

**THE SECULAR ASPECTS OF AFA CULT AND ITS  
RELATIONSHIP TO COMMUNAL LIFE IN ANLO**

BY  
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DECLARATION

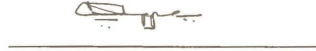
I declare that this thesis is my own original work. Where sources have been cited, I have made full acknowledgement.

I have not presented this thesis any where, in any form, for a degree.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'G.K. Nukunya', written over a horizontal line.

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**S.A. TOPPAR**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this humble piece of work to the memory of my late mother, Mrs. Alugba Lititia Dzidzienyo-Toppar of Wuti, who delivered me a Caesarian-Twin in the palms of my late father, Mr. Adukpo Johann Toppar of Anyako, a man of tall African Medical knowledge in vogue in Anlo in his contemporaneity.

Among the Southern Ewes known and called “Anlo,” Afa is a religion. It has an organised worship system in it, headed by a well trained body of priests called “Tobokɔ” in their individual performances of their religious rites as priests

Although there is the belief in the “Supreme Being” known in the Jewish and Christian religions as “God”, the ‘Supreme Being’ is approached through myriads of delegated mediums who are considered subordinate gods or dieties called simply in the Ewe Language as ‘Vodu’. Hence, some people call this religion variously as ‘Afa’ or ‘Afa Vodun’; meaning, the Cult of Afa.

Each ‘Vodu’ exercises its own delegated powers within the confines of horoscopes in their major and minor modes known among Anlos in the Ewe Language as ‘Du’ and ‘Kpoli’ respectively. There are 16 major horoscopes, further replicating themselves to permuted minor horoscopes. In effect, the permuted horoscopes number up to 256. However, researchers like Abiinbola, Wande nd Bascom, William researched well over one million horoscopes or dieties in Afa (Ifa). According to the above scholars, divination by way of geomancy is the main method Ifa (Afa) speaks to its adherents.

An essential characteristic feature about this religion is that it has no canonised literature about its do's and don't's as known among Christians and Muslims as the Bible and Koran respectively. Only the priests of Afa religion have the singular duty of disseminating the do's and don't's by way of geomancy in their divination practices. Even here, priests exercise the greatest circumspection with the messages received from deities to their clients, since priests could incur the displeasure of the gods, should they proclaim falsehood. This is why the training of Afa priests is not only long but arduous as observed by Ottenberg, Simon (1960), in his work, "Cultures and Societies of Africa".

This study is therefore, an attempt to look at both the content and context in Afa religion in order to discover its secular dimensions which enable it to serve as props of social cohesion that always engenders the desired communal spirit prevalent in Anlo.

In the content, we shall look at incantations, spells, witty expressions as well as long and short stories contained in some horoscopes. This will help us discover how the daily life of the society is affected by Afa through its literary corpus. In its context, we shall discover how painstaking admirers of this religion become infused with the expert knowledge and use of the entire folkloric in Afa, becoming the best adjudged members in Anlo Society

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in terms of the use of the local language. In the study, we shall also discover that Afa contains in it a prolific sense of industry in the form of petty trading, agriculture, tourism, drumming and dancing etc. We shall finally note that Anlo Community appears enmeshed with the entire Afa religion, since the belief is cogently shared in Anlo that there is nothing that precludes identification and recognition of Afa; even the names of all herbs and plants are believed to be the names of Afa deities.

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## INTRODUCTION

The African world, to many foreigners, particularly, the Europeans, appears to contain nothing of substance. Simply put, "reality" seems to elude the African world. Instead, superstition becomes one of the major hallmarks that replaces what we may call and regard as the "quintessence" of essence. It is probably as a result of this situation that some Western historians and observers posited that "history deals with change and involves purposive movement and that since what has been happening in Africa for the past several centuries was 'gyrations of barbarous tribes', the activities of the African people could only be of interest to anthropologists and linguists and historians". (Fynn, Addo-Fenning, Anquandah, 1991:100).

Some also share the view that the African cannot separate the world of science from the world of superstition in the following remark: "Thus a scientific 'feat' in our society distinguished from a superstition on the basis of methodical, verifiable investigation, may be a "superstition" to an African lacking both the information on which it is based and faith in the system which it is a part..." (Ottenberg (ed), 1960:60). Indeed, the attempt in this exercise is never to sweep away or refute observations made by Western writers on Africa's past as to the truthfulness or falsity of these observations, but to humbly point out that much as Africa appeared late in adopting formal methods of education, most of the cultures and societies in it had no alternative means of ordering their services than they had at the time. In the same

way, this exercise is an attempt to point out that the various ways through which Africans have been ordering their societies since the dawn of history have sustaining powers in them awaiting the dawn or an advent of another culture to help them cross-fertilize as we see today in the expression "cross-cultural communications" the world over.

In this exercise, we shall hint at the fact that Africans knew what they had been doing. They were not ignorant of the necessary constituents of the normal as well as moral life. Most of their "superstitions", according to Western categorization, are rather yardsticks of faith in the world of nature. In effect, "The Secular Aspects of the Afa cult and its Relationship to Communal Life", with particular reference to Anlo of the Southern Ewe people of the Volta Region of Ghana, has a singular purpose of pointing out the fact that the Anlos have distinct knowledge and difference between the noumenal, spiritual as well as sacred world from the phenomenal, temporal, material as well as secular world. It is this heightened sense of awareness that conjures the community participation of the society of Anlo and keeps them one people ever since.

Therefore, we shall attempt to illustrate what Afa cult means to Anlos, its origin and sense of devotion it commands among the people. In so doing, we shall not lose sight of what eminent scholars like Herskovits, (1964) Abimbola, (1977)

Bascom, (1969) Fiawoo, (1958) Nukunya (1969) and a host of other observers have noted about this important cult, which is almost a world culture.

THESIS PROPOSAL

Title: The Secular Aspects of Afa Cult and its Relationship to Communal Life in Anlo.

Objective: The objective is to study the cult of Afa of Anlo of the Volta Region of Ghana and its secular dimensions.

Introduction: **Origin and Definition**

The cult of Afa or Fa as known, believed in and practised among the Anlos of the Volta Region of Ghana, is considered to have its origins among the Yorubas of Nigeria. The name Afa or Fa as it is variously called among Anlos is therefore believed to be a corruption of the original cult-name of Ifa among the Yorubas. Abimbo, Wande (1975/77) traced its origins from the Yorubas of Nigeria in his books "Ifa Divination Poetry" and "Sixteen Great Poems of Ifa". Again, Nukunya, G.K., (1969) lends support to the fact that the cult of Afa as known, believed in and practised among Anlos of Ghana, is generally considered to have its origins among the Yorubas of Nigeria. According to him, Afa divination in Anlo could be traced from Ilorin Yoruba from the accounts of Clarke. For linguistic purposes it has become known among Anlos as Afa or Fa. He stressed the point that it is always known and called Ifa among the Yorubas.

It is agreed that Afa is a religion. It has a well organized worship system within it. Bascoms expressed the view about Ifa as a cult which contains a complex

divination practice in it. According to him, this divination smacks of geomancy. Each geomantic formula is based on a specific "Odu". Among Ewes, the Odu is called "Du" in its singular form, and "Duwo" as the plural of "Du". Abimbola's "Sixteen Great Poems of Ifa" agrees with the claim in Anlo that there are sixteen principal "Duwo". They can therefore be permuted up to two hundred and fifty-six minor (Duklewo). According to him, each Odu is in possession of a spiritual power. These names have superNatural nature of living in twin relationships. Hence the suffix "Meji" simply means the twin relationship of each Odu. Apart from the Eji being a prefix to just the senior Odu i.e. Gbe in Eji-Ogbe the rest have meji as suffix to their names as follows:

Oyeku-meji as in Ewe Yekumedzi

Iwori-meji as in Ewe Wolimedzi

Odi-meji as in Ewe Dimedzi etc. etc.

Afa cult, according to reliable respondents, has no single deity or god by which it is known. Rather, it is known chiefly in its system of divination (Geomancy), based on the sixteen principal geomantic formulae; each formula known as Odu among Yorubas or Du among Ewes. After these sixteen principal Duwo, there is a process of permutation of them to arrive at 256 geomantic formulae. Here, among Ewes, each new permuted Du becomes known as Kpoli, or Dukle. i.e. a minor Du.

The fact that Afa has no single principal deity as its single point of reference is underscored in the observation of Nukunya. Indeed, it stands today in an ambiguous position in matters of religion among the Anlo. The Duwo or Kpoliwo are deities ((smaller ones of cause) through which the Afa cult is raised to the height of a religious phenomenon. It is in this regard that it is known as Afa Voduo. Here, Voduo stands for deity or god.

The outstanding features about this cult are that the Duwo or Kpoliwo can only be known through the manipulation of the sixteen palm nuts (Hukuwo) or by the toss of the divination chain (Agumaga), made up of eight half seed shells. Indeed, Afa is the only cult among Anlo through which the wishes as well as sanctions of all other gods and supernatural beings are known or revealed. The other gods themselves (trɔwo or Vodus) have no power to make their wishes or demands on people known. The worship of Afa as the god of divination therefore entails observance of ceremonies, sacrifices, tabus, paraphernalia, drumming, dancing, songs, praises, institution of varying degrees and of rituals comparable to those of other cults like Adzima, Atigeli, Yewe, Horgbato, Mie and the like.

As a cult, it is practised on a wide range in West Africa among the Yoruba of Nigeria, Benin, and the Ewe. Among Anlo, geomantic practice has taken on three characteristic forms known in Ewe as Amidze-Fa, representing the original Ifa divination practice among Yoruba, Kpoliga-Fa, known also as Agbadzo, using the

sixteen principal Duwo and Agblekotoe-Fa. The unit thing about Afa cult is that it cannot exist without the application of herbs. In effect, every Du or Kpoli signifies a specific herb or combination of herbs.

### Aims and Objectives

The main thrust in this study is to focus attention on the secularity of this important cult, and by secular, I mean how it could be seen as a purely worldly, temporal, mundane, terrestrial or earthly phenomenon rather than a cosmological, spiritual, divine, eternal or sacred phenomenon. By this, my research will also pay particular attention on practices of the Afa priests and their novices that betray trust of the commonly held view about Afa cult as an overtly or specifically cosmological or spiritual phenomenon, a view that inauspiciously or unluckily makes this important cult a secret religion. In effect, to highlight its secular dimensions for which the community it enshrines itself as a religious phenomenon is vital. I will research the following vital areas in Afa cult among the Anlo:

- a) Afa priests and how they:
  - i) acquire knowledge
  - ii) acquire power
  - iii) rise in social status
  - iv) control individual members in their communities;
  - v) influence the community

- vi) bring about social cohesion.
- b) Economic benefits produced by the cult in terms of
  - i) Trade engendered by Afa in the community;
  - ii) Wealth and livelihood of Priests
- c) Political Authority and Influence in terms of
  - i) Priests and their local political power in the community
  - ii) Priests as political consultants for people seeking political power.
- d) Travel in terms of
  - i) Meeting demands of ritual festivities
  - ii) Security it provides for its members
  - iii) Factors that enhance travelling
- e) Literature development in terms of
  - i) Dance and Drama and songs
  - ii) Poetry development
  - iii) Exchange of literature between the various cults
  - iv) Tenets of Afa and their influence on the community's life
- f) Networks that exist among diviners and acolytes and how they foster social cohesion e.g.
  - i) What do people consult Afa priest for
  - ii) What do they take to them

- iii) What do they take out from Afa priests
- iv) What secret knowledge do they protect or hide from the general populace and how does this eventually promote communal spirit?

### Conceptual Framework

We have noted in the general background to this cult that it is secret and hence could easily be classified as an esoteric or secret religion. In this frame of mind, it is mostly conceptualized as a spiritual phenomenon, while the secular aspects of it are ignored. The net result of this stand is that Afa is often conceptualized in its spiritual dimension, rather than in its secular aspects within the community in which it is enshrined.

Early writers on the cult of Afa have also overstretched its spiritual dimension although they never lost sight of its secular aspects entirely. Hence there appears to be no clear point of departure or distinction between what is religious and what is secular to Afa. The attempt in this research, therefore, is important. To achieve my aim, I will restrict myself to two areas where the cult of Afa is predominantly manifested, e.g. Deme, near Ohawu and Nyikutor near Tregui in the South Anlo District.

### Theoretical Framework

The research will reveal that the cosmological demands conjoin the secular aspects to produce an effective demographic theory; an inevitable secret knowledge

for gender birth which has been guarded ever since Afa cult came into existence among the Anlo of Volta Region.

Hypothesis then is that:

Because Afa cult cannot exist without the natural world, it uses natural materials like the other sciences (physics, biology, chemistry, social sciences) of resolving problems in life; e.g. it contains a Gender-Birth Formula.

In the above hypothesis, the research will be particular with the tenets of Afa and their reflex actions on the community's life since all aspects of priestly prescriptions to clients inhere from these tenets. Since it is from the tenets of Afa that all prescriptions to clients are made in order to resolve their problems in life, it is cogent to presume that every sphere of the community's life will be affected in one way or the other by these tenets. We have also noted already that Afa is the spokesman to all cults (Trowo and Vodunwo) in Anlo. This uniqueness of Afa makes it the focus for the community's search for redress of both their natural and metaphysical problems, e.g. marriage, birth, naming or outdoorings of a baby, adolescence man- womanhood, wealth, poverty as well as during national disasters like drought, flees, wars, pestilence etc.

### Literature Review

Herskovitz, Melvill and Frances, 'An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief'; Banta Publication Company, Wisconsin. Two outstanding views in their work among the Dahomeans are vital for our research:

(a) The political system of Dahomey is viewed from the cosmological point of view. Here the political monarchical system of Dahomey is seen as being apportioned to the chief and his subordinates from the Sky-God 'Mawu-Lisa'. However, Mawu-Lisa is not consulted directly, but through deified ancestors in the various Vodun cults marking ancestor worship. Here a pure secular political organization of a people is seen from the side-track of the Sky-God. So is the case of Afa. In an expanded form, Melvill J. Herskovitz alone, in his work 'Dahomey, An ancient West African Kingdom', Vol. II, 1967, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, USA, affirmed the view of field respondents as conceiving God (Mawu-Lisa) in his double genders (male and female at the same time) by referring him as 'androgynous' i.e. having the characteristics of both male and female in one individual person (hermaphrodite for flowers). The case of Mawu-Lisa sending two sons to the earth teaching human kinds about the worth of Afa and their letter written on palm kernels, through which the first 'Du' fell from the skies was very vital. Respondents maintained otherwise that in the cult of Afa it was always the case that a newly married Afa priest would name his first son 'Amuzu' and the second one 'Akakpo'. So would it be the reverse

that a newly married Afa priest would name his or her first daughter 'Alugba' and the second one 'Alugbafui' or 'Afayome'. The four Ewe names inhere from Afa Vodun in recognition of the fact that the two males and females proceeded directly from the god of Afa. Other children born after the four could bear any common name as known among Anlo. From the above two works it is conspicuous to note that the pure secular political organization of Dahomey is viewed directly from a cosmological background.

(b) Nukunya conceded that 'Kpoli' Fumedzi is responsible for pregnancy (G. K. Nukunya, 'Ifa Divination in Anlo' - Research Review Vol.5 No. 2, 1969).

Generally, he believes, Afa plays many roles such as warning individuals and groups of impending misfortunes, advises individuals about actions which may affect prosperity and health, gives explanation for misfortunes in the society etc. Unfortunately, however, he did not specify the method through which Afa contains those capabilities to the people. Do these clarifications to misfortune, prosperity or health come about as a result of mere mention of the name(s) of Afa deities like Dzonbe, Yekumedzi, Wolimedzi, Dimedzi, Losomedzi, Nolimedzi, Ablamedzi, Aklamedzi, Gudamedzi, Samedzi, Trukpedezi, Tulamedzi, Letemedzi, Tsiemedzi, or Fumedzi, just to mention the major sixteen 'Duwo' apart from the 'Kpoliwo,' the minor Dus. A vital information to be researched at a deeper perspective in order to prove the theory that Afa resides in its secular dimension (a potent situation through

which it enhances communal spirit in Anlo societies) more than its cosmological dimension as over-emphasized by earlier writers is that all the 'Dus' in Afa are names of herbs known by its priests. These herbs are believed to contain unique potent powers for specific ritual activities which is usually meant to solve a particular problem in the community or for an individual person in the community. A case in point is 'Ayro'....., a herb when prepared well enables poets and songsters to be very invocatory. 'Ayro' is said to be an invaluable herb in Afa. If this is proven right, we may not be entirely wrong in supposing that Afa resides more in its secular dimension than in its cosmological dimension.

(c) Again, Morton-Williams, Peter, in his article 'An Outline of the Cosmological and Cult Organization of the Oyo Yoruba,' (African, Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, July 1964), clearly perceived the Yoruba secular political organization in which the chief, 'Alafins' or "Oba Onile" (King of the land) is the sole head of his people, from a cosmological perspective. Every action of the king or chief is delegated from Oduduwa - (Olorun Olodumare-sky owner). Even the earth is goddess 'Onile' personified. The Ogboni cult is representative of goddess 'Onile'. In spite of this cult, Ifa (Afa among the Anlos) serves as an indispensable mediator through traditional practices. In spite of the presence of Ogboni as a powerful cult among the Oyo Yoruba, the cult of Ifa is through what the wishes of

Ogboni are known. It is therefore easy to discern that Yoruba social or communal life will be in danger if Afa cult ceases to function.

In our brief review above, it is appropriate to note that almost all the writers have underscored the relevance of Afa cult in the day to day life of the people in West Africa. They have seen its usefulness to the people more from its cosmological or sacred perspective than from its natural, profane or secular aspects. The attention of this research does not reject the cosmological nature of Afa, for no religion in the world can be devoid of a divine spiritual or cosmological perspective. The attention of the research is to establish the fact that Afa is being patronized as a religious category since its birth among the Anlo because the natural, profane, secular or material world is the basis through which Afa cult expresses itself. Mere use of belief systems as advocated in certain religions like Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism etc. might produce apathetic results if Afa cult were just mere belief systems without pragmatic participation. The central argument of the thesis as earlier observed, is that because Afa cult cannot exist without the natural world, it uses natural observable materials like the other sciences (Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Social Science) in giving solution to its clients and hence promote communal spirit among people in whom it enshrines itself as a religious category.

### Methodology

The following research methods will be used in order to seek valid information:

(a) Library research: In order to avail myself of the work of scholars who have made attempts in the study of cults in West Africa and cults in the general perspective.

(b) Participant Observation: I will attempt to participate in some of the daily activities of Afa priests and their acolytes in my research areas for a close observation of the Afa rituals. I will note why clients consult the priests and some of the demands made by priests on clients. By so doing, I will note the economic activity that is brought about in this dual relationship between priests and clients. Again, by living among the community to participate in their religious activity, it will be easy to find out how the priests acquire knowledge, power, rise in social status etc. (as noted already above under 'Aims and Objectives').

(c) Interviews: This will accord me the opportunity to meet as many respondents in my research for live clarifications and individual members' views on salient issues on the Afa cult.

(d) The Questionnaire Method: From formal questions, which will be framed and written down, respondents will be encouraged to provide the desired answers. The questions will be both closed and open ended.

Organization of the Study

1. Introduction

(i) Definitions

- a) What Afa entails and does
- b) Origin of Afa cult and other cults in Anlo

(ii) Secularism in terms of political, economic, trade, travel and transport within Afa.

(iii) The Horoscope or Afa Duwo and Kpqliwo vis-a-vis the demands of the natural observable world. Importance of herbs to Afa Duwo and Kpqliwo.

2. Afa priests and how they acquire:

- a) Knowledge in the community,
- b) Power in the community,
- c) Social status
- d) Control individual members in the community,
- e) Bring about social cohesion
- f) Engender economic activity in the community,
- g) Wealth and livelihood as a result of their vocation,
- h) Political authority: i.e.
  - i) As consultants

- ii) As political authorities themselves
- i) Travel and Transport in terms of
  - i) Security it provides for its members travelling,
  - ii) Factors that enhance travelling.
- 3. Afa Priests and Development of Literature.
  - a) Philosophy and Ethics
  - b) Dance and Drama
  - c) Poetry Development
  - d) Tenet of Afa and how they influence Community's life
- 4. Network that exists among Diviners and Acolytes.
  - a) What people consult Afa priests for;
  - b) What they take to them and take out;
  - c) What secret knowledge do they protect in terms of:
    - i) Health and Healing in their sacrificial systems;
    - ii) For child birth - Procreation - Gender birth
    - iii) Rituals generally;
- 5. How does Afa cult promote or inhibit communal spirit as a result of the above events in terms of:
  - a) Domestic life
  - b) Social life

- c) Economic life
- d) Political life
- e) Has Afa cult a future in face of Christian - Muslim Plurality?
- f) Summary.

#### EXPECTED RESULT AND USE OF RESEARCH

It will help to disabuse the minds of those who conceptualize Afa as purely a cosmological phenomenon, a factor which stops them to see how Afa rather promotes their social and communal life.

The need for this new study in which Gender-birth Chart construction becomes its thrust, has been urged by the observation made by G.K. Nukunya in his recent publication entitled, 'Tradition and Change in Ghana, an Introduction to Sociology' published by Ghana University Press, Accra, 1992. Writing on 'Population and Traditional Socio-Cultural Milieu in Ghana,' he lamented that though the Ghana National Family Planning Programme was launched twenty-two years ago (1970), it was sad to remark that its achievements had been unimpressive. He suggested that the good efforts of the Ghana National Family Planning Programme must be augmented by other methods like Education, Socio-economic status, location or residence. These methods, in addition to the work of the GNFPP would

tremendously help in tackling the fertility and population issue, an issue being recorded at 5.8 and 3 percent per annum respectively.

This new study of Afa cult and its communal relationship will address this issue of fertility and rising population in Ghana particularly in the construction of the Gender-Birth Chart.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF AFA

#### (a) What It Is

According to a fair number of Anlo elders (e.g. Torgbui Honi of Kliko, Torgbui Adukpɔ of Ehi, Tɔbokɔ and Torgbui Atukpa of Nyikutor, Tɔkobɔ Shikpe Ametefi of Anyako etc.) Afa is regarded as "Vodu, mawu fe vi", meaning, "Cult, the child of God". Here, it is appropriate for us to define cult thus: 'a system of religious belief, worship' (Kenyon, 1901:1). In effect, this Vodun or cult has belief systems and a well organised worship pattern to which "worship cult members" are keenly devoted. The word Afa embodies within it both a process of divination and a deity.

Originally, it was believed to be in a mysterious human form with sixteen eyes round its head plus a seventeenth in the middle of the head. (Refer Fig.1). In effect, Afa, with the appellations of Adzraku, Agbongo, Afayedegu, Agbofanafana, Agbamelugu, Afa-Nagonu, Agbamenyaga and Agboliba – incantations too difficult to render in English (just to mention a few) is approached with reverence and fear. It is a deity believed to have some knowledge about everything at every place in the world. In the same way, it is believed to see everything at every place in the world. Simply put, nothing is hidden from it. The claim is that although it takes on human form, it has no bones in its body. It is made up of flesh and flesh alone. The most mysterious characteristic feature about it is that in the same person, there are three important components into which Afa

is divided: (a) Dzisa, (b) Gogo, (c) Atsake – names of types of Afa (Refer Figs. 1-5). Afa seems therefore to have a semblance with the Christian/Old Testament concept of God who has three persons within his one nature.

Again, this comparison could be made between it and the thunder cult of Yewe among Anlos. Yewe, also known as Tghong, contains within its one nature the three persons of Sogbla, Sodza and Sowlui (Refer Fig.2). Since our interest now is not to put the three components under a serious scrutiny, but to know what Afa is, our reference to it is casual.

As we have already noted above, Afa is a mysterious person who is also a leader of war, "Awade-Vodu" (cult of war) in which Anlos strongly and effectively believe. Paradoxically, it is a cult that does not take delight in causing or creating misery in nature as a whole. Its greatest value is to preserve, as well as, sustain God's creativity in the world. In order to do this effectively, Anlos believe that Afa has since long changed its original human form into a spirit form. This spirit form is supposed to be left on a special rock in special foot prints or marks. It is from these foot-print symbols that devotees could either receive word from Afa deity or send word to it.

Since Afa is both sacred and secret (occult), the view is always expressed by its custodians (priests and priestesses) that an outsider can only be initiated as a novice to it. Nevertheless the view is strongly and widely expressed among the people of Anlo that an indispensable component within it is "Divination formula" through which every message is transmitted from the deity to the outside (natural)

world. At the appropriate place and time we shall examine what divination means, considering some branches of divination.

(b) Its Origin And The origin of Anlo

In order to trace its origin, let us first examine who the Anlos are. The word "Anlo" is said to be a generic name. By generic we mean "genus", i.e. a group consisting of a number of species closely connected by common characters or national affinity. Again, it could mean a class of objects comprehending several subordinate species; of a general nature, not special. In the brochure of Anlo Hogbetsotso Festival, 1973, at page five, the planners of that year's festival accentuated the fact that the name 'Anlo' is a designation for all Ewes who migrated under the leadership of Togbui Wenya and his nephew Togbui Sri I. It should be of interest for us to note that researchers into Ewe traditions share the view that as an Ewe group, 'Anlos' have a migration history starting from Ketu (Amenume, 1986:2) a town in modern Benin. This writer pointed out that the ancestors of present day Ewes were not the only inhabitants of Ketu. Other inhabitants in the city-state of Ketu with the Ewes were the Yoruba and the ancestors of the present Aja, Fon, Ada and Ga. It was as a result of the expansion of the Yoruba people which pushed away the Ewe and related people westwards in what had become their migration to Notsie, a town between the rivers Haho and Mono in southern Togo.

Again, it is the view of others that the Ewes migrated from the upper waters of the Niger river from Timbuktu, called in Ewe "Keketu". From there, they travelled eastwards along the river and later settling at Ketu (Ameevor, 1994:1).

Generally however, it is agreed that Anlos, like all Ewes, have a history of migration. The general consensus among contemporary writers is that it is not very certain to pinpoint (Amenumey, 1986:7) any date for the settlement of the Anlos in their present home in the south-eastern corner of Ghana. However, a writer postulated that the Ewes migrated from Notsie to their present home in the 16th Century as a result of the high-handedness of one of their divine rulers (Asamoah, 1986:5).

Indeed, this view is not an innovation of his but the generally accepted historical stand by Anlos as a whole.

What do we infer from this brief trace of the origin of the Anlos in light of our subject-matter? Two salient points emerge. Anlos have once lived with and among the Yorubas of Nigeria. Secondly, we can safely express the notion that the present Anlos have carried along most of their ethos from Hogbe (former place of origin). Observation of the above two points will enable us gain a more accurate sense into what Afa is to Anlos today; particularly how its secular dimensions will enhance communal spirit among Anlos.

The Chambers 20th Century Dictionary defines ethos via custom as "what one wants to do, frequent repetition of the same act; regular trade or business" etc. Appropriately placed, ethos or custom reveals man's relationship with the world at

large and within which he or she finds him/herself. This is seen through the daily or habitual performances of the person. Indeed, our scientific, moral, political, social and religious senses. Briefly put all our aesthetic values stem directly from our customary practices. By this, we reveal our perception of the world around us. I believe this is what some people express as "Our World View or Cosmology". This could be an enhanced or limited one depending upon many factors which came into structuring that world-view. So a body of people could well be understood if it would be possible for the new-comer to effectively share the fears, hopes and aspirations of such a body of people.

Let us illustrate our point with a case study in the court of a Dahomean King. A historical incident was witnessed by Captain Sir Richard F. Burton which became part of a record kept as follows: "In truth they have so many things they call Fetishes that I could never understand the meaning of the word (Herskovitz, 1964:88). This record of the conversation between Captain Phillips Snelgrave and a Dahomean court official in their "Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey" became a turning point for Herskovitz (J.M. and Frances) to do an indepth study into the entire Dahomean religious belief. The resumé of this study is that many travellers to Dahomey appeared incurious to explore the total extent and depth of Dahomean faith before jumping to conclusions in their descriptions of the customs of the people.

After almost 250 years of the "Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey", it seems we must re-visit the conversation between Captain Snelgrave and the

Dahomean Court Official under a new horizon and humbly enjoin on Snelgrave to accompany us to re-state his observation about the fetishes candidly thus: fetishes are mere secular, mundane or earthly symbols of deities. They are never the deities themselves. This is what the Herskovitzes as would like to appreciate in their detailed research. Here, we may cite the proverbial Biblical experience of Moses in the "Burning Bush" which is a secular, earthly symbol of God and not God Himself: For no one could see God and live. It is therefore important to note that belief systems all over the world are accepted to be glaring signs of man's faith in the unseen world. Nevertheless, it appears there are no human belief systems not dependent on the spatial, secular or material world. It is therefore pertinent to deduce that man apprehends dimly with his sense a force we can regard as the world hereafter from the natural world.

Like any human type in the world, Anlos are a people with a trail of cultural heritage which makes them who they are. Asamoia (1986) has noted that the Ewes are not only integral kinsmen of the Yorubas of Nigeria, but they are also close participants in their cosmology to the effect of having divine kings amongst them in Notsie. This king could be compared with the Alafin (Morton Williams, 1964:17) of Oyo, for whom once a year diviners had to divine to find the state of the relationship between him and his divine counterpart in the world beyond. Again, the notion that Anlos have some affinity with the Yorubas in terms of world-view appears expressed when a sociologist considered that one of the best

organised systems of divination is the Afa of the Anlo which is closely related to the Yoruba Ifa system (Nukunya, 1992:61).

What we have arrived at eventually is that the cult of Afa among Anlo is to be seen both as a sacred and a secular signification of the ethos of Anlo. It is accorded a special respect in terms of its roles for shaping a cohesive social fibre among Anlo.

(c) The Secular Nature of Afa In Terms of its Politics, Economy, Trade, Travel and Transport

One remarkable insight one can gain into the nature of the independence of Afa among the Anlo is illustrated by the positive way almost all respondents answered question 41 on the questionnaire. Out of 30 respondents, 22 vehemently rejected any notion of Afa priests working for chiefs as subservient religious officials in royal houses. The idea of independence of Afa suggests its neutrality to all other cults in Anlo. It is this independence and neutrality which foster its controlling power in all endeavours in the lives of Anlo. It is this heightened sense of neutrality which places Afa over and above all other cults as the most important point of reference in all affairs within Anlo. Among the Anlo, it is the single cult which embodies in it the power to "discover the unknown or interpret events" (Nukunya, 1992: 61) of both the earthly and spiritual worlds via divination.

