among Ziavi indigenes (Togbe Tsetse: Pers.com, 2015).

3.4.5 Music and Dance Forms

There are different unique music and dance forms that are associated with festivals, marriage, funerals and installation of chiefs. The genre of dance called the ‘Zigi dance’ for instance, has

its origin in Ziavi (Togbega Anyim: Pers.com, 2015). The most powerful and eminent drum of the people of Ziavi is the ‘Zagada’ drum. It is played only during the demise and burial ceremony of a chief; when a woman gives birth to twins or a triplet; when a hunter kills a wild animal and brings it home; to acknowledge a brave and victorious warrior; to celebrate a successful farmer or when an indigene does or achieves an exceptional feat in honour of the community.

The ‘Adabadram’ is another special drum that belongs to the war chief/leader of Ziavi traditional area. It is believed that the person who carries this drum usually gets possessed and is spiritually controlled. This drum, according to oral information, is led to the various war shrines in the community where it is played and danced to by the various war chiefs. Another significant drum that is not supposed to be seen by any ordinary person except war leaders is the ‘Gbedzotor drum’. It is similar to the ‘Zagada drum’ in the sense that it is also played only during the demise and burial ceremony of a chief.

The reality of ghost haunting is popular among the people of Ziavi. It is believed that when an indigene dies unnaturally, it is unlikely for his or her soul to be at rest, thus the tendency of the ghost of such a person to haunt members of his family. The chiefs and elders of Ziavi therefore have a special bell known as ‘Afeto ga’. This is rang and used to sack aggrieved spirits/ghosts of deceased persons who haunt members of the deceased family.

3.5 Ethno-Medical Practices

Ethno-medicine is defined as “those beliefs and practices relating to diseases, which are the product of indigenous cultural development and are not explicitly derived from the conceptual framework of modern medicine” (Foster and Anderson 1978). It involves indigenous preparation, application and use of plants for the treatment of diseases.

Ethno-historical information attests to the existence of indigenous medical practices within the Ziavi community. It is particularly dominant among members of the Tsiviefe clan

as well as a handful of aged indigenes of Ziavi. These traditional medical practitioners according to oral information have practical knowledge of therapeutic and medicinal herbal plants as a result of their long years of experience in the practice. They are therefore acquainted with several effective combinations of plants for the treatment of diverse ailments. Some of these plants are either boiled or prepared differently based on the disease or ailment being treated. Some of the treatable diseases include women sterility, stomach ache, stroke, diabetes, waist and joint pains, boils, and a host of other diseases. The local names of some of the commonly used plants and their scientific names include ‘Liliti’ (*Azadirachta indica*), moringa leave (*Moringa oliefera*), ‘Eneku’ (*Elaeis guineensis*), ‘Anyati’ (*Ceiba pentandra*), pawpaw leaves, and pawpaw seed.

3.5.1 Beads and Adornment

The people of Ziavi place great value on beads. They consider them as a replacement for gold in their traditional and chieftaincy milieu. Beads are not only viewed as items of fashion but wearing them is regarded as a way of communication. By wearing beads, depending on the occasion and type, one is able to express emotions like joy, sadness, or melancholy (Toda 2015). Different bead varieties are worn by special people such as chiefs/queens/priest or priestesses in combination with distinct costume to indicate societal status. According to Togbega Kwaku Ayim, bead wearing was the preserve of priest and priestesses in the past, who as a result of their bead were distinguished from others in the society. One’s personality in the society either as a family head, priest, chief or a queen may be revealed, for example, by which side of the wrist (left or right wrist) one wears a bead. A person is easily identified as a king, queen or priest when he/she is found wearing a particular bead type on the right wrist though there could be other bead types worn on the left wrist.

3.5.2 Craft and Indigenous Technologies

There are a number of craftworks produced by some individuals of Ziavi. The raw materials constituents of these craftworks are locally generated from start to finish, except for kente weaving where the yarn is bought from the urban centers. Basketry, woodcarving, iron smithing are among the craftsmanship indigenous to Ziavi. The people of Ziavi have an indigenous means of processing cassava into cassava dough (see fig 3.8) although this has not been in regular use in recent times due to the introduction of an electrical or mechanical processor (see fig.3.9)



Figure 3.8: An indigenous cassava processing stone (Field data, 2015).



Figure 3.9: Mechanical/ electric cassava processing machine (field data, 2015).

Ethnographic observation revealed that even though the people of Ziavi use pottery vessels for different activities such as for cooking, serving, storage and other culinary activities, they do not manufacture the vessels by themselves. They acquire such vessels through inter-cultural trade transaction at the Ho central market. The Kpando and Dzalele areas are for example places from where the clay vessels are sourced to the Ho central market. Nonetheless, the people have other uses of clay such as for wattle and daub structures, for constructing hearths, for molding bricks, and for building indigenous ovens.

3.5.3 The Coffee and Kola Nut plantations of Ziavi

Even though there is no documentary records on Ziavi's fame with coffee and kola nut cultivation in the past, oral histories indicate that, they were famous with the production of coffee and kola nut, though not on a large scale. Information gathered from the oral accounts refer to the fact that, Germans at some point in the late 19th Century got involved in the business of coffee and kola nut cultivation. They were reportedly producing on a large scale for export, using local labour from Ziavi while they played supervisory and monitory roles. The cultivation of kola nut and coffee at Ziavi, according to sources, evolved into a major business venture during the era of the German occupation on the Galenkuito site. According to

some informants, the German supervisors were strict, and would not tolerate laziness or lassitude. They offered close supervision to ensure that, the labourers worked hard to guarantee maximum returns for their investment. The coffee plantation developed at Ziavi by the Germans, lifted the Ziavi community into prominence due to the quality of their coffee, which was known as ‘Ziavitutui’. (‘Ziavitutui’ actually referred to the indigenous name for the locally ground Ziavi coffee).

Eventually, this became the popular term associated with the high quality, locally processed coffee produced by Ziavi across the then Gold Coast (Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV: Pers.com, 2015). Had it not been a bush fire outbreak in Ghana in the 1980s, which burnt down many plantation farms as well as food crop farms, there would have still been some remains of the coffee and kola nut trees on the farm sites for photographic evidence. Unfortunately however, the plantation sites have been cleared by the landowners for food crop cultivation.

3.5.4 Ethnographic Remains of the German Colonial Presence at Ziavi

Information gathered from some oral historians such as chiefs and elders of Ziavi revealed the cruelty and harshness with which the imperial German officials executed their colonial policies of exploitation of the natural and human resources of the people Ziavi in the past. Togbe Eti Korku, an informant, whose family were once occupants of the Galenkuito site (see fig. 3.10), remembers being told by his family how the Germans exercised force and harshness to engage local labourers to work on their coffee and Kola nut plantations in the area. Some interview reports revealed how some of these local labourers were often ‘flogged’ and ‘whipped’ whenever they were found being lazy or unproductive during farm activities.

Information gathered from some informants through interviews also revealed that the indigenes of Ziavi who engaged in wrongful acts such as stealing, fighting or quarrelling on funeral grounds were punished by being subjected to forced labour. They were made to work

for at least twelve hours on plantation farms under strict colonial supervision. For fear of being reported to the Germans for punishment, most of the people of Ziavi eschewed acts equal to attracting the Germans ‘kind’ of punishment. While almost all the chiefs and elders as well as other informants gave positive comments on this aspect of discipline enforcement by the Germans, they also condemned them for their severe cruelty and unnecessary austerity during the interactions with their forebears. There is therefore a contested memory of German occupation by the local elite, chiefs, elders and the local people of Ziavi.



Figure 3.10: The family of Eti Kwaku, occupants at the Galenkuito site during the colonial times (Field Photo, 2015).

The ensuing chapter assesses the residues and relics of German contact on the Galenkuito Ziavi site through archaeological research methods. The material culture manifestations of the early indigenous settlers on the site vis a’vis the former European (German) colonizers are examined and interrogated.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides details on the field survey, excavation, classification, analysis and interpretation of the archaeological data recovered from the Galenkuito site of Ziavi. The excavations were executed in three fold namely Locus A, B C. They provided a variety of finds such as fragments of local ceramics, European ceramics, bones, metal objects, and fragments of smoking pipes, nails, iron slag, mollusks, palm kernel (*Elaeis guineensis*) and bottle and glass remains. In all, two trenches associated with Locus A and C and two units in relation to Locus B were excavated.

The archaeological works provided knowledge and insights into the cultural material usage as well as daily perceived lifeways of the ancient settlers on the Galenkuito site. Research of the site through reconnaissance survey provided clues on potential spots or areas to excavate.

4.1 Reconnaissance Field Survey

The reconnaissance site survey was done randomly by the researcher with assistance from a team of the 2015 field school students of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies. This field school was directed by Dr. Wazi Apoh and Mr. Daniel Kumah. The survey helped to identify and to record surface scatter of artefacts and remains of buildings. These building foundation remains, in the form of stone/rocks and cracked floors, once served as the houses/settlement that the locals called “The German Village” of Galenkuito (Kennedy Anku, 2015: Pers.com). The steep gradient terrain of the site and its dense teak and mango tree cover on the site impeded smooth and effective surface survey as the site was covered with dry fallen teak leaves. The surface artefacts and features including a German-excavated well were photographed and mapped in their contexts. The surface scatter as observed, provided clues on potential spots or areas to excavate.

The survey also led us to identify and to visually capture and photograph the rock foundations dotting the site. Nonetheless, neither of these stone/rock foundation ruins was excavated since it was unanimously agreed they would yield little or no research data. Alternatively, they were studied in-situ. Based on selective or judgmental sampling technique, four loci, with evidence of surface scatters were selected.

4.2 Description of Excavated Units and Trenches

Two trenches and two units in all were excavated at three loci at the Ziavi Galenkuito site. The loci were of varied distances to each other. They were selected based on a judgmental sampling technique. Locus A consisted of Trench One while Locus B consisted of Unit One and Unit Two. Locus C was made of another Trench One. The remains of the German constructed well is located northwest from the main building remains on the site.

Excavations were undertaken in arbitrary levels of 20cm at Locus A and C trenches and 10cm levels at Unit One Locus B. Arbitrary level of 20cm was used at Unit Two Locus B. The use of the varied levels was based on the nature of the matrix in each unit/trench. Particular attention was paid to the context and content of artifacts as they come into view. The 20cm arbitrary levels for instance was used for the two trenches as well as Unit 2 of Locus B because they both had a sloppy surface terrain unlike Unit One Locus B. The excavated individual trenches and units are explained below.

Artifacts collected were recorded and bagged separately according to their levels. Special finds such as fauna remains as well as other unique finds like European coins, bullet cartridges, European smoking pipes, European ceramics, iron slag, palm kernels among others were also recorded and bagged separately and tagged according to the levels at which they were recovered. Distinct or similar soil colours from each level were observed and recorded

systematically. The soil collected from the pits were screened with a ¼ inch wire mesh and finds which could not be identified in the pits, exposed and bagged.

4.3 Trench One Locus A

Trench One Locus A (N 0.6° 37.562, E 000° 27.748') was opened at the South-East section of the site and measured 2m × 3m in size. It reached sterile level at 80cm below datum point with four (4) arbitrary levels. The trench revealed three (3) distinct natural layers and soil colour differentiation (see fig. 4). At the north wall of this trench was a tree stump that extended below sterile level. Quite a lot of thick rootlets were cut from inside this trench to give way for the recovery of material remains.

Excavation was started from the highest point from the northern section of the trench because it had sloped downward to the southeast. At level 4, the trench was reduced to 1m × 3m and stepped down towards the south. This was due to the fact that the southern section of the trench was still yielding more artifacts with virtually no artefacts from the northern section.

A variety of artifacts were recovered from this trench. These include fragments of local ceramics, glass remains, European ceramics, Mollusca, fauna, metal and European smoking pipes. Other finds include bullet cartridge, a folded aluminum sheet, and a coin (see table 4.1, fig 4.1. and 4.2).

Table 4.1 Frequency of finds from Trench 1 Locus A

Levels (cmbd)	Pottery	Glass Remains	European ceramics	Fauna	Palm kernel	Metal objects	Smoking pipes	Mollusca	Iron slag
One	42	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Two	165	7	-	1	-	4	-	-	-
Three	199	109	4	-	-	2	-	-	-
Four	34	32	4	-	-	-	2	1	-
Total	440	148	8	1	-	6	3	2	-



Figure 4.1 Excavated trench at Trench One, Locus A (Photo by Dr. Apoh).

