A PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF MOUNTAIN AGBENU, ABUTIA, GHANA

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research work, carried out in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, under the supervision of Doctor Wazi Apoh, assisted by Professor Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng. This work is not presented in full or in part to any other institution for examination. I remain solely responsible for any shortcomings in this study.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the result and interpretation of the preliminary archaeological investigation conducted at the Agbenu Mountain in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, an abandoned settlement of the contemporary people of Abutia. Drawing on the oral traditions, archaeology and ethnographic data, the study enriched information on the migration history and lifeways of the Ewe people at Abutia. It revealed that by the 15th Century there was human occupation of the area. Additionally, the thesis also laid bare the interaction between the ancient settlers of Abutia with the Akwamus and Germans in the 18th and 19th Century respectively. Remnants of material cultures such as the German building and mango alley, and the cultural practices of the Asafo attested to these influences.

Furthermore, excavated materials recovered from the Agbenu Mountain helped to determine the local resources available in the area and how the settlers made use of those resources. Data from the study also communicated some of the practices of the Abutia people during their stay at the Agbenu Mountain. Again, a laboratory-based analysis of the charcoal sample gathered from the study area which dates the site to the 15th Century predates the date given to the Ewe migration story from Notsie, which was the 17th Century. This study encourages more exploration on the chronology of the Abutia migration and settlement in Ghana.

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my parents (Mr. Emmanuel K. Ayipe & Mrs. Ernestina A. Ayipe) and my siblings (Mr. Otto K. Ayipe and Ms. Abigail D. Ayipe).

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CHAPTER ONE

General Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

This research is the first archaeological investigation conducted at the ancient abandoned settlement of Abutia which is known as the Agbenu Mountain, located in the contemporary Kalakpa Resource Reserve in the Volta Region of Ghana. The aim of the research was to conduct an archaeological and historical investigation of Abutia in order to reconstruct some aspects of their migration and settlement histories. The research was able to amass information on the migration, and settlement history, as well as the Akwamu and German interactions with the people of Abutia.

According to the elders of Abutia, the early settlers of Abutia were among the Ewe people that migrated from Notsie to the Volta River Basin. This narrative corresponds with the historic evidence that the Ewe people migrated to present day Ghana around the 17th Century (Amenumey, 1989; Dickson, 1969; Gayibor & Aguigah 2005). The people of Abutia went through a series of migration from Notsie through to the Agbenu Mountain and finally to their current location. At their current settlement, the people of Abutia had contacts with the Akwamu in 1734-1869 (Apoh 2014; Gavua 2000; Verdon, 1983) and the Germans in 1890 (Verdon, 1983). These contacts left some shared legacies in Abutia.

The current township of Abutia is located about 15km west from Ho, the capital of the Volta Region of Ghana. The name Abutia came as a result of the persistent complaints from the womenfolk about the tedious trips undertaken up and down the Agbenu Mountain to get water

for everyday activities. The statement uttered by them in Ewe that 'abua didi ti ame' translates 'we are fed up with going downhill'. It is the source of the name 'Abutia'.

The issues of migration are deep-rooted in world history. Migration is the movement of people from one place to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence (King, 2012:4; Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009:69). Likewise, migration has largely been attributed to the movement of people from one cultural context to another. These take the form of rural-urban, urban-urban, rural-rural, and urban-rural migrations.

In a similar manner, the movement of Europeans to the West African Coast as a result of trade also attests to the practice of migration. Archaeological evidence and historical documents attest to the fact that there were contacts and cultural exchanges between the Europeans and Africans. Cultural practices such as Christianity, dress styles, architectural styles, languages, governance, and western education are clear legacies of these contacts between the indigenous people and the foreign traders.

It is important to note that people migrate because of food, water, security, and many other reasons. Gorbachev once commented that;

> "Water, like religion and ideology, has the power to move millions of people. Since the very birth of human civilisation, people have moved to settle close to it. People move when there is too little of it. People move when there is too much of it. People journey down it. People write, sing and dance about it. People fight over it. And all people, everywhere and every day, need it." —Mikhail Gorbachev, (Swanson, 2001).

Water played an essential role in the settlement history of the people of Abutia. Oral information indicates that the people of Abutia moved to the present settlement because their hunter-leader found water, which sustained them and their ensuring generations. A German building at Abutia-Agorve is located close to the so-called water body found by the hunter-leader from Agbenu

Mountain. This building is believed to have been built by the Germans who hunted in the current Abutia Hills Forest Reserve and Kalakpa Resource Reserve between 1890 and 1914.

Aside these hunting activities in Abutia by the Germans, they also impacted the people of Abutia. They engaged the local people to plant mango trees on avenues in the community. One of the tree-lined roads is the road linking Sokode Etoe to Juapong. The Germans also had an impact on the local religion of the people leading to the creation of the Evangelical Presbyterian School.

1.1 Research Problem

There has been no archaeological investigation of the ancient settlement of Abutia. There is also limited information or documents about the migration history of the people of Abutia. The lack of archaeological investigation and historical documentation is further exacerbated by the loss of oral information on the history of Abutia. This is due to the absence of the elderly people of Abutia who have such key oral information.

Additionally, the growing interest in the 19th Century archaeological and historical studies in Ghana has been focused on British contacts with Gold Coast during the Trans-Atlantic Trade. Again, there is limited documented information on the varied discourses that emerged during the Akwamu and Asante contacts with the people of the Volta Basin. Furthermore, there is a paucity of written information on the German presence in Ghana (Apoh, 2008; Gavua, 2013:135).

1.2 Research Objectives

The research was guided by the following objectives:

- To examine the oral information on the migration history of the people of Abutia.
- To map the archaeological site of the Agbenu Mountain and also conduct an archaeological survey in the area.
- To know the reflections of the people in connection with the surface and excavated remains from the Agbenu Mountain.
- To date the ancient settlement of Abutia.
- To investigate and document the memories of people with regard to the German interactions with the people of Abutia.
- To identify potential sites that can promote tourism opportunities in Abutia and enhance already existing tourist sites like the Kalakpa Resource Reserve and the Abutia Forest Reserve.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to achieve the aim and objectives, a set of questions were considered. These include the following:

- What is the migration history of the people of Abutia and what influenced them to move from their ancient settlement to their present-day settlement?
- What constitutes the archaeological past of the ancient settlers at the Agbenu Mountain and what information can be gleaned from their analyses?

- What are the memories of the people in connection with their interaction with the Germans?
- What are the tourism potentials of the study area?

1.4 Research Methods

A number of key research methods were used to investigate the research questions outlined above. The methods of data collection were heterogeneous in approach, namely, acquiring research permits, reconnaissance survey, conducting surface collection, site mapping, excavations, ethnographic methods, and interrogation of library sources.

As required by the National Museum Act 1969 (NLCD 381), permit was sought from the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) prior to the field work. Permission was also sought from the Wildlife Division of the Ghana Forestry Commission to allow the researcher to undertake an archaeological investigation in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. A permit was further sought from the local authorities and government officials for collaboration and possible assistance.

1.4.1 Archaeological Research

1.4.1.1 Reconnaissance Survey

A reconnaissance survey of the site was conducted on 18th April 2015 and 24th June 2015, to identify potential sites in the study area in order to design the research approach. This helped the researcher to be conversant with the study area. Through the reconnaissance survey, thirteen (13) mounds (See Figure 1.1) were identified at the top of the Agbenu Mountain (N06° 23.898'

and E000° 20.654') whose elevation is 342m above sea level. A large number of scattered potsherds, pyroxenite, and pieces of quartz were also identified at the foothill of the Agbenu Mountain (See Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.1: One of the mounds at the top of the Agbenu Mountain (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

Figure 1.2: Scatter of potsherds and quartz at the foothill of Agbenu Mountain (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare and Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

1.4.1.2 Surface Collection and Excavations

Archaeological survey and excavation were conducted from 10th to the 19th October 2015. Excavation works were conducted both at the foothill and at the top of the Agbenu Mountain. At the foothill of the Agbenu Mountain, a Unit measuring 2m × 2m with an extension of 1m × 1m Unit to the north was excavated. In addition, two different Tests Pits each measuring 1m × 1m were excavated. Furthermore, surface materials were collected from an area of the foothill measuring 110m × 60m. At the top of the Agbenu Mountain, two different Test Pits measuring 1m × 1m each and a Trench of 2m × 1m were excavated on the biggest mound. In addition, a Trench of 2m × 1m was excavated on the second mound at the top of the Agbenu Mountain. The excavations revealed the chronological relationship between the various materials that were unearthed. Materials were carefully removed, especially those which were found in association with other remains.

Organic remains such as charcoal were carefully collected and packaged for Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) dating at the Beta Analytic Incorporation laboratory in the United States of America. After detailed documentation of the excavated trench and test pits, they were back filled. Finally, all potsherds, pieces of quartz, and samples of charcoal recovered were transported to the University of Ghana, Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies for further analyses.

1.4.1.3 Site Mapping

From the period of the 3rd to the 5th of December 2015, the ancient settlement where the archaeological investigation was conducted was mapped (See Figure 1.3). The site map and plan indicate the locations of the various mounds on top of the Agbenu Mountain. It also showed the space where the surface collection of finds and excavation of materials were conducted.

Figure 1.3: Researcher using Quick Set Level, Total Station and GPS at the Agbenu Mountain (Photo by Mr. Bossman Muray).

1.4.2 Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic investigation on the migration history of the people of Abutia and their encounters with the Akwamu and Germans were gathered from the descendant communities at Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve and Abutia-Kloe. This method helped the researcher obtain the emic perspective of the people for a better understanding and interpretation of material remains gained through the excavations. The interviews were based on judgmental purposive sampling. The process involved random selection of individuals who are knowledgeable about the culture and oral information of Abutia. The information obtained from interviews was recorded in field notes.

One-on-one semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, and photography were the ethnographic methods employed to gather information. Pertaining to the one-on-one semi structured interviews, sixty (60) people were interviewed. In addition, two focus group discussions were conducted. One comprised of three Asafo representatives from each of the three descendant communities. The other comprised of men who were 40 years and above and resided at Abutia-Agorve. My participation in the Asafo Easter carnival of the people of Abutia helped to obtain additional information for the research. Photography was also used to

record data. In this regard, the German architectural ruins and other events or things that were of interest to the study were photographed.

1.4.3 Library Sources

The write-ups by Awumbila et al (2011), Benjamin Nutor (2010), Jacob Speith (2011), Justina Dugbazah (2006), Kodzo Gavua (1980, 2000, 2016), Micheal Verdon (1983) and Wazi Apoh (2008, 2000, 2013, 2016) were reviewed because their studies were related to the subject area. Maps and other related articles were also assessed. In view of this, a number of libraries were accessed for relevant materials and information. These include the Institute of Migration Library, Balme Library, Department of History Library, Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies Library, the Institute of African Studies Library, all in University of Ghana, as well as the Forestry Commission Library (Accra-Ghana). Online sources were also used to gather some information for the research. Articles such as Brumfiel (2003), Cameron and Tomka (1993), and Chanock (1985) were assessed from Jstor and Google scholar. The reviews of all the literature from the above sources were important for the research because they aided in the understanding of the subject matter and in connecting the gaps in the migration history of the people of Abutia.

1.5 The Contemporary Setting and Settlement History of Abutia

This section describes the physical setting, geographical setting and the settlement history of Abutia. The section also presents the physical characteristics of Ho-West Constituency. The Abutia community and the Kalakpa Resource Reserve are located in the Ho-West Constituency. Abutia has three divisions of indigenous communities: Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve and Abutia-

Kloe and about seventeen settler communities that are occupied by migrants originally from Tonu (See Figure 1.4). Every division is headed by a Sub-Divisional Chief (Dufia). These Sub-Divisional Chiefs (*Dufia-wo*) reverence a common 'Fiaga or Togbega' (Paramount Chief). The Paramount Chief (*Togbega*) comes from Abutia-Teti and resides at Abutia-Teti.

Prior to the establishment of the Kalakpa Resource Reserve in 1965, the area used to be a sport hunting ground for expatriates, mainly Italians, Greeks and the German residents in Ho, Accra, Tema, and Akosombo. According to local information, people from the three indigenous communities went on annual hunting expeditions. In 1972, during one of the expeditions of the three indigenous communities, the hunters of Abutia-Teti killed two buffaloes and hunters of Abutia-Kloe killed one buffalo. A lot of people heard about the exploit of these communities and this, however, paved the way for the establishment of the place as a Resource Reserve in 1974. Narratives revealed that Mr. Amanie (a citizen of Abutia-Agorve) was the one who proposed that the area should be used as a Reserve.

1.5.1 Location and Size of the Study Area

The traditional area of Abutia is located between latitudes 6.33˚ 3' N and 6.93˚ 6' N and longitudes 0.17˚ 4' E and 0.53˚ 39' E (See Figure 1.4 & 1.5). It shares boundaries with the Adaklu District to the South, Afadjato area to the North, Ho Municipal and the Republic of Togo to the East, and South Dayi District to the West. It has a total land area of 1,002.79 square kilometers (Ho-West District Assembly, 2015 Report).

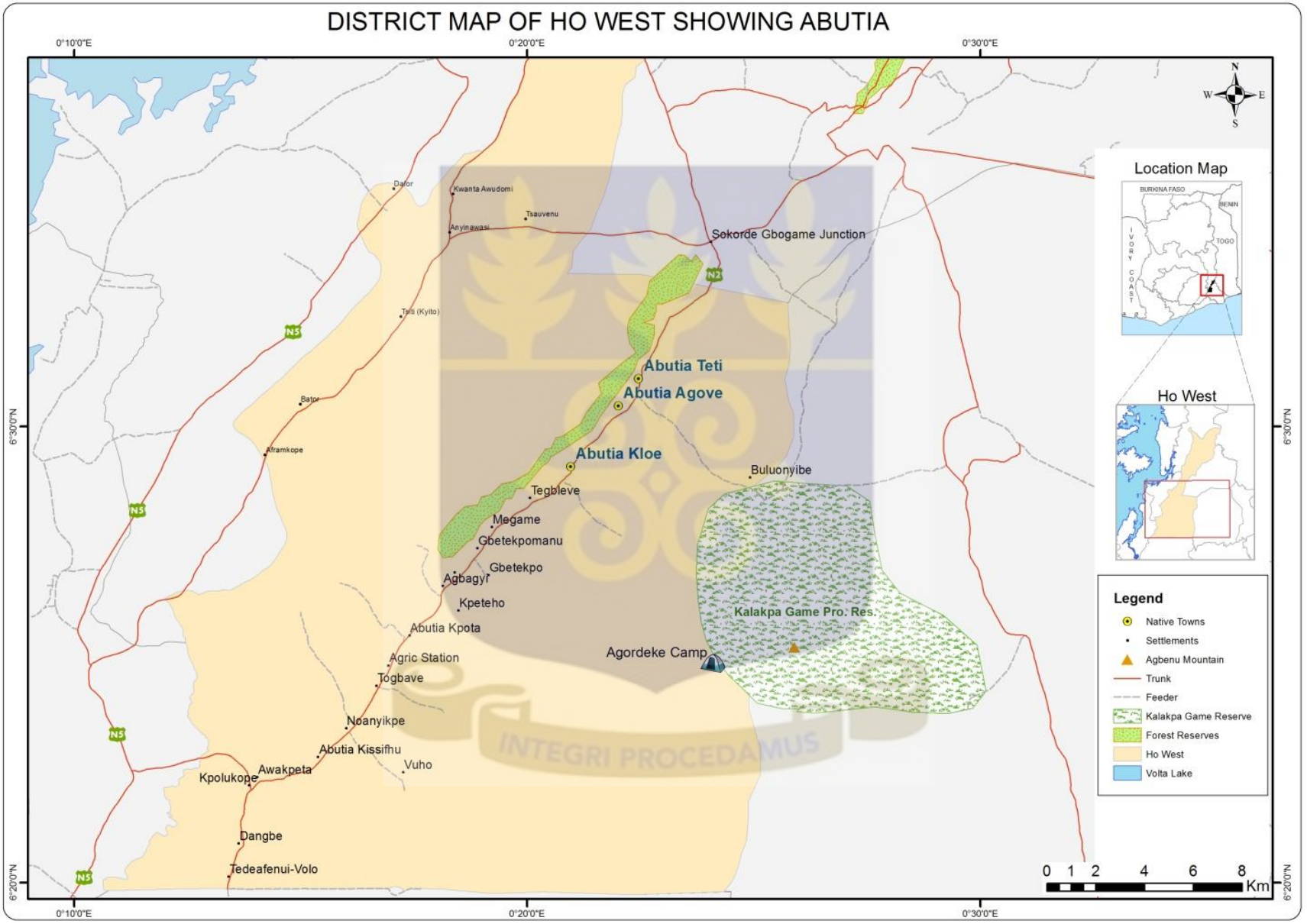


Figure 1.4: Map showing Ho-West, the three indigenous communities, other settlement communities and the Kalakpa Resource Reserve.
Source: Center for Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Services (CERGIS), University of Ghana, Legon

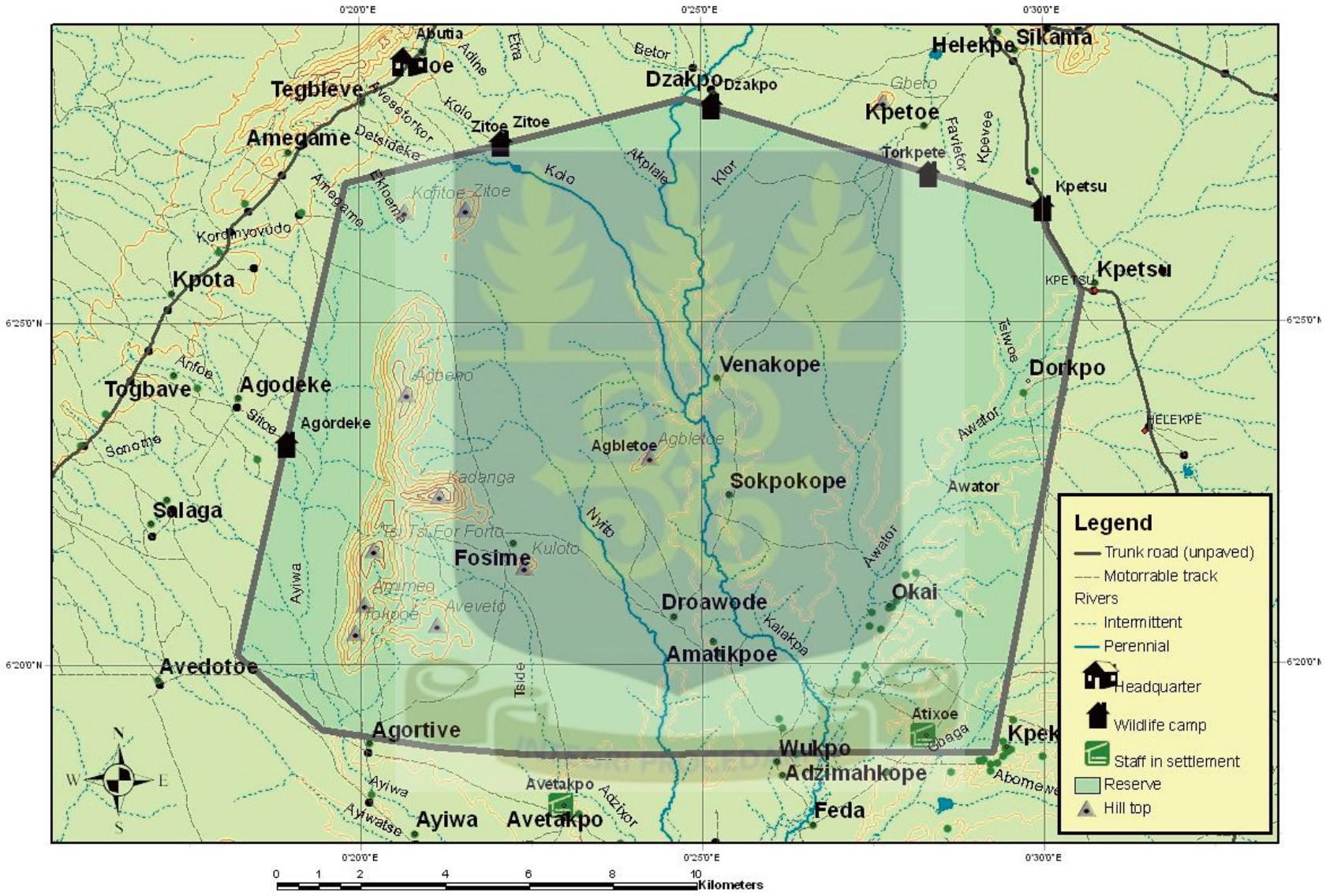
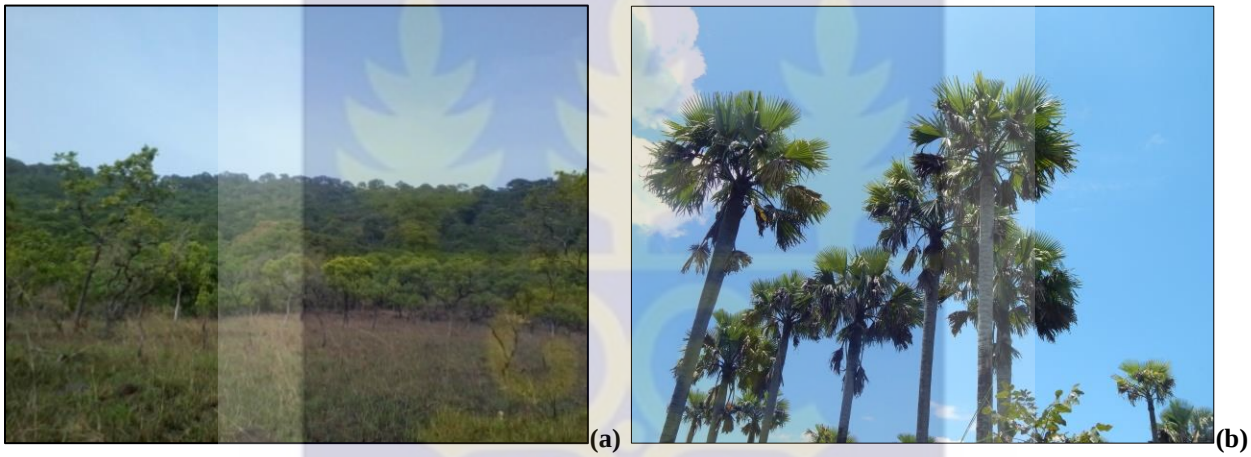


Figure 1.5: Map Showing the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. **Source:** Wild-Life Division, Forestry Commission Report, 2009.

The Kalakpa Resource Reserve is located in the southern part of the Volta Region, East of the Volta River and South-East of the Abutia Hills Forest Reserve between 6°18' and 6°28' N and 0°17' and 0°30' E. It is located in the Abutia and Adaklu traditional areas. The Kalakpa River divides the Abutia land from the Adaklu land (See Figure 1.6a). The Reserve covers an area of about 325km square of forest/savanna transition zone, and the dominant vegetation is the dry *Borassus-Combretum* woodland (See Figure 1.6b)



(a) **(b)**

Figure 1.6 (a-b): The Guinea Savanna zone and Borassus-combretum in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

1.5.1.1 Climate

The annual mean temperature in the District ranges between 22˚C and 32˚C. The rainfall pattern is characterised by two main rainy seasons referred to as the major and minor seasons. The heavy rain starts in March and lasts until June-July, and the short rainy season begins in September and ends in early November. The harmattan season starts from December and ends in February. The temperature at Abutia is very hot and humid. On the plains in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, there are seasonal streams along which are broad strips of dry semi-evergreen forest. The streams get partly flooded in the rainy season (See Figure 1.7).

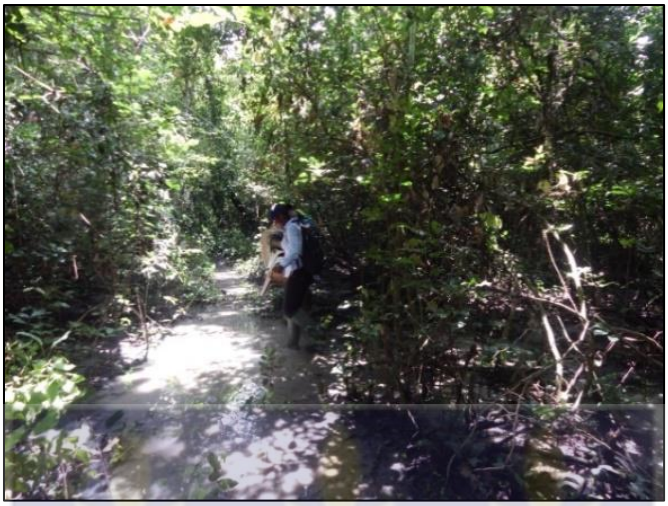


Figure 1.7: A section of the flooded semi-evergreen forest in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve (Photo by Ms. Lucy Akplor).

1.5.1.2 Relief and Drainage

The general relief of the District falls into two main parts: mountainous and lowland areas. The mountainous areas have heights ranging between 183meters–853meters above sea level. The topography is relatively steep and results in rapid runoff during rainy seasons (Ho-West District Assembly, 2015 Report). There are seven (7) mountains in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. These are Agbenu, Kadanga, Afubo, Aveveto, Agbletoe, Kofitoe, and Zitoe. There are also seven camps in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve and these are Agordeke camp (Ayiwa forest), Atixoe (Atihoe) camp, Dzakpo camp (near the Kalakpa river), Zitoe camp, Torkpetoe camp, Kpetsu camp, and Avetakpo camp. Oral information revealed that the ancestors of Abutia once resided on top of Agbenu Mountain which served as a hideout and provided security to the inhabitants.

1.5.1.3 Vegetation, Soil and Rocks

The peneplain around the Abutia Hills is covered by two main types of vegetation zones, these are typical savanna woodland, where perennial grasses predominate and are dotted with thickets (Verdon, 1983:34). The moist semi-deciduous forest mostly covers the highlands in the

District and savannah woodlands. On the hills and in some of the thickets, the vegetation is more akin to a secondary forest. The dominant vegetation type in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve is the woodland species of plants, namely *Borassus aethiopum* and *Combretum fragrans plants.* These plants are very extensive and can be seen miles around the hills to the east of Agordeke. The vegetation type stretches all the way from the western boundary to Nyito and Kolor streams (Wildlife Division, Forestry Commission Report, 2009).

There are several soil types found in the Ho-West District. There is the forest soil which includes forest ochrosols, lethosols, and intergrades soil found in the mountainous and wetter areas in the District (Ho-West District Assembly, 2015 Report). The soil colour is the tropical black earth of the coastal savanna zone. They are dark coloured heavy alkaline, cracking clays (Verdon, 1983:34). In the past, these clays were used by the people of Abutia for potting.

Rocks identified in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve were formed from the chain mountain in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. During the archaeological research at the top of the Agbenu Mountain, a small lithic, which has a polished edge (See Figure 1.8a) was identified from one of the Units excavated, but its use has not yet been identified. The brown fine to the medium grained lithic object is a crystallized quartzite with minor feldspar (See Appendix B). Also, claystones (See Figure 1.8b) were identified in the aforementioned area. The sample is dark green in colour (See Appendix B). It is significantly weathered with brownish spots. The sample is fine grained and composed of clay and what appears to be chlorite. This sample is probably an altered mafic volcanic rock. At the foothill of the Agbenu Mountain, are a number of gneiss rocks (See Figure 1.8c). The gneiss sample has a round form with flat surfaces. The rock is grey, fine to medium grained and foliated. It is composed of alternating bands of mafic (dark coloured) and felsic (light coloured) minerals. The felsic minerals include quartz and feldspar and biotite is

a mafic mineral. The sample appears polished, which may be human caused (See Appendix B). Additionally, a lot of pyroxenite were also identified and respondents attested that the pyroxenite (See Figure 1.8d) which is also known as 'black stone' is used to extract poison from an individual who is bitten by a snake.

