

system were classed under the heading of Aids. These again had their almost exact parallel in Ashanti. They are there generically classed and known as *Etuo*. *Etuo* were of many kinds, and a few of these are still to be found in force.

(a) Aids (*ayi'tuo*), to pay for expenses of a chief's funeral.

(b) Levies (*oman'tuo*) for purpose of making purchases for the stool or its regalia, buildings, or for liquidating stool debts (also called *akonya ka'tuo*).

(c) Contributions for expenses of a war (*apea'tuo*), levied after the war, not before.

(d) Contribution for *musuo* (religious customs).¹

Escheat (*awunyadie*): if a tenant died without heirs, we have seen (*supra*) that his estate, consisting of movable property, slaves, money, &c., escheated to his overlord.

Forfeiture. Certain capital offences, e.g. cursing the king, adultery with the king's wives, were punished with forfeiture (*awunie* or *awunyadie*), but in such a case scrupulous care was taken not to seize any family property (*agyapadie*), unless indeed the whole family were involved in the crime. Land was thus nearly always exempt from forfeiture.²

Treasure Trove (*ahuntuo*) belonged to the owner of land on which it was found, with a share falling to the king.

Services of an agricultural nature (*afum adwumayo*) were rendered, by the lesser important persons, every man and woman would work on the chief's farm a few days each year.

Suit of Court (*asemtie*). The subjects had to attend the chief's court.

The following are the heads under which tenure in Ashanti may be classified. I borrow the terms of English law, but it is necessary in using these to do so with a full understanding of certain points wherein the Ashanti law differs from our own. If we keep this reservation constantly in mind, the legal terminology with which we are familiar is otherwise suitable.

¹ In this connexion it is interesting to note that valuable presents were sent to the north by the Ashanti in olden times to solicit prayers for the nation at 'Nyame-fre-bere (Mecca). Bowdich noted the power and influence of the 'Moors' in Coomassie one hundred years ago and the Ashanti faith in Mohammedan charms.

² In the recent trial of the offenders who desecrated the Golden Stool, the native tribunal which recommended the death sentence asked only for the confiscation of the offenders' goods.

- Freehold {
1. Fee simple.
 2. Fee tail.
 3. Life, or other defined estate of uncertain duration.

Leasehold: for a term of years, or other period of definite duration.

1. Fee simple. The fullest form of ownership in land known in our law is a *fee simple*.

A tenant in fee simple is now for all practical purposes full owner of his land.

I have borrowed the term fee simple to describe the commonest form of tenure known in the past among the Ashanti, but in doing so certain modifications and reservations in the term, when thus applied, must be clearly understood to exist. That the use of this term is perfectly legitimate, however, will be the better understood if I outline very briefly the history of such a tenancy in English law.

A grant in fee simple did not originally empower the owner to sell or alienate his land. A grant to 'A' and his heirs was construed as it was intended by the donor, and 'A' could not alienate or part with, the land during his life by sale or gift, or on his death, by will. The ancient Ashanti law was thus almost identical with the law in England prior to such statutes as *Quia Emptores* and the Statute of Wills, which respectively allowed free substitution of another tenant in fee simple in place of the original tenant, and permitted bequests of land to be made.

The whole history of our own early land laws seems to show a struggle to attain the right to alienate land. Every device and subtlety of the legal mind had to be brought to bear to destroy the barriers raised in the remote past, owing to deeply rooted and perhaps now forgotten causes which were in opposition to alienation.

Similar as the Ashanti law seems in this respect to our own prior to 1290, one most important difference must not be overlooked.

The 'owner' of a fee simple in Ashanti, and the 'owner' in England in the days of Edward I, occupied a very different legal position. It is necessary to remember that when we speak of a chief, a head of a clan, the head of a family group, as being

the 'owners' of land, we are dealing with a state of society in which individual ownership in land was literally unknown. The Ashanti tenant in fee simple neither had nor has anything like the full enjoyment and control during his lifetime that the 'owner' had in England even before the latter gained the right to alienate. The Ashanti owner has to account in full and be subject not only to the control of councillors, clansmen, and family, but finally, as already noted, in virtue of his spiritual trusteeship, to the dead. It may even be that the dead may return and again claim their own.

The word 'heirs', when used in this context, must also of course be construed in the sense in which succession is reckoned under a system of matrilineal descent.

With these two reservations a fee simple means in Ashanti very much what it once meant in English law.

2. An Estate Tail. An estate in fee tail or, more shortly, an estate tail, is one which can only descend to the issue of the tenant. As in Ashanti a male can never, under any ordinary circumstances, be succeeded by his own children—who are not his 'blood' or *abusua*¹—it might appear at first sight that such a tenancy could not exist except of course when the property of a female was being considered. There was a practice known and one still found in Ashanti, however (perhaps a survival of matrilocal marriage), whereby a man on his marriage was sometimes given a piece of land by his wife's family upon which to build and settle. The grant was to the man and his issue, not to his heirs. This similarity to our own law, however, perhaps only arises from the fact that by this union the man's *issue* would of course belong to the clan or blood of those who made the grant, and the land did not go to his *heirs* because they were naturally of another clan than the donor's. The man has therefore a life interest² which may, however, be terminated at any time on his marriage being broken off owing to misconduct on his part. Should a grant of land be made, however, by the man's family, it will revert to the grantors. Thus neither his wife nor children may succeed, but the children and possibly

¹ For full account of which see 'The Ashanti' Classificatory System', Chap. I.

² But he cannot sell or mortgage.

the wife will have a right to live in the house after his death, subject to good behaviour, the reason for this being that she will probably become the property of her late husband's heir. It has been noted that an estate may be given to a man for his life or as long as he remains the husband of a certain woman. Lands were also often granted to a favourite household slave for life with reversion to the donor, but the slave's children, as long as they served the household, were often in practice allowed to continue to occupy and use the land after the death of the original grantee.

Leaseholds. A form of tenure that may perhaps be classified under this heading exists when the grantee held land from the grantor in return for a fixed annual payment in the form of a proportion of the produce derived from the soil. Such a tenure came into being by the owner—with the permission of his family—saying to the grantee in the presence of witnesses, '*Me de asase yi ma wo, fwe so ma me,*' 'I give this land to you, look after it for me.' Such a lease gave the grantee perhaps only a tenancy at will, but on the other hand the arrangement might run indefinitely and even be carried on by the original grantee's heir. The lease, however, was terminable at any time subject to the tenant's right to gather the year's crops.

Military Service and Aids were optional, as the lessee, if he did not wish to give them, would give up the land. Wine for the *samanfo* (spirits of the dead) was always part of the transfer ceremony.

Another form of tenure, which at first sight appears very like a leasehold, also existed. This was called *awowa*. A closer examination of this, however, will, I think, show that it is purely an incident arising out of a mortgage of land, and it will therefore be dealt with under the next heading where the alienation of land will be discussed.

Alienation of Land. From the foregoing remarks it has been seen that there is in Ashanti no such thing as the individual ownership of land. Now something that could never belong to one person, but which was always in the hands of an interested group, was, from its very nature, not likely to be stolen, lost sight of, sold, seized, or given away. When the thing in which this kind of joint tenancy existed, was also the most valuable

asset it was possible to possess, and there was also attached to it a kind of spiritual sanctity, it is not surprising to find that the idea of sale as an ordinary primary legal process did not have any place in the old legal code.

We have seen that this communal and family interest in land protected it from forfeiture, even when a clansman had committed some capital offence, and that the king, despotic as he was in many ways, did not dare to seize the offender's land, because he would have had opposition from the whole clan.

It has been stated that the Ashanti looked upon his or her land—for women could own land quite apart from men—as their greatest worldly asset; the proof of this belief may be readily seen in an examination of the reasons which led to the commonest and possibly the only original form of alienation of land.

Grants in fee simple to a tribesman or often even to a stranger (e.g. to a Fanti) were, in later times and before the advent of the European, constantly made with the full consent of all the interested parties, a fraction of the tribal or family or stool land only being involved. This grant was not made for any monetary consideration; no purchase-money was asked for or paid, all that was necessary was a small offering of rum to the spirits, who were told of the transaction, when the plot became the property of the new-comer and his heirs. The valuable consideration that the owner looked for, and in the past freely received, was the 'services' already described. The grantor was thus enriched by the acquisition of a new family household who would serve him and fight for him when called upon.

The grantee became to all intents and purposes owner of the land, but should he or his heir deny the title of the grantor to the reversion, or set himself up as independent of the obligations he was expected to render, then the title to the land would immediately revert to the grantor. A grant of land in fee simple was made in the presence of the parties interested and their witnesses. The words of limitation are important, '*Me de asase yi kye wo*,' 'I take this land and I present you.' It may seem to us at this present day an extraordinary thing that an Ashanti, who looks with such deep aversion on the sale of his land even in return for a substantial sum of money, should in

the past have been ready and willing to encourage strangers to take up their abode on his land and granted to them what was to all intent a fee simple for a consideration which at first sight may seem to us as inconsiderable. If we consider the matter, however, we will see that nowhere did the genius of this people show itself more markedly than in their land laws. By this generous encouragement of settlers and strangers, all of whom became attached to the clan or stool which had given them settlements, the followers of a chief were increased in number and his wealth also thereby indirectly increased. The grant in fee simple, as we have seen, was in return for certain definite services, the most onerous of which was undoubtedly the obligation to fight for the grantor. Such a grant possibly was not looked upon in the light of alienation at all. The grantor had more land than he or his family could possibly use, by giving a small portion to 'A and his heirs', he possibly did not feel he was losing the land at all, he was only gaining other subjects who swelled his retinue. The reversion, in case the grantee died without heirs, was to himself; and if the grantee ever repudiated the obligation he had undertaken, the land automatically reverted to the grantor. Such an alienation, complete as we are now inclined to think it to be, was very different from handing over land for a valuable consideration, the acceptance of which gave the purchaser complete control over his purchase and complete freedom from any form of services to the vendor.

A mortgage in English law is a transaction by which a tenant of land can borrow money on the security of his land. A parallel is found in the Ashanti law, the word in Ashanti for a mortgage being *awowa*. The mortgagor is called *okafo*, and the mortgagee *osikani*. The Ashanti mortgage was of two kinds. In both the borrower has what the Roman law called the *dominium* and the *jus possidendi*. He entered upon the land and made full use of it. The produce derived from the land was in one case his interest on the loan, and the land itself was the security; and in the other the sale of the produce for a fixed time was taken as liquidating the entire loan and interest. The procedure was as follows. The mortgagor and mortgagee, with adult witnesses, would view the land and boundaries. Out of the mort-

gage money rum would be bought and the mortgagor would pour some over his stools—if he were a chief—to inform his *samanfo* (spirit ancestors) of the transaction, and beg of them to give their assistance to help him in time to redeem the mortgage. The words spoken being as follows :

' *Me nananom nsamanfo, mo ngye nsa yi nom, na nye me na me ye biribie, na eka na ato me na m'aton asase a ewo ha yi 'ama Asumasi me de m'atua me ka.*'

' My spirit grandfathers, receive this wine and drink, for it is not I who am at fault, but a debt which has fallen upon me so that I have to sell this land here to So-and-so and pay my debt.'

The money advanced was paid over to the mortgagor in the presence of his and the mortgagee's witnesses. Of this sum a proportion, called *ntiani*, about *ntaku-num* in the *suru* (2s. 6d. in the £), was set aside and this was usually divided into three parts. One part went to the chief and Queen Mother, if they were presiding over the transaction, and the remaining two-thirds were divided among the witnesses. This *ntiani* seems in a mortgage or pledge exactly what *tramma* was in a sale. The *raison d'être* of each was to secure trustworthy witnesses who would in the event of a dispute come forward to testify to what had occurred. Such a mortgage might, according to native ideas, run on for generations, but no lapse of time (limitation) would bar redemption, nor could the mortgagor, according to the Ashanti law, be improved out of his land.¹ The axiom of English law, 'once a mortgage always a mortgage', was even more strictly construed as a precept of Ashanti law. The mortgagee could never foreclose without giving the mortgagor the fullest chance to redeem. There is a proverb which has all the force of a legal axiom, which runs, '*Se okafo adie eko amoamu*

¹ The same law seems to hold good in the Ewe country, east of the Volta, for in the late German Colony of Togo I had constantly the heirs of the mortgagor bringing to the heirs of the mortgagee the redemption money for land pledged perhaps fifty to one hundred years ago, for sometimes the equivalent in value of 4s. 6d., and demanding their land back. Very often this land had been planted with cocoa by the mortgagee's heirs and was now worth several hundreds of pounds. Equity would not allow the old law to stand, and I used to rule that, besides the sum originally paid, the heir of the mortgagee should receive full compensation for the cocoa trees. This generally resulted in the claim of redemption being allowed to drop altogether.

a onoara na oton, 'If the mortgagor's property is all to be sold, then it is he himself who does the selling.' Should the mortgagee seize the land, i. e. refuse to acknowledge the mortgagor's right of the redemption, then the mortgagor would have just cause for action on the ground that the mortgagee, *wa yi no adwo*. This expression requires explanation. *Yi adwo* means, to seize some property of a debtor, to compel him to pay a debt. This custom—on the coast—according to Bosman, grew to such an extent that it came to creditors seizing any one or anything belonging even to the clan of the debtor or even any one from his village in order to compel payment. A wise law of Kwaku Dua Panyin (c. 1838) is said to have made this practice illegal in Ashanti. The mortgagee's remedy, if he insisted upon repayment of his loan, lay in going to the chief and stating his case; then the family of the mortgagor were all called together and either came to an agreement jointly to meet the debt, or they agreed to the *awowa* (mortgage) becoming a *tramma*, i. e. a sale. This only as a last resource and in case the clan had 'waxen too poor' ever to hope to pay.

Sale (*tramma*). A transaction, I believe, originally used only for movable property, then coming gradually to be used also for land dealings, first only when arising out of a mortgage, and later perhaps as a primary process. The history of this word is interesting, and as I have not seen it fully explained before, an account of it will be given.

Tramma means literally cowries, the small shells from the Indian Ocean which, by the route from the north, found their way all over West Africa, and to this day may be seen used for small change in the native markets. The word came to be applied to a sale of movable or immovable property in the following manner. No contract of sale was valid in olden times unless a payment called *tramma* had been made. *Tramma* was the name derived from that sum, additional to the selling price, which was set aside and given to the witnesses of the transaction. It was a fixed proportional amount, and, at least for certain specified articles, seemed uniform, e. g. the *tramma* on the purchase of a cat—the old Ashanti bought cats as repositories of their *okra* or breath—was always a *pesewa*, about 1d.; for a female slave, *ntaku-anan*, about 2s.; for a male slave, *ntaku-*

miensa, is. 6d. In the case of such purchases no part of the *tramma* could be used by vendor or purchaser, and it was said that if a purchaser used any of it to buy food with it for his purchase, the slave or cat would die. This *tramma* may perhaps be called 'earnest money', but it was not originally paid to the vendor. If the transaction was afterwards repudiated, the receivers of the *tramma* were the witnesses to vouch for the transaction. The word therefore came to be used to designate a sale outright as opposed to *awowa*, 'pledge', or in case of land, 'mortgage'.

The procedure adopted in the case of land when the mortgagee wished to foreclose was generally as follows. All the *abusua* (clan) of the interested parties, the head of the particular stool, his spokesman, and the Queen Mother, met. The spokesman opened the case, stating the reasons that made it necessary to sell the land. The chief would then call all the family of the mortgagor and endeavour to arrange that the debt be shared among them. If this was found impossible, permission was then given for the *awowa* to become a *tramma* transaction, the price being agreed upon and counted out in the presence of all. The spokesman would then publicly inform the mortgagor that the *awowa* or mortgage had now become a *tramma* sale, and that henceforth he and his family had no claim whatever on the land.¹ Next the chief in whose presence the sale price was fixed and paid, together with the spokesman and representatives of the vendor and purchaser and representatives of his village, all proceeded to view the land, the subject of the transaction. Boundaries were fixed, trees, a river, a hill, and the connecting lines marked by planting out *ntome* (*nton abe*) cuttings. If this land be already cultivated, being near the village, palm wine is bought by vendor and purchaser and drunk by all present on the spot. If the land be virgin forest or bush, a hunter is sent to kill an antelope. A tree is then cut down and a rough mortar (called *dasie*) made, in which *fufu* is pounded, and *eto* made. Some of the blood of the antelope is sprinkled upon the ground. The lungs and some *eto* are then placed in *adwin* leaves and the spirit of the land addressed as follows :

¹ Even this did not, however, as will be seen later, entirely destroy all possibility of redemption.

'Asase boa ode nsie begye eto ne enam yi di, na nipa a m'aton asase yi 'ama no, se oba so a, mma biribi nye no.'

'Earth Creature who rules the underworld, come and receive this *eto* and meat, and eat, and the man to whom I have sold this land, when he comes upon it do not let anything befall him.'

The purchaser must build a hut on this spot, which is called *nnanso*.

It is probable that the essential parts of this formula of sale were :

1. The competency of the contracting parties, i. e. the participation of all members of the family.
2. The witnessing by the proper persons in authority.
3. The viewing of the land and fixing of the boundaries.
4. The valuable consideration.
5. The payment of the *tramma*.

The spiritual part of the procedure, as between the parties and their ancestral spirits and their gods, was probably not essential to make the sale a valid transaction. A sale directly negotiated would no doubt be conducted on very similar lines. No old Ashanti I have hitherto asked but has informed me, however, that before a sale would be resorted to, the debtor—it is always assumed that only dire necessity would ever justify a sale—would try to raise money by a loan (*awowa*). In fact the farther my inquiries led me the more convinced I became that sale of land outright for a valuable consideration is a comparatively modern innovation, and that it was literally unknown because unthinkable in the remoter past. Such a transaction even as *tramma* was not, however, looked upon as alienation of the land beyond all hope of redemption, for in Ashanti there is evidence of yet a further possibility of regaining the land long after a legal sale had taken place. This is so curious that I had at first thought it was merely an incident of redemption following after *awowa* or mortgage. I am inclined to think, however, it is quite distinct. The procedure was for the vendor, or even the heir of the vendor, first to approach his chief with the request that as he now is in a position to repurchase his family land he might be allowed to do so, paying the money originally received, also an 'overplus'.

A sheep was bought (and afterwards sacrificed), and if the purchaser agreed, the land once more came into the original family that had owned it. Should the purchaser or his heirs in the meantime have made a family burial-ground upon the land, this portion was not re-conveyed. The procedure is known as *pon*, and the redeemer is said to *pon asase*. Without much doubt public opinion and the influence of a chief would generally result in the request being granted.¹

Wills of Land (*samansie*). One of the problems and difficulties that assail the administrator in Ashanti, who, while anxious as far as is possible to encourage and retain the indigenous customs and laws of the people in order that they may develop these rather than adopt the entirely new code of a foreign race—a code that can never be so perfectly suited to their own particular genius—is to be found in the growing tendency of individualism to assert itself and to resist the communistic régime which in the past had served this people so well and saved it from extortion and despoilment by despots and powerful enemies. In no sphere is this more clearly marked than in the application of the laws of Real Property. A man, who chiefly by his own individual efforts and industry has developed and cultivated his family land, increases its value many times. It may, and does seem to us, and later to himself, unfair that this new wealth should have to pass on his death to those members of his family who are his heirs by law, his own sons being thus always excluded. Many of the more educated Africans feel this acutely, and it might seem that there is no other remedy but either a complete severance from the clan and matrilineal system, or a placid resignation to a state of affairs

¹ The almost exact similarity of this curious custom to the old Levitical law may be noted.

'The land shall not be sold for ever for the land is mine' . . . 'If thy brother be waxen poor and has sold away some of his possessions and if any of his kin come to redeem then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.'

A school of thought in West Africa, headed by the late Sir A. B. Ellis, has tried to show that any parallel in Gold Coast customs and beliefs with the doctrines of Christian Theology is due to the influence of contact with European missionary teachings. This is especially the case in regard to their God 'Nyame whom Ellis described as only the thinly disguised Jehovah of English and German missionaries. I think we are here safe, however, from any suggestion that mission teaching in the past included in its curricula a course of Old Testament laws governing Real Property, with the consequent formulation of an Ashanti land code based on Levitical formulae.

which must cramp initiative and individual effort. Their own laws, however, indicate that a compromise is possible, and suggest that a way may be found out of an impasse where the old and the new seem to clash hopelessly.

We have seen already that in England there was once an era when the owner of land in fee simple was not allowed to alienate such land by will, but that this law was later altered, first by a conveyance *inter vivos* accompanied by a trust (cf. the *Paterfamilias* selling his *familia* to a *familiae emptor*, subject to the *fiducia*), and later by the Statute of Wills (1526).

The Ashanti law-makers would seem to have had an even harder task to make any such a procedure possible. They not only had to combat a disinclination to part with land at all, but in this particular instance had practically to break the entail. Nevertheless, there undoubtedly grew up a recognized method by which a man, with the full consent as usual of his family, could leave by a verbal gift or will, taking effect during his lifetime or after his death, a *portion* of his land to his son. This procedure, known as *samansie* (lit. that which is left by the spirits), has been described to me as follows :

A man, prior to his death, calls his kindred round him and informs them that he wishes to leave a piece of land—it will only be a small portion of the whole—to one of his sons. If the *abusua* agree, then the son will bring a small offering of gold dust and rum called *aseda* (thank-offering), and this is divided among those present, including witnesses. Of the latter there must be at least one. Then the father, taking the rum, pours some upon the ground, addressing the *samanfo* (ancestral spirits) as follows :

'*Nsamanfuo, me ba ni na me de asase yi 'ama no, wa'som me sompa ; se odidi asase no so a mo mma oyare bone bi mmo no, mo ma no nyine nkye, mo ma na'fudie nye yiye.*'

'Spirits, this is my child to whom I have given this land, he has given me good service ; when he comes to make use of the land do not let any bad sickness strike him, let him grow old, and let his crops be plentiful.'

Such a grant passed the fee simple, so the donor's heirs had no further interest in the land which upon the death of the

donee would pass to *his* heirs. It is difficult to hazard an opinion as to the antiquity of this custom in Ashanti, and Sarbah, in his *Fanti Customary Laws*, noting a somewhat similar procedure among the Fanti, remarks that the custom is of 'comparatively modern growth'. On the other hand I am inclined to think that, as the legal sanction imposed for the non-observance of the last wishes of the testator, rested entirely in the sanctity placed upon the words of one who had become a spirit ancestor when his wishes came into force, the custom carries us back to times antecedent to the advent of Europeans.

Such a will is of course still very far removed from our idea of testamentary disposition, whereby the owner of property is permitted to endow 'a college or a cat' and to leave nothing to his relatives.

The *samansie* was only legal when the members of the family agreed to the transfer of the title, for without this consent, and the presence of a witness, such alienation would not have been binding. Nevertheless, the practice shows that not only was the idea of testamentary disposition not wholly unknown but that it was possible under certain circumstances and within very carefully defined limits for a father to leave to his son a small portion of his real estate.

In the first paragraph of the present chapter it was suggested that in the Ashanti land laws, which have now been discussed, we have possibly a key to help in the successful introduction of indirect rule, which in turn I ventured to state I considered depended to a large extent on an adequate revenue for tribal stools. I do not propose to enter here upon any examination as to the merits or demerits of direct as opposed to indirect rule, or to go into the question of stool finances or the possible supervision of stool revenues. I wish, however, to draw attention to a fact which will be clear to any one who has read this chapter carefully. I refer to the circumstance that the Ashanti tenant of to-day (generally) holds his land under changed conditions. These impose upon him less important and fewer obligations than formerly, and thus have robbed the chiefs of by far the most important services and much of the revenue to which they were entitled in the past.

I refer in the first instance to the former obligation of Military Service (*osako*). Had the Ashanti laws continued to be built up and altered from time to time to suit changing circumstances, instead of their passing in a day from conditions peculiar to early feudal times into those of the twentieth century, I think we may assume that, as with our own laws, some payment (scutage) would have been introduced in commutation of an obligation no longer necessary or even possible of fulfilment. Many other incidents of service or, looking at it from another standpoint, of revenue have also disappeared, and in such measure have further lessened the obligations due from the subject, thereby undoubtedly tending to weaken the control of the superior. Among such I may mention e.g. escheat and forfeiture, the former being, I am informed, once a most fruitful source of stool revenue. Some of the Aids alone seem to remain, and to show how well recognized these obligations due to a chief still are, I may mention that I was much interested to hear from a District Commissioner that a certain stool's subjects had lately contributed no less than £6,000 to liquidate a stool debt and pay for certain funeral expenses. Very briefly, then, my contention is this. The most onerous services, in return for which land was formerly held, no longer exist. The people of Ashanti, under our beneficent rule, have thus found themselves relieved of most of the well-recognized obligations to their chiefs. Stool revenues have correspondingly diminished, and as a result, respect, discipline, and obedience are less readily rendered, and more difficult to exact. Side by side with this is a great increase in the value of all land. We have thus landowners holding land, freed from most of the services formerly incumbent upon them—within even their own memory—and now, moreover, in possession of an asset which has assumed a new value. I believe that if the Ashanti were to know that we wish them once again to become a people, proud of their race, of their traditions, and of their past, and to that end that we wish to help to rehabilitate their Queen Mothers and chiefs, their elders (*mpanyinfo*), their spokesmen (*akyeame*), their minstrels (*kwadwomfo*), their drummers (*akyerema*), their heralds (*asene*), and all the wonderful household organization of an Ashanti court, now crumbling into poverty and decay—I believe that they would willingly under-

take their obligation to finance their stools by some form of light taxation. They would do this the more readily if they knew that all the contributions would be subject to an audit and strict control, and that such an *etuo*—representing only a fraction of their past obligations—was to help to restore and to preserve their nationality.

THE DRUM LANGUAGE

THERE is, I believe, scarcely any other West African art or custom that has aroused so much widespread wonder and curiosity, nor any concerning which such misconception still prevails, as that connected with the West African Drum Language.

I first became interested in this difficult subject many years ago. At that time it was generally known that the Ashanti, in common with certain other West Coast peoples, were able to convey messages over great distances and in an incredibly short space of time by means of drums, and it was thought that their system was based upon some such method as that with which Europeans are familiar in the Morse code.

A brief investigation of the subject, which was embodied in an article from which an extract is here quoted, while proving, I think, that our preconceived ideas concerning this art were erroneous, did not go into the question scientifically. The extract referred to is here given :

'A great deal is heard in Africa about the wonderful way in which news can be passed over great distances in an incredibly short space of time. It has been reported that the news of the fall of Khartoum was known among the natives of Sierra Leone the same day, and other equally wonderful reports are quoted to show that the native has some extraordinary rapid means of communicating important events. It must, however, be remembered that most of the instances one hears quoted are incapable of verification, and would, moreover, probably be found to have been much exaggerated. Having said as much, however, it must be admitted that these people have a means of intercommunication which often inspires wonder and curiosity on the part of Europeans. One such means of communication is by drumming. This idea the European will readily grasp, and being familiar with various means of signalling, will suppose that some such a method might be adapted to drums ; but among the Ashanti the drum is not used as a means of signalling in the sense that we would infer, that is, by rapping out words by means of a prearranged code, but (to the native mind) is



FIG. 101. *Ntumpane* (talking drums)



FIG. 102. Talking drums

used to sound or speak the actual words. That is, we have drum-talking as distinct from drum-signalling, a *tympanophonetic* as opposed to a *tympanosemantic* means of communication. *Tympanophony* or drum-talking is an attempt to imitate by means of two drums, set in different notes, the exact sound of words of the human voice.'¹

This statement, written nearly ten years ago, and the terminology then employed, still stand the test of time and of a much minuter investigation of the subject, but it remains to prove, if possible, how 'two drums set in different notes' could possibly be heard as, or made to reproduce, actual spoken words.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to explain this feat, and to prove how, in its local language environment, with certain well-defined limitations, such a thing is not only possible but also linguistically and phonetically natural.

An account will also be given of the appliances used—the drums—containing a description of how they are made, and of the religious observances inseparable from the process of making the drums. Finally an example from one of the 'set pieces' will be given in full, containing, first the usual overture or prelude common to all drum pieces, and going on to relate the history, in chronological order, of one of the most important Ashanti divisions. This 'piece' in itself a wonderful store-house of anthropological material, from its very nature, has remained untouched and unspoiled by civilization.

A complete series of phonographic records has been made of this particular drum-history, and these will be available for future detailed examination² (see Figs. 101 and 102).

In order the better to understand my subject, I prevailed upon some of the experts to give me lessons in drumming. What is here recorded is therefore based upon an elementary, practical knowledge of the subject.

For our present purpose it will be necessary to make what may, at first sight, appear an unnecessary excursion into the realms of phonetics and of philology. These sciences, however,

¹ From *Ashanti Proverbs*, pp. 133-4.

² I am doubtful, however, if the phonograph will prove to be a good medium for reproducing drum sound-waves. I find that Ashanti drummers are able to read records with ease only if they have themselves made them. In other cases they find much difficulty.

hold the key which alone can unlock the secrets of the Ashanti Drum Language, which, without their help, must always have remained an obscure and little-understood art. It is therefore appropriate that I should here acknowledge the great debt I owe to the late Rev. J. G. Christaller, a German student and missionary, who was the first, many years ago, to draw attention to 'tones' in the Ashanti language.¹ It is owing to his wonderfully painstaking researches into the phonetics of this language that I am able to draw upon material which he collected in his *Ashanti Grammar*, and thus to produce the necessary scientific evidence to prove that the explanation of the Ashanti Drum Language is afforded by the fact that Ashanti is a tonic language. To say that Ashanti is a 'tonic' language is not, I am afraid, to make the matter much clearer to those unfamiliar with tones, and it will be necessary to go into the matter in some little detail if what is here recorded is fully to be understood.

We are all familiar, I think, with the use of tones in our own language, where they are chiefly employed as a means of oratorical or emotional expression, or to give to a word or sentence a shade of meaning which that word or sentence would lack if merely written down in print, or spoken without that musical intonation, which alone raises words from the plane of merely conventional articulatory sounds. This use of tone in languages with which we are familiar is, however, really only known to us as being a useful adjunct by which shades of meaning may be imparted to a certain word, or, if it be used in a sentence, we may be prepared for some additional grammatical phrase. Examples will make my meaning clearer. 'Yes' and 'no' are capable of a variety of meanings according to the intonation, running, from the accepted dictionary meaning of an affirmative and a negative, through a whole gamut of sense-modifications until almost verging into an undecided negative and a credulous positive, respectively. Leaving words and coming to sentences, we find again that we are considerably dependent on tone for

¹ These tones had already been noted in Ewe by the German missionary Schlegel and by Professor Westermarck, and yet another German scholar had noted them in a language of the Cameroons, all being localities in which the drum language is known to exist. I am also much indebted to a remarkable book by Carl Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*, made available for the use of English students by Miss Werner's scholarly translation; and to the late Sir Edward Tylor's classic, *Primitive Culture*.

our preparation in thought of what is to follow, or for our perception that what has been said closes a particular sentence; thus 'I am going', spoken with a falling inflexion, makes us accept the statement as being more or less complete, but if we make a rising inflexion on the last word, our ear has immediately prepared us for something to follow, which is possibly a clause in adversative or copulative co-ordination, i. e. a 'but' or an 'and' clause to follow.

It is perhaps natural, therefore, when we talk of Ashanti as being 'a language of tones' or a 'tonic' language, that we should suppose it to use the tones which have just been described in the sense and manner with which we are familiar. When it is stated, however, that this is far from being the case, and that the tones just referred to do not exist in Ashanti, I think we shall begin to realize that we are here 'up against' something which is new to many of us.

In Ashanti, every syllable, in every word, has assigned to it a more or less arbitrary tone or musical pitch. These tones do not depend upon the will or caprice of the speaker, and are not employed for emotional, oratorical, or grammatical purposes, but are an important element in the language upon which depends the correct and intelligible pronunciation of a particular word; not only is this so, but the alteration of tone in two words otherwise spelled exactly alike may change—not, as in English, the shade of meaning of that particular word—but, as noted presently, will alter the actual 'dictionary' meaning.

To give an exaggerated example, it is very much as if the word 'box' in English had two tones, one rising, one falling, and that 'box' with the rising tone meant 'box', but 'box' with the falling tone meant 'cow'.

A list of Ashanti words will presently be given in which this alteration in the tone of a syllable is shown to alter the meaning of the word entirely. Before we pass on to an examination of tones in Ashanti, however, it is necessary to discuss some other important factors which in addition to 'tones' go to make up the elements of any spoken language. All these have, some in a greater, others in a lesser degree, a direct bearing upon the subject now under examination.

These remaining factors are : (a) Accent, on a particular syllable. (b) Stress or Emphasis, on a particular word. (c) Gesture (of hands, arms, or feet). (d) Facial gesture. (e) Pauses, stops, or punctuation. (f) Duration of words or sentences, i. e. speed at which they are spoken.

We find all these in our own language, and with one exception all are also to be noted in Ashanti. Just as it was found, however, that though tones are common to both English and Ashanti, they are in each language made to serve a fundamentally different purpose, so with some of the above-mentioned factors important distinctions exist in the rules which govern their application. I shall take 'accent' first, meaning by this term the accentuation of a particular syllable in a word (as distinct from 'stress,' or 'emphasis' which is here used of words).

If, under this heading, we consider our own language, we shall find, I think, that accent is the most important factor in deciding the correct pronunciation of a word. This is not so in Ashanti, concerning which it has just been written that tones are 'an element in the language upon which depends the correct and intelligible pronunciation of a word'. Accentuation of syllables is found in Ashanti, but is of lesser importance; moreover, it is dependent on and governed by totally different causes. In our own language accentuation of syllables seems chiefly to depend on the etymology of a word, the accent being placed on the root or stem, e. g. *excèptionable*. In Ashanti the accent is generally dependent, as will be seen later, on the succeeding tone. In other words we have a cause which is phonetic as opposed to one which is etymological.

Yet another example, showing how in our own language accent largely takes upon itself the functions of 'tones' in Ashanti, is to be seen in those English words in which accent alters a word's meaning—just as we have seen 'tone' doing in Ashanti—e. g. 'áccent' the noun, 'accént' the verb, 'prótest' the noun, 'pro-tést' the verb. This use of accent is unknown to Ashanti.

Stress or Emphasis on a particular word in a sentence. In our language we have yet another kind of accent, which, to distinguish it from the last, I have called 'stress' or 'emphasis'. It is laid upon a particular word in a sentence. 'I am going to-morrow' may be emphasized in four different ways,

according as the speaker wishes to lay stress upon the 'I', the 'am', the 'going', or the 'to-morrow'.