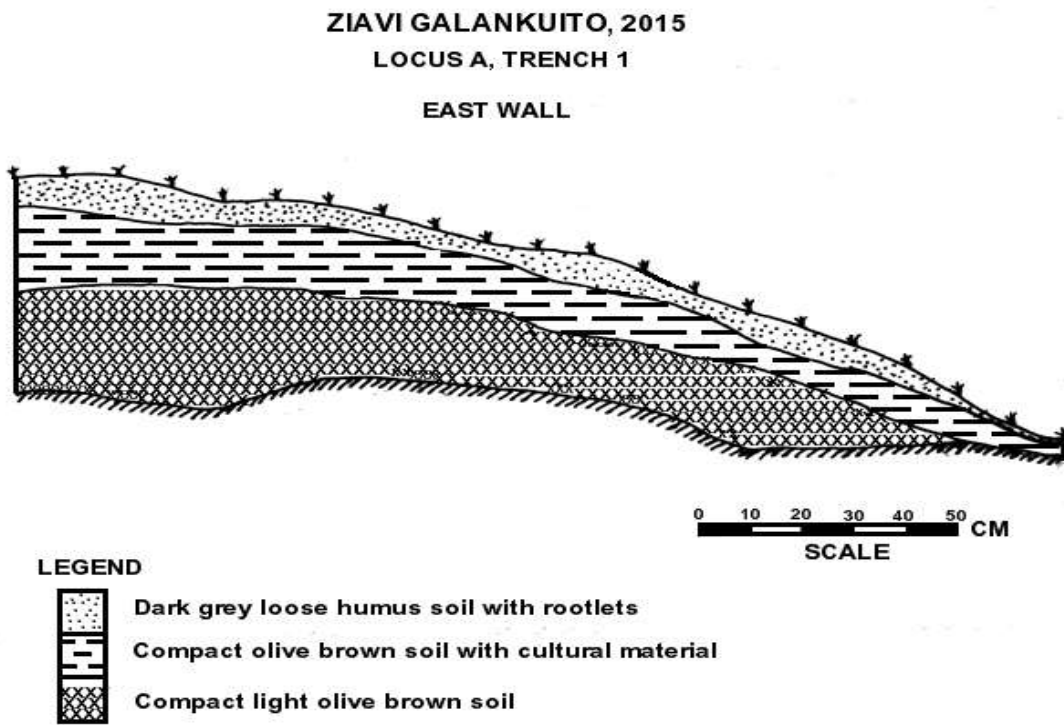


Figure 4.2 Stratigraphic profile of Trench One Locus A East Wall.

4.4 Unit One Locus B

This unit (N 0.6° 37.560', E 000° 27.760') measured 2m × 2m in dimension. It slopes from northwest to southeast with pottery configuration on the surface. The unit was excavated in arbitrary levels of 10 cm and it reached sterile level at 80cm below datum.

Excavation of this unit encountered root inclusions and stone disturbances. The soil in arbitrary level one (0cm - 10cm) showed brown with a mid-coarse soil texture. Levels two, three, four and five (10cm - 50cm) showed a dark soil colour with a mid-coarse soil texture (Fig.4.3) while levels six to eight (50cm-80cm) showed a yellowish-brown-dark with a silty soil texture. Compared to Trench One of Locus A, this unit produced more archaeological data with fragments of ceramics dominating.

Materials recovered from this unit include pottery fragments, glass remains, Mollusca, palm kernel, a stone tool, iron slag, daub, a bottle cork, a bead, and a grinding stone (see table 4.2, fig 4.3 and 4.4).

Table 4.2 Frequency of finds from locus B unit 1

Levels (cmbd)	Pottery	Glass Remains	European ceramics	Fauna	Palm kernels	Smoking pipe	Metal objects	Mollusca	Iron slag
One	37	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Two	289	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Three	47	1	-	-	27	-	1	-	-
Four	454	7	-	-	40	-	-	1	-
Five	619	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Six	343	-	-	-	56	-	-	-	-
Seven	168	-	-	-	39	-	-	-	-
Eight	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2,402	9	-	-	171	-	3	3	1



Figure 4.3. Excavated Unit One of Locus B (Photo by Dr. Apoh)

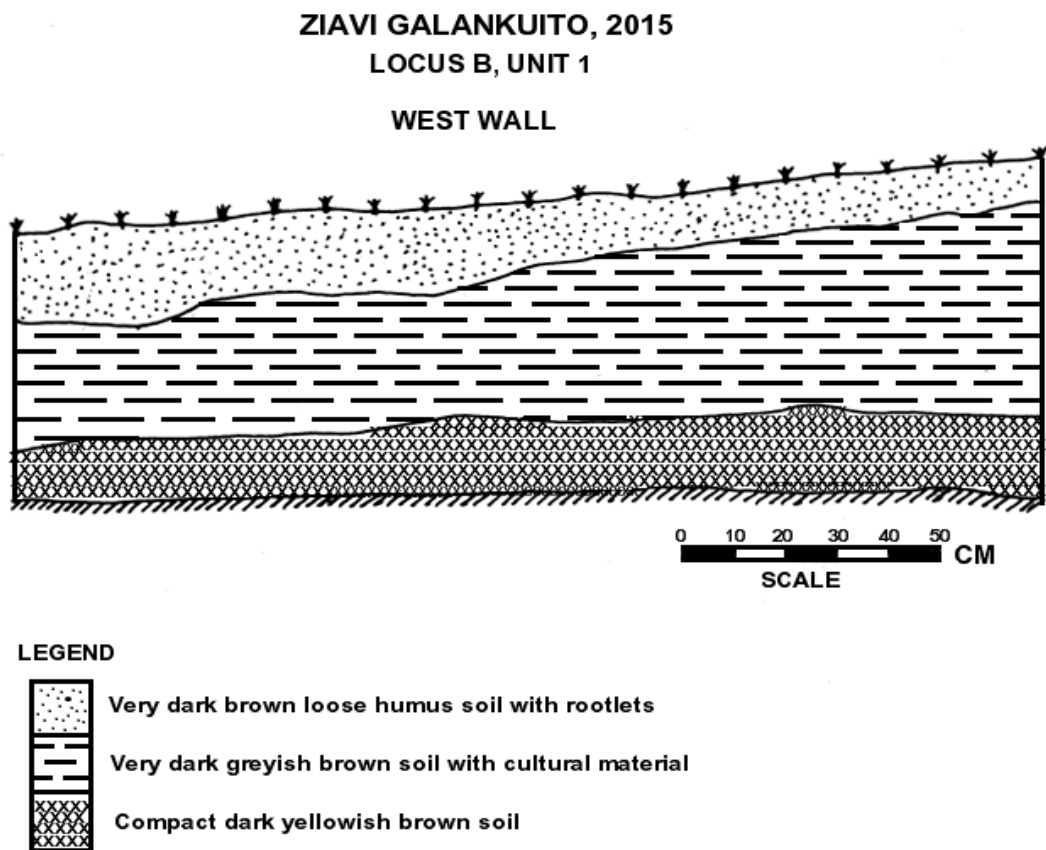


Figure 4.4 Stratigraphic profile of the West Wall of Unit One Locus B

4.5 Unit Two Locus B

This unit (N 0.6°37.562' E000°27.768') is 2m × 2m in dimension. The excavation of this unit which was in arbitrary level of 20cm below surface level reached sterile level at 130cm below datum.

A rocky outcrop was encountered at level 5. As a result of this, the eastern section of the unit was then stepped down since it was still producing artifacts, especially local ceramics. The soil colour from this level to level six (100cm -120cm) was dark with a mid-coarse soil texture until at level seven (120cm -130cm) where it changed again to dark-brown (fig 4.5 and 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8).

Archaeological materials recovered from this unit consist of pottery fragments, iron slag, fauna remains a grinding stone, glass remains and a snail shell (see table 4.3)

Table 4.3 Frequency of finds from Unit 2 Locus B

Levels (cmbd)	Pottery fragments	Glass Remains	European ceramics	Bones	Palm kernels	Smoking pipe	Metal objects	Mollusca	Iron slag	Total
One	34	6	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	43
Two	91	26	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	125
Three	611	12	-		-	-	-	-	-	623
Four	703	11	-		-	-	-	-	8	722
Five	785	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	792
Six	207	-	-		-	-	-	2	-	209
Seven	90	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	90
Total	2,521	52	-	11	-	-	-	3	14	2604
%	96.8	2.1	-	0.4	-	-	-	0.1	0.5	100



Figure 4.5. Excavated Unit 2 of Locus B (Photo by Dr. .Apo)

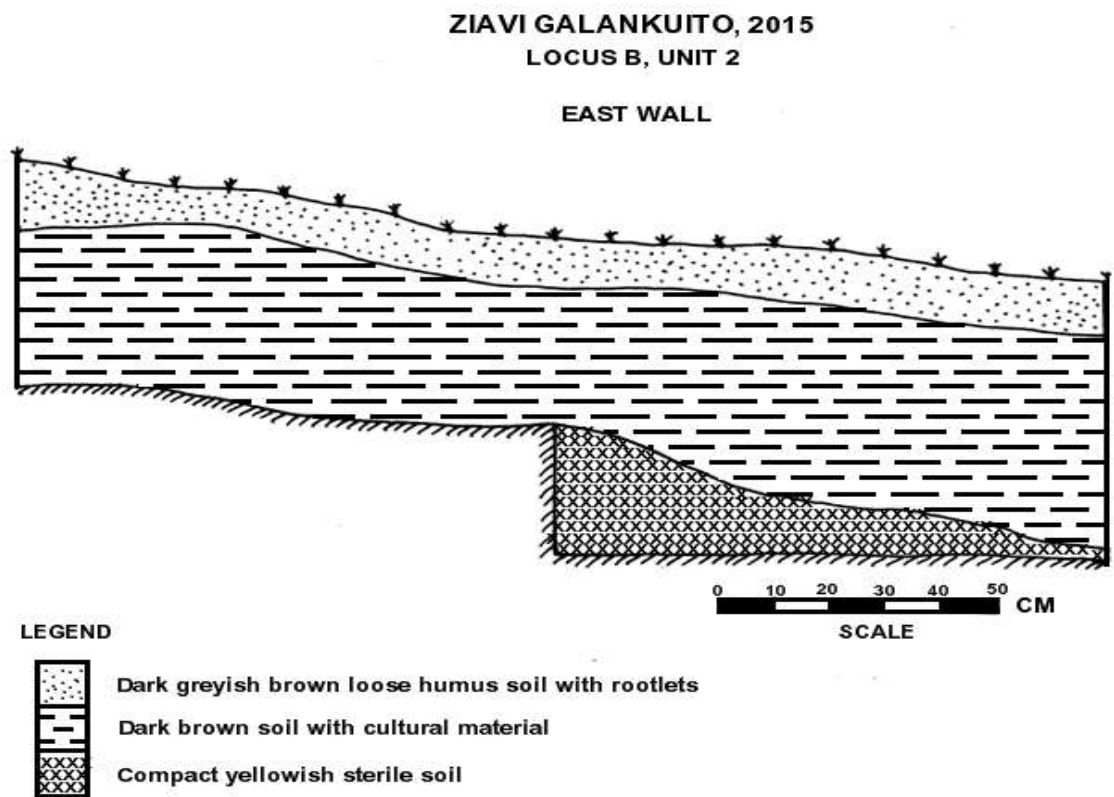


Figure 4.6 Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 2 of Locus B East Wall.



Figure 4.7 Excavated Unit 2 of Locus B (Photo by Dr. Apoh).

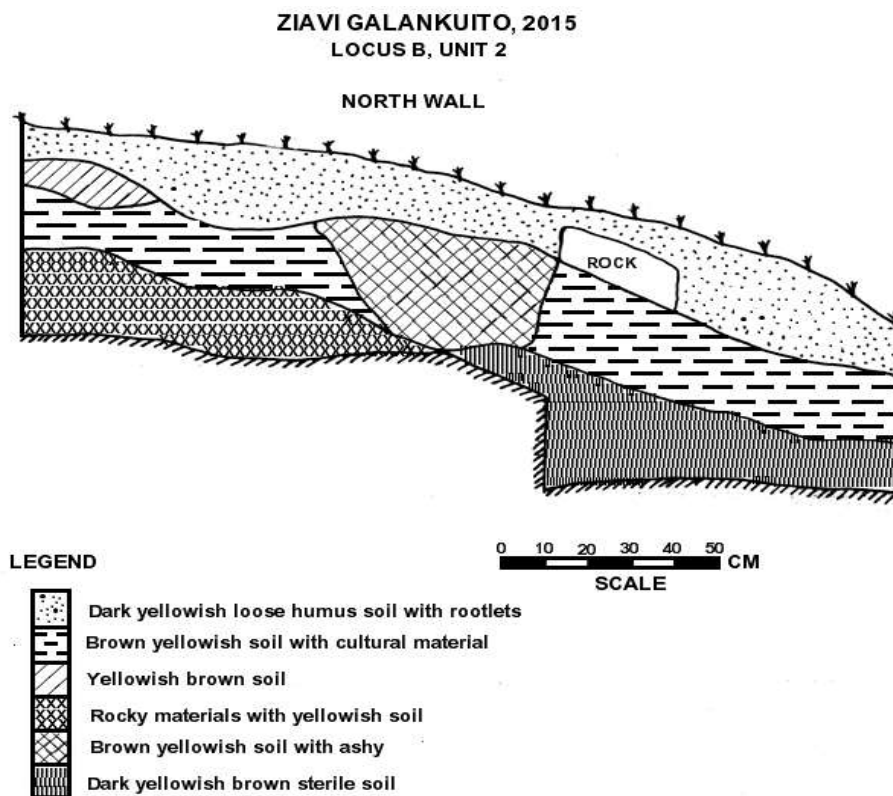


Figure 4.8 Stratigraphic profile of Unit 2 of Locus B North Wall.