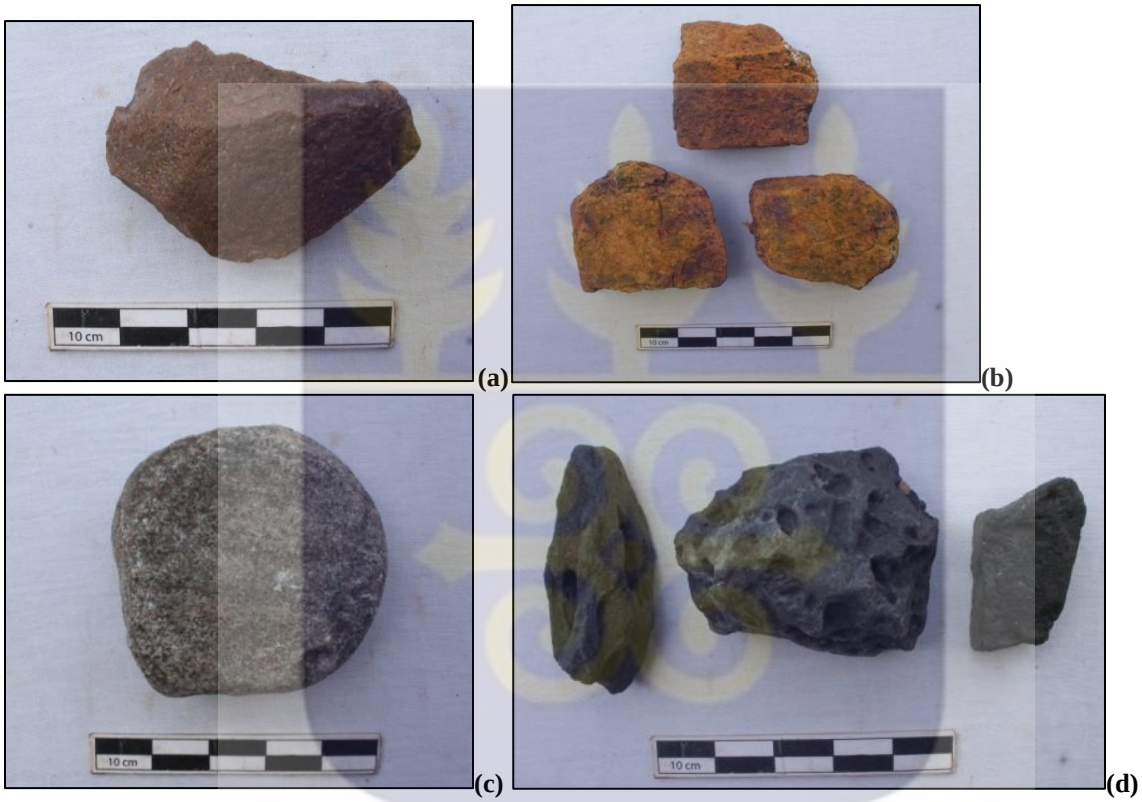


Figure 1.8 (a-d): Quartzite, claystone, Gneiss rock, and Pryoxenite (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare and Mr. Edward Nyarko).

1.5.2 Land Use

Abutia has large tracks of land that can grow a wide variety of crops including cassava *(Manihot esculenta)*, yam *(Dioscorea)*, maize *(Zea mays)*, pepper *(Capsicum annuum)* all types of vegetables, cocoa-yam (*Xanthosoma* spp.), plantain *(musa paradisiaca)*, banana *(Musa acuminate)*, mango *(Mangiferaa indica)*, pear *(Pyrus communis)*, and orange *(Citrus sinensis)*, among many others.

The geographical location of Abutia is endowed with natural resources such as minerals in the soil, clayey soils for potting, and vast land for farming. Farmers depend on the natural rain pattern to grow their crops. The natural environment dictates what crop type should be planted in which season. Abutia is currently known as one of the leading producers of cassava. Abutia-Kissifli, one of the main towns in the area has the largest cassava and cassava dough markets in the Volta Region of Ghana. However, during the harmattan season both cassava and cassava dough are hard to come by at Abutia.

1.5.3 Architectural and Settlement Pattern

There are various architectural styles in Abutia. The styles comprise of modern architecture, as well as a blend of modern and indigenous architecture (See Figure 1.9). The abundance of stones in the environment helps in the construction of houses and gutters.

Figure 1.9: Mixed architectural (modern and indigenous) and modern architectural styles at Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Most buildings are arranged in a linear order and the settlement is arranged according to clans (See Figure 1.10). In the settlement, there are transversal streets that delineate the clan area in Abutia. 'Anya' (*Dracaena aborea*) tree also served as boundary markers for some households

and shrines (See Figure 1.11). In Abutia, there are areas designated for various activities. These include rubbish dumps, burial grounds, and arena for community gathering.

Figure 1.10: Photo of the linear settlement pattern at Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Figure 1.11: 'Anyaa' (*Dracaena aboraea*) tree used as a boundary in the contemporary settlement of Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

1.5.4 Religion

There are two main religions in Abutia. These are Christianity and Indigenous African Religion. About 70% of the populations in Abutia are Christians. The Evangelical Presbyterian Church (E. P. Church, Ghana) has a greater percentage of the Christian population. This church

is found in each of the three divisions. The E. P. Church was not introduced by the Germans. Instead, some members of the community went to Tsito in the Volta Region between 1888 and 1889 to gain training at the Presbyterian Religious Training and Baptism College. Later, these people came back to establish the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in Abutia-Kloe in 1890. Apart from the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, there are other churches such as Global Evangelical Church, Light House Chapel, and Assemblies of God Church that operate in Abutia.

The people of Abutia have been involved in indigenous worship ever since they were at Notsie and at the Agbenu Mountain. Deities such as Dente (chief security deity), Atando (deity of the Abutia Paramount Stool), Dzotame (deity of war which is in charge of defence), Gbonge (deity of protection), Gbesa and Akpo (deity for fighting), Afeli (deity for consolidating homes and business), Akuya (deity for winning the love of women), Bledledzo (deity who helps people to disappear from their enemy during war or helps people to disappear from wild animals during hunting) and other deities such as Gli, Zodzi, Kpaya, Kloe, Kemgbe, Kenabo, and Tra are found in Abutia.

Currently, some of the people have stopped worshipping these deities. However, other people in Abutia still practise Indigenous African Religion, but do not do so openly since some of them are registered members of the Christian churches in Abutia. Also, during festive occasions such as Easter, the Christians, the Asafo people and the Indigenous African Religious aspirants communally commemorate the Easter celebration with an activity known as Asafo Easter Carnival.

1.5.5 Education

Due to the imbalance of natural resources in Abutia coupled with a lack of employment and poverty, the people have been motivated to focus on education as a single important resource. The current educational institutions in Abutia include a Senior High Technical School, Junior High Schools, Primary and Kindergarten Schools. Currently, the people of Abutia are mobilizing themselves to build a Nursing Training College for their community. Nevertheless, the infrastructures of schools at the basic level require general maintenance works. The schools lack adequate library facilities and training workshops.

1.5.6 Economic Activities

The District has a number of functioning markets, which include Abutia Kissiflui, Kpedze, Tsoto, Amedzofe, Vane, and Dededo markets. These markets yield revenue to the district (Ho-West District Assembly Report, 2014). Trade and agriculture are the main occupations of the people of Abutia. In the past, the main commodity of trade was salt. Salt was brought from Adidome and Bator (Spieth 2011:29), but since the salt trade collapsed, cassava and cassava dough became the leading products traded in Abutia. Prior to the establishment of the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, most men in Abutia were hunters. They could go hunting in the forests for about three to four days on end. The game caught was sold and this generated revenue for their livelihood, but currently, this economic activity has reduced.

1.5.6.1 Local Industries

In the past, potting was an important occupation of the women in Abutia. Currently, only a few potters can be found in Abutia. The craft is slowly dying out. The reason for this is that the

distance from their current settlement to the location where clay was obtained is quite far so potters have not been able to consistently fetch the clay to make pots. Another reason is that, the younger generations who assisted in the potting business and learnt it as a craft rather chose formal education over participation in the indigenous craftsmanship.

1.5.7 Tourism

The tourist attractions in the Volta Region are numerous. Some key ones include Aya-fie waterfall, Amedzofe waterfalls, Mount Gemi, Tsiga falls, handicrafts, ancient colonial buildings, ancestral caves, music and dances and festivals (Ho-West District Assembly Report, 2014). Abutia is endowed with several tourist attractions such as the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, the Abutia Hills Forest Reserve and the Shrine of Kpaya. The Kpaya shrine is located at the Trotoe Hills at Bamega and it is one of the important shrines in Abutia. Other tourist destinations on the site include the ancestral cave of the people of Abutia and the so called miraculous traces of the feet and five finger imprints on the rocks and stones at the Kpaya shrine.

1.6 Significance of the Research

This study is significant because it would provide information on the migration and settlement histories of people of Abutia. It would also add up to knowledge, inform and educate intellectuals and researchers on the history of the people of Abutia. It would encourage more researches to be conducted in the area since it is the first archaeological investigation of the abandoned settlement of Abutia.

It is highly anticipated that the German architectural ruin at Abutia-Agorve will be restored and conserved in order to display and exhibit the materials that were recovered from the area during the archaeological investigation. The restored German architecture could serve as a community memory centre to promote tourism in the study area. This initiative will boost public education on the German heritage in Abutia.

Furthermore, the research would add value to the heritage site of Kalakpa Resource Reserve by revealing the cultural component of the natural heritage. It would enhance the tourism potentials of the area and encourage more people to invest in the development of the resource reserve.

1.7 Challenges

It was difficult to describe and analyze the recovered archaeological materials because the bulk of the potsherds recovered were eroded. The researcher was also frustrated whilst undertaking the archaeological excavations at the top of the Agbenu Mountain because there was no evidence of cultural materials from the Units excavated.

Also, due to frequent bush burning, the people reported that photographs of the local people with the Germans who settled on the land and other relevant documents which could have been of relevance to the research got burnt during one such season when almost all the three towns got burnt completely. In addition, most of the people who have in-depth knowledge on the migration and settlement history of the people of Abutia have passed on .

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Furthermore, almost every bit of information given to the researcher required the provision of bottles of schnapps. As a result, some places which could have been of relevance in promoting tourism in the area were not visited because of the high demands for providing accessibility.

Again, most of the informants did not have much insight into the settlement history of Abutia. Most of the narratives were contradictory. Reference can be made to the contradictory narratives pertaining to which of the people first occupied the indigenous settlement of the present day Abutia when they migrated from the Agbenu Mountain.

Lastly, some of the narrators knew the exact areas where their ancestors stayed. However, due to aging and lack of strength, these individuals could not take the researcher to those places. As a result, some key areas where the people of Abutia fetched water by climbing downhill have not been identified. Again, a rumoured metal ring hanged on a rock and a mortar, located at the Agbenu Mountain has not yet been identified.

1.8 Organization of the Chapters

This research is presented in six (6) chapters which are closely connected to the research aim and objectives. Chapter one has been documented above.

The next chapter (Chapter two) presents the intellectual framework informing the research. It also examines historic information on the Ewe, as well as interactions between the northern Ewes with the Akwamus and Europeans before Ghana's independence. This chapter also presents a review of sociological investigations undertaken by Justina Dugbazah (2006) and Micheal Verdon (1983) in the study area. Archaeological works at other related areas are also

reviewed. These include the archaeological investigations by Wazi Apoh (2008), Kodzo Gavua (1980) and Benjamin Nutor (2010).

Chapter Three presents detailed ethnographic methods that were employed in the investigation of the migration history of Abutia. It presents the narratives of the descendant communities of the migration history of their ancestors. It also presents the legacies of the Akwamu and Germans in Abutia. It further presents a documentation of the memories of the people's interaction with the Germans. Lastly, it presents some cultural practices of the people of Abutia.

Chapter Four describes the archaeological methods that were employed in the study and the findings that were recovered during excavations. Reconnaissance survey, the collection of surface finds, excavation methodologies, and the mapping of the archaeological site are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five presents analyses of the archaeological finds that were recovered from the Agbenu Mountain.

The final chapter, Chapter Six focuses on the interpretation, conclusion, and recommendations of the research work undertaken at the Agbenu Mountain site.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review on the Intellectual Framework of the Research, and on Historical, Sociological, and Archaeological Information on Abutia

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the intellectual and theoretical frameworks that formed the basis of the research. This was examined in relation to some historical information about the migration history of the Ewes, their encounters with the Akwamus and the Europeans. It further reviews some archaeological and sociological researches conducted in the study area and beyond. Archaeological researches conducted in Northern Eweland include the works of Apoh (2008), Gavua (1980) and Nutor (2010), and sociological researches include that conducted by Dugbazah (2006) and Verdon (1983) were also examined.

2.1 Intellectual Framework

The intellectual framework that influenced the research spans concepts and theories. The concepts of migration and materiality, and the theories of abandonment and material culture studies were very useful in informing the findings of this research.

2.1.1 Migration as a Concept

Migration is the movement of people. This is essential in human nature as it is often influenced by the need to search for food, pasture, political stability, security and resources (Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009:69). It is also seen as the desire to travel, explore, conquer, and to

possess an area for livelihood (King, 2012:4). Migration is the result of a decision made by an individual who serves as the 'rational actor' after weighing the pros and cons of either moving from his or her settlement to another, or maintaining such settlement. This, King attests to by expressing the view that, migration is often based on the abundance of information on the options available (King, 2012:14). Hence, the movement of people from one geographical location to another is done with an aim. There are factors that influence migration which may be positive or negative. This sort of movement is termed by Lee (1966:47-57) as 'Push' and 'Pull' factors wherein 'Push' means negative factors, whilst 'Pull' means positive factors (Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009:69; Lee, 1966:47-57). These factors influence people to migrate from one settlement to another.

Migration is experienced locally, nationally, and internationally. Some early forms of complex migrations include 'out of Africa one', that is, the movement of Homo Erectus out of Africa around 1.8-0.8 million years ago (Bar-Yosef & Belfer-Cohen, 2001); 'out of Africa two', that is, movement of Homo Sapiens Sapiens out of Africa around 160,000 years ago (Berkeley, 2003); and the Ewe migration from Notsie. Each of these migrations was purposefully done. The Ewe migration from Notsie to present day Volta Region of Ghana is said to have taken place around the 17th Century (Amenumey, 1989; Dickson, 1929; Gayibor & Aguigah 1997). Almost all ethnic groups in present-day Ghana claim to have emigrated from somewhere other than their present location (Anarfi et al. 2003:1).

The application of this concept in the research reveals the nature of migration practices that took place among the people of Abutia in the past. It also informed the researcher on why the people of Abutia abandoned their ancient settlement to their current settlement.

2.1.2 Materiality as a Concept

In human affairs, the present is intimately linked to the past through the nature of materials and their cultural understanding. Similarly, 'the past determines the quality of recently available resources' (Brumfiel, 2003:207) of a group of people. Materiality is the mutually constitutive relationship between people and the material world. Importantly, the material remains reflect the actions and interactions of the daily lives of people. The processes that make and transform a particular society are seen in actions such as eating, drinking, carrying out of rituals, and the movement of people between space and time (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992:31 cited in Brumfiel, 2003:207). These actions are reflected in the material remains that are discarded. Supplementary to the concept of materiality is the understanding that all materials have an ideological perception behind their production and usage. Materiality does not solely focus on the physical appearance of materials; instead, it represents what lies 'behind' the physical appearance of a material, in terms of its intangible heritage. Human beings have the capacity to transform the immaterial world into the production of material objects. A society that dislikes dogs will not have a dog amongst them and for that matter will not produce anything that resembles a dog or when they do, it may be designed to show their abhorrence of it. The stance on materiality remains the driving force behind humanity's attempt to transform the world in order to make its ideologies a reality.

Aside materiality serving as the relationship between people and things, it is also viewed as the tangible substance of craft folks and manufacturers. Indeed, it is from these engagements that agency emerges; as to who does what, uses what, or the specific roles assigned to makers, producers, and users of tangible substances. Paytner (1988:407-433) indicated three models of approach to materiality. These include the idealistic approach, models of the market approach,

and capitalism approach. These approaches according to Aryee (2015:21-22) are interconnected because materials reveal beliefs of the makers and the users. The more people believe in something the more they request for them, and the more they request or acquire them, the more they use them, and the more they use and discard them, the more they are reflected in the archaeological record. The concept of materiality from these aforementioned approaches reveal why a particular object is made, why that object is purchased, what that object is used for, why that object is used and where that object is discarded.

To further illustrate the concept of materiality, it is worth noting the nature of contact between people and the influences it has on their lives. Chanock (1985:15) observed that in order to understand why people behave the way they do, 'we must know their past and their understanding of the past.' Experiences of people and contacts over some years can influence the way such groups of people will behave.

The concept of materiality was useful in understanding the findings from the study area because it exposed the means of understanding the recursive engagement that existed between the physical properties of the environment and the social practices that took place in that particular geographical location of Abutia.

2.1.3 Material Culture Studies

The study of material culture is concerned with the relationship between material forms, the human entity and their way of life. In so doing, these relationships which include the nature and experiences of materiality in a society are explored.

Material culture studies are used to reflect the various nuances and dynamic nature of the archaeological materials that were recovered from a particular research area. Material culture is

viewed as commodities that are created for use and exchange, and these commodities communicate and convey the meaning of the past human activities (Apoh & Gavua, 2010:212). Material culture studies consider the cultural studies of people through the significance of things over a period of time. The significance of things includes the processes and transformations in production, exchange, and consumption of materials of people groups.

Additionally, material culture studies reflect the physical evidence of cultures that are made by people and which are attributed to the present or the past of that particular society. A common theme connecting interpretations of material records of the past is how people presently engage with the cultural expressions in their daily interactions (Beaudry et al. 1991). The main characteristic of material culture studies is its physicality, that which places emphasis on the distinctive nature of the form and space of an object. Without meaningfully describing the behaviour of ancient people and why they acted the way they did, or without knowing their cultural identity and their location in time and space, it would be hard to interpret the archaeological material of such people (Bower, 1986). There is a need to blend materiality and the context of the data during the interpretation of the archaeological record (Beaudry et al. 1991:152). This connection is intrinsic because it involves revealing the functional and ideological roles of the artefacts and their detailed construction when they are recovered from the archaeological investigation. It is vitally necessary to note that the notion of context is an important element in archaeological analyses and it is where meaning is located and constituted.

Material culture studies have been conceived as 'the concrete manifestation of cultural templates' (Apoh and Gavua, 2010; Paytner, 1988) that embraces 'all consciously created elements of human expressions' (Apoh & Gavua, 2010; Orser, 2004). In other words, it is the

expression of the cognitive idea, ability, style, symbolism, language and cultural norms into a tangible form. Objects can stand for particular features of a person, in the absence of interpersonal contact (Woodward, 2007:137). Without speaking to people to confirm their status, visually identifying an object within their possession can tell us much about them. The social and human sciences tend to focus on the socially and culturally communicative properties of material culture. It can also be argued that material culture is the cultural expression of that reality in a material form.

Material culture studies as a discipline are concerned with all aspects of relationships between materials and the social world. A history of changing epistemologies defined material culture as 'the investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space (Woodward, 2007). The perspective adopted may be global or local, concerned with the past or present, or the mediation between the two.' In addition, material culture studies embrace the conscious creation of human expressions. It reveals ideologies, religious functions, status of people, aesthetic, and rituals associated with the archaeological records encountered. The very centre of people–object relations are questions of identity. Objects have crucial roles to play in this psychodynamic activity of constituting and understanding self; from birth and the cradle, throughout the life course (Woodward, 2007:150). In view of this, classifications of things have a moral force which animates them, and which contributes to their robustness and emotional depth. Furthermore, classifications of objects and commodities, and the aesthetic judgments implicit in them, are not merely representative of emptied out forms of individualism, but have an associated moral force that gives them durability and strength (Woodward 2007:89).

Hence, the theory of material culture studies influenced this research because the cultural practices (i.e. potting) of the ancient occupants of Agbenu Mountain were revealed through the

materiality of the archaeological records recovered. Lessons from material culture studies revealed that objects have the ability to signify things or establish social meaning on behalf of the people. This can be understood in their full human significance only if their roles in these orders are identified. (Apoh & Gavua, 2010:212-223; Oestigaard, 2004:79-87; Woodward, 2007).

2.1.4 The Theory of Abandonment

All archaeological sites have been abandoned one way or the other. People abandon sites or their material remains at sites in many diverse ways and for various reasons. Since the 1970s, the theory of abandonment has been increasingly recognized as a normal process of settlement and a key process in the formation of the archaeological record (Cameron & Tomka, 1993:1-3).

Abandonment processes can be determined in the archaeological record through the distribution of artefacts within space and time. There are processes in abandonment. These processes are referred to as activities that occur during abandonment. The hiding of tools, disassembling of structures, and the interruptions of normal disposal patterns are some behaviours that take place during abandonment processes (Cameron & Tomka, 1993:1-3). In like manner, there have been articulations between human behaviours at the time of abandonment and resulting patterns in the archaeological record. What each group of people did while leaving one settlement to another always has a direct effect on the cultural materials that are recovered in the archaeological record. The circumstances surrounding abandonment, such as speed, degree, pre-abandonment planning, or anticipated return to the old settlement could be determined in the archaeological record.

Moreover, abandonment is an operational activity of an area being abandoned. It is also referred to as leaving a place, especially because it is awkward or dangerous to stay there. Discard, on the other hand, means to get rid of something you no longer want or need. Discard is mostly done with the aim or intention of not using such materials again. Conversely, an abandoned site can be revisited by their owners once they feel that the place is conducive and welcoming (Cameron & Tomka, 1993:4). All these are detected in the archaeological record.

Furthermore, there are differences between abandonment and the normal processes of discard. Likewise, there is a difference between rapid abandonment and normal abandonment. In times of rapid abandonment, such as during slave raids, wars, and attacks from enemies, material remains such as pots and structures are mostly left behind in scattered forms. These become part of the archaeological record over time. At Calais in France, for instance, on April 5, 2015, French riot police forcibly removed around 1500 irregular migrants, and asylum seekers from their encampment around the port of Calais. Some human geographers went to the site a few days later. They identified remains of bulldozed tents and hastily abandoned clothes, tinned food, cutlery, and shoes (Crossmark, 2015:93-95). Abandonment processes condition the entry of cultural material into the archaeological record (Cameroon & Tomka, 1993:3).

Similarly, archaeological studies at the Krobo Mountain in the Eastern Region of Ghana by Kodzo Gavua and William Gblekpor since 2005 noted an enormous presence of surface configurations in the form of potsherds, whole vessels, bottles, broken glass objects, grinding stones and thousands of beads. The scattering of material remains on the surface of the site is indicative of how hurriedly the people vacated the site (Gblekpor & Nkumbaan, 2014:284). Thus, the processes of abandonment have been revealed through the archaeological materials

found at the site. Such whole surface finds on the site give credence to the historical events that occurred at the site. The Shai people used to occupy the top of the Krobo Mountain. However, in 1892 the British colonial administration forcefully evicted them because of alleged acts of rituals or human sacrifices.

On the other hand, planned abandonment is the conscious movement of people from one location to the other. For example, the construction of a hydroelectric power dam at Bui led to the relocation of the settlers from their ancient settlement to resettlement townships. The reason for their resettlement was to rescue the occupants of the settlement from future danger, such as flooding which could occur as a result of the construction of the Bui dam. Upon explanation and education on why they should relocate, the locals requested rituals to be performed for their ancestors before they would relocate. They also requested for the relocation of important burials and shrines that were culturally important to them to their new settlement (Apoh & Gavua, 2016). Because this relocation and migration were planned, most of the essential material cultures were removed from the old settlements. Even aluminium roofing sheets, window panes, household materials, and other material objects were removed or relocated. Hence, further research conducted in such area would reflect the planned abandonment process of the people through the material remains.

The use of the abandonment theory in the research analysis helped to provide an understanding of the process of abandonment that took place at the ancient settlement of Abutia (Agbenu Mountain). It also provides insight for an archaeologist to interpret sites appropriately. Above all, it informed that not all materials found on the surface in an area represent its original

contexts of use. In view of that, the process of abandonment was considered in the interpretation of the study area.

2.2 History of Eweland

When it comes to written history, there is some agreement on the history of the Ewes because researches have traced the origin of the Ewe speakers up to a point. All traditions agree that the Ewe-speaking people came from a place called Ketu (Manoukian, 1952). The line of migration of the Ewe is remembered from Ketu to Tado to Notsie (Dotse 2011). Gayibor and Aguigah (2005:5) undertook a thermoluminescence dating of pottery at Tado, and it dates to 14th to 16th Century (1360-1560). Agbodeka (1997) informs that the Ewe migration from Ketu started sometime in the 16th Century. Historical records reveal that the Ewe people inhabit the territory equivalent roughly to the southeastern quarter of Ghana and the Southern half of the Republic of Togo. It is mostly believed that the Ewes migrated to the Volta Region in the 17th Century (Amenumey, 1989; Dickson, 1969, Dotse, 2011; Gayibor & Aguigah 2005). The Ewes share common legends of origin and a common language of which the local variations are mutually intelligible throughout the area.

Oral tradition records revealed that upon the arrival of the Ewe-speaking people at Dahomey, they split into three groups (Agbotadua, 2005:21-38; Cockings, 2005). They first took refuge at the banks of the Mono River and the settlement was referred to as Tando (Tado/Atano). The second group under the leadership of Afotche settled at Notsie (in the Republic of Togo), between the Mono and the Haho River. The third group settled at Adele, a settlement called

Dogbo-Nyigbo. It is important to note that some members from the Dogbo-Nyigbo moved out of their settlement to join those that were already settled at Notsie.

At Notsie, several and separate quarters were ruled by one great King. Some of the Kings were Adela Blebua, Tsamla, Adela Dzavoe, Ekpe, Adelatoble, Agor, and Agorkoli (Agbotadua 2005:28). Notsie is noted as a significant point in the history of the Ewes (Agbotadua, 2005:29-34). In those days, there was so much hostility. In view of this, two walls were built at Notsie. Excavation at Notsie by Gayibor and Aguigah (2005:10) has revealed the existence of two walls. The first wall is believed to have been built in the 15th Century, and it is known as 'agbogbovi' (the small wall); (Dotse, 2011:6; Gayibor & Aguigah, 2005:10). This wall was to cut off the royal enclosure from the other members of the community (Ibid). In order to protect the settled land, farm land, and inhabitants from external attacks, a second wall was built. The entire community is believed to have lived within the encircled second wall known as 'Agbogbo' (Ibid). The remains of these walls show the impressive size (1470 hectares) of their construction probably before the 16th Century (Gayibor and Aguigah, 2005:12). Archaeological enquiries on the walled city of Notsie by Gayibor and Aguigah (2005) revealed that the Notsie walls were about 6m-8m in width and 25m high. This wall covered a perimeter of about 15km. Evidence of subsistence economic activities such as hunting, farming, iron working, and potting, were recovered from the enclosures during an archaeological investigation at the settlement.

Archaeological investigation conducted in Notsie by Gayibor and Aguigah (2005:12) informed that the Notsie wall was never broken or breached. Instead, they are of the view that the latter stage of the construction of the second wall took place in the 16th and 17th Century and possibly later as well.

2.3 Background Information about the Ewe People in Ghana

The Ewe people are the third largest ethnic group in Ghana. They live on the eastern side of Lake Volta. They speak different dialects but constitute a single linguistic entity. There are also a few Non-Ewe groups among them. This includes the Akpafu, Lolobi, and Likpe, who reside in the Volta Basin.

The Ewes are not a single political entity. They are organized into a number of communities or *dukowo* (Amenumey, 1989). It is believed that most of the Ewe people fled from Notsie around mid-C17th because of the alleged cruelty of King Agorkoli. The first group went to the northwestern direction and founded Kpando, Kpalime, and Leklebi. The second group travelled westward and founded Ho, Amedzofe, Adaklu, Abutia, and Ziavi. The third group went south to form the state of Anlo (Dickson, 1969:27).

Ethnographers tend to depict the Ewe-speaking people as one homogeneous sociocultural system based on their origin and language. For instance, Spieth in his study treated all Ewes as one tribal group (Spieth, 2011). Nukunya also treats the Ewe group as a social and a cultural uniform society (Nukunya, 1969). Nevertheless, there are some researchers who have noted some dissimilarities in the Ewe-speaking people (Verdon, 1983:26). Manoukian (1952) and Ward (1949), reported some diversity between the northern and the southern Ewes. Verdon (1983:29) also accounted for the dissimilarities in the social and cultural organization of the three ecological and geographical regions of Eweland. Notable impressions gained from the groups are that the coastal settlers mostly grow maize and shallot. Those who stayed close to the coast practised fishery (Ibid). These products were used for their subsistence. On the other hand, the inland region settlers' are noted to grow yam and cassava for subsistence, and maize as a cash crop (Ibid). The burial practices of the Anlos and the Ewe-Dome people have some variations in

them. The Ewe-Dome people bury their dead in the morning (around 11:00am) but the Anlo people bury their dead late in the afternoon (mostly around 4:00pm).

2.4 The Ewes' Encounters with Akwamu

Abutia's location in Eweland is somewhat unique because it occupies the southernmost tip of Ewe-Dome. Verdon (1983:35) records that the southern half of Abutialand probably remained unoccupied in the early years because those areas served as a buffer zone against possible invasions from the south. The most significant impact by the Akan on the northern Eweland was made by the Akwamu and the Asante. Abutia people therefore have some practices that are similar to the Akan people of Ghana.

Around the 19th Century, there was relative peaceful and cooperative interaction among the Northern Ewe (Gavua, 2000:13). The conflict and warfare among the Northern Ewes were as a result of the encounter that the Northern Ewe had with Europeans and Akans such as the Kwahu (who interacted with the Ewe people since the 18th Century), the Akwamu, and the Asante. These states had contact with the northern Eweland because some of the areas were accessible and were used as trade routes (Ibid).