This form of accent, I believe, will be found non-existent in Ashanti, for this reason. Accent, as stated, being dependent in Ashanti on tone; if we alter it, we are altering the tone, and so are making a word either unintelligible or else so completely altering its meaning as to make the sentence nonsensical.¹ The place of emphasis is, I think, taken in Ashanti by the loudness with which a word is spoken, and this at once carries us by a natural step to our next headings, (c) and (d), which are 'gesture', by the use of the hands, arms, or facial muscles. As we all know, the African is a past master in the use of gesticulations, though his gestures are not very varied, and if watched for some time become monotonous. It may at first sight appear totally irrelevant to the subject of drum-talking to touch upon this adjunct of the spoken language, for it may be argued that it cannot possibly find a place in the former means of communication. Nevertheless, I think it is one of the factors which, indirectly at any rate, contributes to this attempted approximation to human speech. Gesture, the waving of the arms, the bringing down of the hands with a bang, &c., are really movements synchronized with the voice, the latter being but the vocal representation or echo of the former. Thus gesture may be indirectly reproduced in drumming by the loudness or softness with which the drum is beaten. (I shall go presently into more detail as to how all these elements here described are reproduced upon the drum.)

The next heading (e) is 'Stops' or 'Pauses', corresponding to 'punctuation' in speech. On a careful analysis of any of the phonograph cylinders it will at once strike the listener that the whole series is divided into groups of tones, with clearly defined stops at varying intervals. These exactly correspond with our punctuation marks in writing or our pauses in speech. I have

¹ If this hypothesis be correct, then if followed to its logical conclusion it would appear that when we set a *libretto* in Ashanti to a European *score* we must jumble the whole sense of the words and render them either meaningless or ridiculous. I have been informed by Africans that this is really the case, and that when children sing songs in schools in their own language set to our music, what they sing is unintelligible to the outsider, and is often to the singers themselves ridiculous.

noted that these group periods form one of the important aids which help a drummer to pick up a message.

Speed. (f) Its use is quite obvious and need not here be enlarged upon. Tones, accent, stress, loudness, (gesture) periods or stops, and speed have now all been briefly examined in turn. These elements, when combined and reproduced upon drums, in the manner to be described presently, create, by the combined rhythm, musical intonation, and melody, something which gives us a form of music which is almost capable of being classed as a language or, in other words, is looked upon, heard, and understood, by those familiar with it, as being only a modification of their own spoken tongue.

It is now proposed to pass on to a more detailed description of tones and accent in Ashanti. While it is not within the scope of this chapter to go farther than to draw attention to some of the more important rules (for a minuter study of the subject students should consult Christaller's *Grammar*), it is nevertheless absolutely necessary for an understanding of this chapter to know at least the elements of this subject. It will be dealt with under two main headings :

1. Tone $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (a) \text{ in nouns ;} \\ (b) \text{ in verbs.} \end{array} \right.$
2. Accent.

Various methods have been employed in the past, in writing, to designate tones. That used by Christaller consists of numbers, thus: (1) low; (2) middle¹; (3) high. Accents might also be used, acute, high; grave, low.

I have here introduced yet a third method as being applicable to the present subject. This consists in marking low tones M, and high tones F, these letters standing for the 'male' drum and the 'female' drum respectively, upon which these tones are produced.

Tone of nouns. The first rule, which is of fairly general

¹ It will be noted that middle tones are not represented. I have not been able to discover if drummers employ more than two tones. It seems to me quite possible that by hitting different parts of the same drum different ranges in tone may be produced; but if they do this, they do so unconsciously as they tell me they employ only the two tones. The force with which a drum is hit may also possibly modify the tone.

application, is that in nouns having a monosyllabic stem the noun prefix O, A, M, E, or Am (with their variations) is generally low and the root or stem high.

Examples: $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{f}{su}$, rain; $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{f}{de}$, yam; $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{f}{wu}$, death; $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{f}{ni}$, eye;
 $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{f}{no}$, mouth; $\overset{m}{M}$ - $\overset{f}{pa}$, mat; $\overset{m}{N}$ - $\overset{f}{su}$, water; $\overset{m}{N}$ - $\overset{f}{sa}$, hand.

The next division of nouns is into those:

A, beginning with a low tone.

B, beginning with a high tone.

Class A may again be subdivided into:

1. Those with a low tone throughout all their syllables, which may range in number from 1 to 5 or more.

Examples: $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{m}{po}$, the sea (an exception to our rule 1)
 $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{m}{dam}$ - $\overset{m}{fo}$, a friend; $\overset{m}{Kon}$ - $\overset{mm}{trom}$ - $\overset{m}{fi}$ (the 'trom' is made on the drum by bringing down both sticks almost but not quite simultaneously, in such cases mm, or ff, or mf is used to designate this).

(2) Stems with a low tone, with the last syllable a high tone:

e.g. $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{m}{ko}$ - $\overset{f}{a}$ (a slave); $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{m}{ber}$ - $\overset{m}{e}$ - $\overset{m}{wa}$ (an old woman); $\overset{m}{A}$ - $\overset{m}{kye}$ - $\overset{m}{re}$ - $\overset{m}{kye}$ - $\overset{m}{re}$ - $\overset{f}{kwan}$, the forefinger.

3. Stems with low, high, and low tones¹ (or with low, high, middle, the last being here taken as low):

e.g. $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{m}{bar}$ - $\overset{f}{i}$ - $\overset{m}{ma}$, a male; $\overset{m}{O}$ - $\overset{m}{hi}$ - $\overset{m}{a}$ - $\overset{m}{ni}$, a poor man.

Class B. *Stems beginning with a high tone*

1. Those with high tone throughout:

e.g. $\overset{f}{Ko}$ - $\overset{f}{ko}$ - $\overset{f}{ni}$ - $\overset{f}{ni}$, a cock.

2. Stems with high and low tones:

e.g. $\overset{fm}{kae}$, remembrance; $\overset{f}{Kon}$ - $\overset{f}{tom}$ - $\overset{f}{po}$ - $\overset{m}{ni}$, a liar.

These rules only touch upon the very fringe of the subject,

¹ Most diminutives ending in *wa* have such tones, and also diminutives ending in *a*, and nouns ending in long *e* or *i* or in diphthongs.

and deal with nouns when standing alone and unconnected.¹ When prefixes are dropped and the noun connected with succeeding words all kinds of changes occur; high tones become low and low high, but these changes cannot here be discussed.

Tones in verbs. The tones in the simplest unconnected form of the monosyllabic verb *ba*, to come, will be given in the different tenses. In the connected form these tones may and probably will differ—low tones after high becoming low, and low tones before high becoming high.

m f

O-ba, he comes.

m t

Wa-ba, he has come.

m m f

O-re-ba, he is coming.

m m m f

O-re-be-ba, he is about to come.

mm

Ber-a, come.

f ff

Ommera, he may come.

m f

Omma, he may not come.

Before this extremely brief and sketchy account of a most difficult subject is closed, a list of words will be given showing how a change of tone in a syllable may, as has already been noted, alter the dictionary meaning of a word.

m f f

O-so-re, he prays.

m m f

O-so-re, he rises up.

m m m

O-wa-re, he is tall.

m m f

O-wa-re, he marries.

m m

O-pam, he sews.

m f

O-pam, he drives away.

¹ As will be seen later in the discussion upon the holophrase, this is in practice a rare occurrence, so much so that I am very much inclined to doubt the use of learning such rules which when learned seem in practice only to be broken. But here they serve a useful purpose as examples.

m f

O-do, he ploughs.

m m

O-do, he loves.

m mf

O-kra, he bids farewell.

m fm

O-kra, cat.

2. *Accent.* The rules governing accent are less complicated than those regulating tones; the English student of the language will certainly have much less difficulty in mastering them; the reason, as we have seen, being that he is here on old familiar ground, whereas the whole system underlying the use of tones is absolutely foreign to anything he has ever conceived or heard of in his own language.

Only three rules will be given :

1. In verbs the accent depends on changes of tone.
2. In nouns the accent is on the first syllable having a high tone, or on the low-toned syllable immediately preceding it.
3. In nouns with low tones throughout, the first syllable usually carries the accent. In other words, as has already been noted, accent, in Ashanti, is dependent on tone and not on etymology.

The next question to be examined is the manner in which these various elements, tone, accent, gesture, loudness or softness, number of syllables, pauses and stops, are actually put into practice in drumming and the possibilities and limitations in their application.

Tone. The nature of vowel sounds is well known, and these have actually been defined as 'musical tones'—all know how important they are in singing. Ashanti abounds in vowel sounds; there are no less than ten principal vowels, and as these may be long or short, pure or nasal, their number becomes very great. The language, therefore, should be an ideal one in which to sing and drum.

Granted, then, that a vowel is a musical tone, and dividing tones broadly into 'high' and 'low', we have at once, on two drums, one with a low, the other with a high tone, a possible, if somewhat rough-and-ready, way of reproducing vowel sounds.

But besides vowel sounds, whatever number a language may contain, consonants must also exist to hang these vowels upon. For a long time I could not see that there was any possibility of reproducing on the drums, sounds approximating to consonants. When we come to examine Ashanti talking-drums themselves, it will be noticed that a small piece of iron called *akasa* lies on the tympanum of the male drum, to which it is sometimes attached. This bit of iron jingles and gives rise to a harsh discordant note, which runs intermittently through the more musical tones with which it mingles. I have repeatedly asked drummers why they used this bit of iron, and the answer always is, that the drums will not 'speak well' without it. Its very name, *akasa*, means literally 'the little speaker'. I believe that this discordant and harsher note, very roughly approximates to consonantal sounds, which the drum seeks to reproduce as being essential to speech. The drum 'does not talk well without it', the Ashanti drummer says, and at the present stage of these investigations we must leave it at that, but the point is one well worth noting for future scientific investigation. Thus far I have tried to show that, broadly speaking, vowels with low tones or high tones, or any combination of these, may be reproduced on our two drums, together with a jarring note contributed by the *akasa* which, possibly, suggests the sounds of consonants. Next, there is obviously not any difficulty about reproducing the correct number of syllables in a word or in any group of words; e.g. we have this sentence in Ashanti: *A-ko-ko bon a-no-pa*, where there are seven syllables; putting in the tones we have the following scheme: Low, high, high, low, low, low, low, or writing according to the method suggested, m f f m m m m
A-ko-ko bon a-no-pa. The next element we have to impart is the correct accent; this is easily done; in fact the drumsticks, in hands which naturally in speaking have followed the accent, will almost unconsciously impart that accent to the correct syllables. Thus the fourth syllable, *bon*, in the example just given will be slightly accented, and also the last but one, *no*. Next come the punctuation and stops. First of all there is an extremely slight pause between each syllable, and a slightly longer one after each word. These can easily be

reproduced accurately by the drummers. The next point is, I believe, very important in connexion with the drum language. It may be summed up in the statement that I believe there are still indications that Ashanti is or has been a holophrastic language, as perhaps all unwritten languages tend to be. Examples will make my meaning clear. A student in this language, who is working with a native teacher, must have been struck with the latter's apparent inability at times to grasp what is said or meant, when instead of a sentence, a single word—a noun, an adjective, or verb root—is taken out of a sentence and spoken alone. The student may seem to pronounce the word absolutely correctly, but so far from imparting any meaning to his listener he might as well be speaking a word in some foreign language. If the same word is now taken and put into a sentence or phrase, the native teacher will at once seem to hear and understand it. That is, the Ashanti does not readily grasp the sounds of words as isolated parts of speech (as we have learned to do), but only takes cognizance of them when they become part of a phrase or sentence which he hears, as it were, as a familiar combination of sounds, which, when broken up and isolated into component parts or sounds, he has difficulty in recognizing. To learn to write would seem to be the solution of this difficulty, for it is only among the illiterate that I have noticed this peculiarity. The writing down separately parts of speech, and grammatical analysis, can alone give words their own individuality. Among peoples who know nothing of writing or grammar, a word *per se*, cut out from its sound group, seems almost to cease to be an intelligible sound. Another reason for this inability to understand separate words may possibly be that the tones of words as part of the sentence and as standing alone or unconnected are, as has been noted, generally different. Both causes are perhaps contributory to this phenomenon which undoubtedly exists. This peculiarity of the holophrase supplies, I believe, yet another factor which helps out the drums in their attempted approximation to human speech. The drummer is not so much concerned with the individual letters or syllables—he knows nothing of either—but he hears a musical phrase, as it were, in which, if he misses a note here and there, i. e. a syllable, the context which he would have

grasped, assists him in deciphering the whole. This recognized linguistic melody which he hears is composed of sounds and stops approximating to :

1. High and low vowel sounds.
2. Consonants.
3. The exact number of required syllables.

The whole is punctuated and accented as accurately as can be done in print. Granted, then, that Ashanti has tones, and granted that tones, accent, loudness, softness, stops, &c., in a sentence all go towards the production of a kind of linguistic music, then in any particular holophrase we have as it were a bar or bars of music.

If we hear a bar of music repeated we soon become familiar with it, and in an exactly similar manner do these Ashanti drummers become familiar with the common phrases and 'set pieces' which form the *répertoire* of the drummers' stock-in-trade, and very soon even to a foreigner who has learned these pieces the drums begin to 'talk'.

I have now described—imperfectly and inadequately, the elements of a subject which must be left to scholars versed in phonetics to pursue—the secret of drum-talking, compared with which our own Morse code is simplicity itself. I think it has never been recognized properly how wonderful and how worthy of encouragement the drum language really is. This has been chiefly because the principles upon which it is based were misunderstood, and even when recognized seem strange and foreign to most of us, and also because we have not realized what good purpose it served. It is only by a process of synthesis, such as has been adopted in this chapter, that we begin to realize that an untaught African people have grasped and adapted elements in the science of phonetics, in producing a useful means of intercommunication and of practical utility in their daily life; it has helped also, as will be seen presently, to preserve the records and traditions of their past, and to foster racial pride in the present and future generations. Ashanti drumming should therefore inspire respect and gratitude; we ought, I believe, to encourage, if only by a word of recognition and praise to its exponents, an art which must otherwise soon die out, taking with it much of the past history of this people.

The Scope and Limitations of the Drum Language.

It is proposed first to discuss the probable range of the drum language. One never ceases to hear wonderful accounts of how this or that item of news has been conveyed over immense tracts of this Continent by means of drums.

Some months ago I read in the papers how a resident in one part of Africa heard of the death, in another part of the Continent, of a European baby, and how this news was carried by means of drums, which were used, it was stated, on 'the Morse principle'. Other items of news of an interesting, if of a less domestic, nature, e.g. that recorded in the beginning of this chapter, are also often reported. In the Cameroons, and elsewhere than Ashanti, a different system may possibly prevail, and the scope of the drum language be greatly enlarged. As I have heard exactly similar unsubstantiated stories in Ashanti, I doubt whether many of these accounts would survive critical investigation.

The explanation of many of these legends possibly lies no deeper than in the story of an intercepted or belated delivery of a telegraphic message by a native postal official.

How often in the little village in Scotland in which I was brought up, have I had the news I was later to receive as the contents of a telegram related to me by one of the villagers—and we have no drum language in Galloway!

The first limitation I would place on the drum language is determined not by distance but by language. Given a uniform linguistic area, stretching uninterruptedly for one hundred, one thousand, or more, miles, there is not any theoretical or practical reason—provided this area has a sufficiently dense population—why a drum message should not be sent from one end of that country to the other, and this, in the time that sound will travel, plus a period allowed for retransmission at different receiving and dispatching points, and other incidental delays. A barrier, however, would seem to be immediately interposed when we come to a new linguistic area. This barrier may or may not be insurmountable. If this area (1) also possesses a tonic language, (2) has possibly a drum language of its own, and (3) possesses a drummer who is bilingual, and so able

has ever learned to helio, or semaphore, or signal with flags will readily understand this. It is always easier to transmit than to receive a message. The difficulty, i. e. that of receiving or 'reading' a drum message, must of necessity be very considerable. The drum only gives the tones, number of syllables, and the punctuation accurately. The actual vowels and the individual consonants cannot be transmitted. It is therefore generally impossible to 'read' accurately any particular word when standing alone, because a combination of, say, a low and a high tone, i. e. a word of two syllables, might be common to a dozen words each of which was made up of a low and a high tone, and containing two syllables, but each of which had a different meaning; when such an isolated word—or, in this context, simple combination of two tones—comes to take its place in a phrase or sentence, the combination of tones becomes more complex, and we have thus a series which will be much less likely to be found combined in another phrase having a different meaning; thus the chance of confusion is somewhat reduced, and when it is stated that the *répertoire* of Ashanti drummers consists of certain holophrases which are in constant use by all drummers, it will be readily understood that they become absolutely familiar with these. Should a drummer depart, however, from one of these 'set pieces' and strike out on his own, drumming at fancy, new phrases, i. e. new combinations of tones, &c., then, though to himself the drum would still continue to speak, yet another drummer, who heard these new combinations for the first time, could not, I am convinced, read his message with any accuracy. That is, sender and receiver have to be familiar with the phrases drummed. Thus, though the possibilities are almost unlimited in theory, they are limited as practised in Ashanti.

A drummer's stock-in-trade consists of a series of holophrases dealing with all the important subjects which he would be likely to find of practical utility; these include:

1. The calling up of any particular chief by name.
2. Notice of danger, an enemy, fire, &c.
3. Death of a noted individual.
4. Approach of Europeans.
5. Summons to take up arms on declaration of war.

6. And, perhaps most important of all, from our point of view, the pieces drummed at the festivals known as *Adae*,¹ which constitute a complete drum-history of the particular clan. An example of such a history is given in this chapter.

There are in Ashanti at least two kinds of drums that 'talk'. The more important of the two, and those which with we are here concerned, are the *ntumpane*.

The other, the *fontomfrom*, are of quite a different shape from the *ntumpane*, and are used in a different way, each drum being beaten by its own drummer, in a kind of duet. The *fontomfrom* drums are used exclusively, I am told, to drum proverbs.

The *ntumpane* are the talking drums of the Ashanti *par excellence*; Fig. 101 illustrates a pair, 'male' and 'female'.

Before we enter upon a detailed description of these drums, an account of how they are made, and the ceremonial inseparable from their manufacture, will be of interest. When an Ashanti chief wants a couple of *ntumpane* or talking drums he will summon the makers (who are not the drummers), and are variously known as '*kyerema nyano* (the drummer's *nyano*) or *atwenesenfo* (i. e. carvers of the *tweneboa* tree). Only chiefs of the rank of *omanhene*, *ohene*, or *safohene* have the right to possess such drums. A Queen Mother or other women may not possess a drum. The makers are given the order and at the same time are presented with a fowl,² some rum, and gold dust; after which they set off to the forest to look for a suitable tree. This must be a tree called variously *tweneboa* or *tweneduru* (a species of cedar?); this tree is regarded as particularly powerful and malignant, its *sunsum* (spirit) being *nye kora*, 'not at all good'. The Ashanti say its wood consists of a mixture of many kinds of wood found in other trees. Having chosen the tree, the workers set about protecting themselves as far as possible from the dangers that now threaten them. First of all an egg is broken by being thrown against the trunk, and the following words are spoken:

'*Me re be twa wo m'asen wo, gye 'kesua yi di, ma me ntumi ntwawo, me nsen, mma dadie ntwame, mma me nyare.*'

¹ See Chaps. V-IX.

² A particular kind of fowl (*asense*) is always associated with drums: it is the fowl with the curly feathers.

' I am coming to cut you down and carve you, receive this egg and eat, let me be able to cut you and carve you, do not let the iron cut me, do not let me suffer in health.'

The rum is poured over the tree which is then cut down. The fowl is next killed and some of the flesh placed upon the tree stump. The log is hollowed out in the forest. When this work is completed, rum and an egg are again offered, with the words :

' *Ye de wo re ko 'fie o, ma 'fie nye yiye.*'

' We are going to take you to the village, let the village prosper.'

When the log is brought to the village, yet another offering is made of a fowl and rum, with the words :

' *Gye akoko ne nsa yi di, ye de wo aba yi, ma 'kuro yi nye yiye, mma ye mfa wo nye ayie.*'

' Partake of this fowl and wine, now that we have brought you, let the village prosper, do not let us have to take you to a funeral.'

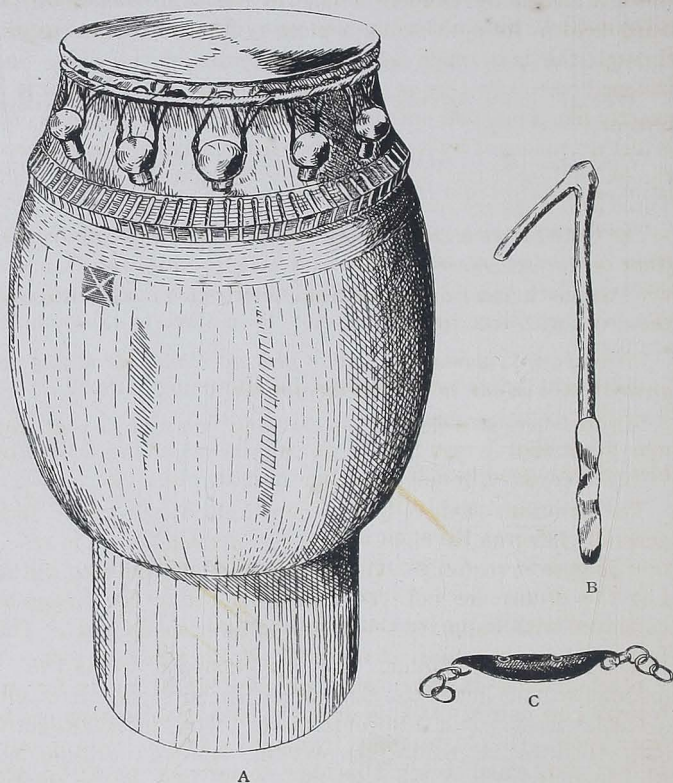
There still remains to complete the drumming outfit :

1. The tense membrane.
2. The pegs.
3. The rope for binding the skin over the pegs.
4. The drum-sticks.
5. The two legs or supports.
6. The piece of iron to be fastened on the male drum.
7. The drum's cloth or dress.
8. The hammer for knocking in the pegs.

1. The tense membrane. For the *ntumpane* drums this is invariably made out of the skin of an elephant's ear, preferably a female, the hairy side being outermost. The skin is cut slightly larger than the size required to cover the mouth of the drum, and then bound on like a jam-pot cover. The edge of the skin is then turned up all round and through this is laced the creeper or rope (*bofunu*), *vide* A on next page. By hammering in or loosening the pegs, the skin is tightened or relaxed, and it is by this ingenious method that the drums are tuned up to the desired pitch. The pegs are called *nsoa* and are made from the tree *ofema*, as are the drum-sticks and supports. They are

held in the sockets by the strain on the ropes, which are themselves tightened by hammering in the pegs. The rope is made from the fibre of a tree called *bofunu*.

The drum-sticks (*nkonta* or *ntwinta*). Two are used, one held in each hand; B shows the shape. They are made from a



naturally shaped branch of a tree called *ofema* (*Microdesmis puberula*). The handles are either bound with cloth or wrapped round with *funtumia* rubber to keep the hands from slipping. A drummer always carries several spare drum-sticks.

The supports (*nyawa*). These serve a double purpose, taking the place of two pegs and also supporting the drums at the

angle at which they are used; they are made of *ofema* wood (*vide* photograph).

The iron attachment (*akasa*), *vide c.* The purpose of this has been described. It is fastened so as to lie below the centre on the tense membrane of the 'male' drum, to which it is sometimes attached by piercing a hole in the skin, sometimes by being held in its position by a piece of hide or creeper passed through the two small holes in the centre of the *akasa* and fastened on to two pegs at each side of the drum. In shape it is exactly like a pea-pod open down one side, and this resemblance is further enhanced by its having two little pieces of iron between the two halves of the 'husk' which lie just like peas in its shell. Three iron rings are suspended from each end of it.

The cloth for an *ntumpane* drum must be a white cloth (*nwira*) (that of the *fontomfrom* is silk). The chief presents the drummer with the cloth and he tears off a small strip and fastens it round the drum with the words:

'Ntumpane! ntama ni o, me re fura wo ntama ma w'ama me anya ohempa m'adi, w'ama me anya nkwa.'

'Drum! here is a cloth, I am dressing you with it that you may grant that I may have a prosperous reign, and let me be blessed with good health.'

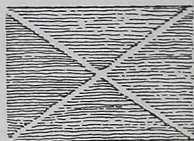
The hammer. This is often a small elephant's tusk. It is generally hung on the right side of the 'female' drum in readiness for use if required. This completes the drumming outfit, but the drums are not yet ready, for before they may be employed with impunity they have to be 'consecrated'. This fact was brought vividly to my notice in the following manner:

Chief Nuama of Coomassie had very kindly made for me a small new pair of 'talking drums'—such as drummers use to learn upon. The old drummer, by name Osai Kojo,¹ who appears in Fig. 101, came to my bungalow to instruct me in his art, but as soon as he had examined the drums he said he could not drum upon them as they were not ready. In the first place, he pointed out that the drums had no 'eyes', and secondly, that apparently they had never, since they left the workman's hand, had any offering made to them. I asked him if he would

¹ It was he who drummed the phonograph records.

perform the necessary ceremony, which he willingly consented to do, and this is what was done :

He first cut a small square on the surface at the left hand side of the 'male' and another on the right hand side of the 'female' drum, with two diagonal lines thus :
(*vide* A on p. 260). These he said were 'the eyes of the drums', and also marked the spot upon which to place any offering. He next asked for two eggs and some whisky. First he poured a few drops of the spirit on the rim of each drum, with the words :



'*Tweneboa Kodia ! gye nsa nom, se ye ka wo a mma yenyare.*'

'O Cedar tree Kodia ! receive this wine and drink, and when we sound you do not let us fall ill.'

Next he slapped down an egg upon the eye of the male drum, saying :

'*Tweneboa Kodia ! ye wura na wa ko sene wo de wo aba se ode wo re be sua ka, na wo tweneboa nso, ye nfa yen nsa mmo wo mu kwa, na ode fufuo mienu na ode re ma wo adidie, yen a ye re kyere no yi, se ye kyere no a, ma no hu ka. Mma no nyare, mma yenso nyare. Ma yiye ntoa yiye, se oko Aburokyiri a, onko hu papa, ma Omanhene nso nhu papa.*'

'Cedar tree Kodia, our master went and had you made and brought (here) that he might take you to learn to drum ; and as for you, O Cedar tree, we do not use our hands to beat you without propitiation, so he has provided two white ones (i. e. eggs) and given you to eat, and we who are instructing him, when we teach him, permit him to know how to drum. Do not let him fall ill, do not let us fall ill either ; let good succeed good. When he goes to Europe may he see good, may the *Omanhene* also see good.'

The broken egg-shell, yolk, and white were rubbed as hard as he could over the 'eye', and then the other egg was broken and smeared over the 'eye' of the female drum with the words :

'*Gye 'kesua yi di.*' 'Accept this egg and eat.'

A fowl, he said, should also be given to the drummer, and this request was also complied with. My drums were now ready for

any emergency. Talking drums when placed in position have the male on the left, the female on the right, the drums touching or nearly so. If the drummer is left-handed, this position is reversed (see Fig. 102). The drummer stands behind them, as seen in the photographs.

Before I pass on to the drum-history which closes this chapter, a few notes on drummers and drum etiquette in general may be of interest. All Ashanti drummers are known as *Odomankoma 'kyerema*, lit. the Creator's drummers, or, making an adjectival phrase, 'the divine drummers'. The Ashanti have a myth which states that the Creator made a herald (*osene*), a drummer (*okyerema*), and an executioner (*obrafo*), and the precedence of these officials in an Ashanti Court is in that order.¹ Among their other duties drummers are supposed to keep the house of the chief's wives in repair.

A drummer must on no account carry his own drums, 'lest he should become mad'. Women should not touch a drum and are not allowed to carry them. A drummer should not teach his own son his art, but engage some other drummer to do so. Should a father teach his own son, it is thought the former would die as soon as the latter had become proficient. Talking drums have their own special room in the chief's house (*ntumpane 'dan*). The *ntumpane* drums are supposed to observe their owner's *ntoro* taboos.² Besides these, the *ntumpane* are supposed to taboo most rigidly :

- (a) Blood in any form.³
- (b) Menstruating women.
- (c) Jaw-bones or skulls.

Ntumpane drums are carried behind a chief⁴; when he sits down to receive his courtiers, their position is behind him. On every occasion upon which a drummer is about to drum for the first time on a particular day, the following little ceremony takes place. Some wine or other spirit is brought in a cup,

¹ Horn blowers and drummers are of equal rank.

² *Vide* Chapter II on 'Ntoro Exogamous Divisions'.

³ The *fontomfrom* drums mentioned do not taboo blood. When a fowl is killed for the *ntumpane*, it is killed in front of them and great care taken that blood should not touch the drums.

⁴ Except a drum called 'Prempeh' which is carried in front; it is not a talking drum.

and the drummer, bending over his drums, pours a few drops upon the edges and addresses them as follows :

' *Tweneboa Kodia, Kodia Tweneduru, gye nsa nom. Obofunu, gye nsa nom. Ofema dunsene, Gyaanadu Asare nsoa, gye nsa nom. Ofema dunsene, Gyaanadu Asare ntwinta, gye nsa nom. Esono obu akuma, gye nsa nom. Kokokyinaka Asamoa, gye nsa nom. Obayifo, gye nsa nom. Asase, gye nsa nom. Onyankopon Tweadumpon Bonyame, gye nsa nom.*'

' Cedar tree Kodia, Kodia Cedar tree, accept (this) wine and drink. Obofunu rope, accept (this) wine and drink. Stump of the Ofema tree, Gyaanadu Asare, the Pegs, accept (this) wine and drink. Drum-sticks made of the Ofema tree (whose title is) Gyaanadu Asare, accept (this) wine and drink. Elephant who breaks the axe, accept (this) wine and drink. Kokokyinaka bird (whose title is Asamoa), accept (this) wine and drink. Witch, accept (this) wine and drink. Earth deity, accept (this) wine and drink. Supreme Being Nyankopon Tweadumpon Creator, accept (this) wine and drink.'

This completes such information as has to date been obtained concerning the drum language, the drummers, and their drums, and the chapter will be closed with a drum-history of the Mampon division of Ashanti. An interpretation of this is given and also the key which will enable any one interested to try to drum it for himself.

An English translation is also given and a few very brief notes on points of anthropological interest.

I am very greatly indebted to an Ashanti chief, Osai Bonsu, *Omanhene* of Mampon, for permitting his drummer to drum this complete history into a phonograph,¹ and for allowing his drummers to lay completely bare, for the first time I believe, to a European, the secrets of their art. It may not be generally recognized that such a history has a deeply sacred significance. The names of dead kings are not to be spoken lightly, and with the recounting of such a history comes no small sadness to the listener.

I trust these phonograph records may prove to be of some

¹ Fig. 101 will show how the records were made. This photograph was taken in the open but the records were made in a room.

value, though they very possibly contain a number of mistakes.¹ They were made with considerable difficulty. The drummer was an old man, and the constant breaking in to have each stanza interpreted must have made his task more difficult. He became very hoarse towards the end, and a little cough here and there breaks in upon his interpretation.²

The translation into English is somewhat marred owing to the addition, to the names of each chief, of his titles or 'strong names' (*mmerane* is the Ashanti word). Many of these appear to be archaic, and no one now seems able to interpret them; so they have had to be retained and rendered in the vernacular.

It is not proposed in this chapter to analyse minutely the interesting and valuable material contained in this drum-history, but special attention may be directed to the following points:

Before the serious business of drumming the names of the chiefs begins, the spirits of the various materials, which have gone towards the making of the composite drum, are each propitiated in turn, and these spirits are summoned to enter for a while that material which was once a portion of their habitation. The drums thus, for a time, become the abode of the spirits of forest trees and of the 'mighty elephant'. The deities of Earth and of Sky are called upon in like manner. Even the hated and dreaded witches (*abayifo*), who prey upon the human body and gnaw the vitals and hearts of men (just as humans partake of meat and other food), are not forgotten, lest in anger they might seize upon the drummer's wrists and cause him to make mistakes.

A drummer who falters and 'speaks' a wrong word is liable to a fine of a sheep, and if persistently at fault he might, in the past, have had an ear cut off. The constant allusion to 'the stone that wears down the axe' carries us back, I believe, to the neolithic age in their culture, of which we have examples to-day in the celts and grooved rocks which abound in Ashanti. The weapons, offensive and defensive, with which this people once fought have their names preserved, though the weapons themselves are no longer to be found in use, or even known to the majority.

¹ A few have been noted and corrected in this chapter.

² In seven cylinders.

An interesting allusion is made to one of the *ntoro* divisions, Lake Bosomtwe,¹ described elsewhere, which corroborates what was therein recorded, i. e. the offering of a white fowl to the Lake spirit.

When we come to the names of the rulers of this clan (the Beretuo), a close examination reveals the fact that the first sovereign of this division was a woman—a fact of great interest when the position of women under their system of matrilineal descent is examined.²

Finally, in this drum-history has been preserved an accurate record of the migrations of this clan from the far-away days when the Mampons were settled in Adanse, and also the names, deeds, and physical attributes of their former rulers.

This history is first given in the drum language itself, by writing down the tones; M, for a beat upon the 'male' drum, F, for one upon the 'female', MF, FM, MM, or FF, for almost, but not quite, simultaneous beats upon either drum in the order named. These tones are grouped in syllables by being linked with a hyphen, e. g. M-F-F for *a-ko-ko*, &c. The various holophrases each have a separate line.

No attempt has been made to accent the syllables.

*History of Mampon
in the Drum Language.*

*Drum-History of Mampon
transposed to the Ashanti
Language.*

(Cylinder No. 1)

I
M M M M,
F F F F,
F-F-F M-M-M,
M-M-F-F M-M-M,
M-M-F-F F-M-F,
F-M-F M-M-F-F,
M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
M-M M-F M,
M F M-F F-F F,
M-F-F M M-M-M,

I
Kon, kon, kon, kon,
Kun, kun, kun, kun,
Funtumi Akore,
Tweneboa Akore,
Tweneboa Kodia,
Kodia Tweneduru,
Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
Oko babi a,
Wa ma ne-ho mene so,
Akoko bon anopa,

¹ *Vide 'Ntoro Exogamous Divisions', Chap. II.*

² *Vide 'Matrilineal Descent in Ashanti', Chap. III.*

M-F-F MF M,
 M-F-F F-F F-F,
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F,
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F.