Politically Afa plays an invaluable role in almost all the cultures it enshrines itself. The Alafin, the religious as well as the political head among the Yoruba of Nigeria could not arrive at any decision without the role of the diviners

(Morton-Williams, 1964: 254). As a divine ruler, Ifa diviners had the mandate to divine once every year in order to find out the state of relationship between the Alafin and his spirit counterpart in heaven. Although similarity between the Alafin and chiefs in Anlo cannot be proven, the Awoamefia of Anlo is a good example (Nukunya, 1992: 78). Again, Afa diviners play significant role in the courts of Anlo chiefs (Fiawoo, 1983: 71) by solving vital problems.

By placing the Afa priest side by side the Alafin, through whom his divine power is transmitted, it is doubtful if one cannot presume that the diviner is not higher in wielding political power than the Alafin. We need to ponder over a series of questions in terms of Afa's political power as follows: (a) If Olodumare is the high sky God who cannot work personally among human kindred but through Oniye, the Earth goddess which could only make herself manifest among her people through Afa, what is the role of the Alafin? (b) If the divine powers of the Alafin can only be sustained and perpetuated as a result of Ifa divination practices, what is again the role of the Alafin among his people? (c) Heaven and earth are said to be coeval and yet the Alafin, symbol of the two, cannot on his own accord effect a continuous harmonious relationship between them rather than through the divination practices. Genuine answers to the above questions will reveal that the secular power of the Afa priest outweighs the Alafin's power.

Someone may consider that we are only positing an unprovable assumption against a background we do not have a clear knowledge about. He may argue that what prevails in Yoruba may be different from Anlo. Much as this may be true to

some extent, the case of cosmological affinity between the Ewes and Yorubas on the bases of their proven history of origin encourages us to propose this analogy. One cogent indicator is the existence of material culture in the stretch between Anlo and southern Nigeria. Chieftaincy traditions between Anlo and Yorubas are still intact. Their cult and belief systems are not at great variance with each other. Afa priests in the two cultures are respected and seen as consultants on matters affecting human life from pregnancy to funeral rites. Founding of villages, establishment of economic ventures and other relevant human endeavours are issues that cannot be embarked upon in the two cultures without recourse to the cult of Afa. One of such classic examples of consultancy services was cited by the famous Anlo-playwright, the late Dr. F.K. Fiawoo in his book, "Toko Atolia", when, in the trial of an adultery case between Agbebada, Amedza and Yamenu at the court of Torgbui Zanyido, the truth could not be determined until a famous Afa priest, Anagli, was consulted. On his arrival at the court, Anagli put the two convicts to an ordeal (Aka) through which it was discovered that Agbebada defiled Yamenu, the wife of Amedza. Up to today Afa priests in Anlo are consulted by political aspirants for success in their political endeavours, particularly in the heat periods of electioneering campaigns. Chiefs, family and clan heads also consult them to settle political disputes between members of their communities in relation to litigation and related problems on inheritance. This is so because custodians of Afa are considered as repositories of the entire cultural history of the community.

Like all big factories or industrial establishments with ancillary companies within and around them, the cult of Afa generates a variety of social activities in terms of economy, trade, travel and transport. The secular nature of Afa appears more pronounced here than any other place. Almost all human material needs fall within the ambit of Afa's requirements to make itself immanent and meaningful among the people. It is interesting to note from a researcher that various methods are employed in this cult as gateways through which it makes itself meaningful to the people. Such methods like egg-throwing, water and mirror gazing (Deku, 1991: 39-48). There is even what we call "book-divination" in which nymph priestesses and others use either the Bible or Koran with special powder and perfume types. They also use special spiritual messengers known among Anlo as "Fiele". As they perform the special ritual act with the elements mentioned above, conversation quickly ensues between the priest and the client. After a few moments the "Fiele" returns, unawares to the client, with the appropriate message.

As a result of a variety of divination practices in Anlo, coupled with attendant plethora of priests and priestesses, a massive economic activity ensues in the form of petty buying and selling. The eventual corollary is that Afa promotes a wide range of an informal tourism in the form of travel and transport in Anlo and its immediate surrounding neighbourhood as far as to Benin. This may account for the fact that Anlos are essentially filled with the spirit of enterprise through trade. All over this country it is commonplace to meet a female petty trader from Anlo.

(d) The Horoscopes or Afa Duwo and Kpoliwo

Historians have now sufficiently confirmed that man is subject to the theory of evolution as developed and proven by Charles Robert Darwin in his two books "The Origins of the Species" and "The Descent of Man" in 1859 and 1871 respectively. His theory from which the 'Ape-man' or 'Near-man' developed or evolved into a 'Homo Sapiens' or 'Real man' was believed to be proven when a human fossil was discovered in the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania (Fynn, Addo-Fenning and Anquandah, 1991:10) in 1959. This theory placed man's origin in the tropics. The effect is that Darwin's discovery was accepted as the theory for how man originally came into nature. This new discovery contravened the Church's stand that from the beginning of creation (Adam and Eve) present man attained his level of both natural and intellectual achievement. To Darwin, our intellectual achievements as well as our physical appearances had been undergoing continual evolutionary process. This gives room for the belief that man has not yet attained the glorious height of his total achievement in this and other worlds.

Many people still conjecture that from the very beginning of man's existence up to now, man has been struggling against unexpected odds of nature. Since that time up to today, no culture in the world can boast of fully attaining that glorious height of perfectly foretelling and forestalling unexpected events like volcanic eruptions, severe droughts, earth-quakes, wars and pestilences etc. etc. The world of nature still presents and confronts man's ability of understanding it.

The end result is that since the days of early man up to now we are still learning about the world we live in.

One of the major hall-marks within all religions is the attempt to either ward off unseen dangers that may be inimical to man or forecast their presence in our midst. Among Anlo forecasting takes a variety of ways. Afa has a methodology for forecasting, in using the horoscopes, a salient feature of astrology to study the positions and movements of astronomical bodies (celestial bodies) - sun, moon, planets - in order to find their supposed effects on human life and events on earth.

In order to clarify horoscopes as astrological means, let us define horoscope. Aptly defined by the Chamber's 20th Century Dictionary, a horoscope is "an observation of the heavens at the hour of a person's birth, by which the astrologer predicts the event of his life". By this definition, we are inclined to infer that horoscopes, as we use them here, are partially like Afa Duwo and Kpqliwo in Divination. If therefore, we talk about the Pythagorean Doctrine (Carruthers, 1976: 1-40) of the spheres, we are only trying to lend support to the fact that our mode of religious superstition is not too different from the world perspective. We can therefore discuss prospects from the main line of horoscopes in this setting.

Returning to our earlier definition in a more advanced stage we discover that horoscope means a "diagram of, observation of, position of stars at a certain time e.g. a person's birth for the purpose of foretelling future events" (Chambers 20th Century Dictionary). In effect, it is clear that the horoscope is one of the

important points of departures in the discipline of Astrology for the enhancement of human life. Dowling Evans, translating a book written by one Levi hinted that Astrologists tell us that our sun and his family of planets revolve around a central sun believed to be millions of miles distant from the earth; and the planets, plus our sun take a little less than 26,000 years to make one revolution round that sun. That sun's orbit is called the "Zodiac", (path along which it apparently moves). This movement is supposed to be divided into twelve signs with specific names as ARIES, TAURUS, GEMINI, CANCER, LEO, VIRGO, LIBRA, SCORPIO, SAGITTARIUS, CAPRICORN, AQUARIUS and PISCES (Dowling, 1920:5). That it requires our Solar System a little more than 2,100 years to pass through one of these Signs. He conjectured that this time is the measurement of an "AGE" or, as he put it, "DISPENSATION".

From the layman's point of view, and what has become the normal representation in both our local and international papers, the above Zodiacal Divisions, with their specific names, are lumped together under the "HOROSCOPE". Zodiacal divisions have been seen as adjuncts to our understanding of the 12 Calendar months in the Sabbatical year in the Christian Dispensation Today. Because humanity has that old, as well as ancestral hereditary inclination to peep into his future, many people take delight in seeing what his or her "STAR" has in store for him/her under the horoscope.

From the Pythagorean perspective, earlier on mentioned, all bodies in existence act and react with a mathematical exactitude. The notion is held that

there is what is called "Septimal Cycle", (Carruthers, 1976: 1-10) known specifically among the ancient Egyptians. Although guarded as a state secret, it later leaked to the Greek, the British and finally to the German physicians who developed it to advise their women on birth control. This Septimal Cycle is given as follows:

- One week of seven days of possibility of pregnancy.
- Two weeks (14 days) of freedom - sex wise.
- One week (7 days) of probable conception in fertility.
- Four weeks then constitutes the Lunar Period.

The belief is that with a good arrangement later by the Sumerians, who developed mathematics, the twelve lunar months of the year have been arrived at.

The analogy here is that Pythagorean specifications purport to enhancing life in the same way as Afa Duwo and Kpoliwo have been devised to help human destiny. Afa Duwo/Kpoliwo have unique arrangements that inform those who are conversant with its manipulations. Earlier writers have referred to it as a process of geomancy (Nukunya, 1969:9), while Abimbola did not see the need to define it but states what it means to Yorubas (Abimbola, 1977:4).

Much as we are attempting to associate the horoscopes to Afa Duwo and Kpoliwo as salient features within Afa, we nevertheless underestimate the entire composition in it. Our attempt is to see the horoscopes playing the role of Afa, "a system of divination" (Bascom, 1969:3). At the appropriate time and place, we shall examine into some detail geomancy as a process of divination in Afa.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PRIESTLY INITIATION FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION

All organised religions in the world have worship-life in them. Afa, as a cult, has a vibrant worship-life with a highly trained priestly order. As part of the training programme, the would-be priest undergoes a period of intensive initiation. It is from initiation that the young priest is opened up to what constitutes knowledge about Afa. The first teachers of the novice are priests and priestesses who perform the initiation rites in Zume (shrine of Afa). The other teachers of the novice constitutes Anlo community at large. The novice learns from the community because they are kith and kin of the novice with a common heritage. The would-be priest belongs to this common heritage as well. He can therefore, not claim to know better than them. He must therefore, be willing to learn the workings of the economic life, social control, mode of travel as well as communication net works in the community. Our immediate concern in this chapter is to examine some of these vital areas in relation to Afa.

#### (a) Priestly Initiation and Knowledge

A famous English playwright Bernard Shaw, was quoted as saying that the assumptions upon which each individual person habitually acts make up the sum of his belief (Lewis, 1962:9). The Afa priest belongs to a given community in which he shares his beliefs about the world. However, the sum of a person's belief must help him relate harmoniously with the world of nature. Unfortunately, not all

people have the spirit of enterprise and adventure to interpret events of the world for a meaningful living. The major preoccupation of the Afa priest is to harmonize all related as well as contrasting beliefs and practices of his people; beliefs and practices which will enhance a smooth community participation. In effect, the priest himself is subjected to a process of initiation in order to prepare him for a long and arduous task of understudying senior priests (Tobokowo). This process of initiation is believed to have arisen as a result of a coincidence in the story below. This story contains the rite of initiation.

In the entire Anlo, the extant belief is that Afa is a mysterious person. Here, person, is defined from its Greek "Persona", standing for a "corporeal" or body in its flesh form. This mysterious person is believed to be a leader of war. It is for this reason that the Anlo regard the cult to be powerful. Against this background, the Anlo also share the view that this leader does not take delight in causing misery in nature as a whole. Its esteemed value is to preserve and sustain his father's (God's) creativity. Again, the Anlo believe that Afa was personified, but has since then changed his human form into spirit. This spirit form can now be deciphered from a special foot print he left on a rock as a symbol of his self-revelation in this world. It is only from this symbol that devotees can either receive or send word to Afa deity.

It is admitted among "Tobokos" (Afa Priests) of high standing that this mysterious man revealed himself to an eponym called "Akpayife". "Akpayife"

therefore, became the first Toboko to transmit the knowledge about Afa to his contemporaries.

What form did this initiation take? It had been recounted that in the first ever meeting of Afa deity and Akpayife, the do's and don't's had been spelt out about Afa. During this meeting Akpayife closely observed certain features about Afa. All over the body of Afa hung some strange objects, later understood by Akpayife as protective mechanisms. According to Afa, his self revelation had some implications to whom it occurred. First, it implied the notion of dying and rising of the person who observed the secrecy of Afa. The success of the person to rise after having died carried a corollary of strict adherence and observation of all taboos disclosed that day to the novice. In other words Afa was believed to have taught Akpayife all the rites and rituals meant to constitute safe keeping of Afa by any devotee.

Before we examine the maiden initiation, let us briefly take stock of the items which hang around the body of Afa deity, noting their importance as well. The first object was known as "Hude". It was the nut from a special oil-palm tree. This was believed to be the key herb revealed to Akpayife. He was to use it to determine the purpose or all demands from Afa to mankind. The second object was known as "Kpeli", commonly called "Gumaga", or "Divining Chain" (Abimbola, 1977:7). Again, Akpayife was to manipulate it effectively to receive the desired messages from Afa. Finally, Akpayife was intimated of having been placed under a sixteen-day initiation ritual which was to be strictly secret.

How did this occur? Akpayife was requested to ritually count sixteen nuts of “Hude” into the hands of the novice. Indeed, the mysterious man had miraculously performed this initiation rite to Akpayife earlier on. What we now recount is how Akpayife had been enjoined upon to do to those who approach him to become novices to the cult. After Akpayife had counted the nuts into the hands of the novice, he was to enchant the following magico-religious spells believed to be the process the mysterious man expected from that day and beyond. The spell is as follows:

"Afayedegu	..	One of the appellations of Afa
Agbofanafana	..	magical incantation invoking Afa
Agboliba tso Allada	..	Afa deity from Allada
Tso maxo wu to	..	Yesterday, unaccepted
Nyits <sub>o</sub> maxo wu to	..	Two previous days unaccepted
Keke af <sub>o</sub> gblaa	..	Up to the ankle
Ayiku tome	..	In the circle of Ayiku
Akpayife 'o vi	..	The child of Akpayife
Agbamelugu	. .	One of the appellations of Afa.
Agbamenyaga	..	Bounteously benevolent
Ame to ku de za xo nu	. .	A father died unaccepted in a yard at night
Ame no ku de za xo nu	..	A mother died unaccepted in a yard at night
Wo zigede zi fo	-.	Incantation involving Afa

Ebe yezi ameto, zi amanɔ	..	He crashes both father and mother
Ame la le dzifo nye ame dzie	..	A fair person up
Egbɔ va anyigba zu ame yibo	..	He descends to be a black person
Agblimenɔwo menya o	..	Unknown to the laity/folk
Wo be nefikue	..	They see it as a common palm-kernel
Wozi nkeke etɔa gbe wovu dzo de wo	..	They crack it to their disgust after the third day
Wogbloɛ, wo be fafa miaa	..	They shout and he says, "peace".
Yevu dzo de ame	..	I become hot against them."

As Akpayife ritually counts the nuts into the palm of the novitiate, he must also enchant the above spell alongside. He was also enjoined to be raising the nuts up to the sky God as he kept on counting ritually the nuts into the palm of the novice.

This ritual counting completed, the novice is believed to have miraculously taken possession of the power of Afa. Nevertheless, this possession is just a symbol of the willingness of the novice to pledge his entire person under the discipline of Afa. In order to show a total commitment to Afa deity as an obedient learner, Akpayife was to continue with other important ritual acts or performances as follows:

Immediately following the ritual counting the novitiate's hair is cut completely down with a sharp blade or knife. It is then put into a new pot, smeared with herbal concoction. A chicken "Atsumanye (unknown male),

asimanye (unknown female) is slaughtered onto it. A rat (Alegeli/zagbɔ) is also slaughtered onto the herbal preparation. In doing all these, Akpayife was to continue incanting on it, using new invocatory spells as follows:

"Mawuga Sogbolisa	..	"God, Almighty.
Nonlodzanyi	..	The Great Weaver.
Adanuwoɔto	..	The Great Artist.
Nlɔ (wɔ) asi	..	Maker of human hand
Nlɔ (wɔ) afɔ	..	Maker of human foot ..."

In so doing, Akpayife was to be rubbing his palms on the herbal preparation, showing it intermittently to the sky God. After having incanted the spells of the Supreme Being's appellations, he was to pour palm-oil onto it. This herbal preparation should be kept in the secret dwelling of Afa (Zume) with the novice for three days. He could not get out to the sight of the general populace. A violation of this regulation attracts displeasure from Afa deity onto the novice. This displeasure could cause him psychological imbalances. However, after having gone through the process successfully within the three days, the Afa priest would pour the herbal concoction into a new pot and proceed with other ritual acts in the home of Afa deity. At this place, usually in a forest, raise the concoction up in the sky three times. The above spell should be incanted prayerfully again on it. The Afa priest would churn it up with a finger of ripe banana. In the presence of Afa deity the novice has no right to see the nudity of Afa. In effect, his face is covered in order to prevent him from seeing the unseen. Among the Anlo, the

hand of the novice could only be placed on the "Hukpo" - Afa deity. Here, an important object, (Fig.2) known as "Ase", is firmly fixed up. It is from the top of it that spirits take their pudding; so believed Anlos.

We have now reached an awe-inspiring moment where ritual burrying of the novice attains its peak. At this moment Akpayife (indeed all Tobokowo) start to invoke slowly but in deep thunderous echo-blasting voice the following incantation onto the concoction:- "Tenyilele, Tenyilele .. Invocatory spell depicting Afa's power

Egbmedzi	Tenyilele	....	Egbmedzi far away
Yekumedzi	Tenyilele	....	Yekumedzi far away
Wolimedzi	Tenyilele	....	Wolimedzi far away
Edimedzi	Tenyilele	....	Edimedzi far away
Losomedzi	Tenyilele	....	Losomedzi far away
Nolimedzi	Tenyilele	....	Nolimedzi far away
Ablamedzi	Tenyilele	....	Ablamedzi far away
Aklamedzi	Tenyilele	....	Aklamedzi far away
Gudamedzi	Tenyilele	....	Gudamedzi far away
Samedzi	Tenyilele	....	Samedzi far away
Kamedzi	Tenyilele	....	Kamedzi far away
Trukpemedzi	Tenyilele	....	Trukpemedzi far away
Tulamedzi	Tenyilele	....	Tulamedzi far away
Letemedzi	Tenyilele	....	Letemedzi far away

Etsiemedzi	Tenyilele	....	Etsiemedzi far away
Efumedzi	Tenyilele	....	Efumedzi far away
Tsietula	Tenyilele	....	Tsietula far away

This spell having chanted, the concoction is lowered into its new hole (synonymous with a grave).

Immediately following this moment of awe is the selection of "Du". Here, Akpayife is supposed to help the novice, who is still blind folded, to select his "Du". This Du is supposed to guide the novice the rest of his life. As we have noted in the last chapter, "Du" is sometimes compared to horoscope. Selection of 'Du' is considered the most essential, as well as, vital process, marking out distinctly the power the novitiate possesses. This is borne out of the fact that Anlos share the belief that each person is within and under the direct protection of an unseen force. Even to start a journey, a business or to embark upon an important venture in life, one needs to know the 'Du' on which one stands. In effect the 'Du' appears to be in constant dialogue with this unseen force.

It is interesting to note that the selection of 'Du' is as a result of the manipulation of many assorted ritual objects beginning with the divining chain (Gumaga), shells, the special oil-palm nuts (16), a pointed carved stick known in Ewe as Metolofi, bones of animals and birds, and even leaves of special trees. In this process of selection, there is need for the display of an accurate sense of marksmanship in terms of the message that emerges out of a combination of

factors. Some of these are poems that are enchanted in view of special ways the divining chain falls, special ways bones and shells influence the divining chain or the special sixteen oil-palm nuts etc. Generally, there is a high display of folkloriness since it is presumed that each of the principal 'Du' has about six hundred poems (Abimbola, 1977:18). In all these however, Akpayife usually overcomes the onus of selecting 'Du' for the novice. Akpayife is always successful in so doing because the belief is that the novice himself carries an aura into "Zume" (the secret dwelling of Afa) which predestines him in making the desired selection. Akpayife therefore acts as a divine agent through whom the novice's 'Du' is announced. In effect, this process has become the standardised method of initiating novices into the cult of Afa (Note Figs. 11 & 12 in index for symbols and names of the 256 Du, one of which must be selected by a novice in Zume).

After the third day of the initiation process, the novice is expected to remain indoors for another thirteen days. The major preoccupation for the novice is to be exposed to the knowledge in manipulating the 'Gumaga' (divining chain) in consonance with the names and symbols of the sixteen principal Duwo. An example with the first two Duwo will help us clarify our point. On the divining chain are eight half shells each with a face and a back-part. The way these shells turn when thrown down suggests the symbol as well as the name of a particular 'Du'. These half shells are arranged in pairs of four on the divining chain. When all eight faces of these shells turn downwards after the chain has been thrown, two short sticks are drawn on the ground. However, when all eight faces turn upwards,

a stick is drawn. Let us represent the face of the half shell turning up by two close brackets thus: () and a half shell turning downwards by the 'n' alphabet thus: 'n'. If therefore, the eight half shells adjacent to each other in pairs on the divining chain turn facing up, we will have a diagrammatic representation as follows:

() ()  
() ()  
() ()  
() ()

, ... but when it turns

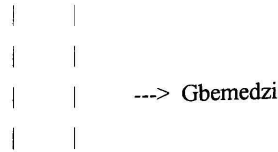
downwards, we will have a representation as follows:

n n  
n n  
n n  
n n

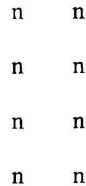
Assuming we put a thread through the above half shells that lie adjacent to each other with their faces up, we will have a divining chain thus:

() ()  
() ()  
() ()  
() ()

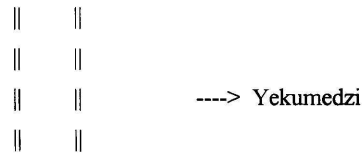
The above representation of the divining chain bears the name of Du Gbemedzi i.e., the name of the first principal Afa horoscope in Anlo. This representation is drawn by the priest in a sand thus:



However, if the shells fall facing downwards, then the divining chain looks differently thus:



This new representation is a new Du known as Yekumedzi, which also attracts a different drawing of short sticks by the priest thus:



Each 'Du' has short spells as well as long poems. The first one above has one of its short spells thus:

"Ganavutsu medzea t̄ fe ali dzi buna o, t̄ fe ali nye ali la", which translates to mean,

"Ganavutsu, the most furious wild dog, never tracks along the path of its father without success. the father's path leads to success."

The second representation known as 'Yekumedzi' also attracts a short spell as follows:

"Akpa klika mewua lo o, lo nutoe dzo kple akpa".

This also translates to mean 'The hard scales of the crocodile never causes its death; it is born with the scales'.

The newly initiated novice must endeavour to quickly assimilate knowledge about the sixteen principal "Duwo." He must exemplify the adequate mental prowess within these sixteen days in order to win the required favour of his masters in light of the demanding mental engagement the search for knowledge will make on him later. Nevertheless after the sixteenth day, the novice is outdoored on the seventeenth, clad in (white) calico cloth; for this is the accepted uniform of the priestly order in Afa cult.

The knowledge of the priest extends further beyond the sixteen days of initiation. Indeed, to acquire knowledge in the community becomes the utmost urge in the entire life of the priest. As we are already aware, the community as a whole is suspicious of the natural world. This is so because there are many events taking place around it with no adequate meaning being gained in them. Why should a beloved wife of a young enterprising brother die suddenly while giving birth to her first child; or why should I be bitten by a snake in my own room on my bed? Have these events entered my way of life as a result of some evil machination of a near neighbour, or through the agency of an unseen power hovering around me? The community reposes the trust in the Afa priest to help in answering questions of the sort above.

Again the Anlos believe in the power of other deities. Paradoxically however, the wishes, demands and sanctions from most of these deities are routed through Afa, the spokesman of all of them. It is properly documented that the Anlo have not only carried gods and deities from their origin of migration to their new home, they also came to settle among indigenous divinities, called for short "Dzokplanyi-Trowo (Fiawoo, 1959:11) e.g. Atsikpui, Dutokonyi, Gbaku, Tegli, Nyanyake, Dudu, Zio, Sasinyeme, Kplikpa..., just to mention a few. The Afa priest serves as the consultant to inform the community about the demands these deities make on them. We should also be reminded that Anlos also believe in household gods like "Afelowo", "Agbonulegbawo" (refer Fig.8). The right inauguration of them as security agents for households involves the direct attention of the Afa priest. His knowledge about them is therefore, of paramount importance to the community.

As we have noted above, the community respects the priest who exhibits a profound as well as skillful knowledge about short spells and poems in Afa. He is the one who is placed in the performances of sacrifices and other rituals. It will therefore serve us an invaluable purpose if we cite at least one example each of a short spell and a poem. The need for doing this stems from the fact that the spells and poems are the true indicators of sacrifices to be performed. Taking Gbemedzi, the first Du or Kpoli as an example, we need the following spell:

"Ganavutsu medzea to fe ali buna o

Ali to ali glo

Ati gɔdoe be yenye zi  
Koklozi metoa nu kpe o.  
Dzika metsoa kpe le agume o  
Woyɔ kpe, woyɔ gblala."

It translates as follows:

"Ganavutsu (the most furious wild dog)  
Never tracks along the path of its father without success  
The path may meander or ramify  
A slender tree thunders,  
An egg never knocks a rock;  
When you invoke a rock  
You invoke an expanse."

This Du (horoscope) is believed to invoke the very foundations on which Afa deity stands; hence it is assumed that it marks the strongest power in Afa cult. The general belief among southern Ewes is that the names Amuzu and Alugba inhere from this Du. However, there is also the belief that the first son of any male novice after his initiation bears the name Amuzu. If a second son comes immediately after Amuzu, he bears the name Akakpo. On the other hand if the novice's child is a female, she bears the name Alugba/Adugba.

The importance of Afa is traced to this horoscope in the following story. The belief is held that Afa has only one son called "Ametolofi" (Trautman, 1940:2), whose mother has since not been known. When he attained the prime age

of manhood, he married a woman also not yet known, but associated to the proverbial "Witch". Witch became pregnant and begot a baby boy. Just about three days after her delivery, her husband travelled to a distant place for participating in an important traditional ritual performance. As a good wife, she prepared a delicious pudding in anticipation of the husbands return. Unfortunately however, Witch had poisoned the food. While she was in the bath at the backyard, her husband returned. Usually, post-natal baths involve a long process of massaging. As had been the usual practice between this couple, Ametolofi sat to eat this delicious plate in the absence of his wife. Indeed, he had a glowing appetite as a result of hunger. Moreover, he knew that his wife would soon be out. Again, he immediately became joyfully excited at the sight of his newly-born baby, laid just in a corner before him.

As if by magic, Ametolofi had been quickly commanded by his new-born baby never to swallow the first morsel of food he put in his mouth. His five-day old baby boy cautioned him never to eat the food because his mother (Witch) had poisoned the food. Ametolofi was shocked. It had never been the experience of anyone to hear a five day old baby speak with meaning. Just in a moment to spew out the morsel of food, the baby's caution again resounded, "Father, don't eat the food; my mum has poisoned it!"

This couple had unique things about them. Witch could not live without drinking water at short intervals. It therefore occurred to Ametolofi to poison the wife's drinking water. Quickly, he executed his plan before his wife returned from

the bath-house. No sooner did she return than called for a cup of water. Just as she was about to sip it, her five-day old baby boy enjoined upon her never to drink it because his father (Ametolofi) had poisoned it while she was in the bath. Witch could not believe herself hearing a five-day old baby speaking comprehensibly. She therefore raised the cup again to her lips to sip. Again, her baby stopped her from drinking the poisoned water. Simultaneously both decided to consult Afa, the revealer of secret things. Moreover Afa was their father and father-in-law. Since the inquests made by Afa revealed that husband and wife had only one witness, Afa suggested to them to name their baby boy "Gbemedzi" i.e. two voices from two persons through one son. The philosophy behind Gbemedzi cannot be exhausted in this brief examination. However, it carries the notion of having power over life and death, the world here and hereafter, good and evil and the entire dialectics in which man finds himself. Briefly summed up, Gbemedzi has power over everything we can think about. By this, Afa became a perpetual point of reference to Anlos over issues they have divergent views.

As we have already alluded to, each 'Du' has over six hundred poems in addition to short spells or chants. Each poem or chant has a definite role to play. Again, each poem or chant is meant to explain a life situation beyond the comprehension of whoever it affects. This is why priesthood in Afa is a life-long discipleship. It is true that almost all adherents to this cult are considered as novitiates (Bokoviwo), but to attain the height of "The Priest" (Toboko) is very demanding.

Another area of knowledge expected by the community from an Afa priest is the status of the "Medicine" man. One of the most amazing and rather unbelievable truths in Afa is that all the 'Duwo' (Horoscopes) are names of herbs. If priesthood in this cult wins the community's appreciation, respect or favour, it is because the community is aware of the priest's standing in the knowledge and application of herbs effectively. A common phenomenon in Afa is to see the novice, whose interest is aided by the possession of sharp intellectual power, always following a master priest (Toboko) wherever he goes. Mere knowledge about the 'Duwo' through the manipulation of the divining-chain (Gumaga) is only a start of a thousand miles journey. It is also not sufficient to know the names of herbs in conjunction with 'Duwo', there is the need to know their combined effects. In order to have full grips over this arduous physical and mental tasks, the novice must frequently be seen by the side of a master priest. He must also freely relate himself with his community. This is because there is a sophisticated networking of Afa priests in the communities they live in. One individual person cannot feel proud of being self-sufficient in this area. As a result of sophistry in net-working among priests on one hand and priests and the community on the other, it behoves the desirous priest to learn to relate himself properly with the community. This task, although informal, is equally involving as he who passes through the formal classrooms of a University to study medicine. However, we cannot wink at the fact that marked differences exist between the two learners above.

Another crucial area where an Afa priest cannot dispense with knowledge in and about the community he lives in is sacrifices. Although we shall examine this title carefully in a later chapter, let us make some casual comments about it.

One important exponent of Afa is divination. Among southern Ewes a client cannot consult a priest of Afa without performing a sacrifice. The names "Kasa" and "Kamasa" point to the relevance of sacrifice. The belief is that without sacrifices there cannot be reparation for what was wrongly done knowingly or unknowingly against the gods. Knowledge in and about sacrifice therefore, becomes one of the important requirements for attaining the level of senior priesthood (Toboko) to be able to initiate others into the cult. The priest needs to know as well as differentiate between simple and complex sacrifices. Simple in the sense that there are some sacrifices for individual persons e.g. those performed for what we can clarify as individual household god, 'Se', known also by some Ewes as 'Mawu-Se'. Then, there are complex ones performed in the presence of a whole township on occasions like the out-break of epidemic or long spell of drought resulting in famine. We should appreciate the fact that knowledge about raising an efficacious sacrifice is always hard to come by. Knowledge about the required herbs or items for sacrifice is concentrated in the hands of a few specialists in the community. The desirous novice should develop the spirit of tolerance and humility in the period of his apprenticeship.