It is important to note that the Akwamu state is an Akan state that flourished in the 17th and 18th Century (1629-1710). In the 1720s, a civil war in Akwamu state caused great hardship for them. In 1734, the Akwamu people were defeated by the Akyem and their rule came to an end. In order to stand their ground, the Akwamu people exploited surrounding Ewe societies between the periods of 1734 to 1833 (Apoh, 2014:167; Gavua 2000:14; Verdon, 1983:36). Interestingly, during that same period, the Anlos connived with the Akwamu people in

expanding slave raiding in the northern Eweland in order to meet the expectation of the Europeans engaged in the Trans-Atlantic Trade.

During the reign of the Akwamu on the northern Ewes, the Peki people mobilized the northern Eweland to become a united force (Gavua 2000:14). This army helped in overthrowing the Akwamu people in 1834. However, in 1869, the Akwamu people solicited for help from the Asante people in order to defeat the northern Ewes. The Anlo people fully joined the force of the Akwamu because they had a great alliance and were involved in slave raiding. During the war between the Akwamus and the Ewes in 1869, some of the Ewes sought refuge in the enclosed valley of Gbadzeme in Avatime and at the Gemi Mountain when they were being pursued by the Asantes (Spieth 2011:7). The Asantes attempted to climb the mountain, and the Ewes who were watching them from the top of the mountain rolled rocks and boulders down the mountain to crush them (Ibid). This forced the Asantes to retreat with heavy losses (Ibid). The Asante, Akwamu and their allies were eventually defeated in the battles of 1868-1874 in the Volta basin with the help of the British (Apoh 2014:167). Ustorf (2002:124) cited in Apoh (2014:167) espoused that when the Asante warriors pulled out, they vandalized villages, farms, and plantations, as well as took many captives.

With reference to Abutia, the researcher observed that there are some practices that resulted from the contact with the Akwamus. These included the practice of forming Asafo group of companies and the existence of some deities whose ancestry can be traced to the Akans. For example, Abutia's youngest deity known as Tando is stipulated to have come from the Tano River.

2.5 European Interaction with the Ewe People

In 1828, the Basel missionaries from Germany started their activities on the Gold Coast. The North German Missionary Society was established to train young men and women to spread the gospel to Africa (Dorvlo 2013:121; Gavua 2000:15). Luer Bultman, Lorenz Wolf, Karl Flato and Jens Graff were the four German missionaries that arrived in the Gold Coast on 5th May 1847 (Dorvlo, 2013:121). These people were advised by other missionaries in the Gold Coast to preach in the interior, presently known as the Volta Region of Ghana. The Anlo states were considered, but they were not chosen because during that period the Anlo people were at war with the Danes. Peki on the other hand, was chosen because it is located at a strategic location linked to the inland area of Krachi and Salaga. Another reason was that the Peki state had a cordial relationship with the Basel missionaries in the Christiansborg Castle. The contact of the Germans with the people of Peki in 1847 led to the establishment of a school, which was built on 8th February 1848 (Dovlo, 2013:123). The school was built in order to mitigate the challenges of language barrier faced by the missionaries. These challenges influenced the German missionaries to learn the Ewe language in order to be able to evangelize in Ewe and to transcribe their messages into the Ewe language. This, they believed would make the people of Peki appreciate the message they were communicating to them in their own language.

The missionary activity led to the establishment of the German Colonial rule in Eweland in 1883, with the exception of Peki which was under the British administration. In 1884, the Germans occupied a formally demarcated settlement place known as the German Togoland (See Figure 2.1).

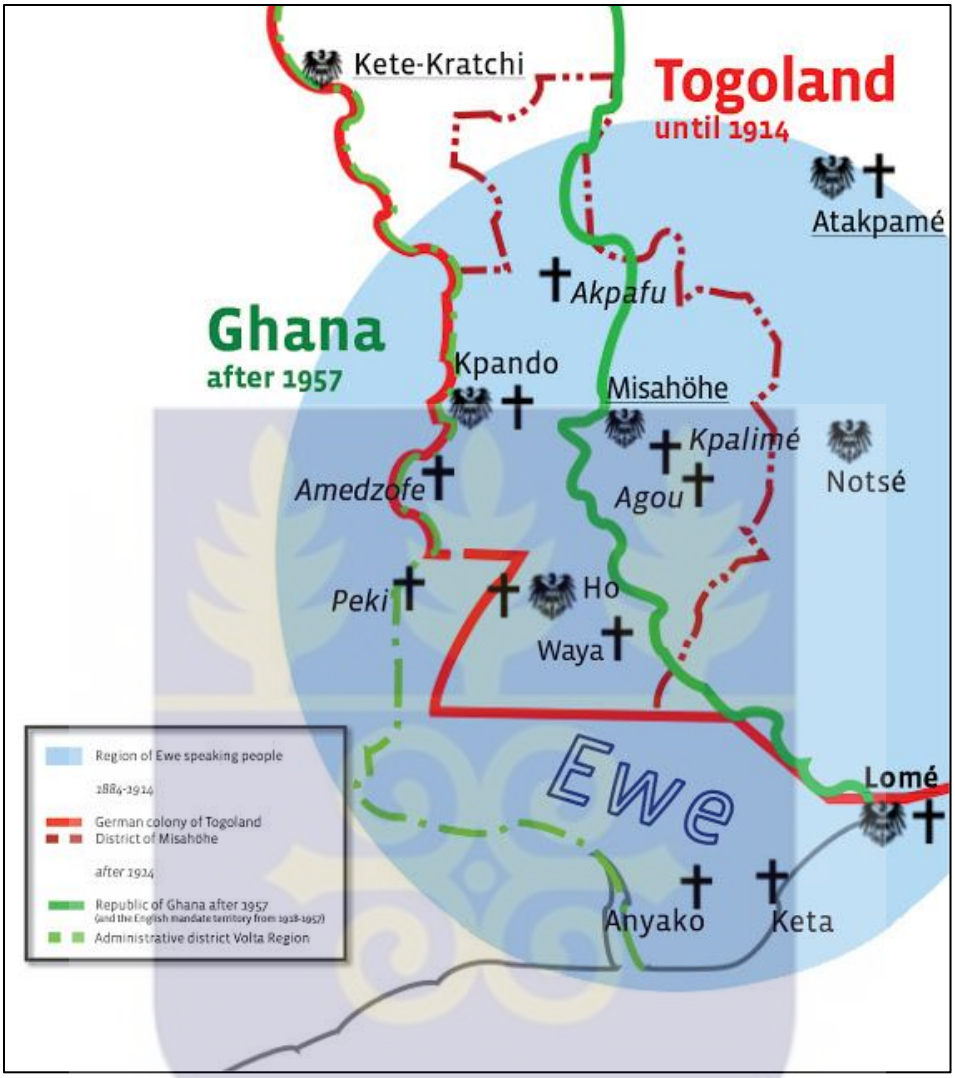


Figure 2.1: Map showing the demarcation of the Togoland that the Germans had contact with**. Source:** postcolonialexcavation.blogspot.com

It is important to note that the Germans had contact with the people of Eweland earlier before the formal demarcations. During that period, the Bremen missionaries had an encounter with the Ewe people and introduced them to Christianity, formal education and commerce (Gavua 2000:15). Furthermore, the missionary encounter led to the Germans building a training school for catechists at Amedzofe. Rudolf Mallet became the first Ewe pastor who was trained by the German missionaries. This consequently paved the way for many local people to be converted from the indigenous religion to Christianity and churches such as the Catholic and Evangelical

Presbyterian Churches were founded. Elementary schools, seminaries, and artisan schools were also set up for the Northern Ewe people by the Germans (Gavua, 2013:135).

There were three groups of Germans in Togoland. These were the missionaries, the merchants, and the administrators. Whichever of the actors came first in respective locations have not been clearly identified. Nevertheless, some of the actors had overlapping roles. The Germans that came to stay in Abutia were missionaries and colonial officials (Verdon, 1983:38). Oral information gathered from the people of Abutia confirmed that the Germans who had their administrative office at Ziavi mostly came to Abutia to rest, as well as engage in hunting. It is important to note that some merchants and administrators' roles were intertwined. Furthermore, the German colonial administration was stimulated by the successful trade in palm oil, coffee, and other agricultural products (Apoh, 2013:33; Dorvlo, 2013:130). The Germans encouraged plantation farming of coffee, cocoa, coconut, rubber, and tobacco. In 1857, trading firms were established (Dorvlo, 2013:127) in Togoland. This paved the way for other private German businesses and European companies to follow.

Again, the German administrators felt that the local people were lazy and so they were forced to work extra hard. This was known in the informal colonial spheres as 'German training'. However, these attitudes of the Germans were resisted by the local people. The Africans or local people explained that the German training was harsh and a crude treatment, accompanied by the use of power and authority without considering the views and sensibilities of local people.

Furthermore, Abutia is known to have been under German rule from 1890 (Verdon, 1983:38), with its immediate southwestern and southern neighbours, such as Awudome and Duffor (Verdon, 1983:77). It is important to note that Togoland was a German protectorate in West Africa from 1884 to 1914. However, during the First World War, the colony was drawn

into the conflict and was taken over by the British and the French (Verdon, 1983:77). Abutia and Kpando were colonized by the British after the Germans had left. They changed everything the Germans taught the colonized people and replaced them with the knowledge of the British. This had negative impacts on the schools in Eweland. For instance, in 1919, there was an order from the director of education that no one in any part of the British Togoland was to speak or teach in the German language (Dorvlo, 2013:132). The change in the system of education affected the teaching and learning of students in the schools. In spite of all the negative effects, contacts with the Germans left legacies such as schools, teacher training colleges, hospitals and agricultural and trade training colleges.

2.6 Sociological Researches Conducted in Abutia

There are a number of scholars who have researched in the Eweland especially in the central part of the Volta Region. Two well-known sociological researches conducted were conducted at Abutia. Verdon's sociological research was conducted in Abutia between the years of 1971-1973. This was towards a postdoctoral dissertation titled *'Abutia Ewe in West Africa: chiefdom that never was.'*

Studying Verdon's work critically, there are some controversial information documented by him that do not tally with the ethnographic information currently gathered from the people of Abutia. Verdon informed that although the people of Abutia had the Asafo groups, they did not engage in any war as a single community. Instead, they hid under the umbrella of other Asafo groups in the northern Ewe groups. He also recorded that the people of Abutia settled on a land which was totally uninhabited. However, my current archaeological research and radiocarbon

date of the Agbenu Mountain site attests that there were some people who settled on the land in the 15th Century before the Yorviewo people of Abutia came there. Further archival works of Dugbazah (2006:225) revealed that the Abutia people conquered a greater part of their land during the historic war between Duffor (See Figure 2.2) and the Akwamus. It is also stipulated that the Abutia people signed a bond with Awudome and Sokode confirming the position of the Abutia people as the original owners of the land (Ibid). The historic event became known as the bond of 1918 and this same bond also defined the boundaries in 1918.

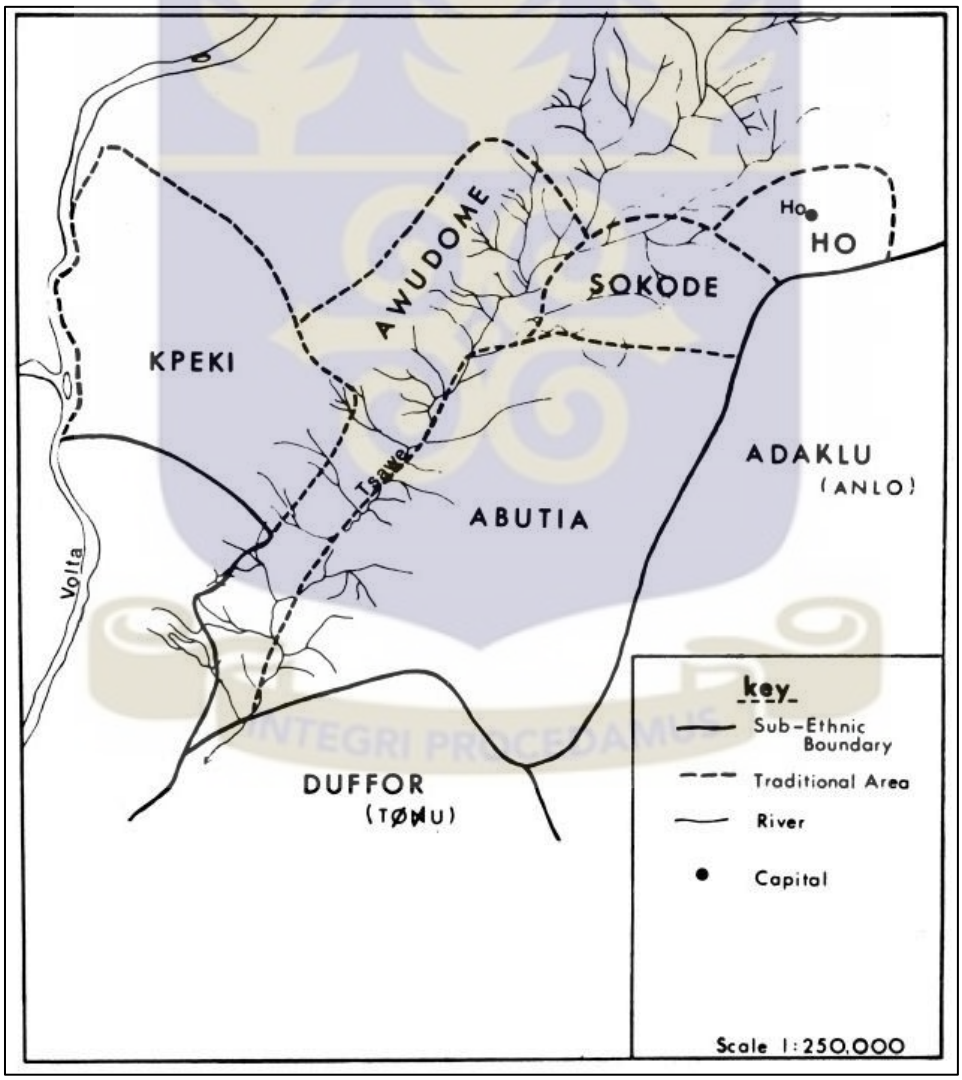


Figure 2.2: Map showing the Abutia, Sokode, and Duffor area, as well as other areas such as Peki and Awudome. **Sourc**e: Michel Verdon, The Abutia Ewe of West Africa (1983:35).

Justina Dugbazah's doctoral thesis which focused on *Gender, migration, and rural livelihoods in Ghana: A case of the Ho District*, mostly featured Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve, and Abutia-Kloe as her study areas. She employed semi-structured interview, focus group discussions, participant observation, and used a duration of 6 months to gather information for her research work (Dugbazah, 2006:20-21). According to her, the imbalance in the distribution of natural resources in the area, coupled with the inadequate employment and poverty, have further influenced people in the area to focus on education as a single most important resource in the area (Dugbazah, 2006:240). In view of this, people take advantage of every educational opportunity within and outside the region. Aside the great desire for attaining formal education, there are, in recent times, a number of Abutia people who are engaged in entrepreneurship, and have created companies such as Kpogas furniture works, building constructions, carpentry work, and printing presses. Individuals migrate to engage in such works in the urban areas too.

Since Dugbazah and Verdon have done some work on the people of Abutia, bits and pieces of their work has been drawn on as secondary data bearing in mind the changes that have occurred since 1983, 2006 and 2015 (these dates are the various periods of which research works were done on Abutia). A critical assessment of the sociological researches, however, revealed that Verdon's (1983) did not focus on issues of migration. Dugbazah (2006) however focused on the migration of the people of Abutia; especially by identifying the various reasons of migration. Nonetheless, she did not explore the German influence on the people of Abutia and the impact of this foreign influence on the area. My research, however, investigated and recorded the memories of the people pertaining to the German encounters with the people of Abutia.

2.7 Archaeological Investigation Conducted in the Study Area

There is limited information on the prehistory of the people of the Volta Region of Ghana. Similarly, the prehistory of Abutia is yet to be extensively explored archaeologically. Aside the unpublished preliminary excavation conducted at the German site at Abutia-Agorve by Professor Kodzo Gavua in 1990, there has not been any archaeological investigations in Abutia until now. Furthermore, unlike many sites which had their surface finds recorded by Oliver Davies in his field journal, sites in the Abutia area were not investigated by Oliver Davies. In view of this, the ensuing paragraphs review some archaeological investigations conducted in the northern Eweland which are relevant to the study. These include Wazi Apoh's work in Kpando (2008), K. B. Gavua's work on the Prehistory of Wusuta (1980), and B. Nutor's work on Dzake-Peki shrine (2010).

Researches conducted by Apoh (2008), Davies (1964) and Gavua (1980) in 'Ewe' land revealed that most of the areas in the Volta Region of Ghana, an area which is currently inhabited by the Ewe people were once occupied by autochthonous (Guan groups). In other words, the Ewe people were not the first occupants of the land of the Volta Region. Similarly, the view that the Ewe people migrated from Notsie into an empty land in the 17th Century is no longer plausible. Preliminary archaeological survey and surface collection done by Oliver Davies in the 1960's in some parts of the Volta Region revealed evidence of human-made grooves in the rocks and quartz microliths found along the terraces of Volta, Dayi and Oti Rivers. This attests to the fact that people lived in the area before the Ewe-speaking people migrated from Notsie. Identification of Chellean and Sangoan tools at the east of the Volta, especially near the Dayi River suggested to Davies (1964) that those cultures entered the Volta area across the Togo-Atakora Ridge before 10,000 years ago. Further, Davies hypothesized that most areas of Ghana,

which include the savanna and the forest areas, have been continuously occupied since 3700BC (Apoh, 2008).

In addition, some of the Ewe areas were occupied by autochthonous groups before the Ewe people migrated from Notsie. Oral history revealed that the Akpini migrants encountered and displaced the Kperi people who are usually known as the Togo remnant or Guan groups of people in Kpando Aziave (Apoh 2008:23). Historic documents attest that the encounters between the aforementioned groups date to the 16th and 17th Century (Ibid). Some of the earliest inhabitants in the southern Volta, for instance, were later displaced by people moving from the southern part of Ghana which included the Asantes (Ibid). Additionally, the present day Wusuta people were not the first occupants of the land (Gavua, 1980:53). According to the oral and historical information, the early settlers of Wusuta met some people inhabiting the land on their arrival and these people were noted to have smelted and used iron (Gavua, 1980:14). Surface collection method was used to gather archaeological materials from the study area (Ibid). Materials recovered displayed a wide range of antiquity as far as the Middle Stone Age (Gavua, 1980:51). Although, there is some evidence to support the autochthonous status of the occupants of the Volta Region of Ghana, none of the materials found has been radiocarbon dated, and this is a challenge. In my candid opinion, there are inadequate oral, historical, and archaeological evidence to unravel the complexity of the autochthonous status of the occupants of the Volta Region of Ghana.

Nutor also conducted an archaeological investigation in 2010 on the indigenous religion at Dzake-Peki. His work aimed at understanding the nature and function of African indigenous religion in Dzake-Peki with reference to the deity known as 'Dente-ga'. In order to achieve the said goal, he gathered and analysed the main characteristics of the ancient abandoned shrine of

'Dente-ga' as well as identified the functions of contemporary shrines in Dzake-Peki to show how it related to 'Dente-ga' (Nutor, 2010:2). Nutor's work focused on religion and abandonment. The Christian religion was identified to have been the cause of the collapse of the worship of 'Dente-ga' although there are other contemporary deities that some few people of Dzake-Peki still worship. Materials recovered from the site included local pottery. The pottery was similar to local potteries identified at Kpando, Wusuta, and Krobo (Nutor, 2010:118). Nutor believes that the Dzake-Peki people, perhaps, had a cross-cultural contact or interactions with the aforementioned towns as their neighbouring communities. The researcher agrees with Nutor that when there is a contact, there is an influence. Some members of the Peki group decided to choose Christianity over the worship of 'Dente-ga'.

It is noteworthy that, none of the archaeological sites in the Volta Region of Ghana have been radiocarbon or absolutely dated to confirm the historic information on the migration history of the Ewe-speaking or to give an idea of when the autochthonous communities settled in the area.

2.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter provided insight into the intellectual framework that informed the research. Also, the chapter discussed the European and the Akwamu contact with the Ewes, as well as the impact of this contact on the northern Ewes of the Gold Coast. Further, archaeological and sociological researches discussed in this chapter have no absolute dates on Ewe migration and the autochthonous status of the occupants of the Volta Region. Hence, the archaeological investigation at Agbenu Mountain with a radiocarbon date has the potential to

challenge or affirm the 'master narratives' that have been preserved in written documents concerning Ewe migration and settlement.

CHAPTER THREE

Oral Tradition, Ethnography and Encounters of the People of Abutia

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the ethnographic information gathered on the migration history of the people of Abutia. It also documents the memories of the German encounter with the people of Abutia and the effects of such contact. It further reveals some practices of the people of Abutia.

The ethnographic investigation was mainly conducted by gathering information from the descendant communities (Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve, and Abutia-Kloe). The ethnographic methods used were one-on-one semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, observations, participant observation, as well as photography. Interactions with the people in the area were done in the Ewe dialect because it is the lingua Franca of the people. The interview sessions were recorded using smartphones and a camera. Two focus group discussions were conducted (See Figure 3.1). The first was an interaction with three representatives of the Asafo group members in each of the three indigenous communities in Abutia. The second interaction was engaged in with a group of people above 40 years who reside in the Abutia-Agorve community.

During the one-on-one semi-structured interviews (See Figure 3.2), the list of research questions guided the interview. Some youths in the community were interviewed but they had no information concerning their migration from Notsie as well as about their migration from the Agbenu Mountain. About 90% of the informants were (elderly) men and 10% were (elderly) women.

Figure 3. 1: Focus Group discussion with the Asafo Group and some aged men in Abutia (Photo by Mr. Ben Akpor).

Figure 3.2: One-On-One Semi-Structured Interviews with some selected people of Abutia (Photo by Mr. Ben Akpor).

3.1 Migration from Notsie to the Current Settlement (Abutia)

The people of Abutia are part of the Ewe subgroup known as 'Ewe-Dome'. The 'Ewe-Dome', the Tonu and the Anlo people trace their origin from Notsie or Hogbefe, a village in Togo. These groups left because of the harsh condition and treatments meted out to them by Togbe Agorkorli. According to informants, the people of Abutia were formerly known as Yorviewo. The Yorviewo were special people to King Agorkoli. These people were believed to be blessed with longevity. Literally pronounced in the Ewe dialect as 'yo me yiyi viewo'. In view of this, they were referred to as 'Yorviewo', which means 'it pains them to enter the grave'. Some of the informants were of the view that a member of the Yorviewo group gave the Ewe people an idea at Notsie that they should continually pour water on a part of the wall for it to be softened. The advice sounded good to them and they practised it, and that was what helped them gain their freedom.

With reference to the people with whom the Yorviewo migrated with from Notsie, some informants claimed that the Abutia people migrated together with the Volo and Adaklu people. The first place they settled was Torvledu (around Battor area in the Volta Region of Ghana). Nonetheless, due to the scarcity of water and numerous quarrels that took place at Torvledu, the Yorviewo left the Volo people behind and migrated with the Adaklu people until both groups separated and settled at their current locations. The Adaklu and Abutia people currently share the same boundary. On the other hand, during one of the focus group discussions, other respondents said that the Yorviewo migrated with the Peki people from Notsie until they finally dispersed. Other respondents further informed that the Yorviewo settled at Abutia-Kofe (a community in the Anlo constituency), and they moved from there to Adaame, and later from Adaame they migrated to the Agbenu Mountain. Some respondents of the descendant communities informed

that they and the Abutia-Kofe are one group of people, and they trace their ancestry to the Yorviewo group. In spite of the aforementioned migration stories, other respondents are of the view that the Abutia people migrated alone from Notsie to the Agbenu Mountain (See Figure 3.3a).

Pertaining to the settlement at 'Agbenu Mountain; members of the descendant communities of Abutia revealed that their ancestors settled at the Agbenu Mountain. They settled there at the time when there were a lot of tribal wars in the Gold Coast. During that period, slave raiders sold captives to the Europeans in the then Gold Coast.

(a) **(b)**

Figure 3.3 (a-b): Photo of the top and foothill of the Agbenu Mountain in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

They further informed that due to the prevailing wars and slave raids, the Yorviewo people preferred to settle on top of the mountain and view beneath the mountain to check whether there were any attacks from their enemies (See Figure 3.3b). One of the respondents also informed that, at first, the Yorviewo settled beneath the Agbenu Mountain but due to the presence of wild animals such as tigers and buffaloes which were in the area, they moved to settle on top of the Agbenu Mountain. Some of the other respondents informed that some of the Yorviewo settled on top of the Agbenu Mountain while others settled at the foothill of the Mountain.

With regard to the indications of human settlement at the Agbenu Mountain, the respondents informed that there is an evidence of building foundations at the top of the mountain which served as homes for the Yorviewo. The buildings were mostly made of stones and grass. In addition, evidence of *Dracaena aborea* ('anyaa' trees) at the settlements (See Figure 3.4) with other evidence such as grinding stones, a shrine, mortar, and a metal ring on a rock at the top of the Agbenu Mountain gave them clues that their ancestors once settled at the Agbenu Mountain. The researcher observed in the current settlement of Abutia that the occupants use *Dracaena aborea* for household and shrine demarcations. She also observed that there are some *Dracaena aborea* around where the Kloe deity is located in Abutia-Agorve. According to respondents, they believe that the *Dracaena aborea* sacks evil spirits from the environment.

Figure 3.4: *Dracaena aborea* around one of the Mounds at the top of the Agbenu Mountain (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

During the reconnaissance survey, the Kalakpa Resource guards and some members of the Asafo group took the researcher to where they prayed to their ancestors during the Yorviewo za (an annual festival of the Abutia and Fodome people), at the top of the Agbenu Mountain. The respondents claimed that the reason for there being no evidence of surface materials on top of the mountain was because rain washed away those cultural materials into the foothill of the Mountain. Another reason given was that the occupants at the Agbenu Mountain were few, and this resulted in no evidence of cultural materials on the site. Furthermore, respondents disclosed that there are tunnels on the Agbenu Mountain where the water flowed to the foothill of the mountain. As time passed, those tunnels have been sealed with sand. They also claimed that due to the washing away of soil, sand filled the tunnels and water ceased flowing from the tunnels.

On account of whether the Yorviewo were the only occupants of the Agbenu Mountain, some narratives revealed that the Yorviewo arrived with the Peki people at the Agbenu Mountain and settled there for some time. Later, the Peki people left to settle at their current settlement after weighing the pros and cons of that migration. After the Peki people left, the Abutia people continued to settle at the Agbenu Mountain for some time. On the other hand, other respondents informed that the Yorviewo people were the only people that settled at the Agbenu Mountain. Nevertheless, during the reconnaissance survey at the foothill of the Agbenu Mountain, the researcher observed that from the Agbenu Mountain to the last chain of mountain (Mountain Aveveto), there were surface configurations of potsherds which were similar to those at the foothill of both mountains. Although the distance between these mountains is far, it is probable that these potsherds spread from the Agbenu Mountain to the Aveveto Mountain or vice versa.

On the issue of why the Agbenu Mountain was abandoned, all the respondents agreed that wild animals, snakes, water challenges, and children falling from the mountain to the foothill

of the mountain led the people to abandon the ancient settlement. The increasing number of the Yorviewo people at the Agbenu Mountain and insufficient water to meet their demand was the main cause of their migration. Furthermore, the women folk became very tired of the tedious process of descending and climbing uphill with the water. The experience influenced they naming their current settlement, Abutia. The pull factor that influenced them to settle at Abutia according to most of the respondents was that a man named Foli (a name given to a first male child) found a source of flowing water known as Tra (See Figure 3.5) located at Abutia-Agorve. Other respondents informed that due to the challenges encountered at Agbenu Mountain, the chief ordered the hunters to search for a place where there is enough water to sustain the Yorviewo people so that they could move from there. Foli (one of the hunters) came upon the Tra River and reported to the chief. This led to their migration and settlement at the new settlement.

Figure 3.5: Photo of the Tra River at Abutia-Agorve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Mr. Gideon Agyare).

Respondents revealed that Foli was from the Darkey family in Abutia-Agorve. Currently, due to modernization, a lot of people do not rely on stream water, but presently, the Abutia people are faced with water challenge especially during the harmattan season. This makes people from

Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve and Abutia-Kloe rely on the Tra River, although these towns have some bore holes in their respective communities. These bore holes are not able to satisfy all of their needs during the harmattan season however.

According to oral information, at the new settlement, Togbe Foli Darkey refused to be the overall chief of Abutia-Agorve. He instead opted to be the *Sofo fia*. His reason was that he will be able to monitor every activity in Abutia when he ruled as the *Sofo fia* (which is referred to as being the head of every activity that the chief engages himself in). His family is therefore also responsible for installing chiefs. According to the informants, Togbe Adza Dra (a very close friend of Foli Darkey) was made the chief.