4.6 Trench One Locus C

Locus C Trench One (N 0.6° 37.589' E000' 27.729') measured 2m × 3m in size. The trench was excavated in arbitrary levels of 20cm. It reached sterile level at 100cm within natural level. The

total archaeological materials from this trench outnumbered those from Locus A Trench One but less than those from Locus B Unit One and Unit Two. The trench's topography slopes downwards from the eastern end towards the western section.

At level one (0cm – 20cm), the soil was a dark loamy loose soil with pottery fragments, broken bottles, a mollusc shell, and a snail shell. The soil changed colour from dark loamy soil to dark brown soil from level two to three (20cm – 60cm). These levels produced relatively more pottery fragments than the first level with quite a number of rootlets at the eastern wall. Towards the southeast corner of level two (20cm – 40cm), a broken pot with full rim was found. It was brushed in-situ and photographed prior to its removal. The stratigraphic profile constituted three natural levels (see fig 4.9 and 4.10). The assemblage of archaeological data recovered from this trench include pottery fragments, glass remains, European ceramics, iron slag, a pipe stem, metal objects, bones, daub, and a mammalian tooth (see table 4.4 and fig 4.9 and fig. 4.10).

Levels (cmbd)	Pottery	Glass Remains	European ceramics	Fauna	Palm kernel	Smoking pipe	Metal objects	Mollusca	Iron slag
One	17	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Two	255	64	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Three	257	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Four	697	149	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Five	282	77	-	-	-	-	4	-	26
Total	1,508	302	2	-	-	-	5	-	26

Table 4.4 Frequency of finds from Locus C Trench One



Figure 4.9. Excavated Trench One of Locus C

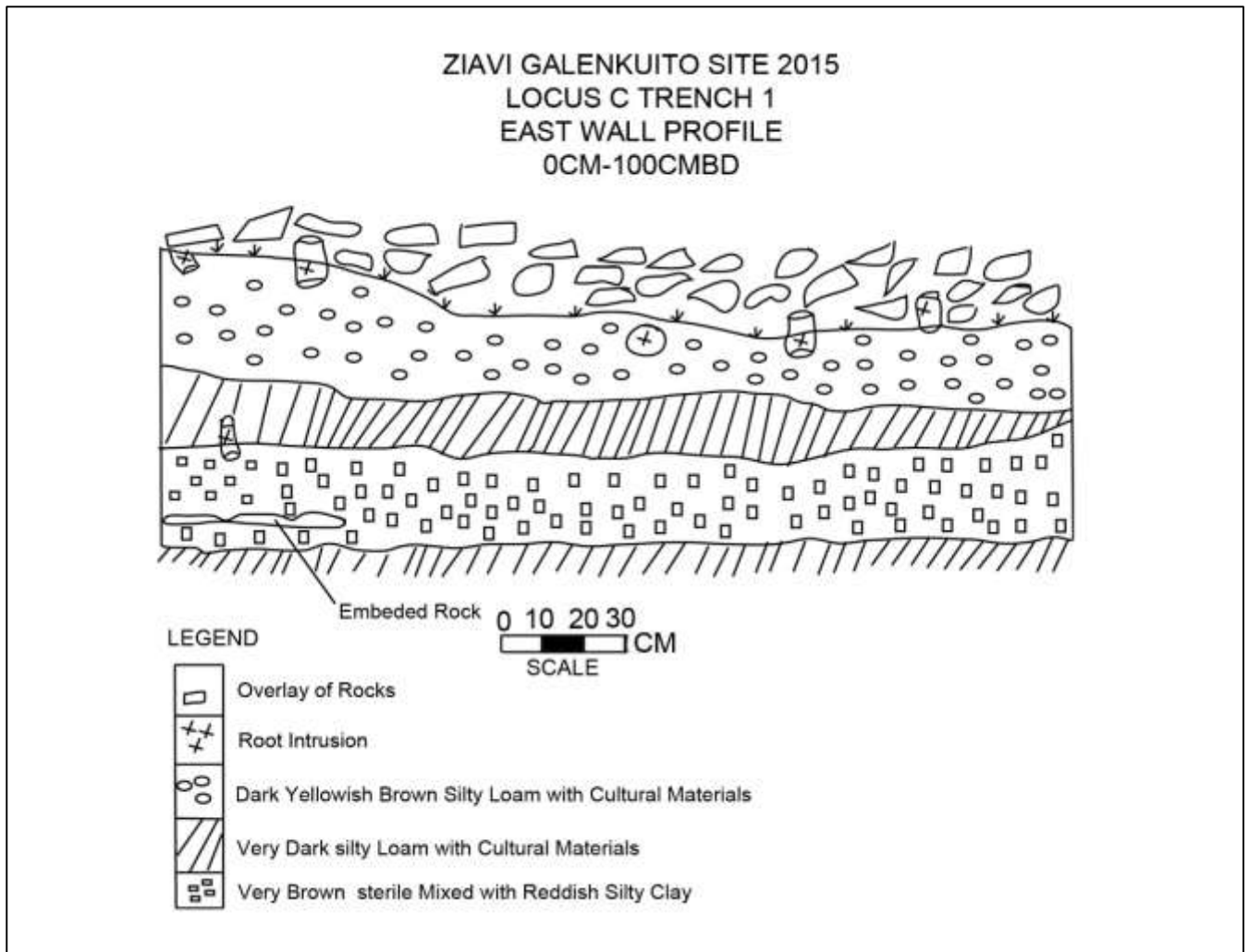


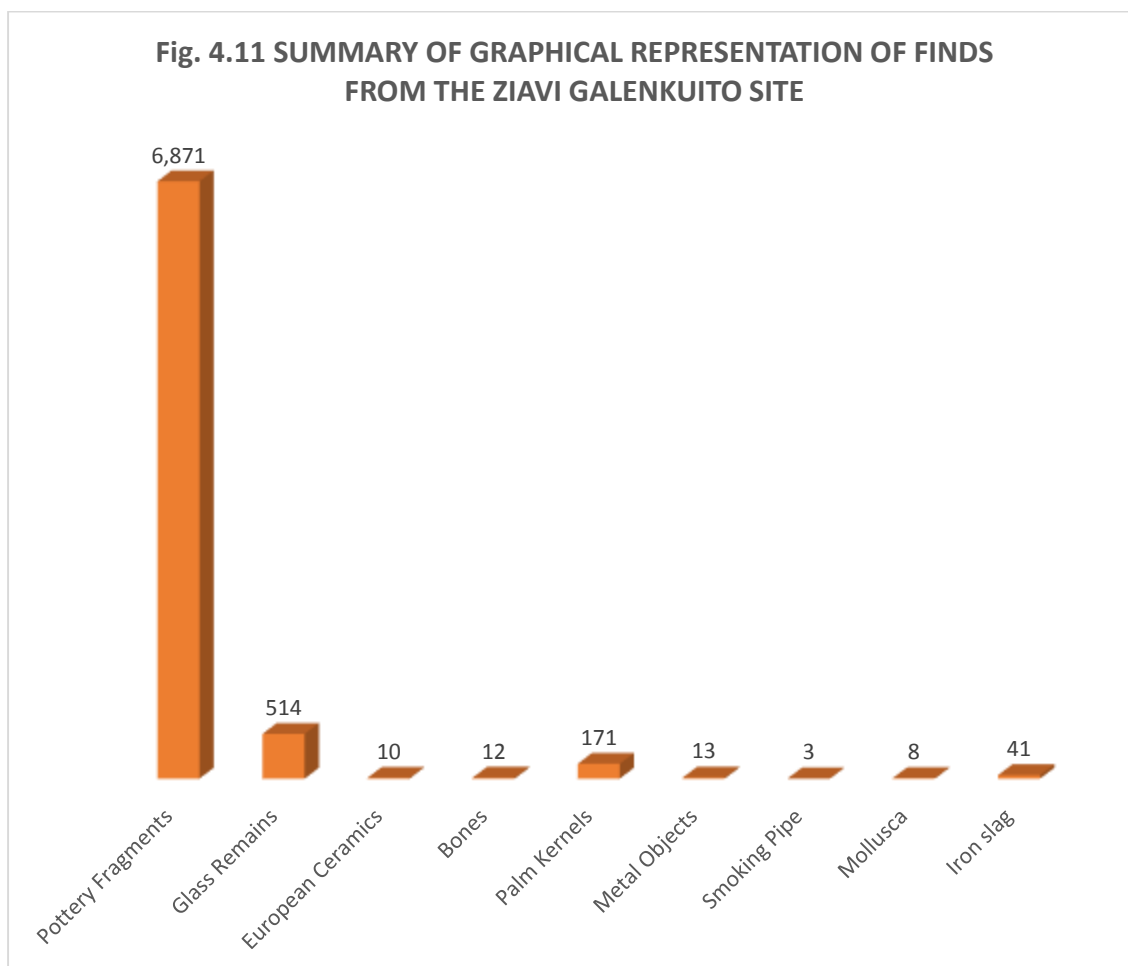
Figure 4.10. Stratigraphic profile of Locus C Trench One East Wall.

4.7 Summary of Archaeological Finds from the Site

The Ziavi Galenkuito site produced a medley of archaeological materials from the excavation of the two trenches and two units. In all, 7,621 materials were recovered. Their frequencies are made of 6,871 pottery fragments, 514 glass remains, 10 pieces of European ceramic, 12 pieces of fauna, 171 pieces of palm kernel (*Elaeis guineensis*), 4 smoking pipe fragments, 8 Mollusca, 11 metal objects, 2 coins, 51 pieces of iron slags, a bead, a button, 4 bored stones, a slate pencil, 5 lime stones, a stone tool, a seed, a grinding stone, daub, and a mammalian tooth (see table 4.4 and fig 4.11).

Table 4.5 Numerical summary of finds from the Ziavi Galenkuito site

Trenches Units	Pottery fragments	Glass Remains	European ceramics	Fauna	Palm kernels	Metal objects	Smoking pipe	Mollusca	Iron slag
Locus A Trench 1	44	148	8	1	0	6	3	2	0
Locus B Unit 1	2,402	9	0		171	2	0	3	1
Locus B Unit 2	2,521	55	0	11	0	0	0	3	14
Locus C Trench 1	1,508	302	2	0	0	5	0	0	26
Total	6,871	514	10	12	171	13	3	8	41
%	89.90	6.72	0.13	0.16	2.24	0.17	0.04	0.10	0.54



CHAPTER FIVE

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides analysis of finds excavated from the Galenkuito site of Ziavi. The analysis of finds range from local and European ceramic remains, glass remains, metal objects, smoking pipes, flora and fauna remains, iron slag, lithic objects as well as pieces of daub.

5.1 Local Pottery Remains

The analysis and classification of the pottery fragments was based primarily on their vessel parts (body, rim, neck, base and carination). The morphology (shape, size and height) of the pottery fragments was used as a criteria for classification and analysis. Particularly, the size of the sherds was as a sorting measure used unlike the shape and the height. For example, those fragments that measured between 0cm to 5cm were classified separately from those between 6cm to 10cm and analyzed accordingly. The smaller pieces were thus counted and discarded. Other classification criteria include surface treatment, surface decorations, texture, temper (mica, pebble, sand, or crushed pottery in paste), as well as the thickness of the pottery.

5.1.1 Vessel Parts

The pottery fragments from the site consisted of five vessel parts namely rims neck, body, carination, and base. The body fragments of the vessels comprised the highest number (n = 5,808) and percentage (84.5%) of the total potsherds of 6,871. Rims numbered 654 representing 9.5%. Neck sherds (n= 402) accounted for 5.9%, carination (n=5) representing 0.07% and bases (n= 2) representing 0.03% (see table 4.2).

Table 5.1 Numerical distribution of sherd types from Ziavi Galenkuito site.

	JAR RIMS	BOWL RIMS	IND RIMS	BODY	NECK	CARINATION	BASES	TOTAL
TRENCH/ UNITS								
Locus A TR 1	22	11	13	312	25	-	-	383
Locus B U1	48	45	58	1,256	98	1	1	1,507
Locus B U2	90	67	63	2,080	155	4	1	2,460
Locus C TR 1	137	55	45	2,160	124	-	-	2,521
TOTAL	297	178	179	5,808	402	5	2	6,871
%	4.3	2.6	2.6	84.5	5.9	0.07	0.03	100

5.1.2 Vessel Morphology

Objects fashioned wholly or in part from clay have served a wide variety of human needs; past and present (Rice 1987:207). Ceramic vessels as objects are used in specific activities to serve specific ends (Braun 1983: 107). The intended use of a vessel affects the final form and shape it would take. The material constituent of the vessel for instance may be selected on the basis of its intended use (Sinopoli 1991: 83). Generally, pottery vessels are used for carrying water or other liquids, storing dry substances, cooking, keeping valuables, serving food etc. Usually, cooking vessels have wide openings while those for storing liquids have constricted openings (Bower 1986 cited in Apoh 2008:201). From the perspective of Rice (1987), “the attributes of shape and technology of pottery vessels are closely related to their suitability for a particular function or activity”.