Finally, we may attempt to examine the most complex part of the knowledge of the would-be priest as well as full priest in the community he lives.

This is the ability to discern the true message in the period of divination. The manipulation of the divining chain (Gumaga) or the sixteen special oil-palm (Hude) nuts is usually accompanied by recitation of short spells in their varied form. The belief is that when a cognate 'Du' defines about a client's problem, there is always a process of verification or cross-checking. This vital moment requires expert knowledge about most of the 'Duwo'. The crucial issue is to determine what each 'Du' that falls against the cognate 'Du' defines; whether affirming or rejecting the cognate 'Du'. This process among southern Ewes is known variously as "Dunyonyo" or "Dunene". This process of either an affirmation or rejection is not so simple to explain here. However, we can only explain in a more amateur, not professional form, that "Dunyonyo" or what others call as "Vonyonyo" is when the cognate 'Du' which comes to inform the client about his problem has not yet been fulfilled. In other words, if it is a case of an allusion to death of a member in the family of the client, the person meant for death has not yet died. This allows the priest to search further the methods to plead the gestures of the deity about to strike to stop. On the other hand, if the cognate 'Du' is spoken against by other 'Duwo' in the process of affirmation, this is regarded as "Dunene" or 'Vonene'. This implies that the person has already died. Here, nothing can be done again by the priest to avert disaster in the client's home.

Knowledge of Afa priest in the community therefore, is not as simple as we may generally conjecture it. The difficulty in the search for these classified items of information from the community of an Afa priest, coupled with the length of

time that is usually spent in this search, made it possible for scholars to equate this knowledge to the level of a Ph.D from any University. (Ottenberg, 1960:65).

(b) Control of Afa Priests Over Members Of The Community

Our main drive in this section is not to review whether Afa priests possess any authoritarian power to wield forcefully over Anlo as a people or not. By control, we do not mean power or authority to direct or even order or restrain Anlo community. By control we mean the indispensable nature of the roles played by Afa priests in Anlo community. By this willing interaction between the two, an enabling communal spirit is continually fostered in Anlo.

By the above clarification, we may attempt to find out how this control is effected through the agencies of marriage and procreation, founding of villages and towns, economic life, travel and transport.

As pointed out under knowledge of Afa priests in the community, Afa plays a leading role in providing fertility in both man and woman. We will not pre-empt ourselves as far as this subject is concerned. Now we shall exhaust it in the final chapter (5). However, it is worth noting here that the question of infertility, particularly among women, has many side effects against women in Anlo. It is for this reason that the Afa cult leaders do everything to avert this sad situation which may become the lot of women under this experience. By providing the right antidote to solve the problem therefore, gives an added prestige to the Afa priest in the society he lives. Consequently, this prestige is transposed into an indirect

authority for the Afa priest to exert as a controlling phenomenon over his community.

#### Economic Life As a Social Factor in Afa

The noun 'economy', from which its adjective 'economic' is derived, is defined as 'Instance of avoidance of waste of money, strength, or anything else of value ... control and management of money, goods and other resources of a community, society or a household', (The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English). This definition corresponds (to a great extent) with the outstanding aim of Afa cult. The considered belief in and about Afa is that it always aims at preserving life rather than destroying it. In this context therefore, Afa makes use of almost every material object, to the extent of even substituting those that cannot be readily obtained at the needed time, or on the spur of the moment. Economic life, a necessary prerequisite in this cult, does not only centre on how Afa enables the community to participate in buying and selling for wealth. This commercial activity is not precluded though, but it is secondary. Economic Life in Afa therefore, means how value is put on the material culture of the community in order to help the people become more integrated as a result of their economic relations with one another.

If social cohesion means anything at all, it seems its greatest strength is the existence of the spirit of 'give and take' among the people. Learning to be independent as an individual is a marksmanship of maturity. The other side of the

above truism is that man cannot attain the pinnacle of perfection. Hence, in every human community, people must be informed about the goodness of both independent and inter-dependent ways of living. This promotes the growth of dynamic communities. In order to make ourselves clearer than what we have so far advanced here, let us cite as examples how Afa has thrown light on the economic life of the people in the sixteen principal 'Duwo' in the table below:

DU	MATERIAL FOR SACRIFICE	REMARKS
1. Gbemedzi          	2 koklo - 2 fowls 1 Amidze atukpa deka - 1 bottle palm oil Dedq - Fine leaves of oil palm frond. Ga - Some money	Nothing can overpower you.
2, Yekumedzi                   	Atiko - A piece of wood Deti - Cotton Wegba - Earthen-ware plate Koklo atsu kple asi - Cockerel and hen Tqmela - Fish Tre - Gourd Amidze - Palm oil Hotsui - Cowry Kusi - Basket Anyi-koe - Clay balls Gbq-tsui - He goat	If anyone means to harm you, by the time he reaches you, he will forget why he approaches you.
3. Wolimedzi                   	Anyitsi goe deka - One gourd of honey 1 Koklonq deka - 1 hen 1 Hotsui - 1 cowry shell Amegaxi fe fu - Fur of Hyena Wq - Corn flour Amidze - Palm oil Koklotsu - Cockerel	If any evil or spirit attempts to eat your life, something else will replace you to be eaten.

<p>4. Dimedzi</p> <p>           </p>	<p>Anyi-koe – clay balls Kusi alomanonu – basket without handle 1 Koklong deka - 1 hen Hotsui - Cowry Gbotsui deka - 1 He goat Logbloti - Mistletoe Kplu - Chalice Aklala - Calico Nyagadzi - Red cloth or Band Kpatsaxlokpe - Tortoise Kosokoso - Chain De-kpe - Red clay Tsyoti (1) - 1 wooden peg Nududu hamehame - Assorted foods</p>	<p>It is for kingship. It reveals black and white as colours in the world. It can give good and bad news. Be truthful in life.</p>
<p>5. Losomedzi</p> <p>           </p>	<p>Wu-sisi (1) - Drum (Local -1) Wu-foti (1) - Drum-stick (1) Gafifo (1) - Small bell (1) Kusi soe (1) - Small basket (1) Bli - Maize Gbono (1) - She goat (1) Koklong - Hen (1) ø0.7 - ø0.7 Hotsui - Cowry Asige - Ring</p>	<p>This gives man Intelligence. Helps to select a chief. Shows goodwill to people. Brings various vegetables into nature. Speaks about Premature death and poverty.</p>
<p>6. Nolimedzi</p> <p>           </p>	<p>Ayi - Beans Amidze - Palm oil Akatsa - Pap (koko) Koklo atsu kple asi - 2 fowls (male + female) Ka - Rope Fia - Axe Atadi - Pepper Bli - Maize Akpakuvi(3) - 3 small gourds Wɔ - Corn flour Hotsui - Cowry Ze (1) - Pot (1) Tsaxe (1) - 1 Guinea Fowl Anyikoe (16) - 16 clay balls</p>	<p>War does not Defeat rock. It gives you Valour in war and military knowledge. It is behind founding of villages and towns. But be careful with its sanctions. It enhances the birth of girls.</p>

<p>7. Ablamedzi</p> <p>              </p>	<p>Wu (1) - 1 Drum Wufoti (1) - 1 Drum-stick Koklotsu (1) - 1 Cockerel Gbɔnɔ (1) - 1 She goat Gbɔnɔ Ye (1) - 1 white she Goat Hotsui - Cowry Papa (1) - 1 Fan Kpe dzi kake (30) - 30 small red stones Kusi (1) - 1 Basket Ga, ¢0.6 - Money, ¢0.6</p>	<p>Relationship or kith &amp; kin if what I say is not true, put 30 hot rocks on me. It is good partially If it gives wealth but the sacrifice is not well performed, it can cause you harm.</p>
<p>8, Aklamedzi</p> <p>              </p>	<p>Goe (1) - 1 Gourd Koklonɔ (1) - 1 hen Hotsui (47) - Cowry (47) Nududu vovovowo le asime - Different food items from a market Bukutuvi ka nɔ enu - Small purse with lead Akose (1) - 1 feather of a Parrot Klevɔfu (1) - 1 feather of a vulture Kpe dzi (16) - 16 red rocks Koklofu (1) - 1 feather of a fowl Takuvi yi (1) - 1 white handkerchief Gbɔnɔ yi (1) - 1 white she goat Aba - Mattress Ga ¢0.4 - Money ¢0.4 Taku - Head-gear Akpe (3) - 3 small gourds Amegaxifu - fur of Hyena Dzatafu - fur of lion Kpɔ fu - fur of tiger Koklo (3) - 3 fowls</p>	<p>Talk less in life. It is not so good a horoscope. Its symbols are enemies, money and children. The sacrifice must be well performed not to negate the above symbols.</p>

<p>9. Gudamedzi</p> <p>              </p>	<p>Tu (1) - 1 Gun Du - Gun-powder Koklotsu (1) - 1 Cockerel Ga home ade - Some money Hotsui - Cowry</p>	<p>Misguided man or Disobedient man.</p>
<p>10. Samedzi</p> <p>                 </p>	<p>Atikla (1) - 1 Chair Nyagadzi kpo (1) - 1 bail of red band cloth Ze (1) - 1 pot Koklotsu (2) - 2 cockerels Koklong (1) - 1 Hen Ga home sue ade - Some amount of money Hotsui (15) - 15 cowry shells Fia (1) - 1 Axe Koklotsu yi (1) - 1 white cockerel Deway (7) - 7 palm fronds Adekpu (1) - 1 sword Ka - Rope Dekpale (16) - 16 short palm fronds Anying - Honey-comb Atikplo - Linguist staff</p>	<p>Sickness and death flee. It brings wealth and the birth of children. Do not lend so much to people. Do not reveal your secrets so much to neighbours.</p>
<p>11. Kamedzi</p> <p>                     </p>	<p>Akpaku (1) - 1 Gourd Tre (1) - 1 Calabash Atikpo ga (1) - 1 big log Nududu si woda - Cooked food Hotsui - Cowry Tqdziwu - Canoe Koklotsu (1) - 1 cockerel Aflaga (1) - 1 banner Gakpo - Iron rod</p>	<p>Gives wealth, money and children. Creates human beings especially the whites and chinese.</p>
<p>12. Trukpe- medzi</p> <p>                       </p>	<p>Koklo nqngq atsu + asi - Spotted hen and cockerel Bli - maize Deway - palm fronds Amidze - palm oil Hotsui (80) - 80 cowry shells Aklala Taku (1) - 1 yard of calico Gbq deka - 1 goat Kusi deka - 1 basket</p>	<p>It is one of very important horoscopes in bringing about wealth, and children. The person should avoid staying too late into</p>

	<p>Anyi - clay                  Ka - Rope                  Ga ₵1.50 - Money ₵1.50                  Avu (1) - 1 dog.</p>	<p>the night.</p>
<p>13. Tulamedzi</p> <p>  </p>	<p>Dewaya (1) - 1 Palm frond                  Kodzui (1) - 1 hoe                  He lolo (1) - 1 big knife                  Kaklotsu yi (1) - 1 white cock                  Hotsui - Cowry                  Ayi dada - Boiled beans                  Dzogbo veve - Bitter pap (koko)                  Amidze - Palm oil                  He (1) - 1 Knife                  Aklala - Calico                  Nyonu feda - A woman's hair                  Kusi (1) - 1 Basket                  Koklo (2) - 2 fowls                  Ga ₵1.50 - Money ₵1.50                  Anyi - Clay</p>	<p>Do not go to war.                  Do not quarrel with people.                  Do not drink strong drinks.</p>
<p>14. Letemedzi</p> <p>  </p>	<p>Avote dzie (1) - 1 red pant                  Koklo Dzi atsu + asi - Red fowls                  (1) each of male and female                  Bli - maize                  Ayi totoe - roasted beans                  Hotsui - cowry                  Zukpe (1) - 1 Anvil                  Zu (1) - 1 Hammar                  Koklotsu (1) - 1 Cook                  Taku yi (1) - 1 white head-gear                  Taluhe (1) - 1 blade                  Koklong (2) - 2 Hens                  Tre (1) - 1 calabash                  W<sub>o</sub> - corn flour                  Gbo (2) - 2 Goats                  Akpaku ga (1) - 1 big gourd                  Avo taku (1) - 1 yard of cloth                  Anyi - clay</p>	<p>Barren women can become pregnant.                  But it could bring poverty and sickness.                  Do not eat pig and duck.</p>

<p>15. Tsiemedzi</p> <p>           </p>	<p>Ze (3) - 3 pots Koklo (3) - 3 fowls Gbɔ (3) - 3 goats Amidze - Palm oil Hotsui - 1560 of cowry shells Wɔ - Corn flour Ametaklige (1) - 1 Moulded human head Koklotsu dzi (1) - 1 red cock Koklong dzi (1) - 1 red Hen Bli totɔe - Roasted corn Te - Yam Aklala taku (1) - 1 yard of calico Lo fe fu - Bone of a crocodile Tomela fe fu - Bone of fish Aba vi (1) - 1 small mattress</p>	<p>It provides wealth, good wife and children, as well as good health. Refusal to perform the sacrifice after consulting the diviner results in death.</p>
<p>16. Fumedzi</p> <p>           </p>	<p>Anuti - Lemon Gbɔ - Goat Kodzoe - Hoe Hotsui - Cowry Papa - Fan Koklotsu (1) - 1 Cock</p>	<p>This horoscope brings about pregnancy to some women. One is well established in one's work. It leads to war.</p>

It is worth noting in the above 16 Duwo that the nature of economic life generated by Afa places more value on human life than mere commercial activity. It is true that almost all the material requirements will certainly compel members within the community to get these needs close to them for use in times of need. Again, it will surely create some inter-dependency of members within the community. The net

result of this situation is that economic activity will be enhanced more in a community like this than the one in which Afa cult is non-existent. However, we do not lose sight of the fact that every human community contains methods for social integration.

(d) Travel And Transport as a Social Factor in Afa

There are three important components in religious experiences (i) the concept of a mysterious object, (ii) the view of this mysterious object containing a fascinating phenomenon, (iii) the idea of this mysterious object being tremendous (Otto, R. 1926: 12). Although this concept has been particularly expressed about the Judean-Christian experience, it seems to pervade the entire span of world-wide religion. This sense of mystery that fascinates in a tremendous way makes religion a phenomenon to be shared among human beings. Sharing involves the movement of people from one end to the other. Afa as a cult of worship generates a chain of travel and transport between its worshippers. We shall briefly examine how this is effected between priests on one hand and the general cult worshippers as well as the community at large on the other.

As one of the traditional religions in Africa, knowledge about it is not usually obtained from books. It is transmitted orally. Although much literature has been provided on it, this is very recent if we consider its development against the ancient history of Africa generally. Looking for knowledge about this secret cult is the main pre-occupation of the novice from the day his initiation rites end. In the

shrine or 'Zume', the novice is put under what we may call in Christian Religion a "God-father". This novice is expected to be close to his "God-father". His closeness can even be likened to a pawn in either medieval Europe, or Africa at the emergence of Western Sudan Empires like Ancient Ghana, Songhai, Mali, Kanem-Bornu etc. etc. It is this attachment that enables the novice to receive his informal education well. In addition to his "God-father", the novice is again enjoined to consult other senior priests far and near for knowledge. It is his duty to develop a congenial working relationship between himself and other priests. Without this smooth working relations, he is bound to remain a perpetual novice to his death under the popular name "Dzogbono". He may know the names of all the Duwo, but he may not be able to practise as a diviner or qualified bokɔ. What enables the novice to travel to other priests for sharing knowledge is that there are many festive ritual occasions (afalele/Fetatɔtro). These occasions come at short intervals in the shrines of priests. Priests usually invite fellow priests from far and near in order to participate in these rituals. The more frequent these rituals come, in a particular shrine, the more the community believes in the power and knowledge of that shrine and the priest in it. This also attracts more clients to it than a shrine celebrating festivals at long intervals. We should also note that the more priests that are attracted to a particular shrine the more knowledge that is diffused about the cult as a result of discussions and arguments between priests over controversial divination procedures. Occasions like these involve carrying food items, fire-wood for fuel, water, and other human needs. In effect, there is

transportation of items from one end to the other. It is true that these items cannot be compared to carrying bulky loads on our roads today. However, human portage has been an old global phenomenon since the beginning of time.

Another mode of travel and transport generated by Afa is what is seen in community involvement. By this involvement we mean how people move from shrine to shrine to find solution for their daily problems. Some are attracted to the shrines on festive days in order to satisfy their entertainment needs. This is so because Afa songs accompanied by drumming and dancing are very entertaining. In the first instance, some people do not care how much it costs them in terms of time, money or life to participate in these festivals. Some regard it as their informant on salient events in their lives. They are therefore, ready to travel any length to seek information on these occasions.

Entertainment in Africa is unique in the sense that it involves the entire community. Music provided at festive periods in Afa cult does not only appeal to the emotions of man, it engages the body as a whole. It is not like the mono-dramatist in most European cultures. The entire community participates in drumming, singing and dancing.

Finally, almost all our religions are considered pragmatic. People do not want to believe without results. They want to see their faith work in order to gain meaning into their lives. Therefore, anywhere they hear that something is going to give them meaning into their lives, they make sure that they share in that experience. We have already noted that Afa provides security to life. It is not

meant to destroy it. Its goal is to enhance life. Make it worth living. In sum total therefore, the people engage themselves in rampant travel and transport. This may account for why Anlo particularly, appear to have the spirit of enterprise. They are therefore seen at any point in this country and even beyond the borders of this land. The credit is partially given to Afa for making Anlo community an enabling one because it has effected a dynamic communication network among them through travel and transport. We can compare it inappropriately however, to the good works of modern "Internets" that reduce the world into what is currently known as a global village. By this also Anlo community, though diversified, has remained essentially integrated, combat ready in times of war as seen in the age-old expression "Anlo nqla meyo<sup>u</sup>na na ava a", which translates to mean "The Anlo never worries about war, they are always ready". Indeed, it is a watermark of social cohesion and integration.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **AFA PRIESTS AND DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE**

(a) **Background**

In all human cultures the world over, meaningful spoken language appears to be the fundamental tool man uses to bring about a healthy relationship between himself and his fellow friend. Comprehensible language therefore, serves as a vital element of communication among human beings. As Darwin's Homo Sapiens continues his evolutionary process, man, either consciously or otherwise, sets himself to a series of intellectual enterprises of gaining more meaning into the world of nature. He does this by making use of the right language in order to give meaning to the world of nature around him. By employing language in the right way man is not only able to articulate himself with the world of nature and his neighbour, but he is sometimes able to speculate correctly his fears, hopes and aspirations. Literature, a vital discipline in language study, purports to address itself to writings or expressions having excellence of form. It is supposed to be an art, which when organized properly gives man pleasure. This literary beauty is seen in expressions like aphorism, apology, confession, dialogue, diatribe, essay, homily, maxime, memoir, polemics, proverb and other wise sayings. In this chapter, we shall therefore, examine briefly how Afa contributes to the development of the literature of Anlo, a necessary component of the philosophy of the southern Ewe people.

Afa is a repository of a literary corpus of the Yorubas (Bascom, 1969:14)

In Anlo, it is a common view that Afa priests tell stories to unravel predictions about the Duwo. Paradoxically also, the African world is associated with story tellers. The considered view is that almost all stories are meant to reveal aspects of Afa cult. However, the Afa priest does not tell stories for fun. This attracts a taboo on to the Afa priest. In order not to incur the displeasure of Afa deity, its priest is forbidden to tell stories publicly. He does so from the store-house of literary corpus. The view for us to place the Anlo experience against the observation of the above writer is to show the value of literature in its traditional set up in Afa. Like all religions, it appears Afa cult cannot thrive well in the cultures it has gained a footing without a literary corpus. Indeed, some aphorisms in Afa are commonly used in Anlo irrespective of the awareness of the people. Some of these short, but witty expressions are so jokingly used in the daily life of the people that most people do not know the literary might they contain. Let us look at one or two of such common literary expressions.

One is	"Vinye gogo!	"My beloved child, gogo!
	Vinye gogo!"	My beloved child, gogo!"

The above two words, "Vinye gogo" among Anlos are what we can call Lullaby in the literature of English Language. A lullaby is a song for lulling a baby to sleep. It is gentle, and rather soft sound made by wind in trees or by the running water of a brook. This expression today among Anlo is a play-song meant to amuse people. Some song-stars have even added more amusing components to it like:

"Dzedze vinye, togolo

Nukpekpe la xQ gbe l'asiwo nam loo

Dzedze vinye loo, togolo!"

which translates to say:

"My beloved child, togolo

Do not cry

The evil spirit may seize your voice

My beloved child, togolo!"

The above literature appears to be very simple indeed. It even sounds like a rhyme for nursery school children. However, its meaning in Afa is deeper than one will imagine. It is one of the short stories taken from 'Du' Losowogbe which incants a powerful spell as follows:

"Anawoe adu gbQ

Hafi Zu la me nanyo"

meaning it is only after witches devour a goat in the shrine, "Zume" of Afa that relief will come to the one in pain. Almost all the short stories in the Du reveal situations of contest between two rival forces.

The "Vinye Gogo" situation is that between two women rivals as wives to Afa deity. The pigeon and the guinea-fowl were one time housewives to Afa. Both had a child each. Any time one was on trek, her child was left in the care of the friend. One day pigeon embarked on one such journey, entrusting her child in the care of guinea-fowl. For some spurious reason guinea-fowl killed her rival's child

by nailing her in the head. This was not immediately detected before the burial. However, in the process of weeping, pigeon used the lullaby "Vinye Gogo", as if lulling the dead child to sleep, suggesting also the name of the child. After many weeks, guinea-fowl also travelled and left her beloved child in the care of her rival, pigeon. Unfortunately this child also died from an acute stomach-ache. At her return, before the burial of her child, guinea-fowl suspected a foul-play. Knowing what she did to her rival's child, "Gogo", guinea-fowl called for the shaving of her dead child's hair. The family obliged, but to her shame she saw no trace similar to her undiscovered evil deeds to "Gogo". The action of guinea-fowl was suspected. In effect the family called for the exhumation of Gogo. After this had been done and her hair shaved, a long nail was seen in her head. Elders incanted "Bo megblena bo safe o, eye m<sub>o</sub>biat<sub>o</sub> mebuna ha o", - "Juju or sorcery at its place of origin never gets spoilt; neither does the path-finder get lost." This incantation pin-points to the genuineness of the dirge of pigeon:

'Vinye Gogo

Vinye Gogo"

rather than her rival's,

'Vinye Kutsaya

Vinye Kutsaya",

meaning, my child Kutsaya, unprofitable death ..."

It is interesting to note in the above brief and rather playful expression how Afa employs the literary components among Anlo to re-state a long story short. If on the other hand an expression:

"Ametakoli be  
Ye nuto fe nue do ye  
Eya ta ye le dzogbe  
Ndo le dudum  
Tsi ha le fofom",

meaning

"The dried human skull reiterates,  
It is myself (my own mouth)  
Which exposes me to scourging sun rays  
As well as the ravages of the rain",

we need to appreciate how Afa reshapes the literary beauty of Anlo since the above expression also comes from "Du" Tulamedzi. This wide range of wise sayings as we have already noted in the opening of the chapter, abound in Afa cult among Anlo as a people.

The contribution of Afa to the literary beauty cannot be separated from how it has reshaped the philosophical thinking of Anlo. As explained in Western categories, our philosophy, either secular or sacred, is understood to reveal our beliefs and actions about and within the world of nature in its noumenal and phenomenal natures (Lewis, 1965:11). This can be done only through the medium

of literature. How then has Afa revealed our actions about and within the world of nature in its noumenal and phenomenal natures - (our philosophy in Anlo) - by use of Afa literature? The answer is partially inferred from the observation of a Nigerian author that Ifa (as known and called among the Yorubas) philosophy is one of the oldest forms of knowledge revealed to mankind ... and that body of knowledge called Ifa is endless, ageless and eternal (Osamaro, 1986:1). This belief about Afa as starting with the Anlos since their stay together with Yorubas in Ketu is common. It will therefore, be needful for us to see the philosophical content in some of the Duwo in order to assess the literary contribution of Afa to our philosophy.

The horoscope or 'Du' Losotula incants philosophically as follows:

First the symbol: SYMBOL ---> | |  

Incantation:

"Alooya! Gbe 'atq	"Alooya (Sudden Loud Interjection for help)
Losotula be,	Losotula, the Afa divinity exclaimed
Xe kae do vava	Saying ... which bird intends to come?
Va ke de Awq nu	And came to meet Awo.
Amlima-vodu be	The God of mysteries says
Xe kae do vava	Which bird intends to come?

Va dze?"

To land himself?"

The above powerful incantation of this Afa divinity, Losotula, is a paradigm of surprise depicting the achievement of a great feat by an ace or masterpiece worker. This man, a rare celebrity, could appropriately be seen cutting the Gordian Knot, with an Occam's razor (Nkrumah, 1964:85). In Anlo such a feat could only be accomplished by a rare human agent, if not by a deity of some kind. In Awo therefore, no bird could dare fly to it. Miraculously however, an exception to the rule appeared to have been granted. In effect,, Losotula could only sing this song out in an incantatory form.

For two reasons, the above incantation had been chanted by Losotula. First, it was chanted as an appreciative welcome given or accorded this rare character, making a debut to a strictly restricted "military" zone of knowledge. Secondly, it was meant to endorse the mark of academic distinction by such a rare character in the physical world. Indeed, Losotula as one of the essential horoscopes serves as one of the search-lights of philosophical theories among Anlos. Awo is considered the detonator of the theories usually guarded as secrets only to be revealed at the appropriate time and place. As a result, Anlos endorse the fact that among any human community men of towering social standing exist. These persons are identified from the common folk through traceable reminiscences of their unique achievements in life. Of recent times, such names like Sedo, Azenuvia and Akpalu exemplified marked achievement over and above the general Anlo community. They were poets of renown. They contributed in no small measure to the linguistic

and philosophical knowledge of Anlo. One of their traces is seen in the compilation of the songs of Henoga Akpalu by Seshie L.M. Klutse. To Anlos then, great poets and philosophers of both blessed and contemporary memories were and are the mysterious birds flying and perching in the secret dwellings of Awo; a place angels even fear to tread. Indeed, Afa cult is the embodiment of Anlo philosophy which ramifies itself through the literary corpus of the people.

(b) Ethics and Literature

The literature of Afa is dotted by ethical expressions and concepts. In this perspective, it is difficult examining the literature of Afa without taking stock of the ethics involved in it. In the main, the ethical life is considered as the examined life; for ethics is viewed as the accepted way things need be done in the community of persons. According to Socrates the unexamined life is not worth living. For anyone to be morally up in his community, he must be ethical in his approach to doing things. Along the expanse of Afa, nuggets of ethical propositions are advanced in most of the horoscopes. An illustration will help us justify our stand.

Gbetsie, a popular horoscope with the symbol



incants ethically thus:

"Gawo do gbe

Sika to glo"

meaning

"Various minerals

Boast themselves

That of Gold

Surpasses all".

On festive days one could hear this poem sung lyrically thus:

"Gbetsie meka ... Gbetsie I divine

Hanye bu; meka ... A muted song I have divined

De nu nyuiwo nu ... Against good things

Gbetsie meka ... Gbetsie I divine

Tsygeviwo loo! ... Orphans Oooh

Migawu tsygevino ... Do not kill the mother of orphans

De nya 'ya me o". ... in this matter.

Translates:

"Gbetsie is the Du I divine from Afa horoscope

A muted song I have divined

Against good things

Gbetsie I divine

Do not kill the mother of orphans

In this matter."

We recall one of its ethical stories as follows:

There is a belief that certain things are naturally slighted. They are either naturally small in stature or by virtue of where they have been situated. By their origins, they are reduced in their importance even after desperate attempts by them to catch the eyes of people among whom they live.

Indeed, the above incantation and poem go about the deer. The deer among other animals like the elephant, horse, giraffe, hippopotamus and the buffalo, is smallish in stature. When such animals, including the deer, meet to take decisions as to how best they could relate in the savannah, the deer is the most slighted in his suggestions or contributions. It is observed that the views of the deer as to the style and manner they should conduct one another in order to take commanding control over all other things in the environment is the most appropriate. Unfortunately however, he had to be chased out of such meetings by his fellow friends for no apparent justification other than the meanness of his stature. The most painful part of his plight is that he has no fellow friend to support him. Paradoxically, it is the deer who knows every nook and cranny of the savannah as a result of the smallish nature of his body. Yet he was despised.

Surreptitiously though, the other large animals conceived a false impression purporting to a superior knowledge over and above the contentions of the deer. This false view was put into a test-tube (once), only to get and have the deer vindicated. One day, as used to be in former times in savannahs, a sudden fire

outbreak was to sweep over the entire savannah in which big animals had to perish. The deer was believed to be an advanced remote sensing specialist through the use of its yearly horns that keep shooting up on its head. Before dawn, the deer went round his colleagues, announcing the fire outbreak about to sweep through that part of the savannah around mid-day. He intimated them to embark upon a long journey beyond a river which would serve as the break of the fire. Reluctantly however, his colleagues complied. True to the prediction of the deer, a devastating conflagration devoured the savannah expanse that noon. For more than a year the deer and his colleagues took refuge at their prophesied hideout. This marked how the deer saved his friends from extinction from the earth surface. Nevertheless, these big animals continued to slight the deer, their redeemer up to today.

Under Gbetsie ethics and philosophy, we are enjoined to re-examine prevailing rules of society, particularly majority views. Indeed, Gbetsie would like us examine ethical theories like Teleological and Deontological Theories in terms of majority and minority views. In it also Gbetsie expects us to critically examine the pronouncements of some people in society. Some people are Egoistic Hedonists who seek pleasure for themselves like the big animals in the savannah. However, Gbetsie would like us think about Utilitarian Hedonists, who seek the greater good for a great number of people like the slighted deer. In effect, the message of Kpoli Gbetsie is clarion and clear; however slighted you are treated as a son or daughter of Anlo, give the best of yourself like that proverbial deer. If

therefore Gbetsie incants: "Gawo do gbe, Sika to glo" (Minerals boast, the gold's surpasses all); and if it enchants the same lyric thus:

"Gbetsie meka	"Gbetsie I divine
Ha nye bu	My song is muted
De nu nyuiwo nu	Against good things
Gbetsie meka	Gbetsie I divine
Tsyoeviwo loo!	Orphans Oooh
Migawu Tsyoeviwo	Do not kill the mother of orphans
De nya 'ya me o"	In this matter",

we are open to the philosophical flood-gate of identifying what constitutes the quintessence of life.