Furthermore, one respondent narrated that during an expedition to occupy more lands, one hunter from Abutia met another hunter from Adaklu at a particular area and they decided to make a treaty with one another known as *lipoo*. This treaty was an agreement that none of them will unlawfully capture the other's land. According to the respondents, *Asra* (meaning tobacco) was given to each other as an exchange and agreement to protect each other, as well as 'a sign of peace'. They also used the Kalakpa River (See Figure Map 2 of chapter 1) to serve as a boundary mark between the Adaklu and Abutia land. Also, the respondents informed the researcher that when the Agbenu people arrived at the current location, Foli's elder son known as Foli continued on a hunting expedition to explore other areas. He found a place currently known as Fodome (in the Volta Region) and settled. Most of the respondents believe that Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve, Peki, and Fodome people are all one people.

3.2 Formation of the Three Towns of Abutia

According to the respondents, Abutia-Teti is derived from the two words 'te' which means 'yam' and 'ti' which means 'tree' (in Ewe dialect), both forming the word 'Teti' which literally means 'yam tree'. Most respondents informed that some of the Yorviewo were the people that went to Teti to plant the yam. As time passed, these people decided to permanently settle at the place where they planted their yam and that led to the formation of the town known as Abutia-Teti. On the other hand, other respondents informed that the movement of people from the Agbenu Mountain was done in groups. These respondents narrated that due to the challenges they encountered at the Agbenu Mountain, Togbe Agbeme (Chief of Yorviewo at the Agbenu Mountain) and his team left the Agbenu Mountain to settle in present day Abutia-Teti. They are of the view that the Abutia-Teti people are the first group of people that moved from the Agbenu Mountain.

The origin of the people of Abutia-Kloe is not clear. Some of the respondents narrated that, in the past, the Abutia-Kloe people needed a place to settle and the people of Abutia-Agorve gave them land closer to them to settle. The informants revealed that the Abutia-Kloe people came from Amu nu, a place around Juapong Volo (Volta Region of Ghana). On the contrary, other respondents are of the view that the Abutia-Kloe people also settled at Agbenu Mountain. While looking for a place to settle due to the challenges encountered at the Agbenu Mountain, they migrated to Amega me (a village around the current communities of Abutia). Due to war, they came to the people of Abutia-Agorve for a land to settle, and they were given an area known as Afe hoe (meaning, *old house*). The area given to them was too small. As their population increased, the Abutia-Agorve people gave them permission to move to their current location (Abutia-Kloe). Another reason was that each time a member from Abutia-Kloe marries

from among the people of Abutia-Agorve, they were given a portion of land. This act gave the Abutia-Kloe people the opportunity to also own land in Abutia. Nonetheless, most respondents are of the view that the reason why the Abutia-Kloe people moved from the area closer to Abutia-Agorve was not just because of population increase, but that, the Abutia-Kloe people were noise makers. They were referred to by the Abutia-Agorve people as *zia ana to woe* (meaning, 'noise makers'), as a result of that, they were asked to locate to their present location.

Abutia has a deity known as Agormatse or Kloe. Kloe is the deity that was brought from Hogbefe to Abutia-Agorve. As part of the duty of the Abutia-Kloe people, which was given to them by the Abutia-Agorve people as a result of the land given them, they were to pave the way and clear the path that led to where the deity was located. This was because as at that time there was no road to the specified location of the deity. The deity is located at Amegame. They named the present day Abutia-Kloe people after the Abutia deity. The Kloe deity is believed to have been brought from Agormatse whilst other respondents informed that they brought the Kloe deity with them from the Agbenu Mountain.

With regard to the formation of the three indigenous towns of Abutia, another set of respondents narrated that the three communities migrated together from the Agbenu Mountain to their current settlement before they divided themselves into the three indigenous communities. They also informed that the ancient people used one day to move to Abutia. Furthermore, the respondents maintained that it does not matter who first came to settle on the contemporary settlement. They are of the view that the people of Teti, Agorve, and Kloe have come together as three towns to form one strong indigenous community known as Abutia. The respondents also maintained that they do not dispute the fact that most of the people in Abutia trace their ancestry

to the Foli Darkey clan. They prefer to stay in unity and build an army for the development of the nation Ghana.

3.3 The Encounter of the Abutia People with Other Settlers

According to the respondents, the Abutia people have 'settlers' who are currently settling on their land. These settlers are believed to have occupied the land for the past 100 years and beyond. These include people from parent communities such as Mafe, Battor, Mefe, Volo, and Vorfor (some towns in the Volta Regions). All these people settled one after the other. According to the informants, this shows that the people of Abutia are friendly and that in the past, they had compassion on people and for that matter they gave lands to people who needed them to settle on. Although some of these people purchased the land when they initially came to Abutia, there are other places that are currently occupied by them which were not part of the area they purchased. This is as a result of an increase in their number. Respondents complained that some of these settlers have been illegally hunting and felling most of the trees in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve.

Additionally, some families still reside in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. Attempts have been made to let them vacate the site but have proved futile. A typical incident narrated by one of the respondents was that some of these families that reside in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve poisoned the pawpaw trees in their community and this served as a trap for the monkeys. All the monkeys that ate the pawpaw fruits died. Another instance occurred in February 2016 when it was reported that there has been some illegal logging of rose wood from the reserve. The incident was very alarming to most of the respondents. The incident was reported in the Daily

Graphic, but no investigations were conducted. The *Daily Graphic* had gathered that there had been massive felling of trees in the reserve at areas such as Fosime, Adaklu Torkpetoe and Dokpo, and more than 20 containers of logs were said to have been moved out of the reserve over a period of three months (Daily Graphic Business News of Thursday, 18th February 2016). Additionally, an incident occurred on the 8th of May 2016 when one of the poachers shot one of the reserve guards who assisted the researcher with the research at the Agbenu Mountain (personal communication with some of the guards at the Agordeke camp). Furthermore, some respondents informed that during one of the political primaries for the Member of Parliament position in the Ho-West Municipal Assembly, an aspirant visited the illegal community in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve and promised them that when he gets into power, he would build a school for the community. Most of the indigenous respondents were alarmed at such a promise. They are not happy about the fact that politicians are using their political will to help others reside in the Resource Reserve. According to the informants, this is not helping bring investors to invest in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve.

3.4 The Akwamu Encounter and Impact

All respondents maintained that the Abutia people settled in their current location before the Akwamu war of 1869. The Asafo groups did not start from Hogbefe. Instead, the Akwamu reign over northern Eweland influenced the formation of the Asafo groups in Abutia. According to the narratives, the Asafo groups were introduced to Abutia by Togbe Adza Asamoah Akontah Kokoroko, who resided in Abutia-Teti. The group started with the Abutia-Teti Asafo group (referred to as Asafo Number 1), to be followed by Abutia-Agorve Asafo group (referred to as Number 2), and then the Abutia-Kloe Asafo group (referred to as Number 3). Narrations from

one of the focus group discussions revealed that the main duties of the Abutia Asafo groups were to guard and defend the community in times of war. The main drum played by the Asafo groups to alert the community during warfare is the war drum literally called *ava devu* (meaning, *war drum*). Narratives revealed that because the war drums came from the Akwamu, most of the songs sung by the Abutia Asafo groups are in the Akan language. According to the respondents who were hunters, a male youth at the age of 18 years can also be part of the Asafo group on the condition that the parent of the young male provides a gun for him. Women in their menopause can also join the Asafo group. They are referred to as the Asafo *nwonu* (meaning, Asafo women). Narratives revealed that these women often met the Asafo men each time they returned from war.

Presently, because of peace and stability in the area, the Asafo groups in Abutia play other roles. Most of them continued with their hunting expeditions. The development of the Kalakpa Resource Reserve has diminished the hunting practices of the hunters in Abutia. The Abutia Asafo Companies also play a huge part in the burial of Abutia people who die through accidents. They also play pivotal roles during the Easter celebration of the people of Abutia.

3.5 Accidental Victim Burial Practice of the People of Abutia

There are four burial practices and cemeteries in Abutia. These are the normal cemetery, the accidental deaths cemetery, mausoleum, and rubbish dump burial. Each of these cemeteries is found in each of the three indigenous communities of Abutia. One of the 'weird' practices of the Abutia people is the burial practices associated with accidental death victims. This is also practised at Fodome, Kpando-Abanu, and Ho-Klefe. Popular narratives maintained that the

Fodome and Abutia practice of burying people who die through accidents in a separate cemetery can be traced to a common origin or source.

For the past 15 years, this burial practice has been altered due to modernization, globalization and Christianity. In the past, the family members of the deceased were made to stay under a particular tree for eight days after the burial of the accidental death victim. Additionally, the hairs of the family members of the accidental death victim were shaved. Similarly, the person who carried the symbolic replica of the accidental death victim also had his or her hair shaved. The aforementioned practices were made to clean and purify the deceased family from accidents in the near future. Furthermore, pregnant women who die with their babies are operated on by the Asafo people. Such a baby is taken out from the mother's womb and the mother's stomach is stitched. These individuals are separately buried. The mother of the deceased child is buried at the accidental death victim's cemetery and the baby is buried in a rubbish dump literally termed akorli *gi*. Stillbirth babies are also buried at the rubbish dump. There are rituals and practices associated with this type of burial.

Presently, the real bodies are not entombed at the accidental death victims' cemetery. Instead the hair, fingernails, and toe nails of such individuals are buried at the accidental death victims' cemetery and the real bodies are buried at the normal cemetery. The hair, fingernails, and toe nails are believed to have the possession of the soul of the individual. They are tied together with an object called *nyakpakpa tsetse* (an object made up of a *borrassus* tree that is shaped in a particular form) and bathed. The Asafo people offer a prayer on the victim's behalf. The symbolic objects are placed in a small coffin. It is believed that when this is done, the soul of the body is placed in the coffin. The miniature coffin is then placed on the head of a family member of the deceased victim until such a person is possessed by the dead person before they

proceed to the burial site. Signs such as shaking of the hands and legs are clear indications that such an individual is possessed.

Again, at the burial site, the Asafo people dig up a hole, place the small coffin inside the hole and seal it. The burial ground is made flat to the extent that when a person visits such cemetery one cannot identify the exact location where the small coffin is buried unless an Asafo member shows where the coffin is buried. The luggage, buckets, sponge, towel, soap, soap dish and any necessary things needed for the housekeeping of the deceased in the after world (See Figure 3.6) are deposited at the cemetery of the accidental death victims. On return from the cemetery, the person who carried the miniature coffin of the accidental death victim is given an egg or chicken to eat. This is done in order to take away the spirit that possessed him or her. Importantly, the assistance rendered by the Asafo people is a free service to the people of Abutia.

Figure 3.6: Buckets and Luggage at Accidental Death Cemetery, at Abutia-Kloe (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

In the past, prior to the burial of accidental death victims, the Asafo people visited the accident scene where the victim died to collect sand or gravel. The sand or gravel is placed in a white calico (white polyester cloth) and wrapped. This symbolizes that the spirit of the deceased has been fetched from the accident scene. The aforementioned hair, fingernails, and toe nails of

the deceased are placed in a pot, and the pot is placed at the outskirt of the town. Eight (8) days after the victim has been buried, the *Akorta hola* (a family member close to deceased) is selected to join the Asafo groups to the outskirts of the town to pick and carry the pot. On this same day, a funeral is organized for the deceased. The family of the deceased cook food, and the food and drinks are served to the funeral attendees. Attendees do not eat much; some just consume boiled eggs and kola nuts.

The practice of cooking a separate food to accompany the accidental death victims has not changed since. It is currently practised just as it was practised in the past. A separate food is also prepared for the deceased. The food is served in the victim's bowl, as well as the bowls of other victims that are found in the accidental death cemetery (See Figure 3.7). Someone is sent to the accidental burial site to wash the bowls of precious accidental death victims, as well as clean up the cemetery before the food is sent there to be served. The variety of food served at the accidental burial site include *fufu* (made up of yam, plantain, and cocoyam, excluding cassava), *ewo akple* (cooked corn flour), *banku*, *kokonte* (prepared from dry cassava flour), and yam. It is a taboo to serve cassava *fufu*; the reason for this is unknown. Nonetheless, dry cassava flour is allowed to be used to prepare *kokonte*. Meat such as goat, chicken, and other game animals (such as antelope, and grasscutter) are served with the food. It is an abomination to add fish to the food prepared. Alcoholic drinks (See Figure 3.7) are also added to the food to be taken to the Accidental death cemetery. Pregnant women who died with their babies and stillborn babies are served with milo, milk, margarine, egg, and bread. It is important to note that although this practice still goes on in the three indigenous communities of Abutia, it is not everyone in the community that observes it. Many Christians do not partake in these rites.

Figure 3.7: Bowls, plates and alcoholic bottles where the food, drink and water of the deceased are served at the accidental death cemetery, Abutia-Kloe (Photo by Ms. Patrica Ayipey and Mr. Gershon Kaala).

3.6 Abutia Asafo Easter Carnival Celebration

The massive celebration of Easter in Abutia known as Easter Asafo Carnival was introduced in Abutia by a Catechist of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana known as Teacher Doe. According to the narration, the celebration aims at bringing the church, chiefs, queen mothers, members of the communities, and the Asafo groups of the three indigenous communities of Abutia together (See Figure 3.8). During this celebration, the Asafo groups sing and dance, and call out the crowd in the communities. The Asafo Easter Carnival started in 1948.

Popular narratives informed that, in the past, there was a break in the Asafo Easter Carnival. Regardless of the factors identified by the narrators as the causes for the break in the Easter Asafo carnival, the three indigenous communities are seen as a united entity which celebrates the Asafo Easter Carnival during the Easter Saturday of every year.

Figure 3.8: Chiefs, Queen mothers, and citizens of the community celebrating the Asafo Easter Carnival (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

During the celebration, many activities are performed. On Good Friday, the Abutia-Agorve people visit a cross mounted on top of the Abutia Forest Reserve to play the drum and invoke the spirits to assist them to have a wonderful carnival. Similarly, the Abutia-Kloe Asafo group plays a twin drum known as *atta kple kuma* on Friday at Togbe Amu Kodzo's house at Gangba. All of these drums are played throughout the whole night. This is done to purify and clean the drums in order to produce good sounds during the carnival on Saturday. The Asafo

teams perform rituals for the drums (literally known as *wo baka na ndudu na woe*, meaning feeding the drum with the new yam). Anyone who consumes such ritual food becomes possessed when the drum is being played during the Carnival and such individual enters the arena to dance. In the past, human beings were sacrificed for the drums. In addition, during the celebration, a big calabash with water was placed on the head of a young virgin lady. This lady dips leaves into the calabash and sprinkles the water on the Asafo team in order to give them strength and power. Currently, the aforementioned practices have been abandoned due to modernization and Christianity. Guns are mostly shot during the Asafo carnival. In the past, the people produced the guns themselves, but these have been replaced with imported European guns. Local guns such as *agbe tu* (life gun, which has black powders poured into it) are also used.

3.7 The German Contact with the People of Abutia

Narrations informed that the Germans settled at Tra me (a settlement around the Tra River). They built a house (See Figure 3.9) on a mountain which is been termed as *Galenkui to* (meaning, a pair of spectacles mountain). The colonial official who had contact with the people of Abutia was nicknamed Galenkui. It is believed that he came from Ho in the Volta Region of Ghana, at the time that the Germans had a settlement on another mountain known as Galenkui, in the area inhabited by the people Ho-Ziave (Dogbe, 2015).

According to respondents, the German colonial officer did not permanently settle with them at Abutia. Instead, he came to Abutia Galenkui to spend his leisure time with them. Other times, he, together with his colleagues came to hunt game and engaged in adventurous expeditions. According to narrators, the German building was actually the place where materials

needed for the sport hunting at Abutia were kept. The respondents maintained that it was the local people that built the German house.

Figure 3.9: The Ruined German Building at *Galenkui to* at Abutia-Agorve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

The German colonial officer is said to have owned a motorcycle and anytime he saw the Abutia people idle, he made them push his motorcycle. One of the respondents said 'the Germans by their nature are hardworking. They made the people of Abutia grow mangoes to form alleys (See Figure 3.10) from Abutia-Agorve to Abutia-Kloe.

It is said that, the Abutia people stood by the mango trees entrusted into their care whenever the German official came for inspection. It is said that each time he came and

identified a mango tree withering, he punished those who took care of the mango tree. This attitude of the Germans forced some of the Abutia people to migrate to Kroboland in the Eastern Region of Ghana. However, such people returned after the Germans left Abutia. The migration to Kroboland had an impact on some family surnames in Abutia. Some came by new surnames such as Donkor, Nartey, and Klu. Others also bore surnames such as Kofoya (meaning, *don't cry*) as a result of the hardships they were made to suffer by the colonial officer. In spite of this, some people refer to the German colonial officers as friendly people who were interested in their development.

Figure 3.10: The pathway with the mango alley from Abutia-Agorve to Abutia-Kloe (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Furthermore, respondents complained bitterly that some of the mango trees that once provided fruits and shade are almost withered. They have realized that they did not take good care of them. Narratives revealed that the mango trees provided fruits that served as a source of income to the people of Abutia. According to respondents, it is noteworthy that the Abutia-Kloe people were seen as hardworking people among the communities of Abutia. In view of this, a flag was given to them by the Germans and on the flag it is written, 'Abutia-Kloe Number 1'. The narratives revealed that during the German reign, four chiefs were recognized at Abutia. These chiefs comprise three chiefs of the three Abutia communities and the chief of Kpota (one of the settler communities in Abutia). These four chiefs were each given a crown by the Germans. Furthermore, it was revealed that at the time the people of Abutia had contact with the Germans, they learnt the German language. However, when the British came, they were made to stop speaking the German language and were taught and made to speak the English language.

The researcher observed that the geographical location of the German building, on the Galenkui to, near the Tra River could have been the 'pull' factor that made the Germans settle at such a strategic location. The German site has touristic values. Though the building is in ruins (See Figure 9 &11a-b), the architecture can enhance heritage tourism when rehabilitated. The bricks used for the building look like locally made bricks (See Figure 12b). Borassus trunks are also noticeable in the walls of the building (See Figure 3.12a). The occupants used a lot of *agor ti* (Borassus trunks) as pillars. The floor of the German building is made of lime (See Figure 3.13a). Lastly, it observed that a portion of the German building wall has curved into the building and has created a mound in the building (See Figure 13b).


(a)


(b)

Figure 3.11 (a-b): Photo of Aluminum Sheet and the black and off-white colour painting of German building at Abutia-Agorve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Mr. Gideon Agyare).


(a)


(b)

Figure 3.12 (a-b): Photo of the *agor ti* (Borassus trunk) in the locally made Bricks, as well as, the broken wall (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Mr. Gideon Agyare).


(a)


(b)

Figure 3.13 (a-b): Photo of the limed floor and broken part of the German building at Abutia-Agorve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Mr. Gideon Agyare).

3.8 The Potting Practices of the People of Abutia

The respondents informed that in the past, the Abutia-Agorve people were the makers of pots in Abutia and that people from Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Kloe, and other settler communities came to purchase these pots from them. In view of this, three women at Abutia-Agorve who stopped potting about twenty years ago were interviewed. The Kloe shrine was also visited in order to see the nature of pots that were kept there (See Figure 3.14). In addition, homes of aged women were also visited to see the types of pots that they still have in their rooms and to find out where they purchased them. Furthermore, other pots located in compounds of people (See Figure 3.15) were observed in order to know their functions.

Figure 3.14: Some local pots found at Kloe Shrine at Abutia-Agorve (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Figure 3.15: Photo of *tsize* (water pots) at some homes in Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Interview with the retired potters from Abutia-Agorve revealed that the clay used in the potting was fetched from villages such as Sephar and Avafiame (located in Abutia). The clay was fetched mostly around rivers. The clay is grayish in colour. The pots made were red-slipped, but erosion and consistent contact with rain has led to the fading away of the slip leaving the original gray colour of the clay. Furthermore, it was learned that Abutia pots are mostly not smudged but their use in cooking leads to the pots becoming blackened. Mica is not consciously added to the clay, but some of the clay has natural mica inclusions, and this leaves the shiny mica specks on the vessels. One of the vessels burnished in Abutia is the *akyem gba*. This bowl is used as *fufu* dish bowl. Other pots made by potters of Abutia-Agorve include *nudaze* (cooking pot), and *tsifoze* (soup pot), *yaka daze* (steamer pot used in preparing corn bread) (See Figure 3.16a), *gbe ma dzo* (coal pot) (See Figure 3.16b) and *agba* (bowl). Information revealed that Abutia people's contact with the Krobos has also influenced the way potting was done in Abutia. Other potters said they learnt the potting from Dzalele, in the Volta Region of Ghana.

(a) **(b)**

Figure 3.16 (a-b): Photo of 'yaka daze' (pot steamer) and 'gbema dzo' (coal pot) at Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

In terms of what led to the collapse of the potting industry in Abutia, the narratives revealed that the long distance between where the clay was fetched and where the pots were made was the first cause. Secondly, the young ones who usually helped them in fetching and carrying the clay declined the assistance they used to render the potters because of how tedious the work was. Thirdly, the young ones were into western education. Fourthly, it was easy to find aluminum and plastic bowls from the Ho market, which is not so far from Abutia. According to respondents, these items were preferred because the pots easily got broken and leaked after a long period of time. The researcher observed that because the pots develop leakages as a result of a long usage, the people of Abutia use cement to plaster the leakages in order to store water in the pots. Another observation by the researcher is that although people had other options (See Figure 3.17) they still maintained the use of the local pots. Those which are not in good shape are discarded (See Figure 3.18).

Figure 3.17: Photo of local pot used for storing water which is mended with cement to prevent leakage of the water, and local pots with barrels beside it which complement each other (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

Figure 3.18: Photo showing discard of local pots at Abutia (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

3.9 Tourism Potentials in Abutia

Narratives revealed that Abutia has a rock with a hand of five fingers impressed on it. It is believed that when an individual drops money and leaves his or her hoe at the location of that particular rock, the deity in the rock will sharpen it. According to respondents, a curious man left his hoe for the rock deity to sharpen. However, when the deity took the hoe to sharpen, the man held the hand of the deity. The deity managed to withdraw its hand from the man and hit its hand on the rock, saying 'never again will I sharpen any one's hoe for him or her'. According to narratives, the action of the rock deity left an imprint of a hand with five fingers on the rock. This site can also be visited anytime a person visits Abutia.

Another place that can be used as a tourist site in Abutia is the place where a tree fell and stood straight on its own after some time. According to respondents, a tree around Teti named *avu ti*, is believed to have fallen but came back to its original position after some time. When the incident happened, people came from other neighbouring communities to witness it. Amazingly, none of the informants had ever visited the area where the incident happened. Nevertheless, respondents believe that the area can also serve as a tourist site worth visiting.

The German building situated at Abutia-Agorve can also be considered a tourist site. The building serves as an architectural legacy that communicates to people about the influences encountered during their interaction with the Germans in Abutia. When proper maintenance is given to the German building in Abutia, it can house the archaeological remains that have been unearthed in Abutia. The German site can also serve as a teaching museum in the community for students in Abutia as well as students from other towns in the Volta Region of Ghana. Public education can also be achieved when proper measures are put in place.

Furthermore, the Abutia Forest Reserve can also be frequently visited by people. According to respondents, it is only a few people who know about the Abutia Forest Reserve as compared to the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, although they are all located within Abutia.

Lastly, the Kalakpa Resource Reserve can also be developed as a tourist destination. Although some people visit the Reserve for sightseeing and educational purposes, it is believed that other activities can be added to engage people from diverse fields and interests. Other activities such as game hunting for a fee and adventure hill climbing can also be encouraged. The people who currently reside in the Resource Reserve will be taught how to utilize the land available to them in the Reserve. These people can be encouraged to serve as an eye of the Reserve in order to make the Reserve achieve its role in promoting sustainable goals for Ghana's growth. When all these measures are put in place, Abutia will be a better place for people to visit to help generate more revenue to the government.

CHAPTER FOUR

Preliminary Findings of Archaeological Research at the Agbenu Mountain

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the process and outcome of the archaeological research conducted at the Agbenu Mountain in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. It gives an account of the reconnaissance survey and the procedures used in the surface collection of archaeological finds. This chapter also describes the stratigraphy of the excavated units. The site was named Abutia Kalakpa Agbenu (AKA, 2015). Two loci were excavated. Locus 'A' is the top of the Mountain which is named Abutia Kalakpa Agbenu (AKA (MT), 2015). Locus 'B' is the foothill of the Mountain. It is also known as Abutia Kalakpa Agbenu Foothill (AKA (FH), 2015).

4.2 Reconnaissance Survey

In order to determine the possible areas to conduct archaeological excavation, a reconnaissance survey of the site was conducted by a team of seven researchers from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, five game reserve guards from the Kalakpa Resource Reserve, one 'Asafo' representative each from Abutia-Teti, Abutia-Agorve and Abutia-Kloe, and three local people from the Abutia community. The reconnaissance survey revealed features and remains at the two loci. Thirteen (13) mounds were identified at Locus 'A' site (See Figure 4.1) and a lot of scattered potsherd, pyroxenite, and quartz were identified at the Locus 'B' site (See Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.1: One of the Thirteen Mounds at Locus 'A' (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

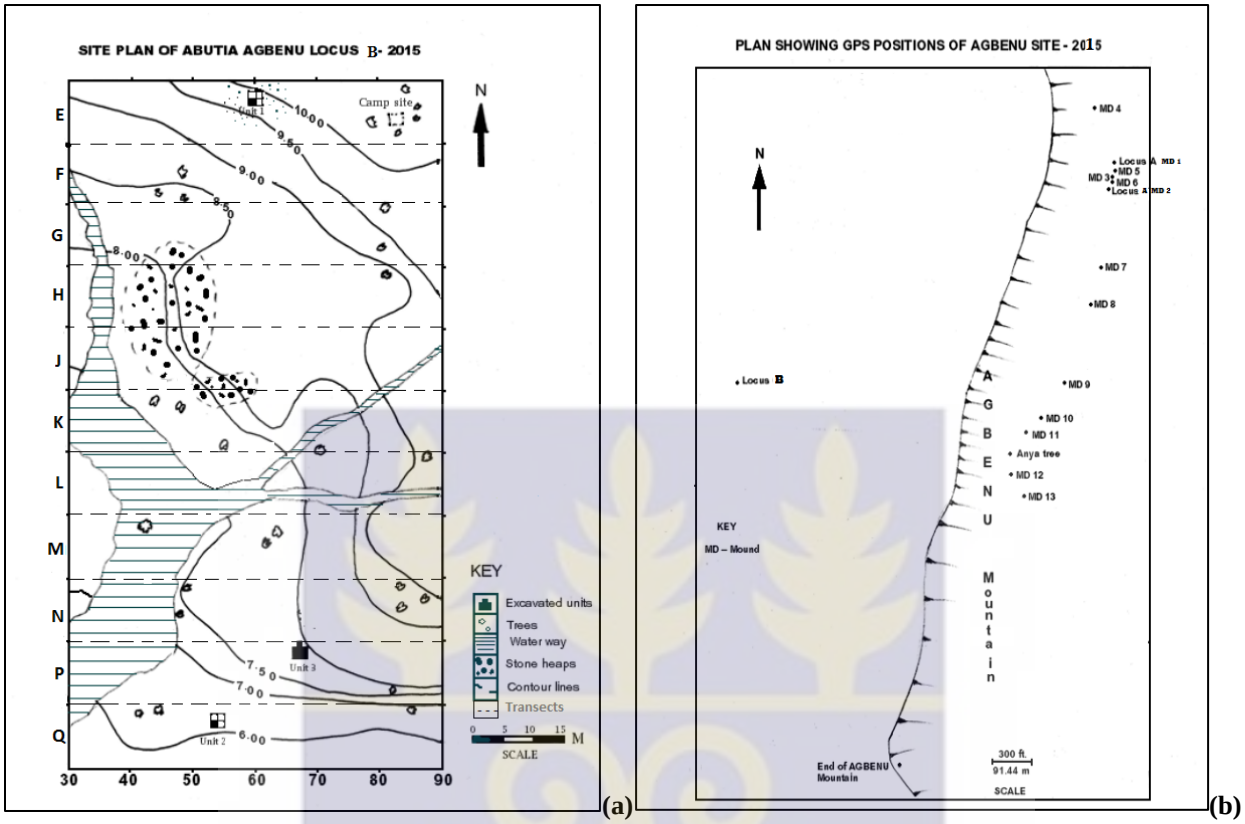
Figure 4.2: Evidence of quartz, pyroxenite, and potsherds at Locus 'B' (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

4.3 Mapping and Gridding of the Loci

The topography of the Agbenu Mountain was mapped with the aid of a Quick Set Level, a total station and a stadia rod, a GPS, measuring tapes, pins, pegs, permanent markers, tags, twines, prismatic compass, graph sheet, stationery and a notebook for recording (See Figure 4.3). These aided in generating a site map and a plan for the research area.