The form, technology and function of vessels are based on the decisions potters make to modify the properties towards particular kind of uses (Rice 1987). The analysis and classification of the potsherds recovered from the site was based on their unique attributes and characteristics.

Out of the total of 3,657 diagnostic pottery fragments, rim sherds accounted for 17.9% (n= 654), body sherds (including neck, carination and body) accounted for 82.1% (n= 3,001) and

basal sherds accounted for 0.05% (n= 2). On the basis of body rim curvature and observation of rim sherds (that is, straight rim, inverted rim, everted rim, rim morphology and shape) as well as the diameter of the vessel orifice, two main vessel forms were recognized: jars and bowls. A half pot with a complete round rim, neck and body was recovered from the site. This half pot has a burnished surface treatment on the body, neck and rim. This broken pot which was identified as a jar appeared to be red slipped both on the inside and outside of the rim as well as the outside of the remaining body.

5.1.3 Jars

A jar is defined as a vessel that has a restricted orifice in relation to its maximum body diameter. A jar usually has a height greater than the maximum body or rim diameter and with a narrow neck (Crossland 1989:30). Out of the 654 rim sherds identified from the Ziavi Galenkuito site, 297 representing 4.3% of the total diagnostic sherds were jars. Some of these fragments were with and without decorative motifs. One hundred and seventy-nine (179) rim sherds representing 2.6% of the total rim sherds however, were indeterminate. Classification of the jar rims was based on three jar forms. These include everted jar rims, inverted jar rims and straight jar rims.

5.1.4 Everted jar-rims

Everted jar rims depending on its size usually have a restricted neck and an out-turned lip. It opens and flares outward from its orifice (Apoth 2008:203). This category of rim form numbered 267 (89.9%) of the total rim sherds of 654. The thickness of the everted jar rims ranges between 4-10mm, while their estimated rim diameter ranges between 10-15cm. However, the complete rim recovered from Locus C Trench one had a diameter of about 40cm. Amevor (1993:83) described such everted rim pots as 'Nudaze' (cooking or boiling pots) and 'Tsifoze' (vessels for soup preparation) among the people of Kpando. Similarly, these functional roles may not be different among the early Ziavi settlers who lived on the Galenkuito

site because of such general use of pottery products by the people of the Volta Region of Ghana even in present times.

In spite of the fact that there is no ethnographic or ethno-historic evidence of pottery making within the Ziavi community, the functions and uses of pottery as described by Amevor (1993), may not be dissimilar or any different as there were no alternative domestic vessels like we have in contemporary times. For example, Ibid (1993) described other uses of everted jar rims among the people of Kpando as ‘Tomedeze’ (vessels used for fetching water), ‘Tsinoze’ (vessels used for storing water and palm wine), ‘Amatsize’ (vessels used for boiling and storing herbal medicine) and ‘Lubu’ (vessels used for tapping palm wine). As an indigenous community that predated the occupation of the Europeans (the Germans and later the British) on the site, there may have been similar functions and uses for such type of everted jars since ethnographic enquiries confirmed evidence of herbal medical practices, and palm wine tapping among contemporary Ziavi indigenes.

Another basis for the connection between the Kpando area and the Ziavi community in terms of pottery uses and functions is that, the Kpando area serves as one of the main source of pottery products traded in the Ho central market. The people of Ziavi may have acquired some of its pottery products from there. This trade network has existed in the past and is still active in present times (Samuel Naogbe, 2015: Per.com).

5.1.5 Inverted rim-jars

Inverted jar rims in relation to the everted ones have an open neck and an in-turned lips. They have almost the same orifice opening as the everted ones. These numbered 22 (7.4%) of the total rim sherds. The thickness of the inverted rim jars ranges between 5-10 mm and their diameter between 10cm-10cm.

5.2 Straight rim jars

Inverted rim-jars have an open neck with straight lips. Their orifice openings are almost the same as the everted and the inverted rim-jars. They numbered 8 (2.7%) of the total rim sherds. The thickness of the straight rim jars measured to about 5-10mm and their diameter between 10cm –19cm.

5.2.1 Jar Forms

Under sub-classification of jar forms, six (6) jar forms emerged from the site. These include jar form 1(a, b, c), jar form 2 (a, b, c) jar form 3, jar form 4 (a, b), jar form 5 and jar form 6. The varieties or differences in the jar forms is suggestive of the fact that, the vessels may have probably been produced by different potters with different pottery making orientation and skills. The intended use of the vessel may have also influenced the form the vessel should take.

5.2.2 Jar Form 1(a, b and c).

Jar form 1 (a), (b), and (c) are characterized by an everted or an out-turned lip but with different vessel radii and diameters. Form 1 (a) has a radius and diameter of 9cm and 18cm respectively. Form 1 (b) has a radius of 12 cm and a diameter of 24cm while form 1 (c) measures 13cm in radius and 26cm in diameter. Jar form 1 (a) had a crisscrossed diagonal incision and a long horizontal incision on its body surface while form 1 (b) and (c) had multiple decorations of comb stamps and circular punctuation on its body surface. The lip thickness of jar form 1(a) and (c) are 9mm while that of form 1 (b) is 13mm (Fig. 5.1, 5.1.1, and 5.1.2).



Figure 5.1 Profile of jar form 1 (a)



Figure 5.1.1 Profile of jar form 1 (b).



Figure 5.1.2 Profile of jar form 1 (c).

5.2.3 Jar Form 2 (a), (b) and (c)

These jar forms both have an everted rim lips. Jar form 2 (a) has an orifice radius of 10cm and a diameter of 20cm. Form 2 (b) has a radius and diameter of 7.5cm and 15cm respectively while form 2 (c) has a radius of 9cm and a diameter of 18cm. The lip thickness of jar form 2 (a) is 15mm, that of form 2 (b) is 6mm while form 2 (c) is 7mm. Jar form 2 (a) has a broad channeling on top of the lip and a diagonal crisscrossed incision on the internal part of the rim area. Jar form 2 (b) has a multiple decoration of comb stamps and circular punctuation on its body surface while jar form 2 (c) have no decoration on its body surface (Fig 5.1.3, 5.1.4, and 5.1.5)



Figure 5.1.3. Profile of jar form 2 (a).



Figure 5.1.4. Profile of jar form 2 (b).



Figure 5.1.5 Profile of Jar form 2 (c).

5.2.4 Jar Form 3

This jar form is characterized by an everted lip with triangular punctate impression on its body surface. Its outer surface area is red-slipped and has a lip thickness of 7mm. The radius and diameter of its orifice measures 9cm and 18cm in that order (see fig. 5.2).



Figure 5.2 Profile Photo of Jar form 3.

5.2.5 Jar Form 4

This jar form has an inverted lip with a carinated body. It is both internally and externally decorated with deep cut incision in an X and W decorative pattern especially on the external surface area. It has a radius of 9.5cm and a diameter of 19cm. the lip thickness is 8mm (see fig. 5.2.1).



Figure 5.2.1 Profile Photo of Jar form 4.

5.3 Jar Form 5 (a) and (b)

Jar form 5 (a) is characterized by an everted lip and has no body surface decoration. It is red-slipped washed with lip radius of 5cm and a diameter of 10cm. The lip thickness is 3mm (fig 5.2.2).

Jar form 5 (b) also have an everted lip with no surface decoration but burnished. Its radius and diameter are 3.5cm and 7cm respectively and has lip thickness of 5mm. Its uniform darkened body surface may have been as a result of use ware rather than being intentionally smudged (see fig. 5.2.3).



Figure 5.2.2. Profile photo of Jar form 5 (a).



Figure 5.2.3 Profile of jar form 5 (b).

5.3.1 Jar Form 6

Jar form 6 has an everted lip with a channeling on top of the lip. Just below the lip on the inside of the jar is a broad channeling. The body surface of this jar form is decorated with angular

punctate. It is burnished and has lip thickness of about 10mm. Jar form 6 has a radius and diameter of 9cm and 18cm in that order (see fig 5.2.4).



Figure 5.2.4 Profile of jar form 6.

5.3.2 Bowl

Bowls are vessels that have an unrestricted and open orifice with a wide neck. The maximum rim diameter is usually greater than or equal to their maximum body diameter (Crossland 1986:28). They usually have height less than or equal to the maximum body diameter (Rice 1986). A total of 178 rim sherds (27.2%) were recognized as bowls. The categorized bowl rims were characterized by everted, inverted and straight rim lips, some of which were thin and thick. Vessels' Lips are designed thick or thin based on their intended uses. Thickened lips for instance, with bolster or flange, strengthens the rim against breakage from accidental blow (Rice 1987:241). The size of the lips ranges from 0.5cm to 1cm. Out of the total of 178 bowl rims, 32 (18.0%), 138 (78.5%) and 7 (4.0%) had everted, inverted and straight lips respectively. It appeared the inverted bowl rims constitute the bulk of the bowl rims recovered from the site. The everted and straight bowl rims were relatively limited in quantity compared to the inverted bowl rims. The average diameter of the bowl rims range between 8cm and 20cm.

5.3.3 Bowl Forms

The classification and analysis of bowl rims excavated from the site revealed five (5) distinct bowl forms. These include bowl form 1 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g), bowl form 2, bowl form 3 (a), and (b), bowl form 4 and bowl form 5.

5.3.4 Bowl Form 1 (a)

Bowl form 1 (a) has an in-turned lip with lip and body thickness of 14mm and 7cm respectively. It has a radius of 10cm and diameter of 20cm. Bowl form 1(a) has a burnished and slightly smudged external body surface perhaps out of use ware. It has no surface decoration (see fig 5.2.5).



Figure 5.2.5 Profile of bowl form 1 (a).

5.3.5 Bowl Form 1 (b)

Bowl form 1 (b) has an in-turned lip with lip and body thickness of 13mm and 5mm respectively. The radius is 10cm and diameter is 20cm. It has a triangular punctated decorative motif right underneath the lip externally (see fig. 5.3).



Figure 5.3 Profile of bowl form 1 (b).

5.4 Bowl. Form 1 (c)

Bowl form 1 (c) has an out-turned lip. Cord roulette decoration is exhibited on the body surface.

It has a radius of 15cm and a diameter of 30cm. The lip thickness is about 6mm (see fig.5.3.1).



Figure 5.3.1. Bowl form 1 (c).

5.4.1 Bowl Form 1 (d)

This bowl form has a radius of 10cm and diameter of 20cm. The lip is out-turned and is about 6mm thick and have a plain body with no decoration (see fig 5.3.2).



Figure 5.3.2. Profile of Bowl form 1 (d).

5.4.2 Bowl Form 1 (e)

Bowl form 1 (e) has a radius of 11cm and a diameter of 22cm. The lip is in-turned and is about 11mm thick. It is decorated with what appears like a semi- circular punctate underneath the lip (fig. 5.3.3).



Figure 5.3.3 Profile of bowl form (e).

5.4.3 Bowl Form 1 (f)

This bowl form is characterized by a radius of 11cm and diameter of 22cm. The lip of this bowl type is in-turned or inverted and is about 10mm thick. It has a plain body with no surface decoration (fig. 5.3.4).



Figure 5.3.4 Bowl form 1 (f).

5.4.4 Bowl Form 1 (g).

Bowl form 1 (g) has an inverted lip with lip thickness of about 8mm. It has a lip radius of 9cm and a diameter of 18cm. It has a plain body surface with no peculiar decoration (see fig. 5.3.5).



Figure 5.3.5. Bowl form 1 (g).

5.4.5 Bowl Form 2

This bowl form is identified with an inverted lip with lip thickness of about 7mm. The radius and diameter of this bowl form are 13cm and 26cm respectively. It has multiple channels, one around the neck and the other on the body part closer to the neck (fig 5.4).



Figure 5.4 Bowl form 2.

5.5 Bowl Form 3

Bowl form 3 has a radius of 12cm and diameter of 24cm. Its lip is about 10mm thick. It is characterized by such decorative motif as contiguous narrow channelings executed right on top of the lip (fig 5.4.1).



Figure 5.4.1 Bowl form 3.

5.5.1 Bowl Form 4

Bowl form 4 has a radius of 9cm and diameter of 18cm. Its inverted lip is about 5mm thick. It is unique with comb stamped decoration on the body surface (see fig. 5.4.2).



Figure 5.4.2 Profile of Bowl form 4.

5.5.2 Bowl Form 5

This bowl form has a radius of 15cm and a diameter of 30cm. Its inverted lip is about 10mm thick and is decorated with punctuation decorative patterns (fig. 5.4.3). It appears to be a big bowl based on the diameter of the rim.



Figure 5.4.3 Profile of bowl form 5.

5.6 Pottery Thickness

The thickness of vessel walls is not only related to the size of the vessel and the physical properties of the clay being used but are also dependent on its intended use (Rice 1987:227). More so, the intended appearance and function of the vessel may require that it is thickened to augment its strength when in use.

Sherd thickness was measured by the use of an Analogue caliper into thin (0mm -5mm), medium (6mm-10mm) and thick (11mm-15mm) categories. Three thousand four hundred and twelve (3,412) of the total diagnostic sherds (n=3,657) representing 93.3% were thin, 190 representing 5.2% were medium and 55 representing 1.5% were thick.