(c) Dance and Drama (Literature's Influence)

One of the earliest reminiscences of the ethos of man that cumulated into his customs and tradition, symbols of the cultural past of man, is dance and drama. Man's moments of joy and sorrow have been variously expressed through his bodily gestures, epitomising his exact sentiments and emotions. These bodily expressions are marks of his relationship with the world of nature. Afa cult provides a prolific nursery where a variety of dance and dramatic types abound.

By a careful examination of the body of literature provided in this cult, it is amazing to note that almost all poetic forms are musical forms which attract equivalent dance forms. The poems themselves are dramatic types as we may

discover in the "Du" 'Gbetsie' episode above. Rightly observed in one of his lectures, Agovi, 1990: I asserted that all human beings in all societies, all over the world, have evolved their own cultural patterns and practices related to the exigencies of their own cosmological circumstances. According to him even pleasure performances within the African setting can be truly called dramatic since out of the many dances a simple incident is carried through to a logical conclusion. Indeed, the cult of Afa in Anlo exhibit many of such dramatic incidences usually carried to a meaningful conclusion from which didactic lessons could be learned.

It is not uncommon these days to hear players of what is called "popular music" using Afa poetic lyrics in singing out their songs. A typical example is what we have already noted about Kpoli Losowogbe in the "Vinye Gogo" instance. This Afa poetic lyric has been converted into popular music by songstars as follows:

Gege vinye loo togolo	-	Bloved child, "Togolo"
'Mgba fa vi le zame nam o	-	Cry not in the night,
Mgba fa vi le zame nam o	-	Cry not in midnight
Nukpekpe la xo gbe la siwo	-	The night mere will take
nam loo		your voice
E - vinye lo togolo	-	Beloved son, "Togolo".

Modern musicologists in Anlo have been attempting to write some of these incantations and poems to music for the theatre. A typical example is an M.A.

dissertation submitted to the Department of Music, School of Performing Arts, by Nunya Kwaku Klah, (October, 1989). In this he wrote twenty of these Afa poems to music, examining the text-tune relationship in Music of Afa cult of Dzodze as in figure 16.

We may note with some degree of caution however, that the cult of Afa in Anlo serves as the nursery for all the genres of dance and dramatic exponents. It is to this effect that an Afa priest (Toboko) categorically asserted that other cults, particularly the thunder cult of Yewe among the Anlo, draw most of their cultic songs and dramatic beauties from Afa poetic corpus. A case in point is the parrot-tail or feather which adherents (Husunuwo and Vodushiwo) of the Yewe cult affix to their foreheads on festive days. The parrot is the eponymous elder of vulture (son of Kpoli Tsietula). Again, in the work of the Nigerian author Osamaro, most of the drums as well as other traditional music instruments used in Ifa among Yorubas are not different from what most cults use. The case in Anlo may not be so variant from this observation either. In sum total, it may therefore be most likely in the claims of many of my respondents in the field that the Afa cult is considered to be the most senior of all other cults in Anlo since it serves as an informant to these other cults.

(d) Poetry Development - Literature's Influence

If poetry is defined as the art of expressing in melodious words, the thoughts which are the creations of feeling and imagination: utterances in songs;

metrical composition, then, there is no gainsaying that Afa poetry in Anlo adds more beauty to the literature in the area than any other human phenomenon. The development of any language is seen in how words are used to give clarity to concepts and ideas being advanced by the speaker. Here, rhythm plays a vital role.

One of the beauties of the Ewe Language spoken in Anlo is how a few words are used to tell a long story short. This literary feat may inhere directly from Afa poetry. Let us cite a few examples beginning with Kpoli Gbeka; first with its symbol.

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One of its rhythmic poems reads:

"Gbeka, nua tsi adzome

Nane 'a - wom

Kpolia tsi adzome

Nane 'a - wom."

"Gbeka sinks into misery

A great vicissitude befalls me

The Kpoli sinks into misery

A great vicissitude befalls me"

This short, but rather rhythmic poem of Gbeka appears to compress ramified emotional feelings in just one key word in Ewe as "Adzome", giving shades of meaning in three different English words like; "Sink, Misery and Vicissitude". In Anlo 'Adzome' does simply imply capture or kidnap. To kidnap is to steal or carry away forcefully or unlawfully in order to obtain a ransom. However, among the

Anlo when something or a person is in Adzome, it carries or involves a ghastly situation resulting in the annihilation of the thing or person. This situation connotes a misery of an accidental type bringing about a heightened sentimental notion always to be surrogated with the termination of life.

In essence, poetic language is figurative. Afa poetry is therefore full of pictures. Although it is difficult to do any guess-work to the effect of interpreting it, one is aided by these pictures to ask questions in order to understand the message of the poem. Kpoli Gbeka's poem above states very concisely thus: Life is invaluable. It is only one. Every individual person must therefore lead life like a meticulous artist, invoking its giver to project to its screen its true beauty like the proverbial Madona. Take no undue chances. Those who lead a laissez-faire type of it have it usually plunged into despair, despondency and eventually, death.

Another example of Afa as contributor to poetic lustre in the literature of

Anlo is Kpoli Savitula: | ||  
|| |  
| | as its symbol.  
| |

It incants:

"Nuwo kata ahovi	All things are vanity
Teglita zu nyita	partridge head turns into cow head
De adelawo	In the bag
Fe akplome"	Of hunters."

Its rhythmic poem, usually sung on festive days runs thus:

"Savitula, ame 'bu de sro	"Savitula, a friend marries
'Mebu xQ	Another takes
AhQxi xQe	Ahoxi (Evil bird) takes
AhQxi do lo	Evil bird misbehaves
Savitula, amedoko	Savitula, poor man
MexQa dodoe o;	Does not transport another's luggage
Agbanye dQ	My luggage is lost
Ale 'ye mawQe	What do I do
Akoe nava afe?"	To acquire wealth?

The above literature portrayed in the poem seems to be straight forward. Here, an analogy is struck between the hawk and the hen with her chicken. The cock is the original husband of the hen. However, as a result of not being mindful about mishaps that dot the span of human life, the hawk managed to woo hen into marriage from cock. This was possible because cock took it for granted that as a master crowing on top of roofs and trees, it was sufficient to keep his house going in that despondent and rather irresponsible manner. His wife expected more than that from him as head of the house. Indeed, this expectation was lacking until hen was convinced that hawk proved more reliable in providing her and her children's basic needs of life. However, it never occurred to hen to find out how these needs were being supplied to her children after they had been picked away. The

unfortunate snag in this sort of marriage was however that hen continued to reside on the premises of cock, begetting children for cock only to be picked away by hawk in terms of supplying them basic human needs.

Another major lesson in this poem is that the course of events could appear changed physically. However, upon a second examination this change may be very negligible. Rather, we need to be wary of ulterior motives of neighbours around us. If we remain indifferent to secret as well as inimical schemes of our neighbours like the cock, we shall be taken unawares by events. Finally, the point is expressed that in Afa there is nothing unknown to it. This claim is asserted as a result of how Afa is conceived in cosmological perspectives, living in its worlds of ramified concentric circles. The deity itself is supposed to have eyes around its head with a mid beam - (See fig. 1) This assertion culminates into the view that Afa poetry among Anlo caters for all literary knowledge we may aspire to. Those we do not yet know are probably not yet disclosed to us by this deity or we have not made the desired effort. Our literature therefore, is still in the making. We all need to frequent the emporium of Afa in order to be informed.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **NETWORKS EXISTING AMONG DIVINERS AND NOVITIATES**

- (a) What people Consult Afa Priests For example:  
What They Take To Them And Take Out
- (b) What Secret Knowledge They Protect In Terms Of:-
- (i) Health and healing in their sacrificial systems
  - (ii) For child birth by gender
  - (iii) Rituals generally.

(a) One of the primary motives underlining this exercise is an attempt to bring to the fore valuable information that will enhance our development. Early western observers sometimes misjudge African cultures as gluts of darkness with no verifiable indicators of scientific proofs. Afa, although a cult of worship, has good aspects in it for speeding up our development if it is approached with diligence.

As a cult which has a long history of method of attempting to find out the causes of events in man's life, the people of Anlo consult its priests for a number of reasons ranging between life and death. In the main, Anlos consult priests on issues of marriage, pregnancy, infertility in both males and females, obesity, leanness, psychopath, psychosis, neurosis, penury and sickness. We cannot exhaust the list. However, the above short list gives us an insight into the 'virile power' of this cult among Anlo. In order to appreciate fully the various reasons for which people consult Afa priests, the reader is referred to the Appendix where the 256 Duwo with their symbols, short spells and sacrificial items have been cited as

examples. It is true to note that the reader may easily discern from the short spell, symbol and solution suggested to the problem for the client. However, the reader is called upon to exercise a high degree of patience blended with acute sense for guessing situations from the relationship existing between the spell and sacrificial items. An example will be in the right direction. Let us briefly consider Du 'Wolimedzi'. Its symbol is as follows:

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| |  
| |

Its spell runs thus:

"Agbodovi mebuna tsia agbodowo fe tome o:  
Agbodowo fe tome la, azilawo fe to mee;  
Afa 'o fe tome la, to doaxoe."

It translates:

"Agbodovi, the mysterious novice hunter  
Never gets lost in his bid of hunting;  
For the circuit of hunting is a circuit of hyenas,  
But the circuit of Afa is ancient  
Miraculously safe circuit."

Its solution is as follows:

The client must buy three yards of calico, one he-goat

and a wasp for sacrifice.

Guessing the problem the client refers to the priest:

1. A hunting spree is a risky hobby for the following reasons:
  - (a) it uses implements that can take life - clubs, cutlasses, guns etc.
  - (b) a wild animal like the tiger can kill the hunter; snakes can even bite you to death.
  - (c) Evil spirits can misdirect the hunter away from home until he dies out of hunger, thirst and fatigue.
  
2. Calico is white, the symbol of victory. The he-goat is a domesticated animal which paradigmatically takes the place of the wild, untamed hyena. The wasp is a spiritual messenger.
  - (a) He may be failing in some of the events he undertakes as projects to fulfill his aims in life.
  - (b) The belief in the 'evil-eye' is always a dangerous moment for a person to be in. This evil spirit must be warded off.
  - (c) He may be in open confrontation with a neighbour, running into complexities in one way or the other. it could be at his workplace also.

Through the above exercise we have discovered that each problem or point of departure from the normal way a person is supposed to go about his daily chores has the appropriate antidote in Afa. What matters is the knowledge of the priest. That is why Anlos have the expression "Boko deka mele fe o"; meaning

literally, there are many Afa priests in Ife: if you consult one who seems not able to diagnose your ailment correctly, go to the next until you are satisfied. Clients therefore, consult priests not for the fun of it, but in order to enable them get solutions to their human problems.

Whenever a client decides to consult a priest, he/she usually carries on him/her a small amount of money. The belief is that the client cannot call on the power of Afa deity just for calling sake. This amounts to disrespect. In order to show seriousness of intention, the client must donate something belonging to him/her. Even if a person dies and members of the family decide to consult a diviner so as to determine the circumstances surrounding the person's death, it is imperative for a member of the deceased to place the money on the forehead of the dead person. This suggests a transfer of ownership of the money from a live member to the deceased. It is through this money the priest summons Afa deity to attention. Usually, this money is small in value. Today, it can range between a thousand to even five thousand cedis. This is so in light of fluctuations in the value of our currency. No one is expected to carry goats or cows to priests. This can only happen depending upon what issues out of divination process, particularly what the Du says. However, we must bear in mind that one cannot consult a diviner just to refuse in the last end to offer the appropriate sacrifice. It is here that the expressions 'Kasa' and 'Kamasa' come into play.

The question of offering the specified sacrifice marks the real problem as far as what the client takes to the priest. Here, in the process of divination, clients

can be called upon to get any item for sacrifice ranging between any small or insignificant thing to even the largest animal, the elephant. This depends upon what the 'Du' specifies. Here, the reader is enjoined to scan the specified items in the 256 Duwo in the index. We need to bear in mind that the list in the index is woefully inadequate since it comprises only one example each of over 600 specifications from one Du. This information alone suggests that there are even greater demands that can be made on a client than the list has revealed. It is therefore, no surprise to discover that on many occasions, clients back out from offering sacrifices, a situation which aggravates or compounds the state in which they find themselves after divination. But by far, clients prefer to consult priests in order to find some form of solution to their problems rather than refuse for the sake of specified sacrificial items they will be expected to offer.

Indeed, the above brief survey into some amount of information about the horoscopes (Duwo) enables us to appreciate the fact that Anlos have insatiable recourse to the cult of Afa throughout the entire span of their life. Every problem of theirs appears to have been catered for in Afa. To know therefore, what people consult Afa priests for, what they take to them as well as take out appears easy to guess by even the casual reader. What we might not have given attention to in this forgone examination is the secret knowledge usually guarded. Here, it is possible again for the reader to forecast what will constitute secret knowledge in Afa. It is life itself. Individually our lives are dear to us. Each individual person leads his life in a unique way from his next door neighbour. Even married couples have

some degree of secrecy individually. Afa is a cult that deals with each individual person's secret life. That life is treated as an individual one. The sanctions imposed, as well as recommendations made for how it should be conducted in human society, remain secret. This is so because many factors in human society seem to militate against the smooth ordering of the individual person's life. If this had not been so, why consult the priest at all? The sanctions and recommendations then become methods or various means by which that individual person will overpower the inimical force always against him in human community for the smooth ordering of his life. It is doubtful, if after having known the remedy to one's problems, one will go about announcing his new method of conducting his life loudly to the general public. That person will be considered as not being in the right frame of mind. This is the reason why word about Duwo, such as incantations, short spells, poems of varying lengths are muted over in public. Each is a power to enhance life. Again, this is why the Afa priest is never a story-teller in the sense of the word - story-telling; for no one fires a live musket in public.

(i) Health And Healing In The Sacrificial System of Divination

One of the major thrusts in Afa divination is the ability to diagnose diseases correctly in order to prescribe the appropriate antidotes. It is in this direction that we have already hinted that almost all the Afa Duwo and Kpoliwo are names of important herbs. Knowledge about the proper application of these herbs in health and healing (providing holistic health) is a major requirement in order to attain the

status of a priest; though this is not a compulsory yardstick. Indeed, it is for this reason that most medicine-men and women in Anlo have some knowledge about Afa cult even if they have not been initiated into it.

Sacrifice, as we have casually referred to in some Duwo already, contains in them methods for giving holistic health to clients. What we have already seen concerning it in some of the Duwo is specific recommendation for a sacrifice to be offered in a particular instance for regaining health or overcoming a specific problem. In addition to these specific sacrifices in all the Duwo and Kpoliwo, there is a general sacrifice meant to supersede all specific sacrifices. This general sacrifice can be likened to a King with subordinate chiefs owing this 'big' King allegiance. Although the 'small' chiefs have delegated power to bring about holistic health, their role is complementary to the general sacrifice which the big King must sacrifice, always as a matter of expediency. Refusal to offer this sacrifice will render impotent the power of the subordinate chief even if he has gone to render a service meant to be effective. This general sacrifice is a special preserve for the King only. Sacrificial prescriptions are not made to clients, yet it is offered by the chief secretly before offering the specific sacrifice recommended to a client from the 'Du' which diagnosed the disease. In this general sacrifice no animals or birds, or any other thing is required apart from herbs which number up to eighteen. Since we have already noted that all the herbs are names of Duwo and Kpoliwo, it implies in this general sacrifice that the eighteen herbs are eighteen Duwo and Kpoliwo. A close look at the Ewe names of the herbs ending on the

eighteenth 'Tsietula', is suggestive of the above assertion. The first herb is bamboo leaves, standing for Du, Gbemedzi. In the 256 Duwo chart in the index, Gbemedzi is the oldest of all. In this observation concerning the general sacrifice, we note that in Afa, the major deities are called to attention and are charged to put their powers together in order to avert disaster.

How is the above union of powers brought about in this general sacrifice? After assembling the eighteen herbs, the priest performs or gives the herbs a ritual bath in the night. The priest ritually counts the assembled herbs seventeen times, in which process he sprinkles water on them seventeen times. As he does so, he incants a magical spell on it by saying:

"Nutsu keto	"Man foe
Nyonu keto	Woman foe
Ne xexe sia me	If you are in this world
Miele la, mibu".	Vanish".

After this ritual bath, the priest turns the calabash or pot in which the concoction is put upside down. It must remain there for seven days. On the seventh day turn the calabash or pot face up. Remember to put the skin of buffalo into the herbs on the first day. Again, it is important to put the skin of a tiger in it on the first day. Finally, remember to put the skins of lion and hyena in it on the first day. On the seventh day when you are about to perform the sacrifice, chew cola-nut (male and female) and spew the churned material onto the concoction and say:

"Nenye be mo zo gee nala la ... "If you are about to travel

Nue woduna	You need to eat
Mixɔ du	Take, eat
Dɔmeyidɔ	You don't work
Menya wɔna o."	On flat stomach."

Making the above invocation on the concoction, a final stage is set.

With the seven faces of the herbs turned face up, tie them up. Count the tied leaves ritually seven times. Grind seven pieces of ginger (Taku) onto the tied herb. Add a little of female cola-nut to it. Finally grind the tied herbs and have it rolled into small balls of seven in the form of dough-nuts. Put live-charcoal onto a piece of flat iron. Put the rolled balls into the fire and start to fan it gently. While doing this, incant a powerful spell on it thus:

"Kofi be yeaglo tu nu,	"Kofi counteracts the gun,
Ne yeaglo da nu	He counteracts snake bite.
Kofi ba yeaglo yi nu,	Kofi counteracts the cutlass,
Yeaglo he nu	He counteracts knife.
Kofi be yeaglo ku nu	Kofi counteracts death,
Yeaglo dɔ ha nu."	He counteracts ill-health."

After having done this, sing the following invocatory song onto it:

"Dzo mado de wɔke dzi,	"Fire never scorches wɔke
Nyasi wogblɔ na amea;	What you are told;
Nya 'ye nye esia".	This is it".
Agbogblamenuisiwo	Agboglamenuisiwo (Fierce warriors)

Dzo mado de wokedzi	Fire never scorches wokedzi
Agboglamenusiwo	Agboglamenusiwo (Fierce warriors)
Nye lae nye 'ya	I am the one
Nye koko lae 'ya	I am the very one
Agbe le Mawu gbo."	Life is with God".

If the above is being done to save life (probably when in coma), put one of the rolled balls from the fire into a piece of calico and have it tied around one of the wrists of the person. However, if it is to be used for a sacrifice in such disasters like floods, fire outbreaks or long spell of drought, put all the rolled balls into the concoction prepared for the specific sacrifice.

It should be noted that the efficacy of the sacrifice depends to a great extent on the knowledge of following the right procedure of this great sacrifice, dexterity and astute knowledge of the right incantations and spells. All cannot be mentioned in this brief exercise. Indeed, they play vital roles in determining the efficacy of not only the general/great sacrifice but the specific sacrifice as well. The Afa priest must also be conversant with taboos to observe in the process of the sacrifice. Without these observations, the sacrifice will have no potency. This is the reason why Anlos have the saying 'BokQ deka mele fe o', as we have earlier noted. We shall discover in the final sections of the chapter that the issues around specific or general sacrifices are usually considered among Afa priests to be secret or classified material. They are not easily divulged among the general mass of

people. The end result of this situation promotes strong ties one can regard as network among priests.

(ii) Child Birth Through Gender Birth

A barren woman in Anlo society, as in many cultures in Ghana, usually finds it difficult to freely relate herself with her in-laws in her marriage life. This is so because her problem of either a temporary or permanent infertility is not taken kindly by her in-laws. In various devices, she becomes an object of scorn under flimsy excuses. Sometimes she is indirectly sneered at in such expressions like "Nyɔnu dogbo lokpo; Nyɔnu dɔ nu trikpo, Nyɔnu nu tsu dula, dzudzɔ nufafa de agotsu te vee ..." etc. Which translates "A woman with thick womb, a greedy woman, stop sowing under the male fan palm tree ..." etc. These are done for two principal reasons. That if she becomes fed up, she calls it quits to her marriage; and that if she really feels the pain, she uses some unknown method to become fertile.

The existence of networks among Afa priests is not an accident of history. The networks are tactical methods of communication inroads that link priests for sharing sensitive information in a very fast way. The outsider may be apprehensive in accepting this claim. Nevertheless, it is a certainty. Asked as to whether priests have a way of sharing ideas between one another frequently, a few reliable respondents in my field research revealed that they even meet more frequently than what happens among us the so called christians. To another

question as to what they discuss in their meetings, a few reliable ones again categorized fertility methods among both male and female. They asserted that God knew that they would all die, but he wanted them to multiply. In effect they (priests) do all in their power to avoid barrenness in women. Therefore, most of their ritual acts go to normalise wounded relations, one of which is infertility.

Indeed, one is stunned to note how precious icon gazing is in the life of Afa priests. It is this icon gazing that has been improved in what we may call variously as idols of households, villages and townships as in fig.13. Iconoclasm may therefore, not be an exclusive religious phenomenon among Anlos alone, but Ewes at large. Certainly, for the sake of child birth, particularly through the genders, mixed with a very complex sacrificial system involving principal Duwo as well as some Kpoliwo, Afa priests have developed an amazing child birth methodology. Our reference to the septimal cycle among ancient Egyptians and the development of an Ovulation Method by Dr. John Billings of Australia (see fig.9) may not be unparalleled scientific feats.

How has this child birth method been worked out? Ewes generally, and Anlos specifically, have much to do with the lunar moon which pegs its cycle on 28 days. Our mothers do little with the 12 Calendar months. The moon is said to have its effects on the natural order at specified times it is up e.g. the new moon and the waning moon. We have already discovered that Duwo play vital part in human fate or life. It is for this reason that the Afa Novice taken to 'Zume' (Shrine grove of Afa) must be led to select one Du. This Du or Kpoli is believed to affect

the rest of his life. In order words, it will work on his life just as the new moon works on human nature in one form or the other. To Afa priests, there is an intricate combination or co-relationship between Duwo/Kpoliwo and the moon. Played against each other, as well as paired in one form or the other, the Duwo and the moon in this joint enterprise affect the fertility in the female person to produce the desired gender birth at a point in the chronological order of that particular woman.

Let us first consider the uniqueness of the months in the Anlo farming Calendar (Nukunya, 1978:43-44) side by side the sabbatical year in which are twelve calendar months. This list is a simplified form of the original.

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>ANLO EQUIVALENT</u>	<u>ITS UNIQUENESS FOR ANLOS</u>
JANUARY	Agbleyleti 6	Period of harmattan and fog.
FEBRUARY	" 7	Hot and dry period.
MARCH	" 8	Sporadic rainfall accompanied by thunder.
APRIL	" 9	Not very dry. Rainfall with tornadoes.
MAY	" 10	Beginning of major rains (Ada).
JUNE	" 11	Height of Ada or major rains.
JULY	" 12	Major rains cease. Cloudy and drizzling period.

AUGUST	Agbleyleti	13	Cool and cloudy winds known as dzieheviwo.
SEPTEMBER	"	14	Beginning of minor season known as kele.
OCTOBER	"		(Dzinuvqe) (1) Noted for pestilence
NOVEMBER	"		Dzinuvqe (2). Known also as Manyenkoe; the first unknown moon marking end of minor season - kele and its rains.
DECEMBER	Agbleyleti		Dzinuvqe (3). It is also called manyenkoe, or the third unknown moon.

There are three principal observations to be made here:

- (i) The year, according to each month, is marked distinctly in climatic periods for farming or fishing activities. A good farmer must know when to sow a particular crop.
- (ii) The seasons along the years are distinct.
- (iii) The lunar moon at certain times (new moon etc.) affect the natural order.

This knowledge about the farming months having some form of influence on the natural order including even human person has been a classified source of information for only a negligible number of Afa priests. The construction of "Afa-

Vodu and procreation by gender table - see figs. 18a-b and 19a-b - is not a phenomenon of a common type. It is not as easy as the tables depict.

The serial number of the horoscopes (Duwo) as well as the serial number of the lunar months are counted as chronological years (age) in the life of a girl awaiting her full grown moment at the close of the last but not the least horoscope - Kpoli Tsietula. From the age of eighteen, the girl attains the ripe age of maturity of child birth. From this period Afa iconoclasm predicts correctly the gender of the baby a pregnant girl will bring forth in light of the month of pregnancy corresponding with the chronological age of the pregnant girl. It is stressed that before the age of eighteen, although a girl can conceive, that age precludes prediction in gender birth. This is probably the reason why elders of Anlo frown on any girl who becomes pregnant prior to the attainment of eighteen years. Indeed, between 13 and 18 years, this period is referred to as period of sexual purity in which every girl should be exposed to the proper sexual education in order to see the need to wait up to 18 years. (Fig. 19) Teenage pregnancy, as it bedevils our communities today, was not given a blessing in Anlo even in the olden times. See figs. 9, 18 and 19 in relation to procreation in Afa cult.

The paradox of Afa cult is that it plays on both some element of magic blended with a sophisticated sacrificial system and the natural sciences. It profusely counter-balances both the physical and metaphysical worlds, using sensitive elements in enhancing the natural order of man.

One vital point stands clear from the foregone discussion; the place and role of the novitiate in Anlo community. If the novitiate is accepted as living in a dual world of an emerging Afa priest, but not yet a priest as well as a member of the community, not fully out of it, then the novice can be called a "go-between". However, much as the novice is considered one of the member of the community, he has an aspiration for becoming a priest. The desirous novice would be more faithful to the priest he has to understudy immediately. On the other hand, the community regards the priest a more revered official in matters of this religion. This obliges the community to have reservations for rampant calls on the priest. At both ends, the community and priest have some restraint on their interactions. The novice appears an easier errand boy between the two. It is this situation which fosters a firmer bond between the novice and the priest than between the novice and the community. In the end therefore, a strong network exists between the Afa priest and the novice. This dual situation of the novice brings about an enhanced communal spirit in Anlo. It also enables a flow of information from both ends (priest and community) for effecting social integration in Anlo. The case of 'Anlo nola meyona na ava o' - the Anlo inhabitant is always combat ready -, is a case in point of the existence of the network between Afa priests and their novitiates on one hand and the entire Anlo community and their elders on the other. Finally, the parlance, "Anlo Gadolifii" (see figs. 13 & 14) is an epitome of a continual existence of networkings in Anlo community for its integration.

INFLUENCE OF AFA-DUWO ON THE LUNAR PATH

FOR GENDER BIRTH

CALENDER MONTH	ANLO AGBLEXLETI	DU (HOROSCOPE)	SYMBOL OF DU
JANUARY	AGBLEYLETI 6	GBEMEDZI	     
FEBRUARY	" 7	YEKUMEDZI	             
MARCH	" 8	WOLIMEDZI	         
APRIL	" 9	DIMEDZI	             
MAY	" 10	LOSOMEDZI	           
JUNE	" 11	NQLINEDZI	           

JULY	" 12	ABLAMEDZI	      
AUGUST	" 13	AKLAMEDZI	           
SEPTEMBER	" 14	GUDAMEDZI	         
OCTOBER	DZINUVOE 1	SAMEDZI	         
NOVEMBER	" 2	KAMEDZI	          
DECEMBER	" 3	TRUKPEMEDZI	          

	TULAMEDZI	       - - 
UNKNOWN MONTHS	LETEMEDZI	             
PERIOD OF BAN ON PROCREATION	TSIEMEDZI	           
SEXUAL PURITY	FUMEDZI	               
YEARS OF WAIT AND SEE	TSIETULA	           - - 

## CHAPTER FIVE

### HOW AFA CULT PROMOTES OR INHIBITS COMMUNAL SPIRIT IN ANLO

We shall discuss the above with particular reference to domestic, social, economic and political aspects of Anlo life.

#### (a) Domestic Life

Sociologists as well as anthropologists share the view that the beginning of a social system in any community is the family. The assertion is emphatically made by the joint authors of the History Text Book for Senior Secondary Schools - Ghana - on the "Social and Political Organisation of Ghana" that the centre of Ghana's social life is the family. According to them the family means an encompassed unit including parents, children and the whole lineage of a community (both patrilineal and matrilineal). The family, therefore, forms the core of the domestic life of a set of people, who share common hopes and aspirations. In effect, the family becomes the reminiscence of that domestic set up. Without doubt, Afa cult greatly influences the ordering of the domestic life of Anlo in a variety of ways. Let us briefly examine ways in which Afa cult can both enhance as well as inhibit communal spirit among Anlos.

#### (b) Enhancing Communal Spirit

We have noted in the previous chapters that Afa cult is a repository of almost all the traditions in Anlo. Through Afa, quintessential knowledge is gained

into cultural performances like music and dance, rituals, founding of villages and towns, rites of passage, etc. Joseph Addison rightly observes as follows, "Music, the greatest good that mortals know/And all heaven we have below"; (Cohen, 1960:1). The observation does not only reveal the place and importance of music in its broad spectrum it manifests about man, the truth about life generally that all things in nature live under the dictates of music - the sound of birds, animals, the regular splashing of ocean currents on the various shores in the world, the rumbling of thunder high up in the skies, even the rotation on its axis as well as its revolution in its orbit of the earth are dictated by musical rhythm. The cult of Afa, in its poetic forms, chants and invocatory spells, are true replicas of musical formulae.

A careful study of the lives of Anlos reveals that from the simple domestic social set up to national socio-political framework, Afa cult helps to enhance a compact domestic life of its people. In chapter one it is observed in a casual way that Anlos have come to settle in a new environment of mangrove swamps with a rather boisterous as well as a splashing Atlantic Ocean. This ocean continues to devastate many coastal strips before their eyes. Much as they remain witnesses to the destructive powers of this ocean, less do they have the power to avert this danger. In effect, they have to adopt pragmatic means to understand their new situation apparently beyond their comprehension. Each family therefore, devices useful means and methods to avert this permanent evil as well as other attendant problems in relation to matters of frequent mishaps in the family. Indeed, through

the cult of Afa via its custodians, the priests, members of families refer their problems for solution. The place Afa occupies in Anlo is therefore important. Simply, it promotes communal spirit and participation.

Paradoxically however, this cult could at times create explosive situations capable of causing dislocations in families as a result of diviners who may define causes of certain mishaps, particularly deaths, as being caused by specific persons in certain families. Again, at certain times, allusions are made to a member of a family being a witch and a possible cause of death of a member of another family. These claims are supposedly made by people who assert that they have been told by Afa priests. Such priestly predictions (if they were true at all) create situations of enmity between kith and kin. These situations are confusing as some observers put it, "although the role of the diviner is to promote the social order, yet some bad diviners display evil magic" (Ottenberg (ed), 1960:65). In such situations, it is the responsibility of family heads to use their experience in restoring order in the family. On the whole however, Afa cult has the single purpose of fostering harmonious relationships between members of the family in order to achieve the greater aim of communal participation of all in Anlo in her proverbial parlance "Anlo Godolifi", already referred in the preceding chapters.