II

M-M-F F-F-F-F,
 M-M-F F-F-F-F,
 M-M-F F M M-F-M-F,
 M-M-F-M-M,
 M-F F M-F-F,
 M-M-F M M M F M,
 M M M,
 M-M-F M M M-F M,
 M M M,
 M-M-F M M-F M-F-F,
 M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
 M-M M-F M,
 M F M-F F-F F MF,
 M F M-F F-F F,
 M-F-F M M-M-M,
 M-F-F MF M,
 M-F-F F-F F-F.
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F,
 F M M-F F,
 F-F F F F.

III

M-M-M M-F-F-F-F,
 M F M-M-M-F F F,
 M-M-M M-F-F-F-F,
 M F M-M-M-F MM,
 F-F-F-F-F MF-M-F M-M,
 M-M-M-F M-M F-F,
 M-F-F M-F M-M-F,

*Akoko tua bon,
 Nhima hima hima.
 Ye re kyere wo,
 Nso wo be hu,
 Ye re kyere wo,
 Nso wo be hu.*

II

*Asase damirifa,
 Asase damirifa,
 Asase ne no mfuturu,
 Kyereduampon,
 Oko ka Kwarwuo,
 Asase me re be wu a,
 Me dan wo,
 Asase me te ase a,
 Me dan wo,
 Asase a odi afunu,
 Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
 Oko babi a,
 Wa ma ne-ho mene so oo,
 Wa ma ne-ho mene so.
 Akoko bon anopa,
 Akoko tua bon,
 Nhima hima hima.
 Ye re kyere wo,
 Nso wo be hu,
 Ye re kyere wo,
 Nso wo be hu.*

III

*Yerefi Ankamanefo,
 O ne Akyerema be ko,
 Yerefi Ankamanefo,
 O ne Akyerema bae,
 Kuntunmirifa Gyaanadu koko,
 Ampatakyi mene 'sono,
 Esono obu akuma,*

M-F-F M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,	<i>Esono, Odomankoma 'Kyerema</i>
	<i>se,</i>
M-M-M,	<i>Osunna,</i>
M F M-F F-F F,	<i>Wa ma ne-ho mene so,</i>
M-F-F M M-M-M,	<i>Akoko bon anopa,</i>
M-F-F MF M,	<i>Akoko tua bon,</i>
M-F-F F-F F-F,	<i>Nhima hima hima,</i>
M M M-F F,	<i>Ye re kyere wo,</i>
F-F F F F.	<i>Nso wo be hu,</i>
M M M-F F,	<i>Ye re kyere wo,</i>
F-F F F F.	<i>Nso wo be hu.</i>

(Cylinder No. 2)

IV

M-M-F-F M-M-M-M,
 F M FF,
 M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
 M-M M-F M,
 M F M-F F-F F MF,
 M F M-F F-F F,
 M-F-F M M-M-M,
 M-F-F MF M,
 M-F-F F-F F-F,
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F,
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F.

V

M-F-F F-F-F,
 MF-M-F M-M-M M-MF,
 F M FF,
 M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
 M M M-F M,
 M F M-F F-F F MF,
 M F M-F F-F F,
 M-F-F M M-M-M,
 M-F-F MF M,

IV

Obofunu Ampasakyi,
Wo wo he ?
Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
Oko babi a,
Wa ma ne-ho mene so oo,
Wa ma ne-ho mene so,
Akoko bon anopa,
Akoko tua bon,
Nhima hima hima.
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu,
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu,

V

Ofema dunsene,
Gyaanadu Asare nsoa,
Wo wo he ?
Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
Oko babi a,
Wa ma ne-ho mene so oo,
Wa ma ne-ho mene so.
Akoko bon anopa,
Akoko tua bon,

M-F-F F-F F-F,
M M M-F F,
F-F F F F.

Nhima hima hima.
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu,
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu.

VI

M-F-F M-M-F-F-F M-M-MF,
M M M FF F,
M M M M-FM-M,
M M M M-M-F F,
F-M-F F F M-F M-M-M,
F-F F-F F-F,
M M M-F F,
F-F F F F,
M M M-F F,
F-F F F F.

VI

Aboa Kokokyinaka Asamoa,
Ye gye wo die ben ?
Ye gye wo Anyado,
Ye gye wo 'Kyerema 'ba,
'Kyerema 'ba da, nyane anopa,
Tu tu tu tu tu tu.
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu,
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu.

VII

M-M-M-FF M-M F M-F,
MF M M-F,
M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
M-M-F M-M-F M,
M F FM M M-M-M,
F-F F-F F-F,
M-M-M-FF M-FM M-M-M-F-F,
M-M-M-FF M-FM M-M-M-F-F,
M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
M-M-F M-M-F M,
M F FM M M-M-M,
F-F F-F F-F
M M M-F F,
F-F F F F.

VII

Obayifo, nkum me Adwo,
Gyaa me Adwo,
Odomankoma 'kyerema se,
Osore anopa a,
Obe yan wo anopa,
Tu tu, tu tu tu tu.
Obayifo okum apiripuru,
Obayifo okum apiripuru,
Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
Osore anopa a,
Obe yan wo anopa,
Tu tu, tu tu, tu tu.
Ye re kyere wo,
Nso wo be hu.

(Cylinder No. 3)

VIII

M-FF-F M-F M-M-M,
M-FF-FM-M M M-FF,

VIII

Asiama Toku Asare,
Otweaduampon 'bo 'Nyame,

M-M-F-F M-F M-M-M-MF,
 M-FF-F MM-MF-M,
 M-F-F-F-F F-M-F M,
 M-M M-F M,
 M F M-F F-F F MF,
 M F M-F F-F F,
 M-F-F M M-M-M,
 M-F-F MF M,
 M-F-F F-F F-F,
 M M M-F F,
 F-F F F F.

*Opontenten Asi Akatabaa,
 Asiama Nyankopon,
 Odomankoma 'Kyerema se,
 Oko babi a,
 Wa ma ne-ho mene so oo,
 Wa ma ne-ho mene so,
 Akoko bon anopa,
 Akoko tua bon,
 Nhima hima hima.
 Ye re kyere wo,
 Nso wo be hu.*

IX

FM-M M-F-F MM-FM,
 MM-F F-F,
 MM-F M-F M-M-M,
 F M-M FF,
 F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
 M-FF F M-M-F,
 M-MM M-M-F F-FM-M FM-M
 M-F-F MM-FM,
 MF,
 M-F M-M-FF M-M-M,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F.

IX

*Boafo Anwoma Kwakyie,
 Kwakyi Panyin,
 Kwakyi Adu Asare,
 Wo firi he ?
 Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi,
 daamere obo hi akuma,
 Mampon Kontonkyi Aniampan
 Boafo Anwoma Kwakyi,
 Kon !
 Ogu akuro Firampon,
 Damirifa !
 Damirifa !
 Damirifa !*

X

M-FF F-F-M,
 F F M FF,
 M-FF F-F-M,
 F F M M-M-F,
 M-FF M M F M FF,
 MM-F F-F F,
 M F M F MM-FF,
 M-F-F-F M-FM-FM,
 M-FM-F M-F M-M-M,
 M-FM-F F-MF,

X

*Okyem adamfo,
 Ye mma no 'kyem,
 Okyem adamfo,
 Ye mma no afona,
 Okyem a ye ma no nam,
 Nansa ara pe,
 Se e wa we 'beremo,
 Obirempon Antiedue,
 Antiedu Gyedu Asare,
 Antiedu Kwatia,*

MF,
M-FM-F F-MF F-M-M,
F-F-F-F,
F-F-F-F,
F-F-F-F.

XI

M-FF F M M-F-M-F,
M-M-M MF M-M,
M-M F-MF-F,
M-FM-M,
M-F-F-MF M-M-MF,
F M-M FF F,
F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
M-FF F M-M-F.

(Cylinder No. 4)

XII

M-F MM-M,
MM-M M-F,
F M-M FF F,
F M-M M-MM M-M-M-FF-F,
MF-M-M M-F-F-F-F FM
M-FF,
M-F MM-F M-F M-M-F
M-F-M-M-MM-F.

XIII

M-F-F F FF,
M-F M M-M-M,
M-FF F-FF,
M-F M M-M-M,
M-M-M F-F F F,
M-M-M F-F F MF-M-F,
MF-M MM M-MM-F F-F,
FM-F-F M-F-M-MF,
M-F-M-MF MM-F-FF,
M-F-M-MF M F-F M-M,

Kon !
Antiedu Kwatia Firampon,
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !

XI

Okyem ne no mfuturu,
Gyirampon Agyai ne Ampam,
Agyai Boaete,
Maniampon,
Okukuban 'Birempon,
Wo firi he ni ?
Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi
daamere obo hi akuma.

XII

Adu Boahen,
Boahen Kojo,
Wo firi he ni ?
Wo firi Mampon Akurofonso,
Daamere Odomankoma bo adie.
Adu Gyamfi twere twerebo Ani-
ampafrako.

XIII

Onyunu ko dwoo,
Kodwo me Sekyire,
Adie kokye,
Kokye me Sekyire,
Sekyire 'hene ne huan ?
Sekyire 'hene ne Kwaitu,
Kwaaye nim Afrane Akwa,
Boatimpon Akuamoa,
Akuamoa Dasebere,
Akuamoa ye 'dehye dada,

F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
M-FF F M-M-F,

MF,

M-F-M-MF M-M-M,

F-F-F-F.

F-F-F-F.

*Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi
daamere obo hi akuma.*

Kon!

Akuamoa Firampon,

Damirifa!

Damirifa!

XIV

M-FM-F M-M-F-M-M,

M-M-M-F F-FF,

M-M-M-F F M-M FF F,

F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M

M-FF F M-M-F,

MF,

M-M-M-F M-M-M,

F-F-F-F.

XIV

Otieku Amosoansan,

Atakora Panyin,

Atakora wo firi he ni?

Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi

daamere obo hi akuma.

Kon!

Atakora Firampon,

Damirifa!

XV

MM F F-F F-F F-F F-F F-F

MM F M,

MM F M-M M-M M-M M-M

M-M MM F M,

MM F MM F MF,

MM F MM F MF,

M-F-F-F-F F M-FF,

M-MM FF F,

M-MM FF,

M-MM F-M-F,

M-MM M-F-F-F MM-F M-F,

F M-F M-F F M M-M M-M-M,

F-M-F M-MF-M,

M-M-M-M M-MF-M,

M-M-M F-F-F M-MF-M,

M-F-F MM F-F M F-MF,

M-M M FF F,

M-M M F-FF,

M-M M M-M-M-M,

M-M-M-M M-M M-M-F,

M-F-M-F M-M-MF,

XV

Kra hi gede gede gede gede gede

kra hi ka,

Kra hi kata kata kata kata kata

kra hi ka,

Kra hi kra hi kre,

Kra hi kra hi kre,

Odomankoma boo adie,

Obo die ben?

Obo 'Sen',

Obo 'Kyerema,

Obo Kwawuakwa, 'Brafo tiri,

Ye nyina nyina se ye firi tebena,

Konimsi Amoagyie,

Gyaneampon Amoagyie,

Esene Konini Amoagyie,

Esene, bra begye wo fokye,

Ogya wo die ben?

Ogya wo kabuo,

Ogya wo atopere,

Gyaneampon Sakyi Amponsa,

Asumgyima 'Birempon,

MF,
 M-F-M-F M-M-M.
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F.

Kon !
Asumgyima Firampon,
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !

(Cylinder No. 5)

XVI

M-F-F F-FM,
 M-F-F F-FM,
 MM-F M-MF,
 M-F-F MM-F M-M,
 M-F-F M-M,
 M-MF M-F M,
 M-F-F MM-F M-MF F M-M
 FF F,

F M-M M-F-F M-FM-M-MM-M,

M-FF F-F-M M-FF,
 M-FF F-F-M FF,
 M-M-FF F F,
 M MM FF M FM M-FF F,
 M-FF F M-M M-M,
 M-FF F M-M F-F-F-F M-FM
 M-FF,

MF,
 MM-F M-MF M-M-M,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F M-MF,
 F-F-F-F M-MF,
 F-F-F-F M-MF,
 F-F-F-F M-MF.

XVI

Osafo tenten e,
Osafo tenten e,
Gyamfi Agyai,
Osafo Gyamfi Akwa,
Osafo Koko,
Osai Tutu 'ba,
Osafo Gyamfi Agyai wo firi he
ni ?

Wo firi Kumase, Aduampa-
frantwi.

Okwan atware asuo,
Asuo atware 'kwan,
Opanyin ne huan ?
Ye bo 'kwan ko too asuo yi,
Asuo yi firi tete,
Asuo yi firi 'Domankoma oboo
adie,

Kon !
Gyamfi Agyai Firampon,
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa !
Damirifa ! Osai,
Damirifa ! Osai,
Damirifa ! Osai,
Damirifa ! Osai.

XVII

M-FM-M MM-FF,
 M-M-FF M-F M-FF,
 M-M-M-F MM-FF,
 F M FF F,
 F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
 M-FF F M-M-F,
 FM-M F-F F-F F-F F-F F-F,
 MM-FF M-M-M,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F,
 F-F-F-F.

XVIII

F F M F-F M,
 F F M M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F M,
 M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F F F,
 M-F-F M-F M-M-F,
 M-M-MF M-F M-M-F,
 F-F-FF F M-M-M-M F-FM-M,

 M-M-M-F M-F-M-FM,
 M-M-M-F FF FF,
 M-M-M-F M-F M-M-M,
 F-F-F-F.

XIX

M-M-M M-F-F-F M-FM F-F,
 M-FM M-M-MF,
 M-F-F M-FM M-F-F,
 M-MF M-F M,
 M-F-F M-M-FM,
 M-F-F M-M-M,
 M-F-F-F-F M-MF M-F
 M-M-MF,
 M-MF M-F M.

XVII

Asiase Pepra,
Okwarwuo odi awuo,
Okyerema Pepra,
Wo wo he ni?
Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi
daamere obo hi akuma,
Boafo ako, ako, ako, ako, ako.
Pepra Firampon,
Damirifa!
Damirifa!
Damirifa!

XVIII

Ye nto wo 'Hene Kwa,
Ye nto wo 'Birempon Kwa,
Ohene Kwa,
'Birempon Kwa,
Ohene ne huan?
Ohene fata 'wurade,
'Birempon fata 'wurade,
Yerefie ne Ampasakyi Aniam-
pam,
Atakora bedi-ako e,
Atakora kron kron,
Atakora Kwaku Firampon,
Damirifa!

XIX

Yerefie Ankamafo Akyaw Wusu,
Akyaw 'Birempon,
Owusu oka akyiri,
Osai Tutu 'ba,
Owusu Akwasi e,
Owusu Sekyire,
Onoborobo Osai Kojo 'Birempon,

Osai Tutu 'ba.

(Cylinder No. 6)

XX

M-F-F F-FM,
 M-F-F F-FM,
 MM-F M-MF,
 M-MF M-F M,
 F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
 M-FF F M-M-F.

XXI

F F M F-F M,
 F F M M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F M,
 M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F F F,
 M-F-F F F,
 M-F-F M-F M-M-F,
 M-M-MF M-F M-M-F,
 F-F-FF F M-M-M-M F-FM-M,
 M-M-M-F M-F-M-FM,
 M-M-M-F FF FF.

XXII

MM F F-F F-F F-F F-F MM
 F M,
 MM F M-M M-M M-M M-M
 MM F M,
 MM F F-F F-F F-F F-F MM
 F M,
 MM M M F,
 MM F M-M M-M M-M M-M
 MM M M F,
 M-M M-M MM M M F,
 MM F MM F MF MM F M,
 M M M F MM F MM M M F,
 M-M-M-M-FF MM-F MM-F,
 M-MM-MF F F F F,

XX

*Osafo tenten e,
 Osafo tenten e,
 Gyamfi Agyai,
 Osai Tutu 'ba,
 Wo fri Mampon Kontonkyi
 daamere obo hi akuma.*

XXI

*Ye nto wo 'Hene Kwa,
 Ye nto wo 'Birempon Kwa.
 Ohene 'Kwa,
 'Birempon Kwa,
 Ohene ne huan ?
 Ohene ne huan ?
 Ohene fata 'wurade,
 'Birempon fata 'wurade,
 Yerefie ne Ampasakyi Aniam-
 pam,
 Atakora bedi-ako e,
 Atakora kron kron.*

XXII

*Kra hi gede gede gede kra
 hi ka,
 Kra hi gada gada gada gada
 kra hi ka,
 Kra hi gede gede gede kra
 hi ka,
 Kra ka ka hi,
 Kra hi gada gada gada gada,
 Kra ka ka hi,
 Gada gada kra ka ka hi,
 Kra hi kra hi kre kra hi ka,
 Ka ka ka hi kra hi kra ka ka hi,
 Opotopodie mienu, miensa,
 Okrupon be we ne he ?*

M-MM-MF F F F F,
 M-FM-F M-MF-M,
 M-MM F-F-FF,
 M-F-F-F-F F-M-F,
 M-M-FF-F MM-F M-F.

XXIII

FM-M M-F,
 FM-M M-FM-F-F,
 FM-M M-F,
 M-M-F M M F M M-M M
 F-F F,
 M-M-M M-FF M,
 MF-M-F M-MM-F,
 M-F-F F-FF M-F M-M-F
 M-MM-F.

(Cylinder No. 7)

XXIV

F F M F-F M,
 F F M M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F M,
 M-M-MF M,
 M-F-F F F,
 M-F-F M-F M-M-F,
 M-M-MF M-F M-M-F,
 F-F-FF F M-M-M-M F-FM-M,
 M-M-M-F M-FM,
 F M-M M-MM M-M-F M-MF-F.

XXV

M-FF F-F-F M-M-FM M-MF,
 M-M-F MF M-F-F,
 M-M-FM M-MF M-M FF F,
 M-M-FM M-MF M-M M-MM
 M-M-F MF-M-M M-FF F
 M-M-F,

*Okrupon be we ne ti,
 Oboadu Gyabaa Antwi,
 Gyaba Kotoguan,
 Odomankoma 'Kyerema,
 Okwaruwakwa Brafo tiri.*

XXIII

*Boafo Fosu,
 Boafo Aduanwoma,
 Boafo Badu,
 Ofosu fa na ni a, ode ne 'yere
 kye,
 Oduro panyin 'ba,
 Kwaante Bosomtwe,
 Akoko fufuo fata Akwesi Bo-
 somtwe.*

XXIV

*Ye nto wo 'Hene Kwa,
 Ye nto wo 'Birempon Kwa,
 Ohene Kwa,
 'Birempon Kwa,
 Ohene ne huan ?
 Ohene fata 'wurade,
 'Birempon fata 'wurade,
 Yerefie ne Ampasakyi Aniam-
 pam,
 Atakora Kwaku,
 Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi
 Botaase.*

XXV

*Ofe Banyin Agyepon Ntara,
 Agyepon ka akyiri,
 Agyepon Ntara firi he ni ?
 Agyepon Ntara firi Mampon
 Kontonkyi daamere obo hi
 akuma.*

M-M-FM M-MF F M M-M-F,
F M M-F-F M-M.

*Agyepon Ntara wo ye katakyi
Wo ye 'barima dada.*

XXVI

M-M-M-F M-F-M-FM,
F M-M FF F,
F M-M M-MM M-MF-F,
M-M-M-F M M M F MM-F M,
M M-F M F M,

XXVI

*Atakoro bedi-ako e,
Wo firi he ni ?
Wo firi Mampon Botaase,
Atakoro ye re ko ko babi a,
Ye keka ma wo te.*

XXVII

M-FF M-FM,
M-F M-FM-FF,
M-FF M-F,
F M M-M-F
F M M-F-F M-M,
FM-M F-F F-F F-F.

XXVII

*Apia Kusi-e,
Kusi Oboadum,
Apia Kusi,
Wo ye katakyi
Wo ye 'barima dada,
Boafo ako ako ako.*

XXVIII

M-M-M M-F-F-F M-FM F-F,
M-F-F M-FM M-F-F,
M-F-F M-M-M,
F M-M M-MM M-M-F MF-M-M
M-FF F M-M-F,
FM-M F-F F-F F-F F-F.

XXVIII

*Berefi Ankamafo Akyaw Wusu,
Owusu Oka akyiri,
Owusu Sekyire,
Wo firi Mampon Kontonkyi
daamere obo hi akuma.
Boafo ako ako ako ako.*

XXIX

M-F-F-F-F M-MF M-FM,
M-M M-F F-M M-F-F,
M-MF M-F M-M-MF,
F M M-M-F
F M M-F-F M-M,
M-FM M-FM M-M M M F F
F M-F-F-F-F M-MF M-F,
M-M-M-F M-FM FF F M-M-F
F F,
M-M M-F F-M M-F-F,
M-MF M-F M-M-MF.

XXIX

*Onoborobo Osai Tutu-e,
Bonsu oko kyere ahene,
Osai Tutu 'Birempon,
Wo ye katakyi,
Wo ye 'barima dada,
Nka menko a nka pe se ye re
ko Onoborobo Osai Tutu,
Okatakyi a ofua 'tuo ne afona
be ko,
Bonsu oko kyere ahene,
Osai Tutu 'Birempon.*

*English Translation of the Drum-History of Mampon.*I¹

Kon, kon, kon, kon,
 Kun, kun, kun, kun,
 (Spirit of) Funtumia Akore,
 (Spirit of) Cedar tree, Akore,
 Of Cedar tree, Kodia,
 Of Kodia, the Cedar tree,
 The divine Drummer announces
 that,
 Had he gone elsewhere (in
 sleep),
 He now has made himself to
 arise ;
 (As) the fowl crowed in the
 early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and
 crowed,
 Very early, very early, very
 early.
 We are addressing you,²
 And you will understand ;
 We are addressing you,
 And you will understand.

II

(Spirit of) Earth, sorrow is
 yours,
 (Spirit of) Earth, woe is yours,
 Earth with its dust,
 (Spirit of) the Sky,
 Who stretches to Kwawu [a
 locality on the Gold Coast],
 Earth, if I am about to die,
 It is upon you that I depend.

Earth, while I am yet alive,
 It is upon you that I put my
 trust.
 Earth who receives my body,
 The divine drummer announces
 that,
 Had he gone elsewhere (in
 sleep),
 He has made himself to arise.
 (As) the fowl crowed in the
 early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and
 crowed,
 Very early, very early, very
 early.
 We are addressing you,
 And you will understand.
 We are addressing you,
 And you will understand.

III

(Spirit of) the mighty one,
 Ankamanefo,
 He and the drummers will set
 out together,
 (Spirit of) the mighty one,
 Ankamanefo,
 He and the drummers will
 return together.
 You of mighty bulk, Gyaa-
 nadu, the red one
 The swamps swallow thee up
 oh Elephant,
 Elephant that breaks the
 axe,

¹ Phonograph cylinder no. 1.

² *Kyere* is 'to show', 'to instruct', but here I think is used rather in the sense of 'to relate', 'to tell'.

(Spirit of) the Elephant, the
divine drummer declares
that,

He has started up from sleep,
He has made himself to arise ;

(As) the fowl crowed in the
early dawn,

(As) the fowl uprose and
crowed,

Very early, very early, very
early.

We are addressing you,
And you will understand ;

We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

IV¹

(Spirit of) the fibre, Ampa-
sakyi,

Where art thou ?

The divine drummer announces
that,

Had he gone elsewhere (in
sleep),

He has made himself to arise,
He has made himself to arise ;

(As) the fowl crowed in the
early dawn,

(As) the fowl uprose and
crowed,

Very early, very early, very
early.

We are addressing you,

And you will understand ;
We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

V

Oh Pegs, (made from) the
stump of the Ofema
tree,

(Whose title is) Gyaanadu
Asare,

Where is it that you are ?

The divine drummer announces
that,

Had he gone elsewhere (in
sleep),

He has made himself to arise,
He has made himself to arise.

(As) the fowl crowed in the
early dawn,

(As) the fowl uprose and
crowed,

Very early, very early, very
early.

We are addressing you,
And you will understand ;

We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

VI

Kokokyinaka² bird,

How do we give answer to thy
greeting ?

We salute thee ' Anyado ',³

¹ Phonograph cylinder no. 2.

² The *Kokokyinaka* is a beautiful dark blue bird that frequents the forest. Osai Kojo, the old drummer, brought me one which I had as a pet. Its call is not unlike the notes of the drums. It is every drummer's totem, they claim clanship with it and would not eat or kill it. Its call is something like *Kro kro kro kro ko kyini kyini kyini kro kyini ka ka ka kyini kyini kyini kyina ka*. The Ashanti say it taught them to drum.

³ *Anyado* is a salutation given to drummers and also to any one of the Bosompra *ntoro*. Vide ' *Ntoro Exogamous Divisions* ', Chap. II.

We salute thee as the drummer's child,

The drummer's child sleeps,
He awakes with the dawn,
Very early, very early, very early.

We are addressing you,
And you will understand ;
We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

VII

Oh Witch, do not slay me,
Adwo,¹

Spare me, Adwo,
The divine drummer declares that,

When he rises with the dawn,
He will sound (his drums) for you in the morning,

Very early,

Very early,

Very early,

Very early.

Oh Witch that slays the children of men before they are fully matured,

Oh Witch that slays the children of men before they are fully matured,

The divine drummer declares that,

When he rises with the dawn,
He will sound his drums for you in the morning.

Very early,

Very early,

Very early,

Very early,

We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

VIII²

(Spirit of) Asiama Toku Asare,³

Opontenten Asi Akatabaa

[strong names],

Asiama (who came from) the God of the Sky,

Asiama of the Supreme Being,

The divine drummer declares that,

Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep),

He has made himself to arise,

He has made himself to arise.

(As) the fowl crowed in the early dawn,

(As) the fowl arose and crowed,

Very early,

Very early,

Very early.

We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

¹ *Adwo* ; a title of respect, given to chiefs, by women to their husbands, and children to their elders.

² Beginning of the third phonograph cylinder and commencement of historical record. The first seven stanzas that have now been given precede every drum 'piece'.

³ Asiama Toku Asare was the first Queen Mother of the Beretuo clan ; mythology has it that she descended from the sky on a chain. Her blackened stool is preserved and has the centre place of honour at the *Adae* ceremonies. She was the head of the Beretuo clan before they migrated to Mampon. She ruled over the clan at the village of Ahensan in Adanse.

IX

[Oh] Boafo Anwoma Kwakyie,
Kwakyi, the tall one,
Kwakyi Adu Asare,
Whence camest thou ?

Thou camest from Mampon-
Kontonkyi, the place where
the rock wears down the
axe.

Mampon Kontonkyi Aniam-
pam Boafo Anwoma Kwa-
kyi,

Kon !

Who destroys towns, Firampon,
Alas !

Alas !

Alas !

X

Friend of the Shield,
We gave thee a Shield,
Friend of the Shield,
We gave thee an Afona (sword)
The Shield which we gave was
so terrible,

That in just three days,
It devoured backbones.¹

[Oh] Obirempon Antiedue,
Son of Antiedu Gyedu Asare,
Antiedu, the short one,

Kon !

Antiedu, the short one, Fir-
ampon,

Alas !

Alas !

Alas !

XI

Shield with its dust (of tramp-
ing feet),

Gyirampon Agai and Ampam,
Agai Boaete, Maniampon,

The dust of whose battle
caused the little Kukuban
to fall from its tree,

(Giving thee the strong name
of) 'Kukuban 'Birempon',

Whence was it that thou
camest ?

Thou camest from Mampon
Kontonkyi, where the rock
wears down the axe.

XII

[Oh] Adu Boahen,
Boahen Kojo,

Whence was it that thou
camest ?

Thou camest from Mampon
Akurofonso,

The place where the Creator
made things.

Adu Gyamfi with an eye like
flint, (whose title is) Ampa-
frako.

XIII

The Shadows were falling cool,
They fell cool for me at Se-
kyire.²

The day dawned,

It dawned for me at Sekyire,

¹ *Bremmo* is also the centre part of the framework of a shield—its back-
bone.

² *Sekyire* is the name given to the country comprising Mampon, Nsuta,
Effiduase, Ejura, and Jamasi.

Who is Chief of Sekyire ?
 The Chief of Sekyire is Kwaitu,
 Kwaaye knows Afrane Akwa,
 Boatimpon Akuamoa,
 Akuamoa,¹ whom we even
 grow weary of thanking
 for his gifts,
 Akuamoa, you were of the
 royal blood since long long
 ago,
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Kontonkyi, where the rock
 wears away the axe.

Kon !
 Akuamoa Firampon,
 Alas !
 Alas !

XIV

[Oh] Otieku Amosoansan,²
 Atakora the elder,
 Whence was it that thou
 camest ?
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Kontonkyi, where the rock
 wears down the axe.

Kon !
 Atakora, Firampon,
 Alas !³

XV

Kra hi gede gede gede gede
 gede kra hi ka,

Kra hi kata kata kata kata
 kata kra hi ka,
 Kra hi kra hi kre,
 Kra hi kra hi kre,
 The Creator made something,
 What did he make ?
 He made the Herald,
 He made the Drummer,
 He made Kwawuakwa, the
 Chief Executioner,
 They all, they all, declare that
 they came from one Ate
 pod,⁴

Konimsi Amoagye,
 Gyaneampon Amoagye,
 Esene Konini Amoagye,
 Come hither, oh Herald, and
 receive your black monkey
 skin cap.⁵

What was your heritage ?
 Your heritage was a good
 master,
 Your heritage was (the death
 dance), Atopere,
 Gyaneampon Sakyi Amponsa,
 Asumgyima 'Birempon,
 Kon !

Asumgyima⁶ Firampon,
 Alas !
 Alas !
 Alas !
 Alas !

¹ The sixth ruler of the Beretuo clan.

² The seventh ruler of the Beretuo clan Amosoansan (he who declares war and does not turn back).

³ The last three lines are omitted in both the drums and the Ashanti translation, on the phonograph.

⁴ *Tebena* : deriv. *ate*, plu. *nte* ; a kind of creeper of that name and *abena*, a husk or shell.

⁵ The head-dress of a herald is a cap made from the skin of a Colobus monkey with a gold disc in front.

⁶ Asumgyima, eighth ruler of the Beretuo clan, was the son of a herald called Amoagye.

Alas !
Alas !
Alas !¹

XVI²

Osafo, the tall one,
Osafo, the tall one,
Gyamfi Agyai,
Osafo Gyamfi Akwa,
Osafo the red,
The child of Osai Tutu,
Osafo Gyamfi Agyai, whence
camest thou ?

Thou camest from Coomassie
(whose title is) Aduampa-
frantwi.

Oh Path thou crossest the
River,

Oh River thou crossest the Path,
Which of you is the elder ?

We cut a Path, and it went
and met the River,

This River came forth long
long ago.

It came forth from the Creator
of all things.

Kon !

Gyamfi Agyai Firampon,

Alas !

Alas !

Alas !
Alas !
Alas ! Osai³
Alas ! Osai,
Alas ! Osai,
Alas ! Osai.

XVII

[Oh] Asiase Pepra,⁴

Okwawuo, the slayer,

Drummer Pepra,⁵

Where art thou ?

Thou camest from Mampon
Kontonkyi, where the rock
wears down the axe,

Boafo who fought, fought,
fought, fought, fought,
fought.

Pepra Firampon,⁶

Alas !

Alas !

Alas !

XVIII

We salute thee as Chief, (with
the title) Kwa,⁷

We salute thee as 'Birempon,
(with the title) Kwa,

Chief, Kwa,

¹ The drums have seven *damirifa*, but the record ran out at the word *Ampansa* in the Ashanti translation.

² Cylinder no. 5.

³ Osafo's father was one Osai Fwidie. Osai is the title given to any one of the Bosomuru *ntoro*. The Ashanti translation in the record only contains one *damirifa*, the drums give eight, as above.

⁴ Asiase Pepra was the tenth ruler of the Beretuo. *Odi awu* means lit. 'the murderer' but here implies he slew his enemies. The present Omanhene of Mampon is often greeted by this title: *Odi awu mache*, lit. 'Slayer (of men), good morning'.

⁵ Every one of the name 'Pepra' has the sobriquet 'drummer' whether he be a drummer or not.

⁶ Pepra Firampon, omitted in error in both drum and Ashanti translation on the phonograph cylinder.

⁷ *Kwa*, which is a title of honour and respect, is not to be confused with *kwa*, worthless.

'Birempon, Kwa,
 Who is Chief ?
 He is Chief who is worthy of
 the title 'master',
 He is 'Birempon who is worthy
 of the title 'master',
 Yerefie and Ampasakyi, man
 among men,
 Atakora the hero,
 Atakora the Royal of Royals.
 Atakora Kwaku Firampon,¹
 Alas !

XIX

Yerefi Ankamafo Akyaw Wusu,
 Akyaw 'Birempon,²
 Owusu the last born,
 Child of Osai Tutu,
 Owusu Akwasi,
 Owusu Sekyire,³
 Onoborobo Osai Kojo 'Birem-
 pon,
 Child of Osai Tutu.

XX⁴

Osafo⁵ the tall,
 Osafo the tall,
 Gyamfi Agyai,
 Child of Osai Tutu,
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Kontonkyi, where the rock
 wears down the axe.

XXI

We salute thee as Chief (with
 the title) Kwa,
 We salute thee as 'Birempon
 Kwa,
 Chief Kwa,
 'Birempon Kwa,
 Who is Chief ?
 Who is Chief ?
 He is Chief who is worthy of
 the title of 'master'.
 He is 'Birempon who is worthy
 of the title 'master'.
 Yerefi and Ampasakyi, man
 among men,
 Atakora⁶ the hero.
 Atakora, the Royal of Royals.⁷

XXII

Kra hi gede gede gede gede
 kra hi ka,
 Kra hi gada gada gada gada
 kra hi ka,⁸
 Kra hi gede gede gede gede
 kra hi ka,
 Kra ka ka hi,
 Kra hi gada gada gada gada,
 Kra ka ka hi,
 Gada gada kra ka ka hi,
 Kra hi kra hi kre kra hi ka,

¹ This line is omitted in the phonograph cylinder both in the translation and the drumming.

² This line omitted in the phonograph cylinder and in the translation.

³ The eleventh ruler of the Beretuo.

⁴ Phonograph cylinder no. 6.

⁵ The twelfth ruler of Mampon.

⁶ Atakora fought against Gyaman now the French Ivory Coast.

⁷ This line is in the drumming, but is omitted in the drummer's translation on the cylinder.

⁸ The drummer Osai Kojo here became very hoarse and coughed, he was changed with another drummer who continued the translation, and he began all over again, so this *kra hi*, &c. is really duplicated.