5.6.1 Pottery Texture and Temper

The texture of an unfired clay cannot be judged precisely but often very effectively by feel when a small amount of the clay is rolled between the fingers or nibbled (Rice 1987:72). Clay that feels slimy and smooth is usually a fine one while those that feel gritty and stiff when wet are coarse clay material. A thorough observation and analysis of the fabric of the potsherds from Galenkuito site revealed two distinct pottery textures. The texture was recognized when a part of the sherd, particularly the tip was broken, felt, and visualized under an electric magnifying glass. It revealed fine grained and coarse grained potsherds. The fine grained sherds appeared to be uniform in arrangement and composition while the coarse grained were rounded with a few being angular in shape. There were 2,106 (57.6%) of the total diagnostic sherds (3,657) identified as coarse grained while 1,551 (42.4%) were fine grained.

Temper refers to the coarse components in the paste usually added to modify the physical properties of the clay (Rice 1986:406) Such inclusions may include pebbles, sand, quartz, mica or crushed pottery or bricks (referred to as grog). The type and quantity of tempering agents used is sometimes dependant on the intended use of the vessel. Vessels

intended for cooking or for culinary activities for instance, are highly tempered in order to increase their ability to resist thermal stress associated with repeated heating and cooling (Sinopoli 1991:84). Based on visual identification of the sherds, the coarse grained sherds appeared to have been tempered with sand, and quartz fragments, which are in a rounded and angular form. The mica constituent in the paste of some of the sherds however, seems to be naturally part of the clay rather than being used as a tempering agent. Four hundred and ninety-one (491) sherds representing 13.4% of the total potsherds for instance, were identified with mica in paste (see table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Texture and Temper of Potsherds from Galenkuito site

Units/Trench	Fine grained	Coarse grained		
		Sand	Quartz	Mica
Locus A trench 1	167	24	25	89
Locus B unit 1	265	238	201	-
Locus B unit 2	568	350	323	280
Locus C trench 1	551	235	219	122
Total	1,551	847	768	491

5.6.2 Colour/Surface Finish/Surface wash

This includes the various activities and techniques used by potters to alter the natural colour of the clay used in the production of vessels. The practice could be done before, during or after firing and may result in an increase in the body mass of the vessel (Nuttor 2010:70). Colour is one important ceramic property that allows easy visual differentiation and could be intended for both aesthetic and technical purposes such as determining the raw materials and firing techniques used by the potters (Rice 1987:331).

The techniques of surface wash or finish may include red slipping, smudging, dyeing, burnishing, and painting (Nuttor 2010). A Red slipped surface is usually achieved by applying

a haematite solution or a suspension of red ochre to certain internal portions or the external surface of the vessel. Smudging, noticeable by a black coating on either the internal or external parts of the vessel, is achieved by firing in the open air (Sinopoli 1991:28) and under a reduced atmosphere devoid of oxygen (Crossland 1973:120; Rice 1987:149). The potsherds recovered from excavations at Galenkuito site were characterized by red-slip, black/smudge, brown wash and a gray colour surfaces.

Out of the total of 3,657 diagnostic fragments, 2,046 (52.9%), 927 (23.9%), 765 (6.8%), and 133 (3.4%) constituted brown wash, red-slip, black/smudged, and gray colour surface appearances respectively (see tables 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5). Apparently, the pottery fragments have been dominated by a brown wash colour, followed by red slipped, black/smudged and gray in that order. Arguably, even though 765 (6.8%) sherds accounted for black/smudged, one cannot convincingly assert that, they have been smudged deliberately but some as a result of useware. The use of vessels especially for cooking over time tend to leave deposit of black soot on the body part that comes directly into contact with the fire and this may have accounted for the black coating or patches on some of the 765 sherds with black surface colour.

5.6.3 Burnishing Surface Treatment

Burnishing is a technique that does not involve the application of colour but can affect the entire surface area of the vessel (Rye 1981). This is achieved when a hard tool, a stone, a broken or a smoothed potsherd is rubbed against the surface of the vessel in order to conceal irregularities on the vessel's body surface (Sinopoli 1991:25) and to give it a smooth and polished surface. Based on feeling and rubbing by the hand, burnished surface treatments appeared dominant over the unburnished ones. Statistically, 2,568 (66.3%) of the total diagnostic sherds appeared burnished while 1,303 (33.7%) were unburnished (see table 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6).

Table 5.3 Frequency distribution of surface colour/finish/decorations of potsherds from locus A Trench 1

VESSEL-PARTS	Total	SURFACE COLOUR				SURFACE FINISH		SURFACE DECORATION								
		Brown wash	Black Smudge	Red slip	Gray	Burnished	Not burnished	Grooves	Incision	Impression	Perforation	Punctuation	Cord Roulette	Comb stamped	Multi Dec	Plain
JAR RIM	22	16	-	6	-	8	14	-	2	1	-	2	2	2	-	13
BOWL RIM	11	9	-	2	-	4	7	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
BODY	181	115	36	22	8	81	100	5	15	2	-	6	3	3	-	146
NECK	25	14	-	8	3	6	19	2	3	-	-	3	1	1	-	17
CARNATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BASES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	239	154	36	38	11	99	140	7	23	3	-	14	6	6	-	181
%		64.4%	15.1%	15.9%	4.6%	41.4%	58.6%	2.9%	9.6%	1.3%	-	5.9%	2.5%	2.5%	-	75.7%

Table 5.4 Frequency distribution of surface colour/finish/decorations of potsherds from locus B Unit 1

VESSEL-PARTS	Total	SURFACE COLOUR				SURFACE FINISH		SURFACE DECORATION								
		Brown wash	Black Smudge	Red slip	Gray	Burnished	Not burnished	Grooves	Incision	Impression	Perforation	Punctuation	Cord Roulette	Comb stamped	Multi Dec	Plain
JAR RIM	48	17	20	8	3	29	19	-	10	9	-	7	-	-	2	20
BOWL RIM	45	17	18	7	3	20	25	-	9	5	-	6	1	3	2	19
BODY	680	269	375	26	10	400	280	3	127	18	19	14	4	5	3	506
NECK	98	62	9	22	5	57		-	22	15	-	12	1	2	2	44
CARNATIONS	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-
BASE	1	1	-	-	-	-	1		-							1
TOTAL	873	367	422	63	21	506	326	3	168	47	19	39	6	11	9	590
%		42.0%	48.3%	7.2%	2.4%	58.0%	37.3%	0.3%	19.2%	5.4%	2.2%	4.5%	0.7%	1.3%	1.0%	67.4%

Table 5.5 Frequency distribution of surface colour/finish/decorations of potsherds from locus B Unit 2.

VESSEL-PARTS	Total	SURFACE COLOUR				SURFACE FINISH		SURFACE DECORATION								
		Brown wash	Black Smudge	Red slip	Gray	Burnished	Not burnished	Grooves	Incision	Impression	Perforation	Punctuation	Cord Roulette	Comb stamped	Multi Dec	Plain
JAR RIM	90	38	26	20	6	51	39	-	16	-	-	17	-	4	4	49
BOWL RIM	67	20	31	16	-	40	27	-	15	-	-	11	2	3	-	36
BODY	870	525	215	118	12	516	354	1	191	-	14	24	-	6	15	620
NECK	155	88	40	21	6	91	64	-	64	-	-	11	-	4	10	66
CARNATIONS	4	3	1	-	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
BASES	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1,187	675	313	175	24	701	486	-	289	-	14	63	2	17	29	772
%		56.9	26.4	14.7	2.0	59.1	40.9	-	24.3		1.2	5.3	0.2	1.4	2.4	65.0

Table 5.6 Frequency distribution of surface colour/finish/decorations of potsherds from locus C Trench 1

VESSEL-PARTS	Total	SURFACE COLOUR				SURFACE FINISH		SURFACE DECORATION								
		Brown wash	Black Smudge	Red slip	Gray	Burnished	Not burnished	Grooves	Incision	Impression	Perforation	Punctuation	Cord Roulette	Comb stamped	Multi Dec	Plain
JAR RIM	137	51	32	48	6	80	57	3	29	-	-	5	-	4	3	93
BOWL RIM	55	24	9	16	6	37	18	1	12	-	-	8	-	4	2	28
BODY	1,042	556	127	348	11	856	186	14	208	8	-	9	3	5	6	789
NECK	124	39	38	40	7	65	59	2	32	-	-	7	1	4	4	74
CARNATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BASES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1,358	650	206	452	30	1,038	320	20	281	8	-	29	3	17	15	984
%		47.9%	15.2%	33.3	2.2	76.4%	23.6%	1.5%	20.7	0.6%	-	2.1%	0.2%	1.3%	1.1%	72.5

5.6.4 Surface decorations

Surface decorations have the tendency of reducing the body mass of pottery vessels. Decorative styles especially pottery related ones have played a premier role in reconstructing the histories and cultural relation of people who occupied archaeological sites (Rice 1987:245). A number of unique decorative motifs characterized the potsherds recovered from the Ziavi Galenkuito site (see fig. 5.4.4) although the majority of the pottery fragments appeared plain. Out of the total of 3,657 diagnostic sherds, 1,094 (29%) were identified with different types of decorations. The decorations unique to some sherd surfaces from this site include grooving, incisions, impressions, cord-roulette, punctation, comb-stamps, perforation, as well as surfaces with multi- decorations. These motifs were executed systematically on the neck, body and rim parts of the sherd.



Figure 5.4.4 Selected decorations executed on body sherds from the site.

5.6.5 Grooving

This technique probably involved the use of a round or blunt edged object. The blunt edged object is dragged along the surface of the vessel to produce broad depressed lines with ‘U’ or ‘V’-shaped decorative motifs before firing. They may also assume a vertical or horizontal decorative pattern on the surfaces of sherds. Grooves occur singly or in multiple bands to serve aesthetic and functional roles. This form of decoration do occur on rims, neck, lips, or body sherds. Out of the total of 3,657 diagnostic sherds, 30 (0.8%) were decorated with single and multiple grooves.

5.7 Incisions

This technique usually involved the use of a sharp pointed tool which is pressed into and dragged along the wet clay, leaving a linear impression and sometimes with a criss-crossed pattern. The marks left behind by grooving are commonly broad depressed lines while those produced by incision are relatively narrow lines. Given the repertoire of decorations that characterized the sherds from the Ziavi Galenquito site, incised decoration appeared to have dominated. Out of the 3,657 diagnostic sherds, 761 (20.8%) were decorated with incisions (see tables 5.3., 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6. These decorations, some of which appeared in curvilinear, reticulate, and zigzag motifs were executed on the jar rims, bowl rims, neck and especially body sherds with none on the limited carinated sherds.

5.7.1 Impressions

This technique involves the use of unmodified objects like sticks, pebbles, finger nails, baskets or a decorative stamp with patterned designs on the wet clay before firing. This is achieved when any of the above mentioned is impressed on the wall of the vessel, sometimes leaving swells of clay around the impressed surface area. In a few cases, for instance, what seemed like a thumb or finger nail impression were identified on some of the jar rims, bowl rims and body

sherds of the pottery fragments. Fifty- Eight (1.6%) out of the total sherds from the site were characterized by impressed decorations (see tables 5.3., 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6).

5.7.2 Cord Roulette

This type of decoration involves the use of a cord-wrapped roulette or a wood carved roulette on the wet clay before firing. It was executed predominantly on the body sherds and some bowl rims of the potsherds. Relatively limited number of pottery fragments (n= 17) representing 0.5% were decorated with cord roulette (see tables 5.3., 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6).

5.7.3 Punctuation/Perforation

These techniques involve the use of an object with either a circular or an angular edge to punch or punctate the surface of the sherds. For punctations, the objects are slightly punched on the surface of the sherds such that they do not penetrate the walls of the vessel unlike perforated designs where the object used penetrates the walls of the vessel, leaving circular holes on the body surface of the vessel. The decorative motif or pattern of the punctated potsherd recovered from the site appeared in a circular and a triangular form. The impressions that result in the perforation on the body of the vessel may have been deliberate to serve specific functions. The body sherds with perforated decorations were for example identified as colanders. These may have served as strainers, sieves, or used on fire to smoke, warm or barbecue fish/meat/vegetables as well as prevent them from being scavenged by domestic pets. Similar pottery types were recovered at the Kpando area by Apoh (2008). Statistically, 145 potsherds constituting 4.0% of the total diagnostic potsherds of 3,657, had punctated decorations while 33 body sherds (colanders) constituting 0.9% were perforated (see tables 5.3., 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6).

5.7.4 Comb stamps

This involved the stamping of a multi-toothed object like a comb to produce either a square-like, or rectangular impression on the surface of sherds. The regularity of the spacing and size

of the impressions confirms the view that the technique involved the use of a multi-toothed object as opposed to a tool with a single end (Boachie-Ansah 1978:161). In some cases, the comb stamps are executed in a horizontal and herringbone pattern. The herringbone pattern includes a 'contiguous pair of obliquely comb stamped bands slopping in opposite directions and horizontally aligned as a group' (ibid 1978: 161). Out of the total diagnostic sherds, 51, representing (1.4%) were decorated with comb stamps (see tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6).