(c) Social Life

What we have seen in terms of Afa's role to the family is a preliminary measure purported to giving meaningful cohesion to the social order of Anlo community or society. Community or society here could be seen as a heterogeneous type in which lineage could not strictly be traced to one and single ancestry. Despite this dislocation in ancestry, Anlo community could still believe to address herself to an eponymous character as in the case of the Hebrews having Abraham as their father. Although this analogy breaks down at a point, Anlo could see her communal upliftment in where they now find themselves under the leadership of Torgbi Wenya, as the founder of Anlo in their settled home in the south-eastern corner of Ghana. Since society or community, in the stricter sense of the word, smacks of the sense of social way of living with one cultural heritage, Anlos have a strong sense of communal spirit.

Afa cult serves as a rallying point of reference to Anlo. This spirit of rallying round appears cogently to have been seen in the cult of Afa. A similar example is the cult of Ogboni among Yorubas in Nigeria (Morton-Williams, 1964:50). Here, the community is described as political, religious, social, and secret organisation. Indeed, it is this sense of fostering communal spirit as displayed in Ogboni cult that Afa is unique in enhancing unity in Anlo community.

Another vital social role Afa cult plays is the promotion of healthy inter-relationships between the people on a comprehensive level. When one family is

enjoined to be benevolent to another as a result of a prescription by Afa diviners, that family quickly obliges. This is so because the instance usually is that of a life-saving mechanism. Yet still, the concept of benevolence in families is a useful sign of the existence of a harmonious social system in Anlo. Under the various horoscopes (Duwo), Afa divination prescriptions reveal methods for ordering a society/community devoid of conflicts between neighbours. Here, we can see a typical example of this social harmony in the first horoscope - Du - Gbemedzi which signifies good luck. In Kpoli Tsielose, it is believed that victory is always for the person who embarks on any project with good intentions. As we scan through the 256 horoscopes (Duwo and Kpoliwo), we see marks that foster harmonious social relations. It is for this reason Anlos believe in the existence of these divinities being the factors for shaping both the character and social order of theirs. In effect the cult of Afa is well patronised among Anlos.

(d) Economic Life

Throughout the cult of Afa, material economy pours itself out like rain. Nothing precludes the material culture in this cult. The focus of this work is to show the cult of Afa in its secular or material dimension. The material culture enhances a heightened sense of religion among Anlos via Afa cult and so fosters social cohesion and integration in terms of communal spirit or life. If what we have already observed about each horoscope (Du) as having over six hundred poems is certain, then the economic life of Anlo, however traditional in character

it may be, is bound to be vibrant in outlook. The case in point to buttress this claim is that diviners make their prescriptions for all their specific sacrifices from the traditional economic order in Anlo ranging from farm produce to the skins or body parts of such animals like lynx, jaguar, puma, tiger, panther, leopard, lion and even the largest animal, the elephant. Indeed, nothing in the material world is exempted from the list. We can appreciate the human labour involved in getting the said prescriptions above. It is for this reason Anlos are characterised by enterprising spirit in whatever job they have assigned themselves to do. We may note that before the advent of Western modernised methods of medication, almost all cultures in Africa had been practising high levels of medical care. The popular "Medicine-man", as the Westerner decided to call the African doctor of medicine, was invaluable in all the cultures of Africa. Their prescriptions involved all the available material things in their environment.

As we have already pointed out, petty trading in Anlo is directly linked to Afa cult in response to the prescriptions by Afa priests. Throughout human history, the spirit of valour directly stems from a high attainment of economic development. As already mentioned, the common adage in Anlo is "Anlo nola meyona na ava o"; translates: "The indigene of Anlo never worries about war". In other words, Anlos are always combat ready. This can never be a truism in Anlo if the economy of the people is bad since all armies the world over are supposed to move in battle depending upon the availability of economic resources, particularly food.

(e) Political Life

As already noted in the previous chapters, Anlo cosmology is a shared one with those of Dahomey (Benin) and Yoruba in Nigeria. Out of this cosmological perspective, Anlo has much affinity of governance of its community with those of Yoruba of Nigeria and Dahomey. In this cosmology, Ifa as known among Yoruba, and Afa among Anlos wins a commanding religious respect. This religious respect from Ifa/Afa affects almost all political decisions in these communities. Indeed, among the Yoruba of Nigeria it serves as an unavoidable point of reference on matters of politics (Morton-William, 1964:7).

In spite of the existence of many other cults in Anlo, Afa cult is a very indispensable point of reference on socio-political issues affecting Anlo state. This is so because Anlos share similar pattern of organising their political systems on the model of the divine kingship among Yorubas and the people of Dahomey. In this model, Afa cult, particularly through its system of divination, is invaluable in arriving at decisions. The divine nature of the chief of Anlo is contained in his title known as Awomefia - a chief essentially secret, not meant for the public eye. It is for this reason Anloga remains the religious as well as traditional home of Anlo. It is here that all 'Hogbetsotso' festivals (a festival reminding Anlo about their origin) have to start and end. Indeed, the concept of the divinity of the Awomefia is buttressed in the fact that as a reigning king, it is not always easy for the state to distool him, although it could be possible.

The political sense enshrined in Afa through its priestly order or hierarchy marks out the main socio-religious and political officers in the two major Afa groups of Anago and Dzisa as follows (Nukunya, 1969:20).

<u>ANAGO</u>	<u>DZISA (Mayehoe, Atsake)</u>
1. Baba (Olluwo)	1. Oluawo
2. Dzogbana	2. Dzogbana
3. Aduba	3. Aduba
4. Selikpawo	4. Selikpawo
5. Ordinary diviners	5. Ordinary diviners

By the above official political arrangement, Afa priests are enabled to effectively and politically relate themselves with the community they live in. This sense of political organisation in Afa appears to be the predominant factor of socio-political order in Anlo; seen also in the respect for elders.

(f) The Future of Afa Cult in Face of Christian-Muslim Plurality

One of the reasons for introducing Christianity in Africa is to eliminate “fetishism”, the bedrock of traditional African society. The accompanying Western formal education was also considered as having the necessary catalysts for the disintegration of pagan African primordial societies after Africans have become literates on the standards of Western Europe. Although Islam reached Africa earlier than christianity it was not considered in the same vein as christianity. Nevertheless, Arabic traders and imams did separate

themselves from the pagan inhabitants of the ancient Ghana Empire in the West African Sudanese capital of al-Ghaba when they were attracted to the wealth in gold in this ancient kingdom. They did this by moving away six miles to build their settlement called Kumbi Saleh (Fynn, Addo-Fening, Anquandah, 1991:79). They did this purposely to protect Muslims against contamination by non-Muslims. In this also, we can conjecture similarity in intention between Islam and Christianity in relation to how they viewed African cultures generally. The "Salem" which secluded early Christian-mission dwellings from the towns they came to settle in could be considered as Kumbi Saleh near al-Ghaba.

Unfortunately however, Muslim-Christian missions in Africa generally, and specifically in West Africa, since the early years of the Christian dispensation up to now, seem not to provide the necessary magic wand for this elimination by substitution device by these two religious advocates. Certainly Christian-Muslim evangelisation efforts are spreading to almost every nook and cranny in Africa. In addition, formal education in both spheres need commendation. Both have helped in the reconstruction of the African past. They have also helped the African to take pride in what makes the heritage of Africa. By this awareness, the new African elite today appears more concerned to research the inherent goodness of this heritage.

What prompted the urge for the above research? Islam-Christian missions reached Africa with some inferior look on the existing African religions. This inferior look on the entire cultural heritage of Africa made Christian missions in

the main, to apply certain sanctions against some traditional practices like polygamy, drumming and dancing etc. This was done as a way of discouraging the new converts from continuing such 'pagan' practices.

Again, these two religions reached Africa under some degree of coercion by way of the sword, considering the introduction of christianity in Egypt, Axum and Ethiopia in the 4th Century A.D. The end result of these Christian-muslim activities promoted a feeling by African elites of the sense of persecution of their cultures. The end result is that the African elite feels disturbed as to how best he could live harmoniously with his people who have not had the chance of benefitting from Western or Muslim education.

The by-product of this awakened sense among the African elite to research their past is the generation of a convivial spirit between the custodians of Africa's heritage and their intellectual sons, brothers and sisters. This affable spirit has produced a useful as well as an ancillary to the prestine enterprise of African research scholars to develop a sense of belonging and co-operation between them. It has also facilitated a sense of national pride in the cultural past of African scholars. The consequence of this complex situation is a production of paradoxical return to the roots of the cultural past by the African intelligentsia.

Political systems as we have them today in the world, did not emerge from communities suddenly. They underwent very gradual evolutionary processes from religions. A case in point is that of the oldest civilisation in the world, Egypt, out of divine kingship. It was through this religious thinking Egypt emerged later as a

political unit. This sense of religion underlying human societies or communities is still extant in the expression, "Church and State". It is these foundations to human societies and communities the African elite would like to thoroughly research.

Afa cult is one of the primordial underpinnings to Anlo community, not to mention what happens among Yorubas in Nigeria or even Brazil in terms of geomancy. Currently, a wide range of literature continues to be provided by research students and scholars in Anlo and Nigeria. Some times, upon the reading of some of these literatures, a new meaning is gained about the environment. The failure of Western medical methods to find solutions to all our health care needs also suggests to the people not to relegate to the background the achievements of the fathers. In May 1970, the Ghana National Family Planning Programme (GNFPP) was officially and formally launched for population planning for national progress and prosperity. This was meant to regulate Ghana's population growth through voluntary actions in which the government was to make population policy and programme organic parts of social and economic planning development activity. Various organs were set up e.g. Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana, with a strong backing from Christian Council of Ghana. Unfortunately however, an eminent sociologist had to observe in one of his books thus: "Though the GNFPP was launched twenty-two years ago, it is sad to remark that its achievements have been unimpressive" (Nukunya, 1992: 216).

With the failures in the camps of Western approach to our problems, the elite in Africa begins to question himself as to whether it would be proper for him

to relegate to the background the cultural legacies bequeathed him by his ancestors. The answer is no. Indeed, the patronage of Afa in Anlo today, first from client position and secondly from the position of research fellows, gives Afa the chance to continue playing the same roles in the 21st Century as at now. Christianity or Islam will also continue reshaping human thought and action, for all of them, including Afa cult, are ways of life and not only faith categories.

Summing up, we note that although Afa is a cult of worship in Anlo, it has the power of bringing its people communally together in the following ways:

- (a) Its literary corpus contains an amazing amount of chants, spells, short poems for use in traditional songs as well as drumming and dancing.
- (b) It generates among its people a sense of industry by way of petty-trading, tourism and agriculture.
- (c) It has the power of promoting the founding of new human settlements or communities through the establishment of small villages.
- (d) Through the belief that horoscopes influence nature, this cult contains in it a formular for gender birth as illustrated in the figures located in the index.
- (e) The priests of Afa cult are mostly important herbalists and are very effective administrators of herbal medicine to the sick in Anlo; a situation useful to explore further.

This cult, therefore, promotes an effective communal spirit in Anlo irrespective of its being brandished as “pagan” in content and context by other religious bodies, particularly, Christianity.

A. **Comment on Index**

Afa as a cult (a system of religious belief and worship) is known mainly in its Duwo (horoscopes). Anlos of southern Ghana believe that these Duwo come about in a stereotype chronological order. This chronological order into which the cult is framed makes it possible for easy reference. The first and oldest Du (horoscope) is believed to be known and called variously as Gbemedzi or Dzonbe/Dzongbe. This is followed, according to the order of maturity by the following:

Yekumedzi

Wolimedzi

Dimedzi

Losomedzi

Nolimedzi

Ablamedzi

Aklamedzi

Gudamedzi

Samedzi

Kamedzi

Trukpemedzi

Tulamedzi

Letemedzi

Tsiemedzi

Fumedzi.

The shared view about the Duwo (horoscopes) is that they are always in a form of mutual relationship, comparable to the kith and kin. However, this relationship does not deny each Du (horoscope) the power of independent exercise of its own power of jurisdiction over affairs each 'Du' considers relevant to it. The old adage among Anlos "Todeme K<sub>Q</sub>su menyeye K<sub>Q</sub>su Todeme o", meaning 'a sovereign in an estate is not a sovereign in another' well explains the independent authority wielded by each 'Du'.

Another essential paradox about the above sixteen Duwo is that the independent authority of each Du inheres directly from the authority of the preceding Du; thus suggesting that if the first Du (i.e. Gbemedzi/Dzonbe/Dzongbe) had not come into existence, others also might not have been born into the metaphysical world as a phenomenon in the minds of the human kindred. The situation where the sixteen major Duwo (horoscopes) appear to have been directly the product of the Du Gbemedzi with the same action repeating itself in the Duwo (horoscopes) has been described as a feature of permutation among the sixteen principal Duwo (horoscopes) producing the two hundred and fifty-six Duwo and Kp<sub>Q</sub>liwo (horoscopes for short) in the cult of Afa - (see the 256 Horoscopic Symbols and names following this introduction).

Before the advent of Western Christian influence in Africa, it was incumbent on parents to know the Du (horoscope) on which a child was born into this world of nature. The view was that this world had its semblance with Afa's metaphysical worlds as depicted in figure 7. Even today it is not uncommon to

see horoscopic symbols on front walls in houses as one enters it. This is done to help the visitor to be careful as to how he or she must conduct him/herself since he/she is in a different estate or world. This work will have been incomplete if these 256 Duwo (horoscopes) had not been appended to it for reference.

**INDEX**

(i) The 256` Horoscopes (Duwo and Kpoliwo) - in their spells, demands and sanctions.

1. Gbemedzi: Incants: Ganavutsu medzea to fe ali buna o; edo

| | gblooo, wodo gblalaa.

| |

| | Ganavutsu does not track his father's path in vain;

| | the most voluminous, the most expansive.

Solution (one only): A client who visits an Afa priest to open this horoscope

as a result of any of the problems mentioned above will be requested to buy one dog, he-goat, red-pot, palm-oil, yam, cassava, beans for a potent sacrifice.

We should note that in the same horoscope, the Afa priest knows the appropriate efficacious herbs for treating any ailment the client has reported to the priest. This system applies to all the horoscopes we will mention subsequently.

2. Yekumedzi: Akpa klika mewua lo o, lo nutɔe dzo kple akpa;  
|| || hodzee wu mi alea, hodotae wu mi alea.  
|| ||  
|| || Rough and hard scales (shells) of a crocodile never  
|| || kills it, for the crocodile is born with them; it is  
the rise of the sun that kills us; and it is the  
mid-day sun that kills us. (It is fate which was  
our demise).

Solution: The client should buy three small gourds (3 tsigoes in which our ancestors used to pour black-powder), into which he pours his spittle for sacrifice.

3. Wolimedzi: Agbodovi mebuna tsia agbodowo fe tome o :  
|| || Agbodowo fe tome la, azilawo fe tomee;  
| | Afa-wo fe tome (dume) la, to doahoe.  
| |  
| | Agbodovi, the mysterious neophyte hunter, does  
not get lost in his bid of hunting; for the circuit  
of hunting (Agbodowo) is a circuit of hyenas; but  
the circuit of Afa (from which comes Agbodovi) is  
an ancient miraculous circuit.

Solution for client:- Three yards of calico (original priestly apparel for Afa priests), one he-goat and a wasp for sacrifice.

4. Dimedzi: Ku nefo akpa (ku), do nefo akpe (ku).  
| |  
|| || Death, set me aside, ill-health, set me aside.  
|| ||  
| |
- Solution: The client has a Kente-cloth in his/her keeps. It must be taken from him, else he/she dies.
5. Losomedzi: Kpɔ̃ dui kpɔ̃ mɔ̃, Hɔ̃ dui hɔ̃ mɔ̃. Kpɔ̃ be nusi nedu fe mie wonyena.  
| |  
| |  
|| || Tiger eats and vomits; Eagle eats and vomits.  
|| || The tiger asserts: "What you eat is what you vomit."
- Solution: One he-goat, 16 native white chalks (16 Kpandu-ko) for sacrifice. But the person should stop stealing.
6. Nolimedzi: Tati ha ada; Lihqe ha ada. Tati kple Lihqe wo kpe.  
|| || Tati du Lihqe dzi.  
|| ||  
| | Pestle, war! Cereals (maize, rice etc.) war!  
| | Pestle and cereals encounter in a war.  
Pestle wins.
- Solution: Buy a mortar and Pestle as well as cassava for a sacrifice. You are in conflict with somebody.

7. Ablamedzi: Papa menoa dzi ndo vuna o; eye xexi ha menoa keke  
| | de zume o.  
|| ||  
|| || A fan does not stay up in the sun; neither does  
|| || the umbrella opens up to zume (the home of Afa).  
Solution: Get three spiked sticks and a thorn-tree for a sacrifice.
8. Aklamedzi: Ati nu tsyoe eve medoa go o: Ne keto to nugbe natsi  
|| || afe. Ne meto nugbe la keto netsi afe.  
|| ||  
|| || Two pointed sticks never meet. When my enemy plans  
| | a travel, let me remain at home. When I plan a  
travel, let my enemy remain at home.  
Solution: Get three spiked sticks and a thorn-tree for a sacrifice.
9. Gudamedzi: Kankan bok; ze bibi gblo na ze mumu be neyi dzofe  
| | ne woagbo ava ga; eyi dzofe gbo ke meva ga o maha?  
| |  
| | Majestically to Afa priest; the burnt pot charged  
|| || the unburnt one to visit the oven in order to return  
strong. It does so and stands upright.  
Solution: Get a small quantity of gun-powder, and part of the  
squirrel, averse (a type of flying pigeon-wild) part, and  
a part of buffalo for a sacrifice.

7. Ablamedzi: Papa menoa dzi ndo vuna o; eye xexi ha menoa keke  
| | de zume o.  
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| | a travel, let me remain at home. When I plan a  
| | travel, let my enemy remain at home.  
Solution: Get three spiked sticks and a thorn-tree for a sacrifice.
9. Gudamedzi: Kankan bok; ze bibi gb; na ze mumu be neyi dzofe  
| | ne woagb; ava ga; eyi dzofe gb; ke meva ga o maha?  
| |  
| | Majestically to Afa priest; the burnt pot charged  
|| || the unburnt one to visit the oven in order to return  
strong. It does so and stands upright.  
Solution: Get a small quantity of gun-powder, and part of the  
squirrel, averse (a type of flying pigeon-wild) part, and  
a part of buffalo for a sacrifice.

10. Samedzi: Tofli do ahQ tofli kloe. Tsi si dza kplQ bese de do  
|| || kee dza he bese de go. SQ fudu mekea di abena o.  
| |  
| | The evil intention of a frog against a toad is  
| | outwitted by another frog. The rainfall that forces  
the frog into its hole is the same that forces the  
toad out of its hole. The galloping horse is  
never competed by the toad.

Solution: Get a bee and frog. Give them to your neighbour for a sacrifice for you (the client). The Afa priest who performs the sacrifice will give you threaded beads to wear on one of his/her arms. Without this rite the person will not get full satisfaction in any of his/her endeavours.

11. Kamedzi: Nagbanagbavu yi tQ. Wokae na vu wo gbe. Vu mele tQ  
|| || dzi aya dum o maha? Tre kae sa, eya tae wo le Fia  
| | fe akQme.  
|| ||  
|| || The un-anchored boat toddles on the river in refusal  
to perform the sacrifice after divining. The calabash  
divines and performs its rite. Hence it rests in the  
laps of the king.

Solution: Get an oar and a calabash for a sacrifice.

12. Trukpemedzi: Zizi le avu fe dome, wo to egbo de kpo fe tsyɔ

|| || wɔ fe.

|| ||

| |

The dog ill-treats the Tiger, but was bold to perform

|| ||

the funeral rites for it.

Solution: Get an unsplit gourd, spotted cloth you've been using for a sacrifice.

13. Tulamedzi: Lafia, ametakoli be ye nuto ye fe nue do ye yetsi

| | dzogbe.

|| ||

| |

Lafia (Yoruba well wishing), the head (old, dead

| |

human head found in a desert or in the open) says:

"It is my own fault, which finds me in the plain or desert".

Solution: Get any item (implement) from a bench-fitter, a bell and the tail of any animal used by songsters while singing traditional songs in Anlo. These things will be used in performing an efficacious sacrifice for the client.

14. Letemedzi: Zu te (ze te), ane te (an̄ te), klo medi nu o, wo be  
| | zu nenȳ ye; ne zu nȳe la, goa gba.  
|| ||  
|| || The anvil shatters, the hot rubber scorches. The  
| | tortoise boasts of being awakened from sleep. If  
the anvil does so, will his shell not shatter?  
Solution: An elephant's part, a tortoise's part and an anvil or  
hammer from a bench-fitter for a sacrifice.
15. Tsiemedzi; Dzie do ta, dzie klo; te memi gb̄l̄ na Adzafia be  
| | ne me ye kpla, woadu kpla: Dz̄odemee ade le dz̄odz̄oge.  
|| ||  
| | Clouds hang, clouds scatter; the baked or roasted  
|| || yam tells the chief of Adza (Centre, or one of the  
major towns of Afa cult among Yorubas) that he should  
roast and eat it quickly, for an unprecedented event  
will soon set in.  
Solution: Get a roasted yam for sacrifice.
16. Fumedzi: Hekpa, klo metsȳ ak̄o anyi h̄o fona o: Amlimanya  
|| || ade ko woanye adz̄o.  
| |  
|| || Hekpa (a surprise exclamation), a tortoise does not  
| | lie prostrate to be preyed by the eagle: It will only

amount to a mystery.

Solution: Get a part of an eagle for a sacrifice.

17. Tsiētula: Klevōvi mefoa tō fe ade, wodana o; tō fe adee nye  
| | ADEA: alo: ameto fe ade, gbenye ne mefui badaa ha  
|| || Kutse agumevo medea nu to wo zua agba o.  
,  
| ||

The son of the vulture never prays his father's  
prayer in vain, for his tongue is his father's:

A father's tongue, even if I offer it in prayer, let  
it bear abundant results (kutse). A large pot never  
keeps a thing in the earth in vain.

Solution: Get sixteen earth-worms (round), a part of a vulture and  
sixteen palm-nuts for a sacrifice.

18. Gbewoyeku: Sō be yeehe dze, nōvia ka gbe axatome dodo: Ebe fu  
|| | eve le ye wqm; asi ha le ye miam, ati ha le ye fom.  
|| |  
|| | The horse intends to pull salt, but its halter and  
|| | rein refused to set into its bridle well. The horse

observes: "I have two troubles to bear: my owners  
hands are too fast on my neck as well as the rein.

Solution: Get the tomtom and a part of horse for a sacrifice before  
the client could be free in life.

19. Gbewoli: Vu-nugbe dede nyo wu: akutsa de t<sub>o</sub>me gb<sub>o</sub> kpe adatsi.  
|| |  
| | To visit a place sitting in a canoe is in right  
| | direction: the sponge visits the river without the  
|| | canoe and returns weeping.  
Solution: Get a sponge, a mirror and a pot as well as one pigeon  
for a sacrifice.
20. Gbedi:- Kuwoe! Adzawoe! N<sub>o</sub>han<sub>o</sub>ha yi ahano ge tsi ahame.  
| | N<sub>o</sub>min<sub>o</sub>mi yi ami no ge tsi amime.  
|| |  
|| | Death! O death! An ant type (n<sub>o</sub>han<sub>o</sub>ha) enters the  
| | palm wine to drink but dies in it. So is it with  
another ant type (n<sub>o</sub>min<sub>o</sub>mi) which dies in oil for  
entering it in order to drink.  
Solution: Get those two ant-types and a faggot for a sacrifice.
21. Gbeloso:- Nue dzea do dzi do tuna. Ad<sub>o</sub> ka nu, tegliwo x<sub>o</sub>  
| | ny<sub>o</sub>ny<sub>o</sub>. Laduamewoe dze do, mitu do de wo dzi.  
| |  
|| | It is the right lead to a hole that covers it properly.  
|| | A squirrel spreads earth for food while the guinea-fowl  
receives the praise instead. Wild beasts erupt from  
holes: Cover them up with the appropriate leads.

Solution: Get a part of a tiger, one ram and one pot. Afa priests must sacrifice the items into a whole before the client is set free in life.

22. Gbenloe: X<sub>o</sub>me medzramadzrado la, ame ade medzraa goto do o.

|| |

Hax<sub>o</sub>me gble, haviwo fe ku tsi dza.

|| |

| |

No-one tidies the compound leaving the living rooms.

| |

A filthy (fouled) piggery is the death of piggies.

Solution: Get a pannier, its rope, cassava and okro for a sacrifice.

23. Gbeabla: Avleketishiwo! Miewqa alakpanu; adeye le t<sub>o</sub>me mieto

| |

gb<sub>o</sub> le tsi nom le enu.

|| |

!! |

Avleketishiwo, (special neophytes of Thunder Cult

|| |

among Anlos) you are not true to yourselves; there

is mud-fish (they claim not to eat it) in a river,

yet you drink the water of the river.

Solution: Get the African carved Tray for petty selling (Afianu),

Tilapia, (Fa) mud-fish, red-pot, palm oil for a sacrifice.

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yet you drink the water of the river.

Solution: Get the African carved Tray for petty selling (Afianu),

Tilapia, (Fa) mud-fish, red-pot, palm oil for a sacrifice.

24. Gbeakla: Ada metua te o; blewuu gadzi  
|| !  
|| | Never hurry when at the mill-stone grinding.  
|| | Be patient.  
| |
- Solution: Get some gun-powder, a kind of black-monkey (atakpa), grinding-stone (for grinding formerly) for a sacrifice.
25. Gbeguda: H<sub>Q</sub> kaka, H<sub>Q</sub> gled<sub>Q</sub>: H<sub>Q</sub> gled<sub>Q</sub>owo navadu et<sub>Q</sub>awo, k<sub>Q</sub>su.  
| |  
| | Boastful eagles, Mighty eagles: Mighty eagles to eat  
| | up eagles of valour.  
|| !
- Solution: Get one pigeon, gold-dust and okro for a sacrifice.
26. Gbesa: Bo di na agbo, tso, agbo dz<sub>Q</sub> la maha?  
|| | Asidudue (nyononoe) fe ku zu agbo fe ku. Agbo  
| | ku sebeleku.  
| |  
| | It is true that inspite of Agbo's efficacious  
sorcery (juju), he still remains foolish?  
Agbo has died an ignominious death meant for the Lynx.

27. Gbeka: Ga fe numasemase na be kpo dze ga dzi.  
|| |  
| | For the disobedience of money (wealth) he receives  
|| | a beating from the club.  
|| |
- Solution: Get the part of a bat, a part of a dog, one goat, one bell  
and a rattle for a sacrifice.
28. Gbefatrukpe: Avo-sivu megbea gbemate o.  
|| |  
|| | A cloth as skin on the drum cannot avoid  
| | resounding.  
|| |
- Solution: The client has in his/her keeps a spotted cloth. They  
should take it to the priest. In addition, the client should  
get one drum. After the sacrifice, the client should avoid  
eating okro soup.
29. Gbetula: Tsise le ala do go; tsise, Vi, ala, Vi.  
| |  
|| | Parrot tracks the singing bird (Ayroe or Akasanoma)  
| | with evil intention. The two perish.  
| |

Solution: Get part of parrot and part of the singing bird and some band of raffia, a key and garden-egg for a sacrifice to avoid an instant death as a result of evil intentions between the client and someone against him/her.

(Gbelele) Fianuawo yi ye kenken ha, azoli ya meyi ye o.

30. Gbewqte: Kafli<sup>dz</sup>obli, amaa dzo ame le nu wom<sup>o</sup> abe la ene.

| |

Nenye be fia nyo yi (gbe) ye ha la, azolinyo ya

| |

meyi ye o.

||

| |

The monkey (kafli<sup>dz</sup>obli) takes up the stature of man

(Homo Sapien) but behaves foolishly;

Nevertheless, if he cannot be enstooled a chief,

he adorns himself a manly majestic walk and posture.

Solution: Get one sandal, part of a monkey, palm-wine and a pot for sacrifice.

31. Gbetsie: Gawo do gbe, Sika to glo.

| |

|| |

Various minerals boast themselves

| |

That of Gold surpasses all.

||

Solution: Get cassava-tree, part of deer and a tooth for a sacrifice.

32. Gbefu: Kpe-dɔ menye dɔ vɔ o. Wole dewo kpem, le tum;  
|| | eye wole dewo kpem le mimim.  
| |  
|| | Cough is not a serious ill-health. Some cough and  
| | spew it while some cough and swallow it.  
Solution: Get maize, native frying earthen-ware and grinding-  
stone for a sacrifice to a cult - Voduda - Thunder Cult  
of Yeve.
33. Yekudogbe: Baba na Awunɔwo, ne wo gbɔdzɔ.  
| ||  
| || Woe unto Afa Priest, should they relent.  
| ||  
| ||  
Solution: Get a part of a singing-bird (Aloe-Akasanoma), part of  
a tiger, part of a lion for a sacrifice in Zuveme (Shrine-  
house of Afa in the forest).
34. Yekudewoli: Miede Adzafia fe dume; ame ku nyitsɔ maha?  
|| || Adzafia wo de koe ame kuna le meha?  
| ||  
| || When we visited the home of Afa (Adzafia) the  
|| || previous time, did anyone die? Is it in the  
home of Adzafia people die?

Solution: Get beans, maize, Earth-frying pan, three heaps of fire-wood, cat and palm oil for a sacrifice.

35. Yekubledi: Hu manye adee nye esia miedze.

| ||

|| ||

|| ||

| ||

It is an unknown cult we have been initiated into.

Solution: Get 3 Thunder-bolts (Sokpe), 3 heads of ripe oil-palm fruits not commonly used in preparing soup in homes in Anlo (Sede), 3 bottles of palm-oil for a sacrifice.

36. Yekuagboloso: Anyi ku na Loso. Esi nekpom la, dee nebu be lae medzo maha?

| ||

| ||

|| ||

|| ||

Loso's (Afa divinity) bee has died. When you see me, do you think I am foolish?

Solution: Get the leaves of a special thorn-bush (Xemagba), Red Cock. The Afa priest will ritually hold the client in the middle of any road people usually walk upon. After this, the client should get part of an elephant and a piece of cloth into which it is fastened and tie it on the wrist of the client.

37. Yekusinloe: Duxo dze dzo. Nu wo nugbeawo. Megbeawo mido  
|| || adanu.  
|| ||  
| || The armoury is set ablaze. Misfortune befalls  
| || producers of arms abroad. Dealers in arms at  
home, think twice.