Ka ka ka hi kra hi kra ka ka hi,
 (Though the odds were) two or
 three Potopodie birds (to
 one) he fought,
 What part will the Vulture eat?
 The Vulture will eat the head,
 Oboadu Gyabaa Antwi,¹
 Gyaba the man of great bulk,
 The divine Drummer,
 Okwawuakwa the Chief Execu-
 tioner.

XXIII

Boafo Fosu,
 Boafo Aduanwoma,
 Boafo Badu,
 Boafo Aduanwoma,
 Ofosu, who in a fit of anger
 took his wife and gave her
 (to a slave),
 Child of Oduro, the elder,
 Kwaante Bosomtwe,
 A white fowl is a fit offering for
 Lake Bosomtwe² (whose
 day of observance is a
 Sunday).

XXIV³

We salute thee a Chief (with
 the title) Kwa,
 We salute thee a 'Birempon
 (with the title) Kwa,
 Chief Kwa,

'Birempon Kwa,
 Who is Chief?
 He is Chief who is worthy to
 be called 'master',
 He is 'Birempon who is worthy
 to be called 'master',
 Yerefie and Ampasakyi, man
 among men,
 Atakora Kwaku,⁴
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Kontonkyi, from Botaase.⁵

XXV

Ofie Banyin Agyepon Ntara,⁶
 Agyepon the last born,
 Agyepon Ntara whence came
 he?
 Agyepon Ntara came from
 Mampon Kontonkyi where
 the rock wears down the
 axe.
 Agyepon Ntara, thou wert a
 hero,
 Thou wert ever a man.

XXVI

Atakora⁷ the warrior,
 Whence camest thou?
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Botaase,
 Atakora, if we are going to
 fight anywhere,
 We speak of it to thee.⁸

¹ Antwi Abunyawa was the thirteenth ruler of the Beretuo clan.

² *Vide* Chap. II.

³ Seventh and last cylinder.

⁴ In the phonograph the drummer made the very bad mistake of naming Kwame Gyima instead of Atakora Kwaku. The drumming was correct; Atakora was the sixteenth ruler.

⁵ Botaase, an area in the town of Mampon.

⁶ Seventeenth ruler of the Beretuo.

⁷ Atakora Kwaku eighteenth ruler.

⁸ Last two lines not in phonograph cylinder.

XXVII

Apia Kusi,¹
 Kusi Oboadum,
 Apia Kusi,
 Thou wert a hero,
 Thou wert ever a man.
 Boafo who fought, and fought,
 and fought.

XXVIII

Berefi Ankamafo Akyaw Wusu,
 Owusu the last born,
 Owusu Sekyire,²
 Thou camest from Mampon
 Kontonkyi where the rock
 wears down the axe.³
 Boafo who fought, and fought,
 and fought and fought.

¹ The nineteenth ruler of Mampon.

² The twentieth ruler of Mampon.

³ This line not in phonograph cylinder in the translation.

⁴ Osai Bonsu the present *Omanhene* of Mampon and twenty-first ruler of this clan.

⁵ The translation in Ashanti of the whole of Stanza xxix is not in the cylinder, which contains only the drum version.

XXIX

Onoborobo Osai Tutue,
 Bonsu⁴ who fought and seized
 Kings,
 Osai Tutu 'Birempon,
 Thou art a warrior,
 Thou art ever a man,
 (You whose motto is) 'Were
 I alone, I should go and
 fight', Onoborobo Osai
 Tutu,
 The hero who holds a gun and
 a sword when he goes to
 battle,
 Bonsu who fought and seized
 Kings,
 Osai Tutu 'Birempon.⁵

Note.—It may interest readers of this chapter to hear that since it was written, and since my return to Ashanti, Lt.-Gen. Sir Robert Baden-Powell has been in communication with me with reference to the possibility of making use of the African Drum Language by the Boy Scouts. His inquiry and very kind interest in the subject first suggested to me the possibility of adapting the Ashanti *ntumpane* drums for use with the Morse code, and some initial experiments have been carried out with fair success. The method employed has been to read the low tone of the 'male' drum as a dash, and the high tone of the 'female' drum as a dot. Lt.-Col. Meiklejohn, D.S.O., commanding the Gold Coast Regiment, is most kindly permitting his signalling officer further to test the possibilities of this idea. Such a method of invisible signalling may not have any practical value in serious military operations, though it would have one obvious advantage over helio, flag, or semaphore, in that sender and receiver do not require to be in uninterrupted range of vision, a great desideratum in dense forest or 'bush' country. This system would also have advantages over the Ashanti 'tone' system, in that there need be no limitation in the nature or number of the messages that can be transmitted and received. Mr. E. O. Rake, District Commissioner, Scoutmaster of the Mampon troop of Boy Scouts and I received and read various messages, of the nature of which we were not informed beforehand, drummed by an African Boy Scout who was familiar with Morse—the low and high tones, dashes and dots, carrying clearly through over a mile of the dense Ashanti forest.

XXIII

THE GOLDEN STOOL¹

RECENT events in Coomassie have once again brought into prominence 'the Golden Stool'. Misconceptions, if not total ignorance in the past, concerning this object have been the cause of at least one costly expedition, and I believe there is still much which requires to be examined and more fully understood in connexion with this symbol, the supposed desecration or destruction of which has thrown the Ashanti people into national mourning.²

During many years' residence in Ashanti, I have, like all officials, avoided any questions, direct or indirect, concerning this subject, not wishing to offend the susceptibilities of the Ashanti by discussing this somewhat delicate question, and I doubt whether any results would have been obtained had I done so.

It was only after the events of the last few days, when the words *Sika 'Gua* (Golden Stool) have been in every mouth, that I ventured to ask some of my friends among the Ashanti for its true history and anything else in connexion with the subject, the knowledge of which would help us to understand those deep feelings which have so clearly stirred this people, and have caused so many of us to pause and ponder over the underlying causes of their visible grief.

In the archives of the Government there may exist some account of what is about to be related. In the classics dealing with this part of Africa (Bosman, Bowdich, Ellis, Claridge, Reindorf), I cannot recollect ever having seen a description setting forth the supposed origin of the Golden Stool, and, for

¹ This chapter is a copy of a memorandum written a few days after the desecration of the Stool became known, and before the trial and sentencing of the culprits.

² In every town and village *ntwuma* or red clay is seen smeared in lines on the head and arm.

the reasons alluded to above, I was myself more or less ignorant of these facts. ✓

The source of my present information is an old Ashanti of the ruling class, deeply versed in the lore and traditions of his race, whose ancestor was one of the Ashanti kings.

It has been neither politic nor possible in the short time available to get complete confirmation of what is here reported, but I believe investigations, when instituted, will be found to corroborate most of what he has told me.¹

A knowledge of the facts now recorded would possibly have prevented at least one Ashanti war, had its bearing on local feeling and Ashanti politics been fully grasped, and I believe it will also be of some help to us in the correct understanding and settlement of the present position.

*The origin and significance of the Golden Stool.*² There have been at least sixteen Kings³ of Ashanti, beginning with Kwabia Amanfi. He was followed by Oti Akenten, who was in turn followed by Obiri Yeboa Manwu. The fourth known King of Ashanti was Osai Tutu,⁴ the first king to make the Ashanti a great people, and this he achieved by means of the power of 'the Golden Stool' which came into being in his reign in the following manner.

At this time Coomassie was subject to Denkyira, whose king's name at that time was Ntim Gyakari, of the Agona *abusua* or clan. This king had a clansman called Agyei Frimpon, better known as Okomfo-Anotchi (i. e. Anotchi, the priest). This man is stated to have seduced one of the king's wives and to have fled for his life to the Obi⁵ country. Here he made a study of 'fetish' medicine and became the greatest 'fetish' man the Ashanti have ever had. Anotchi returned to Ashanti, proceeding to Juaben, where at this time one Akrasi was on the Stool. Anotchi informed him that he had a special mission from

¹ Since the above was written, and since my return to Ashanti, I am in a position to state that the descriptions and facts as herein recorded are substantially accurate.

² The full title of the Golden Stool is *Sika 'Gua Kofi* (the Friday's Golden Stool) as it was on a Friday that the Stool is supposed to have come into being.

³ Using the word King in the only sense in which it should be used in Ashanti, as referring to one of the Kings of Coomassie.

⁴ Reindorf gives the date of Osai Tutu's reign as 1700-30.

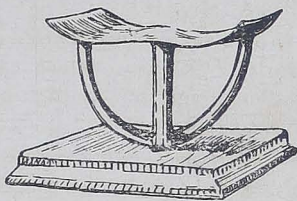
⁵ I have so far been unable to trace this place, but to this day in Ashanti any big fetish priest is called Obi Okomfo.

Onyame, the God of the Sky, to make the Ashanti into a great and powerful nation.

Osai Tutu was informed, and a great gathering was held in Coomassie in the presence of the King and the Queen Mother, one Manu,¹ and the Chief of Kokofu, called Gyami, and the Kokofu Queen Mother, Ajua Pinaman, and many others.

Anotchi, in the presence of a huge multitude, with the help of his supernatural power, is stated to have brought down from the sky, in a black cloud, and amid rumblings, and in air thick with white dust, a wooden stool with three supports and partly covered with gold.²

This stool did not fall to earth but alighted slowly upon Osai Tutu's knees.³ There were, according to some authorities, two brass bells on the stool when it first came from above; according to others, Anotchi caused Osai Tutu to have four bells made, two of gold and two of brass, and to hang one on each side of the stool.



Anotchi told Osai Tutu and all the people that this stool contained the *sunsum* (soul or spirit) of the Ashanti nation, and that their power, their health, their bravery, their welfare were in this stool. To emphasize this fact he caused the King and every Ashanti chief and all the Queen Mothers to take a few hairs from the head and pubes, and a piece of the nail from the forefinger. These were made into a powder and mixed with 'medicine', and some was drunk and some poured or smeared on the stool.⁴ Anotchi told the Ashanti that if this stool was

¹ Manu shows she was one of two daughters born in succession. Many of these names I have verified from written histories.

² This rough sketch is made from an old *Abrammuo* or 'Ashanti Weight' which, I am informed, purports to be a model of the Golden Stool.

³ The Golden Stool is supposed never to have touched the ground and it was never set in direct contact with it; on the rare occasions on which it was ever used, the skin off the back of an elephant was first placed on the ground; this was then covered with a cloth called *Nsa*, woven in the North, and something like what we call 'Kano cloth', and the stool was set upon this. As will be seen later the Golden Stool was never sat upon as ordinary stools are.

⁴ To understand the full significance of this act one has to know that in the event of a person dying far from home, and it being impossible to remove the body for burial, some hair and nail parings are taken and brought home

taken or destroyed, then, just as a man sickens and dies whose *sunsum* during life has wandered away or has been injured by some other *sunsum*, so would the Ashanti nation sicken and lose its vitality and power.

This stool was never to be sat upon. It was not the ordinary stool of everyday or even ceremonial use. On very great occasions, if its power were to be invoked, the King of Ashanti would just make pretence to sit upon it three times, and would then seat himself upon his stool, resting his arm upon the Golden Stool.

When it was taken to Bantama once a year it was conveyed under its own umbrellas and surrounded by its attendants who in number and adornments surpassed those of the King who followed after it.

It was during Osai Tutu's reign that Coomassie threw off the yoke of Denkyira. When the King of Denkyira had sent his usual demand for annual tribute, and upon his messenger, Abebrese,¹ presenting his claim for a brass pan filled with gold dust and also the favourite wife and the favourite son of every Ashanti chief, the chief of Juaben is reported to have risen up and struck Abebrese on the face and then to have killed him. His blood was touched by the finger of every Ashanti chief present, and all swore to resist and fight the Denkyira. The armies met finally at Feyiase, not far from Coomassie, and owing to the power of the 'Golden Stool' the Denkyira were totally defeated. Their king, Ntim Gyakari, was said to have been found by the Ashanti (Coomassie) army sitting shackled with golden fetters and playing *wari* (a kind of draughts) with one of his wives. They were beheaded and the golden fetters—known all over Ashanti as the *sika dayanfo*—became part of the insignia on the Golden Stool.² Osai Tutu was succeeded by Opoku Ware, who in turn was followed by Kusi Boadum. He was succeeded by Osai Kwadwo, who was followed to convey the *sunsum* of the deceased to look after the persons of its *ntoro* who are still alive.

The bells seen on many stools are for summoning the ghosts of the departed kings at the *Adae* ceremonies, which have been described elsewhere in this volume.

¹ The name Abebrese means lit. 'trouble'.

² Many Ashanti stools have fetters round the centre column. These are to fasten the souls of their owners to the stools.

by Osai Kwame. He was followed in turn by Opoku Fofie and Osai Bonsu. It was during Osai Bonsu's reign that important additions were made to the regalia or insignia attached to the Golden Stool. The King of Gyaman, called Adinkira, saw or heard of the Golden Stool of Coomassie and made one similar to it. This so enraged the King of Ashanti that he led an army against Adinkira and totally defeated that chief near Bontuku (now French Ivory Coast), and cutting off Adinkira's head caused that chief's golden stool to be melted down and cast into two masks representing Adinkira's face. These masks were hung one on each side of the Golden Stool.¹

This event accounts for the mistaken report that one may occasionally hear, i.e. the Ashanti 'Golden Stool' came from Gyaman.

Osai Bonsu Panyin² was succeeded in turn by the following Ashanti Kings: Osai Yao; Kwaku Dua Panyin; Kakari (erroneously called Karikari); Mensa Bonsu; Kwaku Dua Kuma; Prempeh, 1888-95.

Each of these kings would add something to the Stool, but my informant does not know of any specially striking addition.

Coming now to the historic times, I wish briefly to touch upon two events, for an authentic record of which we are indebted to Dr. Claridge's *History*. The first is the expedition resulting in the banishment of Prempeh, the second Sir Frederic Hodgson's speech at Coomassie on the 28th March 1900. Of the former, I consider it worthy to record what I am informed is a piece of inner history on the Ashanti side that has never been told before. My informant reported that the submission of the Ashanti in 1896, after Prempeh's vain attempt to get into direct communication with the Home Government, and on receipt of the ultimatum from the Governor, was due to the fact that the Ashanti feared to take the Golden Stool to a war in which they felt certain they would suffer defeat. They decided therefore to make no opposition, deeming the loss of their king a trifle in comparison with the loss of their Golden Stool. It will be recollected that not a shot was fired on the

¹ Bowdich mentions this event; see p. 196 of his book.

² *Panyin* simply means 'elder', and *Kuma* 'younger'; he was later so called to distinguish him from Mensa Bonsu.

expedition and that the Ashanti calmly submitted to the banishment of their king. They still, however, retained the Golden Stool. Coming now to the events leading up to the 28th March 1900, and passing over the fruitless and futile search for the Golden Stool conducted with much gallantry, in the face of very real dangers, by Captain Armitage,¹ I will quote from Claridge's history what Sir Frederic Hodgson is reported to have said on that occasion :

' Now kings and chiefs, you have heard what the King of Bekwai has said upon the point I raised. What must I do to the man, whoever he is, who has failed to give to the Queen, who is the paramount power in this country, the stool to which she is entitled ?

Where is the Golden Stool ?

Why am I not *sitting*² on the Golden Stool at this moment ?

Why have you relegated me to this chair ?

Why did you not take the opportunity of my coming to Coomassie to bring the "Golden Stool", and give it me *to sit upon* ? '

The historian relates that this speech ' was received in silence '. A few days later we were at war, which the Ashanti had declared on us.³ Comment seems superfluous. The Ashanti were ' silent ', but every man left that meeting to go and prepare for war. I am sure if the Government of that day had ever known what is here very briefly described it would never have asked for the stool ' to sit upon ', and possibly it would not have asked for it at all, and there would have been no siege of Coomassie in 1900.

Our history shows not a few of such blunders retrieved—in part—by the gallantry of our men in the little wars which have sprung from these mistakes, mistakes made by high-principled men who felt sure they were acting for the best. Sir Frederic Hodgson apparently thought that the Golden Stool was just the ordinary stool of a King of Ashanti—the sign it is true of his kingship. But the Golden Stool was and is far more than that, it is the shrine of the *sunsum* or soul of this people, something

¹ Capt. Armitage, C.M.G., D.S.O., now Governor of the Gambia.

² The italics are mine.

³ Lady Hodgson, in a book she wrote, has stated that her husband never said these words. The interpreter, however, so understood or misunderstood him, for this is how his speech was translated to the Ashanti.

for which they have fought and for which, I believe, they would fight again. There is still an aspect of the whole question which I would respectfully beg to submit for earnest consideration. I do not think we realize what a power, working for us, this stool has been, hidden away as it was; or that we fully grasp the results which I believe might follow were we ever to take it from this people. I believe it will be found to be the case that all the obedience, the respect, and great loyalty we have been given by the Ashanti is given through and by reason of the Golden Stool. I believe that, so far from benefiting, had we ever taken this stool—which would have been little more than a 'trophy' to us—that its power would then have worked against us. I go further and say that if it be true that this symbol of Ashanti nationality has now been lost or destroyed, that the results will soon be felt by us in a way we can hardly grasp. But I do not believe it to have been totally destroyed, and I think that once the Ashanti realize the wise policy that decrees that the stool is not to be asked for, that we shall know that much of it is still in being. I believe that once we are assured of this fact, that we have the key to the delicate situation which may possibly arise if the miscreants who desecrated the Golden Stool are found guilty and there is a demand for the death penalty, which the Ashanti law demands. For every Ashanti, man and woman, would understand the fairness of our plea for a mitigation of sentence of death to one of exile (to let them out in Ashanti would be to sign their death-warrant) on the ground that if the stool itself—i. e. the wooden foundation—is intact, then the *sunsum*, or soul, or power, or whatever we like to call it, has certainly *not* been destroyed.

XXIV

THE SILVER STOOL

THE Queen Mothers and women of Ashanti presented to H.R.H. the Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, on the occasion of her wedding, a silver stool which was a replica of that belonging to the late Queen Mother of Mampon.

A booklet, printed and bound by Africans in Accra, illustrated with photographs and written by the author of this volume, was presented to Princess Mary along with this gift. This contained the speech of Sewa Akoto, the late Queen Mother, which she made on presenting the stool for transmission to the Princess, and also a version, in a more condensed and less technical form, of what appears in Chapter III under the title of 'Matrilineal Descent in Ashanti'. The booklet also contained an account of the making and consecration of the stool.

The late Queen Mother's speech, the photographs, and the description of the rites in connexion with the making of the stool are republished here by the gracious permission of Princess Mary. The part dealing with the position of women in Ashanti is now omitted, as it would only be largely a repetition of what has been said in Chapter III.

The Queen Mother's Speech.

TRANSLATION

Lady Guggisberg, wife of His Excellency,

I place this stool in your hands. It is a gift on her wedding for the King's child, Princess Mary.

Ashanti stool-makers have carved it, and Ashanti silversmiths have embossed it.

All the Queen Mothers who dwell here in Ashanti have con-

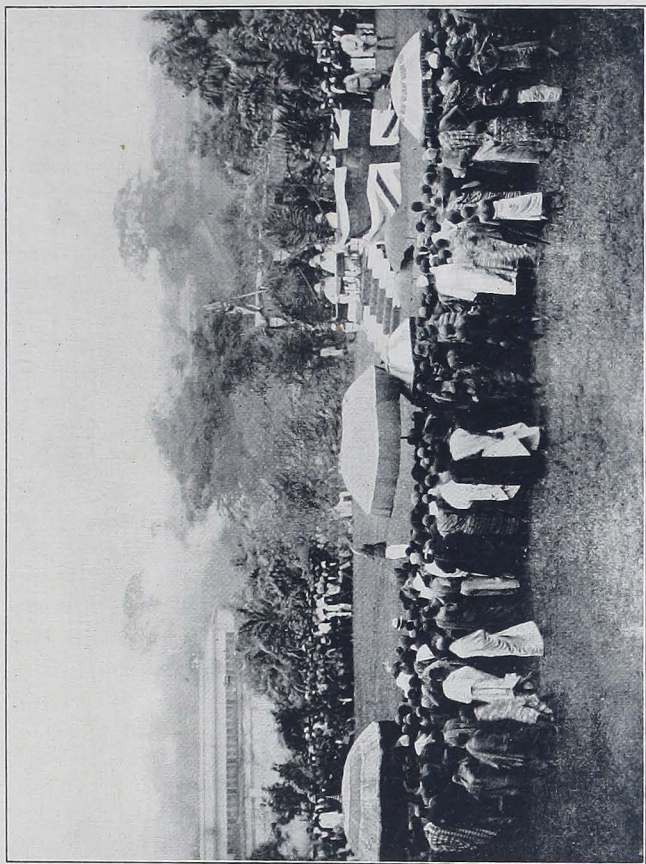


FIG. 105. The scene outside the fort at Coomassie

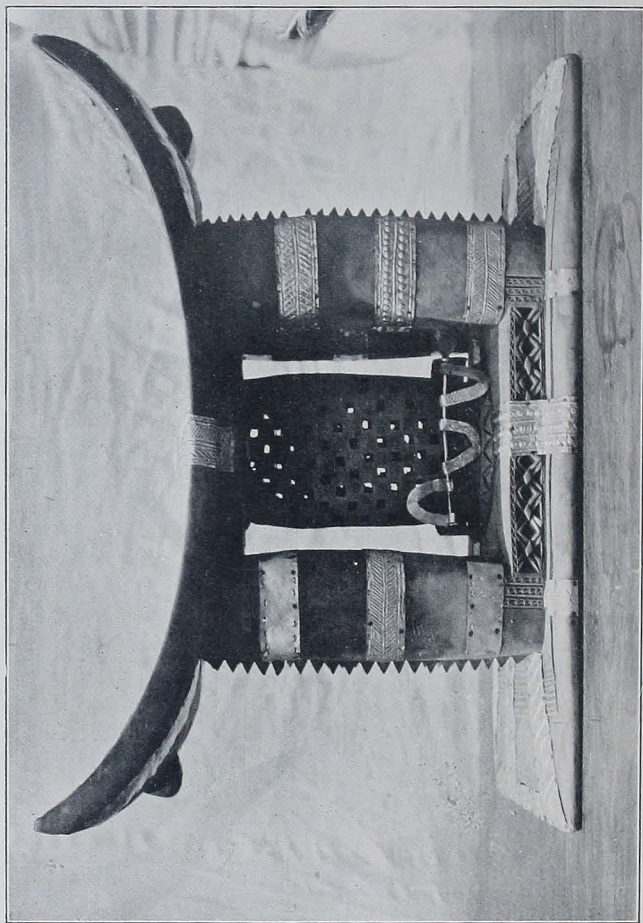


FIG. 106. The Silver Stool of the Queen Mother of Mampon

tributed towards it, and as I am the senior Queen Mother in Ashanti, I stand as representative of all the Queen Mothers and place it in your hands to send to the King's child (Princess Mary).

It may be that the King's child has heard of the Golden Stool of Ashanti. That is the stool which contains the soul of the Ashanti nation. All we women of Ashanti thank the Governor exceedingly because he has declared to us that the English will never again ask us to hand over that stool.

This stool we give gladly. It does not contain our soul as our Golden Stool does, but it contains all the love of us Queen Mothers and of our women. The spirit of this love we have bound to the stool with silver fetters just as we are accustomed to bind our own spirits to the base of our stools.

We in Ashanti here have a law which decrees that it is the daughters of a Queen who alone can transmit royal blood, and that the children of a king cannot be heirs to that stool. This law has given us women a power in this land so that we have a saying which runs :

'It is the woman who bears the man.'

(i. e., the king). We hear that her law is not so, nevertheless we have great joy in sending her our congratulations, and we pray the great God Nyankopon, on whom men lean and do not fall, whose day of worship is a Saturday, and whom the Ashanti serve just as she serves Him, that He may give the King's child and her husband long life and happiness, and finally, when she sits upon this silver stool, which the women of Ashanti have made for their white Queen Mother, may she call us to mind.

(Signed) AMMA SEWA AKOTO.

X her mark.

Description of Princess Mary's 'Silver Stool'.

The Stool, subscribed to by the Queen Mothers and women of Ashanti and presented by Sewa Akoto of Mampon, the senior Queen Mother, for transmission to Princess Mary as a wedding

gift, is an exact replica of a Queen Mother's Silver Stool (see Fig. 106).

(Here followed the account of the position of women in Ashanti, for which the reader is referred to Chapter III.)

Such are the old women in Ashanti who have sent this gift to the daughter of our King.

'It does not contain our soul,' they say, 'but it contains our love.'

The description now given of the making of this stool applies equally to any stool; the following was the procedure adopted.

The stool-carvers were called before the Queen Mother and given an egg, a fowl, and some gold dust. They went to the forest and selected a suitable tree of the kind called *osese* (? *Funtumia* sp.). It exudes a latex—'tears', the natives say—when cut.

In the animistic creed of Ashanti everything in nature, animate or inanimate, has its *sunsum* (soul or spirit), and the *osese* tree is no exception. This spirit had therefore to be propitiated, equally to guard against harm resulting to the persons who cut down the tree, as to the person who will eventually sit upon the completed stool. The egg was taken and thrown against the tree trunk with the following words :

'Osese gye 'kesua di, Aburokyire 'Hene 'ba a o re ko aware no, se o tena wo so a, ma no nyke, mma dade ntwa me.'

'Osese tree, accept this egg and eat, and when the child of the English King sits upon you let her have long life. May the knife not cut me.'

The gold dust was placed at the foot of the tree; the fowl was killed and its blood sprinkled on the *osese*, and the tree was then cut down; the flesh of the fowl was placed on the stump; the log from which the stool was to be carved was then brought to the outskirts of the village, where a little temporary workshop was built; here the stool was carved. It will be noted it was cut out of one solid block. The designs both on the wood and on the silver plates are genuine old Ashanti patterns, which may be seen on ancient pottery, and on the *kuduo* or vessels which are used on the occasions when 'they purify their souls'.

The stool having been carved, and the silversmiths having done their part, it might seem to be ready for use ; but this is not so, as was vividly brought to the writer's notice in the following manner :

The stool was temporarily in his custody, when it was sent for by the Queen Mother of Mampon. The girl who came to fetch it asked for a cloth to wrap it in 'as she had not bathed that morning' and could not touch it. It was taken down to the court-yard of the Queen Mother's house, and here the following ceremony took place :

The Consecration of the Stool. The Silver Stool was turned upside down and placed on top of a silk-covered cushion upon a low table. An old copy of the *Observer* was carefully wrapped round it. The Queen Mother's first-born daughter and the Queen Mother seated themselves on their stools. An egg upon a plate, some soot, a knife, and some short sticks were placed on a corner of the table in readiness (see Fig. 107). The Queen Mother then broke the egg, allowing the white to fall on the ground, the yolk into the plate. She then spoke as follows :

'*Osese gye 'kesua yi di, Aburokyire 'Hene 'ba a o re ko aware no, se o tena wo so a, ma no nkye.*'

'*Osese tree, receive this egg and eat ; concerning the child of the King of England who is getting married, if she sits upon you let her have long life.*'

The daughter frayed out the ends of the sticks and mixed the yolk and the soot. When all was ready, she and her mother, looking up to the sky with hands uplifted, spoke the following prayer (see Fig. 108) :

'*Onyankopon Tweadumpon, me wura Aburokyire 'Hene 'ba Mary a o re ko aware yi, me sere wo kyere ne amemoyam ma no, me de akonua yi bo no tenasie.*'

'*Supreme Being on whom men lean and do not fall, concerning Mary, the child of my Lord the King of England who is getting married, I pray of you to give her long life and grace. I seat her upon this stool.*'

These religious rites being completed, the Queen Mother produced out of a handkerchief 14s. in silver coins, and these she

grouped all around the hollow in the centre of the stool. This was the 'artist's' fee, and if not paid the woman who was about to draw the design (seen on the bottom of the stool) 'would run the risk of becoming blind'.

Amma Agyiman (the daughter) now began to paint on the mixture with one of the little sticks, beginning with the steps round the hollow centre of the stool. When this was done the design upon the bottom of the stool was next laboriously drawn, the Queen Mother from time to time suggesting or showing her daughter what to do (Fig. 109).

The stool was now complete and ready for the 'daughter of Kings' to sit upon.

The following day the stool was carried under an umbrella (an adjunct of royalty) to show to the paramount chief, Osai Bonsu of Mampon (Fig. 110).

An Ashanti stool is supposed to be the repository of its owner's soul, and for this reason the miniature fetters are placed round the central support of the stool—'to chain down the soul to it'.

A stool is subject to all the taboos of its owner. An Ashanti never leaves his or her stool standing upright when not occupied, but, on vacating it, tilts it against something or turns it on its side, lest some wandering spirit should sit upon it. The result of this would be felt sooner or later by the owner, who would suffer from pains in the small of the back or otherwise feel unwell.

Enough has been said to show that the Silver Stool is an object and symbol which inspires, and is accorded, all the honour and respect we should show, for example, to the colours of a regiment. The causes which govern this veneration in both cases have roots deep in the past, a past which we perhaps are less able to decipher clearly because it is more remote from us than it is from these Ashanti mothers.

In observances such as these, there is much to make us pause and hesitate before we decide upon their destruction.

I think that this Chapter would not be complete without adding the Princess Mary's gracious message to these mothers of Africa. It was as follows:

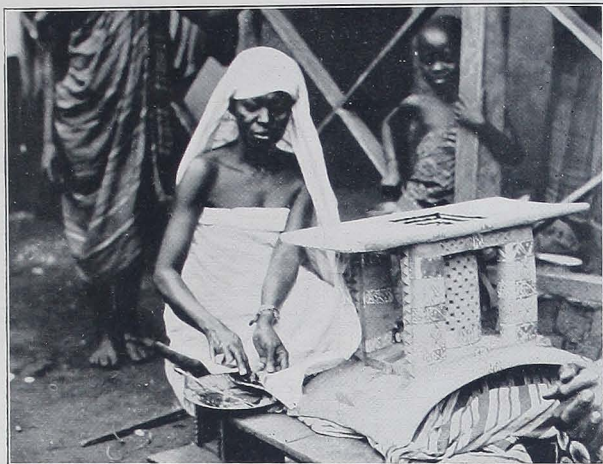


FIG. 107. The consecration of the Princess Mary's Silver Stool

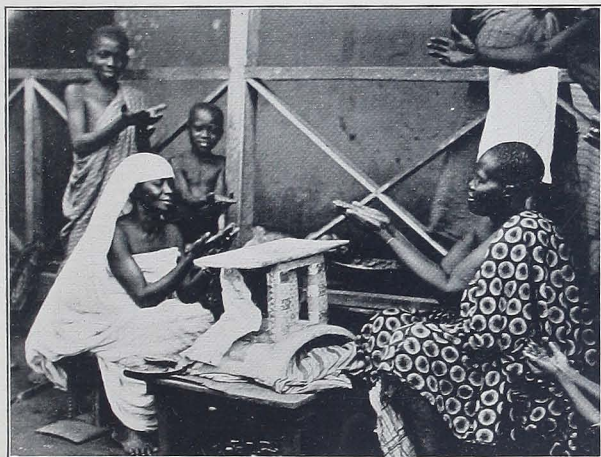


FIG. 108. Supreme Being upon whom men lean and do not fall

Chesterfield House,
Mayfair, W. 1.
3rd November 1922.

Dear LADY GUGGISBERG,

I am desired by the Princess Mary to write and ask you to convey to the Queen Mothers and women of Ashanti the warmest thanks of Her Royal Highness for their beautiful Wedding Gift of the Silver Stool.

This wonderful tribute of loyalty and affection has touched the Princess very much indeed, and it was with feelings of the greatest sadness that she heard from your lips the distressing news of the death of the Queen Mother so soon after she had organized the Wedding Gift, and had written Her Royal Highness the touching address which accompanied it.

Princess Mary trusts that you will assure the Queen Mothers and women of Ashanti that she feels for them from the depths of her heart, and that she wishes to offer them all her sympathy. She fully realizes how much they must mourn such a great Queen Mother.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) DOROTHY YORKE,
Lady-in-Waiting.

ASHANTI GOLDSMITHS AND GOLD WEIGHTS,
WITH A BRIEF NOTE ON *KUDUO*

THERE is a considerable literature dealing with the subject of Ashanti weights dating back to 1676 and ending, so far as I am aware, with an excellent article by Mr. N. W. Thomas in the 1921 journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

In the present chapter an attempt is made to deal with this interesting question from a practical standpoint, and to explain certain difficulties and misunderstandings that I believe still exist. It is certainly surprising, considering all that has been written concerning Ashanti weights, how very little seems known about them. There are valuable and learned articles in which attempts are made to prove or disprove theories with reference to the geometrical progressions involved and comparisons with similar casts in use in parts of Africa other than Ashanti; but I believe I am correct in stating that there are still some persons long resident in Ashanti, and even anthropologists at home, who express doubts as to whether Ashanti 'gold weights' can really be weights at all in the true sense. In other words, how can objects of such varied and intricate designs be used to weigh such a delicate and valuable medium as gold dust with any degree of accuracy? Moreover, the proverbial sayings which so many of these weights represent are also unknown.

The following notes will, I trust, make these matters clearer and at the same time draw further attention to the curious designs on some of the weights which I believe to be worthy of a closer study. These notes are the result of investigations made in the country where these castings are used. The small collection of weights photographed in Figs. 114-16 (the exact weights of each of which have been ascertained)¹ is, with a

See Appendix A to this chapter.

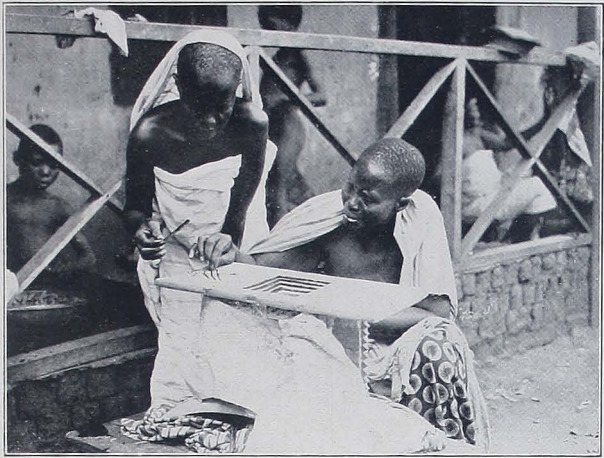


FIG. 109. The Queen Mother showing her daughter what to do



FIG. 110. The Stool was carried under an umbrella

few exceptions, one in present use. The remainder of the photographs (Figs. 117-25) are made from my own collection.