Figure 4.3: AKA Locus 'B': Taking and recording coordinates of the transects (Photo by Mr. Francis Nsekpeh).

At Locus 'B', a space of 110m by 60m was mapped. The corners of the perimeter were determined using a GPS, and these are as follows; North-East corner (N 6.3976° and E 0.33373°); the North-West corner (N 6.3077° and E 0.3368°); South-West corner (N 6.3968° and E 0.3366°); and South-East corner (N 6.24964° and E 0.3373°). The West side of the parameter was divided into 11 transects within an interval of 10m. The transects were named from the North-Western corner, using alphabets, starting from alphabet E to Q (See Figure 4.4a). At Locus 'A' site, 13 Mounds and some 'anyaa' trees (*Dracaena aborea*) were recorded with the aid of GPS. Data from the recordings generated a site plan of the top of Agbenu Mountain (See Figure 4.4b).



(a) (b)

Figure 4. 4 (a-b): Site Plan of Locus 'B' Transects and Excavated Units and Locus 'A' showing 13 Mounds and 'Anyaa' trees (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray)

4.4 Surface Survey

A surface collection of archaeological materials was done in the area of the eleven (11) transects. Research assistants were assigned to collect the surface finds from each transect (See Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Undertaking surface collection at Locus 'B'(Photo by Mr. Lawrence Titrim).

4.5 Excavation and Methods of Excavation

The selection of a location of the Units excavated was judgmental based on the surface configuration and artefact scatter. The process was also guided by the oral information gathered from the descendant communities of Agbenu Mountain. The excavation of the Locus 'A' site was considered in order to test the mounds and unearth what was beneath them. It was also a way to check the oral information which accounts that the Abutia people once stayed at the foothill and on top of the mountain.

4.5.1 Excavation at the Locus 'A' Site

Two Mounds were excavated, namely, Mound 1 and Mound 2 at the Locus 'A' site. The height of Mound 1 was 1.53m from the lowest point in the area and it had a diameter of 11.4 meters. The elevation at the midpoint was 331m above sea level. The area was cleared and gridded into 9m × 9m (See Figure 4.6). Eighty-one (81) 1m × 1m Units were determined (See Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.6: Clearing and gridding Locus 'A' mound 1 (Photo by Mr. Donne Okyere).

The South-West corner of each 1m × 1m Units was designated with alphabets and numbers (See Figure 4.8). This was done to ensure control over provenience; to give a clear understanding of

the materials from each square; to easily identify squares and to aid in the accurate recording of context information. Two 1m × 1m Units and a 2m × 1m Trench were excavated on Locus 'A' Mound 1 (See Figure 4.8).

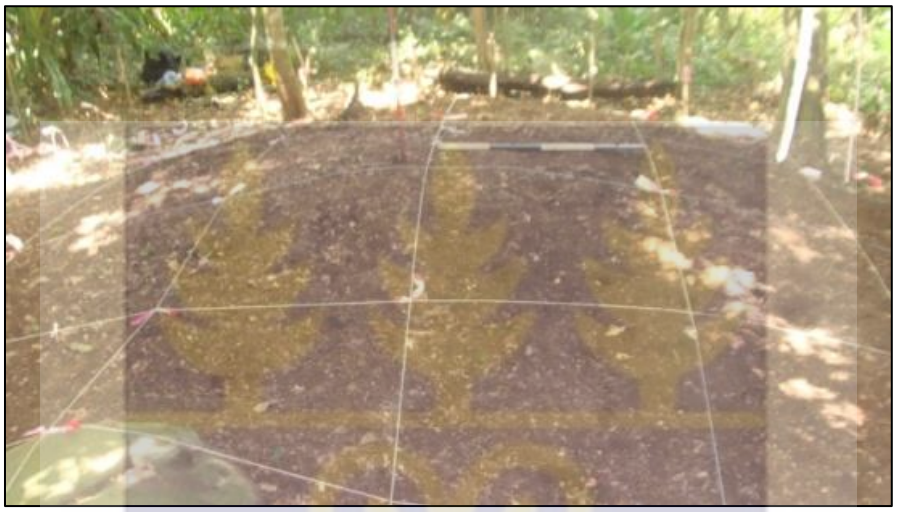


Figure 4.7: Gridded mound 1(Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

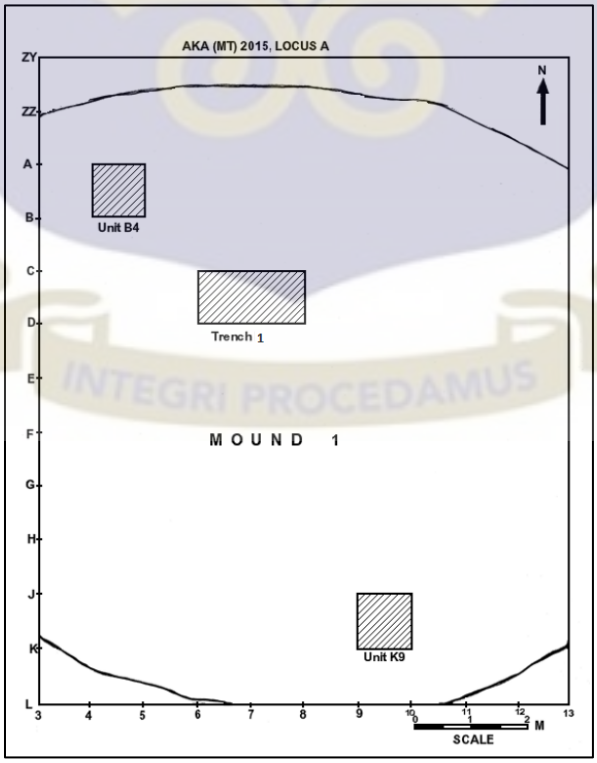


Figure 4.8: Excavated Units and a Trench at Locus 'A' (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

The first Unit excavated was Unit B4; it was located on the slope of Mound 1. An arbitrary level of 20cm was used. There was no cultural material from the Unit. A sterile level was recorded at 103cm at the North-West corner, 100cm at the North-East corner, 100cm at the South-West corner, and 103cm at the South-East corner (See Figure 4.9). The soil colours of this Unit were mainly dark brown, reddish yellow and dark reddish brown soil (See Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.9: Photo of the Southern wall of Unit B4 at Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

The second systematic excavation conducted on the Locus 'A' Mound 1 was a two 1m × 1m (Unit D6 and D7) to create a trench, named as Trench 1. This trench was chosen in order to identify what might be in the middle of Mound 1. An arbitrary level of 0-20cm was used. At level 2 with an arbitrary level of 40cm, a rock was seen at the eastern side of the excavated Unit. Further, at level 3, a rock formation was found (See Figure 4.11). There was no cultural material in the Trench 1.

The soil colours identified in the Trench are dark brown loamy soil and yellowish soft rocks (See Figure 4.12).

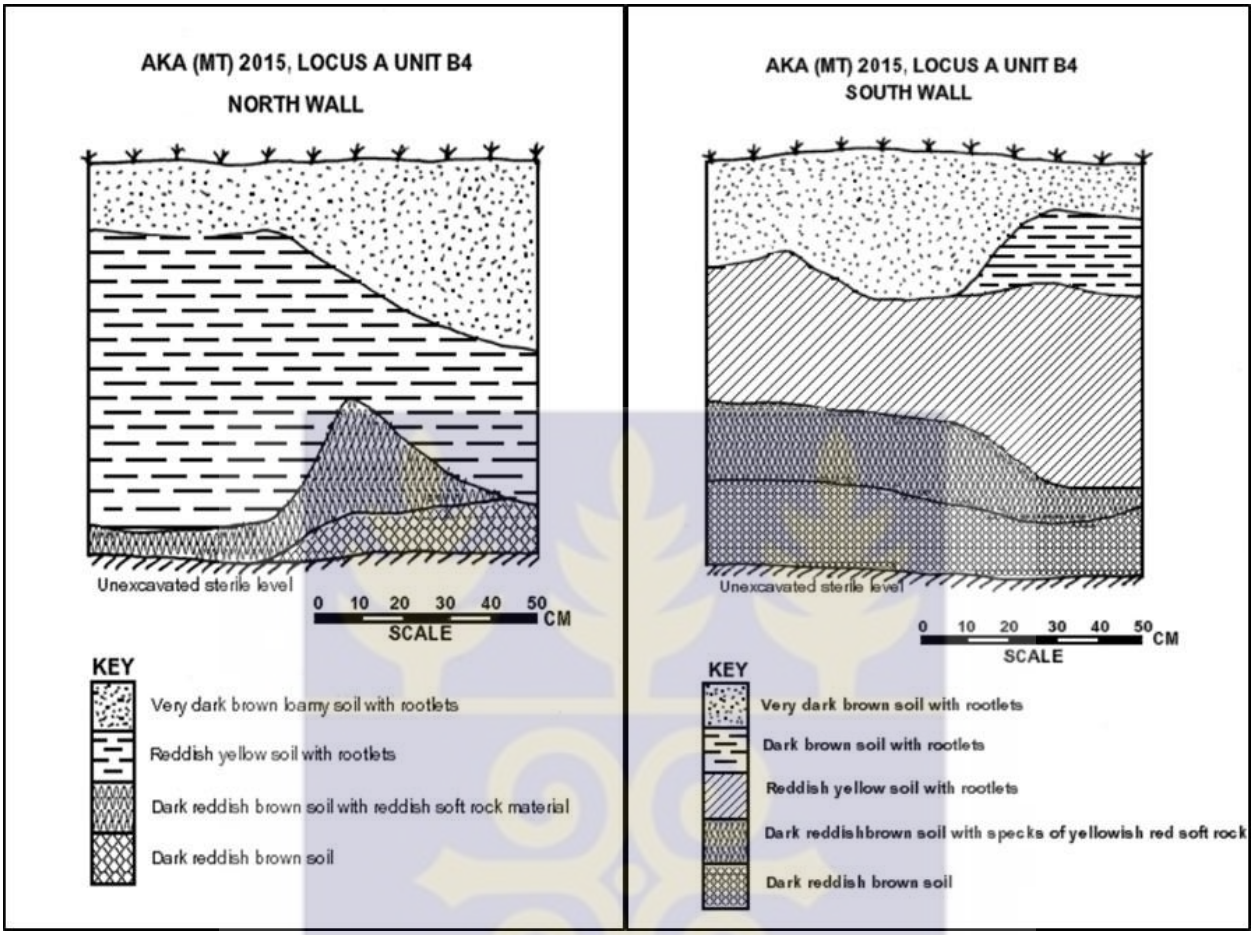


Figure 4.10: Soil Profile of the North and South Walls of Unit B4 at Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray)

Figure 4.11: Excavated pit of Trench 1 at the Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare)..

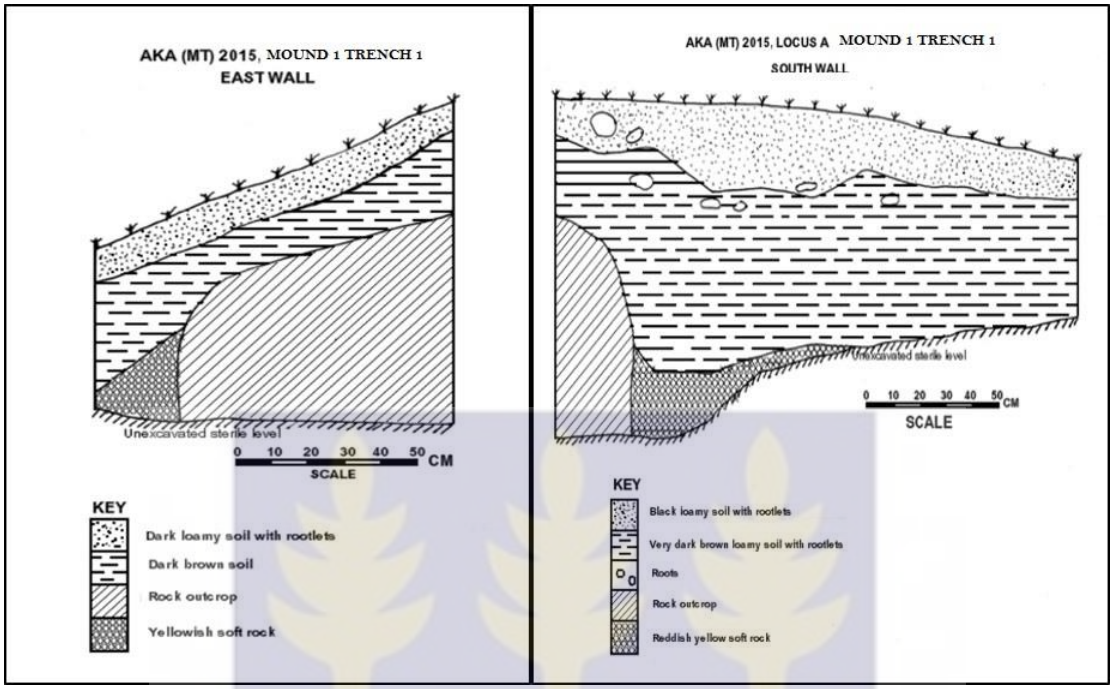


Figure 4.12: Soil profile of the Eastern and Southern Walls of Trench 1 at Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray)

The third 1m×1m Unit excavated was designated as Unit K9, at the southern part of Mound 1. An arbitrary level of 0-20cm was used. No cultural material was identified in this Unit. Hence excavation was ended at level 3 (40-60cm) (See Figure 4.13) which consisted of greyish soft rocks. The soil coloured texture of the Unit was dark, loose, loamy soil (See Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.13: Excavated Pit of Unit K9 at Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

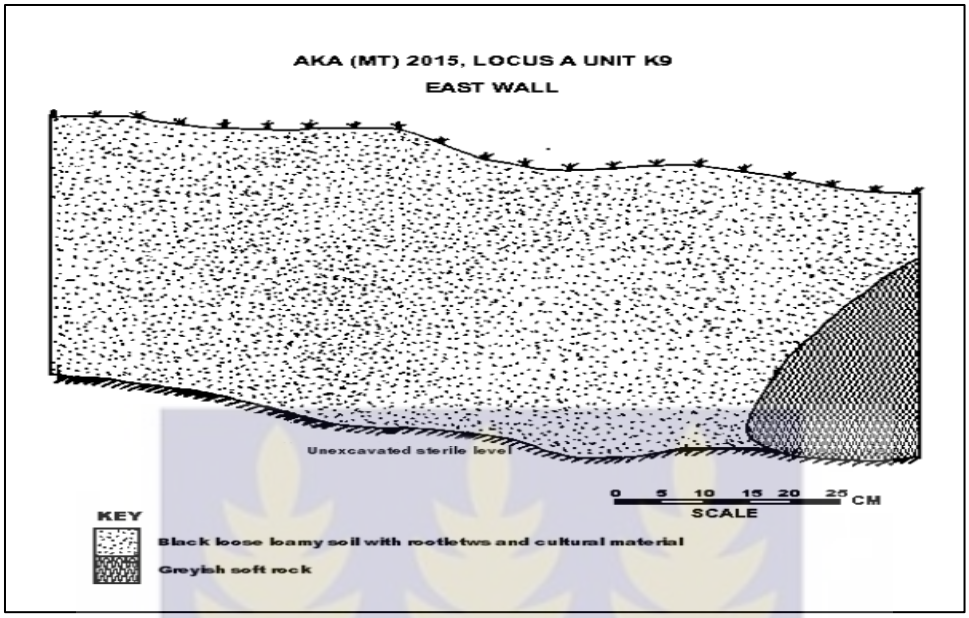


Figure 4.14: Soil Profile of the East wall of Unit K9 at Locus 'A' Mound 1 (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray)

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The second Mound excavated was named as Locus 'A' Mound 2 (See Figure 4.15). A Trench measuring 2m × 1m was excavated on this mound. An arbitrary level of 0-20cm was used to excavate systematically. There was no cultural material in this Trench. The soil colours identified from this trench were dark loamy, brown loamy soil with reddish soft rocks (See Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.15: Cleared, gridded and excavated Trench 'A' at Locus 'A' Mound 2 (Photo by Mr. Ernest Fiador and Mr. Bossman Muray)

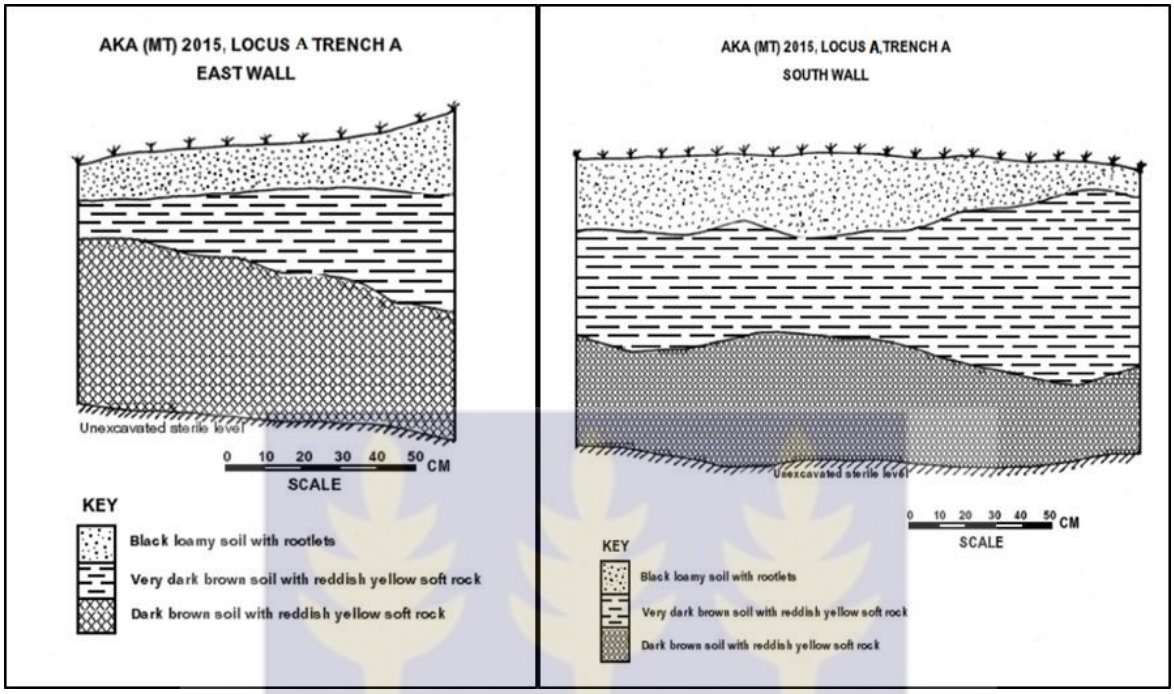


Figure 4.16: Soil Profile of the East and South Walls of Trench 'A' at Locus 'A' Mound 2 (Generated by Bossman Muray).

4.5.2 Excavations at Locus 'B' Site

At the Locus 'B' site, three Units were excavated. Unit 1 was a 1m × 1m unit that was excavated at the south-west corner of transect E. Unit 2 (1m× 1m) was excavated on the south-west corner of Transect Q. Unit 3, which is a 2m× 2m Unit with an extension of 1m× 1m Unit at the north of the 2m×2m Unit was excavated. This Unit was excavated at the southern corner of Transect P. All the excavations were done with an arbitrary level of 20cm.

Unit 1 and 2 were gridded (See Figure 17a-b) and excavated because they had a lot of surface materials in that area. Potsherds recovered on the surface of Unit 1 were 72. At level 1, 42 potsherds were unearthed. There were no cultural materials at level 2 till the excavation ended at 1m below datum (See Figure 18). The soil colours identified in Unit 1 ranged from very dark to dark greenish grey soil with specks of mica (See Figure 4.19).

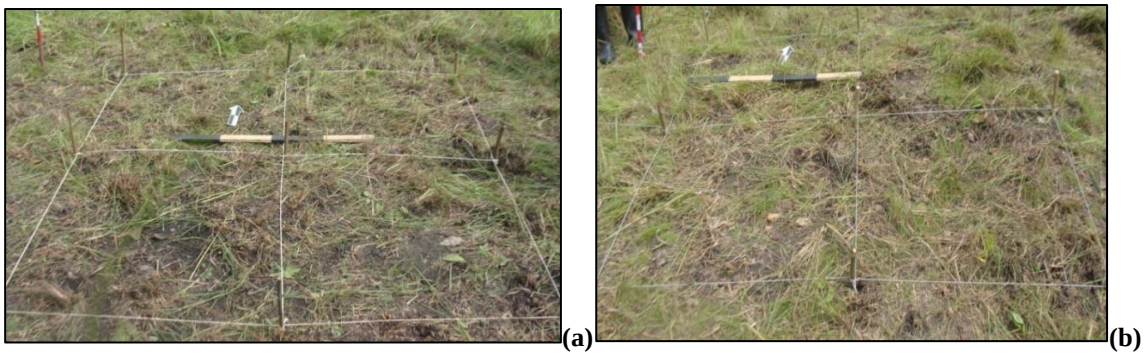


Figure 4.17 (a-b): Gridded area Unit 1 and 2 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

Figure 4.18: Section of Excavated Unit 1 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

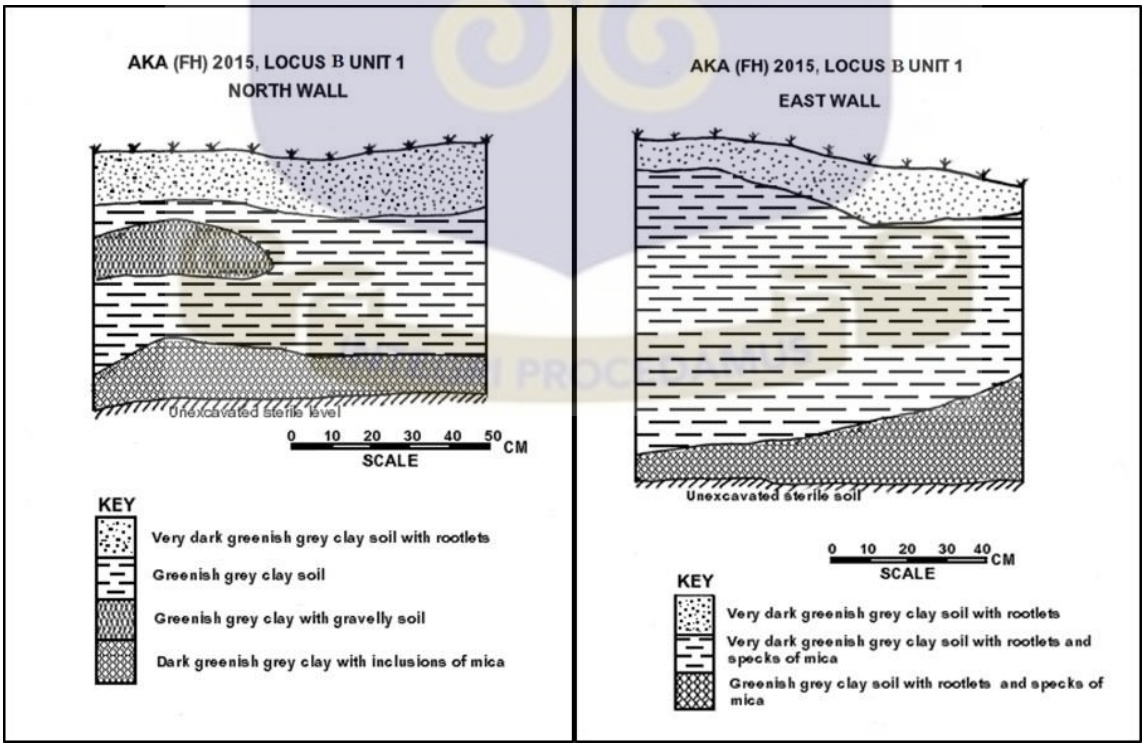


Figure 4.19: Soil Profile of the North and East Walls of Unit 1 at Locus 'B' (Generated by Mr.Bossman Muray)

A total of 41 potsherds were recovered from the surface of Unit 2. Also, a total of 61 potsherds were unearthed from level 1. No other cultural materials were recovered at level 2 until the excavation was stopped at 60m below datum (See Figure 4.20). The Unit is characterized by very dark to dark greenish grey clay soil (See Figure 4.21).

Figure 4.20: Excavated pit of Unit 2 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

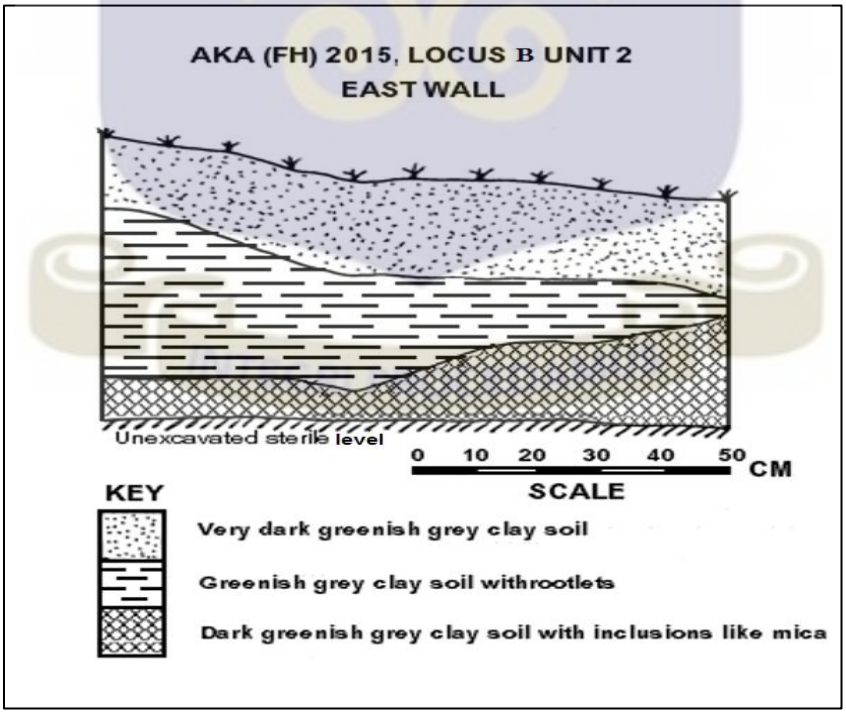


Figure 4.21: Soil Profile of the East wall of Unit 2 at Locus 'B' (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

Prior to the third excavation (See Figure 4.22), the researcher wondered why there was not enough cultural materials in the stratas excavated as compared to the surface scatter of local potsherds (Figure 4.22a) in the area. In view of this, an area of 2m × 2m was gridded (Figure 4.22b-d) and excavated. This Unit has a GPS coordinate of N6.397°43' and E0.3372° and it was named Unit 3.

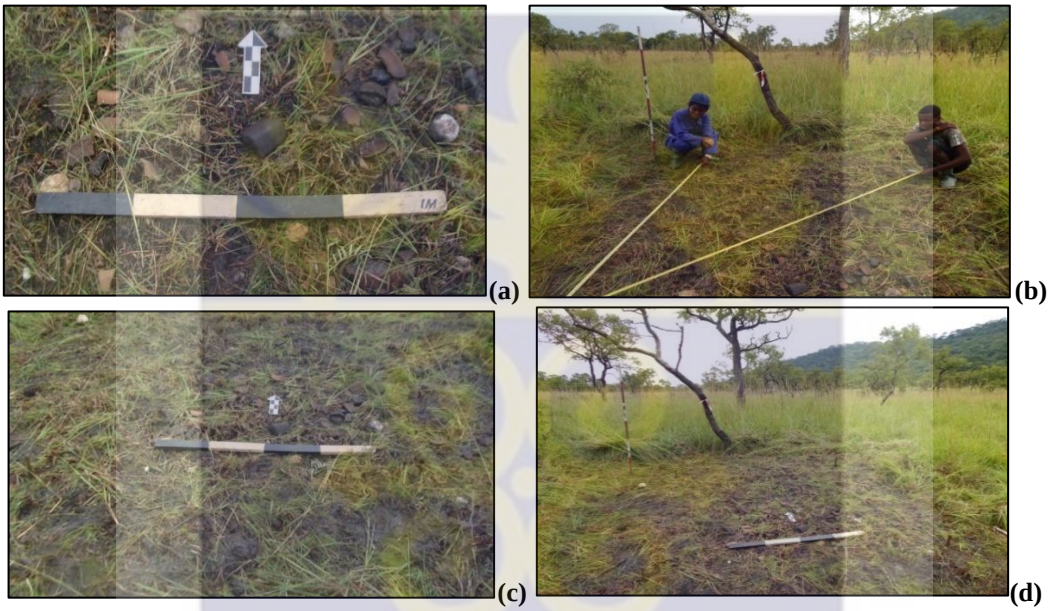


Figure 4.22: Surface materials, cleared and gridded area of Unit 3 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Mr. Ernest Fiador and Ms. Patricia Ayipey)

Although there were not many potsherds on the surface, the Unit was excavated. A total of 14 potsherds were identified on the surface of this Unit. A total of 149 potsherds were recovered from level 1. At level 2, there was a cluster of potsherds and pieces of quartz in the Unit (See Figure 4.23 & 4.24). A total of 122 potsherds and 57 pieces of quartz were unearthed from this Unit. At level 3, a total of 11 potsherds were recovered. The potsherds were clustered in the western part of the Unit. The western half of the Unit was excavated down while the eastern part was unexcavated. At level 4, 18 potsherds were recovered and a piece of bone was identified close to the Northern wall of the excavated Unit. In view of that, an extension of 1m × 1m was

made to the North of the excavated Unit. Human skeletal remains (See Figure 4.25 & 4.26) in association with charcoal and thirteen (13) potsherds were recovered at level 5. The excavation of the Unit was discontinued because of the human remains. The Unit was backfilled.