Solution: The client has in keeps gun-powder. It should be taken from him for a sacrifice. The client also has a he-goat in his/her house. it should be used for a feast and sacrifice for the inmates of the house. Without this the client had bad omens in his/her near future.

38. Yekudabla: Tonyeviwo ku tsi zuveme. Danye Ahodzɔ, meku  
| || de abla me.  
|| ||  
|| || My half brothers and sisters die in Zuveme  
|| || (the shrine house of Afa cult in the forest).  
My mother, I die in Ablame (one of secrete  
places of Afa cult).

Solution: Get mud-fish for a sacrifice near a river.

39. Yekudakla: Ze yeye mekpqa n<sub>o</sub>via akla ko na o.

|| ||

|| ||

A new pot does not ridicule its broken

|| ||

neighbour.

| ||

Solution: Get a bird among Anlos known in Ewe as 'Xevuno's' part for a sacrifice in an old farm but of the client's father under a tree known as 'Atite'. The client should refrain from ridiculing his neighbours in order to be safe in life.

40. Yekudeguda: (Not disclosed)

| ||

| ||

| ||

|| ||

41. Yekudosa: Kpqliwo ho yie do.

|| ||

| ||

The horoscopes have spotted themselves white

| ||

or they have clad themselves white.

| ||

Solution: (Not disclosed)

42. Yekusika: (Not disclosed)

|| ||

|| ||

|| ||

|| ||

43. Yekufatrukpe: "Lagbeade newo"

|| ||

|| ||

Some-one should come.

| ||

|| ||

Solution: The person is being chased by Thunder cult. Nothing can be done.

44. Yekusitula: (Not disclosed).

| ||

|| ||

| ||

| ||

45. Yekugbolete: (Not disclosed)

| ||

| ||

|| ||

| ||

46. Yekusitsie:- Devonu mewoḡa gbe o.

| ||

|| ||

Weeds do not grow in city centres. (Areopagus)

| ||

|| ||

Solution: The client has left at home a Vodun or cult he intentionally refused to attend to. He should go home to perform the rituals needed before life will be worth living for him. He should look for a bell (Avaga) and a kind of plaited (Knusil, 1891:606) native bag (Kevi) among Anlos for a sacrifice.

47. Yekukpefu: Gbede mekpḡe, ne zoyḡḡ nakpḡe o.

|| ||

| ||

The bench-fitter has not fulfilled his aim so

|| ||

that the attendant (bellow-pusher) also fulfills

| ||

his aim.

Solution: The client should ritually show benevolence to the bench-fitter who in turn does the same to the father of the client. The client must also perform a sacrifice to a pregnant woman and her brother or sister in the house.

48. Wolibogbe: Ago - kediwo tsi dzogbe. De ka sa eye wokpo dagbe.

| ||

| |

| |

| ||

Slender palm-fans remain sorrowfully isolated  
in a desert. The oil palm has dully divined and  
performed its appropriate sacrifice to be safe  
among a dynamic community or environment.

Solution: Get a bird called "Gakoe" among Anlos, a faggot of  
palm-fronds, small gourd, spider and grasshopper for a  
sacrifice.

49. Wolimafayeku: (1) Avua menya wqwqm o; wo be avu la dze do (dze dzo).

|| ||

(2) Mido tafletse na du la; na togbuiwo be

|| |

mibobo de togbuiwo te ne miase nyawo.

|| |

Avu si wq nuvq la le ga me.

|| ||

The strategy in the fight eludes him, while  
he claims the fight to be "hot".

Solution: Get a dog to stop a near death for you.

50. Wolixodi: Ku enye nu xoxo, eya tae Bokonowo ha kuna;  
| || Ne ku le nu la, amekae axo maha?  
|| |  
|| | Death is an age-old human phenomenon. If "Death lays  
his  
| || icy hand on Kings (Lamb, 1954:258) who will take it  
from him?
51. Wolimoloso: Ne egbe woguwogu la, ade demadua.  
| ||  
| |  
|| |  
|| ||
52. Woliwonloe: Vi gbe to dabia.  
|| ||  
|| | A child who does not respect his father does  
| | not prosper in life.  
| ||
- Solution: Get a part of vulture. Cut (all) the hair of the client and  
add it to the part of the vulture for a sacrifice.

53. Wolidabla: Fiafi xoxo la, womegbena ne o.

| ||

|| |

Do not stop an old thief from thievery.

|| |

|| ||

Solution: Get a goat for sacrifice. He should be ritually bathed after the sacrifice.

54. Wolidakla: Akoe he nuwo ve.

|| ||

|| |

Money facilitates everything.

|| |

| ||

Solutions: Get a red pot. Cut all your toe-nails for a sacrifice before you are safe in life.

55. Woliwogodo: Bokwo minye ko miakpo megbe.

| ||

| |

Afa priests, look backward.

| |

|| ||

Solution: Get a faggot (3), one gourd for a sacrifice.

56. Wolixosa: Anawo! Zume. Nu nanyo. Xeminu memia ayrolo  
|| || fe ku o.  
| |  
| | Witches! Afa Vodun Shrine-house. Prosperity.  
| || A bird that swallows does not swallow the seed

of ayrolo (a mysterious herb used by Afa Priest)  
in arriving at anything secret.

Solution: Get the seed of Raffia plant; a worm with fur and a bird  
among Anlos known as Wedzego for a sacrifice.

57. Wolixoka: Akpakpaxe mefo to o, wobe yeadu fia.  
|| ||  
| | The duck does not swim, but wants to be King.  
|| |  
|| ||

Solution: Get one duck, cut all your nails for a sacrifice after  
which you are ritually bathed.

58. Wolifatrukpe: Xe le dzi za, medo o.  
|| ||  
|| | The sun is overhead, it is not night.  
| |  
|| ||

Solution: Get part of a tiger, part of se (animal) and a stool (for chiefs) for a sacrifice.

59. Woliwotubu: Boa dia? Ekae sea? Ame menga to eve dome  
| ||  
do a fu o.

|| |

| |

Does your juju work? Do you divine rightly?

| ||

No one stays in between two rivers fishing with the hook.

Solution: Get part of a squirrel, an egg and gun-powder for a sacrifice.

60. Wolimolete: Da si le aklasu ta la he ku.

| ||

| |

The hair on the head of the vulture results

|| |

into its death.

| ||

Solution: Get part of a vulture, cut (all) the hair of the client. Take the person out to the appropriate place for a ritual bath.

61. Wolikotsie: Ye mebia naneke o. Agbenokaka!

| ||

|| |

I plead for nothing. Long Life!

| |

|| ||

Solution: The client should perform a befitting ritual to his/her destiny (se).

62. Woliwofu: Wole da de kete me: Ketekuto menya o.

|| ||

| |

They implant a trumpet with a snake. The

|| |

Trumpeter is unaware.

| ||

Solution: The client should not eat fowl and egg. He should also look for part of the snake known among Anlos as "Gle" for a sacrifice.

63. Digbe: Digbe-mabuna akpa, digbe-mabune yo. Adzakosu

| |

nutoe di aya kpo aya.

| ||

| ||

A child who always defies the regulations of

| |

his/her parents usually falls into many temptations.

Solution: Get a date-palm wine, one hen for a sacrifice to your dead father or even if he is alive.

64. Diyeku: Die ble ayeku de ve.  
|| |  
|| || An ill-advice usually lands a neighbour  
|| || into trouble.  
|| |
- Solution: Get one dog for a sacrifice. Again, get cold water (a plant) and gin for a ritual satisfying the spiritual needs of your dead mother.
65. Diwoli: Milide, miliwo. Afɔ deka le atifufu dzi, deka  
|| | le ati mumu dzi.  
| ||  
| || I am half alive and half dead.  
|| |
- Solution: Get palm nut, corn-flour, dried stick, a stick which is not dried up. They should be ritually set into a hole. The client should set his/her feet on the sticks in the hole and later be ritually bathed.
66. Diloso: Ahɔ dze afetɔ dzi.  
| |  
| || An accident has happened.  
|| ||  
|| |

Solution: if the client is sick, there is an elderly person in the house, who must necessarily do something for the recovery of the sick client. The elderly man must perform the rite to Thunder cult of Yeve. They (family of the sick client) must get a head of ripe oil-palm fruit for a sacrifice.

67. Dienloe: Nku nɔ ta mekpɔa ta o; he dade mekpa ati na  
|| | edokui o.

|| ||

| ||

| |

The eye cannot see its own head to which it is affixed. A sharp knife cannot also cut its own handle.

Solution: Do not do all things yourself, (out of selfish motive) let others help you.

68. Diabla: Klebie ha awue, klebetie ha awue. Awu-vi metsia  
| | awu gbogbo o.

|| ||

|| ||

|| |

However small a shirt is, it is a shirt.

Solution: There is a smallish person who is often slighted by a fellow friend. That friend should stop immediately, else the smallish person will disgrace him. The smallish

person should avoid eating plantain on any festive occasion. This client should get plantain and an animal or bird caught in a trap for a sacrifice.

69. Diakla: To wlu gede, gede wlu to.  
|| |  
|| || A rascally boy thinks that staying outside  
|| || home is where joy resides. he will only meet  
| | death.  
Solution: The client should give alms to a grandmother. He/she should get okro, part of buffalo for a sacrifice.
70. Diguda: Nyikplokpo mewua nyi o. Axadame gobo ko  
| | woado ne.  
| ||  
| || A shepherds staff does not kill a cow. It  
|| | will only amuse it.  
Solution: The client should get a staff used by shepherd boys for a sacrifice.
71. Disa: Afita-dudu gbenyigbenyi nyo wu gelita-dudu  
|| | gbe deka.  
| ||  
| || To continue using the head of a mouse as a  
| | means of daily food supply is far better than

eating the head of a hyena just a day and no other day again in one's life.

Solution: The client should get parts of a mouse and an elephant for a sacrifice.

72. Dika: Dzɔbu wɔ ada metona de adu dzi o. Nusi ve  
|| | |
| ||  
|| ||  
|| |

goloa, eyae na woyi ziɔ.

A painful yaws never starts on the tooth.

It was as a result of need that forced golo (a dangerous bird that usually blurs the vision of hunter, thus causing most to die in the bush) to resort to ziɔ (the secret forest believed to contain all powerful herbs used in preparing black-powder).

73. Difatrɔkpe: Ati dze dzome ku nyo wu aya


A stick that falls into fire and gets burnt is better than remaining poor.

Solution: The client should get a stick known among Anlo as "wɔ's" leaves to be used in baking of native bread

(Abolo) for a sacrifice before witches stop worrying him/her.

74. Ditula: Tsi-lolo de nume didie la adee wozuna.

| |

|| ||

| ||

| |

To keep water so long in the mouth becomes sticky saliva.

Solution: Get oil palm fruit, tortoise, pipe (for smoking tobacco), tiger-nut and gun-powder for a sacrifice. Do not eat oil-palm fruit.

75. Dilete: To kuku, ahonyinyo. Fia mese tonu, ahq wlu wo.

| |

| ||

|| ||

| |

A chief who will not seek the advise of his counsellors suffers from fate.

Solution: The client should get one goat; yam for a sacrifice. He should stop stealing. He/she should beautify his/her brothers and sisters with red-clay or to.

76. Ditsie: Kolo nyo, kue le eme.

| |

|| ||

| ||

Mating (sexual relations) is good, but it attracts death.

Solution: If the client is a female, she should get male and female (cock and hen) fowls for a sacrifice to her vagina before she could be safe.

77. Difu: Klebong sa bo mesaa adidobo o. Ekem nesae

|| | mia-do go.

| ||

|| || Most renowned juju-men cannot prepare

| | juju from the fibres of baobab.

Solution: The client should get a praying-mantis for a sacrifice. He should also roof the tattered house (leaking rut water) of his Mother-in-law.

78. Losowogbe: Gbigbli fo gbigbli dzi. Kpo fe vi kple kese

| | fe vi medea fefefe o.

| |

| || Two evil or combatants do not feast together.

| ||

Solution: Get part of a tiger and part of a monkey for a sacrifice. The client should not visit an okro farm.

79. Losoyeku: Adzazilawo gba dea.

|| |

|| |

Wild beasts (animals) have crossed the border

|| ||

illegally.

|| ||

Solution: The client has a "Vodu", using black cloth, following him/her. The client should look for a special herbal plant known among Anlos as "Anya", small black as well as white chicken one cannot make distinction between their genders (male and female), after being hatched. These will be used in raising a fitting sacrifice by Afa priest for the client.

80. Losowoli: Ati-wq-to nutqe vu dzo de adokui.

|| |

| |

It is the hollow wood that creates problems

| ||

around itself.

|| ||

Solution: Get a duck, a gourd (split and used) gun-powder, bullet and ram for a sacrifice.

81. Losodi: De- wɔnaneke megbe akoe nyenye o.  
| |  
|| | The fruitless oil palm does not reject wealth.  
|| ||  
| ||
- Solution: Get one "head" of palm fruit, a hen and a cock for a sacrifice.
82. Losonloe: Kpɔ medzɔ ta na lo o.  
|| |  
|| | A tiger never yields to a crocodile.  
| ||  
| ||
- Solution: Get part of a tiger, crocodile for a sacrifice. Do not put anyone to any futile task. Even if someone tempts, gently reside or decline.
83. Losoabla: Kɔnu ade ga wɔ. Dzi vɔ dza. Kpotɔ tsi xɔme.  
| |  
|| |  
|| || The usual phenomenon has again set in. The  
|| || ignominious rain has fallen. The leper is  
forced indoors.

Solution: Get a big water pot moulded by Ewes, the seed of gourd and a small gourd for a sacrifice. Do not covert anything not yours.

84. Losoakla: Glami la du, gadami la du. Vu ga dula menqa  
|| |  
afi deka o.

|| |

|| ||

| ||

The mighty warrior who dances to the drums of battle never recides at one point.

Solution: Pay a special ritual homage to the family stool with the talking-drum.

85. Losoguda: Kpo melea nu le adzralame o: Adzrala du la  
| |  
du xoxoe.

| |

| ||

|| ||

A tiger never catches its prey in the circles

(Adzralame) of Afa Vodun; for the circle of

Afa-Vodun is an ancient as well as mysterious homeland.

Solution: Get part of a tiger, part of a dog for a sacrifice. Put the part of the dog in a mimic fenced shrine house. That of a tiger's should reside outside the shrine house.

86. Lososa: Nqtsi enye dɔsa.  
|| |  
| | Special fish in the rivers and Atlantic sea in  
| | Anlo known as Nqtsi is a boaster.  
| ||
- Solution: Get the fish "Nqtsi" and horn for a sacrifice. The client should be blowing the horn each morning. He should also stop enraging his neighbours.
87. Losoka: Fia madoa dali na ati.  
|| |  
| | An axe never whispers to a tree.  
|| ||  
|| ||
- Solution: Get a tree felled by an axe for preparing herbal concoction for bathing. The client should stop eating okro.
88. Losofatrakpe: Xe kae do vavava va do de awɔ?  
|| |  
|| | Which bird-flutters courageously to awo (the secret  
| || power centre of Afa Voduo?)  
" ||

Solution: Get three cooking sticks (Akplati) or ladels, a bird among Anlos known as "Yalixi" for a sacrifice. Do not go to a planned place on that specified day.

89. Losotula: (Not disclosed)

| |

|| |

| ||

| ||

90. Losomplete: Akpagba yi dzo xo ge, yi da xo ku.

| |

| |

|| ||

| ||

Akpagba (a prominent legendary sorcerer) went for a juju but took death.

Solution: Get part of reindeer (Parnwell, 1977:56) and part of deer for a sacrifice.

91. Losotsie: Ne wole kpo dada dzra hafi yeato adu de dzigbe.

| |

|| |

| ||

|| ||

That if the mother of a tiger is sold into slavery would be when Losotsie would have a tooth in the fore front of his gum.

Solution: Get one goat and a part of a tiger for a sacrifice. They should tie a piece of the part of tiger in cloth and get it as a band on one of the wrists of the patient.

92. Losofu: Mile xenye nam. T<sub>Q</sub> meli ale xee nam oa?

|| |

Xenye wudu dzo!

| |

|| ||

Catch my bird for me. Is there not my father

| ||

to catch the bird for me? My bird flies off.

Solution: Pay a special ritual homage to the spirit of your dead father. Look for a special bird among Anlos known as "Dedzi" for a sacrifice.

93. N<sub>Q</sub>litsogbe: Soshivi me-doa ane na ati o. Ame dzifoe dua

| ||

so fe nu. So de gbe, atia gba.

| ||

| |

The son of Thunder-god known as "so" never

| |

says to a tree, "split up". It takes a man of

courage to eat from "so", for when "so" thunders, the tree splits up.

Solution: Get one cow, 16 house flies, 3 eggs, 8 tins of snuff, the special thunder plant known among Anlos as "Sonya", a heavy rock known among Anlos as "Kpeglidiglodzo", one red pot for a sacrifice.

94. Nɔliyeku: (Not disclosed).

|| ||

|| ||

|| |

|| |

95. Nolidewoli: Bokono madoe. Boko si menya egbogblo oa, fe nu

|| ||

ne glo.

| ||

| |

A horoscope Afa priest should not talk about.

|| |

The priest who does not say it well should

have his mouth twisted to the side.

Solution:

A priest who opens this horoscope should mould a human idol with a twisted mouth. The client should get three bottles palm oil to be poured on the idol. The priest should smear it in the oil for a sacrifice. The priest should seize the spotted (assorted colours) beads the client has round her waist as well as the gold ring in her ears.

96. Nqlixodi: (Not disclosed).

| ||

|| ||

|| |

| |

97. Noliagboloso: Dzo medzea Adraku fe afe o.

| ||

| ||

Fire never scorches the house of Adzraku,

|| |

(Name for Afa-Vodu).

|| |

Solution: If the client is an Afa-Priest, he should ritually pay homage to his Afa-Vodu. If the client is not an Afa-Priest, he/she should be taken to "Zu" (the secret shrine house of Afa-cult) to get him/her security in life.

98. Nolidabla: Akpakpa kple agama wo kpe

| ||

|| ||

The dove and the Chameleon meet in a duel.

|| |

|| |

Solution: The client should get one duck, one goat, part of hyena and monkey for a sacrifice.

99. Nɔlidakla: Kpedatɔ menoa (daa) dzo o. Nukpetɔ fe tae tsia  
|| || agblɔwu nu.

|| ||

|| |

| |

He who boils a stone never eats fire. He who  
feels shy is he who finds his head hung on the  
talking-drum.

Solution: Get one earthenware-plate, beans, bean-dough-nut and  
palm oil for sacrifice.

100. Nɔlideguda: Dzaka lolo mewɔa se fe nugbe o.

| ||

| ||

| |

|| |

A big mouse doesn't live up to the expectation  
of fate.

Solution: Get one cat and a mouse for a sacrifice. He should rear  
the cat as well.

101. Nɔlidosa: 1. Atiglinyi kpe Adegbo wo kpe

|| ||

| ||

| |

| |

2. Ame vivina gake amedonu meli o.

1. The elephant and the rhinoceros meet in duel.

2. Friendship is good but what promotes friendship  
is lacking.

Solution: The client should get part of an elephant, part of a rhinoceros. Cut a branch of the thunder tree known among Anlos as "Fefe". Drag it along in the bush and any herb it bulls within its branches should be added to the above elements for a sacrifice.

102. Nolibagbo: Nolibaka, abagbo, dzakpa, dze ahovui me.

|| ||

| ||

The horoscopes, Nolibaka, gbagbo, dzakpa falls

|| |

into a great vicissitude.

|| |

Solution: Get part of a crocodile, native carved tray for petty trading and unsplit gourd for a sacrifice.

103. Nolifatrakpe: Ne tq lae nye esia la, Yea ga. Ne dzo lae nye

|| ||

esia la yea ga.

|| ||

| |

If this is the river, I will be safe. If

|| |

this is the fire, I will be safe.

Solution: Get the bird called "aloezokpa, one goat and a red pot for a sacrifice.

104. Nq̄lishitula: Dzika tso fonye.

| ||

|| |

I tremble.

| |

| |

Solution: Get gun-powder, gun, hen, cock. On the day of sacrifice there should be firing of musketry before the client is taken out to be ritually bathed.

105. Nq̄limq̄lete: Ne dzo dze gbe ha la, yeafu keledzo.

| ||

| ||

Even within a conflagration, I will emerge

|| |

unscorched in the dry season.

| |

Solution: Get a grasshopper and earth-worm as well as black-ant (anyatsu) for a sacrifice.

106. Nq̄likotsie: Ne wofq̄ agbakli (Wo nefq̄ agbakli).

| ||

|| ||

They could discover (find) broken earthen-ware

| |

or plate.

|| |

Solution: Get a pig for a sacrifice. Some of the sacrificed items should be offered to the Trickster and a boatman.

107. **Nɔlikpafu:** Nɔlikpafu, zagidikpefu. Wo newɔ nu na  
|| || agbodzinɔla.  
| ||  
|| | The thing is good.  
| |
- Solution:** Ritually pay homage to an unknown Vodun/or known Vodun just sitting at the gate of your house. Without this, you cannot get what you need.
108. **Ablabogbe:** Vu kpo, ga kpo, Vugbea mele sɔsɔm o.  
| | Vu la be yewo yina nane la ge.  
| ||  
| | Confused drumming, confused belling. The drum  
| | language is distorted. However the display sets  
itself to achieving a wonderful performance.
- Solution:** Get a rattle, gong-gong (bell) and a goat for a sacrifice. Send some of the meat to your father-in-law. Without this, you cannot achieve your aim.
109. **Ablawoyeku:** Ede dzo to gbeawo. Gbeawo le dzo: Atando.  
|| |  
|| || The grass is set ablaze. Atando, (one of the  
|| || towns from which Anlos have been believed to  
|| || have migrated from) is set ablaze.

Solution: Get a faggot for a sacrifice. Ritually pay homage to the Thunder Cult of yeve before you could meet your demands.

110. Abladewoli: Ye nut<sub>o</sub>e ts<sub>o</sub> al<sub>o</sub>vi la w<sub>o</sub>e.

|| |

| ||

I have performed it alone.

| ||

|| ||

Solution: Ritually pay homage to your providence.

111. Ablaxodi: Ablaxod<sub>o</sub> medoa nugbe o. Aklamavui meyo<sub>a</sub> ava

| |

tso ava gbena o.

|| ||

|| ||

Ablaxod<sub>o</sub> (The Afa divinity in this horoscope)

| ||

never foretells an intended adventure.

Aklamavu (the drum that summons war lords to

readiness) never summons the militia for war

and again refuses to participate.

Solution: Do not plan a visit. Just be ready for a visit at any time.

Make a small drum out of any empty tin (milk etc.) and

constantly be beating it at low tones in your own room.

112. Ablagboloso: Koklotsu be: manɔ afe la me ko.

| |

| ||

The cockerel pleads to be allowed to remain

|| ||

in the house.

|| ||

113. Abladenɔli: Ku do do nu kpe ame.

|| |

|| ||

Death vanishes (sinks into a hole), making

| ||

people feel ashamed.

| ||

Solution: The client is being pursued secretly by a ghost, he/she being unaware. Get a red pot, sponge and soap for a sacrifice.

114. Abladakla: Dusitɔ gbe ka, miatɔ tui.

|| |

|| ||

A right-handed person spins a yarn into a rope

|| ||

while a left-handed person unties it.

| ||

Solution: Get thatch and a red pot for a sacrifice. Use the thatch in preparing (winding) a rope. Put it as a line in the house.

115. Abladeguda: Ati adewo li agama lia na.

| |

| ||

| ||

|| ||

There are some trees a chameleon usually climbs.

Solution:

Get part of a chameleon, tomtom and part of a monkey for a sacrifice. The client has a kente-cloth which must be taken from him.

116. Ablaxosa: Avutsu, atakpayibɔ; nane va zua me.

|| |

| ||

| ||

| ||

A wild male dog, a black monkey; something is entering the cultic shrine of Afa-Vodu (Zuame).

Solution:

Get beans. Cook it in the night. Give it as alms to all people. He should keep a little in his Afa plate. Get a dog for a sacrifice.

117. Ablaxoka: Tae yebu kpɔ, yeku de So-vɔnu.

|| |

| ||

|| ||

|| ||

It is the head that I sympathise and so die in the court of so (Thunder cult's court).

Solution: Get a plantain and a broken calabash for a sacrifice. The client should refrain from denying the truth.

118. Ablafatrukpe: Nu si gbe miedo la, nukae dzo maha?

|| |

|| ||

| ||

|| ||

What has happened to what we planned?

119. Ablawotula: 1. Ayisu be yefo adoglo da; Ne yemekpo naneke da

| |

|| ||

| ||

| ||

egbe a ha la, tso to si le dome na ye la ye le

tsi no ge adi fo.

2. Ame adeke meno to eve dome tia kpo o; gagba gba

tso lawo. Mido nku to.

3. Ame ade menoa to eve dome doa fu o. Ne ede la

ha la, age de to deka me.

You do not jump while standing between two rivers. The bowl breaks, carrying away a large quantity of fish.

Solution: Get a broken bowl, 3 hooks for a sacrifice.

120. Ablagbolete: Nya-sese; to dodo.

| |

| ||

Listen and be obedient.

|| ||

| ||

Solution: Get cassava, plantain and needle for a sacrifice.

121. Ablakotsie: Awungwo, midzao.

| |

|| ||

Afa priests, you are welcome.

| ||

|| ||

Solution: Some Vodun are coming into the house. Therefore the client should offer any form of drink (spirit, like Gin) for ritually meeting them. Afa priests should also be ritually welcomed by a (spirit) drink.

122. Ablakpafu: Adelawo tsi to-dzo nu.

|| |

| ||

Hunters are preoccupied at the horn of a buffalo.

|| ||

| ||

Solution: The client should ritually pay homage to his grandfather's hunting spirit. He should refrain from

gossiping. He should get a special tree known among Anlos as "Xeti" for a sacrifice.

123. Aklatsoḡbe: Tḡ kple dzo mekea di o.

| ||

| ||

| ||

| |

A river and fire never compete.

Solution: Get one head load of thatch for a sacrifice. Build a small house roofed with the thatch and set fire to it that very day. Do not dance on that day.

124. Aklawoyeku: Egbeletḡ medoa nkḡ na egble o.

|| ||

|| ||

|| ||

|| |

He who spoils attributes gives no name to the spoilt.

Solution: Get the weaver-bird, a special tree's fruit among Anlos known as gble (3 fruits), beans and black cloth for a sacrifice.

125. Akladewoli: Aklawo li; agbe wɔwɔe wɔa zi.

|| ||

| ||

Aklawo (Afa divinity within this horoscope)

| ||

exist. A life that is well nurtured becomes

|| |

well.

Solution: Get a chick, part of the snake known as pathfinder and part of guinea-fowl. These items will be thrown into lion-ants.

126. Aklaxodi: Aklumavui yɔa ava.

| ||

|| ||

A military drum summons soldiers to war.

|| ||

| |

Solution: Ritually pay homage to your ancestral stool.

127. Aklavigboloso: Tododoe nye nya sese. Ne edo togbuiwo

| ||

gbɔ la asa nya.

| ||

|| ||

|| |

128. Akladenoli: 1. Ele tɔme lea agbogbo. Xevi ta adre gba du lea agbogbo.

|| ||

Kutsekutse kpe gongon; akladewoli kpe gongon.

|| ||

| ||

As fit as fiddle in Akladeoli (Divinity in Afa).

| |

Solution:

Get an old torn basket, or any worn out wooden material, earthen-ware plate, palm oil. Cut 16 pointed pegs of Xeti (a special tree among Anlos), some amount of beans for a sacrifice.

129. Akladabla: (Not disclosed).

| ||

|| ||

|| ||

|| |

130. Akladeguda: Akladeguda woka na agama; vu di agama dzi.

| ||

| ||

It is Akladeguda's horoscope which opens for

| ||

the chameleon, a drum was beaten on him.

|| |

Solution:

Get tomtom, chameleon for a sacrifice.

131. Aklaxosa: Aklaxosa fe avu enye avu la. Kutɔe nye nyati.

|| ||

| ||

It is Aklaxosa's dog that is the dog.

| ||

The actual truth is death.

| |

Solution: Get one dog for a sacrifice. He should always move to places with the dog before he could get his lost item.

132. Aklaxoka: (Not disclosed).

|| ||

| ||

|| ||

|| |

133. Aklafatruckpe: 1. Yega tu nu, ga he nu, ga togbuibokowo gbo.

|| ||

Nu nyo na agbable pe, wotsɔ nu gblee.

|| ||

Ezi gon. Mafui na towo na du. Ezi gon.

| ||

|| |

Knock it hard. I'll beat it for buffalows to devour.

Solution: Get a goat with a white furr across its tomy, beans and part of a hyena for a sacrifice.

134. Aklawotula: Nu eve mebuna na se o.

| ||

|| ||

Two things are never lost to providence.

| ||

| |

Solution: Get a special aquatic herb known among Anlos as "Tqtise", part of a crocodile and an element common in the air for a sacrifice.

135. Aklagbolete: Nyasese, tododo: valifo be ye menya hia o.

| ||

| ||

Listen and be obedient. Valifo (special bird

|| ||

that likes sleeping in the middle of road at

| |

dawn) says it does not know suffering.

Solution: Get 3 faggots (old one) for a sacrifice.

136. Aklakotsie: Aklakotsie, etse kui.

| ||

|| ||

Aklakotsie, it is rough.

| ||

|| |

Solution: Ritually pay homage to your family ghosts or ancestors. Refrain from laughing at people. The special ghost must also be sought to be known.

137. Aklakpefu: Aklakpefu dede.  
|| ||  
| || Mainly Aklakpefu.  
|| ||  
| |
- Solution: Get 3 pots of palm wine, 3 pots of water to be given to Afa priests for a sacrifice.
138. Gudaflugbe: Aha matsimatsi te fu yɔ go.  
| |  
| | New wine miraculously foams (like old wine) to  
| | the full brim of a pot.  
| ||
- Solution: Get a deer (part of it) for a sacrifice. Do not eat okro. Do not drink palm-wine.
139. Gudayeku: Dakpokpo medea aye hu o.  
|| |  
|| | A big snake does not serve as a cultic symbol.  
|| |  
|| ||
- Solution: Get 3 staffs, pigeon, frog and cobra for sacrifice.