The *adwumfo*, in the present context goldsmiths (*adwini* is any skilled work in gold, silver, or leather), were in ancient time an honoured class. All goldsmiths formed a sort of brotherhood, and any goldsmith had the privilege of calling a fellow-goldsmith's wife 'my wife',¹ and they were privileged to wear gold ornaments, a form of personal adornment otherwise rigorously restricted to kings, their wives, and the greater chiefs. In the Bekwai administrative division of Ashanti all the goldsmiths trace their origin to one Fusu Kwebi, the first of their trade. The bellows and a few of the weights and tools of this now almost divine ancestor are still preserved, and along with his *obosom* (god), Ta Yao, have become the goldsmith's particular god (see Fig. 111). His cult has even extended beyond the goldsmiths' guild, and his god (one of Tano's many 'sons') is now consulted by others who are not in the trade. The ancient bellows, now only a crumbling piece of wood with the skin long since rotted away, are resorted to by wives who are accused of unfaithfulness who wish to attest their innocence, by drinking wine that has been allowed to flow over this fragment.

The local Bekwai goldsmith informed me that he himself once plied his trade in the spirit world, 'as was', he said, 'made manifest at his birth, by his having across the palm of his hand lines representing a pair of tongs (*da*)'. If any one committed adultery with a goldsmith's wife, the usual adultery fees would not only have to be paid, but also a special fine to cover the purification of his tools and stock-in-trade.

The goldsmith's art was retained in certain families. If a son did not follow the father's trade, then a nephew (sister's son) was compelled to do so. On the other hand, if the son followed his father's trade he had a right to inherit his father's gold weights and all his stock-in-trade to the exclusion of any member of his father's clan, unless some member of that clan, e. g. the nephew, was also a goldsmith, when he would have the prior claim.

A list of the common weights in use in Ashanti is given in Appendix A to this chapter. Each casting, irrespective of size,

¹ This privilege implies no right of access at the present day, whatever may have been the case in the past.

weight, and design, is called *abrammuo* (Christaller gives it as *abrammo*), plural *mrammuo*.

A goldsmith's collection of assorted weights, scales, shovel, spoons, &c., in fact all the paraphernalia of his stock-in-trade, which he carries wrapped up first in a cloth and then in the skin of an antelope, is called *futuo*. The *futuo* contains :

1. *Mrammuo*, gold weights (Figs. 114-25).
2. *Nsenia*, scales ; several pairs of various sizes (Fig. 112).
3. *Nsawa*, spoons, for lifting the gold dust and putting it on the scales (Fig. 113).
4. *Famfa*, shovel for scooping up the dust (Fig. 112).
5. *Mmumpuruwa*, boxes for storing the gold dust (Fig. 113).

(I) The *Mrammuo*. An examination of Ashanti weights shows that they fall into three distinct groups :

(a) Weights representing the human form, animals, fishes, insects, birds, &c., alone or depicting certain ceremonies and rites, or illustrating some saying or story connected with the object depicted.

(b) Weights representing inanimate objects, plants, seeds, fruit, weapons, articles in daily use, &c.

(c) Those in which the designs appear geometrical and were perhaps once symbolical.

Groups (a) and (b) again may be subdivided into such weights as do or do not represent *proverbs*.

Class (c) are, in my opinion, the oldest and the most interesting. Their designs seem more or less standardized. I have not yet met a single Ashanti who can give any interpretation or assign any meaning to their symbols. The *swastika* is constantly met alone and in conjunction with other signs. When new weights are made in this class the old designs are copied with more or less accuracy, and no new designs in this category seem now to be made.

Class (a) and (b). In these classes there is theoretically little if any limit to the number and nature of the possible designs. They seem to be alone limited by the imagination of their designers. The objects portrayed range from a representation of a forest god, a lion, or a human being, to eczema or other skin diseases. On the other hand, a particular design having

once been made, it seems to have been copied on every side, so that the same design is constantly met with.

I have subdivided these two groups into (1) those which may or may not represent the proverbial sayings—in which the Ashanti language is so rich—and (2) those which undoubtedly do represent such proverbs. It is probable, however, that all really fall into the latter class, for where we have a simple as opposed to a composite design, e. g. a lion, an elephant, a tortoise, it is perfectly easy to quote half a dozen sayings in which these animals figure. When we come to the complicated and compound designs there is, however, no possible doubt on this point. I have taken some of these ‘proverb’ weights and dealt with them in detail.

A very natural question now arises, i. e. how can these elaborate and intricate designs possibly be cast with sufficient accuracy to give the exact weight required?

The goldsmith (who casts his weights by the well-known *cire perdu* method of casting, which I will describe presently), having cast a weight in the design he wishes, may find that :

- (1) His weight is exactly correct.
- (2) It is very much under the required standard.
- (3) It is very much over the standard.
- (4) Only slightly over the standard.
- (5) Only slightly under it.

In the event of (2), he will probably abandon his intention to make the particular weight he had first intended and diminish it to the next nearest lower standard. In case (3), he will make it up to the next weight above, and in cases (4) and (5) make it up or diminish it to the weight he originally intended. In each case the diminishing process is done by filing pieces or cutting pieces off the weight, and the making up, either by adding something, e. g. a little piece of wire, to the design or filling up some cavity, natural or artificial, with lead. (Many weights I have examined show one or other of these methods.)

It is clear, I think, that a certain amount of accuracy in obtaining the required weight is possible of attainment, but it must be clearly understood that the European investigator who expects to find, on testing a number of *mrammuo*, any fine

degree of accuracy in the comparison of weights nominally of the same standard is likely to be disappointed. Human nature rather than the limitations arising from the technique employed is to blame. For the purpose of the present article some sixty weights of various designations and designs have been most carefully weighed in the Assay Office of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, to whose acting manager Mr. Mervyn Smith, I am much indebted for this and numerous other courtesies. The results are rather startling, as reference to Appendix A will show.

Allowing for a certain margin of inaccuracy in gauging within reasonable limits the accuracy of an Ashanti weight, I have to explain that the Ashanti goldsmith in the past was possibly not much troubled by an inspector of weights and measures. The stocks of most of these otherwise honourable and clever workers often contain several casts, nominally of the same weight and appearance, but varying somewhat in actual weight. The ethics of this, moreover, do not strike them as at all open to criticism. 'If a man is fool enough not to notice whether the same weight is used for receiving the dust as paying out, surely that is his fault,' is his argument.¹ Moreover, the Ashanti has the highest possible precedent for all this. 'A chief's weights are not the same as a poor man's weights,' runs a well-known proverb. One informant told me that if in the good old days he were ordered to make, say, a *suru* (weight value £1) for the King of Ashanti, he would know how to make it so that the value of the *sika futuru* (gold dust) would be 22s. 6d. (Hence the suffix *pa* added to the name of a *suru*, which was the standard *suru*.)

When I suggested that a subject might surely protest against what seemed a slight imposition, I was met by the sound logic contained in the proverb :

'A man does not rub bottoms with a porcupine.'

But pure roguery is, as a matter of fact, often far from being at the bottom of all this, and once again, 'to understand all is to forgive all', for when the student comes to study the régime of an Ashanti court, he will find that the difference in the values

¹ Lawyers will recollect the similar attitude adopted in the case of 'False pretences' till not so very long ago.



FIG. 103. The desecration of the Golden Stool. Kojo Danso before the tribunal



FIG. 104. The accused awaiting the verdict

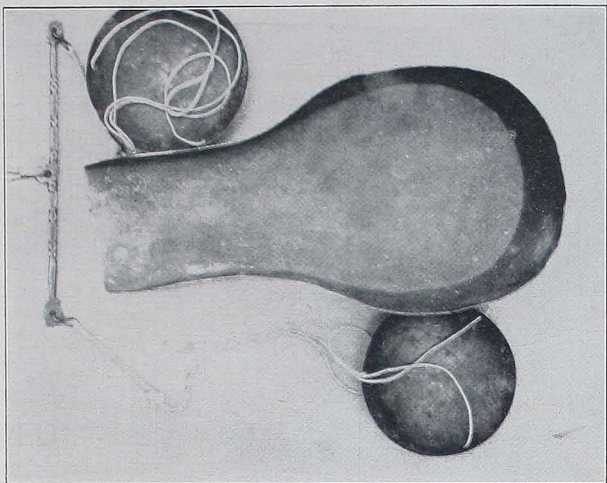


FIG. 112. The scales (*nenia*) and scoop



FIG. 111. The shrine of Ta Yao

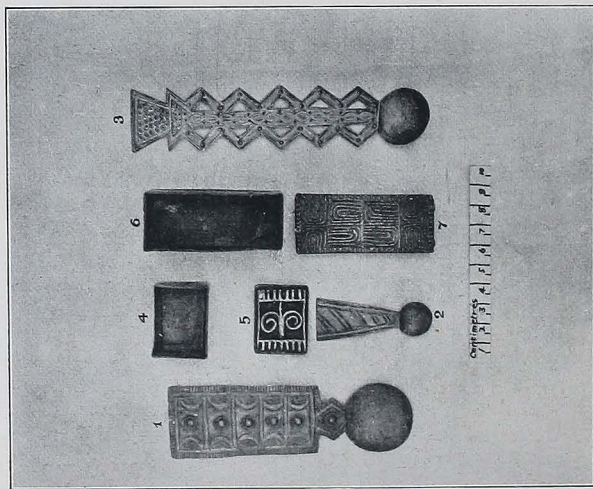


FIG. 113. Spoons . . . and boxes . . .

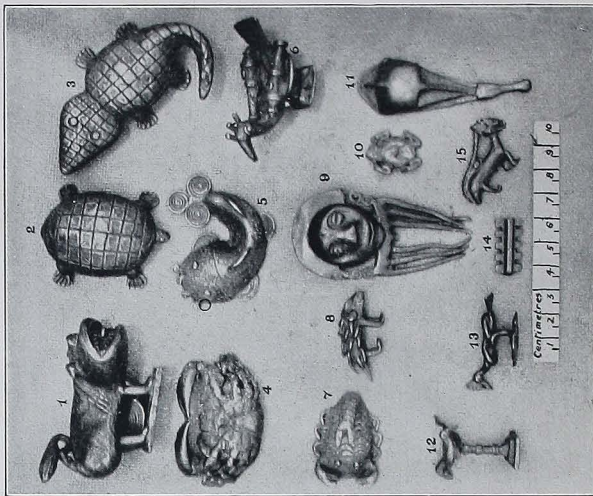


FIG. 114. Ashanti weights

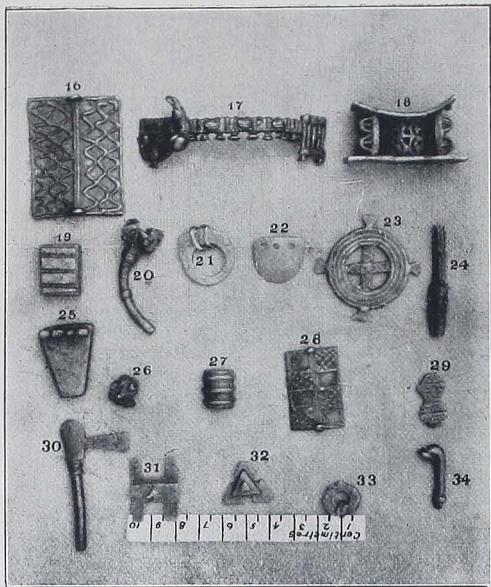


FIG. 115. Ashanti weights

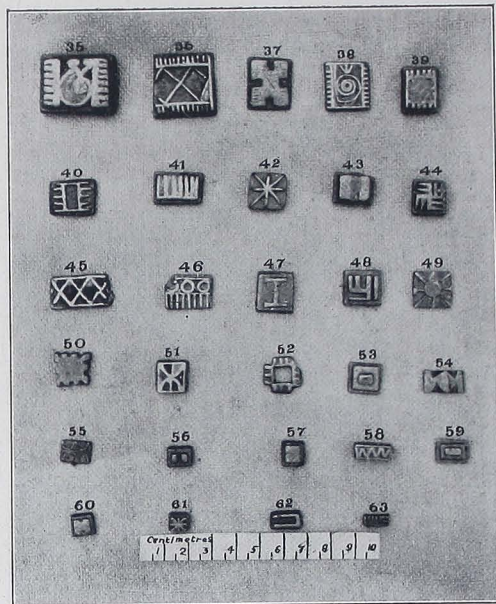


FIG. 116. Ashanti weights

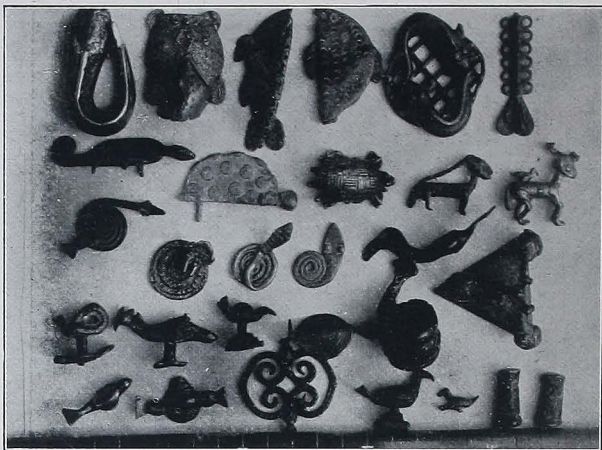


FIG. 117. Ashanti weights

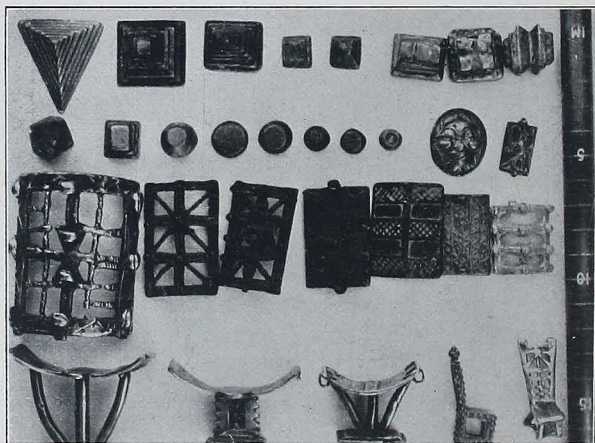


FIG. 118. Ashanti weights



FIG. 121. Ashanti weights

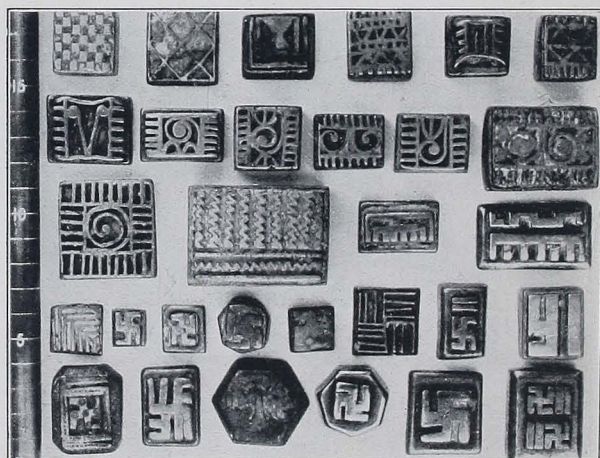


FIG. 122. Ashanti weights

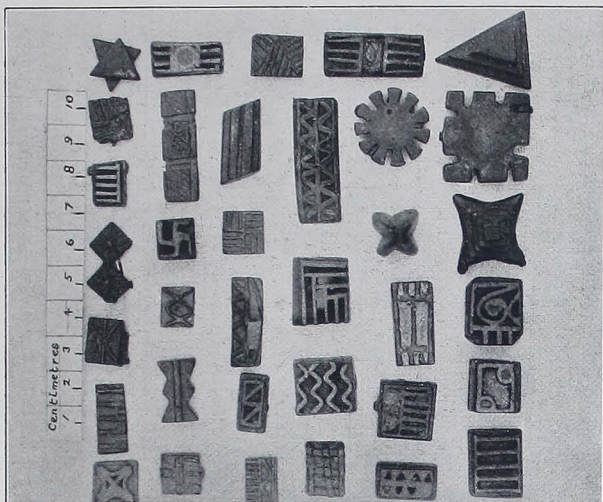


FIG. 123. Ashanti weights

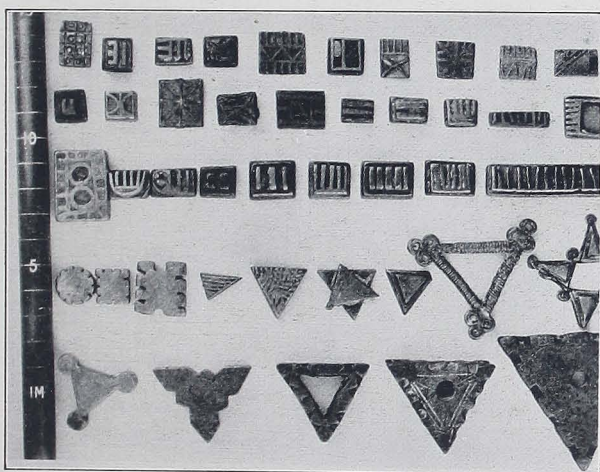
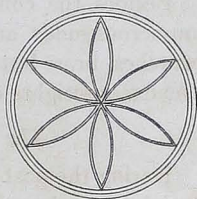


FIG. 124. Ashanti weights

between the 20s. and 22s. 6d. was taken to pay the numerous officials at a court, with whom to settle directly was not considered etiquette. Before coming to a detailed description of the weights themselves and the method of their manufacture, I will briefly describe the other appliances used with them.

The scales (*nseña*), Fig. 112. Every goldsmith has three or four sets of various sizes. The pair illustrated in the photograph has a delicate design on the trays or cups of a six-petalled flower enclosed in a double concentric circle, and two double concentric circles are also engraved round the edge. This design will be noted on several of the *kuduo*. The beam of the scale also shows a design, which can be seen in the photograph. The scales I have seen used are held between the second finger and the thumb of the left hand, with the free fingers ready to rest on or under the arm to prevent a too sudden drop of one or other tray, which would cause the dust to be spilled.¹ The cords are twisted, three or four ply, as far as the knot, when they branch into three finer strands which pass through the trays on the top surface, and are all joined underneath in one knot. These threads are made of pineapple fibre.



The shovel (*famfa*), Fig. 112, is so exactly the shape and design of that seen in any bank to-day for scooping up coins, that it is difficult not to think the appliance is of European origin. This, however, the Ashanti deny, and insist that they have had it in this form and shape before Oboroni Kwesi, 'the Sunday White man',² set foot in West Africa.

The spoons (*nsawa*), Fig. 113, nos. 1, 2, and 3, are of numerous and beautiful designs and reach a high artistic standard. The ordinary word for a spoon for eating with is *ata*, and *sawa* seems only used in this connexion.

The gold-dust boxes (*mmumpuruwa*), Fig. 113. No. 5 is the lid of no. 4, and no. 7 that of no. 6. These boxes are for storing

¹ In W. T. Müller's description of the district of Fetu, he states that the Dutch Commandant in Guinea in the year 1668 issued an order that in the gold trade no pair of scales was to be raised by the hand at all, but that they should be hung on a cross-piece of wood over the counter. 'The Sub-commissioner shall lay the weight in one pan and in the other the black trader shall place the gold.'

² Europeans, so called from the fact that they observe Sunday.

the gold dust, and sometimes, I believe, are also used themselves as weights.

I have made minute inquiries as to whether the weights representing sayings and proverbs were ever employed as a means of intercommunication. The result of these inquiries has been negative, except, for example, where a man owed another, say, £1, the creditor in such a case might send the weight representing a *suru* (£1) to the debtor as a reminder to pay up.

Yet another interesting point may be noted. Certain fines and fees in native courts are represented by sums which in sterling are not simple fractions of any customary unit but in Ashanti are called by the name of certain standard weights representing a quantity of gold dust of the value stated.¹

Besides the contents of the *futuo*, every collection contains numerous odds and ends—beads, pieces of the works of old watches, brass buttons, small pieces of metal—the owner knows the exact weights of all of them.

The Making of an Ashanti Weight.

During the past year I made a collection of nearly a thousand weights. Some of these are shown in Figs. 117 to 127. This



A



B

collection, which was seen and admired by many Europeans in Ashanti, started the fashion of collecting these, and the result has actually been to cause a revival in the art of casting them. The new casts, which possibly conform less to any actual weight standard, are of very inferior technique, and can be easily distinguished by the colour of the metal from the old genuine weights. The following is an account of the making of one of the square weights which I witnessed.

The smith chose from his *futuo* the weight he wished to copy. This was the cast as seen in A.

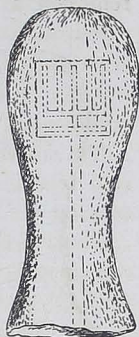
He next made an exact copy of this in wax, being very careful to make it the same size and thickness, but provided it with

¹ Mr. T. R. O. Mangin, Asst. D.C., suggests that the square or geometrical weights were used in trading, while the 'proverb' weights were used for fines imposed in litigation, when one could be found appropriate to the particular case.

a handle (*gyinae*), also of wax. See B. This handle is what Zeller describes as 'the moulding stick'.

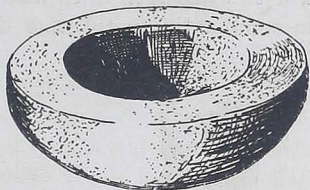
The wax model was next coated with a thin wall or slip of a fine clay¹ which was put on layer by layer till the crevices and wax mould were coated with it. The whole was then covered with much coarser clay mixed with palm-nut fibre² and modelled into the shape called *foa dua* shown in c, which shows the wax model lying inside its clay cover in which, in the original, it is of course invisible.

The clay having been allowed to harden, the wax was next melted out by a simple process of heating the clay shape. The wax ran out at a. The clay mould now contained an exact impression of the wax model it had formerly contained, and a hollow pipe or duct led to this. The smith now took a small crucible (*semua*), D, into which



a
c

he put pieces of a brass rod which he had cut into small pieces, and inverted this crucible over the end of the clay mould securing it by luting it with clay, so that the whole now took the shape of E (see p. 308). This was placed in the furnace consisting of a galvanized iron bucket which had been reinforced within with a two-inch layer of cement. In the side of the bucket near the base a hole had been made, and this led through the inside wall of cement. This was for the nozzle of the bellows (see F, p. 308), which, as far as I have observed, are of European pattern. The bucket was filled with burning charcoal, the clay mould placed in it upside down, i. e. the end containing the crucible and the pieces of metal being at the bottom (F). The bellows were worked by a man sitting upon a low stool.



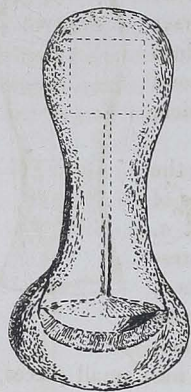
D

I asked the smith how he knew when the metal was melted, and he said he could tell by carefully watching the colour of the flame, which assumed varied hues as soon as the metal in the crucible became liquid.

¹ Powdered charcoal is sometimes mixed with the clay.

² Silk cotton is sometimes used instead.

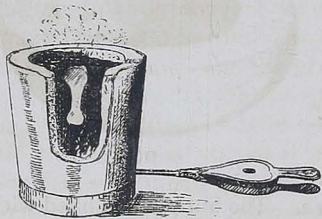
In about fifteen minutes he declared that the metal was melted and removed the *foa dua* with his tongs, quickly inverting it, and allowed it to cool gradually. This done and the outer casing removed, a metal cast of the shape seen in G (see p. 309) was disclosed. The handle was filed off close to the head and the weight cleaned up and polished.



E

This process of manufacture explains why so many Ashanti weights have little protuberances; these are the remains of the *gyinae* or 'moulding stick', which have probably been left purposely and have not been filed completely flush in order to make up a deficiency in the weight.¹

With regard to the meaning of many of these weights, and considering those with what might be termed geometrical designs, the simple oblongs, squares, &c., I have questioned many Ashanti as to their significance, but I have never met one who could give any explanation of the meaning of their decoration. The *swastika* seen in so many of these weights, either alone or in combination with other decorative effects, they call simply



F

the 'monkey's foot' (see Figs. 122 and 123). One point may perhaps be noted: these designs have not any connexion with a particular weight. It is also rather suggestive that these geometrical designs are not generally found in Ashanti decorative arts where other materials are employed, e.g. on

mural decoration or on wood carvings, or in the designs on their *kuduo* which are here briefly noted.

When we come, however, to those weights which are cast to represent the human form, animals, plants, fishes, insects, &c., I think it is not an exaggeration to state that each has its own

¹ Fig. 457 in Zeller's monograph shows this clearly, while in Fig. 461 this handle has actually been bent upwards to form part of the design.

particular significance, this again not having any connexion with a stated quantity of metal; for many of the castings of the same design may be widely divergent in weight.

Their 'proverb' weights, as the Ashanti actually name them, are quite interesting. I have picked out a few 'proverb' weights from my collection, and have given in each case the proverbial saying which they represent. They are all well known, and about them little difference of opinion exists among the Ashanti themselves. In many cases of course, as already stated, where the design is of a simple nature, e.g. an elephant, a crab, a snake, &c., half a dozen different proverbs may be given by as many people, all of which are equally correct. When the design is more complex, one particular proverb will probably be universally accepted as being the interpretation.

It is instructive to see how wide of the mark Zeller is in some of the attempted explanations of these, and it seems a pity that he guessed at what he could not possibly have known, for as he himself says, 'the meaning of many of the representations which we see in the weights can only be properly understood by making inquiries on the spot and of the natives'.

Taking the weights in Fig. 125, no. 1, we have a pair of *ntumpane* drums. There are many proverbs about these, but the one quoted to me in this case was: 'No one takes his talking drums and goes and beats them in the war camp to which he has fled.'

No. 2 represents a model of one of the beautiful old bronze lamps sometimes seen in Ashanti, round the bowl of which sit four doves. There are small rings on each side from which the full-sized lamp is swung. My informant said the doves were sitting round the bowl as if about to drink, and the proverb he quoted was: 'When a man has eaten, he will also drink.'

No. 3 represents an old man carrying an axe and a log of firewood. The proverb about this runs: 'It is a poor man who has to go for firewood.'

No. 4 represents an executioner carrying a head in his left hand and a curious old knife with a double-edged blade, like a spear, called *anofanu*. Note the method of dressing the hair,



G

called *mpese*, formerly adopted by executioners, now only by the priests. The proverb quoted in this case was : ' Once the executioner has cut off the head he is not afraid of anything again.'

No. 5 represents a man holding his stomach with both hands. This weight is universally known to illustrate the saying that runs : ' The intestines do not help the belly,' i.e. ' Though your stomach may seem filled with them you nevertheless may feel the pangs of hunger.'

No. 6 is a well-known and very usual design, which is everywhere called *nim sa*, lit. ' Had I known that '. The full phrase is, ' Had I known that has passed behind me.' This refers to the animal's backward-sloping horns, i. e. regrets are vain.

No. 7 is a very interesting weight. It appears as Figs. 471 and 472, Table XI, in Zeller's book. Zeller writes : ' We see a bird caught by the foot in a snare and the man is holding a pipe or more probably some kind of fruit. In Fig. 472 the bird has just been taken out of the trap, in Fig. 473 we see that the bag is a splendid cock : in 474 we see the Ashanti with *crossed legs*¹ behind a trap which he has set up.'

No. 7 and all the weights drawn and described as above by Zeller really represent a medicine man sacrificing a fowl to one of the best-known charms in Ashanti, the *nkabere* charm. I once witnessed the making of one of these charms, and the following short account may be of interest. That this charm should have been represented shows how generally the rite is seen.

The object upon the ground, over which the offering is being held (Zeller's trap), is known throughout Ashanti as a charm (*suman*) called *nkabere*, and the ceremony the medicine man is here seen performing is the sacrifice of a fowl preparatory to or after the ceremony known as *Kyekyere nkabere*, lit. to tie or bind the *nkabere*. The *nkabere* consists of three sticks :

(a) A stick from the tree called *bonsam dua*, lit. the wizard's tree.

(b) A piece of the root of a tree called *akwamea*, taken where it crosses a path.

(c) A stick from the tree called *adwin*.

These three sticks are placed upon the ground, or sometimes

¹ The italics are mine.



FIG. 125. Some 'Proverb' weights

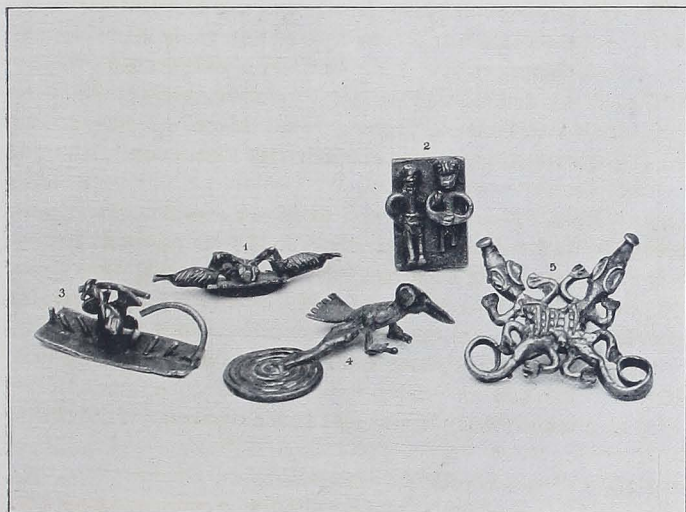


FIG. 126. 'Proverb' weights

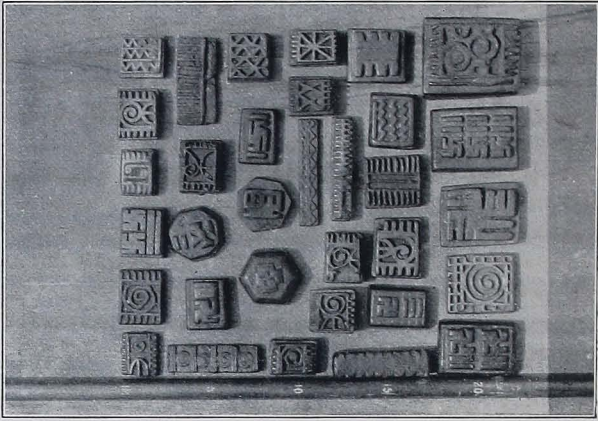


FIG. 127. Ashanti weights

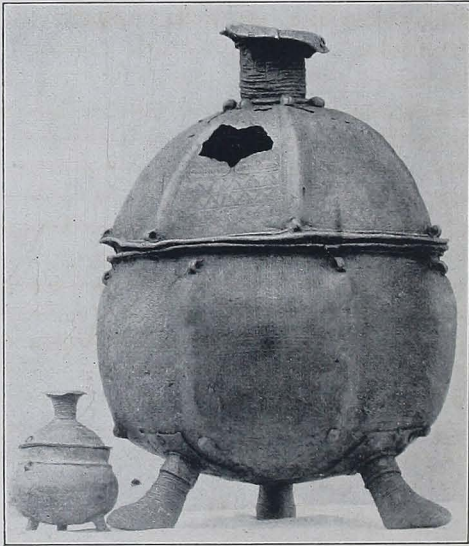


FIG. 128. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)

upon an inverted pot, along with some pieces out of a sweeping broom. A piece of string is placed on the top of all.

The medicine man or priest now retires a few paces and then advances towards the charm with his hands behind his back, crossing one leg over the other as he walks. When he reaches the charm he stands with legs crossed, with his hands still behind his back, and stooping down sprays pepper and guinea grain—which he has in his mouth—over the charm, saying: 'My entwining charm *Nkadamako*,¹ who seizes strong men, mosquito that trips up² the great silk-cotton tree, shooting stars that live with the Supreme Being, I have to tell you that so-and-so are coming here about some matter.' Here he takes his arms from behind his back and, stooping down, picks up the sticks and twine. Making a little bundle of the sticks he begins to bind them along with the broom sticks, saying as he does so: 'I bind up their mouths. I bind up their souls, and their gods. I begin from Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday.' As he repeats each day he gives a twist of the string round the sticks till he has bound them all together, when he knots the string to keep it from unravelling, ending by saying:

'Whoever comes may this be a match for them.'

From time to time a fowl will be offered to this *suman*. The medicine man or priest will advance upon it with crossed legs and hands held behind the back and perhaps with a whistle in his mouth, to call up the spirits, and will stand over the charm with legs crossed. He then holds the fowl by the neck and blows the whistle. This is what is shown in this weight.

No. 8 shows a medicine man scraping bark from a tree having medicinal properties; his basin to catch the scrapings, is seen on the ground. The following proverb is quoted in connexion with this: 'When you scrape (*were*) the *odom*, the bark falls.' The *odom* is a tree from the bark of which an ordeal poison is made. Zeller suggests that the man may be 'tapping rubber'!

No. 9 depicts a man with a dead monkey slung upon his

¹ A title of Tano. The priest whom I saw performing this rite informed me that he gave his *suman* all these high-sounding titles to please and flatter it, as if it were really a god.

² The word used literally signifies 'to trip (in wrestling)'.

back, a gun in his left hand, and standing before a trap in which an antelope has been caught by a noose round the neck. The monkey is suspended from the hunter's neck by its own tail. This represents the well-known saying which runs: 'If some one had not helped me, some one else would have helped me,' meaning that his gun has brought him down a monkey, but had it not, then his trap (dependent on some other influence) would have done so.

No. 10 represents a fowl being offered on the altar to the Sky God, an interesting example of how universal is the cult of this deity; two eggs are represented in the basin on top of the forked pole.

No. 11 represents the meeting of the famous old men known throughout Ashanti as Amoako and Adu, two legendary friends who met again after many years of separation, both having encountered misfortune and become very poor. In many castings one of them is depicted as carrying a bunch of keys, all he has left to show of former wealth.

In Fig. 126, no. 1, is a common design known as 'the beetle has fallen among the fowls'; it represents two birds pecking at a beetle; sometimes a frog is substituted for the beetle.

No. 2 is another well-known and interesting weight (Fig. 475, Table XIX, in Zeller's book is the same). It represents the universally known proverb, 'I who am lying on my back cannot see the Sky God, how do you expect to, who are lying upon your belly?' Here again Zeller's explanation is far from being correct.

No. 3 represents a bird fast in a trap, and the well-known proverb associated with it is, 'The bird caught in the trap is the one to sing sweetly' (to entice you to spare its life).

No. 4 is one of the common designs representing the saying, 'The snake lies upon the ground, but God has given him the hornbill' (that flies in the sky).

No. 5 illustrates another proverb. It represents two crocodiles with two heads and two tails but only one belly between the two. This is the famous *funtum frefu, denkyem frefu* . . . proverb, which runs, 'Bellies mixed up, crocodiles mixed up, we have between us only one belly, but if we get anything to eat

it passes down our respective gullets.' This proverb is often quoted to illustrate any falling away from the due observance of the family system, when one member of it becomes greedy and wishes to seize everything for himself.