5.7.5 Multiple Decorations

This explains the situation where more than one decoration or decorative motif appears on the surface of the sherds. Such combinations may be adopted and applied on the body surface to serve aesthetic purposes. Multiple decorations including incision combined with punctuation (1.74%), incision combined with comb stamps (0.91%), grooves combined with incision (1.37%) as well as impression combined with punctuation (0.82%) characterized a handful of the pottery fragments recovered from the site. Fifty-three (53) representing (4.84%) of the total decorated potsherds revealed multiple decorations executed mostly on the body sherds.

5.8 Base

Two rounded jar bases in all were recovered from the Galenkuito site. The smallest one was about 0.4mm thick with no surface treatment and the body was eroded probably caused by use wear. It has no impressed decoration unlike the bigger one. The relatively bigger rounded base which measures about 13cm in diameter is red slipped both inside and outside and appeared smudged. It has coarse grained with rounded quartz temper materials obviously to make it strengthened enough to support its upper part. Its internal and external smooth surfaces suggest it was burnished. It has a decorative motif of circular groove executed around the shoulder to edge of the carination (figure 5.4.5).



Figure 5.4.5 A 13 cm diameter rounded base recovered from the site.

5.8.1 Glass Remains

The glassware finds were categorized into glass and bottle remains. There were ninety-five (94) pieces of flat glass and 420 glass bottle fragments recovered from the site. All the glass remains were white coloured (see fig. 5.5.1) and seemed to be fragments of window glasses. Two clear and small size utility glass bottles retrieved from Trench One of Locus C had a rounded top (fig.5.5) and appeared similar to a sample recovered from excavations at Fort Amsterdam by Boachie-Ansah (2008) except that the Fort Amstersdam find was characterized by a flanged top. The small sized utility bottles, which dated to about c.1820 according to Boachie- Ansah (Museum of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies) was probably used as container for perfume, balsam, stomach bitters, or oil, smelting salt, or medicine.

Out of the total of 420 bottle fragments, 92 (21.9%), 2 (0.5%), 52 (12.4%) and 274 (65.2%) were recovered from Trench 1 Locus A, Unit 1 Locus B, Unit 2 Locus B and Trench 1 Locus C respectively. From the statistics above, Trench 1 of Locus C produced the bulk (n= 274) of the bottle fragments and the least (n= 2) from Locus B Unit I. Body fragments however, dominated the assemblage of bottles (see fig. 5.5.4).



Figure 5.5 Photo of small sized utility bottles recovered from the site



Figure 5.5.1 Fragments of glass excavated from the site.

Table 5.7. Classification of bottles across trenches and units

Trench/Unit	Rim and Neck	Shoulder	Body	Base	Total
Locus A TR1	-	-	92	-	92
Locus B Unit 2	-	-	2	-	2
Locus B Unit 2	2	1	49	-	52
Locus C TR1	2	2	261	9	274
Total	4	3	404	9	420
%	1.0%	0.7%	96.2%	2.1%	100

In relation to colour differentiation, green/ light green constituted the bulk (74.3%) of the bottle fragments. This was followed by dark green/green drab (n= 83), whites (n= 20) and military brown (n= 5) colours (Colour differentiation chart, 2006) (see table 5.7). The rest of the fragmented bottles could not be identified with any stork or inscription or embossment to probably help trace their origin and manufacturers. Albeit the bottles were found fragmented, quite a few of the body sherds suggest they may have served as wine or alcoholic beverage bottles. They may perhaps have been used by the German colonial officials' resident on the site or used by the early Ziavi settlers in the scheme of African Indigenous Religion.

Table 5.8 Colour classification of bottle fragments across the Loci

Trenches/Units	Green/light- green	Dark-green/Green-drab	White	Brown
Locus A TR 1	79	38	7	
Locus BU 1	2	-	-	-
Locus B U 2	15	27	-	
Locus C TR 1	216	18	13	5
Total	312	83	20	5
%	74.3	19.8	4.8	1.2

5.8.2 Morphology of Bottle fragments

Fragment of bottles were classified based on their morphology or parts. Four (4) component parts emerged from the classification – rim and neck, shoulder, body and base

5.8.3 (a) Rim and Neck

Out of the samples of rims and necks recovered from the site, only one has an applied and slanted collar, with the rest having a rounded collar profile. The nature of the slanted collar bottle fragment reveals it was a gin or schnapps bottle while those with a rounded collar were identified as fragments of beer bottles. Their thickness measured between 3mm- 5mm and appeared uniformly formed. The longest of the necks measured 9cm and the shortest to about 3cm (see fig 4.7.3).



Figure 5.5.2 Fragments of bottle rim and neck.

5.8.4 (b) Base and Body

The measurement of the bottle bases was used to classify the bottles into categories of ‘small case bottles’ and ‘large case bottles’. The large case bottles have an approximate base diameter of 65mm with base thickness of about 7mm while that of the small case bottles measures between 20mm- 40mm with base thickness of about 5mm. Only one of the large case bottle had an embossment of the date 1951 at the back of the base. This may perhaps be a highlight of the date on which the bottle and its content was produced. The bases of two of the small case bottles also appeared in a sharp form as opposed to the remaining rounded ones. Body sherds form the majority of the bottle fragments from the Galenkuito site. The thickness of the body sherds is between 2mm-7mm and differentiated by the colours as indicated in table 5.7 above (see fig. 5.5.3 and fig.5.5.4).



Figure 5.5.3 Fragments of bottles (base).



Figure 5.5.4 Fragments of bottle body.

4.8.5 European Ceramics

Historical documents on German and British colonialism at parts of “Togoland” (present-day Volta Region) have shown evidence of European imports that were traded with the indigenes of Togoland (Knoll 1965; Stoecker 1986 quoted in Apoh 2008:223). Some of such trade items include tobacco, European domestic wares, alcoholic beverages, cotton textiles, glass pearls, gun powder, cigars, tools, bullet casings, Nuremberg wares, brass wares, spiritual objects, and luxury goods, furniture, mirrors, lamps, clocks (Apoh 2008). European ceramics which is often dominant among such imported trade items, especially from historical sites, are classified based on the different firing temperatures of the clay types used to manufacture them and the decoration on them. Around the beginning of the 17th century, the Bradenburg company sold “489 lb. earthenware pots” for 168% profit at the Fort Gross Friedrichsburg in Princess Town (Pokesu), in the Western Region of Ghana (DeCorse 2001:151). Some of these ceramics may have at least reached Elmina coast and other hinterland areas probably through inter-regional trade.

Eleven (11) pieces of European ceramics were retrieved from the Galenkuito site. Four (4) from level 3 of Trench 1 Locus A, another four (4) from level 4 of the same locus and trench. Two (2) ceramic pieces were retrieved from level 2 while one (1) was recovered from level 4, all of Trench One of Locus C. The European ceramic finds recovered from the site were characterized by decorative styles such as blue floral painted, polychrome line painted, monochrome line painted, and blue/pink line painted styles. The body surfaces of all the ceramics appeared glazed with lead or tin oxide in order to make their surfaces impervious. These finds were classified into two categories - earthenware and porcelain. Earthenware by definition is a type of ceramic that is usually fired at a temperature ranging between 900 °- 1,050 ° Celsius while porcelains generally have the ability to withstand firing temperature over 1300° Celsius (Dodd and Murfin 1994). Relatively, only one earthenware (see fig. 5.5.5) emerged from the total of imported ceramics finds and this was recovered specifically from level 2 of Locus C Trench 1. It was identified to be a jar with a round base. It was white coloured and has no decorations on its body surface. Its surface also appeared burnt perhaps due to indiscriminate burning activities on the site (see table 5.9 and fig. 5.5.5).

Table 5.9 European Ceramics from the Galenkuito Site

Type of sherd	Description	Origin	Date	Quantity
Earthenware: White ware	A white rounded base glazed jar with no surface decoration.	England/Europe	1600-1800	1
Porcelain: White glazed ware	Glazed with overglazed Blue/pink horizontal line painting executed on body surface	England/Europe	1830-1910	3
White glazed ware	Polychrome line painting on shell edge	England/Europe	1830-1910	2
White glazed ware	Blue floral painted and wavy lines on the edge.	England/Europe	1830-1910	1
White glazed ware	Blue embossed cord and herringbone	England/Europe	1820 – 1830	1
European ware	Undecorated white plain body	England/Europe	1830-1910	3



Figure 5.5.5 Earthenware recovered from Trench One Locus C.



Figure 5.6 Fragments of European ceramics recovered from the site.

5.9 Metal Objects

Twenty-two (22) corroded pieces of metal were recovered from the site across the trenches and units. These include 10 nails from levels 2 and 3 of Trench One Locus A, a finger ring from level 4, hook of a belt from level 4 and one folded aluminium object from level 3, all of

Locus A Trench One. There was one tiny spring metal object from level 2 of Locus B Unit One and 3 unidentifiable metal objects.

This assemblage of metal objects conceivably may have been used for construction works on the site and may have also served ornamental purposes among other uses for the people who settled on the site. Other important metal objects recovered from the site were two bullet cartridges. These were excavated from level 2 and 3 of Trench 1 Locus A. They appeared to probably confirm the oral account that points to a British captain, Captain Lily who was amputated on one arm and was reported to have been always found in spectacles, holding a gun and moving hither and thither. He was alleged to be tyrannical and fearsome and would not spare anyone who made mockery of him for his disability. Apoh (2008) recorded similar accounts of him as the District Commissioner in the Kpando area, which once served as an administrative station for the German/British during the colonial era. These bullet cartridges which were too corroded to be identified could have also been used by the German colonial officials who occupied the site (fig. 5.6.1).



Figure 5.6.1 Bullet Cartridges recovered from the site.

The longest nail from level 4 of Locus A Trench 1 measured 11cm while the rest measured between 4cm – 7cm. Another metallic find excavated from the site include coins

(n=2). These were particularly recovered from level 3 of Locus A Trench One, level 3 of Locus B Unit One and level 2 of Locus B Unit Two. The slate pencil though was not found in association with slate board suggest it may have served as a writing tool perhaps for the German/British Colonial officials who were residents at the site in the nineteenth century. The sardine key recovered from the site may be suggestive of the fact that, the Europeans who settled on the site subsisted on tin foods.



Figure 5.6.2 Assorted metal objects excavated from the site.

5.9.1 Coins

The two coins recovered from the site were well cleaned and analyzed under an electric magnifying glass. They were identified to be a 1919 British West Africa half penny (fig.5.6.3A) and a 1920 France 10 centimes coin (fig. 5.6.3B). The French coin, bearing the writings ‘Liberte’, ‘Egalite’ and ‘Fraternite’ which translate as Liberty, Equality and Fraternity is the national motto of France and the Republic of Haiti. This currency was identified to have been used in France in the third Republic. It also may have been used by the British occupants during their colonial regime. Notably, German Togoland was partitioned into French and British

Togoland which includes Ho and present-day central Volta Region. The French controlled areas used the French currency. These may have found its way to the site.



Figure 5.6.3 European coins recovered from the site.

5.9.2 Smoking Pipes

Smoking pipes recovered from archaeological contexts in Africa are of two types. They include those with an angle between the bowl and the stem (or stem socket) often referred to as elbow-bend pipes and those without such angles, which are called barrel pipes or tube pipes (Philips, 1983:303). While the latter is usually related to the smoking of cannabis, the former is often associated with tobacco smoking (Philips *ibid*). Fundamentally, dating of smoking pipes like other forms of artifact dating depends primarily on typology but information have been extensively used on pipe stems from the new world and on bowls from Holland (DeCorse 2001; Oswald 1975:29).

According to Ozanne (1969), albeit the Moroccan Arab introduced smoking to the Timbuktu area after learning the practice from the Spanish in the 16th century, the most essential introduction of tobacco to West Africa was by the Portuguese on the upper Guinea coast, when the use of tobacco and pipes spread across the savannah as a substitute stimulant

for kola. The spread of tobacco and pipes across the savannah is simultaneous with the inland spread from Accra, sometimes after the 17th century (Ozanne 1962: 31).

Four (4) fragments of elbow-bend European smoking pipes were retrieved from the Galenkuito site. These include two (2) bowl fragments and 2) stem fragments. The two bowl fragments were recovered from level 1 and 2 of Locus C Trench 1 while the two (2) stems were retrieved from level 4 of Locus A Trench 1 with no decoration or makers mark. The inner surface of one of the bowls was white while the other was black perhaps an indication of their use for smoking (see fig. 5.6.4) The approximate thickness of the bowls and stems were 3mm and 7mm respectively. The stems were completely disconnected from the bowls and so were analyzed separately. The 2 stems, both from level 4 of Locus A measured 6.5cm and 3.5cm and an approximate bore diameter of 2mm. The stems together with the bowls have been identified as a 19th century types of English origin (L.B Crosland: Pers.Com, 2015; Oswald 1975).



Figure 5.6.4 European smoking pipes recovered from the Ziavi Galenkuito site.