140. Gudavqwoyi: AvQ ka xoxowo trQ zu avQ ka yeyewo.  
|| |  
| | Yarns in old cloth change into new yarns.  
| |  
|| ||
- Solution: Get a cloth, and pieces of all types of cloth for a sacrifice.
141. Gudadi: Dogo wu doku mese fa o: Ame nQ sQ dzi do gbe  
| | ne wo tQ bokQwo be "Aya!"  
|| |  
|| | A beetle that kills the Ostrich never knows  
| | anything about Afa. A horse rider greets his  
fellow Afa priests with a cursive word of  
futility - "Aya!".
- Solution: Get the woven bag of palm-fan (golui), beetle for a sacrifice.
142. Gudagboloso: Xe nQ vu dzi medoa vu fe ku o.  
| |  
| | A bird that perches on the tree does not wish  
|| | evil (death) for the tree.  
|| ||

Solution: Get the part of the special tree known among Anlos as Vuti, the bird known among Anlos as Vatsakpoli for a sacrifice.

143. Gudanloe: Kogblaligbla, da medea dzonu o.

|| |

|| |

A snake does not wear beads.

| |

| ||

Solution: Get special herbs known among Anlos as "loglo and asise" for a sacrifice.

144. Gudabla: Mq de mq-trela.

| |

|| |

A snare has caught its setter.

|| |

|| ||

Solution: Get calico and a special bird known among Anlos as "Totaxi" for a sacrifice.

145. Gudakla: Gudakla yi adzogbe; Tomelo le ye. Ame  
|| | adeke menga la kplom, kpom, akplo nu gbona be  
woa to  
|| | ye o.  
|| |  
| || Gudakla has gone for a raiding adventure. But  
Crocodile has caught him. None tends a flock and  
sees a spear coming to pierce him.

Solution: Get one spear, part of a crocodile for a sacrifice.

146. Gudasa: Tedzi-tedzi-gelimakudo; ne fu gble ha miadu  
|| | abolo.  
| |  
| | Gradual-gradual, a hyena does not dig a hole.  
| || Even if the sea is so bad we shall eat bread.

Solution: Get a yam, bread (native one) fried fish and part of a horse for a sacrifice.

147. Gudaka: Aha yi kpeka gbq na ka ade mu ge. Gu-wq-nyui  
|| | neka zu ka o, ame vq.  
| |  
|| | The wine that pours on the rock will destroy  
|| | some rope. The anvil that does good will cut.

Solution: Get unsplit gourd and knife for a sacrifice.

148. Gudafatrukpe: Gudafatrukpe kple vu yaya.

|| |

|| |

Gudafatrukpe and the spill of blood.

| |

|| ||

Solution: Get a cutlass, a special bird known among Anlos as "Voloe" and part of a horse for a sacrifice. Ritually pay homage to a twin in the house.

149. Gudakpetula: (Not disclosed).

| |

|| |

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| ||

150. Gudagbeokete: Egbɔ-wɔ-ku nu aboga. Amesɔ-motɔ, gue kpa ne.

| |

| |

The goat that performs a ghastly display will

|| |

meet evil. He who defiles his neighbours wife

| ||

will meet evil.

Solution: Get a he-goat and a knife for a sacrifice.

151. Gudatsie: Lo le aho - dzo.

| |

|| |

| |

|| ||

A crocodile devours its prey.

Solution:

Ritually pay homage to your maternal uncle's Thunder cult of Yeve. Get a red pot and part of a crocodile for a sacrifice. Do not go to the river-side to fetch water that day.

152. Gudafu: Teti nen<sub>o</sub> agbe te-ka navu de enu.

|| |

| |

|| |

| ||

Let stick live so that the yam growth climbs round it.

Solution:

Get a yam, yam-stick, pillow, mosquito-net a bed for a sacrifice.

153. Sawogbe: 1. Adzraku, adrakpanya.

| ||

2. Be yetsiawu loo.

| |

| |

1. Adzraku (Name of Afa), adrakpanya (appellation for Afa).

| |

2. I perform a miracle.

Solution: Get a cat, mouse, special animal known among Anlos as Dzogolo, for a sacrifice.

154. Sayeku: Damabi kple damanyui do go. Sikitiwo, ayekutiwo.

|| ||

|| |

|| |

|| |

155. Sawoli: Kpo kple azila woyi to si ge; aye dzi, aye dzie.

|| ||

| |

| |

|| |

Tiger and Leopard have gone a fishing - cautiously,  
cautiously do the two go about it.

Solution: Get one goat, part of a crocodile for a sacrifice at the river side. Where the divination is made must be deserted before the sacrifice. Do not go to the river.

156. Sadi: Yodekodzoe gblɔ be : "Yele eglom dee, yometigli  
mele esem o maha?

| ||

|| |

|| |

| |

A hoe that digs the grave keeps asking: "Does  
the stump in the grave not listening to what I  
keep saying?"

Solution: Get one dog to ritually seal the hole out of which death erupts. Ritually bathe the client.

157. Saloso: Ahɔ xee; ada mevlia nu kple Loso o.

| ||

| |

|| |

|| |

A mysterious bird; We do not struggle a thing with Loso, the Thunder Cult of Yeve.

Solution: Get one goat, Thunder bolt, crocodile, 3 bowls for a sacrifice. Collect the bone of the goat and put them in the thunder bolts. Get under the thatched roof and wash your face upwards.

158. Sanloe: Awunɔ de ava ava gble ye.

|| ||

|| |

| |

| |

The Afa priest went to war unsuccessfully.

Solution: Get the special herb known among Anlos as "Tɔmetsise and mud-fish for a sacrifice.

159. Sabla: Ga meṅṅa sṅ nu Sṅ dua gbe o.  
| ||  
|| | A horse does not eat while in harness.  
|| |  
|| |  
Solution: Get one ram, part of a horse for a sacrifice.
160. Sakla: Avutṅ meṅṅa efe avu wogbea tsotso o.  
|| ||  
|| | The dog never refuses following its master  
|| | at its bidding.  
| |  
Solution: Get one goat and a dog for a sacrifice. Lead the dog to wherever you go.
161. Soguda: Saku-sagada, livilivi meṅṅ ne adava navṅ o.  
| || Ne wotso afia na adavato ne nya na vṅ.  
| |  
| | Saku-sagada (invocatory incantation) rumour  
|| | mongering has not finished so that lunacy  
finishes. Aqut the mad man to end the problem.  
Solution: Get honey-comb for a sacrifice. Ritually pay homage to a mad person in your family.

162. Saka: Saka, sako, kleku de akosu nu nekke ala.  
|| ||  
| | Saka, sako, kleku (appellations invoking the  
|| | Saka divinity) has become a lord so raffia should  
|| | be ashamed of himself.  
Solution: Get the special stick known as "ekle" among Anlos,  
calico, palm oil, guinea fowl for a sacrifice.
163. Safatrukpe: Gbomenovi menye ame to o.  
|| ||  
|| | The truant is not anybody's child.  
| |  
|| |
164. Satula: (Not disclosed)  
| ||  
|| |  
| |  
| |
165. Salete: Akpoto makumaku, ame ade medea akpo nu o.  
| ||  
| | Akpo, (Afa Divinity) never dies; no one speaks  
|| | on his behalf.  
| |

Solution: Get cock and hen, maize and pee-nut, a small bag or container. Pound the maize and pee-nut together. Pour the pounded elements into the container for a sacrifice.

166. Satsie; Nyanya-milanya; gogo-milago. Ametsibome be  
| || agblo koe gbea ati la.

|| |

| |

|| |

Hubble-bubble. The silly man thinks that it is only the fork-stick that can pluck a seed from a tree.

Solution: Get 3 head loads of fire-wood, 3 fork-sticks for a sacrifice.

167. Safu: Alesi wodo fie la, nenema wodene.

|| ||

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| |

The measure you give, is the measure you take.

Solution: Get a dog, a bird among Anlos known as Avatsakpoli, gourd, traditional tray. Prepare a pap and pour it into the tray and into the gourd for a sacrifice.

168. Kawogbe; Nue wga azivi wonya toa.  
| ||  
| | Experience teaches a child to now his  
| || father.  
| ||
- Solution: Get part of monkey. Tie a knot of bush on a road. Cut it  
for a sacrifice.
169. Kayeku: Devi mekqa azagladza o. Anq alea atso  
|| || agba sia maha? (Nqti fe kpqlie)  
|| | |
|| ||  
|| ||
170. Kawoli: Kawoli he bo.  
|| ||  
| | Kawoli (Afa divinity of this horoscope)  
| || prepares juju.  
|| ||
- Solution: Get a small bird known among Anlos as "Avetegli" and  
"Mqke" for a sacrifice. Do not eat fruits.

171. Kadi: Edzo do gome.  
| ||  
|| | It retreats into its shell.  
|| ||  
| ||  
Solution;; Get 3 faggots for a sacrifice. Ritually bathe the client  
later.
172. Kaloso: Fetriti medidina (kɔna) wua agbleto o. Kese do  
| || vodzi na agbleto ha xɔ tu le esi.  
| |  
|| || An okro tree is never taller than the farmer. A  
|| || monkey frightens a farmer and later siezes the  
gun from him.  
Solution: Get a monkey and okro for a sacrifice in order to  
achieve your aim.
173. Kanloe: Xe-fɔ makpɔ 'dzezi ati dzi; womekpɔa ava fe afɔ  
|| || le kolo nu o.  
|| |  
| || It is difficult to see the foot print of a bird on  
| || a tree; neither is there any foot-print of penis  
| || around the Vagina of a girl.

Solution: When this horoscope is opened, it means the client has a secret agenda he/she must confess before the next step. This will enable the priest of Afa to determine the appropriate sacrifice.

174. Kabla: Netsiego fe le ye nu la, yemee tefe ete.

| ||

|| |

|| ||

|| ||

A coconut splits around me; and I split it into three parts.

Solution: It means that there is Thunder cult of Yeve in your house chasing the client. Get gun-powder and gun for a sacrifice.

175. Kakla: Kakla - na - keko

|| ||

|| |

|| ||

| ||

(difficult to explain).

Solution: Get 3 fowls for a ritual homage to ancestors of the house.

176. Kaguda: Ka nyo kafome menyo o.  
| ||  
| | Twin is good, but its relationship is bad.  
| ||  
|| ||  
Solution: Get a rock in the shape of a calabash. Knife and palm oil for a sacrifice. He must say what is true only.
177. Kasa: Nu kpe za, za do.  
|| ||  
| | It is out that night fall.  
| ||  
| ||  
Solution: Pay ritual homage to your immediate neighbour. Get cock and hen for a sacrifice in order to be free.
178. Kafatrukpe: Fetriti didi mekona wua agbleto o.  
|| ||  
|| | A tall okro tree is never taller than its owner.  
| ||  
|| ||

179. **Katula:** Tsi nyo le domea, ne do. Aba nyo le xomea, ne do.  
| ||  
|| | Good water indoors should be out. Good wine indoors  
| || should be out.  
| ||
- Solution:** Be benevolent as well as generous to all your neighbours. Get a drink to ritually pay homage to the ancestor. Do not be miserly.
180. **Kalete:** Adzi dze hu. Koklovi be ye wo kple avako dome  
| || nya me ke o.  
| |  
|| || A frog is initiated into a cult. The chick asserts  
| || that the case between it and the hawk has not been  
settled.
- Solution:** Get a chick, the gender of which cannot yet be decided for it, a pillow for a sacrifice. Put the pillow in the room you live. Leave that room before you are free in life.
181. **Katsie:** Awunowo be awo. Nye menya ba agble le asisia  
| || wodena o.  
|| |  
| || Afa priests exclaim, "Awo!" (Divinity of Afa),  
|| || I do not know that a farm is here.

Solution: Get a dove, squirrel, a bird known among Anlos as "Dzedetutu" and "Golo" another bird with its egg for a sacrifice before the client recovers from his/her ill-health.

182. Kafu: Tu la gbe dzo; gbemelawo ko nu.

|| ||

| |

The gun refuses to fire up; animals laugh.

|| ||

| ||

Solution: Get gun-powder, gun, cock and hen for a sacrifice.

183. Trukpetsogbe: Mitsɔ aloa do doa dzi

| ||

| ||

Let twin-mothers sacrifice.

| |

| ||

Solution: Get spider with its eggs for a sacrifice which must be performed under a baobab tree. The sacrifice must be performed by twin-mothers.

184. Trukpeyeku: Trukpeyeku la vudzo de wo. Woawo nuto menya  
|| || wowo o.  
|| ||  
|| | Trukpeyeku is repulsive against them for they  
|| || do not know about it.  
Solution: The client has gone against a taboo. This must first be treated.
185. Trukpekoya: Amenuvela medoa yɔ kple ame o.  
|| ||  
| || A benefactor does not enter the grave with a  
| | loved one.  
|| ||  
Solution: Get a hoe, dog for a sacrifice. Take a ritual bath also.
186. Trukpedi: Trukpedi, nokpedi, dzogbelosu fe ta menqa vikpe  
| || si o.  
|| ||  
|| | Trukpedi, nokpedi (Divinities of the horoscope)  
| || a young child does not carry a mysterious bird  
"Dzogbelosu's head along.  
Solution: Get a goat with a white fur across its abdomen, calico and the bird "dzogbelosu" for a sacrifice.

187. Trukpeloso: So de gbe, adza.

| ||

| ||

It thunders but it does not fall on you.

|| |

|| ||

Solution: Get the net with weights round it known among Anlos as Sabu, herring for a sacrifice. Do not eat herring on that occasion. Pay ritual homage to T<sub>o</sub>hono - Thunder cult.

188. Trukpenloe: Hadat<sub>o</sub> gb<sub>o</sub> kpe di.

|| ||

|| ||

The hunter of a pig returns with filth.

| |

| ||

Solution: Get your paternal as well as maternal relations around and sacrifice a pig as an alms giving to them.

189. Trukpeabla: Xewo nue gbe le.

| ||

|| ||

Birds carry messages.

|| |

|| ||

Solution: Get a duck, herring, net, fence-stick for a sacrifice.

190. Trukpeakla: Nu nyo na agbable pe wotsɔ nu gblee.

|| ||

|| ||

|| |

| ||

191. Trukpeguda: Alugbafu

| ||

| ||

| |

|| ||

Solution: Get a red pot, farm products for a sacrifice.

192. Trukpesa: Yede afo le dua me; ne dua na no anyi na mi.

|| ||

| ||

| |

| ||

Solution: Get farm products, cock and hen for a sacrifice.

193. Trukpeka: Medze Ahovui me.

|| ||

| ||

|| |

|| ||

A vicissitude befalls me.

Solutions: Get a calabash, red pot and torn basket for a sacrifice.

194. Trukpekoya: Ati-te-nong didia (Atite mangtsoa) xevisuewo de

| ||

wonyea mi de ame dzi.

|| ||

| |

Small birds foul (leave their faeces) he who sits

| ||

so long under a tree.

Solution: Get the bird known as "Avlesikpui" among Anlos, cock and hen, red pot in which herbal concoction will be prepared. Do not be sitting under the tree in the house.

195. Trukpemite: Ati si gbe adiba, eyae foa adiba nuti.

| ||

| ||

The sick that plucks pawpaw, fouls itself the

|| |

filth of pawpaw.

| ||

Solution: Get coconut, the stick used in plucking pawpaw for preparing herbal concoction for the client to ritually bathe himself.

196. Trukpetsie: Vodzi dede le kpqlia nu.

| ||

|| ||

The client has a problem for telling lies.

| |

|| ||

Solution: Bath the client ritually.

197. Trukpefi: Vodzi dede le kpolia nu.

|| ||

| ||

The client is always being advised but he/she does not yield.

|| |

| ||

Solution: Go to Afa priests, who will take you to Zu (secret Afa shrine) to fulfil his/her aim.

198. Tuladogbe:- Azae miedo, medena o. Azae miedo, aza kpe. Kpo

| |

medzea ngonu wobia vu ta o.

| ||

| |

We set an appointed time, that time never comes.

| |

We set an appointed time, the time is great.

A club does not hit the forehead while we keep asking whether blood oozes out or not.

199. Tulayeku:- Ato medea agble za o. Veve le nu wo.

|| |

|| ||

A black smelling mouse never farms in the night.

|| |

You have reeling around you.

|| |

Solution:- Get 5 red pots for herbal concoction to ritually bathe you.

200. Tuladewoli:- Avuwo sɔgbɔ fuu, gana-levu mele wo dome o.

|| |

| ||

| |

|| |

There are many dogs but the wild one which could prey the hyena is not among them.

Solution:-

Get part of hyena, an old plate in which to ritually and spiritually arrest the evil spirit of hyena in the house. Watch the client carefully before he/she recovers.

201. Tuladi: Hetoklolo melea kpɔ o.

| |

|| ||

|| |

| |

A badger does not prey the tiger.

Solution:

Get part of a tiger, part of a badger for a sacrifice.

202. Tuladeso:- Kɔwufia ntɔe menya wɔwɔ o; soa blu di.

| |

| ||

|| |

|| |

This is the Kwawu chief himself who causes the lightning to strike him.

Solution:

Get a red pot, traditional earthen frying pan for frying gari etc., thunder bolt for a sacrifice.

203. Tulanloe:- Takpame-hosu yi ame fle ge, yi da fle dzematrito:  
|| | se ade nagla wu se ade.

|| ||

| |

| |

The war lord from Takpame (in Togo) went to buy  
a slave but bought a stronger man than himself  
whose laws became harsher than his.

Solution:- The client has a short yam under his bed. Take it from  
him/her. He has a fowl brooding over eggs. The fowl  
is multi-coloured. Use the items for a sacrifice.

204. Tuladabla:- Ego, neyi Atando; (nuvQ neyi fu).

| |

|| ||

|| |

|| |

He hurries; let him go to Atando (In Benin)  
(let evil vanish into sea.

Solution:- Get gun-powder and duck for a sacrifice. Burn the gun-  
powder in three parts (alternately).

205. Tuladekla: Tulaklaku de hogbonu; ne wo dzudzQ abQxoe do.

|| |

|| ||

|| |

| |

Do not believe every legendary tale. You will die.

Solution:- Get black monkey and monkey, gun-powder, gun, maize for a sacrifice.

206. Tulakpaguda:- Zideglo (Fagogo) bia agbo wo be etsq yewo le  
| | agboa wu ge.

| ||

| |

|| |

Zideglo (Another name for Afa-Vodu) demands a ram today, but they sheepishly assert that they would offer it tomorrow.

Solution:- Get part of a horse to ritually pay homage to a twin in the house. Again pay ritual homage to the ancestral stool with another ram.

207. Tulas:- Awudi de ava metis ava o; ne ava gble mi ha la,  
|| | miayi afe.

| ||

|| |

|| |

The war-lord never dies in battle; however badly fought us the war, we shall return home.

Solution: Get a hawk and one bottle palm oil for a sacrifice.

208. Tulavaka: Ava le gbe dzi gbona; migatsyo anku o.

|| |

| ||

|| |

|| |

War is near us, Never heckle.

Solution: Get the skin of buffalo. Let the priest cut a strip and tie it around your wrist.

209. Tulabatutu:- Agba sia ye wo do la agba la le mia kpem.

|| |

|| ||

| |

|| |

The luggage we pack jointly and carry individually weigh us heavily down.

Solution:- Get pap (akatsa), farm products, gunpowder, earthen-ware plate and palm oil for a sacrifice at a road side.

210. Tulagboge:- Ka xoxowo nue wo le yeyewo gbem do

| |

| ||

|| |

| |

It is the old cords onto which new ones are being extended.

Solution:- Get a cow-tail for preparing the client "lasi" used by traditional singers.

211. Tulatsyɔ Fia de se; Vu se. Sedeto nutɔe gbɔna gble ge.

| |

|| ||

| |

|| |

A chief enacts a law - The law against drumming.

The law-maker will violate the law.

Solution:- Get one ram and sparrow for a sacrifice. He/She should stop deceiving people.

212. Tulafunloe:- Nu kuku ade le vevem.

|| |

| ||

A dead organism is smelling.

|| |

| |

Solution:- The client violates a principle of some Vodun. They should search out to know the Vodun in order to confess before he/she is free.

213. Letewogbe:- Atsu nu-dodo nedi Tse nu. Tse nu-dodo nedi Atsu nu.

| |

| |

What Atsu (the elder of twin boys) plans should

| ||

befall Tse (the younger twin boy). What Tse plans

| |

should befall Atsu.

Solution: Get part of a vulture and pap (coco) for a sacrifice.

214. Leteyeku:- Amewo tia ku. Amewo tia ga. Ku adeke megbe

|| |

fume yiyi o.

|| |

|| ||

Some people choose death. Some others choose

|| |

wealth. No death will stay outside the sea.

Solution: Ritually pay homage to Thunder Cult (Tohono).

215. Letewoli:- Ye lɔxo ku de ko me na ye

|| |

| |

My mother-in-law dies in my poverty.

| ||

|| |

Solution: Get one hat, fan for a sacrifice.

216. Letedi: Vi-fo-vu mefoa ku fe vu o. Ku si vu, ade do.

| |

|| |

A teenage drummer never drums the drum of death.

|| ||

Death prepares a drum at the set time.

| |

Solution: Prepare a small drum painted in mosaic design for a sacrifice in the forest.

217. Leteloso:- Ahɔ medea afɔ ekigan ngo o. Akpagba yi dzo xɔ

| |

fe, xɔ ku.

| |

|| ||

The scorpion does not step ahead of ekigan

|| |

(a large, robust animal). The reindeer has gone to be given juju and instead was given death.

Solution:- Get part of reindeer, part of deer. Cut pegs of Xeti (a special tree known among Anlos for cultic use) for a sacrifice.

218. Letenloe:- Gb̄ gba nku; et̄wo, mi ga koe o.  
|| |  
|| | A goat has lost one of its eyes. Its neighbours  
| || should not ridicule it.  
| |
- Solution: Get a goat with one eye broken, two red pots for a sacrifice.
219. Leteabla: Ta ne ga haf̄i miayi - F̄ miayi afe.  
| |  
|| | Let the head feel well before we set off.  
|| ||  
|| |
- Solution:- Get a pot and a gourd for a sacrifice.
220. Leteakla:- Nu nyo na agbale wots̄ nu he gblee.  
|| |  
|| | It is good for the sparrow to draw its fruit  
|| || (gblee) with its beak.  
| |
- Solution: Get a sparrow's part for a sacrifice.

221. Dekpekuto:- La deka metoa ata eto o. Adelawo mia va kpe nu.

| |

| |

| ||

|| |

An animal does not possess three legs. Hunters will meet the unexpected mysterious phenomenon.

Solution:-

Get the skin of an animal which likes eating okro among Anlos known as "Se". Sew it into a pocket filled with stones for a sacrifice under a baobab tree.

222. Letesa:-

Amenovi enye awu. Ame adeke mexo gbogbo le noti si o.

|| |

| |

| ||

| |

Your neighbour is your garment. No one stops the nose from breathing.

Solution:

Get a seed known among Anlos as "Tonotsi" and a horn for sacrifice. He/She should be blowing the horn every morning.

223. Leteka:

Yedze ahovui me.

|| |

| |

|| ||

|| |

I fall into evil.

Solution:

Get a new calabash and herring for a sacrifice on the

road.

224. Leteoatri:- Toa tri abe zQ to ene.

|| |

|| |

It's brim is as thick as a pot.

| ||

|| |

Solution: Get one goat and yam for a sacrifice. The client should stop taking the neighbour's property without first intimating him/her.

225. Gboyisa:- Amenyanuwo, mifu du yi Fa gbQ.

| |

|| |

Intelligent people, run to Afa

| ||

| |

Solution: Get a small gourd, basket and a small goad (Kid) for a sacrifice on the road. Use the small gourd in fetching water into the pot of the client in his/her room.

226. BokQotete:- Yefo asi de dQvIQme. Helu loo! Ku gbQna.

| |

|| |

I plunge myself into evil. Oh! death is near me.

| ||

(You have spoilt your neighbour's wife).

|| |

Solution:- Get 3 calabashes used in selling pap (akatsa-tre), a vegetable among Anlos - Fɔtete- and tilapia (Akpa), for a sacrifice on the road.

227. Letefu:- Vi nya avɔ menyaa ku fe avɔ o.

|| |

| |

A child who washes cloth does not wash death's cloth.

|| ||

| |

Solution:- Get snail, the food (Akple or Banku) of yesterday, mouse, cat, dog, fowl, soap maize for a sacrifice near a river. Add black cloth and calico.

228. Tsiewogbe: Wole atru dom; atruwo fofom. Ava ade gbɔna

| |

mia si ge.

| ||

| |

A hunter will die.

| ||

Solution: Get the seed of a tree among Anlos known as Nyakpe, 16 palm fronds; take a Kente cloth from the client's keeps tied in it the seed of the tree above for a sacrifice on the road.

229. Tsieyeku:- Akpokplo dzi vi novia do fo mi.  
|| |  
|| || A frog has given birth but his next door  
|| | neighbour, snake, has swallowed it.  
|| ||

Solution: Get 3 frogs, cobra for a sacrifice.

230. Tsiewoli:- (Not disclosed)

|| |  
| ||  
| |  
|| ||

231. Tsiedi:- (Not disclosed)

| |  

232. Tsieloso:- 1. Dixi (xe si woyona be kpotsi) yi

| |

avu le ge xo abi de ade nu.

| ||

2. Adiko eto menya avo wo gona o

|| |

|| ||

Three cakes of soap wash dirty linen cleaner.

Solution: Avoid eating pawpaw and vegetables.



(This is all disclosed).

236. Tsieguda:-

Tsetoe wolea tse.

| |

| ||

Someone is going, but someone also is coming.

| |

|| ||

Solution:

Get 3 fruits known among Anlos as "Gble", palm oil three bottles, 3 cockerels for a sacrifice.

237. Tsiesa:-

Nyanya milanya; gogo milago, bometsila be agblo

|| |

koe gbea atsyia:

| ||

| |

The stupid man claims it is only the fork-tree

| ||

that plucks cashew nuts.

Solution:

Get 3 fork-sticks, 3 head loads of firewood for a sacrifice.

238. Tsioka:

Avlimenuwo mesona o. Tsi ha tsi-kake;

|| |

agba ha, agba-kake.

| ||

|| |

Properties hereafter are never whole. Bowls and

|| ||

plates are always halves.

Solution: Get a small-praying animal known as Nyononoe's part, pieces of earthen-ware plates and cups for a sacrifice. He should be ritually bathed.

239. Tsiefatrakpe: (Not disclosed)

|| |

T<sub>Q</sub> nu w<sub>Q</sub> ye; N<sub>Q</sub> nu w<sub>Q</sub> ye. Ye fofogbl<sub>Q</sub>e,

|| ||

ye gbe- Yebe yele yiyi ge. Dee yeyi enye esia.

| |

|| ||

240. Tsiefu: Nye mele ha adeke me kple mi o.

|| |

Wobia Yevudux<sub>Q</sub> be ex<sub>Q</sub> dzo maha? Kasia, kpo.

| ||

|| |

I do not belong to your social class.

Solution: Look for the place where pig has brought forth its young. Scoop the soil for herbal concoction to be taken ritually. Bathe it 16 days.

241. Fuwogbe: Tutu dze, home Nyaxo di.

| ||

| ||

A wise man invokes an ancient paradigm.

| ||

| ||

Solution: Get wall ghecko, ant, palm wine (a pot), part of a hyena, pegs of Xe, Cock and hen, Velvet for a sacrifice.

242 Fuwoyeku:- 1. Agbogbomekosu do dzo ko ye do dzo to.

|| || 2. Aleke miebe mawo maha?

|| | (Not disclosed)

|| ||

|| |

243. Fuwoli: Fuwoli, gbagbowoli, Fia eve medoa vu deka o:

|| || Tsikula le mia ve ge

| | Fuwoli, gbagbowoli (Afa divinity of the horoscope)

| || Two chiefs do not travel in one boat. You may

|| | not get the attendant to fetch you water.

Solution: Get calabash for throwing out water from a leaking canoe and tilapia for a sacrifice.

244. Fuedi:- Fome medoa atsi miefi nga tomekpo o.

| ||

|| | The constipated stomach is never unknown

|| || to the anus.

| |

Solution: Get beans for a sacrifice.

245. Fuloso: Nq̄ti gbagbat̄o medzea ngo ve-ya o.  
| ||  
| | The man with a broken nose does not face  
|| || inland wind.  
|| |
- Solution: Mould the head of human idol with clay. Break its nose  
for a sacrifice.
246. Fukpabla: K̄ok̄oli f̄o fu: fu la tsi madzi.  
| ||  
|| | K̄ok̄oli (A woman in Afa divinity in this horoscope)  
|| || is pregnant. She is not able to deliver the baby.  
|| |
- Solution: Get the millipede and fan-palm for a sacrifice. Pay  
ritual homage to "Daloso"- Thunder cult of Yeve.
247. Fukpanqli:- (Not disclosed)  
|| ||  
|| | Awude mawqe, awude d̄o edzi.  
| || Nu madz̄o de Bok̄wo dome ado dzre o.  
| |
- A thing is never lost among Afa priests. (Awude is Afa deity).

248. Fukpakla:- Yemebe newoli na ye o. Ne wonyae ko, mali.

|| ||

|| |

I do not need initiation; but if they know

|| ||

they should initiate me.

| |

Solution: Get part of hyena for a sacrifice.

249. Fukpeguda:- Gali, gali. Ava ha le kolo dim.

| ||

Kolo ha le ava dim.

| |

| ||

Joyfully; Penis is in need of vagina.

|| |

Vagina is also in need of penis.

Solution: Get a cock and a hen for a sacrifice. The client must not be a miser.

250. Fuyisa: Ta medzea tso be dina o.

|| ||

| |

Death is death.

| ||

| |

Solution: Get the bird (Vatsakpoli, met already), native tray, pap in tray and bottle for a sacrifice.

251. Fuka: Nanee ma le didim abe amega Ahosu fe  
|| || agbeno<sub>o</sub> ene: Ne ho meli o la, fia nya duna maha?  
| |  
|| || It is only man of valour and upright standing  
|| | that speaks. Without him, there is silence. It is only in  
the presence of the eagle that a person is enstooled.  
Solution: Get the bird known among Anlos as "Akl**o**b<sub>o</sub>e" part of  
eagle, part of Vatsakpoli for a sacrifice.
252. Fufatrukpe:- Ana di hee! Ana kufe do.  
|| ||  
|| | I am the one they look up to; but now sick and  
| || cannot do anything.  
|| |  
Solution: Get pineapple, a bird known among Anlos as  
"Lumkplehe" for a sacrifice.
253. Futula:- Agbeme gble ye.  
| ||  
|| | The world is upside down for me.  
| ||  
| |  
Solution: Get the bird - "Vatsakpoli"'s part, gun-powder, gun for  
a sacrifice.

254:- Felete:- Yoxomevu: Dɔ gbolo wɔm wo le.  
| ||  
| | The bellow in the bench-fitter's shop does  
|| || a futile work.  
| |

Solution:- Get a fowl, hyena, bellow and a goat for a sacrifice.