In Appendix B to this chapter I give a list of the weights in use as given me by the Ashanti goldsmiths.

Before I close this chapter, I should like to draw attention to another branch of the metal-worker's art as illustrated in the Ashanti *kuduo*. In doing so in this place I wish it to be clearly understood that these bowls or vessels have not any connexion with gold weights, though Zeller, in his monograph, connects the two because of a chance association. He writes, 'these weights (i. e. Ashanti weights) were mostly kept in brass boxes of the same pattern as those used as pomade boxes on the coast. These boxes are prettily engraved and rest on perforated stands; a candle is often lighted and placed underneath to melt the shea butter in the box to make the pomade carriers use. The system is the same as our modern cooking apparatus for mountain climbers.'

I have shown how wide Zeller is of the mark in his guesses at the significance of some of the weights, and he is equally at sea with regard to his 'grease pots'. I propose here only to give the briefest notice concerning these objects about which I believe nothing is known in Europe, even at museums where specimens of these most interesting vessels are to be found. Their very name has been unknown, and the word *kuduo* does not even appear in Christaller's wonderful *Ashanti Dictionary*.

These *kuduo* or brass vessels have actually no connexion with either Ashanti weights or with the melting of shea butter, though they may now be found used in connexion with both by Africans who have adapted them for this purpose, and have forgotten or perhaps never known the uses for which they were originally employed. Of all specimens of metal-work found in West Africa these *kuduo* are, in my opinion, the most interesting, valuable, and worthy of careful examination. Whether they were originally made in West Africa remains to be proved; they may just possibly have originated in North Africa or even in Europe and have been carried to West Africa down one of the great

north trade routes, or their technique may have been copied from metal vessels from those regions.¹

These *kuduo*, photographs of which are reproduced, (Figs. 128-138), were long ago, and among old people still are, used as ceremonial vessels in which to place offerings during the ceremony of 'washing the *ntoro*' (described in Chap. II), and in other religious rites. But their use did not end here, for when the owner died his *kuduo* was buried with him,² gold dust and aggrey beads being placed within it.

During the making of the Coomassie-Ejura road several of these *kuduo* were dug up. I think they are also at times exhumed on purpose to retrieve the valuable contents, perhaps to help to



FIG. 139. *Kuduo*.

pay family debts, and thus once again come into circulation. They are extremely valuable and difficult to obtain. A fine collection of *kuduo* is in the possession of Mr. F. W. Leat, who has kindly allowed me to take photographs of them. Several specimens, in my own possession, are also here illustrated. In one or two instances I have found these *kuduo* revered as shrines. That in the street at Kokofu, Fig. 136, was said to have belonged to Anotchi, the famous priest who lived in the reign of Osai Tutu. Another interesting specimen, but possibly of a different origin, is to be seen at Nsoko in North Ashanti (see Fig. 137). This bowl or basin is venerated as a god, has its own custodian, and

¹ A drinking cup bearing the Royal arms of Richard Cœur de Lion was found among the possessions of Prempeh and is now in the British Museum. The cover of this vessel is very like the tops of the *kuduo* in Fig. 128 (on left) Fig. 129 (on left), Fig. 130 (centre).

² Or sometimes placed on top of the grave. The 'perforated stands' were possibly made to keep the bottom of the vessel from direct contact with the earth.

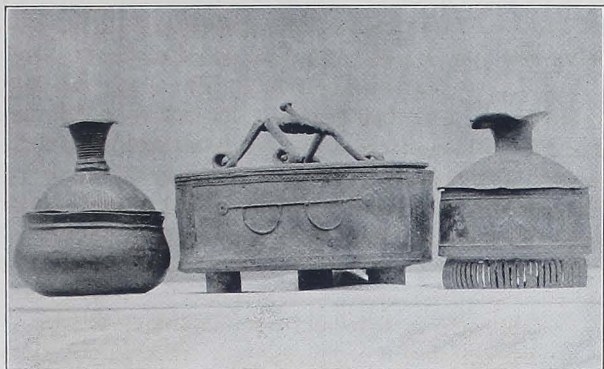


FIG. 129. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)



FIG. 130. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)

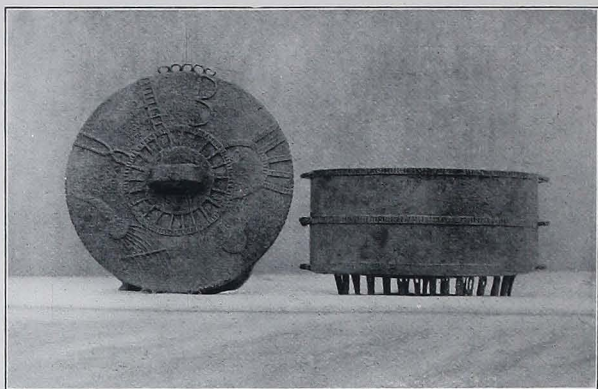


FIG. 131. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)



FIG. 132. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)

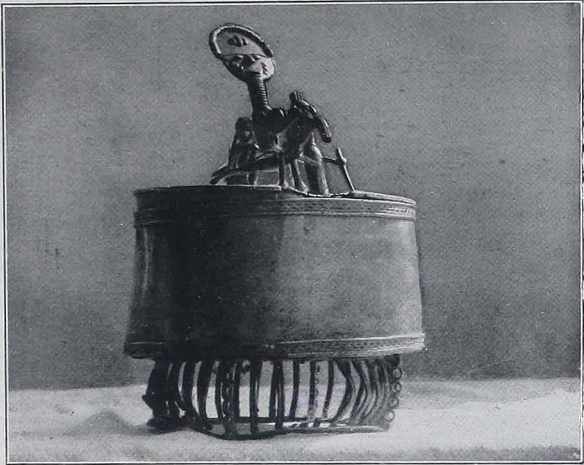


FIG. 133. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)

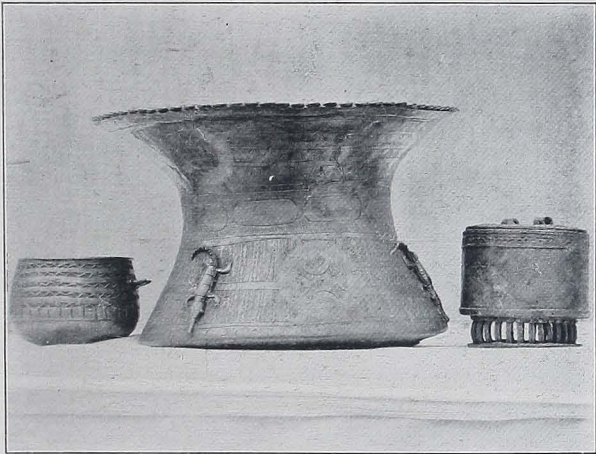


FIG. 134. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)



FIG. 135. Metal vessels (*kuduo*)

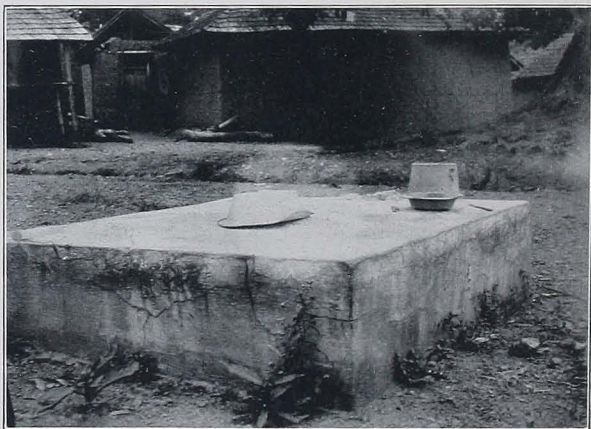


FIG. 136. *Kuduo* in street at Kokofu

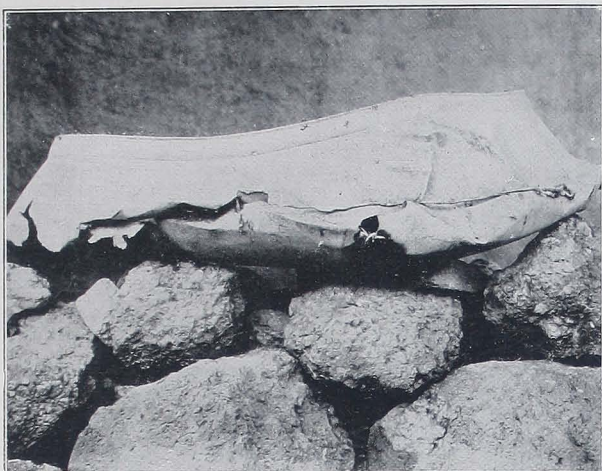


FIG. 137. A metal bowl with inscription in Arabic



FIG. 138. *Kuduo*

has offerings made to it. 'It came from God when the world was first created,' they say. It has ornamental Arabic characters engraved upon it. A basin, which seemed identical, exists at Attabubu, and from a description and rubbing of the characters which I sent home, Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, stated that it appeared to be thirteenth-century Moorish (from Spain), and that the inscription read, 'Allah the victorious'. This pot or basin is of course much larger than the ordinary *kuduo* and there may not be any connexion between them. The decorations on the Nsoko and Attabubu basins are quite unlike all the rest, and are clearly not West African.

APPENDIX A. ASHANTI GOLD WEIGHTS

Fig. 114	Ashanti descriptive term.	English translation.	Ashanti name of weight.	English troy.	Value approx.	Remarks.
No. 1	Gyata	Lion	<i>Ntansa</i>	oz. dwt. gr. 6 16 21	£24	<i>Ntansa</i> = 3 × <i>nta</i> . <i>Nta</i> = £8, sometimes also <i>pereguan</i> .
2	Akyekyeree	Tortoise	<i>Ntanu-asoanu</i>	5 13 22	£20	Here the calculation is arrived at by addition = <i>ntanu</i> (£16) plus <i>asoanu</i> (£4) = £20.
3	Odenkyem	Crocodile	<i>Ntanu</i>	4 9 20	£16	<i>Pereguan</i> = £8 plus <i>asoanu</i> = £4 = £12 (lit. £2 × 2).
4	Okoto	Crab	<i>Pereguan-asoanu</i>	3 8 0	£12	
5	Opitiri	Species of fresh water fish	<i>Pereguan</i>	2 5 21	£8	The tail of the fish is represented by circles decorated with spirals.
6	Adwetekye ¹ Anoma wirenfuoyede apremmo na were no	The wild bird from Adwetekye is guarded with cannons	<i>Benna</i> or <i>asoasa ne suru</i>	1 9 21	£7	<i>Benna</i> = £7 <i>asoasa ne suru</i> £(2 × 3) + 1 = £7. The weight is a bird with two cannon on its back pointing in opposite directions.
7	Anna	Scorpion	<i>Asoanu</i>	1 3 7	£4	<i>Asoanu</i> = 2 × <i>osua</i> = £4.
8	Apese	Hedgehog	<i>Osoa</i>	0 12 13	£2	
9	Orosa tiri	Orosa's head; Orosa was the name of an Anwari (<i>anglice</i> Aowin) chief who was killed by the Ashanti in the reign of Opoku Ware	<i>Asoanu</i>	1 2 21	£4	

¹ Adwetekye is the town Aketekyi near Cape coast. The saying refers to the white man's cannons.

10	Aponkyerene	Frog	<i>Dwoa suru</i>	0 4 2	15s.	Note <i>suru</i> is here not the weight of that name, i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ 2, but is the word <i>suru</i> = $\frac{1}{2}$, c.f. <i>twa no suru</i> (cut it in half). Note the small cavity in the frog's back from which a piece of lead has possibly come out.
11	Sasabonsam	Lit. the <i>sasa</i> =spirit of a wizard. A monster of the forest much dreaded	<i>Asoanu ne dwoa</i>	1 12 15	£5 10s.	Lit. £4 plus £1 10s. = £5 10s.
12	Anoma no nua ne de wo ne no da dua	The bird's relation is the one he sits with on the tree	<i>Dwoa</i>	0 10 13	30s.	The design is two birds sitting facing opposite ways on a tree.
13	Afere	Clock bird	<i>Asia</i>	0 7 20	26s.	Lent by Capt. O. F. Ross.
14	Kawo	Centipede	<i>Bodomo</i>	0 3 6	11s.	
15	Nim sa ka akyiri	Had I known is now too late (lit. lies back)	<i>Dwoa</i>	0 9 11	30s.	There is actually 1 dwt. 2 gr. difference between this weight and No. 13, but like No. 13 this weight was not one found in actual use, being lent by Capt. O. F. Ross. The design represents an antelope with an exaggerated backward sweep of the horns. The proverb means 'regrets are vain'.
Fig. 115						
16	Okyem	Shield	<i>Osoa ne suru</i>	0 17 12	£3	Shields are no longer either used or to be seen in Ashanti. Their design is, however, preserved to us in these weights. (Lit. <i>Osua</i> plus <i>suru</i> .)
17	Ntoa	Cartridge-belt	<i>Osoa ne suru</i>	0 18 19	£3	Lent by Capt. O. F. Ross. This weight was not actually in use.

Fig. 115	Ashanti descriptive term.	English translation.	Ashanti name of weight.	English troy.	Value approx.	Remarks.
No. 18	Akonnua	Stool	<i>Asoasa</i>	oz. dwt. gr. 1 13 16	£6	
19	Adaka	Box	<i>Asoanu</i>	1 2 16	£4	
20	Aben	Horn	<i>Dwoa</i>	0 8 19	30s.	
21	Eka (?)	Ring	<i>Nsanu</i>	0 3 16	13s.	
22	Ani mienu nna bon	Two eyes cannot lie in one hole, i. e. two equally powerful men can't live together	<i>Soafa</i>	0 0 22	3s.	
23	Dua Kantankyinanka	Stragglng creepers	<i>Asia</i>	0 7 15	26s.	The proverb runs: <i>Dua kantankyinanka wo tumi twa eda wo so; se wo, ntumi ntwa a eda wo so</i> ('The stragglng creepers if you do not cut them they entwine you; if you cut them, they entangle you').
24	Mpere	A whip	<i>Asia</i>	0 6 16	26s.	Made of strips of hide bound together.
25	Efa	Bellows	<i>Asoanu</i>	1 2 4	£4	
26	Baba dua aba	Seed of the baba tree	<i>Nomanu</i>	0 3 10	12s.	
27	Atoduru kwadom	Keg of powder	<i>Dwoa</i>	0 8 20	30s.	
28	Okyem	Shield	<i>Asia</i>	0 7 1	26s.	
29	Mprenkesima	Itch (crawl crawl)	<i>Borofa</i>	0 1 4	4s.	
30	Akuma	Axe	<i>Asia</i>	0 7 13	26s.	Lent by Capt. O. F. Ross. Not actually in use.
31	Adada kotodwe	Dwarf's knee	<i>Nsuansafa</i>	0 1 11	5s.	
32	Sansato	Hawk's bottom	<i>Nsanu</i>	0 3 15	13s.	There is a saying, <i>Wo aso sansa 'to</i> ('You have held a hawk's bottom'), meaning you have got into serious trouble.

33	Eka (?)	Ring	Soa	0	1	18	6s.
34 Fig. 116	Konta	Drum stick	Nsuansa	0	2	20	10s.
35	Abrammuo	Weight for weighing gold dust	Pereguan	2	4	21	£8
36	"	" "	Osoa ne suru	0	16	17	£3
37	"	" "	Dwoa	0	8	17	30s.
38	"	" "	"	?			30s.
39	"	" "	"	0	10	3	30s.
40	"	" "	Asia	0	7	8	26s.
41	"	" "	Dwoa	0	9	9	30s.
42	"	" "	"	0	8	20	30s.
43	"	" "	Osoa	0	11	2	£2
44	"	" "	Asia	0	7	11	26s.
45	"	" "	"	0	7	14	26s.
46	"	" "	Suru	0	5	2	£1
47	"	" "	Dwoa	0	8	16	30s.
48	"	" "	Asia	0	7	14	26s.
49	"	" "	Nomanu	0	3	7	12s.
50	"	" "	"	0	4	7	12s.
51	"	" "	Suru	0	5	15	£1
52	"	" "	Nomanu	0	2	6	12s.
53	"	" "	Nsanu	0	3	20	13s.
54	"	" "	Domma	0	2	2	7s.
55	"	" "	Borofa	?			4s.
56	"	" "	Agyiratwe	0	2	13	9s.
57	"	" "	Nsuansa	0	2	19	10s.
58	"	" "	Bodomo	0	3	18	11s.
59	"	" "	Soa	0	1	23	6s.
60	"	" "	Agyiratwe	0	2	8	9s.
61	"	" "	Soa	0	1	22	6s.
62	"	" "	Domma	0	2	1	7s.
63	"	" "	Ntakuanum	0	0	18	2s. 6d.

The small piece of wire bound round this and also No. 21 is to make up the weight.

Centre is filled in with lead.

An elaboration of the *swastika*; the Ashanti call this symbol 'fo'sa, i.e. 'the hand of the colobus monkey'.

Left top corner filed away.

Five *ntaku*.

APPENDIX B

The following is a list of standards in use, each one of which has its own separate weight. The value (approximately) that is given is in English currency.

<i>Ashanti name of weight.</i>	<i>Approximate value of gold dust in English currency.</i>
<i>Powa hu</i> ¹	$\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 <i>d.</i>
<i>Pesa</i> or <i>Pesewa</i>	1 <i>d.</i>
<i>Damma</i>	1 <i>d.</i>
<i>Takufa</i>	3 <i>d.</i>
<i>Kokwa</i> (<i>kokoa</i>)	4 <i>d.</i>
<i>Taku</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Nkowa mienu</i> ¹	9 <i>d.</i> (not 8 <i>d.</i>)
<i>Ntaku mienu</i>	1 <i>s.</i>
„ <i>miensa</i>	1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
„ <i>anan</i>	2 <i>s.</i>
„ <i>anum</i>	2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Soafa</i>	3 <i>s.</i>
<i>Fiasofa</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
<i>Dommafa</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Borofa</i>	4 <i>s.</i>
<i>Gyiratwefa</i> ²	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Nsoansafa</i>	5 <i>s.</i>
<i>Bodomfa</i>	5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Soa</i>	6 <i>s.</i>
<i>Fiaso</i>	6 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Domma</i>	7 <i>s.</i>
<i>Brofo</i>	8 <i>s.</i>
<i>Agyiratwe</i>	9 <i>s.</i>
<i>Nsuansa</i>	10 <i>s.</i>
<i>Bodomo</i>	11 <i>s.</i>
<i>Nomanu</i>	12 <i>s.</i>
<i>Nsanu</i>	13 <i>s.</i>
<i>Dwoasuru</i>	15 <i>s.</i>
<i>Nanfisuru</i>	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Bremanansuru</i>	18 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Surupa</i> ³	20 <i>s.</i>
<i>Piresuru</i> ⁴	22 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Tekiman soa</i>	25 <i>s.</i>
<i>Asia</i>	26 <i>s.</i>
<i>Dwoa</i>	30 <i>s.</i>
<i>Onamfi</i>	33 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<i>Onansoa</i>	37 <i>s.</i>
<i>Osoa</i> (<i>pa</i>)	40 <i>s.</i>
<i>Osoa ne nsuansa</i>	50 <i>s.</i>

¹ From *Powa hu* to *nkowa mienu*, all these weights are seeds.

² Fanti *Dadako*.

³ Lit. a 'true' or good *suru*.

⁴ In Ashanti 22*s.* 6*d.*, on the coast 22*s.*; this weight is used to cheat the unwary.

<i>Ashanti name of Weight.</i>	<i>Approximate value of gold dust in English currency.</i>
<i>Osoa ne suru</i>	60s.
<i>Asoanu</i>	80s.
<i>Asoanu ne suru</i>	100s.
<i>Asoanu ne dwoa</i>	110s.
<i>Asoasa</i>	120s.
<i>Benna</i>	140s.
<i>Pereguan</i>	160s.
<i>Pereguan asia</i>	186s.
<i>Pereguan soa</i> ¹	£10
<i>Tasuanu</i> ²	£12
<i>Ntanu</i>	£16
<i>Ntanu Asoanu</i>	£20
<i>Ntansa</i>	£24
<i>Pereguan anan</i>	£32
„ <i>num</i>	£40
„ <i>nsia</i>	£48
„ <i>nson</i>	£56
„ <i>nwotwe</i>	£64
„ <i>nkron</i>	£72
„ <i>du</i>	£80

¹ This weight is possessed by chiefs only. In case of a death sentence commuted for a fine, this is the amount that had to be paid.

² From £12 upwards only in the possession of chiefs, and so up to 100 *pereguan*=£800. This weight was sent to Adinkira, the Gyaman King, to demand its weight in gold dust. There are special scales called *Akontuma* to weigh these heavier amounts. The smaller scales are known as *mframa nsenia*, lit. wind scales, i. e. scales which a breath of wind will cause to fluctuate.

NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS IN ASHANTI

I HAVE had occasion several times in the preceding chapters to mention neoliths, which in Ashanti are known as God's axes or God's hoes, and the following fuller notes upon them may be of interest. In the year 1911 it was my good fortune to be in Ashanti during the latter part of the construction of the Coomassie-Ejura main trunk road, and to have obtained a collection of celts which were then unearthed. These formed the subject of a most interesting paper by Mr. Henry Balfour (of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford) in the *Journal* of the African Society,¹ and I advise all who are interested to consult that article. In 1921 I found myself again in Ashanti as Government Anthropologist. In the short time that has elapsed since taking up my new work some hundred more specimens of celts have been obtained, a few being found by me *in situ*, and many were dug up by the Ashanti farmers, and one, the largest, was lately dredged up from the bottom of the Offin River. Some were associated with the cult of the *abosom*, the *suman*, or of 'Nyame.

While it is correct to state that probably ninety-nine out of a hundred Ashanti declare and actually believe that the stone celts found by them emanate from the sky, and are in consequence endowed with some of the power of the Sky God, 'Nyame, sufficient evidence is available to prove beyond a doubt that there are still alive in Ashanti to-day persons who know that these stones are artifacts, and that they were used by their ancestors at a period that was relatively recent. The Ashanti generally call them 'Nyame akuma or 'Nyame asoso, i. e. the Sky-God's axes or hoes. They believe that they fall from the sky during thunderstorms and bury themselves in the earth. They think that, as they come from 'Nyame, they are endowed with some of the power of that great spirit, and this is the explanation of their use in connexion with *abosom* and of their

¹ No. XLV, Vol. XII, October 1912.

supposed potency as medicine. As a consequence of this belief they are constantly to be found as appurtenances to *abosom* (the gods), *suman* (charms), '*Nyame dua* (altar to the Sky God), or placed in a pot where the drinking water is kept, 'to cool the heart'. They are also sometimes fastened against the body to cure diseases, or are ground down and the powder drunk.

I am inclined to believe it is thought heterodox to say anything contrary to the above, because these, being the popular beliefs, are encouraged by the *akomfo* (priests), and that some of the old people who really know better say nothing, confess ignorance, or acquiesce in the generally accepted opinion.

Nevertheless, I have been informed by several old men that, according to traditions handed down to them, the so-called 'God's axes' were really tools used by their ancestors in the past, not only previously to but contemporaneously with, a period when the smelting of iron was practised.

Kakari, an exceptionally intelligent Ashanti, gave me the following statement, before I was aware of the existence of the very long celts here illustrated :

'My grandfather, Kakari Panyin, once told me that he had been told by his grandfather, who himself had heard of, but had not seen them in use, that very very long ago the Ashanti used the stone hoes which are now called '*Nyame akuma*. My grandfather also told me our ancestors formerly wore a girdle with leaves before and behind. He said these axes were not originally the short things now found but were very long, and that they used them for hoeing, holding them in both their hands and digging between their open legs' (translation from the vernacular). Kakari could not say clearly whether they were hafted or not. He picked up a stick lying against the verandah, to show the length, and held it about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet up the shaft.¹ Later, and after I had seen the long celts (Figs. 141 and 142), another old man, Kobina Wusu,² between seventy and eighty years of age, told me that his grandfather once told him that very long ago the Ashanti used hoes made of stone a cubit long, demonstrating this by holding out the right arm, fingers pointing, and touching the elbow-joint with the left hand. When asked

¹ A celt of this length, from the Gold Coast, is now in the British Museum.

² His photograph may be seen in Fig. No. 41.

why they did not use iron, he replied that they also used it but that it was scarcer and more difficult to work than stone, and was only used for making *nabuo* (iron money). These statements were made independently, and neither informer had ever had any intercourse with Europeans, and neither had been told by me the real origin of these celts. The points of interest in these statements are :

I. The fact that a definite tradition still survives of a stone age.

II. The statement in each case that the celts were long (a foot or more).

III. The fact that in one case iron-working was stated to have been practised contemporaneously with the use of stone.

It may be here noted that the late Major Tremeane, in Nigeria, also once met an old native who knew the true origin of these celts. I shall have more to say later as to the length of the celts. It may be stated, however, that long celts have been discovered; for example, one numbered 1 in Fig. 141 measures 24 centimetres. Long celts were apparently already known; Mr. Balfour, in the article alluded to, speaks of 'two long slender celts from the Offin River', but does not give their dimensions.

With regard to iron currency, I had not before heard of *nabuo* or of an iron currency in Ashanti. Moreover, the Ashanti do not now work iron ore, nor are there any obvious traces of their ever having done so.

In Chapter IV, p. 47, of a rather rare old book entitled *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*,¹ by a native pastor, the Rev. C. C. Reindorf, in referring to Kwabia Amanfi, one of the earliest Kings of Ashanti of whom tradition has any record, writes: 'All we know of him is that in his days gold was not known, the currency was pieces of iron.'

The word *nabuo*, used by the old Ashanti, is without doubt derived from two words, *dade*, with a plural *nnade*, iron ore, and *buo*, to pound or break up, and it describes the process by which the laterite found in Ashanti was prepared for smelting.

Ashanti traditional lore seems to go back to this first King Kwabia Amanfi. Reindorf gives his date very roughly as 1600,

¹ Printed at Basle.

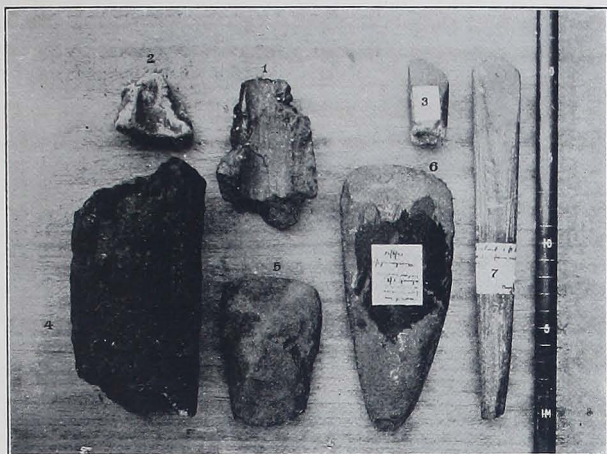


FIG. 140. Showing some fragments of *nsemua* (tuyers) and celts

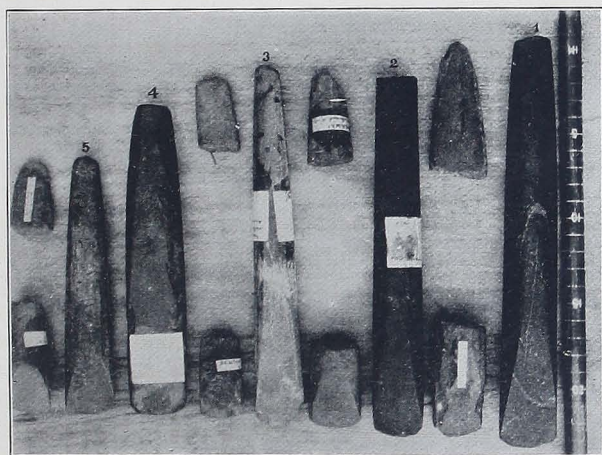


FIG. 141. Showing several long celts

and fifteen Ashanti kings are recorded since then, ending with Prempeh, who was exiled in 1896.

We thus have some approximate data which would appear to point to the fact that four hundred to five hundred years ago iron was so little worked—I do not say known—that it was used as currency in Ashanti. If this be so, then we should expect an overlapping of the Stone Age with the Iron Age until European iron was imported, and further interesting evidence seems to confirm this supposition.

Before passing on to this I may state that in Reindorf's *History*, he also constantly alludes to the lost art of iron-smelting in Ashanti, which, according to him, vanished when iron rods began to be imported from Europe. These rods were apparently at first used as currency, for he talks of 'the piece of an iron bar which was the ordinary pay of a soldier'. I have never seen any of this *nabuo* or iron currency, and there are not any visible traces in Ashanti of iron furnaces, such as may be seen in Togoland.¹ There is, however, evidence that iron was once worked.²

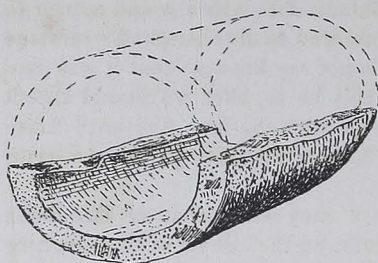
The town of Obuasi in Ashanti is the centre of a large gold-mining industry; it lies in a valley surrounded by isolated hills which rise to a height of 500–600 feet from the plain below. Many of these hills have been cleared of the dense forest which formerly grew upon them, and are now occupied by Government bungalows. There is neither outward sign nor tradition of these having been the settlements of the Ashanti in the past, but to judge by the remains under the soil, they must have been the former sites of large communities.

It is no exaggeration to state that there is hardly a square foot of ground on the tops of some of these hills which does not contain fragments of pottery; and I was informed many celts had also been found there. The pottery bears an endless variety of designs, herring bone, bands, elliptical punch-marks, contiguous and detached circles, &c. A celt was also found by me about 6 inches below the surface (Fig. 140, no. 3). A few yards from it and in the same strata were unearthed two curious objects of clay, one apparently unbaked, the other having been

¹ See 'The Iron Workers of Akpafu', *J. R. A. I.*, Vol. XLVI, 1916, by R. S. Rattray.

² Since my return to Africa two manilla were brought to me, they had been dug up near Lake Bosomtwe.

subjected to intense heat (Fig. 140, nos. 1, 2, and 4). These seemed to be fragments of a pipe, and reconstructed would have this appearance :



For some time I could not obtain any explanation of these objects; later, however, on my showing the collection of pottery to an old Ashanti, he singled out these fragments at once and said they were *nsemua* (sing. *semua*). He stated he

recognized them as similar to one he had at home which had been handed down by his ancestors. The *semua*, so he had been told, was used for smelting gold. The one in his possession was sent for and later presented to me. It was completely glazed and encrusted with a dark brown substance (Fig. 140, no. 4). The *nsemua* found by me, the pottery and a celt, were all discovered on the east side of the hill known as D. C.'s hill, and about ten yards from the flat top upon which the bungalow I was then living in was built. An examination of these *nsemua*, (two found by me and one given to me) made in the Assay Office of the Ashanti Gold-fields Corporation, gave the following result :

'*Semua*. Both samples which have been used show only a trace of gold.'

'One end of the unbroken *semua* is encrusted with a dark brown substance which corresponds to Ferrous Silicate.'

'This material is only present at one end, the other end being quite free.'

'An unused *semua* shows on grinding that it is composed of unburnt clay and sand intimately mixed.'

'There is no room for doubt that the *semua* were tuyers used in a native blast furnace and that one specimen was that end which came in contact with the molten slag.'

Mr. Mervyn-Smith, the Acting Manager of the Ashanti Gold-fields Corporation to whose courtesy and interest I am indebted for the assay of these specimens, also sent me a paper by J. Morrow Campbell—read before a meeting of the Institute

of Mining and Metallurgy¹—from which the following is an extract :

‘ In various parts of the Gold Coast from the shores of the Nani lagoon to Ashanti are to be seen heaps of slag. No remains of furnaces are to be found. . . .

‘ They are generally attributed to the Portuguese, but this is not credible.’

Mr. Campbell then proceeds to describe native blast furnaces in Haute Guinée ; he writes :

‘ . . . when the walls have reached a height of 18 in., about a dozen irregular elliptical holes about 1 ft. long by over 6 in. high are left at equal intervals. A large number of open pipes or “ Tuyers ”, tapering from about 2 in. at one end to over 1 in. at the other and over $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness, composed of a mixture of clay and sand, are made and thoroughly dried in the sun. They are inserted small end downwards,’ &c.

I think enough has been said to indicate that those *nsemua* found associated with a celt, are relics of an iron-smelting age in Ashanti, and would seem to show that the Stone Age in Ashanti survived into comparatively recent times and overlapped the Iron Age.

With reference to the statements of those Ashanti, who say that the stone hoes or axes were originally longer than those now commonly known, I propose to consider some specimens I have at present available, with a view to seeing if this is a reasonable supposition. An examination of any collection of West African celts—I have about a hundred before me as I write, not including the photographs of forty-one more in the article by Mr. Balfour, to which reference has been made—will show that they fall into one or other of the following groups (see p. 328).

1. Short celts with ground edges and tapering butt (A).
2. Short celts with ground edges, the butt as wide, or nearly so, as the cutting edge (B).
3. Short celts in all stages intermediate between these two.
4. Cylindrical stones with both ends blunt (no cutting-edge) (C).
5. Cones (D).
6. Very long celts tapering towards the butt (rare) (E) (see p. 329).

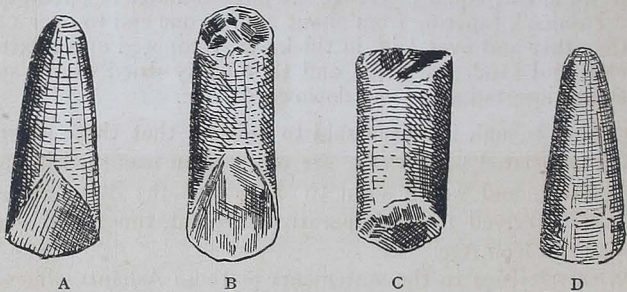
Let us now take any of the longer celts shown in Fig. 141,

¹ No. 67, 14th April 1910.

nos. 1-5, say no. 1. This is the longest celt in the group, but even it appears to have lost perhaps 2 cm. at the tapering end. (The celt in Fig. 141, no. 2, certainly has; nos. 3 and 5 in the same Figure are probably unbroken.)

Let us now suppose such a celt to be actually in use as in the drawing F (see p. 329), the cutting-edge *A*, 1, will gradually wear away or possibly chip off, and will have to be re-ground, when 2 will become the edge, then 3, and so on.