5.9.3 Flora Remains

Two varieties of plant remains were recovered from the excavations at the Galenkuito site- oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) and an unidentifiable seed (see fig. 5.6.5). The oil palm kernels retrieved from the site numbered 171, all of which were from of Unit One Locus B. All the six arbitrary levels under this unit produced some quantity of this flora remains. Based on the quantity (n=171) of palm kernels found it is probable to hypothesize that, there was an extensive consumption of palm fruits by the early settlers on the site. This is because oil palm according to D'Adrea et al (2006) is broadly used in West Africa; from prehistoric times to the present. Alternatively, they may have come from wild palm trees in the area or may have also been gathered and consumed by squirrels or rodents in their hideout. The palm kernel remains appeared to have dominated the botanical remains from the site perhaps because like pottery products, they last and preserve well in the archaeological record



Figure 5.6.5 Palm kernel collection (*Elaeis guineensis*) excavated from across the site.

5.9.4 Fauna

A number of Mollusca remains were recovered from the site. Overall, 8 shells were retrieved from the excavations. All the 8 shell remains were identified and classified as gastropoda. Out of the total of 8 shells, three (3) were identified as *Achatina achatina* and the remaining 5 being fragmented snail shells. Trench One Locus A produced 2 mollusca shells, Unit One Locus B produced 3 while Unit Two Locus B also produced 3 mollusca with none from Locus C Trench One excavated pit. Snails have been an important food element in West African subsistence and diet since the beginning of domestication and possibly before that epoch. It may have served as an important dietary element of the people of Ziavi in spite of the fact that the shells found were in small quantity relative to those recovered from the Kpando Todzi German/British site. It is probably comfortable to argue that, the ancient settlers of the Ziavi exploited variety of mollusca for their dietary requirement.



Figure 5.7 Mollusca shells recovered from the site.

Other fauna finds such as bones are essential to understanding what protein elements were consumed by the people who occupied the site. Classification and analysis of the bone

finds by fauna analysis specialist, B.M Murrey, formerly of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage studies, University of Ghana, revealed some specific protein sources that may have been exploited by the settlers of the site. These include *Bovid* (goat/sheep or antelope), Rodentia (rat), *Bos taurus* (cattle), *Sus scrofa* (pig), and *Aves* (birds). Mammalian bones appeared dominant among the bone finds excavated from the sites. Twenty-five (25) pieces of bone fragments and three (3) mammalian teeth were recovered from the site. Their frequencies across units and trenches include one piece of bone and teeth from level 2 of Trench 1 Locus A, nineteen (19) from Unit 2, while five (5) pieces were collected from Trench 1 Locus C. Two pieces of the bones were split indicating that they might have been probably divided for extraction of the bone marrow during consumption. Thirteen (13) of the bone elements could not be identified by the fauna specialist (see table 5.10 and fig. 5.7.1).

ELEMENT/DESCRIPTION	COUNT	GNAW	MINI	BURNT	CHARRED	BUTCHERY MARKS	WHOLE	FRAGMENTS	TOTAL	GENUS/SPECIES
Calcaneum	1						1		1	Bovid (goat, sheep, antelope)
Bone shaft	2							2	2	“ “ “
Teeth (premolar)	2						1	1	2	“ “ “
Lower jaw fragment	2		2	1		1		2	2	“ “ “
Skull fragment	1			1				1	1	“ “ “
Scapula	1					1		1	1	“ “ “
Metacarpal (distal fragment)	1						1		1	“ “ “
Vertebra	1							1	1	Rodentia (rat)
Femur (proximal fragment)	1							1	1	Bos taurus (cattle)
Tooth (unworn molar)	1							1	1	Sus scrofa (pig)
Femur (distal)	1							1	1	Aves (bird)
Non diagnostic fragments	13							13	13	Unknown

Table 5.10 Analysis of bone finds recovered from Ziavi Galenkuito site (B.M Murey, 2015).



Figure 5.7.1 Bone fragments recovered from excavation.

5.9.5 Iron slag

The diffusionist and independent/indigenous school of thoughts on the origin of iron in Africa have been at the center of debate by most archaeologists throughout Africa. From the diffusionist perspective, iron working diffused from Egypt through Meroe in Sudan and into the sub-Saharan Africa. The independent/indigenous school of thought contends that iron working have been indigenous to Africa based on the variety and range of furnaces found in Africa (Woodhouse 1998). In West Africa, sites such as Taruga in Nigeria, Komenda Bay in Tanzania, Agadez in Niger, Akjoujt in Mauritania (Woodhouse 1998: 161) and Dagari, Isalen, Kasem, Nabte and Bisa all in Ghana (Anquandah 1982) have shown evidence of iron working. The beginning of metallurgy, Woodhouse (1998) argues, have always been seen as one of the key landmark changes in human development as it has contributed to a more efficient farm implements, which in effect have enhanced agriculture and food production in Africa.

Overall, fifty-one (51) pieces of compact black slag (mostly black in colour) were collected from excavations. Twelve (12) were recovered from Trench 1 Locus A, thirteen (13)

from Unit 1 Locus B, seven (7) from Unit 2 while nineteen (19) were retrieved from Trench 1 Locus C. Even though there were no ruins of furnaces at the site or farm implements from excavations, the evidence of the pieces of slag may be suggestive of iron smelting by the early Ziavi settlers of the site. This notwithstanding, there is a direct ethnographic observation and oral information that point to iron smithing within contemporary Ziavi community (fig.5.7.2).



Figure 5.7.2 Pieces of slag recovered from site excavations.

5.9.6 Lithic objects

Generally, lithic/stone tools or objects are either partially or entirely made out of stone. Stone tools or objects have often been associated with prehistoric societies. They appear in different shape and form depending on their intended use. Among the array of stone objects recovered from the site include a grinding stone, querns, a polished stone blade, bored stones and a slate pencil. The slate pencil may have been probably used as a writing tool. Nearly all the stone object finds from the site bear resemblance with similar collections exhibited at the Museum of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana. The round hole

at the center of the bored stones for instance, is an indication that it was in the process of being perforated (The Museum of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana).

Some of the lithic objects were identified to have served as weights, for digging sticks or nets, small anvils/hammers that were used for cracking nuts, crushing seeds or minerals or for making stones used for informal tools. The grinding stone and querns certainly may have been used for processing food ingredients such as maize, pepper, ginger, and tomatoes among others in prehistoric and even in present times (The Museum of Archaeology and Heritage Studies) of the University of Ghana while the polished stone blade was identified to have been used for cutting or skinning animals or attached to a wood (Mousterian tool) and used for weeding or clearing farm sites (Fig 5.7.3).



Figure 5.7.3 Stone objects recovered from the site.

5.9.7 Daub

Fifty-two (52) pieces of daub were excavated from the site, mostly from Trench One Locus A. Level 2 of this trench produced sixteen (16) pieces while level 3 produced 32 pieces. The colour of the daub/clay sample was either red or dark brown, an indication of the nature and type of clay particles that characterized the site. These obviously may have been samples of daub

pieces that the early indigenous people of Ziavi used to construct their wattle and daub type structures. Contemporarily, ethnographic observation has revealed that, wattle and daub structures are still existent within the Ziavi community. However, it is interesting to mention that, most of the clay/daub buildings within the Ziavi community have combined elements of contemporary building materials such as cement and paints. The Ziavi community is randomly dotted with clay/daub buildings sometimes plastered with cement and roofed with either iron or aluminium roofing sheet. This combined architecture and building technology sometime makes it difficult to differentiate complete cement block buildings from the indigenous clay type buildings depending on how such combined clay/cement type buildings are made professionally (see fig. 5.7.4).



Figure 5.7.4 Pieces of daub excavated from the site.

The succeeding and final chapter summarizes and offers concluding remarks on the major findings and their implications for the Ho- Ziavi community as well as stakeholders of the community. It touched on salient research outcomes in line with the research aim and objectives.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary and conclusion of the research. It highlights the general and salient ideas that have emerged from the research. The chapter includes a summary on the archaeological, indigenous, and cultural manifestations of colonial interaction as well as a summary on the contemporary life ways and ethno-histories of the people of Ziavi. Argument on memory of the shared past and its implication for contemporary Ziavi society is also assessed.

6.2 Summary

6.3 The Visibility of the Indigenous and Colonial Remnants at Ziavi.

The excavated materials recovered from the Galenkuito site of Ziavi provided understanding into different aspects of early Ziavi society; the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. The repertoire of archaeological materials include local ceramics, European ceramics, smoking pipes, iron slag, palm kernels, fauna remains, stone tools, broken bottles and glasses, bullet cartridges, European coins, metal objects and the daub pieces. Specific immovable features include building remains, mango and teak tree avenues provided insights into Ziavi's indigenous/traditional technologies, subsistence as well as colonial interactions.

Ceramics, like all material products of human activity, are used and produced in a specific social context (Sinopoli 1991:119). The ceramic finds recovered from the site preponderated the entire material assemblage of Ziavi. The categorization of the ceramic finds into jar and bowl forms was based primarily on the nature of their orifice. While jars forms, usually with restricted orifice, may have functioned as storage vessels for storing water, boiling and storing herbal medicine (*Amadzida- ze*), keeping valuable items such as beads and cowries,

for drinking water (*Tsino-Ze*) or for tapping palm wine (*Tehakpa-Ze*). The bowl forms, usually with broad orifice, may have been used for eating (*Nudu-Ze*) for cooking (*Nuda-Ze*) or for carrying water (*Tsiku-Ze*) by the early Ziavi settlers. These functions, however have not substantially changed among the people of Ziavi in contemporary times.

The type of pottery fragments with perforated decorations on body surfaces were classified as colanders. These may have served special purposes such as straining palm nut soup, sieving cereals or grains, or perhaps used on fire to warm or barbecue meat/ fish or vegetables.

The similitude in decorations; incision, punctuation, perforation, cord roulette, comb stamped, grooving, impression, multiple decorations on pottery finds from the Galenkuito site and those from the Kpando Todzi site by Apoh (2008) may be suggestive of a form of contact between the early indigenes of Ziavi and the people of Kpando; perhaps through market exchanges/trade. The different decorations types may also be an indication of the fact that, the pottery may have been made by different individual potters with different orientation of skills and styles.

To verify the ethnographic evidence that potting is not indigenous to Ziavi, yet widely used by its people, I undertook a survey at the Ho central market. The survey was necessary because the Ho central market, according to the paramount chief and his elders, is a major trading center for the people of Ziavi, from early times until present. It was intended to find out where pottery products traded at the market were sourced. The survey information gathered from the pottery traders, maintained that about 80% of pottery products traded at the Ho central market are sourced from the areas of Kpando, Dzalele, and Peki in the Volta Region. Moreover, analysis of the pottery finds from the Galenkuito site of Ziavi revealed similarities in terms of tempering agents such as mica and pebbles as well as decorations including incision,

grooving, perforation, cord roulette and comb stamps with those from the Kpando area. Additionally, while majority of the jar forms recovered from Ziavi had everted rims, a substantive number of bowl forms were characterized by inverted rims. This trend of rim forms had resemblance with the jar and bowl forms of pottery fragments recovered from the Kpando area. These similarities in physical properties and decorations are attestations that somewhat support the ethnographic evidence that pottery making is not common with the people of Ziavi. It also confirmed the ethnographic assertion that, the Kpando area, among other areas like Dzalele and Peki are sources of Ziavi's pottery.

The excavated bottle fragments were perceived to have contained liquors and other alcoholic beverages used by the colonial occupants (Germans or British) of the site. They were associated probably with the nineteenth century period. Their origins however, could not be easily traced because they had no inscribed trademark. They were however identified by their physical morphology and thickness.

The mixed reliance on domesticated and wild animals by the people of Ziavi pervaded their pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period diets. As revealed in the archaeological bones, the protein food sources exploited for consumption included Bovid (goat, sheep, and antelope), rodents (rats), *Bos Taurus* (pig) and Aves (birds). These protein sources appeared to be common in most interior sites of Ghana (see Apoh 2008; Kumah 2013; Stahl 2001). Mollusk – a class of gastropoda and giant land snail (*Archachatina degneri*) also constituted protein elements of Ziavi's dietary behaviour (see fig.4.9). These fauna remains come in sharp contrast with what pertains at most of Ghana's coastal sites like Elmina, where a wide variety of marine resources such as gastropods, mollusks, and crustacean species were exploited for food (see DeCorse 2001:104-105).

The evidence of iron slag (51 pieces) in the material assemblage of Ziavi is probably an indication that the early people of Ziavi had knowledge of iron smelting or smithing. This deduction is essentially recognized as iron working was a major revolutionary change in the history of human technological adventure (Woodhouse 1998:161).

The limited number of European trade items in the excavated materials may be an indication that, there was no trade contact between the ancient Ziavi people and Europeans in the past. Nonetheless, European smoking pipes and fragments of imported ceramics, often associated with European daily lives and culinary practices respectively, were part of the excavated materials culled from the excavations. The fragmented smoking pipes (2 bowls and 2 stems) retrieved from the site, though not enough, may be evidence of the German occupants' practice of tobacco smoking. On the other hand, the limited European ceramics recovered from the site including the base of a rounded earthenware jar, may have been used for culinary purposes by the European occupants of the site around the late 19th Century. The ceramics were mostly a 17th and 19th Century product dating to especially the imperial German colonial era in the region.