Figure 4.23: Potsherds and Quartzes at Level 2 of Unit 3 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Ms. Patricia Ayipey).

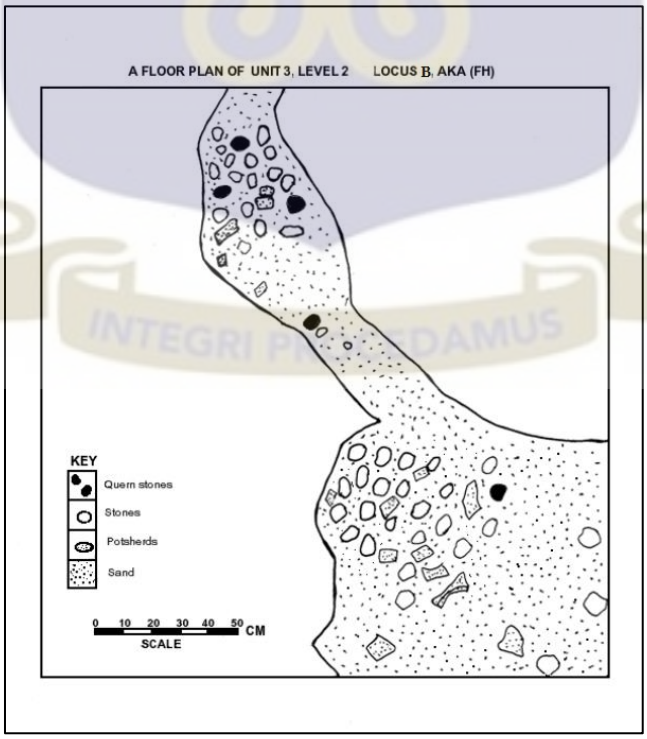


Figure 4.24: Floor Plan of Level 2 of Unit 3 (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

Figure 4.25: Excavated of Locus 'B' Unit 3 at Locus 'B' (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

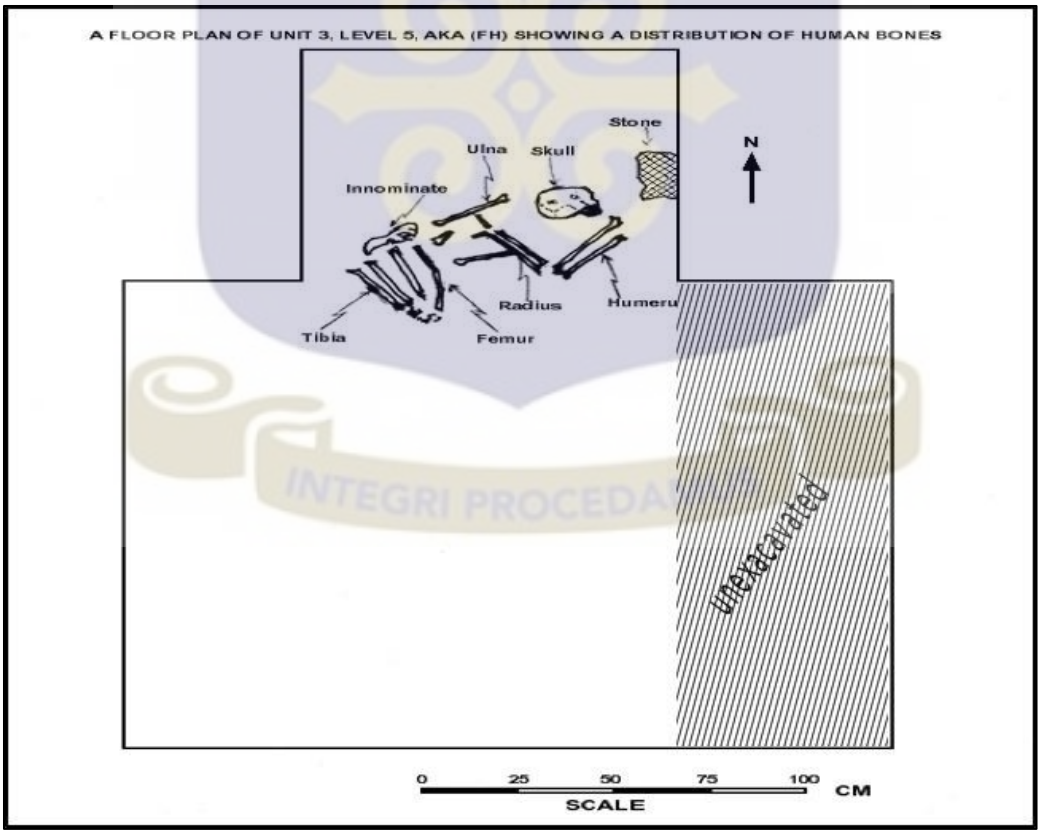


Figure 4.26: Plan of skeletal remains recovered from Level 5 of Unit 3 (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

Basically, two cultural levels were identified and were clearly marked by the soil colours. The Unit is characterized by greenish black clay and very dark greenish clay soil colour with the former being the earliest (See Figure 4.27 & 4.28).

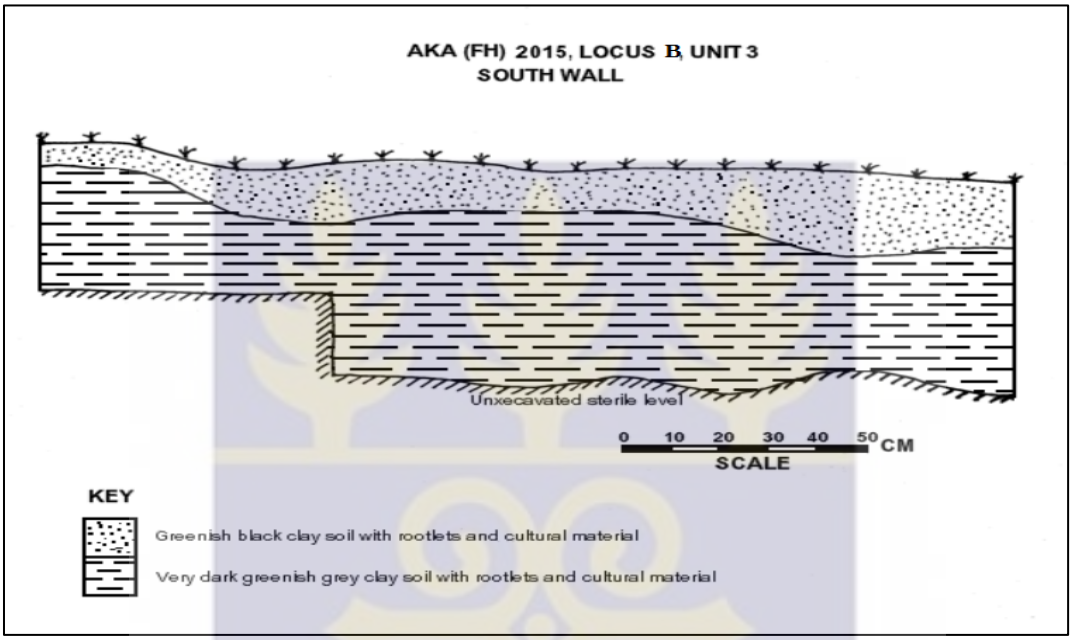


Figure 4.27: Soil Profile of the South wall of Unit 3 at Locus 'B' (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

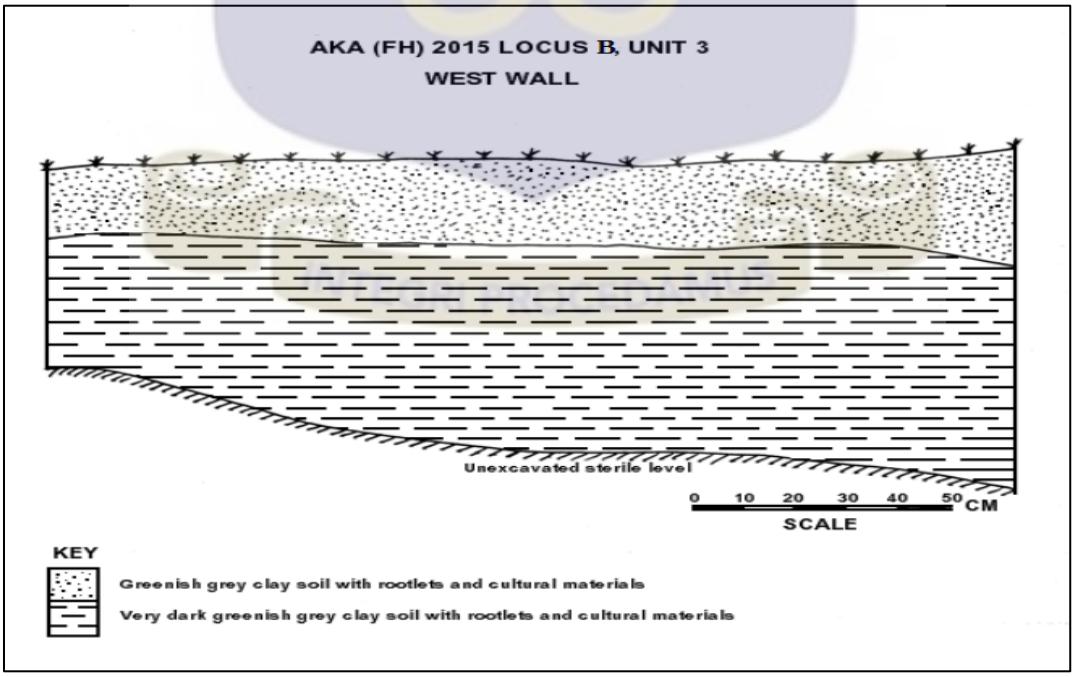


Figure 4.28: Soil Profile of the West wall of Unit 3 at Locus 'B' (Generated by Mr. Bossman Muray).

CHAPTER FIVE

Analyses of Excavated Material Assemblage

5.0 Introduction

This chapter encompasses the analyses of the materials recovered from the excavations conducted at the Agbenu Mountain in the Kalakpa Resource Reserve. A total of 1,243 archaeological finds were recovered. The finds consisted of potsherds, quartz tools or grindstones, charcoal samples and a human skeleton (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Artefact Assemblage recovered from the Agbenu Mountain

ELEMENTS	QUANTITY	PERCENTAGE (%) OF TOTAL
Potsherds	1,178	94.78
Human Skeleton	1 (MNI)*	0.08
Charcoal Samples	2	0.16
Quartz tools or Grindstones	62	4.98
TOTAL	**1,243**	**100%**

***MNI:** Minimum Number of Individuals.

5.1 Pottery

Similar to most excavated sites in Ghana, pottery was ubiquitous at the site. A sum of 1,178 pieces of locally-produced pottery were recovered from the Locus 'B' Transects and Units (Table 5.1). This constituted 94.78% of the total materials recovered from the site. Potsherds from Locus 'B' Transects summed to 637 (54%). Pottery recovered from Unit 1 summed to 113 (9%); that of Unit 2 totalled to 102 (8.6%); and Unit 3 totalled to 326 (27.6%) (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Showing potsherds recovered from the Transects and excavated Units.

TRANSECTS	**TOTAL POTSHERDS**
Transect E	51
Transect F	65
Transect G	116
Transect H	62
Transect J	107
Transect K	58
Transect L	28
Transect M	23
Transect N	43
Transect P	27
Transect Q	57
Total	**637**
EXCAVATED UNITS	
Unit 1	113
Unit 2	102
Unit 3	326
Total	**541**

To facilitate the analyses, the locally-produced pottery were grouped into manageable classes according to the vessel parts (Table 5.3), surface treatment, surface decorations, surface colour, use wear, potsherd size, and potsherd forms.

Table 5.3: Showing potsherd types from Locus 'B' site

POTSHERD PARTS	**TRANSECTS**	**UNIT 1**	**UNIT 2**	**UNIT 3**
Indeterminate	1	0	0	0
Rim	112	28	11	25
Neck	55	11	11	11
Handle	4	0	0	0
Body	449	74	80	271
Base	10	0		2
Colander	9	0	0	1
Total	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**
Percentage %	54%	9%	8.4%	27.6%

5.1.1 Description of Potsherd types

5.1.1.1 RimTypes

Three rim types were observed and classified into direct, everted and inverted (Table 5.4). The direct rims form totalled 69 (39%), followed by the inverted rim forms (57; 32%), and everted rim forms (50; 29%) been the least.

Table 5.4: Locus 'B' Distribution of Rim Form across Transects and Units

Transects/Units	**Direct/Straight Rim**	**Everted Rim**	**Inverted Rim**
Transect Surfaces	41	38	33
Unit 1			
Surface Finds	9	6	10
Level 1	-	-	3
Unit 2			
Surface Finds	2	3	2
Level 1	2	1	1
Unit 3			
Surface Finds	-	-	1
Level 1	5	-	4
Level 2	8	-	3
Level 3	2	1	-
Level 4	-	-	-
Level 5	-	1	-
Total	**69**	**50**	**57**
Percentage (%)	39%	29%	32%

5.1.1.2 Handles

The handle is part of the vessel that is usually held in the hand (Joukowsky, 1980:354). This may have been functional or non-functional (it is considered as a decorative motif). Four (4) handles were identified from Locus 'B' site. It comprised ofa lug (See Figure 5.1a) and a handle that looks like a cone (See Figure 5.1b). The lug has a decoration of incision on it outer surface, but the rest of the handles are undecorated. The third type of handle identified looks like loop handle that is broken. Two (2) of this handle type was identified (See Figure 5.1c). The handles were represented in Transect H, L, N and P.

(a) (b) (c)

Figure 5.1 (a-c): Lug, Conical and Loop handles identified at Locus 'B' site (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko).

5.1.1.3 Perforated potsherds or Strainers

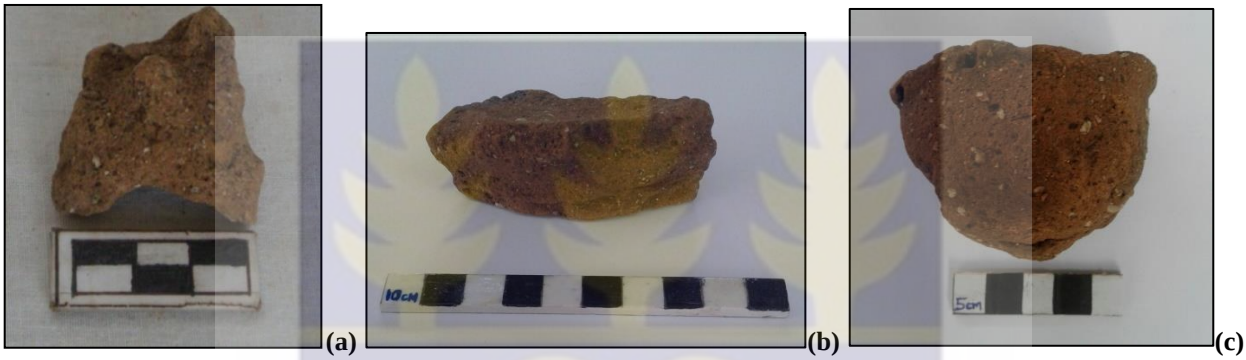
Perforated sherds are achieved when perforations are made while the clay is wet, and pierced from the outside with a squared or rounded tool (Crossland, 1989:46). The Agbenu perforated potsherds were roundly pierced (See Figure 5.2). Such perforated vessels are mostly used for cooking *yake yake* (corn flour bread) in the contemporary community. A total of 8 perforated potsherds were represented at the Locus 'B' Transect F, G, H, K, L, M and Unit 3 level 5.

Figure 5. 2: Perforated potsherds or strainers (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

5.1.1.4 Base Types

The bases identified at Locus 'B' site are pedestal base with a knob (See Figure 5.3a), low pedestaled disc with a short flanged footed base (See Figure 5.3b), and rounded base with a

knob (See Figure 5.3c). They are represented by 10 sherds, and their sherd thickness ranged between 1.5cm to 3cm. The pedestaled disc with a short flanged footed base has an embossed decoration on its foot, but the rest of the base types were undecorated. The surfaces of the bases appeared eroded, perhaps from erosion. The base types were represented at the Locus 'B' Transect E, G, H, J, K, and M.



(a) **(b)** **(c)**

Figure 5.3: Pedestal base with a knob, rounded base with a knob, and a pedestal disc with a footed base (Photo by Mr. Ernest Fiador)

5.1.2 Paste Characteristics

In the preparation of paste, also known as the ware fabric, the choice of clay size and quantity of temper inclusions determines the expected primary form and use of the vessel. It is the potter's combination of clay and tempering elements that enables pot to be formed before they are fired (Joukowsky, 1980:363). The paste characteristics of pottery help the analyst to determine and describe the appearance of the finished product and the type of materials that were at the disposal of the potter at the time the pots were formed. The paste characteristics include the temper and core colour of the vessel.

5.1.2.1 Temper

Temper is the inclusion or the added material that improves the workability of the potting clay during construction. It also helps to reduce shrinkage during the drying stage of the vessels.

The density of inclusions is important because the tempering materials act as a catalyst in the building of the ware-fabric. Different clays have vastly different mechanical behaviours such as workability, absorption capability, shrinkage, and firing characteristics based on the chemistry of each clay mineral (Balme and Peterson, 2006:237). Temper, in many ways, provides a key identification of a particular pottery tradition and the modification in that tradition over time. The choice of temper is a fundamental link between the potter's technological know-how and the function of the pottery. The distribution of temper in the Locus 'B' pottery ranged from micaceous inclusions to quartz (See Appendix A).

5.1.2.2 Core colour

The core colour gives an indication of how the potters have been able to learn from experience to handle the clay at their disposal and fire them (Joukowsky, 1980:372). The Munsell colour chart was used to determine the various colours of the potsherds identified at Locus 'B' site (Table 5.5). The core colour of the pottery recovered from the site is either greddish grey or light brown, red, dark grey, black, yellowish brown, and grey.

Table 5.5: Distribution of core colour of Locus 'B' potsherds

Core Colour	**Transects**	**Unit 1**	**Unit 2**	**Unit 3**	**Total**
Black	47	1	5	10	63
Red	24	1	1	72	98
Grey	8	0	0	7	15
Brown	191	31	23	78	323
Dark grey	13	23	12	22	70
Yellowish brown	18	7	10	11	46
Reddish grey	336	50	51	126	563
TOTAL	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**

5.1.2.3 Pottery Texture

A magnifying glass and microscope were used to classify the excavated local pottery into fine texture or coarse texture. The bulk of the potsherds identified had a coarse texture (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Locus 'B' Distribution of Texture identified on potsherds

Texture	Transects	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Total
Very Fine	22	18	7	125	172
Fine	35	19	7	68	129
Very Coarse	127	25	28	23	203
Coarse	453	51	60	110	674
TOTAL	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**

5.1.3 Surface Finish Characteristics

The surface finish characteristics are the features visible on the surface of the vessels recovered from an archaeological site. The way vessels are prepared and treated on their surfaces, bases and rims are important in pottery analysis. General techniques of surface treatments on vessels determine whether those pots are burnished or not burnished, smudged or not smudged, slipped or not slipped, decorated or not decorated.

5.1.3.1 Surface Treatment

Surface treatment entails various manipulations of the outside or the inside surfaces of a vessel before firing. The effects of the process on the vessel could increase the body mass of the vessel, reduce the body mass of the vessel, or leave the body mass unaltered (Nutor, 2010:68). For example, red slipping is usually accomplished by the application of a suspension of red ochre to certain parts or on the entire surface of the pot (Rice 1897:149). Burnishing requires making something smooth and shiny. During the ethnographic investigation at Abutia, some potters who

used to make pot said they used pebble and at times the exterior of calabash to burnish the pots. Smudging requires firing pots in a reduced atmosphere to produce a uniform black surface. Organic materials such as grass and 'dawadawa' seed are employed to make the pot darker. Although most of the potsherds were eroded, the researcher identified that some of the Agbenu potsherds were burnished and also had mica on them (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7: External and Internal Surface treatments of Locus 'B' potsherds

Surface Treatment	**External**					**Internal**				
	Transects	**Unit 1**	**Unit 2**	**Unit 3**	**Total**	**Transects**	**Unit 1**	**Unit 2**	**Unit 3**	**Total**
Plain	208	45	53	111	417	220	37	53	125	435
Micaceous	121	0	0	75	196	119	0	0	66	185
Burnished	38	4	0	74	116	24	1	0	75	100
Slightly burnished	177	15	37	13	242	180	14	35	8	237
Unburnished	74	18	11	13	116	78	29	13	6	126
Smudged	7	24	0	21	52	8	17	0	21	46
Red slipped	12	7	1	19	39	8	15	1	25	49
Total	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1178**

5.1.3.4 Decorations

Decorations involve drawing and making impressions on the body of vessels to create diverse designs. The various decorations identified on the Locus 'B' pottery were examined across the site and organised into 6 categories. These include channels, grooves, grooves-on-twisted cord roulettes, twisted cord roulettes, incisions, and embossment. Evidence of decorations on potsherds informed that the people of Agbenu Mountain did not decorate their vessels with complex decorative motifs. This is because decorations on the potsherds were exclusively confined to the area between the rim and the neck. A total of 140 potsherds out of 1,178 potsherds were decorated on the external surface of the potsherds, 7 were indeterminate and 1,031 potsherds were undecorated. The internal part of the potsherds revealed that 21

potsherds out of 1,178 potsherds were decorated, 3 were indeterminate and 1,154 potsherds were undecorated (See Appendix A).

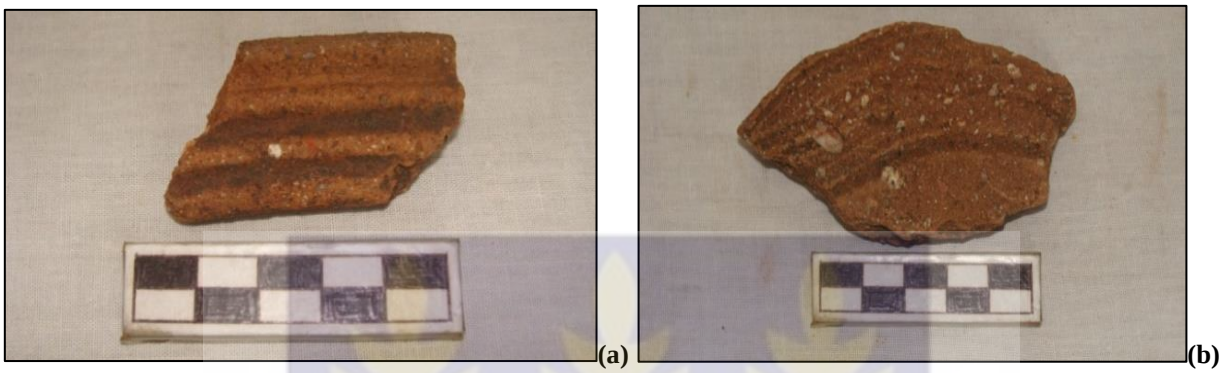
5.1.3.5.1 Description of decorative techniques

Channels: This is produced by the use of broad instruments to make a long broad channel on a vessel (See Figure 5.4). This decoration type occurred mostly on the rim and below the neck of the potsherds. The external part of the potsherds with the channel decoration is represented by 49 potsherds. The sherds constituted 4% of the total potsherds identified from the site. The 4 potsherds with external channel decorations constituted 0.3% of the total potsherds identified at the Locus 'B' site.

Figure 5.4: Channel Decoration (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare)

Grooves: Grooves are achieved through the use of a blunt-edged object over the surface of a moist vessel or newly made vessels before firing. This process can produce a single or multiple lines on the rims, neck, and body of vessels (Effah-Gyamfi, 1978:204, Kumah, 2013:113, Nutor, 2010:71). Multiple grooves (See Figure 5.5) are achieved when more than one series of lines are drawn on the unbaked pot surface. The external surface of 45 potsherds were decorated with multiple grooves. The sherds with grooves constituted 3.8% of the total potsherds identified from the study area. On the other hand, 10 potsherds had their internal surfaces decorated with grooves. The sherds constituted 0.84% of the total potsherds identified at the Locus 'B' site.

Some of the potsherds have grooves of larger sizes (Figure 5.5a) while others have a combination of both large and small sizes of grooves (Figure 5.5b).



(a) **(b)**

Figure 5.5 (a-b): Multiple grooves (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

Grooves-on-twisted cord roulette: Sherds with grooves-on-twisted cord roulette (See Figure 5.6) were also recovered. Roulette is achieved when an instrument is rolled over the surface of an unbaked vessel to depict a band of even decorations on the inside or outside of the surfaces of the pot. The external parts of potsherds with grooves-on-cord roulette decorations were represented by 6 potsherds. The sherds constituted 0.49% of the total potsherds identified from the site. Also, 1 potsherd had the decoration on its internal surface. It constituted 0.08% of the total potsherds identified at the Locus 'B' site.

Figure 5.6: Grooves-on-twisted cord roulette potsherds (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

Twisted Cord Roulette Decoration: This decoration (See Figure 5.7) was achieved by the use of a twisted fiber or thread to impress patterns on the soft vessels during pottery production. The external surface of two (2) potsherds had this decoration. The sherds constituted 0.16% of the total potsherds identified from the study area.

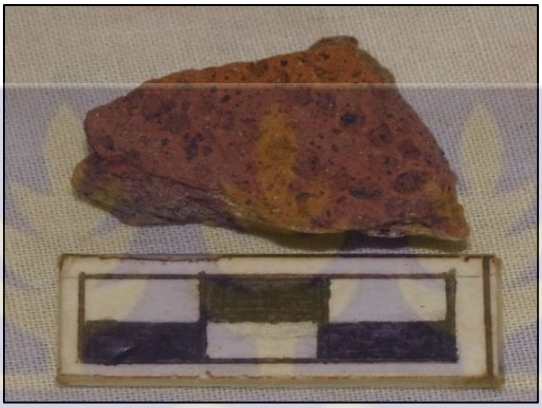
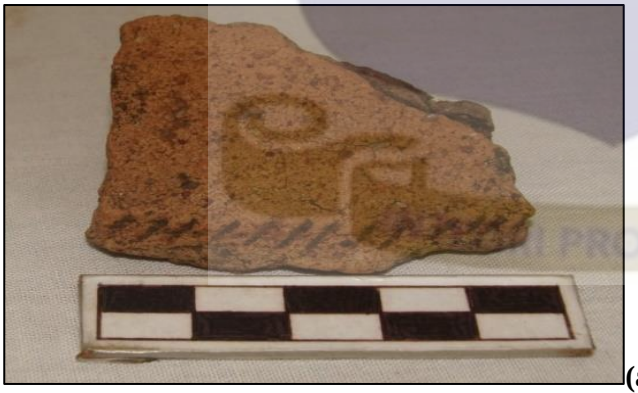
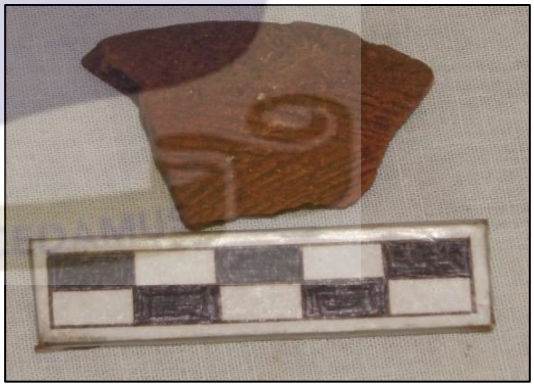


Figure 5.7: Twisted cord roulette potsherd (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

Incised decoration: Incised decoration is achieved when the soft surface of the clay is incised using a sharp object (Kumah 2013:113 & Nutor 2010:71). This technique is similar to that of grooves, but incised decoration has a thinner line because of the sharp objects used.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.8 (a-b): Oblique incised and Multiple incised (chevron) potsherds (Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

At the Agbenu Mountain site, the incised decorations consisted of short oblique lines (See Figure 5.8a) and chevrons (V-shape) (See Figure 5.8b). The pottery with the incised decorations at the

external surface is represented by 37 potsherds. The sherds constituted 3.1% of the total potsherds identified from the site. Five (5) potsherds had the incised decoration at the interior surface. The sherds constituted 0.48% of the total potsherds recovered from the Locus 'B' site.

Embossment decoration: Embossment (See Figure 5.9) is achieved by adding a design of one material over another object in order to embellish such objects. The external part of one (1) potsherd had this decoration. It constituted 0.08% of the total potsherds recovered from the site.

Figure 5.9: Applique on the potsherds (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko).

5.1.4 Size and Thickness of Potsherds

Fragments of locally produced pottery were measured along their longest axis in order to determine their size. A measuring ruler was used to determine those that measured less or equal to 3cm and those that measured more than 3cm. Majority of the potsherds were measured more than 3cm (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Distribution of Locus 'B' potsherd size.

Locus 'B'	**Sum**	**Percentage**
<= 3cm	465	39%
>3cm	713	61%
Total	**1,178**	**100%**

The thickness of the vessel walls is as a result of the physical or chemical properties of the clay used (Nutor, 2010:66). A pair of calliper was used to measure the thickness, and to classify sherds that ranged between 0-1.5cm and 1.5cm and above. The thickness of a vessel is important because generally it is assumed that it gives an indication of function (Joukowsky, 1980:338). At the Locus 'B' site, 439 potsherds had a thickness of 0-1.5cm. However, the majority of the potsherds (741 in all) had a thickness of 1.5-3cm.

5.1.5 Description of Vessel Forms

The rim shape was used as an indicator to determine the basic shape of the vessels. In order to reveal the relationship between the vessel morphology and profile, the rim forms (in-turned, vertical and out-turned shapes) were visually observed and grouped into manageable subsets. The rim angles and rim lips also assisted in the categorization. To aid in the analysis of the rim morphology, vessel shape and the estimated diameter of the vessel openings, a standard diameter measurement template was used. These resulted in the classification of the rim forms into two principal classes; 'jars' (*Ze*), and 'bowls' (*Agba*). Out of a total of 176 rims identified at the Locus 'B' site, 5 jar forms represented 114 sherds (64.7%) and 3 bowl forms (62; 35.3%) were identified.

5.1.6.1 Jar Form 1

This jar form is a constricted necked jar whose rim is straight and has its outer and inner profiles gently curved (See Figure 5.10a-d). The jar form has a ridge on the outside of the rim profile which is angular. On the other hand, the inner rim profile is smoothly curved. The rim edges at the outer of the vessels are flanged (a) or ridged (b, d) or angularly flattened (c). The rim lips of the jars are tapered. The rim and neck of the potsherds are burnished and has surface

colours of yellowish brown with red slip. Rim diameter of this jar form ranged from 17cm to 25cm. Decorations on these vessels includes horizontal grooves (a) and horizontal channels (b-d) at the lip of the rim and the neck of the vessel. The jar form is represented by 15 rim sherds and constituted 13.1% of the total jar form identified in this category. The vessel form was recovered from Transects E, G, H, J, K, N, P, Q, Unit 2 SF, and Unit 3 Level 1.

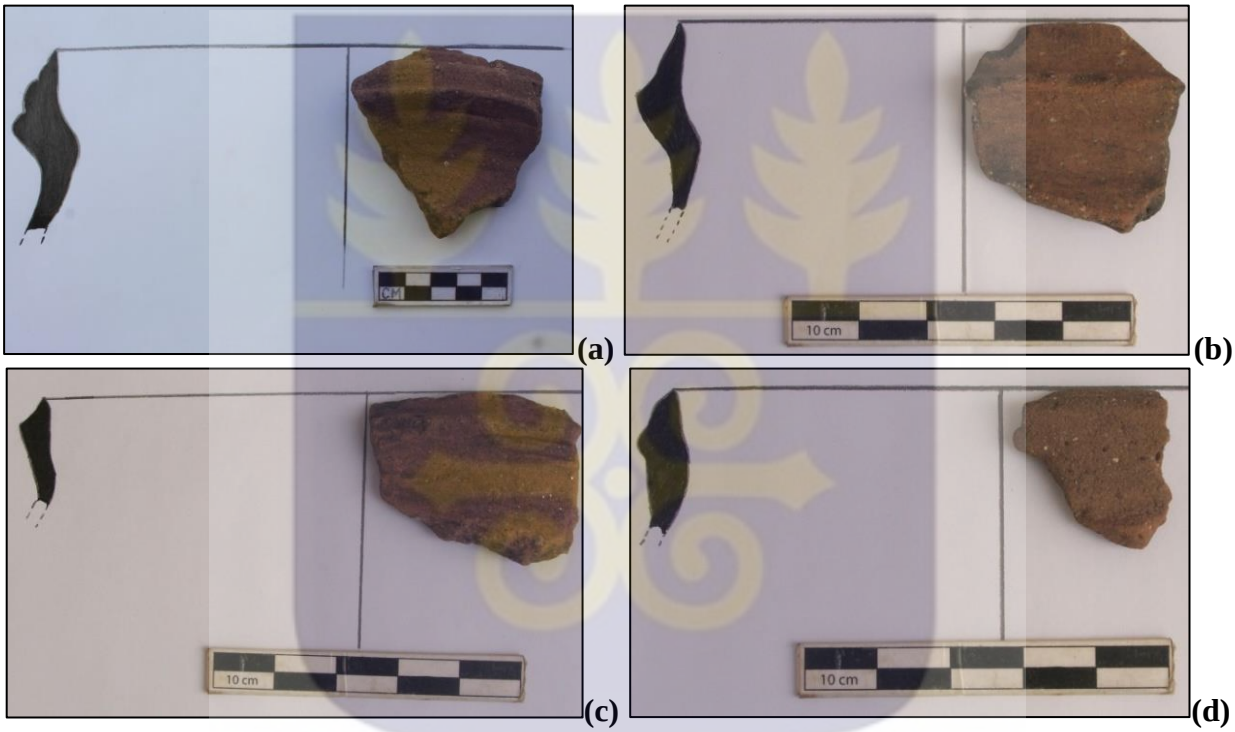


Figure 5.10 (a-d): Locus 'B': Jar Form 1 (a-d) (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare)

5.1.6.2 Jar Form 2

The second jar form (See Figure 5.11a-e) is a wide-mouth storage vessel with a slightly inverted rim. The lips are pointed (a-b,d) and round (c, e). The vessel form slopes in the inside and at the outer of rim profiles (a-b) and it has a ridge (b), whereas vessel form (c) has a ridge and an angular flattening both on the inside and outside of the rim profile. Decorations on the vessels are grooves (a and d) and channels (b-c) on the outside of the rim region. The rim diameter ranged from 26cm to 31cm. The potsherds have a grey surface colour. A total of 33

potsherds which constituted 28.9% of the total jar forms were identified in this category. The jar form was represented in Transects E, F, G, H, K, N, Unit 1 surface level, Unit 2 surface level and Unit 3 surface level, Level 1and Level 2.

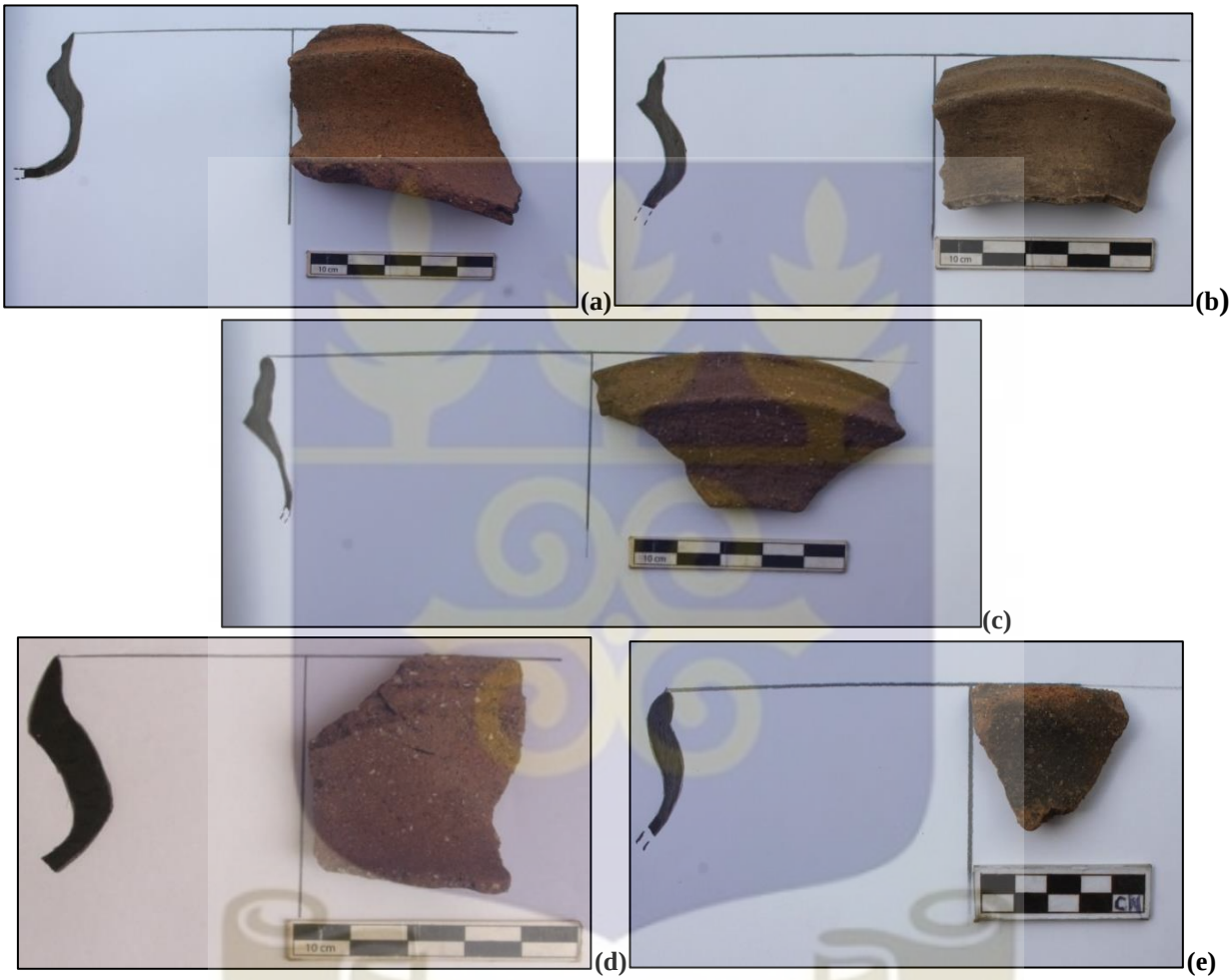


Figure 5.11 (a-d): Locus 'B' Jar Form 2 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

5.1.6.3 Jar Form 3

The third jar form is inverted with articulate rim and a definite corner point on the outside of the vessel. Five categories of these forms were identified (Figure 5.12a-e). The vessel forms (a-b) have a tapered lip, and vessel form (c-e) has a rounded rim lip. Rim diameter ranged between 17cm and 30cm. These vessels are decorated with grooves on the interior of the

potsherds. The sherds belonging to the vessel form are mostly red slipped. A sum of 18 potsherds which constituted 15.7% of the total jar forms were identified in this category at the Locus 'B' site. The vessel form was found in Transects E, F, G, H, L, P, Q, and Unit 1 surface level and level 1, Unit 2 surface level, and Unit 3 level 1.

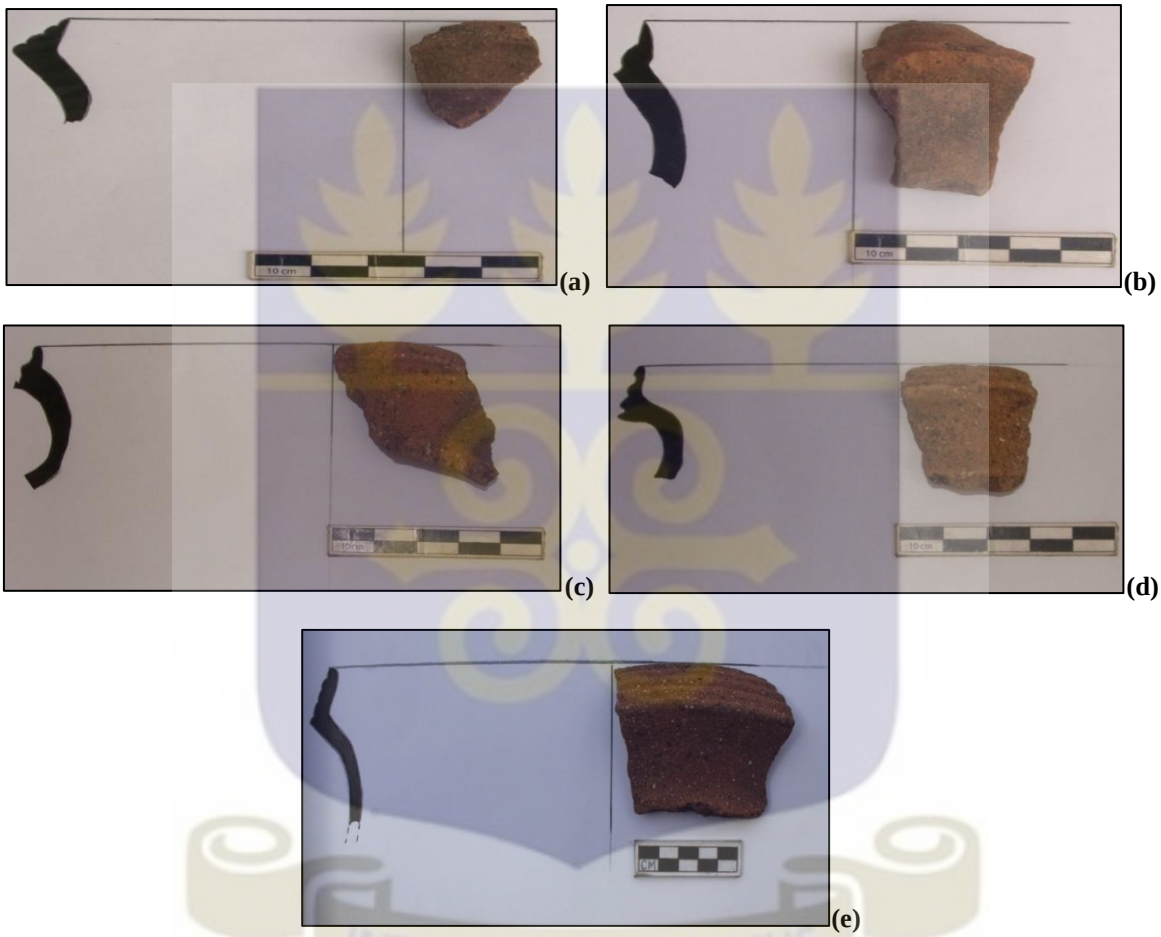


Figure 5.12 (a-e): Locus 'B' Jar Form 3 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare)

5.1.6.4 Jar Form 4

The fourth jar form (See Figure 5.13a-c) is a vessel with an everted jar with a short or long rim. The vessels gently curve in at the exterior surface. The body is slightly bulbous. The lips may be tapered or rounded. The potsherds surface colour is brown. The jar forms are undecorated. Rim diameter ranged from 19cm to 27cm. The jar form is represented by 47

potsherds. The vessel form constitutes 41.2% of the total jar forms identified at the Locus 'B' site. Sherds of the vessel form were found in Transects E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, Unit 1 surface level, Unit 2 surface level and level 1, and Unit 3 level 2 and level 5.

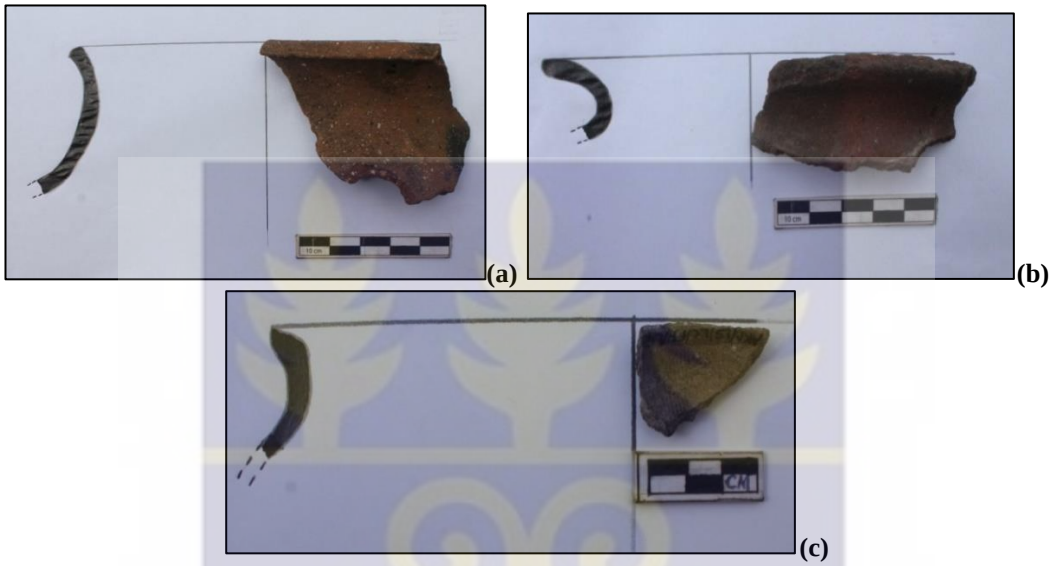


Figure 5.13 (a-c): Locus 'B' Jar Form 4 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare)

5.1.6.5 Jar Form 5

The fifth jar form (See Figure 5.14) is represented by one brown sherd, which was identified at Locus 'B' Transect Q. It constitutes 0.8% of the total jar forms identified. Jar form 5 has a horizontally everted rim with a straight neck. The rim has a flat lip. It is undecorated. Rim diameter is 26cm.

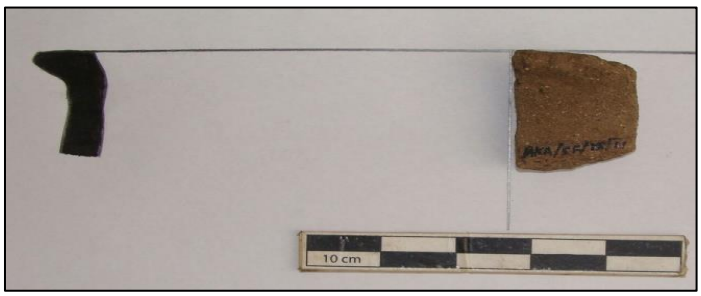


Figure 5. 14: Locus 'B' Jar Form 5 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Gideon Agyare).

5.1.6.6 Bowl Form 1

The first bowl form (See Figure 5.15) is a hemispherical open bowl with a straight rim. The lips are tapered (a and d) or rounded (b-c). Bowl form 1a has a convex shape. The rim diameter ranged from 10cm to 30cm. Majority of the vessels (48 sherds) have decoration of multiple circumferential grooves from the rim to the body of the bowl, whilst the rest (15 sherds) are undecorated. The bowl forms are rough and it has a temper of quartz in it. The body wall of the vessel forms are thickened (b-c) and thin (a and d). Furthermore, the vessel forms have red (a-b) and brown (c-d) surface colour. The vessel form is the predominant bowl form which is represented by fifty-three (53) sherds. It constituted 85.4% of the total bowl forms recovered from the Locus 'B' site. Sherds of the vessel have red surface colour. Sherds of this bowl form were recovered from Locus 'B' Transects E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, Unit 1 surface level, Unit 2 surface level and level 1 and Unit 3 level 1, level 2, and level 3 of the Locus 'B' site.

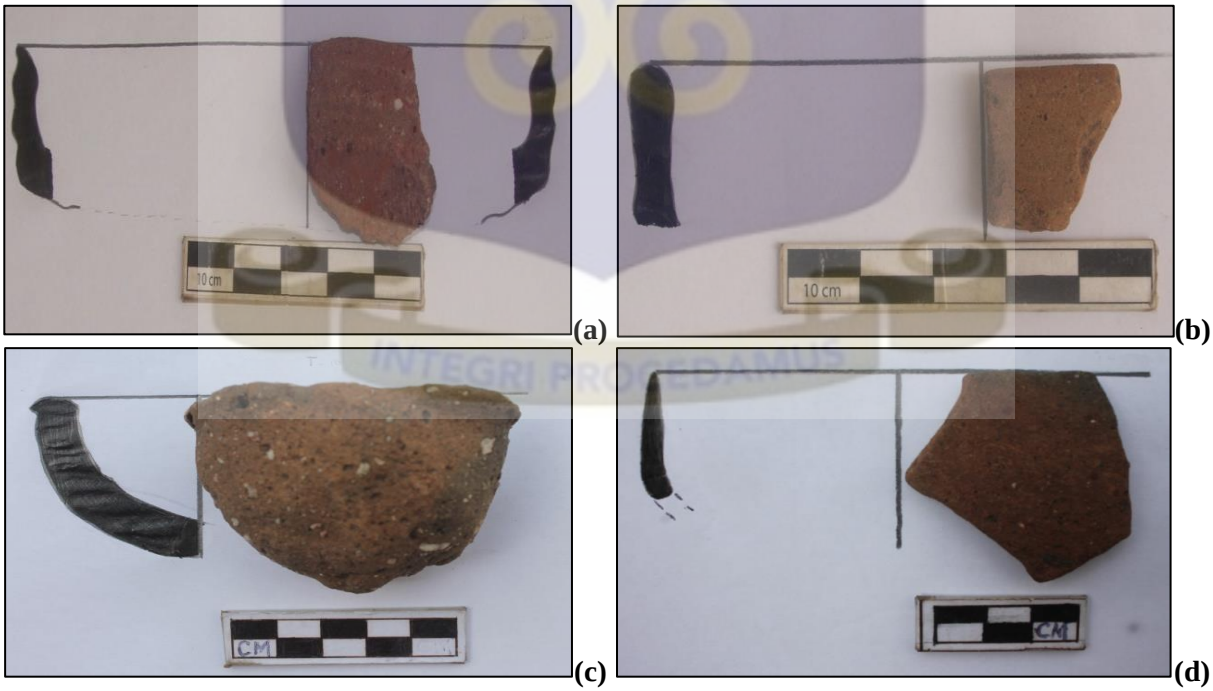


Figure 5. 15(a-d): Locus 'B' Bowl Form 2 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

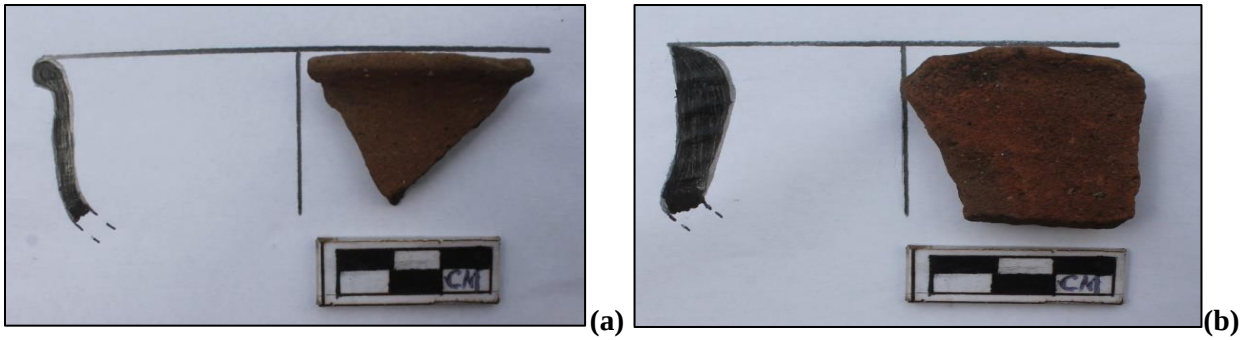
5.1.6.7 Bowl Form 2

The second bowl form (See Figure 5.16) is a sharply curved inverted rim bowl. It is slightly incurved and carinated bowl with a tapered rim lip. It is undecorated. The rim diameter ranged from 25cm to 27cm. The bowl form is represented by six (6) potsherds. It constituted 9.7% of the total bowl forms recovered from Locus 'B' site. The vessel form was represented at Transects H, J, N, Unit 1 level 1, and Unit 2 Level 1.

Figure 5. 16: Locus 'B' Bowl Form 2 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

5.1.6.8 Bowl Form 3

The third bowl form (See Figure 5.17a-b) is a small, everted rim cup. It has a flarred or a tapered rim. The rim diameter ranged between 7cm and 10cm. The vessels revealed no evidence of quartz nodules in the fabric. The vessels have thin (a) and thickened (b) rim walls. The vessels are red slipped and burnished. However, they are undecorated. Three (3) potsherds of this bowl form were identified from Locus 'B' Transects G, J and M. It represents 4.8% of the total cup forms identified.

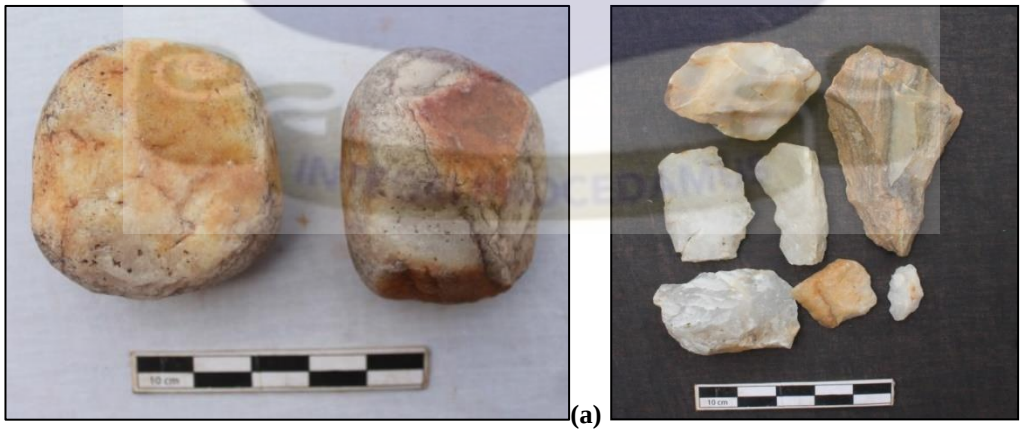


(a) (b)

Figure 5. 17(a-b): Locus 'B' Bowl Form 3 (Drawing by Ms. Patricia Ayipey and Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko)

5.2 Grindstones or Rounded Quartz

Sixty-two (62) pieces of rounded quartz (See Figure 5.18a) were recovered from the Locus 'B' Transects (represented by 35 quartz) and excavated Unit 3 (represented by 27 quartz). The pieces of quartz identified from Unit 3 were in association with potsherds. The pieces of quartz constituted 4.87% of the total materials recovered from the study area. Their longest axis measures between 6.8cm to 7.4cm wide. Additionally, there was evidence of quartz flakes at the Locus 'B' site (See Figure 5.22b). The pieces of quartz were white, but they are stained with a brownish surface because of weathering (See Appendix B).



(a) (b)

Figure 5. 18(a-b): Locus 'B' Quartz and Quartz flakes (Photo by Mr. Edward Nyarko and Mr. Gideon Agyare)

5.3 Human Skeletal Remain

One human skeleton was found at Locus 'B' Unit 3 level 5. Around the human remains were charcoal and 13 potsherds which were mostly smudged (consisting of one jar form 4c, one colander, and 11 body potsherds).

The disarticulated skeletal remains depict a crouched burial because the knee was bent close to the body (See Figure 4.26 of Chapter 4). The skull of the victim was on its shoulder, while the tibia and fibula were below the femur. The remains also showed evidence of cracks in the long bones. This must have been as a result of the clay matrix and the alternating wet and dry seasonal changes of the clay soil. A preliminary assessment of the sex of the victim revealed an acute narrow sciatic notch and narrow iliac spine. Furthermore, the sacrum is tilted forward and narrow in the pelvic outlet. Based on these few observations, it is likely that the human skeletal remains indicated that the person was a male (Dr. Wazi Apoh, Personal communication, 2015).

5.4 Chronology of the Site

Fifty (50) grammes of charcoal samples from Unit 3 Level 5 (80-100cm) were prepared and sent to Beta Analytic Incorporation for dating. The sample produced a calibrated 2-sigma date of AD 1410 to 1455 (Cal BP 540 to 495) (See Appendix C). By the principle of association, both the human remains and the potsherds recovered in the same contexts are of the same age. It is also indicated that human occupation and activities on the site date to the 15th Century.

CHAPTER SIX

Interpretation, Conclusion, and Recommendations

6.0 Introduction

This final chapter discusses the implications of the recovered archaeological data on human lifeways at the Agbenu Mountain. It provides interpretation, conclusions, and recommendations on the analysis of the archaeological materials recovered from the site.

6.1 Interpretation of the Finds

The analysis of the materials recovered from the site was geared towards addressing the research objectives and questions of this work. The application of analogy from the oral traditions facilitated the interpretation. The ethnographic study provided analog for interpreting the archaeological records. This is because, the people of Abutia are the direct descendant communities of the Yorviewo. In view of this, data gathered from the ethnographic context aided in identifying the domestic functions of the materials recovered from the archaeological context.

The evaluation of the nature of vessel forms or assemblage recovered from the surface collection in the Transects and the excavated Units aided in interpreting the materials recovered. Again, the analysis of pottery revealed two main types of vessels, namely, jar forms and bowl forms. These jars and bowls might have been used for various purposes. It is important to note that recordings of the rim morphology, rim profile, rim diameter, rim angle, colanders, and others helped in the determination and interpretation of the forms and functions.

In the Volta Region of Ghana, pots are named based on their functions. Examples of pots named according to their functions include *nudaze* (cooking pot), *tomedeze* (vessels used for

fetching water), *tsinoze* (vessels used for storing water), *amatsize* (vessels used for boiling medicines) and *tsifoze* (soup pot) mostly have everted rims (Amevor, 1993:26). It was known from the ethnographic study that Jar form 4a-b (Figure 5.13a-b) might have been used as *nudaze*, *tomedeze*, *tsinoze*, *amatsize*, *tsifoze*, and *atadzize* (pot placed on the lap and worked on). Jar form 4c recovered at the Agbenu Mountain in association with the human skeletal remains at the Locus 'B' Unit 3, was eroded. Respondents from Abutia assumed that the presence of the charcoal around the deceased served as a preservative for preventing the dead body from decaying quickly. However, they have not witnessed it being practised.

The Agbenu Jar form 1 (See Figure 5.10a-d of Chapter 5), from ethnographic study might have been used as *kpotormali*. According to the potters at Abutia-Agorve, this type of pot is a ritual pot that is kept in the shrine. Water or food is mostly kept inside for ritual purposes. Three (3) vessels out of fifteen (15) of this vessel type (jar form 1a-d) were recovered from level 1 of Unit 3, above where the human burial was chanced upon at level 5 of the same Unit. The rest were scattered across the Transects.

Jar form 2 (See Figure 5.11a-e of Chapter 5) is known as *afaze* (the half pot or twin pot of another pot which is usually used for palm wine tapping) among the people of Abutia. The twin pot is known as *lubuze*, and it also used for palm wine tapping. Many of the sherds of this vessel form (2a-e) were recovered from the surface of Unit 2 and level 1 of Unit 3. The rest of this vessel types were among the surface collections from the Transects. According to some people of Abutia, Jar Form 5 (See Figure 5.14 of Chapter 5) is the other half of the *afaze* which is known as *lubuze*. The *lubuze* is the pot placed under the palm tree to extract the wine, and the *afaze* is the pot used to serve the wine from the *lubuze*. The *Lubuze* type was solely recovered from Transect Q. Similar types of jar form 5 are identified at Dzalele (Volta Region of Ghana) as

adekpeze (hunting stone pot) (Asante, 2009:121). This pot has a small stone (*adekpe*) kept in it and placed in a hunter's shrine. Also, at Dzodze Dzogbefine (Volta Region of Ghana), similar jar form is known as *agozi* (ritual pot) (Asante, 2009:150). This miniature pot is used for *luvoyoyor* (soul calling). This, however, confirms Crossland's assertion that pottery productions by different potters vary and there are too many variables that are involved in their uses (Crossland, 1989).

Jar form 3 (See Figure 12a-e of Chapter 5) is also described by the people of Abutia as *nuwoze* or *kunuwoze*, meaning a ritual pot. It was known from the ethnographic study that it was also referred to as *ezor* or *eden*. This vessel type is mostly kept in the room and used as a water storage tank. According to the respondents, it is sometimes taken to the accidental death cemetery to serve as a water trough for the accidental death victims. In the past, the vessel type was also used for storing water for use by menstruating women. Sherds of this vessel form were scattered on the surface of the Transects. This probably suggests that erosion might have washed away the potsherds from Transect E to Q.

Some of the shallow bowls such as Bowl Form 1a-b (See Figure 5.15 of Chapter 5) were probably used as *ahakuze* or *zogba*. According to informants from Abutia, the *ahakuze* is a special bowl that is used to serve drinks to the chiefs and elders during occasions. The *zogba*, on the other hand, is used to serve food to the chiefs and elders. These acts according to respondents were to promote communal eating and drinking. These bowl types are the predominant bowls identified in the area and it was almost in all Transects and excavated Units. A similar type of bowl form 1 was found in Kpando (Volta Region of Ghana) known as *gatre* (food serving bowl) (Amevor, 1993:30). At Ave Dzalele (Volta Region of Ghana), this type of vessel is called *nuwoevegba* (ceremonial bowl) (Asante, 2009:121). According to Asante, this vessel types (bowl

form 1a) were used by the priest or priestesses in serving food during ceremonial functions such as *adzenyanya* (the sacking of witchcrafts). The importance of *adzenyanya* is to cast away the spirit of witchcraft that a person uses for evil purposes.

Additionally, Bowl Form 1b (See Figure 5.15 of Chapter 5), according to an oral account, is called *agbanaanyigba*. This bowl type is used to serve food for ritual purposes. The food in this bowl is taken to the *ametsiava* (accidental death victim) cemetery as a spiritual exercise to prevent future occurrence of what led to the death of the victim. A similar bowl form was identified at Kpando by Amevor (1993:30) as *ahakukole*. According to him, this type of vessel is used on special occasions such as funerals and outdooring ceremonies. This type of vessel is undecorated, and is mostly used by priests and priestesses for performing sacrifices. However, others also use it for feeding animals and as a water trough for domestic animals. Furthermore, at Vume-Klokofe (Volta Region of Ghana), this bowl form 1b is classified as *gomefuflu* or a footless bowl which is used to serve food (Asante, 2009:197).

The Bowl Forms 1c-d and Bowl Forms 3a-b identified at the Agbenu Mountain, according to potters of Abutia, were described as *amatsinoze* or *amatsino klu* (pot used for boiling medicinal herbs or small bowls used for drinking medicines). This Bowl Forms have overlapping functions. According to the potters, these pots were used by fetish priests and other traditionalists to store herbal medicines. A similar type of Bowl Form 3 found at Kpando by Amevor (1993:26) served as *amatsino klu*.

The respondents from the descendant communities were not able to determine the function of the Bowl Form 2. However, bowl form 2 looks like a saucer. A similar bowl form has been identified by Asante (2009:129) at Dzodze Kuli (Volta Region of Ghana). They were used as plates for serving the spirits (Asante, 2009:126).

It is worth noting that the majority of the vessel forms (especially, jar forms and bowl forms See Appendix A) were identified across all the surfaces of transects and levels of excavated units at the Locus 'B' site. These vessel types were mixed up and were found anywhere in the perimeter understudied. This however made it a challenge to determine the chronology of the vessel forms, as well as the changes in technology over space and time. The heavily eroded surface of most of the sherds recovered made it extremely difficult to identify the surface preparation, surface colour, and use wear. Additionally, it was a challenge to determine sherds that were smudged from unsmudged, as well as slightly burnished sherds from sherds that were mica quoted. Furthermore, erosion by water made it difficult for the vessel forms to be identified at their primary location.

The ancient people of Agbenu made good use of the things in their environment. The presence of coarse and granular texture, quartz and mica in the fabric of the pottery recovered inform the above assertion. Evidence of quartz and quartz flakes (See Figure 5.22a-b of Chapter 5) and gneiss rock (See Figure 1.8c of Chapter 1) on the site attest that they were collected from the environment and used as a temper during pottery production. Furthermore, the rounded nature of some of the quartz finds probably indicates that they could have been used as upper grindstones. In addition, the presence of the pieces of quartz on the level 2 floor of Unit 3, at the early strata before encounter of the skeletal remain at level 5 or lower strata suggests that the pieces of quartz were probably used as grave materials. It is worth noting that the respondents from the descendant communities informed that the quartz stones, also known as *kpenogoe vi* or *atamatukpe vi*, are often used to grind *atama* (tobacco) and medicines. Lastly, the pyroxenite identified in the study area also attests to the fact that the people who settled in the Agbenu Mountain exploited the materials in their surroundings. The ethnographic study revealed that the

pyroxenite rocks (See Figure 1.8d) were used to extract snake poisons from people who were bitten by serpents. It confirms one of the narratives that the people of Abutia abandoned the ancient settlement because there were a lot of snakes in the area.

6.2 Conclusion

The research was conducted at the abandoned settlement of the contemporary Abutia indigenous communities. This is the first archaeological research at the Agbenu Mountain. The *pull* factor which was hinged on the location of the Tra River at Abutia-Agorve influenced the indigenous people of Abutia to abandon the ancient settlement. The *push* factor which was also empowered by snake bites, scarcity of water, and attacks from wild animals contributed to the relocation of the indigenous people of Abutia from the ancient settlement. The indications of human settlement at the Agbenu Mountain included mounds, 'anyaa' tree (*Dracaena aborea*), potsherds, pieces of quartz, grinders, and human skeletal remains. The archaeological investigation conducted at Locus 'B' revealed cultural materials such as potsherds (1,178), grind tools (62), and charcoal samples (2). The archaeological findings also revealed the presence of human occupation on the Agbenu Mountain. It corroborates the oral information that the people of Abutia once stayed at the Agbenu Mountain.

The potsherds recovered from Locus 'B' site revealed 5 jar forms and 3 bowl forms. The functional roles of the vessel forms identified include *nudaze, tomedze, amatsize, tsifize, atadzize, kportomali, afa ze, lubuze, nuwoeze or kunuze, ezor or eden, ahakuze or zogba, agbanaanyigba, amatsinoze or amatsino klu*, and a saucer-like vessel. In other words, these

vessel types were probably used for cooking, storage, drinking, as well as for ritual and medicinal purposes.

The absence of cultural materials in the two mounds excavated at the Locus 'A' site revealed that the Abutia people do not know exactly where their ancestors settled on top of the Agbenu Mountain. Although their oral accounts inform on the presence of ancient mortar, metal ring impressed on a rock, and the stream from which the people drank from when they were at the abandoned settlement, the respondents from the descendant communities were not able to show where these aforementioned indicators were located.

The archaeological investigation conducted at the Locus 'B' site also revealed that the people of Abutia did not settle at the Agbenu Mountain for a long period of time. This argument is based on three reasons. Firstly, the absence of deeply stratified artefacts in the soil strata gives a clue that the site was not settled in for a long period of time. This is because the stratigraphic distributions of materials recovered were mostly in the first level (within an interval of 0-20cm). Secondly, the date the people of Abutia interacted with the people of Akwamu, that is, 1734-1869 also reveals they had not settled at the mountain for a long period. The third reason is grounded on the date the people of Abutia had contact with the Germans, which is 1890. The above-mentioned dates revealed that the people of Abutia migrated to their present settlement before the encounter they had with the Akwamu and Germans took effect. In other words, as at 1734, the Yorviewo had abandoned the Agbenu Mountain.

The Accelerator mass spectrometry date of the charcoal from Unit 3, between the periods of 1410 to 1455 reveals that as at that period there was human settlement and activities at the Agbenu Mountain. Erosion might have probably washed away the potsherds from their primary

location that was why there was some vessel forms found across all levels of excavations as well as surfaces of Transects. Additionally, the nature of the clay soil might have made it difficult for the cultural materials to be stratified deep into the soil. Furthermore, the majority of the cultural remains were on the surfaces of the Transects. The potsherds that spread from the first Chain Mountain (Agbenu Mountain) through to the last Chain Mountain ('Aveveto' Mountain) also informed that probably the occupants of the Agbenu Mountain were mobile. Probably, the 'Yorviewo' not settling at a place for a long period of time resulted in the similar potsherds scattering across the foothill of the chain mountain.

The people of Abutia have narrated that they are part of the Ewe group that migrated from Notsie to the Gold Coast in the 17th Century (Amenumey 1989; Dickson 1969; Gayibor & Aguigah 2005). On their arrival at their current settlement, they had contact with the Akwamu people between the periods of 1734 and 1869. The Asafo Company was established as a result of the aforesaid contact and influence. The Asafo Company is currently incorporated into the Easter celebration of the people of Abutia, and it is termed the Asafo Easter Carnival. The indigenous people of Abutia also had contact with the Germans in 1890 (Verdon, 1983). Evidence of this contact is seen in the German architectural ruins. Again, evidence is the mango alley which now serves as the Sokode Etoe to Juapong road. Apoh (2008:248) has asserted that 'the paucity of archaeological research in Ghana is as a result of lack of grants to undertake such projects, lack of interest on the part of the Germans in revisiting their past, and lack of initiative on the part of the inhabitants in the community to take up the challenge of researching and conserving their monuments. It was observed that the history of German interaction with the people of Abutia is fading away gradually. This is evident in the neglect and destruction of the German colonial building at Abutia-Agorve.

The archaeological work undertaken by Gayibor and Aguigah (2005) at Notsie has provided a thermoluminescence date of the site to the 14th and 16th Century. These writers were of the view that the Notsie wall (King Agorkoli's wall) was not intentionally broken as the Ewe oral tradition narrates. Instead, the latter stage of the construction of the Notsie wall took place in the 16th Century (Gayibor & Aguigah, 2005). The Agbenu Mountain site which dates to the 15th Century gives a clue that as at that period, there was a human settlement on the site. Although sherds recovered from the surfaces of the Transects and upper levels of excavated Units are similar to sherds identified at the present day Abutia settlement, which suggests that the people of Abutia settled at Agbneu Mounatian, the charcoal samples in association with the human remains however date to the 15th Century. This radiocarbon date contradicts the 17th Century date of the Ewe migration from Notsie to the Volta River Basin. The question then is who were the people who first settled on the Agbenu Mountain in the 15th Century? The aforementioned question calls for further research to be conducted in the area in order to determine the pre Yorviewo occupants of the Agbenu Mountain site.

6.3 Recommendations

It is recommended that further archaeological research should be conducted at the Locus 'B' site where the human remains were recovered because the researcher did not get much insight into the finds recovered from the last level of the Unit 3 apart from the radiocarbon date of the charcoal sample recovered. Again, the researcher is of the view that further archaeological research should be conducted in most Ewe towns in the Volta Region of Ghana to be able to know the periods in which the Ewe people started occupying such areas. The radiocarbon or absolute dating of such sites will give deeper insight into the investigation into the Ewe

migration from Notsie. These researches can also help determine whether the Ewe migration from Notsie to Gold Coast was a spontaneous migration or a gradual migration.

The Accelerator Mass Spectrometry date of the Agbenu site which contradicts the historic date the people of Abutia gave pertaining to their migration to the Agbenu site suggests that the people of Abutia do not have much information on their settlement history. Nevertheless, since this research is a preliminary work and only one dating sample has been determined, I propose that further research should be conducted at the ancient settlement at Agbenu Mountain and the contemporary communities of Abutia to have an in-depth knowledge on the migration and settlement histories of the people of Abutia. In order to have an in-depth knowledge on the migration of the early occupants of the Agbenu Mountain, prehistoric archaeologists, landscape archaeologists, and ecological archaeologists are needed to conduct more investigation into the abandoned settlement of the people of Abutia.

The research also recommends that an archaeological investigation be done around the Tra River in order to know how old the contemporary settlement is. If possible an archaeological investigation can also be done at the first settler's quarter of each of the three indigenous contemporary Abutia settlements to know which one was occupied first.

Finally, the research recommends that the German site should be excavated to examine the material nature of the contact between the people of Abutia and the Germans.

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Appendix A

Distribution of Locus 'B' Rim Forms in the various Transects and Units

Transects/Units	Direct/Straight Rim	Everted Rim	Inverted Rim
Transect E	6	5	4
Transect F	2	4	2
Transect G	6	7	5
Transect H	8	6	4
Transect J	5	8	-
Transect K	5	4	-
Transect L	2	-	5
Transect M	2	2	-
Transect N	2	-	4
Transect P	2	-	4
Transect Q	1	2	5
Locus 'B' Unit 1			
Surface Finds	9	6	10
Level 1	-	-	3
Locus 'B' Unit 2			
Surface Finds	2	3	2
Level 1	2	1	1
Locus 'B' Unit 3			
Surface Finds	-	-	1
Level 1	5	-	4
Level 2	8	-	3
Level 3	2	1	-
Level 4	-	-	-
Level 5	-	1	-
Total	**69**	**50**	**57**
Percentage (%)	39%	29%	32%

Distribution of Temper of Locus 'B' Potsherds

Locus 'B'	Uniform	Muscovite	Quartz	Mica. & Quartz	Gravels	Mica., Gravels, & Quartz	Mica. & Gravels
Transects	66	22	221	287	13	12	16
Unit 1	4	2	49	52	1	2	3
Unit 2	14	0	13	51	0	11	13
Unit 3	31	19	107	161	0	1	7
Total	**115**	**43**	**390**	**551**	**14**	**26**	**39**
Percentage (%)	**10%**	**4%**	**33%**	**47%**	**1%**	**2%**	**3%**

Distribution of External and Internal surface treatment of Locus 'B' potsherds

Surface Preparation	External					Internal				
	Eroded	Rough	Evened	Smooth	Total	Eroded	Rough	Evened	Smooth	Total
Transects	308	238	88	3	637	330	228	74	5	637
Unit 1	33	45	24	11	113	44	38	29	2	113
Unit 2	57	36	9	0	102	56	42	3	1	102
Unit 3	126	100	80	20	326	129	96	82	19	326
Total	**524**	**419**	**201**	**34**	**1,178**	**559**	**404**	**188**	**27**	**1,178**

Distribution of external surface colour of Locus 'B' potsherds

Surface Colour	External					Internal				
	Transects	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Total	Transects	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Total
Black	40	2	0	11	53	66	7	3	42	118
Red	23	2	0	80	105	23	0	2	83	108
Grey	5	0	0	2	7	3	0	0	3	6
Brown	192	37	26	71	326	177	34	22	78	311
Dark grey	0	28	11	25	64	0	22	10	11	43
Yellowish brown	18	3	12	13	46	18	4	11	10	43
Reddish grey	359	41	53	124	577	350	46	54	99	549
TOTAL	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**

Distribution of Total number of decorations on Locus 'B' Transects and Units Potsherds

Decorations	External					Internal				
	Transects	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	TOTAL	Transects	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	TOTAL
Undecorated	554	87	91	299	1,031	617	110	101	326	1,154
Indeterminate	6	0	0	1	7	3	0	0	0	3
Channeling	21	15	2	11	49	4	0	0	0	4
Multiple grooves	19	10	4	12	45	7	3	0	0	10
Grooves-on-cord roulette	3	1	1	1	6	1	0	0	0	1
Incision	31	0	4	2	37	4	0	1	0	5
Embossment	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted cord roulette	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**	**637**	**113**	**102**	**326**	**1,178**

Distribution of Jar Form 1 Sherds from Locus 'B' site

Transects and levels	Jar form 1a	Jar form 1b	Jar form 1c	Jar form 1d	Total
E				2	2
F					
G				1	1
H		1		1	2
J	1				1
K	1			1	2
L					
M					
N				1	1
P	1				1
Q				1	1
Unit 1 SF					
Level 1					
Unit 2 SF	1				1
Level 1					
Unit 3 SF					
Level 1		1	1	1	3
Level 2					
Level 3					
Level 4					
Level 5					
Total	**4**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**15**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Jar Form 2 Sherds

Transects and levels	Jar form 2a	Jar form 2b	Jar form 2c	Jar form 2d	Jar form 2e	Total
E				1	1	1
F	1		1	1	2	5
G				1	1	2
H		1	1	1		3
J						
K		1		1	1	3
L					2	2
M					1	1
N	1			1		2
P						
Q					1	1
Unit 1 SF			1			1
Level 1						
Unit 2 SF	1	1	1			3
Level 1						
Unit 3 SF			1			1
Level 1	1			3		4
Level 2					3	3
Level 3						
Level 4						
Level 5						
TOTAL	**4**	**3**	**5**	**9**	**12**	**33**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Jar Form 3 Sherds

Transects and Levels	Jar form 3a	Jar form 3b	Jar form 3c	Jar Form 3d	Jar form 3e	Total
E			1		2	3
F					1	1
G					2	2
H			1			1
J						
K						
L					1	1
M						
N						
P					1	1
Q					1	1
Unit 1 SF		1	1	1	1	4
Level 1					2	2
Unit 2 SF			1			1
Level 1						
Unit 3 SF						
Level 1	1					1
Level 2						
Level 3						
Level 4						
Level 5						
Total	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**11**	**18**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Jar Form 4 Sherds

Transects and levels	Jar form 4a	Jar form 4b	Jar form 4c	Total
E	4	2		6
F	6	1		7
G	3	2		5
H	2	1		3
J	3			3
K	1			1
L	2	1		3
M	1			1
N	1			1
P	1	1		2
Q	2	1		3
Unit 1 SF	6			6
Level 1				
Unit 2 SF	3			3
Level 1	1			1
Unit 3 SF				
Level 1				
Level 2		1		1
Level 3				
Level 4				
Level 5			1	1
TOTAL	**36**	**10**	**1**	**47**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Jar Form 5 Sherd

Transects and levels	Jar form 5	Total
E		
F		
G		
H		
J		
K		
L		
M		
N		
P		
Q	1	1
Unit 1 SF		
Level 1		
Unit 2 SF		
Level 1		
Unit 3 SF		
Level 1		
Level 2		
Level 3		
Level 4		
Level 5		
TOTAL	**1**	**1**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Bowl Form 1 Sherds from Locus 'B' site

Transects and levels	Bowl form 1a	Bowl form 1b	Bowl form 1c	Bowl form 1d	Total
E	1				1
F	3				3
G	5			2	7
H	4				4
J	2				2
K	4				4
L	2				2
M	2				2
N	1				1
P	2		1		3
Q	3		1		4
Unit 1 SF	6				6
Level 1					
Unit 2 SF	1				1
Level 1	3				3
Unit 3 SF					
Level 1	1				1
Level 2	7				7
Level 3	1	1			2
Level 4					
Level 5					
TOTAL	**48**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**53**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Bowl Form 2 Sherds from Locus 'B' site

Transects and levels	Bowl form 2	Total
E		
F		
G		
H	1	1
J	2	2
K		
L		
M		
N	1	1
P		
Q		
Unit 1 SF		
Level 1	1	1
Unit 2 SF		
Level 1	1	1
Unit 3 SF		
Level 1		
Level 2		
Level 3		
Level 4		
Level 5		
TOTAL	**6**	**6**

Distribution of Locus 'B' Bowl Form 3 Sherds from Locus 'B' site

Transects and levels	Bowl form 3a	Bowl form 3b	Total
E			
F			
G	1		1
H			
J		1	1
K			
L			
M	1		1
N			
P			
Q			
Unit 1 SF			
Level 1			
Unit 2 SF			
Level 1			
Unit 3 SF			
Level 1			
Level 2			
Level 3			
Level 4			
Level 5			
TOTAL	**2**	**1**	**3**

Appendix B

Rock Samples Analysed at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies

Locus 'A' Samples

A. SAMPLE I.D: A Brick identified at Mound 1 Trench 1

Sample name: Clay stone

Sample description: The sample is dark green. It is significantly weathered with brownish stains. The sample is fine grained and composed of clay and what appears to be chlorite. This sample is probably an altered mafic volcanic rock.

B. SAMPLE I. D. Rock identified in Locus 'A' Mound 2 Trench 1

Sample Name: Quartzite

Sample description: The sample is brown, fine to medium grained and massive. It is recrystallized and composed dominantly of quartz together with minor feldspar.

Locus 'B' Samples

A. SAMPLE I. D: Rounded Rock identified at Locus 'B'

Sample name: Gneiss Rock

Sample description: The sample is grey, fine to medium grained and foliated. It is composed of alternating bands of mafic (dark coloured) and felsic (light coloured) minerals. The felsic minerals include quartz and feldspar whereas biotite is the only mafic mineral. The sample appears competent, however, polished, which may be human induced.

B. SAMPLE I. D: Grindstone identified at Locus 'B'

Sample name: Quartz body/ Quartz

Sample description: The sample is whitish, however, stained brownish on weathered surfaces. It is coarse grained and composed entirely of quartz crystals. The sample is well rounded which

may be due to the action of water.

C. SAMPLE I.D: Black stone identified at Locus 'B'

Sample name: Pyroxenite

Sample description: The sample is dark green and coarse grained composed almost entirely of pyroxene. It is massive and dense.

Analyst: Mr. Daniel Kwayisi

Institution: University of Ghana Department of Earth Scicence.

Email: dkwayisi@gmail.com

Signature…….. ……..

Date……27/04/2016……

Appendix C

BETA ANALYTIC INC.
DR. M.A. TAMERS and MR. D.G. HOOD
4985 S.W. 74 COURT
MIAMI, FLORIDA, USA 33155
PH: 305-667-5167 FAX:305-663-0964
beta@radiocarbon.com

REPORT OF RADIOCARBON DATING ANALYSES

Miss Patricia Ayipey — Report Date: 3/10/2016

University of Ghana — Material Received: 2/29/2016

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	d13C	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 432569	510 +/- 30 BP	-25.3 o/oo	510 +/- 30 BP

SAMPLE : AKA15LCU3L5C
ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery
MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid
2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 1410 to 1455 (Cal BP 540 to 495)

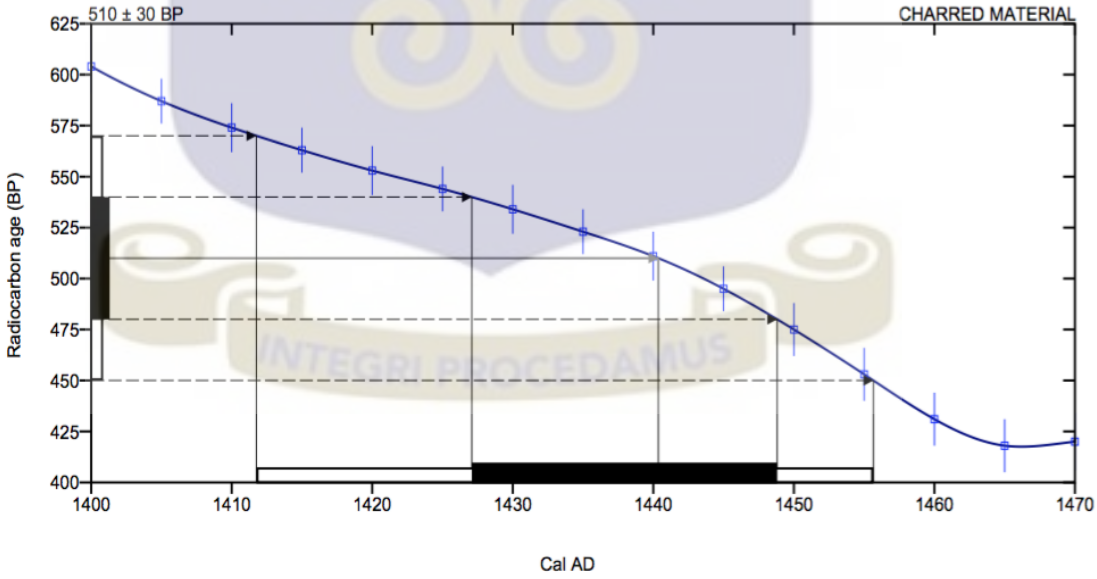
Dates are reported as RCYBP (radiocarbon years before present, "present" = AD 1950). By international convention, the modern reference standard was 95% the 14C activity of the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) Oxalic Acid (SRM 4990C) and calculated using the Libby 14C half-life (5568 years). Quoted errors represent 1 relative standard deviation statistics (68% probability) counting errors based on the combined measurements of the sample, background, and modern reference standards. Measured 13C/12C ratios (delta 13C) were calculated relative to the PDB-1 standard.

The Conventional Radiocarbon Age represents the Measured Radiocarbon Age corrected for isotopic fractionation, calculated using the delta 13C. On rare occasion where the Conventional Radiocarbon Age was calculated using an assumed delta 13C, the ratio and the Conventional Radiocarbon Age will be followed by "*". The Conventional Radiocarbon Age is not calendar calibrated. When available, the Calendar Calibrated result is calculated from the Conventional Radiocarbon Age and is listed as the "Two Sigma Calibrated Result" for each sample.

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12 = -25.3 o/oo : lab. mult = 1)

Laboratory number	**Beta-432569 : AKA15LCU3L5C**
Conventional radiocarbon age	**510 ± 30 BP**
Calibrated Result (95% Probability)	**Cal AD 1410 to 1455 (Cal BP 540 to 495)**
Intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve	Cal AD 1440 (Cal BP 510)
Calibrated Result (68% Probability)	Cal AD 1425 to 1450 (Cal BP 525 to 500)



Database used

SHCAL13

References

Mathematics used for calibration scenario

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates, Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2):317-322

References to SHCAL13 database

Hogg AG, Hua Q, Blackwell PG, Niu M, Buck CE, Guilderson TP, Heaton TJ, Palmer JG, Reimer PJ, Reimer RW, Turney CSM, Zimmerman SRH. 2013. SHCal13 Southern Hemisphere calibration, 0–50,000 years cal BP. Radiocarbon 55(4):1889–1903.

Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory

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