Should such a celt be used for a long period it will in time, by a process of re-grinding, pass through all the stages represented by the curved dotted lines till it reaches no. 7 or even 8,



the short celt with tapering butt so commonly seen. After this, once the point is gone it would become useless except perhaps for rubbing skins or smoothing pots; in any case it will not permit of further grinding. This gives the celt in class 1, Fig. A. Should, however, as seems very possible, the celt sometimes snap off before it has been often re-ground, say, e.g. down the dotted line *a* or *b*, we should then have a tool the other extremity of which would no longer be pointed but giving us celts (longer or shorter according to the breaking-point) that fall under class 2 (Fig. B). Fractures at any of the intermediate places up to about 8 would give us class 3. Supposing now edge 2 to have been reached and a break occurring near the dotted straight line *b*, if edge 2 in turn later broke off, say near *a*, it would leave a short, stumpy cylinder with two blunt ends which is too short to re-sharpen. Type 4 (Fig. c) would result. A fracture when the sixth or seventh cutting-edge was in use would leave cone-shaped stumps, and give class 5 (see Fig. D).



FIG. 142. Showing three long celts



FIG. 143. Showing one long celt

It is obvious how much time and trouble would be saved by manufacturing one long celt rather than a number of short implements. The workman carries in one tool twenty spares or more, for, except in case of accident, the wearing-down process would be a more gradual one than that suggested. Instead of many weeks, if not months, of labour involved in shaping from the rough, innumerable short celts, whose life must have been very short, the one rough shaping would give the basis of a tool which was for all practical purposes as good as, or better—for it had weight behind it—than twenty smaller ones.

Fig. 141 shows five long celts (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), and an attempted arrangement of the ordinary celt so commonly found, giving an imaginary reconstruction of a long celt.

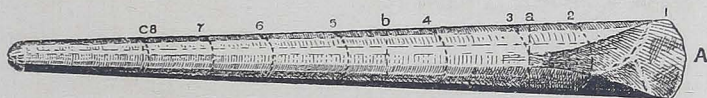
Fig. 142 shows three long celts with a group of the ordinary type which would fall under my classes 2 and 3 (see p. 327).

Fig. 143 shows again the long celt with celts falling into class 1 (see p. 327).

In Fig. 140¹ I have included two celts (nos. 5 and 6) which fall, I think, into a different class altogether. They are very similar to, but larger than, no. 25 in the Ejura collection in Mr. Balfour's article; no. 5 has clearly had its tapering end fractured.



E



F

An analysis of the composition, together with a note of the hardness, specific gravity, &c., of several of the celts illustrated, may be of interest.²

¹ The rod showing the centimetre scale is part of the excellent height standard supplied by the R.A.I., the grooves and figures on which are rubbed over with white chalk to make them distinct in the photograph.

² For this report I am again indebted to the Manager of the Ashanti Gold-fields Corporation, as also to Mr. Drew the assayer.

'The small celt found associated with *nsemua* at Obuasi is composed of Epidiorite. The hardness is 7 on Moh's scale. The specific gravity is 3.00.' (See Fig. 140, no. 3).

'Other celts found in the vicinity of Obuasi are hewn from a greenish-coloured rock of local origin. The hardness is 7, the specific gravity ranges from 3.00 to 3.10. Under the microscope a thin section of this rock shows a decomposed Plagioclase feldspar and green laminae of Actinolitic Hornblend.'

'A section of a celt shews a more compact variety of the same species which is an Epidiorite.'

'The celts withstand weathering; in the majority of cases a thin layer of $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to $\frac{1}{8}$ in. has been decomposed.'

Celt no. 2, Fig. 141, 21 cm. in length. This celt was given me at Bekwai some miles north of Obuasi; it was stated to have been used in connexion with the cult of '*Nyame*'. The specific gravity is 3.04. Hardness is 7. It is similar to those found at Obuasi.'

Celt no. 1, Figs. 141-3. This celt was dredged up in the Offin River and was sent me by the courtesy of Mr. Green of Coomassie. It is 24 cm. long. Mr. Drew, the assayer, writes:

'The specific gravity is 3.04. Hardness 7. Similar to those found at Obuasi. This celt and the one used on the *Onyame dua* are very little weathered on the surface.'

Celt no. 7, Fig. 140, no. 2, Fig. 142, and no. 3, Fig. 141, 21.15 cm. This celt was given to me at Asubengya, a village north of Bekwai. The native stated he found it in his farm while digging, about 1 foot below the surface. Mr. Drew's report upon it is as follows:

'Specific gravity 2.58. Hardness 2. This celt is hewn from Phyllite (which represents a type of rocks intermediate between Mica schists and Slates).'

'It is far softer than those previously mentioned, being similar in this respect to Gypsum.'

'Phyllites are of common occurrence in this district [Bekwai].'

Celt no. 4, Fig. 141, 18.3 cm., was purchased by me in Mampon, Ashanti, but the vendor stated he had brought it from Accra.

Celt no. 5, Fig. 141, and no. 3, Fig. 142, 15 cm., was purchased at Bekwai. It, like several other celts in my possession, is fluted, a cross-section showing fourteen facets.

The long celt from the Offin River also shows on one side

distinct signs of a similar process, the opposite side is smooth ; possibly it lay half-buried and the upper surface was smoothed away by friction of water or sand. This fluting would serve to prevent a celt slipping either in the hand or in a socket. Finally, as a possible explanation as to why celts such as that found in the Offin are so rarely seen, and to account for the predominance of the well-known short and stumpy type, I suggest that the transition from the Neolithic to the Iron Age was not sudden. The stone implement and the iron one that was eventually to oust it must have been for a time used side by side in the forest and in the field. A good stone hoe such as the Offin River specimen, would, it is more than probable, have been used as long as it was serviceable, and serviceable it must have been with a hardness equal to that of quartz. But once it had had its day, and bit by bit its cutting-edge neared the end, its owner would not, as in olden times, sit down for months to fashion another weapon of like nature ; he would purchase, or make, or have made, one of the new superior 'stone', i. e. iron.

Hence it would be that no ' God's axes ', in the form in which they left the craftsman's hands, would come down to us, save only those few which accident or mischance had caused to be lost in the forest, the field, or the river, before use had reduced these beautiful implements to the short, stubby, stumpy things we now see and, perhaps wrongly, think them always to have been.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE ASHANTI MADE BY CAPT. RATTRAY

By L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON, M.A., Lecturer in Physical
Anthropology, University of Oxford.

THE series of measurements under review comprises those of forty-eight men and twenty-seven women. A few additional men and one other woman were also measured, but they were rejected in the final count either because of their parentage or because they belonged to other tribes; the woman was not included for reasons which will be discussed later.

All the people included in the final count came from within fifty miles of one another, mostly from either Bekwai or Obuasi. In spite of the small numbers it has seemed worth while to work out the constants, for, although no definite conclusion can be arrived at from so small a series, the constants may be of value for comparative purposes. (See Tables 1 and 2.) No crania were available for examination.

The measurements differ in certain particulars from those previously obtained. Sergi,¹ unfortunately without quoting his authority, gives the Ashanti stature as 1693 mm. for males and 1554 mm. for females. It is of interest to note that the stature of Nigerian natives measured by Mr. Talbot and published by Sir Arthur Keith² agrees closely with Sergi's figure.

Sergi's figure for the cephalic index (77.3 ♂, 76.5 ♀) does not differ from Rattray's; the Nigerian crania have a similar value to Rattray's Ashanti, if we allow a difference of 2 or rather more units between the living and the dead. The figures for the living Nigerians tend, however, to a slightly greater dolichocephaly, emphasizing the difficulty at arriving at a satisfactory figure from small numbers of observations. Shrubsall³ on a series of

¹ *L'Uomo*, p. 188.

² Keith, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1911.

³ Shrubsall, *J.R.A.I.*, 1898.

fifty-eight which included both males and females found a cephalic index of 72.7, a far greater degree of dolichocephaly even after we made allowance for the difference between the living and the dead. These various differences seem to be greater than can be accounted for by random sampling. Rattray's value for the nasal index is similar but slightly lower than that of the Nigerians in Keith's series and very much smaller than Sergi's, the latter's figures being 114.3 ♂ and 102 ♀. The bizygomatic width and the upper facial index indicate a similarity with Keith's types from Nigeria.

It is clear then that we have certain points of great resemblance to Keith's Nigerian types and certain interesting divergencies. The difference in stature is perhaps the most remarkable. It might be suggested that this difference is due to an admixture between a short, possibly a pygmy type, with a tall negro. The extremely small stature of one female, only 1213 mm. would lend colour to that supposition. This little woman is, however, an isolated case and it has been deemed advisable to exclude her from the constants on the ground that she differed so much from the rest that to include her would make a very appreciable difference to the constants, and I have taken it as an axiom that where a series is significantly affected by the inclusion or exclusion of a single individual, that individual should not be included. Apart from this one individual then, the series shows a small standard deviation. The numbers are admittedly small, but so small a standard deviation suggests that we have not a mixture of tall and short—I am referring to their present validity not to their origin—but a comparatively homogeneous people of medium or sub-medium stature. The small variation in the cephalic index also suggests that we have, not a mixture of races, but a single more or less homogeneous type.

The nasal index is, as usual, variable but rather less variable than we find in those peoples where a mixture of races is taking place. Professor Arthur Thomson¹ has shown that there is a close correlation between the nasal index and the conditions of temperature and the moisture of the air to which peoples have been subjected. It yet remains to be shown how long is required for altered conditions, due either to the migration of a people or

¹ Thomson and Buxton, *J.R.A.I.*, 1923.

to a change of climate to produce a reaction which can be observed in changed anatomical features.

A point of considerable interest, and one that deserves consideration when we have more data, is that the females, especially when the measurements are taken on the living, are apt to be more leptorrhine than the males. In this series the difference is 5 per cent. Possibly this is due to the greater thickness of the soft structures which form the alae of the nostrils among the males. The greater development of the masticatory apparatus in the male may also be not without influence on the form of nose.

Such conclusions as we may make at present can only be provisional, but they may form a starting-point for further investigations. The small variation of the people deserves testing on a long series, if possible several series from different parts of Ashanti. Our present evidence suggests that we are dealing with a people who, whatever their origin may have been, have at present developed into a strictly homogeneous race, possibly owing to the destruction of abnormal types by environmental influence. Shruballs has pointed out that the Ashanti are geographically secluded both from the Europeans on the coast and also from the Hamitic Negro tribes pressing across the Niger plains. Our present evidence would certainly support the theory of a secluded people, but until we have further measurements from different parts of Ashanti, we cannot decide whether the differences of measurements recorded by different observers are due to the small number of persons measured, or to local variations due to environment or other causes of which we are at present ignorant. For the same reasons it is hardly possible to speculate with any degree of likelihood on the exact racial affinities of these interesting peoples, on the slender evidence of the series of measurements now before us.

TABLE I. MALES

<i>Measurement</i>	<i>Mean.</i>	σ .	<i>V.</i>
Stature	164.21 \pm .54	5.53 \pm .38	3.37 \pm .23
Glabello-occipital length	187.33 \pm .45	4.66 \pm .32	2.49 \pm .17
Greatest breadth	145.02 \pm .43	4.41 \pm .30	3.04 \pm .21
Minimum frontal diameter	107.60 \pm .40	4.07 \pm .28	3.78 \pm .26
Bizygomatic breadth	134.67 \pm .42	4.28 \pm .29	3.18 \pm .22
Bigonial breadth	101.73 \pm .51	5.25 \pm .36	5.16 \pm .36
Nasal height	45.17 \pm .24	2.48 \pm .17	5.49 \pm .38
Nasal breadth	42.48 \pm .31	3.20 \pm .22	7.54 \pm .52
Upper facial height	59.89 \pm .44	4.48 \pm .31	7.47 \pm .52
Total facial height	108.29 \pm .57	5.87 \pm .40	5.42 \pm .41
Cephalic index	77.52 \pm .24	2.47 \pm .17	3.18 \pm .22
Nasal index	95.17 \pm .91	9.39 \pm .65	9.87 \pm .69
Upper facial index	44.17 \pm .91	3.10 \pm .21	7.03 \pm .49
Total facial index	80.29 \pm .40	4.07 \pm .28	5.07 \pm .35

The stature is given in centimetres, all the other measurements are in millimetres. 48 measurements were made in every case except stature where only 47 were made. σ = standard deviation, *V* = coefficient of variation.

TABLE II. FEMALES.

<i>Measurement.</i>	<i>Mean.</i>	σ .	<i>V.</i>
Stature	154.74 \pm .65	5.04 \pm .46	3.26 \pm .30
Glabello-occipital length	176.70 \pm .67	5.06 \pm .46	2.86 \pm .26
Greatest breadth	136.85 \pm .51	3.90 \pm .36	2.85 \pm .26
Minimum frontal diameter	104.15 \pm .34	2.63 \pm .24	2.53 \pm .23
Bizygomatic breadth	126.33 \pm .45	3.50 \pm .32	2.77 \pm .25
Bigonial breadth	96.19 \pm .47	3.62 \pm .33	3.76 \pm .35
Nasal height	40.81 \pm .43	3.33 \pm .31	8.17 \pm .75
Nasal breadth	36.78 \pm .23	1.76 \pm .16	4.79 \pm .44
Upper facial height	53.85 \pm .70	5.43 \pm .50	10.09 \pm .94
Total facial height	98.54 \pm .78	6.04 \pm .55	6.13 \pm .57
Cephalic index	77.78 \pm .35	2.73 \pm .25	3.50 \pm .32
Nasal index	90.39 \pm .73	5.65 \pm .52	6.25 \pm .58
Upper facial index	42.56 \pm .57	4.39 \pm .40	10.31 \pm .96
Total facial index	78.13 \pm .73	5.62 \pm .52	7.19 \pm .66

The stature is given in centimetres, all the other measurements are given in millimetres. 27 measurements were made in every case. σ = standard deviation. *V* = coefficient of variation.

INDEX

- Aban, 119, 201
 Abankwadi *ntoro* exogamous division, 47
 Abanso village, 58
Abayifo: see Witches.
 Abebrese, 290
 Abena Firi, Queen Mother, 122; her story of the sacred grove at Santemanso, 123-4
 Aberewa (Old Mother Earth), 215
 Aberewa ('the old woman'), 56
 Aberewa river, 61
 Aboabogya, 9
Aboka, 47
 Abono, villages named, 69, 70, 72, 73
Abontuo, 66
 Abora, 136
Abosom: see Gods; *abosom nom*, 109-10; *abosom toa*, 110
 Abrade sub-clan, 124
Arafo: see Executioners.
Abrodwum'bo, 58, 59
 Abrodwum village, 57, 58, 59
Abusua (clan or blood), 23, 34, 35, 37-9, 41-4, 45, 46, 52, 77, 78, 80
 Accra, 294
 Ada sub-clan, 124
Adaduanan, 93, 114
Adae, the word, 83, 92
Adae ceremonies, 159, 167, 216-19, 290 *n.*; pieces drummed at the festivals, 258. Brong *Adae* (*Muruwukuo*), 92, 114-20. Queen Mother's *Adae* ceremony, 105-6. Sunday *Adae* (*Adae kese* or *Kwesidae*), 83, 92, 93, 107-8. Wednesday *Adae* (*Wukudae* or *Kupadakuo*), 92-104, 109-12, 114, 207
Adae kese ceremony: see *Adae* ceremonies.
 Adanse, 266, 280 *n.*
Adapa, 93, 94, 107, 114
Adare, 71
Adawuru: see Gongs.
 Adinkira, king of Gyaman, 178, 179 *n.*, 180, 189, 190; his imitation of the 'Golden Stool' and its consequences, 291
 Adu, 282; legend of, 312
 Adu Ogyinae, 124
 Aduampafrantwi, 283
 Aduana clan, 124, 125, 215
 Aduanwoma, 285
 Adufodie: see Bosommuru.
- Adultery, 131, 154; redress for, 154; varying degrees of, 50; with goldsmith's wife, special fine for, 301; with the king's wives, punished with forfeiture, 227
 Adum, 156
 Adwetekye: see Aketeki.
Adwin tree, 100, 110, 215, 235, 310
 Adwira, 51 *n.*, 211. See Ejura.
Adwira tree, 51, 53, 166
Adwo (a title of respect), 280
Adwumfo: see Goldsmiths.
Afahye ceremony, 203-12
Afasie, 47, 48
Afema plant, 147
Afodie, 52
Afona: see Swords.
 Aframa, Queen Mother of Tekiman, 156
 Afrane Akwa, 282
 Agai, 281
 Aggrey beads, 147, 314
 Agona clan, 288
Agya, 22, 25-7, 30-3
Agya 'ba, 24, 29
Agyapadie, 51 *n.*
Agya wofase, 24, 25, 30
 Agyei Frimpon: see Anotchi.
 Agyepon Ntara, 285
 Agyimadie *ntoro* exogamous division, 48
 Agyiman, King, 180, 207. See Kwaku Dua I.
 Agyinadie *ntoro* exogamous division, 48, 49
Ahema, 77. See Queen Mothers.
Ahenfo, 222
 Ahensan village, 280
Ahuntuo: see Treasure trove.
 Ahuren, 57, 58
 Ajua Pinaman, Queen Mother of Kokofu, 289
 Akan people, 40, 113, 211 *n.*
 Akankadie *ntoro* exogamous division, 48, 49
Akanye tree, 199 *n.*
 Aketeki, 316
Akodiawua, 57
Akomen: see Beads.
Akomfo: see Priests.
Akomfo maa: see Priestesses.
Akomnyumtufo (singers), 207
Akonta, 24, 25, 28-31
Akonta 'ba, 28, 34

- Akore, 278
 Akorobompi, 56-60
 Akowuakra, 55
Akra yawa, 52
Akrafieso, 53
 Akrafi, 288
 Akua, a doll (female), 163
 Akua Adai, 211
 Akua Tia, the god, 163
 Akuamoa, 282
 Akuro Gyima Panyin, 60
 Akurofonso, 281
Akwamea tree, 310
Akwamofuo hene, 60
 Akwasi, 55
Akyeame (spokesman): see 'Linguists'.
Akyekye, 73
 Akyem, 47, 57
 Akyia, Queen Mother of Asansu, 81 n.
Akyigyina (a charm), 209
Akyiwadie, 49, 50 n.
 Ama Tiwa, 211
 Ama Toa, Queen Mother of Tano
 Oboase, 173, 175
Amanhene: see Chiefs.
 Amanwere sub-clan, 124
Ambra (red monkey), 183
 Ame Yao, 193, 201; cave of, 189
 Amma Amoako, 126
 Amo Kotoku, 211
 Amo Yao, King, 178, 179 n.
 Amoa, the god, 167-9; rock of,
 190-1; shrine of, 190, 192
 Amoagye, 282
 Amoako, legend of, 312
 Amoakwade sub-clan, 124
 Amosoansan, 282
 Ampafrako, 281
 Ampam, 281
 Ampao, 57
 Ampasakyi, 279, 284
 Anamrako village, 57, 58
 ✓ Ancestral spirits (*samanfo*), worship
 and propitiation of, 44, 46, 55, 59,
 79, 83, 86, 92, 95-112, 116-20, 126,
 132-4, 136-8, 145, 160, 164, 167,
 175, 182, 200, 201, 203-6, 216-19,
 236, 238, 239, 290 n.; spirit owner-
 ship of the land, 216, 217, 229, 230,
 232, 235-6
 Ani Koko, the god, 161
 Animism, 86, 296
 Ankamanefo, 278
Anofanu (a knife), 309
 Anotchi (Okomfo-Anotchi, also called
 Agyei Frimpon), 57, 206, 215 n.,
 224, 288, 314; story of his having
 brought down from the sky, by
 supernatural power, the 'Golden
 Stool', 289
 Antelopes, 105, 235, 312; skin of, 302
 Anthropological Department in
 Ashanti, 5-8, 10, 12
 Antiedu, 281
 Antwi Abunyawa, 285
Anyado (a salutation), 279
Apa (a rack), 199, 200, 201
Apakan (basket hammock), 159
 Apia Kusi, 286
Apo ceremony at Tekiman, 152-71;
 Apo songs, 156-7
 Armitage, Capt. Cecil H., 292
 Asafodie: see Bosommuru.
Asafohene, 226
 Asaman village, 56-61
 Asansu, 57, 58, 81 n.
Asante hene: see Kings of Ashanti.
 Asantemanso, 125
 — Queen Mother of, 125-32
 Asasebon river, 210
 Asase Ya, 215
Asawu, 61
Ase, 25-8, 31, 32, 34
Aseda: see Thank-offerings.
Asene: see Heralds.
 Ashanti Gold-fields Corporation, 326,
 329 n.
 Ashanti, measurements of the, 332-5.
 Asiamia Toku Asare, first Queen
 Mother of the Beretuo clan, 111,
 112, 280
 Asiase Pepra, 283
 Asokore clan, 36
Asokwa, 47
Asonyeso (a place of worship), 199
 Asuben river, 122, 124
 Asubengya village, 122, 129, 131,
 132, 330
 Asubonten, the god, 161, 201, 206;
 shrine of, 200
 Asumgyima, 283
 Ata Birago, Queen Mother of Kokofu,
 81 n.
 Atakora Kwaku, 282, 284-6
Ate (a kind of creeper), 282
 Ati Akosua, the god, 117, 118, 159,
 161, 177, 200, 202; shrine of, 177,
 178, 184
 Atopere, 283
 Attabubu, 315
 Atwae sub-clan, 124
Awowa (mortgage), 230, 232, 234-6
 Axes, God's (neoliths), 322, 323, 327, 331
 Axim, 151
Aya tree, 147
Ayedie, 126
 'Ba, 25-7, 31, 32
 Baboons, 193
 Baden-Powell, Lt.-Gen. Sir Robert,
 286 n.

- Badu, 285
Baye, 65, 66
 Balfour, Henry, 322, 324, 327, 329
 Banie, 207
 Bantama, 290
 Babab tree, 206
Barim dan: see Burial rooms.
Barinfo, 136
 Basel Mission, 87 n.
Baya ceremony, witnessed at Nsoko, 136-8
 Bea (a god), 146
 Bea river, 146
 Beads (*akomen*), 147, 187
 Bekwai, 330; administrative division, 301; king of, 292
 Belfield, Sir H. Conway, report on the Ashanti system of land tenure, 213, 222
 Bells, brass, 95, 289, 290; of stools, 289, 290; use of, in ritual observances, 97, 108, 110, 111
 Beretuo clan, 36, 111, 266, 280 n., 282-5 nn.
 Birds, 312, 316, 317; as totems, 47, 50 n.
Birempon, 283-5
 Birth ceremonies, 54
 Blood (*abusua*), transmission of, 11, 23, 33, 35-7, 41, 45, 46, 52, 77-9, 225, 229, 295
Boafo, 281, 284, 286
Bodom (a bead), 147
Bodua: see Cow-tails.
Bogya: see *Mogya*.
 Bongo (*otromo*), 171, 208
Bonsam dua tree, 147, 310
 Bonsu Kuma, King, 47, 291
 Bonsu Panyin, King, 47, 126, 179, 180, 189, 190, 291
 Bontuku, 291
 Bosman, William, 10, 35, 39-41, 55 n., 79 n., 87, 91 n., 121 n., 140, 141, 151, 153, 234
 Bosommaram *ntoro* exogamous division, 47, 50
 Bosommuru *adwira* (plant), 53
 Bosommuru *dan* (chamber), 53
 Bosommuru *hene* (official), 53
 Bosommuru *ntoro* exogamous division (also known as Asafodie, or Adufodie) 47-9, 52-3, 283 n.
 Bosommuru river, 47, 48
 Bosompra *ntoro* exogamous division, 47, 49, 51, 280 n.
 Bosompra river, 47
 Bosomtwe, Lake, 45, 47, 55-76, 105, 146, 206, 325; animals, birds, and fishes, 73, 75; appliances used for fishing, boating, &c., 62-6; forbidden methods of fishing, 61-2; 'gunpowder explosion' phenomenon, 45, 56, 62 n., 66-8, 70, 73; lake fisher-folk, 45, 56, 57, 61-8, 73, 74; lake villages, present and submerged, 45, 55, 68; myths, 45, 49, 56, 195; *ntoro*, 45, 49, 54-6; physical features, 54-5, 74; rites in connexion with the lake spirit, 45, 58-61, 196, 266, 285; sounding operations, 45, 63, 68-72, 74, 75; supposed etymology of the name, 45, 55-6; traditional history, 45, 56-8.
 Bosomtwe Rock, 193; ceremony at, 195-6
 Botaase, 285
 Bottles, for spirit ancestors, 200
 Bowdich, Thomas Edward, 34, 35, 40, 78 n., 93, 94, 203 n., 226, 227 n.
 Bowls: brass, 99, 100; eleven, in ceremonial use, 218; wooden, 97
 Boy Scouts, 286 n.
 Braima Fulani, 193
 Brass pan (shrine of the gods), 74, 90, 130, 145-7, 149, 155, 161, 166, 169, 177, 180, 181, 186, 190, 199, 200, 202, 204, 290
 Brass vessels: see *Kuduo*.
 Brong people, 113, 114, 136, 151, 152, 157, 193, 203; *Adae* ceremony of, 114-20, 207; dialect of, 210
 Buabasa (Opoku Mensa), 156
 Burial-rooms of the blood royal, religious ceremony at the repair of the buildings of, 133-5
 Bush buck, 47, 48
 Busumuru, 104.
 Buxton, L. H. Dudley, 8 n.; Note on measurements of the Ashanti, 332-5
 Calabashes, 94, 117, 118, 175, 184-7
 Campbell, J. Morrow, 326, 327
 Canoes, 62, 63
 Capital offences, punished with forfeiture, 227, 231
 Capital punishment, 131, 138, 321 n.
 Cardinal, Mr., 217
 Cats, 234, 235
 Cedar-tree, 101, 258, 262, 264, 278
 Celts: see Neolithic implements.
 Chairs, state, 133
 Charms (*suman*, or lowest grade of superhuman power), 86, 90, 99, 100, 150, 158, 159, 162, 182, 209, 212, 310, 311, 322, 323; charm for driving away evil spirits, 99. See Fetishes.
 Chiefs (*amanhene*, sing. *omanhene*): chair of, 203; courts of, 82, 131, 135, 227, 304-6; cursing of, 155-8;

- drumming the names of, 265 ff.; drums of, 258, 263; household organization, 240, 263; in religious ceremonies, 94-6, 98-100, 108-12, 116-19, 126-31, 133-5, 144, 159, 165, 168-9, 200, 201, 204, 205, 211, 212; influence of the Queen Mother over, 82-3; levies in aid of expenses of funeral of, 227, 230, 240; obligations to fight for, 224-5, 230, 232, 240; ownership of land, 221, 224, 228, 229, 235, 239; 'palace' of, 83, 94, 99, 107, 109, 112, 116, 133, 142, 152, 159, 162, 203; sacrifices made at the installation of a new chief, 137; services of an agricultural nature rendered to, 227, 232, 239; soul-washers of, 205; sources of revenue of, 213, 226, 239; stool, 82, 203, 225, 288; stool lands, 220-2; sub-chiefs, 159; swearing fealty to chiefs, 225-6; treasurer of, 133; umbrella of, 159; war chiefs, 221; weights possessed by chiefs only, 321 n.; wives of, 78, 82
- Child, illegitimate, law as to inheritance of, 39
- Child-bearing, 85, 106; child-birth, 36, 77
- Chipp, Major T. F., 62 n.
- Christaller, Rev. J. G., 23, 34, 36, 45, 62, 87 n., 203, 244, 248, 313
- Christianity and native customs, 237 n. See Missions.
- Clans, 77, 78, 124, 125; choice and entoolment of a chief, 81-2; clan system, 85, 219, 224, 237; drum-history of, 258; exogamous divisions, 34-9, 79-80, 219, 225; extinction of, 79, 80; independent groups, 219-21; land ownership, 213, 219-22, 224, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235; law-makers of, 155; myth as to origin of, 121, 123-4, 214-15; stool property, 80, 213, 218
- Claridge, Dr., 291, 292
- Classificatory system, 11, 13, 21-44
- Clay, red, 134; smeared in lines on the head and arm as a sign of mourning, 287
- white, smearing the face and body with, 137, 143-4, 155, 164, 177; sprinkling powdered clay in religious rites, 158-60, 162-4, 166, 187, 188, 195, 201, 209-11
- Cloth, native, 95, 96, 99, 103, 105, 154, 187; dyed cloths, 133
- Compounds, 136, 137, 142
- Conception, ceremony subsequent to, but prior to birth, 50-2; 'conception' of Lake Bosomtwe, 60, 67; legend concerning, 48-9; native belief as to, 36, 37, 46, 48
- Cooks, 96, 97, 111
- Coomassie, 52, 57, 70, 74, 93, 125, 126, 131, 135, 146, 156, 199, 213 n., 216 n., 221, 227 n., 261, 283, 287, 288; Central Government at, 221, 224; kings of, 288 n.; 'Golden Stool' of, 289-92; siege of (1900), 292; stool of, 124
- Coomassie-Ejura trunk road, 314, 322
- Corn, 47, 50 n.
- Courts, native customary, 154
- Cowries as a circulating medium, 234
- Cows as sacrificial offerings, 61, 124, 128, 131; as totem, 47
- Cow-tails (*bodua*), 158, 210; cow-tail switches, 165, 178, 184, 188, 189, 204
- Crabs, 309, 316
- Crocodiles, 48, 73, 312, 316; legend concerning, 49
- Crops, annual custom in connexion with the eating of the first fruits of, 203-12
- Crown Lands Bill (1894), 216
- Cup, of leaves, 110
- Cursing, festival of, 153, 154-8
- Dabere*, 109
- Dama Bo*, 147
- Dancing at religious ceremonies, 158, 160, 162, 163, 174, 177, 187, 189, 209-12; dance tunes, 177
- Dane (or flint lock) gun, 174, 182, 210
- Day of rest, 215
- Days of the week and forty-two day cycles, names of, 114-15
- Death ceremonies, 54
- Debt, recovery of, 234
- Decorative arts, 300-15
- Demoniacal possession, 147
- Denkyira tribe, 288, 290
- Descent, 22, 26-8. See also Matrilineal descent.
- Dogs, 212; as sacrificial offerings, 61; as totems, 47, 48, 50
- Dolls, wooden, 163
- Domine* tree, 147
- Domma* (a weight), 189, 319, 320
- Dompa village, 58
- Donkeys, 183
- Doso* (kilt), 158, 162
- Dove, the, 309; legend concerning, 49
- Drew, R., analysis of samples of mud from Lake Bosomtwe, 73, 75; report on composition of celts found in Ashanti, 329 n., 330
- Drink, thanksgiving for, 137

- Drum language, 11, 100, 142, 143, 242-86; history of the Mampon division in the drum language, 243, 254, 258, 264-86; messages and news conveyed by, 242, 254-6; overture or prelude, 243; phonographic records, 243, 247, 264 ff.; reading of messages, 256-7; scope and limitations of, 255; 'set pieces', 254, 257; terminology, 243; verses at a religious ceremony, 101-3. *See also* Drums and Language.
- Drummers (*odomankoma kyerema*), 53, 94, 100, 101, 103, 104, 142, 165, 177, 188, 243 n., 248 n., 252-65, 278, 279, 282, 284, 285 n.; customs concerning, 263; rank of, 263; salutation given to, 279 n.; stock-in-trade of, 257-8; totem of, 279 n.; the divine drummer, 278-81, 285
- Drums, 53, 108, 109, 127, 147, 158, 193; *akasa* ('little speaker'), 252, 261; cloth, 259, 261; female drums, 248, 249, 262, 263, 266, 286 n.; making of, 243, 258; male drums, 248, 252, 258, 261-3, 266, 286 n.; outfit, 259-61, 265; pegs, 259, 279; religious observances connected with making of, 243, 258, 261-5; sticks, 252, 259, 260, 264; taboos, 262; talking drums, 89, 94, 100, 104, 111, 133, 152, 207-10, 309; tympanum, 252, 259; women debarred from touching or owning drums, 258, 263. Varieties of: *ago*, 94; *agyankotoankama*, 94; *akukudawi*, 94; *amane*, 94; *ampebi*, 109; *aprede*, 94; *asenkuo*, 94; *bomafo*, 94; *borobi*, 116; *fasafokoko*, 109, 111; *fontomfrom*, 165, 169, 210, 258, 261, 263; *kete*, 94; *mpebi*, 94; *mpintin*, 94; *mpintoa*, 177; *nimsa*, 94; *nkawiri*, 94, 109, 111; *ntumpane*, 94, 100, 133, 165, 258, 259, 261, 263, 286, n. 309; *nyanie*, 94; *prempheh* 111, 263 n. *See* Drum language.
- Drunkenness, 135, 137, 154
- Dua*, 62
- Duyker, 55, 58
- Earth, the, native veneration for, 214-17
- Earth Goddess, 150, 165, 166, 214-17, 226, 236, 265, 278
- Earthquakes, 72
- Edweno*, 100
- Eggs as offerings in religious rites, 158, 161-3, 178, 183-5, 190-1, 195-7, 258, 259, 262, 296, 297, 312
- Ejura (*Adwira*), 51 n., 211; *Afahye* ceremony at, 203-12; celts found at, 329
- Ekouona clan, 36
- Elephant grass, 54 n.
- Elephants, 101, 196, 259, 261, 264, 265, 278, 279, 302, 309; elephant horns, 94, 111; elephant's skin, 216; elephant-tail switchers, 99, 103, 104
- Ellis, Sir A. B., 90 n., 91 n., 93, 139, 142, 152, 237 n.
- Emme*, 99
- Ena*, 25, 30, 31, 83
- Esono*, 100
- Eto*: *see* Yams.
- Etuo*, 227
- Executioners, 104, 111, 159, 160, 164, 219, 309, 310; rank of, 263; chief executioners, 282, 285
- Exogamous patrilineal divisions, 11, 22, 23, 35, 47-8
- Family, communistic state of the, 78, 79; family lands, 219-22, 224-32, 236, 237; family organization, 21, 23-44
- Fan of Queen Mother, 112; fan-bearers, 103, 104
- Fanti people, 40, 113, 114, 151, 231, 239
- Faalty, ceremony of swearing, 225-6
- Fetishes, 36, 68, 74, 99, 100, 116 n., 150, 153, 158, 160, 201, 288; indiscriminate use of the term, 86, 90, 91, 145, 146; 'administering fetish', 109-10; drinking fetish, 226, 230; fetish medicine, 288, 289. *See* Charms.
- Fig-tree as sanctuary, 128-31
- Firampon*, 281-4
- Fire kept burning for dead ancestors, 138
- Fish, 73-5, 105, 316; 'calling the fish', 202; 'children' of Tano, 202; fish-traps, 64-6
- Fish-eagle, 99
- Fishing, 56, 57, 61-7, 73, 74, 196; appliances used, 63-6, 74; methods forbidden, 61-2; taboos, 197
- Fofie* ceremonies, 182-7
- Food offerings in religious rites, 117, 119, 196, 197; thanksgiving for, 137. *See* Meat.
- Forest Bill (1911), 217
- Forty-day periods of time (forty-two, forty-three), 92-3, 114-15, 123 n., 185
- Fosu, 285
- Fowl, 278, 279, 281; as ritual offering, 47, 51-2, 58-61, 144, 149, 185-7, 192, 196, 201-2, 215, 258, 259, 262, 266, 285, 296, 310-12