The extant features/ruins of the colonial buildings located on the Galenkuito site serve as tangible indications of German colonial occupation on the site. The remains of house foundations were concentrated at a particular section of the site. This area which is often referred to as the "German Village" in the past emphasized a key aspect of the German colonial attitude. This attitude of mindset is probably what had informed the seclusion and location of their administrative structures on a plateau overlooking parts of Ho. The motivation for such a settlement pattern could also be based on the colonial policy of spatial segregation and dominance, and surveillance over the practices of colonized societies. It may have also been due to the site's serenity and detachment from the community's daily and regular activities.

The Forest Reserve hitherto maintained on the site was the result of the afforestation measures put forward by the German forester, Herr Oberforster Metzger in the late 19th century (Darkoh 1966:91). The initiative of Herr Oberforster Metzger is exemplified by many other forest reserves found in many parts of German settled areas including Ho, Kpando, Ve, Akpafu Todzi, and Waya (Laumann 2003:202; Apoh 2013:44).

The daub remains revealed in the material assemblage (see fig.4.9.4) comes in sharp contrast with the material elements of the ruins of the colonial building structures and foundations identified on the site. They represent the evidence of variation in the building material elements of the indigenous early settlers of the site and the colonial occupants. The relics of the colonial building explain, for example, how the Germans took advantage of the endowment of the natural environment (such as rocks and perhaps wood) of the area to construct their colonial administrative edifices (see fig. 1.4) while many of the indigenous settlers continued using their indigenous structures mainly made of clay/mud and bricks

Oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is broadly used in West Africa, from prehistoric times to the present (D'Adrea et al 2006). Apart from it being used for preparing palm-nut soup, the kernels are also used for producing oil. The palm tree is tapped for palm wine drink, a popular drink in most African societies. The pieces of palm kernels recovered from the Galenkuito site are suggestive of the availability of such a resource and their use by the ancient Ziavi people.

Albeit the two bullet cartridges retrieved from the site were beyond recognition due to their corroded appearances, they may be suggestive of their use by the Europeans settlers probably for self- defense. This is probable because given the secluded nature of the Galenkuito site, it is obvious that anyone living there would have ensured security and defense against interlopers

6.4 The Past and Present of Ziavi's Indigenous Culture.

An ethnography of the indigenous people of Ziavi attested to some of the perceptions drawn from the archaeological data recovered from the Galenkuito site of Ziavi. These provide insights into the relationship between portable material culture and non-material culture and cultural representations of the people of Ziavi. Ethnographic evidence maintained that Ziavi traditional area is constituted by twelve (12) clans which are structured within a unified traditional leadership under an overlord chief, Togbega Kwaku Ayim IV. Each clan fraternity is governed and administered by a council of chief and elders. The entrenched traditional organization and leadership of Ziavi is concurrent with their migration from Notsie in present-day Togo to their present location.

Two religious identities, Christians and adherents of African Indigenous Religion are identifiable within Ziavi. These identities, however, are not easily differentiated in the daily lives of the people except in areas of strict religious practices like pouring of libation and the playing of certain music and dance forms by believers of the latter. However, a cross section of Christians often alienate themselves from such practices because of the belief and perception that they are 'ungodly' or 'unholy' and thus, do not honour 'their God'.

A sense of unity and co-operation among the people of Ziavi are fostered through traditional ceremonies such as festivals, music and dance, communal labour/gathering and other related celebrations. Ziavi's local initiative for development, which is reflected in school buildings, market centers, community centers, provision of portable water, and community information centers in the area is embedded in their '*Dututudoza*' (town development festival) celebrated every year, notwithstanding governmental support.

Livelihood is largely generated through subsistence farming, where about 90 percent of the population are active peasant farmers. Potting, a common practice in most West African

societies (Sinopoli 1991:25) according to oral and ethnographic evidence, is not indigenous to Ziavi, in spite of evidence of its wide use in domestic lives as well as in shrine contexts.

Ziavi's departure to prominence in the late 19th Century is associated with its locally processed coffee called '*Ziavitutu*' and probably its cultural group of dance form called the 'Zigi' dance. The '*Ziavitutu*,' due to its quality, was noted for its wide patronage in and around the Ho-municipality. The suitability of Ziavi's land for the production of coffee is probably one of underpinning factors that attracted German occupation of the Galenkuito site.

6.5 Entangled Memories of German Colonial History at Ziavi

Memory is self-serving – to individuals, to societies, to groups and to nations (Laumann 1998:1). People remember the past in order to justify and offer legitimacy to the present. For example the memory of German colonial history among the people of Kpando in the Volta Region, is premised mainly on the infrastructural development of schools and churches. It also includes market economic activities such as trade in cotton, cotton farms and teak, rubber farms and teak which were facilitated by the German colonialists during the colonial period (Nehmer and Lamprecht 2013:152). Most informants from the Kpando area, according to *ibid* (2013) tended to superimpose these infrastructural and economic developments over the atrocities that the Germans perpetrated in the course of implementing their colonial policies. The flogging, spanking and the use of force by the colonialists to draw the local people to work were rather being viewed as more positive than negative by some interviewees from the Kpando area (*ibid* 2013:151).

In the case of Ziavi, the construction of memory by the people occurred against the backdrop of German 'remains' and 'reminders'. These are in the form of physical structures like colonial building remains, the German constructed well, the mango avenue, the road network, the teak forest reserve, and a church building. Other 'reminders'/intangible remains

include the notions of ‘strictness’ ‘brutality’ ‘cruelty’, and the ‘harshness’ of the Germans. Generally, these remains and reminders are attestations to the many decades of German presence specifically in Ziavi and in the central Volta Region. The remains and reminders including Christianity, are testaments to German contributions to the Ziavi community. These ‘remains’ and ‘reminders’ helped to shape the way in which the people remember the immediate ‘German past’.

Memory has become a ‘major idiom in the construction of identity, both individual and collective, and a site of struggle as well as identification’ (Antze & Lambez 1997: vii). German presence in Ziavi decades ago, have contributed to the historical identity of the people. Implications of colonial history and culture contact, Silliman (2005:55) argued, affect local histories, identities and cultural survival of a society. In view of this, when the people of Ziavi today, recount the settlement histories and identities of their forebears and how they had survived through different episodes of history, there is an acknowledgement of the interaction that once occurred between them and the German occupants in the late 19th century. This often includes the attendant impact of the interaction on Ziavi landscape and its people.

The individual or group consciousness of this historical identity and its shared memories, may attract a network of partnership and the building of a socio-economic and perhaps political ties between contemporary Ziavi and German societies in the present or future. Pragmatically, similar identity and shared memory exemplified at the Kpando Todzi site have for example, resulted in a built partnership between Volta Archaeological Project Team (VAP), the local authorities, the German Embassy in Accra and the government of Ghana. They are assessing possibilities of how funds could be mobilized to transform the colonial-built environment into a more useful and resourceful center. Among many others, the stakeholders are proposing the establishment of a research center, a museum, a TV/Radio

station or a cultural village for sustainable development within the Kpando area (see Apoh 2008). What a proactive way to go!

Culture contact as espoused by (Silliman 2005) is dynamic and may be varied – ranging from amicable to hostile, minor to extensive, short term to long term and so on. The interaction that occurred between the people of Ziavi and the German settlers’ decades ago, was probably from minor to an extensive one. This is based on the fact that German occupation in ‘Togoland’ lasted for 30 years (Laumann 2003; Lundt 2013; Nehmer & Lamprecht 2013), a period long enough for any group of people to carry out their mission and operation. On the evidence of the informants’ narratives of memory of the encounter, is suggestive of the fact that the relationship between the German occupants and the indigenes of Ziavi was not on eye level.

In spite of the ‘positive feelings’ about what a cross section of the Ziavi indigenes refer to as good ‘virtues’--- discipline, honesty, hard work and order --- which were supposedly passed on to them through the agency of German activities, they were much more embittered about the severe conditions under which the Germans subjected their forebears to work on plantation farms. The cruelty, harshness, ‘flogging’ ‘spanking’ among other punitive measures which the Germans applied during the execution of their colonial policies were considered ridiculous and unwarranted. This lends credence to Ranger’s (1985) assertion that, the colonial administrators were “exceedingly strict and in some cases unduly severe and cruel, which resulted in consternation, dissatisfaction and injustice”.

The Christianization of the people of Ziavi at the expense of their indigenous religious life ways is another point of emphasis at the mention of German colonial history. The Evangelical Presbyterian church, which was established in 1907 at Ziavi is regarded as a legacy with a mixed feeling. This is because the establishment of the church marked the genesis of the dislodging of the hold of their traditional religious structures. This is due to the fact that, the

then German missionaries had always kicked against the practice of African Indigenous Religion and wanted its leaders and adherents to be converted. Today, even though the practice of African Indigenous Religion have some sway within the community, it is not without criticism and condemnation; especially by some Christian leaders. At the same time, many Christian religious believers as well as some adherents of African Indigenous Religion, had romanticized view of German colonialism. This is because of their over glorification of the church building and the road network which were built by the Germans.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The findings of this study, among many others, have contributed to the knowledge base of Ziavi. This is in terms of archaeology and the assessment of the impacts of colonial interactions on Ziavi's landscape and its people. The analytical tool of agency has enabled understanding of the ways in which human actions were constrained, constructed and manifested (Ortner 1984: 148) within the indigenous systems/structures of Ziavi. This research on investigating the archaeology of German colonial encounters at Ziavi, has revealed the nature of the presence and activities of the Germans, more especially, it has revealed the impacts that the Bremen missionaries have had on the religious life ways of the indigenous people of Ziavi. Christianity has made a significant inroad in Ziavi today. It has taken a considerable sway over its people. This incursion of Christianity in Ziavi is attributed to German colonial presence in the area in the late 19th Century.

There has been appeals by many scholars, especially scholars in development and public archaeology (Apo 2008; 2013 Gavua & Nutor 2014; Watkins 2006) to move archaeological practice and its results from the dark corners of academic selectivity to the public domain. This is in line with the current perspectives on the content and practice of archaeology, which accentuate how the results of archaeological practice could be tailored and

tilted to be reactive to the challenges of current socio-economic needs and expectations of contemporary societies. In view of this, the assessment of part of this study's findings, which include the ruined colonial built environment and the recovered remains and features, express their potentials of being translated into a great gain. These could be in the form of tourism creation, creation of a memory center and heritage education, which would serve as point of reference for present and future generation in the Ho-municipality and the entire Volta Region for that matter.

The development of the Galenkuito site into tourism and memory centers is certainly a step in the right direction. It would serve as a response to the call of making the results of archaeological research responsive to the expectations of contemporary societies being studied. A remarkable example of such a scenario is the case of the reconstructed Danish plantation at Seseme, Accra-Ghana by Dr. Bredwa-Mensah (2006). This reconstructed Danish plantation today, serves not only as a center of attraction and a major tourism resource but also as a point of reference for people of both national and international origin. More particularly, the host community, including students from Senior High schools and universities use the site for educational and remembrance purposes.

The former ambassador of Denmark, Mr. Carsten Nilaus Perdersen, his wife and colleague from the Danish Embassy in Accra, for instance, undertook a guided tour to this reconstructed Danish plantation site at Seseme on 15th July, 2013. To Mr. Carsten, his wife and colleague, the tour (guided by Mr. Daniel Kumah, a teaching staff from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies) was an opportunity to connect to and to physically have a glance at the extant remains that have been preserved on the site. The recollection of such an important history on "the Plantation Economy" which their forebears had once participated in, according to Mr Carsten Perdersen and his entourage, is still relevant in contemporary times. This is due to the fact that the past seems to be always remembered not for the sake of it but to

rationalize and offer legitimacy to the present (Laumann 1998:1-2) This aspect of history had since the 19th Century been entwined with the historical narratives of Ghana and Denmark. The shared and common history has also attracted development partnership between both countries as the realization of the reconstruction of the Plantation Project at Seseme itself, was logistically and financially supported by the Danish government (Bredwa-Mensah 2006).

Similarly, in the second semester of every academic year, students of museum and heritage from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, under the tutelage of their lecturer, Mrs. Eyifa-Dzidzienyo embark on exploratory and educational tour of the Seseme plantation site. This yearly routine of educational tours from Eyifa-Dzidzienyo, is envisioned on advancing the practical knowledge of the students about objects as resultant products of culture contact and their relevance within a community museum set up.

These evidences underpin the point that, the Galenkuito Ziavi site is capable of becoming a point of reference for the wider public if attempts at documenting and adding value to the site becomes fruitful and communities become aware of its embedded cultural heritages.

Further archaeological investigation of the Galenkuito site of Ziavi is necessary for the attainment of adequate and varied archaeological data to understand the African-European interactions at the site. This would help to advance the knowledge and understanding which have already been produced through this study. There is also the need for more empirical archaeological study of other related colonial sites within central Volta Region (such as Kete-Krachi, Akpafu Mempasem, Akpafu Todzi and Hohoe in the north, Ho and Amedzofe in central location, and Waya in the south). This will help to advance comparative analytical discourses in the general colonial encounters in the region. The consequence of such comparative studies may help to understand specificities in terms of colonial structures of

administration as well as the overall 'Modus Oprerandi' in relation to the general 'colonial empire' of Ghana and West Africa at large. This is certainly a sure way to go!

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