255:- Fɔtrukpɔ:- (Not disclosed) Avo-si-vui media vu o.  
|| || Vu la do gbidigbidi va tsɔ.  
|| | Nuka tututue le dzɔdzɔm le afe sia me?  
| || Wo mele gbe dom nyuie o. Dzure le afe la me.  
|| | Adika-dodo le afe la me- Minimini son koe  
le afe la me.

256. Futsie: Ha medea nu to wo zua agba o.

| ||  
|| | A pig does not hide a thing in the hole to find  
| || it difficult to uproot later.  
|| |

Solution: Get gun-powder, where pigs are bred for preparing  
concoction to ritually bathe sixteen days. Do not eat  
pork.

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE:-

The questions are in two categories:

- a) Open ended
- b) Close ended

In the open ended questions, feel free to write the answers in the spaces provided immediately below each questions. In the close ended questions, you are to circle either (1) which stands for 'YES' or (2) which stands for 'NO'

e.g.

Close ended question: Yes No

Has Ama received formal education? (1) (2)

The answer is YES and so we circle (1)

Open ended

What is the health of Ama?

-----  
-----

In the above question, write down the nature of Ama's health in the spaces provided immediately below the question.

1. What is Afa?

-----  
-----

2. Where does it come from?

---

---

3. When was it brought to Anlo?

---

---

4. Who first brought it?

---

---

5. How did it spread?

---

---

6. Who started it in Anlo?

---

---

7. Who developed it?

---

---

8. How did it spread in Anlo?

---

---

9. Where was it first located in Anlo?

-----  
-----

10. Was the place a viable domicile before its arrival?

(1)      (2)

11. What brought you into contact with Afa?

-----  
-----

12. What happened in the shrine when you first consulted it?

-----  
-----

13. How did the priest begin his/her ceremonies?

-----  
-----

14. How did he proceed?

-----  
-----

15. How long did you stay with the priest?

-----  
-----

16. Did you go to other priests after the initial consultation?

-----  
-----

17. Why?

-----

18. How early were you brought into contact with Afa?

-----  
-----

19. Do you rely on Afa?

(1)      (2)

20. How often do you consult Afa priests?

-----  
-----

21. How many priests have you so far consulted?

-----  
-----

22. Why do you rely on Afa?

-----  
-----

23. In what situations do you consult Afa?

-----  
-----

24. Are you friendly with some of the priests?

(1)            (2)

25. Why do people consult priests?

-----

-----

**FOR PRIESTS**

26. How did you become a priest?

-----

27. What are the requirements to become a priest?

-----

28. What form does the training of Afa priest take?

-----

29. What do the priests study?

-----

30. Who can become an Afa priest?

-----

31. How many priests are in your town?

-----

32. How long does the priestly training take?

-----

33. Do other cults like Yeve, Afetoku, Anagli have Afa priests in their shrines?

-----

34. What indicates that you are qualified to practise?

-----

35. How did you set up your practice?

-----

36. Where did you set up your practice?

-----

37. When did you set up your practice?

-----

38. Is it compulsory for other cults to have Afa priests in their shrines?

(1) (2)

39. Do Afa priests work together?

(1) (2)

40. How do they work together?

-----

41. Do they work for chiefs? (1) (2)

42. How do you relate to the people in the community?

-----

43. What services do you render to them as a priest?

-----

44. What service do the people in the community render to you as a priest?

-----

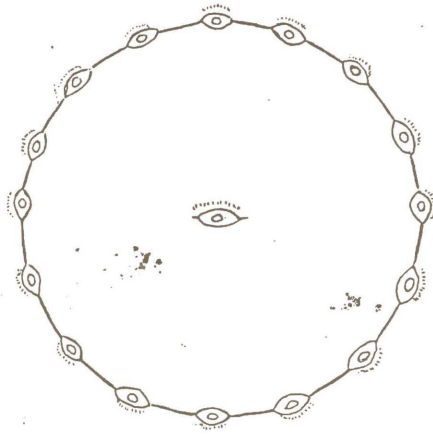
45. How many Afa shrines are in your community as a whole

-----

46. Do the shrines have any relevance to other deities?

-----

47. Would you do anything important without consulting Afa in terms of the following:
- |    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| a) | Marriage   | 1 | 2 |
| b) | Give a name to a newly born child                  | 1 | 2 |
| c) | Set up a business                                  | 1 | 2 |
| d) | Sickness   | 1 | 2 |
| e) | Infertility  | 1 | 2 |
| f) | Death  | 1 | 2 |
| g) | Travel   | 1 | 2 |
| h) | Send a child to school                             | 1 | 2 |
| i) | When a child seems not to be intelligent in school | 1 | 2 |
| j) | Witchcraft   | 1 | 2 |
| k) | Start a farm                                       | 1 | 2 |
| l) | Any social event (football or vodu worship)        | 1 | 2 |
| m) | Set up a market                                    | 1 | 2 |
| n) | Petty selling and buying                           | 1 | 2 |
48. Does Afa give treatment for diseases
- |  |  |   |   |
|--|--|---|---|
|  |  | 1 | 2 |
|--|--|---|---|
49. Is Afa cult the mouthpiece of all 'deities in Anlo?
- |  |  |   |   |
|--|--|---|---|
|  |  | 1 | 2 |
|--|--|---|---|
50. Do other deities in Anlo see Afa as a focus for reconciliation between them and their worshippers?
- |  |  |   |   |
|--|--|---|---|
|  |  | 1 | 2 |
|--|--|---|---|



Key



⇒ Afa-Vodu's head without eyes



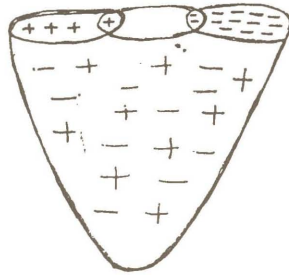
⇒ An eye on the Afa-Vodu's head

{ 16 Major ones on the head.  
1 Minor one in the centre  
of Atayèdegù's head.

Fig. 1.

S. A. T.

Affinity between Afa-voou implements & beliefs and Thunder Cult of Yeve  
Among the People of Anlo.  
 The Concept of Three In One God.



KEY

SOGBLA	++
	++
SDWLUI	
SODZA	--
	--



← DODO



← ASE

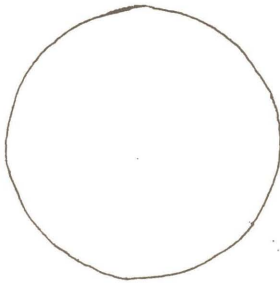
NB. A se is an indispensable object (iron implement) originally used by Afa priests and priestesses. Later on its use could be seen among the priests of other cults, especially the Thunder cult of Yeve. Deities receive their sacrifices from the top of it.

Fig. 2

S. A. T. 1996.

Type 1

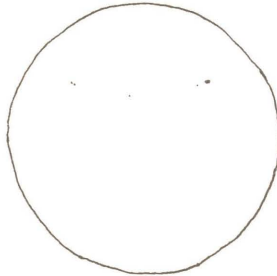
(Most elderly chronologically)



Dzisa

Type 2

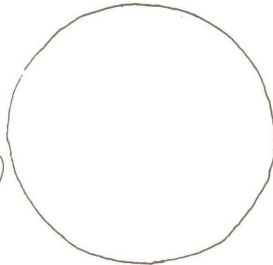
(The second chronologically)



Gogo

Type 3

(The youngest chronologically)

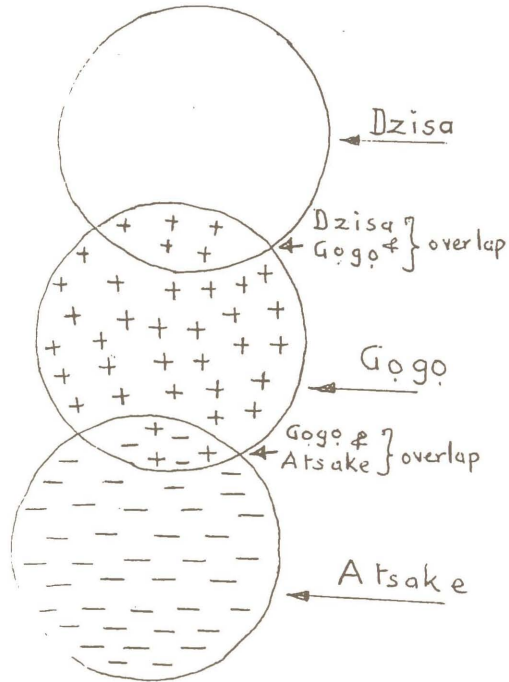


Atsake

These are the three components of the one Afa-Vodu in plain circles.

Fig 3.

The Overlapping Faces of Afa-Yodu  
or  
The overlapping of The 3 Types of Afa-Yodu



Key for Symbols :-

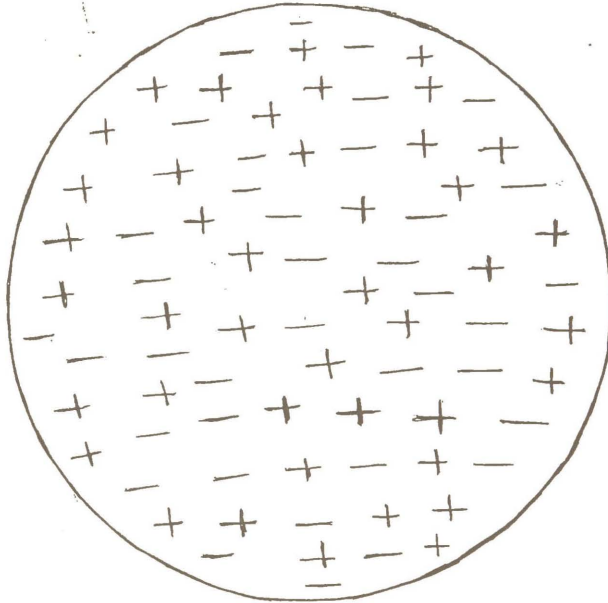
Type 1 = Dzisa  $\Rightarrow$  plain circle

Type 2. = Gogo  $\Rightarrow$  circle with crosses

Type 3. = Atsake  $\Rightarrow$  circle with dashes

Fig. 4.

The 3 types of Afa-Yodu superimposed

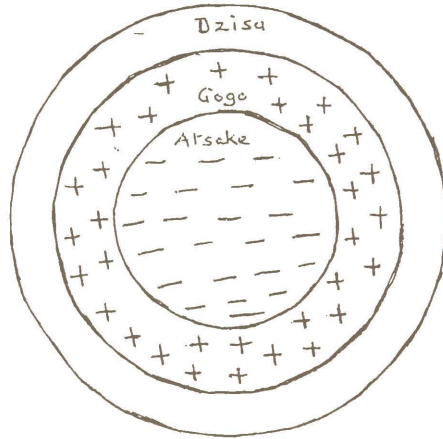


Key

- The plain circle represents Dzisa.
- ⊕ The circle within which stands a cross represents Gogo.
- ⊖ The circle within which is a dash represents Atsake.

Fig. 5

or  
The Aerial View of The 3 types of Afa-Vodu  
in elevating mode



NB. The exteriors (cutskirts) of each type of Afa are shown only.

Fig. 6

S. A. T.

1996

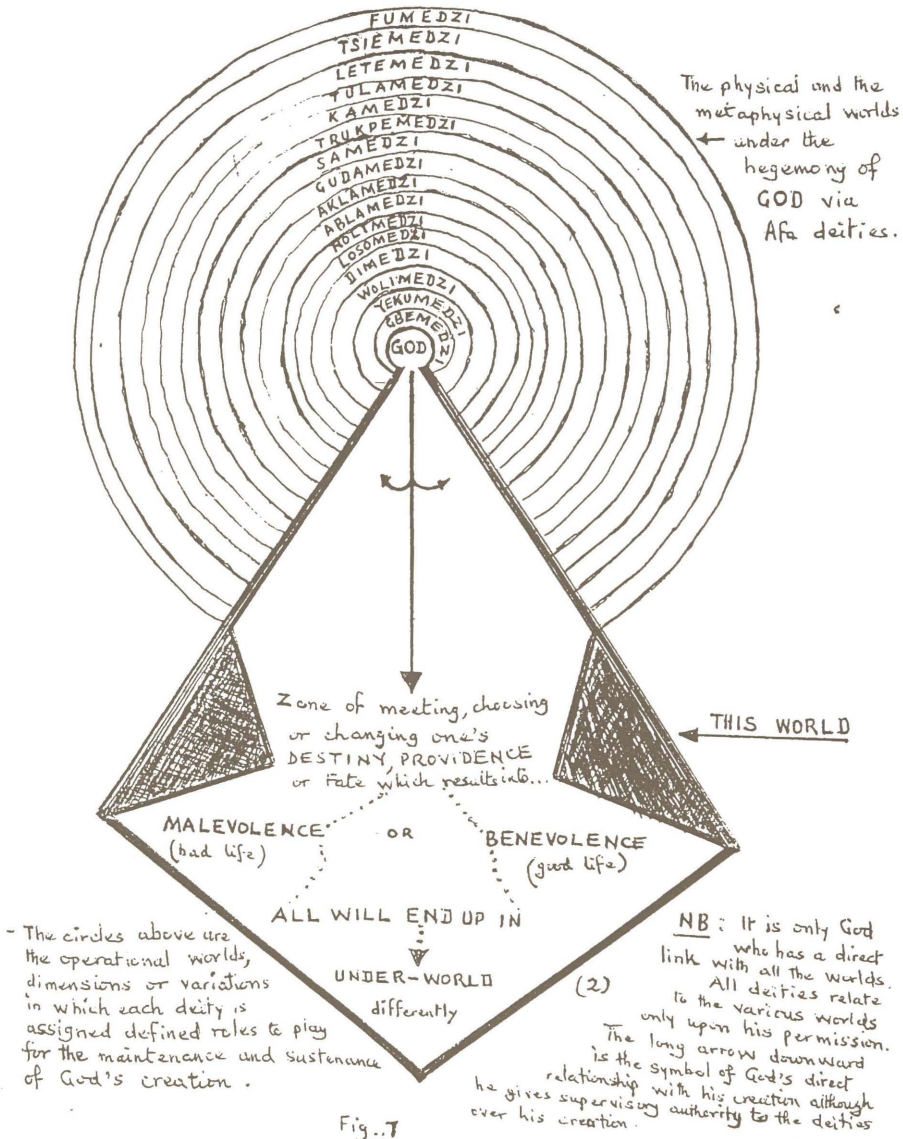


Fig..T

$\text{♩} = 94$

NUNYA KWAKU KLAH, 1989  
 LEGON

**A**

Me nye du du ge me-va Wo nu-ta

**B**

gbz-wo ta me va de

Me nye du du ge me-va

**C**

Wo nu-ta gbz-wo ta me-va de Ea Uza-kua

Fig. 16

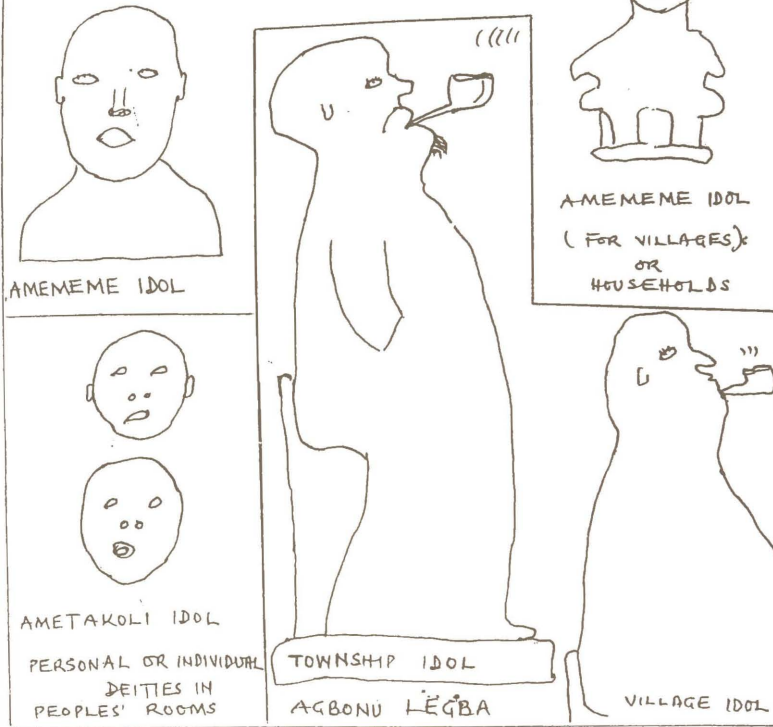


Fig. 8:

NB. They serve as protectives for individual members, households, communities or villages and townships.



SEPTEMBER	" 14	GUDAMEDZI	    
OCTOBER	DZINUVOE 1	SAMEDZI	    
NOVEMBER	" 2	KAMEDZI	    
DECEMBER	" 3	TRUKPEMEDZI	    
UNKNOWN MONTHS PERIOD OF BAN ON PROCREATION SEXUAL PURITY YEARS OF WAIT AND SEE		TULAMEDZI	    
		LETEMEDZI	    
		TSIEMEDZI	    
		FUMEDZI	    
		TSIETULA	    

SEPTEMBER	" 14	GUDAMEDZI	    
OCTOBER	DZINUVOE 1	SAMEDZI	    
NOVEMBER	" 2	KAMEDZI	    
DECEMBER	" 3	TRUKPEMEDZI	    
UNKNOWN MONTHS PERIOD OF BAN ON PROCREATION SEXUAL PURITY YEARS OF WAIT AND SEE		TULAMEDZI	    
		LETEMEDZI	    
		TSIEMEDZI	    
		FUMEDZI	    
		TSIETULA	    

AFA - VODU AND PROCREATION BY GENDER

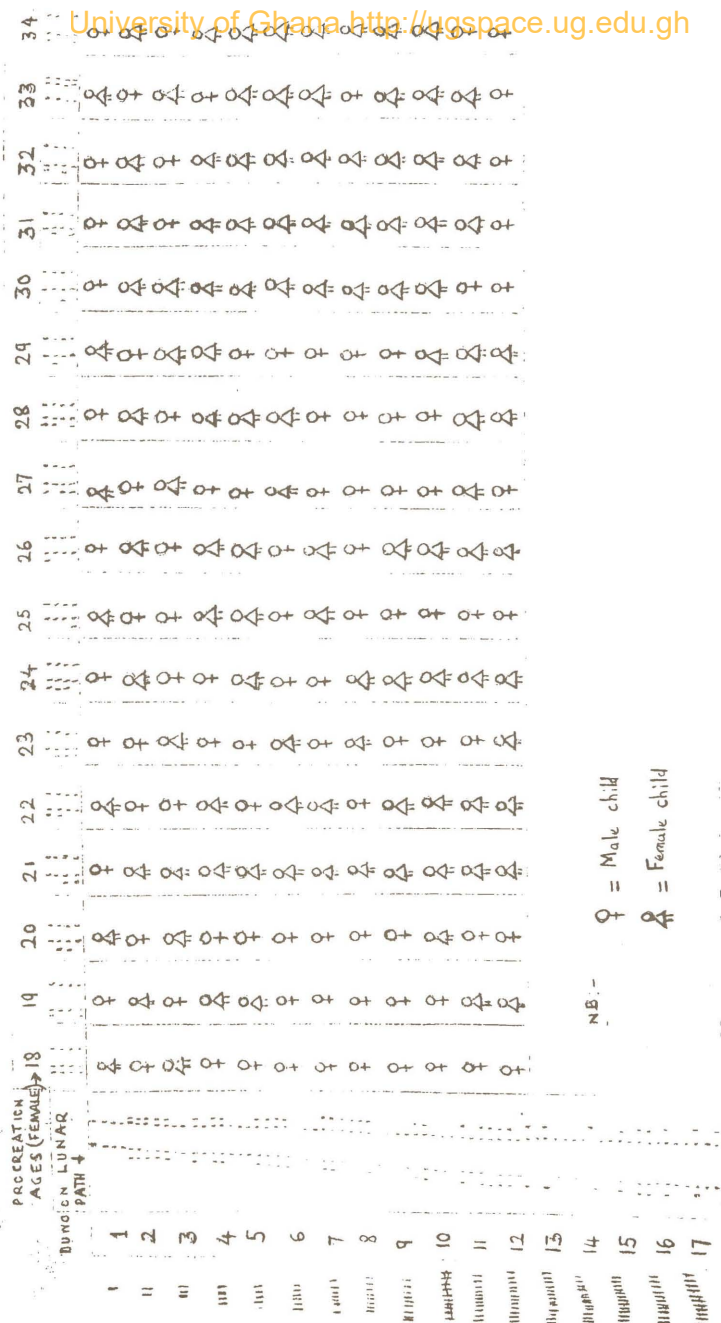


Fig. 19 a.

**AFA-VODU AND PROCREATION BY GENDER - Influence of Horoscopes**

KPLIWO (DUKLEWO)		DUNUAWO																												
SYMBOLS OF DUNUAWO & KPLIWO		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	CONCERNING AGE OF A WOMAN	
1	1	F	F	F	M	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Gbamedzi
2	2	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Yekumedzi
3	3	F	M	F	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	Wolimedzi
4	4	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Dimedzi
5	5	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Lesomedzi
6	6	M	M	M	F	F	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Helimedzi
7	7	M	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Ablamedzi
8	8	M	M	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	M	M	M	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Aklamedzi
9	9	M	M	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Gudamedzi
10	10	M	M	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Samedzi
11	11	M	F	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	M	F	F	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Kumedzi
12	12	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	Trukpamedzi
13	13	These major horoscopes (Dunuawa) exercise their power in the above permuted horoscopes (Duklewo): - Gbetula, Gbewelete, Gbetsie, Gbefu and in their own separate as well as mysterious domains.																												Tulamedzi
14	14																													Letamedzi
15	15																													Tsiemedzi
16	16																													Fumedzi
17	17																													Tsietula
		In the first seventeen years, a girl is engaged upon to control her reproductive power.																												

NB :- (1)  $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{X}}$  = F. (Female or Feminine Gender) in the rest of the diagram.  
 (2)  $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{Y}}$  = M. (Male or Masculine Gender)

Fig. 19 b.

S. A. TOPPAR

THE SOUTHERN HALF OF VOLTA REGION SHOWING KETA & ANLOGA AS

ANLO'S COMMERCIAL & TRADITIONAL CAPITALS



NB:- Taken from Geometric Transformation Services Ltd, P.O. Box 164, Ho Volta Region, 1995 Calendar with little alterations.

Fig. 15



# ANLOWO PE HOGBETSOTSO NIKEKE



SOUVENIR BROCHURE

CO. 25

Fig. 118. Embroidered design of a traditional Ghanaian pattern.

# Auto-Handelsolsu Festival



1973

Price: 50p. (100 fr.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
evedzi	Yekumedzi	Wolimedzi	Dimedzi	Losomedzi	Nolimedzi	Ablamedzi	Aklamedzi
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
damedzi	Samedzi	Kamedzi	Trukpemedzi	Tulamedzi	Letamedzi	Tsiemedzi	Fumedzi
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
etala	Gbeinoyeku	Gbewoli	Gbedi	Gbeloso	Gbenloe	Gbeabla	Gbeakla
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
beguda	Gbesa	Gbeka	Gbefatrakpe	Gbetula or Gbetumila	Gbewote	Gbetsie	Gbefu
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
kudzogbe	Yekudawoli	Yekubledi	Yekuagboloso	Yekusinloe	Yekudabla	Yekudakta	Yekudeguda
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
kudosa	Yekusika	Yekufatrakpe	Yekusitula	Yekuagbolele	Yekusitsie	Yekukpefu	Wolibogbe
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
hinafayeku	Wolixodi	Wolimolose	Wolinonloe	Wolidabla	Wolidakta	Woliwogodo	Wolixosa

Fig. 12

NB The way some of the names are spelt and pronounced vary from one place to another, but not in great extent. The symbols are always the same.

57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
Wolixoka	Wolifatrukpe	Woliwotubu	Wolimo late	Wolikotsie	Woliwofu	Digbe	Diyeku
65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
Diwoli	Diloso	Dinloe	Diabla	Diakla	Diguda	Disa	Dika
73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
Difatrukpe	Ditula	Dilete	Ditsie	Difu	Losowogbe	Losoyeku	Losowoli
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Losodi	Losenloe	Loscabla	Losoakla	Losoguda	Lososa	Losoka	Losofatruckpe
89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
Losotula	Losomolate	Losotsie	Losofu	Nolotsogbe	Noliyeku	Nolidewoli	Nolixodi
97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104
Noliagboloso	Nolidabla	Nolidakla	Nolideguda	Nolidosa	Noligbaka Noligbagbo	Nolifatrukpe	Nolishitula
105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112
Nolimolate	Nolikotsie	Nolikpafu	Ablabogbe	Ablawoyeku	Abladewoli	Ablaxodi	Ablagboloso

113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
bladenoli	Abladakla	Abladeguda	Ablaxosa	Ablaxoko	Abiafaturupe	Abawotula or Abiawotubu	Ablagbolete
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128
lakotsie	Ablakpufu	Aklatsogbe	Aklawoyeku	Akladenoli	Aklaxodi	Aklagboloso	Akladenli
129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
aladabla	Akladeguda	Aklaxosa	Aklaxoka	Aklafaturupe	Aklawotula	Aklagbolete	Aklakotsie
137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
klakpafu	Gudafugbe	Gudayeku	Gudavwoyi	Gudagi	Gudagboloso	Gudanloe	Gudabli
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152
Gudakla	Gudasa	Gudaka	Gudafaturupe	Gudakpetula	Gudagbokete	Gudatsie	Gudafu
153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
Sawogbe	Sayeku	Sawoli	Sadi	Saloso	Sanloe	Sabla	Sakla
161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
Sawogbe Saguda	Sayeku Saka	Sawoli Safaturupe	Sadi Satula	Salete	Satsie	Safu	Kawogbe

164	170	171	172	173	174	175	176
weku	Kawoli	Kadi	Kaloso	Kanloe	Kabla	Kakla	Kaguda
177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184
asa	Kafatruckpe	Katula	Kalete	Katsie	Kafu	Trukpetsogbe	Trukpayeku
185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192
dekoye	Trukpedi	Trukpeloso	Trukpenloe	Trukpeabla	Trukpeakla	Trukpeguda	Trukpesa
193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200
ukpeka	Trukpekoye	Trukpemite	Trukpetsie	Trukpefu	Tuladogbe	Tulayeku	Tuladewoli
201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208
ladi	Tuladeso	Tulanloe	Tulababla	Tuladakla	Tulakpaguda	Tulasa	Tulavaka
209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216
lababatu	Tulagboye	Tulatsyo	Tulafunloe	Letewogbe	Leteyeku	Letewoli	Letedi
217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224
teloso	Letenloe	Letzabla	Letzakla	Dekpekuto	Letesa	Leteka	Letetoatri

NB. The way some of the names are spelt and pronounced vary, but not in great extent. The symbols are always the same.

225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232
Gboyisa	Bokonofete	Letefe	Tsiwogbe	Tsieyeku	Tsienoli	Tsiedi	Tsieloso
233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
Tsienbe	Tsiabia	Tsiekla	Tsieguda	Tsiesa	Tsieka	Tsiefatrakpe	Tsiefu
241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248
Fuwogbe	Fuyeku	Fuwol.	Fudi	Fuloso	Fukpabla	Fukpanloe	Fukpakla
249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256
Fukpaguda	Fuyisa	Fuka	Fufatrakpe	Futula	Fuite	Futrakpe	Futsie

Fig. 12 *ibid.*



RESEARCH DESIGN  
QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

(V) RESEARCH DESIGN - (QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE) OR CODE

NO. OF RESPONDENTS = 30.

1 P= 26 N= 02 NF= 02	2 P= 28 N= 01 NF= 01	3 P= 07 N= 17 NF= 06	4 P= 14 N= 02 NF= 14	5 P= 14 N= 02 NF= 14	6 P= 09 N= 15 NF= 06	7 P= 05 N= 08 NF= 17	8 P= 08 N= 0 NF= 22	9 P= 12 N= 01 NF= 17
10 P= 19 N= 0 NF= 11	11 P= 22 N= 02 NF= 06	12 P= 09 N= 04 NF= 17	13 P= 03 N= 0 NF= 27	14 P= 07 N= 01 NF= 22	15 P= 11 N= 01 NF= 18	16 P= 04 N= 05 NF= 21	17 P= 09 N= 01 NF= 20	18 P= 14 N= 04 NF= 12
19 P= 16 N= 10 NF= 4	20 P= 09 N= 11 NF= 10	21 P= 09 N= 01 NF= 20	22 P= 11 N= 04 NF= 15	23 P= 17 N= 01 NF= 12	24 P= 22 N= 04 NF= 04	25 P= 15 N= 01 NF= 14	26 P= 07 N= 01 NF= 22	27 P= 24 N= 01 NF= 05
28 P= 23 N= 01 NF= 08	29 P= 21 N= 04 NF= 05	30 P= 22 N= 01 NF= 07	31 P= 24 N= 02 NF= 04	32 P= 13 N= 02 NF= 05	33 P= 25 N= 01 NF= 04	34 P= 18 N= 02 NF= 10	35 P= 22 N= 01 NF= 07	36 P= 05 N= 02 NF= 23
37 P= 04 N= 01 NF= 25	38 P= 02 N= 20 NF= 08	39 P= 07 N= 13 NF= 05	40 P= 12 N= 08 NF= 10	41 P= 01 N= 27 NF= 02	42 P= 04 N= 28 NF= 02	43 P= 19 N= 02 NF= 09	44 P= 18 N= 02 NF= 10	45 P= 20 N= 06 NF= 04
46 P= 10 N= 08 NF= 12	47.01 P= 12 N= 12 NF= 06	47.02 P= 13 N= 13 NF= 04	47.03 P= 14 N= 18 NF= 03	47.04 P= 26 N= 03 NF= 01	47.05 P= 19 N= 07 NF= 04	47.06 P= 25 N= 03 NF= 02	47.07 P= 21 N= 06 NF= 23	47.08 P= 16 N= 12 NF= 02
47.09 P= 16 N= 10 NF= 04	47.10 P= 22 N= 05 NF= 03	47.11 P= 17 N= 11 NF= 02	47.12 P= 15 N= 12 NF= 03	47.13 P= 22 N= 06 NF= 02	47.14 P= 21 N= 03 NF= 06	48 P= 23 N= 01 NF= 06	49 P= 12 N= 12 NF= 06	50 P= 13 N= 05 NF= 06

KEY: P = POSITIVE  
N = NEUTRAL  
NF = NEGATIVE

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