- Frogs, 317
Fufu (pounded yam or plantain), 51, 52, 235
 Fuller, Sir Francis, 224
 Funeral customs, 49, 50; expenses, rules as to contributions to, 226, 227, 240; intoxication at funerals, 135, 154
Funtumia Akore, 278
Fusu Kwebi, first Ashanti goldsmith, 301
Futuo, 302
- German missions, 139, 140
 Ghosts, 80, 83. *See* Ancestral spirits.
 Goat, as taboo, 146
 God (the Supreme Being): *see* 'Nyame.
 Gods (*abosom*, sing. *obosom*), 51, 53, 56, 58, 86, 90, 99, 100, 116, 117, 119, 120, 125, 141, 144, 164, 172, 174, 175, 177-82, 190, 205, 216, 301, 322, 323; days sacred to, 55; genealogy of the most famous, 143, 145-6; relegated powers of, 141; shrines of, 116, 118, 143, 145-50, 155, 159, 160, 162-7, 210, 211; taboos, 49-50; umbrellas of, 161
 Gold Coast Government, 6, 60, 84, 98, 127, 129, 169, 200, 213, 218, 291-3
 Gold Coast Regiment, 193, 286
 Gold dust, 134, 158, 189, 202, 238, 258, 290, 296, 300, 302, 304-6, 314; standard of weights in use, with approximate value in English currency, 320-1; gold-dust boxes, 302, 305, 306
 Gold-mining industry, 325
 Gold-smelting, 326
 Gold weights, 300-13, 316-21; designs on, 142, 174, 302, 308; standards, 303-4, 320-1; weights in use, with approximate value in English currency, 313, 316-21; weights representing proverbs, 302-4, 306, 309, 310-13, 318, 319; weights with geometrical design, 302, 308; weights with human or animal forms, 302, 308; weights with representation of inanimate objects, 302.
 Golden Stool, the, 287-93; attendants, 290; brass bells of, 289, 290; brought from the skies by supernatural power, 206 *n.*, 289; desecration of, 9, 10, 135, 227 *n.*, 287, 293; golden fetters of, 290; hidden for fear of capture, 9, 292-3; insignia, 290, 291; misconceptions concerning, 287-8, 292; never to be sat upon, 289 *n.*, 290, 292; not allowed to come in contact with the Earth, 216, 289 *n.*; origin and significance of, 288 *ff.*; possession of the stool necessary to the life and welfare of the nation, 289-90, 292-3; power of, in making the Ashanti a great people, 288-90; religious and spiritual significance of, 214 *n.*; shrine of the *sunsum* or soul, 289, 293, 295, 298; umbrellas of, 290
 Goldsmiths (*adwumfo*), 301-13; a guild or brotherhood with special privileges, 301; art retained in certain families, 301; designs, 302, 305; equipment, 302; ethics of varying weights, 304, 320 *n.*; god of, 301; method of casting weights, 303, 306-8; scales, shovel, and spoons, 302, 305; weights, collection of, 302-4
 Gongs, iron (*adawuru*), 158, 174, 179, 201, 202
 'Grandfather' = a term of address, 96, 98, 107, 118, 156, 160, 166, 215
 Grove, sacred, at Santemanso, 122-32; rites witnessed in the, 125-31, 218; taboos of the, 131-2
 Guggisberg, Brig.-Gen. Sir F. G., 6, 295
 Guggisberg, Lady, 10, 294, 299
 Guinea corn, 183, 311
 Guns, 165, 174, 210, 211, 312; gun-bearers, 95, 104
 Gyaanadu, 279
 Gyaanadu Asare, 278, 279
 Gyaba, 285
 Gyabom *suman*, 99, 100
 Gyaman, 151, 179 *n.*, 180, 189, 190, 284 *n.* *See* Adinkira.
 Gyami, chief of Kokofu, 289
 Gyanie, 147
 Gyase-hene, 57, 116, 117
 Gyedua, 58
 Gyirampon, 281
- Half Assini, 195
Hamakyem plant, 147
Hamakyerehene plant, 147
 Hantase village, 56
 Harper, C. H., 6
 Head-rest, 174, 177, 181
 Heralds (*asene*), 95, 97, 98, 102, 111, 123, 124, 127, 159, 164, 184, 185, 204, 240, 282; head-dress of, 282; rank of, 263
 Hodgson, Sir Frederic, and the 'Golden Stool', 291-2
 Hoes, God's (neoliths), 322, 323, 327, 331
 Horn-blowers, 94, 111, 134; rank of, 263 *n.*

- Horns, 94
 Horses, 212
 Houses, 51, 94, 133, 136, 137, 167, 173, 188, 203-5, 236
 Human sacrifice, 100
 Hunters, 162, 163, 166, 168, 170-1, 205, 207-8, 235; traps of, 312
 Huts: *see* Houses.
 Hyenas, 150
Hyire, 52
 Iguana (*mampam*), 170, 171
 Illicit intercourse of king's sister, custom concerning, 78 n.
 Illness, thanksgiving for recovery from, 137
 Incest, punishment for, 138
 Indian corn, 47
 Inheritance, law of, 22, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39-44, 78, 79, 226, 237
 Iron Age, 325, 327, 331
 Iron currency, 324, 325
 Iron-smelting, 324, 325, 327
 Jamasi, 226 n.
 Jeso, 81 n.
 Juaben, 81, 131, 184, 224, 288
 Juaben Sewa, Queen Mother of Juaben, 81 n.
 Kahiri: *see* Head-rest.
 Kakari (Kofi; erroneously Karikari), King, 47, 124, 291
 Kakari, an old Ashanti aristocrat, information supplied by, 13, 22, 205 n., 323; classification of ascendants and descendants of, 23-35, 41-2
 Kakari Panyin, 323
 Keith, Sir A., 332, 333
 Kokokyinaka (bird), 280
 Karikari: *see* Kakari.
 Kings of Ashanti, 47, 52, 60, 61, 69, 82, 83, 103, 104, 124, 130, 131, 153, 156, 157, 196, 219, 221, 222, 290, 324, 325; conquests of, 224; cursing the king, punishment for, 131, 227; feet of, never to touch the ground, 216; in *Adae* ceremony, 102, 104, 106; invoking the power of a god to kill the king, 131; king's calendar, 114; list of, 288, 291; Lord Paramount of all land in his kingdom, 222, 224; palace of, 125 n., 138; right to a share in a subject's estate, 226; ritual washing of *ntoro* by, 52-3; sources of revenue, 226; stool of, 290
 Kingsley, Mary, 81, 82, 152, 162
 Kitchen middens, 121, 124
 Kitson, A. E., geological report on Lake Bosomtwe, 55, 68, 73, 74
 Kobina Wusu, 122, 123, 125, 323
 Kodia, 278
 Kofi, King: *see* Kakari.
 Kofi Afona, a young priest, story of the death of, 119, 161, 170-1
 Kofi Duro, 173, 175-7
 Kofi Kra, 200
 Kofi Twinto, 211
 Kojo Brenya, 203, 211
 Kokofu, 58, 59, 60, 81 n., 125, 131, 196, 224, 289, 314
 Kokokyinaka (bird), 279
 'Komfo': *see* Priests.
 'Komfo Anotchi': *see* Anotchi.
 Konkroma, a local god, 203, 206, 209, 210; shrine, 205, 210; taboos, 212; temple, 206, 207
 Kontanase, 57
 Kontonkyi, 281, 282, 284-6
 Kora, 34
 Kotoku people, 211 n. *See* Akan.
 Kotokuo kese, 65, 66
 Krakye Dente, 168
 Kratchi, 256
 Kuduo (brass vessels), 51-3, 118, 130, 134, 174, 210, 296; decorations on, 305, 308, 313-15; revered as shrines, 314; used in religious rites, 99, 100, 125, 128, 314
 Kukua, 53
 Kukuban Birimpon, 281
 Kum Aduasia, the god, 159, 161
 Kuntunkuni, 133
 Kuntunso, 199
 'Kunu, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32
 'Kunu panyin, 24, 25, 29
 Kupadakuo ceremony: *see* *Adae* ceremonies.
 Kusi Boadum, King, 290
 Kwa (a title of honour and respect), 283, 284
 Kwabia Amanfi, King, 215, 288, 324
 Kwadwumfo: *see* Minstrels.
 Kwaitu, 282
 Kwaku, a doll (male), 163
 Kwaku Abu, 175
 Kwaku Dua I, King, 69, 180, 291
 Kwaku Dua Kuma, King, 291
 Kwakuo, 47
 Kwakyi, 281
 Kwasi, 52
 Kwawu, 278
 Kwawuakwa, 282
 Kwaye, 282
 Kwesi Fo, 211, 212
 Kwesidae ceremony: *see* *Adae* ceremonies.
 Kyeniefiafo, 103
 Lakes, gods bearing the names of, 143, 146

- Lamps, bronze, 309
- Land tenure, 213-41; aids, 230; alienation, 222, 223, 228-39; cultivation, 215; customary laws, 213; escheat, 221, 227, 240; family or communal ownership, 213, 219-21, 222, 224-32, 236, 237; fee simple, the commonest form of tenure, 228-9, 231-2, 238-9; fee tail, 229-30; freehold, 228-30; gifts of lands, 221; grants obtained by conquest, 221; individual ownership non-existent, 226, 229-31; leasehold, 228, 230; life interest, 229; military service as a condition of tenure, 224-5, 230; mortgage, 230, 232-6; ownership of the soil, 213, 216-18, 222, 228 ff.; reliefs (sums payable on the death of a tenant), 226; rum and wine necessary in transfer of land, 137; sale, 221, 231-8; — aversion to, 216, 223, 231, 236, 238; services, land held by, 224-5, 227, 231, 240; spirits of the departed the real land-owners, 216-18, 229; stool lands, 213, 218, 220-2, 231; *tramma* sale, 234-7; transfer, 230-7, 239; value of, 223, 240; wills of land, 237-9
- Language, Ashanti: accentuation of syllables, 246-8, 251-2, 257; consonants, 252, 254, 257; etymology, 246; gesture (of face, hands, arms, or feet), 246-7; holophrases, 250 n., 253, 254, 257, 266; nouns, tone of, 248-50; pauses, stops, or punctuation, 246-7, 252, 254, 257; phonetics, 244, 246, 254; pronunciation, 246; speed of spoken words, 246, 248; stress or emphasis, 246-7; tone or musical pitch, 244-53, 256-7, 266; verbs, tone in, 250-1; vowel sounds, 251-2, 254, 257. See Drum language.
- Law, native customary, 154, 213 ff.
- Leat, F. W., 314
- Leopards, 47, 49, 127, 129, 148, 150, 157, 160, 165, 166, 207, 208
- 'Linguist,' or spokesman (*okyeame*), 58, 95, 96, 98, 103, 104, 111, 116-19, 122, 124, 130, 159, 163, 165, 166, 168, 178-80, 187, 188, 204, 210, 212, 235, 240
- Lions, 302, 303, 316
- Mampam*: see Iguana.
- Mampon, 13, 101, 111 n., 136, 204, 264, 283, 286 n.; chief of, 216 n., 224-5, 226 n.; Queen Mother of, 294-7; history of the Mampon division, in the drum language, 266-78; translation of the drum-history, 278-86
- Man, origin of, traditions concerning, 48-9, 121, 123-4
- Mangin, T. R. O., 306 n.
- Maniampon*, 281
- Manu, Queen Mother of Coomassie, 289
- Marett, Dr. R. R., 13
- Margoliouth, Professor D. S., 315
- Marriages, 22, 29-37, 79; cross-cousin, 31, 38; enjoined, 22, 38; matrilineal, 229; privileged, 22, 38, 78 n.; prohibited, 22, 29, 34, 37-9, 77, 78; taboos, 39; recognition of the husband's *ntoro* taboos by the wife, 50-1; wine at the marriage of one of royal blood, 137-8.
- Mary, Princess, Viscountess Lascelles, presentation to, by the Queen Mothers and women of Ashanti, of a silver stool as a wedding gift, 294-8; the Princess's reply, 299
- Matrilineal descent, 35-7, 46, 77-85, 229, 237, 266, 295
- Me'ba*, 32
- Me'yere*, 31
- Meat, cooked and uncooked, in ritual observances, 97-9, 105, 106, 108, 112, 130, 144, 169, 236
- Mecca, 179
- Medicinal plants and trees, 147, 311
- 'Medicine,' 288, 289
- Medicine man, 161, 162 n., 310, 311. See Priests.
- Meiklejohn, Lt.-Col., 286 n.
- Mensa Bonsu, King, 69, 291
- Menstruation, 37, 77, 81, 82, 95, 106, 131, 165 n., 183, 263
- Mervyn-Smith, Mr., 326, 329 n.
- Metal-casting, 143
- Metal-workers' art, 300-15
- Military service (*osako*), land held by, 224-5, 240
- Minstrels (*kwadwumfo*), 103, 104, 109, 112, 133, 219, 240
- Missions, Christian, 87, 91, 139, 140, 237 n.
- Mkwankwa, 110
- Mma*, 32, 33, 125
- Mogya* (or *bogya*), 35, 36, 45, 77, 78
- Mohammedans, 140, 164
- Monkeys, 47, 50, 183, 312, 319; monkey-skin hats, 102, 111, 282
- 'Mother-right', 79
- Motor roads, 121, 125
- Mourning, wearing of, 133, 287 n.
- Mpapare kotokuo*, 64-5
- Mpaia*, 62
- Müller, W. T., 305 n.

- Mural paintings, 173-5, 182
 Murder, penalty for, 131
Muruwukuo ceremony: see *Adae* ceremonies.
- Nabuo* (iron currency), 324, 325
 Nampansa, 124
Nana, 26, 28, 31, 33, 38
Nana n'ka'so, 28, 34, 39
Nana panyin, 34
 Neolithic implements, 322-31; celts, 11, 121, 142, 193, 265; — long, 323, 324, 327-31; — short, 323, 327-31; cones, 327; cylindrical stones with blunt ends, 327
 Nets, fishing, 61, 62, 64-6
 New, Sir Henry F., 14
Nkabire (a charm), 310
 Nkansadie *ntoro* exogamous division, 48
 Nkoranza village, 121 n., 152, 179 n., 184, 188; Queen Mother of, 153
Nkrawo, 57
Nkwan, 52
Nnonko mma, 44
Nokwabo, 126
 Norman, J. R., on fishes from Ashanti, 74, 75
Nsa, 95
Nsanu, 212
 Nsoko, 314, 315; *Baya* ceremony at, 136-8
Nsuta, 184, 282 n.
Ntakwa, 64, 65
Ntano (a weight), 158, 321
 Ntim Gyakari, king of Denkyira, 288-90
 Ntoa, the god, 191; temple of, 188
 Ntorikoko, 57
Ntoro, 11, 22, 23, 29, 38, 39, 43, 45, 202; exogamous divisions, 45-54; classification, 45, 47-8, 77, 80, 266; days of observance, 45, 47-8; rites, 45, 50-4; taboos and totems, 45-50, 263; transmission of, 36-7, 46, 77, 78; washing the, 162, 314
Ntorowa: see Rattles.
- '*Nua*, 25, 31, 33, 42
 'Nua kuma, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30
 'Nua mma, 31
 'Nua panyin, 24, 25
 'Nua panyin 'ba, 26, 27
 Nuama, chief of Coomassie, 261
Nuanom, 42
Nwansane, 47
 'Nyame, or Nyankopon (the Supreme Being, or Sky God), 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 86, 90-1, 94, 102, 111, 112, 148, 150, 164 n., 165, 166, 173, 174, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 214, 216, 226, 237 n., 264, 265, 278, 281, 289, 295, 297, 311, 312, 322, 323, 330; altars to, 142, 144, 323; offerings to, 144; proverbs alluding to, 142; sons of, myth concerning, 145-6, 195; temples to, 94, 142, 144, 175
 'Nyame Dua, 142
 Nyampasakyi sub-clan, 124
- Oath, the great, 124, 131
 Oath fees, 83
 Obi country, 288
Obi Okomfo (fetish priest), 288 n.
 Obiri Yeboa Manwu, King, 288
Obirompon, 281
 Obo Kyerewa, the god, 117, 161, 170
 Oboase, 184
 Oboroni Kwesi (Europeans), 305
Obosom: see Gods.
 Obuasi, celts found near, 330; centre of gold-mining industry, 325
Odawuru: see Gongs.
 Odi Kofi, 57
 Odom tree, 147-9, 311
 Odomankoma (the Creator), 124, 190
Odomankoma kyerema: see Drummers.
Odonko 'ba, 43, 44. See Slaves.
Odonko 'ba oba, 43
Odum, 57
 Oduro, 285
Odwuma fufuo, 62
Ofema tree, 259, 260, 261, 264, 279
 Offin river, celts from the, 323, 324, 330, 331
 Ofori Kuron, 155
 Ofosu, 285
Okankane, 48
Okomfo (pl. *ahomfo*): see Priests.
Okomfo-Anotchi: see Anotchi.
Okra, 46
 Okwawuo, 283
 Okwawuakwa, 285
Okyeame: see 'Linguist'.
Omanhene: see Chiefs.
 Onipantwi, 57
 Onyame: see 'Nyame.
Onyame dua, 51
 Opo (a god), 146
 Opo (the sea), 146
 Opoku, a hunter, 207
 Opoku Fofie, King, 47, 290
 Opoku Ware, King, 47, 290, 316
 Ornaments, gold and silver, 143
 Orosa, 316
 Osafo, 283, 284
 Osai (given as a title), 283
 Osai Bonsu, paramount chief of Mampon, 13, 111, 211, 264, 286, 298
 Osai Bonsu Kuma, King, 47, 291
 Osai Bonsu Panyin, King, 47, 126, 179, 180, 189, 190, 291

- Osai Fwidié, 283 *n.*
 Osai Kojo, a drummer, 100, 261, 279 *n.*, 284 *n.*
 Osai Kwadwo, 290
 Osai Kwame, King, 47, 290
 Osai Tutu, King, 47, 57, 180, 206 *n.*, 215 *n.*, 283, 284, 286, 288; achieves greatness for the Ashanti by means of 'the Golden Stool', 289-90
 Osai Yao, King, 47, 291
 Osako: see Military service.
 Osene: see Heralds.
 Osese tree, 296, 297
 Oti Akenten, King, 56, 60, 288
 Otiéku Amosoansan, 282
 Otromo: see Bongo.
 Otwe, 55, 58, 105
 Otwedodo, 206
 Owoko (Oyoko) clan, 124, 125, 215, 221, 224
 Owusu Akwasi, 284
 Owusu Sekyire, 284, 286
 Ox, 47. See Cows.
 Oyoko: see Owoko.
- Padua*, 62, 63, 65, 69, 71, 73
Papare, 64 *n.*
 Palm-nut fibre, 307
 Palm wine, 47, 48, 50, 94, 108, 116, 117, 157, 167, 184, 185, 191, 196, 211, 235
 Pantheons, 141, 162, 163, 167, 187, 206, 211
 Patrilineal exogamous divisions, 11, 22, 23, 35, 47-8
 Pepper, 311
 Pepra, 283
 Philbrick, J. A., attempt of, to sound Lake Bosomtwe, 68, 74
 Pinanko, 156
 Pine-apple fibre, 305
 Plantains, 51, 96, 105, 215
 Porcupines, 99, 101, 157, 207, 256 *n.*
 Pots, eight, in the sacred grove, 122, 124-31
 Pottery, ancient, 190, 192, 296, 325-6
Pramma tentenso, 53
 Prempeh, King, 69, 81 *n.*, 105, 124, 156, 225, 314 *n.*, 325; banishment, 291-2
 Priestesses (*akomfo maa*), 122, 125, 155, 160, 164, 182, 183, 187-90, 195, 203, 206, 209-12; dancing of, 158, 160, 187; ecstatic, 150; stools of, 155, 161, 164, 167; umbrella of, 159, 160; water-gazing by, 163
 Priests (*akomfo*), 52, 109, 110, 116, 118, 119, 138, 143-4, 147, 149, 150, 155, 170-2, 174-201, 211, 212, 323; dancing in religious rites, 158, 160, 162, 163; dress of, 158, 162, 164; ecstatic, 150; high priests, 153, 159, 161, 185, 189, 190-2; mode of dressing the hair, 309-10; stools of, 155, 161, 164, 167; umbrella of, 155
 Property, inheritance of, 22, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39-44, 78, 79
 Proverbial sayings, 223, 302-4, 306, 309-13, 318, 319
Pusa, 107
 Python, the, 47, 73; myth concerning, 48, 49, 50
- Queen Mothers, 10, 13, 50, 77, 81, 82, 94, 104, 111, 122, 125, 126, 134, 156, 165, 173, 205, 211, 219, 233, 235, 240, 258, 289; compounds of, 136, 137; daily attendance at the chief's 'palace', 83; desirability of Government recognition of, 84-5; fan of, 112; entitled to share in court fees, 83; in *Adae* ceremony, 105-6, 111; influence over the moral welfare of the race, 84-5; influence over other women, 84; jurisdiction in their own courts, 83; part in the choice and enstoolment of a chief, 82; petitions addressed to, 82; presentation of a silver stool to Princess Mary by, 10, 294-9; privilege of sitting and speaking in court, 82-3; right to choose one wife for a chief, 83; stools of, 81, 83, 204, 294, 297
- Rafts, 62, 63, 68, 69, 72
 Rake, E. O., 286 *n.*
 Ram, 207
 Rattles (*ntorowa*), 174, 210
 Real property, English law of, its affinity to the customary laws relating to Ashanti land tenure, 213, 223, 237
 Regents, 83
 Reincarnation, 80
 Reindorf, Rev. C. C., 288 *n.*, 324, 325
 Relationship terms, 22, 23-36
 Religion: Ashanti conception of the Supreme Being, 139-44 (see 'Nyame'); levies for religious customs, 227; religious aspect of land tenure, 214-18, 223; sources of information, native and European, 87-90. Religious rites and ceremonies: *Adae* ceremonies, 92-120; *Afahye* ceremony, 203-12; *Apo* ceremony, 152-71; *Baya* ceremony, 136-8; ceremony witnessed in the sacred grove at Santemanso,

- 125-30; ceremony witnessed while the burial quarters of kings and queens were undergoing repair, 133-5; ceremonies witnessed in connexion with the lesser gods, and the making of a shrine, 147-50; ceremonies witnessed in connexion with the god Tano, 177-87, 190-2, 200-1; ceremony at the source of the river Tano, 195-8; observances connected with the making of drums, 243, 258, 261-5
- Rest-house, 136, 162
- Rice crop, thanksgiving ceremony concerning the, 136-8
- Rivers, Dr., 21
- Rivers, gods bearing the names of, 143, 146
- Robertson, T., on the explosion of gas on freshwater lakes, 76
- Ross, Capt. O. F., 316-18
- 'Royals', 103, 128, 134, 157, 284
- Rum, use of, in ritual observances, 94, 104, 108, 110-12, 127, 131, 134, 231, 238, 258, 259; in the transfer of land, 137
- Sadwa*, 108
- Safohene*, 57, 61
- Salaga, 256
- Saliva in ritual ceremony, 54
- Sale (*tramma*) of movable property and of land, 234-5
- Salt offering, 211, 212
- Saman* (spirit), 53
- Samando* (spirit-world), 53, 80
- Samanfo*: see Ancestral spirits.
- Samansie* (wills of land), 237-9
- Sanahene*, 94
- Sanctuary, fig-tree as, 128-31
- Sandals, 103, 104, 111, 122, 123, 127, 162, 216, 225; sandal-bearers, 103, 133, 216; meaning of the office, 216
- Santeman Kobina, 127; invocation of, 129, 132
- Santemanso, the sacred grove at, 122-32
- Sarbah, J. M., 35 *n.*, 40 *n.*
- Sasa* (spirit), 59, 60, 100
- Sasa boa* (animals with a powerful spirit), 208
- Sasa mmoa* (animals spiritually dangerous), 207
- Scottish Mission, 87 *n.*
- Seduction, redress for, 154, 158
- Sekyire country, 281, 282
- Seligman, Mrs., 13, 21, 22 *n.*, 34 *n.*
- Seligman, Professor, 13, 23
- Semua* (tuyers used in blast furnaces), 326, 327, 330
- Senianepo, 56, 57
- Serval, 48
- Sewa*, 25, 31
- Sewa'ba*, 24, 30
- Sewa Akoto, late Queen Mother of Mampon, 10, 13; speech on presentation of silver stool for transmission to Princess Mary, 294-5
- Sexual intercourse, 154, 165 *n.*
- Shama, 47
- Shea-butter, 313
- Sheep as sacrificial offerings, 94, 96-9, 107-8, 112, 125, 127-30, 134, 144, 149, 168-9, 196, 202, 204, 211, 212, 237
- Shields, 281, 317
- Shrines, 90, 116, 210-12; the making and consecration of a shrine, 145-50. See Brass pan.
- Sibire*, 63
- Sika dayanfo*, 290
- Silk-cotton tree, 210, 311
- Silver Stool, a Queen Mother's, 216, 294; replica presented to Princess Mary as a wedding present, 10, 294-9; description of the stool, 295-6; consecration of the stool, 297-8
- Silversmiths, 294, 297
- Sky God: see 'Nyame.
- Slaves (*odonko ba*), 222, 227; children of, 43; lands granted to, 230; sale of, 234, 235; status of, 42, 43; succession to property by, 40, 42, 43
- Snail, edible, 47, 48, 115, 168
- Snakes, 309, 312
- Sodofo*, 96, 97, 111
- Songs, 201, 202, 206-9
- Soul or spirit (*sunsum*), the, 12, 46, 55, 92, 153, 198, 289, 290, 293, 296
- Soul-washers, 164, 205
- Spirit (*sunsum*): see Soul.
- Spirits: demoniac, 147; revengeful, 99, 100, 217, 258. See also Ancestral spirits.
- Spoon, brass, 130
- Staves, silver-topped, 187
- Stone Age, implements of the, 322-9
- Stools: ancestral, 95-8, 104, 137, 138, 165, 204, 291 *n.*; blackened or smoked, 83, 92, 95, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 117-19, 155, 161, 165, 167, 185, 204, 211, 281 *n.*; consecration of, 297-8; levies for, 227; repository of owner's soul, 298; succession to, 22, 33, 37, 39, 42, 78, 295; white, 92, 94, 116, 175, 203. Stool-carriers, 94-9, 105-7, 109-12,

- 118, 119, 130, 161, 164, 204, 205 ; stool-carvers, 294, 296 ; stool debts, levies for liquidating, 227 ; stool house, 84, 92, 94, 99, 105-7, 109, 117, 203, 204, 211, 218 ; stool land, 213, 218, 220, 221, 222, 231 ; stool palavers, 84 ; stool revenue, sources of, 226, 227, 239, 240 ; stool taboos, 298. *See also* Golden Stool, Silver Stool.
- Story-tellers, 162
- Suadomo : *see* Tano.
- Suben river, 52
- Succession to property, law of, 39-44, 78, 79, 229, 237
- Suman : *see* Charms, Fetishes.
- Summe tree, 122, 164, 166, 167, 215
- Summum ceremony, 161
- Sunsum : *see* Soul.
- Sunyani, 171
- Swastika, 302, 308, 319
- Swimmers, men and women, 63
- 'Swish' (water and earth), in religious ceremony, 133-4
- Swords (*afona*), 158, 174, 225, 281 ; state sword, 118 ; sword-bearers, 95, 97, 103, 111, 159, 201
- Ta Amoa, 206
- Ta Asubonten, 206
- Ta Bonia, 206
- Ta Kесе (or Ta Mensa), the god, 116-19, 153, 156, 166, 168, 172, 201, 202 ; shrine of, 116, 118, 155, 160-2, 167, 169 ; sons of, 167 ; temple of, 118, 159, 161, 163, 164, 167, 169 ; umbrella of, 161, 164
- Ta Kobina, 118
- Ta Kofi, 125, 161
- Ta Kоjo, 161, 206
- Ta Kоnkroma Kuma, 206
- Ta Kоnkroma Kuma II, 206
- Ta Kora : *see* Tano.
- Ta Kuntum, 161
- Ta Kwame, 206
- Ta Kwesi (Kramo Kесе), the god, 161, 164, 177, 184, 206 ; dedication of a shrine to, 147-9 ; umbrella of, 164
- Ta Mensa : *see* Ta Kесе.
- Ta Toa, 161
- Ta Yao, 161, 301
- Taboos, clan, 39 ; fishing, 61-3, 67 ; marriage, 39 ; *ntoro*, 46-8 ; of the gods, 167, 171, 172, 182-3, 197, 212 ; of priests, 146 ; of stool, 298 ; of talking drums, 263
- Takyi, story concerning, 73
- Tamiriwa, 47, 48
- Tano (Ta Kora), greatest of Ashanti earth-gods, 11, 54, 89, 102, 146, 156, 157, 161, 165, 168, 172, 179-81, 195-6, 208, 209, 212 ; cave of, 181, 189-94 ; ceremonies in connexion with cult of, 199-202 (*see also* Tano river) ; drums of, 177 ; rock of, 183-7 ; a visit to the rock, 188-94 ; shrine of, 150, 174-8, 183, 185-7, 190, 199 ; 'sons' of, 199, 200, 203, 206, 301 ; taboos, 182-3, 187, 212 ; temple of, 150, 173, 176, 177, 188, 190 ; a visit to his temple, 172-87 ; tolerance of, 181
- Tano river, 54, 146, 147, 165, 172, 181, 188, 193, 195, 197-202, 204, 206, 210 ; ceremony at the source of the river, 195-8 ; customs connected with, 202 ; offerings to, 202 ; water of, drunk as an ordeal, 202
- Tano Kwampere, 197
- Tano Oboase village, 58 *n.* ; 155, 172, 173, 175, 189, 195
- Tano Twumpuduo, 207
- Tanokwa (slaves of Tano), 165, 200, 201, 212
- Tanosu village, 155, 160, 200, 202
- Tekiman, 167, 172, 184-6, 190, 191, 200 ; *Adaе* ceremony at, 113-20 ; *Apo* ceremony at, 152-71 ; kings of, 179 *n.*
- Tekyia Kwame, 117
- Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard, 5
- Temples, 116, 118, 163, 164, 167, 169, 182, 207, 209, 210, 212
- Testamentary depositions, 237-9
- Thank-offering, 238
- Thanksgiving customs, 137
- Thomas, N. W., 300
- Thomson, Prof. A., 333
- Thursday a day of rest, 215
- Togoland, iron furnaces in, 325
- Tortoises, 47, 48, 302, 316
- Totems, 46-50, 280 *n.*
- Traditional lore, 219
- Tramma* : *see* Sale.
- Treasurer, chief's, 133
- Treasure-trove, ownership of, 227
- Tremeane, Major, 324
- Tribal land, 231 ; lore, 219 ; stools, 239
- 'Truthful stone', the, 126, 127, 128
- Tuabodom, 155
- Twe, anthropomorphic lake god, 49, 55, 56, 61. *See* Bosomtwe, Lake.
- Twe Adodo, 56
- Tweaduaupon : *see* Nyame.
- Tweneboa* (or *tweneduru*) tree, 258-9
- Twins, customs concerning, 99
- Twumpuduo, 207
- Tylor, Sir E. B., 214, 244 *n.*

- Umbrellas, 188, 193; of chiefs, 103; of gods, 161, 164, 210; of king's stool, 204, 298; of priest, 155; of priestess, 159; umbrella carriers, 103
- Vulture, 285
- War, levies for expenses of, 227
- Wari* (a kind of draughts), 174, 290
- Washings, ritual, 39, 46, 52-3
- Water: as a life-giving force, belief concerning, 146; divine origin of, 54; use of, in ritual observances, 95, 96, 105, 107, 110
- Water-gazing, 163
- Water-sprinkling ceremony, 164-6, 181, 197, 202, 204, 211
- Weights: *see* Gold weights.
- Wenki village, 121 *n.*, 152
- Whisky, use of, in ritual observances, 59, 94, 97, 98, 104, 262
- Widows, sprinkling of, with water, 202
- Wife, property of, 40
- Wild dog, 47, 48, 50 *n.*
- Wine in ritual observances, 97, 110, 117-19, 129, 149, 175, 184-7, 191-2, 196-7, 201, 204, 211, 230, 233, 259, 262-4; at the marriage of one of royal blood, 137-8; in the transfer of land, 137
- Wisirika, 175, 185
- Witchcraft, 153
- Witch-doctors, 152, 153
- Witches (*abayifo*), 265, 280
- Wofa*, 22, 25, 27, 32, 77
- Wofa 'ba*, 24, 25, 30
- Wofase*, 25, 27, 31-3
- Women: capable of holding land, 231; influence and position of, 77-85, 266; inherited as property, 79; physical inferiority, 81; stool-carriers, 161; stools of, 83; succession to property by, 40, 42-3. *See also* Blood, transmission of; Matrilineal descent; Queen Mothers.
- Wuku* ceremony, 83
- Wukudae* ceremony: *see* *Adae* ceremonies.
- Ya Akyaa, Queen Mother of Coomassie, 156
- Ya Gyansua, genealogy of, 28, 34, 35-6
- Ya Santewa, Queen Mother of Jeso, 81 *n.*
- Yams (*eto*), 47, 48, 51-3, 96, 105, 107, 144, 167, 199, 203, 205, 210-12, 215, 235, 236
- Yao Kramo, 117-19, 166, 168-9, 200
- Yao Kyira, chief of Aboabogya, 9
- 'Yere, 25, 27, 30-2, 34
- 'Yere 'ba, 28
- 'Yere kuma, 24, 25, 28-31
- Yerefie, 284
- Yim Aware, 95 *n.*
- Zeller, 307, 308 *n.*, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313



1

PEDIGREE OF KAKARI SHOWING ASHANTI CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM

