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THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF THE GOLD COAST,  
WEST OF THE WHITE VOLTA.

Jack Goody, MA., B. Litt.



THE WESTERN SUDAN

## PREFACE

In this report I have attempted to review the available information on the area, ethnographic, linguistic and historical, in the light of my own field research and of unpublished documents. My interests lay primarily in the Lawra District; I spent little time in Wa or Gonja. Indeed, had it not been for the assistance of Mr. H. Tomlinson, the Government Agent in Western Gonja, in recording the tribal distribution, and of Lt-Col. A. C. Duncan-Johnstone M.B.E., E.D. who kindly placed his papers at my disposal, the state of Gonja would have received very cursory treatment. I would like to thank Lt-Col. Duncan-Johnstone and Mr. R. Brace Hall for allowing me to publish as appendices accounts of Gonja history which they had translated or recorded. With their assistance I have added a number of notes, many of which are based on their material. Outside the Lawra area, I offer the ethnographic comments only because little or nothing has been written about these peoples. In linguistic matters I claim no more than amateur status. But I make not the slightest apology for entering into the historical arena. No one who has had any sustained contact with 'tribal historians' can doubt that social anthropology is a better qualification than the study of European history for the recording and assessing of the data with which they are dealing.

Although most of this monograph is concerned with the establishment of ethnographic facts, the chapter in which I discuss the tribal nomenclature of the Lawra District has I think a wider significance for sociologists. In the first place I analyse a directional system of group designation. The use of a group nomenclature which is relative to the position of the actor must occur in many areas; analogies on the tribal level to the terms eastern and western, upper and lower peoples have often been hinted at, but not to my knowledge discussed in any detail because the authors were looking for societies which had a definite name and a definite boundary.

Secondly, there are certain general implications for the study of "societies" and "social systems". Even where tribal names exist, they have different referents in different areas. In speaking of English and Nuer "societies", we are thinking of groups with quite distinct criteria of eligibility; in the one case it may be membership of a particular state system, in the other cultural homogeneity. To look for "societies" beyond the level of the settlement is a futile activity in the North-West of the Gold Coast, if the administrative scheme is excluded. There is not sufficient discontinuity in social relations at any other point to allow us to speak of the boundaries of a total social system, for the boundaries vary with the particular activity one is considering. It is essential to realize, in thinking of "society" as a boundary maintaining system, that the boundaries are not in fact the same for all situations, either from the actor's or the observer's point of view; they alter with the focus of interest.

I would like to thank Kirsten Brüttn, H. E. Goody, and Gülen Yalman for their help with the typing, proofs and maps.

Cambridge, 1954.

### A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

I have used the script recommended by the International African Institute.

Words in the vernacular are underlined once. Names of languages are doubly underlined in order to distinguish them from the names of the peoples themselves, which they often resemble and with which they are often confused.

In the final section on the Lawra District, I had to differentiate clearly between names used by the people themselves, which I have underlined; names used by previous European observers, which I have given in inverted commas; and the names which I have myself selected. These last are put in capitals.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Three recent publications have dealt with this region in some detail and it is in the context of these works that I wish to discuss the area. They are "Languages of West Africa," by D. Westermann and M. A. Bryan; "Akan Traditions of Origin," by E. Meyerowitz; and "Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," by Madeline Manoukian. Westermann's interests are linguistic, Meyerowitz is concerned with synthesizing the oral traditions, while Manoukian summarizes the available ethnographical material. The completeness of each account is hampered by the paucity of published works and by the complexity of the situation itself.

A linguistic classification of peoples, especially in such an area where it is often misleading to think in terms of circumscribed units such as "tribes" or "societies", is a useful preliminary to anthropological research. Delafosse in his great work on West Africa<sup>1</sup> claimed to take into consideration physical, cultural and linguistic evidence, together with the traditional migration stories. This gave rise to insoluble problems, such as whether the Birifor should be included among "les tribus du rameau Lobi" on cultural grounds or among the Mossi group on the basis of their language. The failure to stick to one criterion has led to considerable complications. As the basic evidence for any but specifically linguistic classification of West African peoples is so incomplete, language must be the framework of any systematization.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the practical implications of such a summary, particularly at a time when Mass Education in the vernacular is being introduced into the Northern Territories. The extension of literacy, the publishing of pamphlets in local dialects, will inevitably lead to the domination of certain languages by others, firstly in the sphere of the written, and later in that of the spoken, word. It is as well to be aware of the issues at stake. One can only see the nature of the problem once the distribution has been mapped. More immediate problems concerning the vernacular to be taught in schools, the posting of teachers, the operating areas for Mass Education teams depend upon the correctness of such a survey.

In reconstructions and analyses of past events in preliterate societies the implications of linguistic, and cultural factors generally, have not been sufficiently taken into account. The sort of activity carried out by Meyerowitz is a legitimate task, although some British anthropologists under the influence of Durkheim and Malinowski express disapproval of such undertakings. The difficulties are enormous and the likelihood of error vast. But anthropologists, in emphasizing the social elements in oral tradition and therefore discounting the possibility of historical constituents, tend to contrast this absolutely with "history" as reconstructed from the written word. This attitude is particularly encouraged by current usage which distinguishes between "literate" and "pre-literate" societies ("civilized" and "primitive" having been found by experience to mislead in suggesting that social relationships are of greater value, on a higher plane, in the former) and which differentiates between "history" and "pre-history" on the basis of the availability of material.

The written record of past events, though not subject to the continuous social and personal interpretation the oral tradition undergoes, can claim no special sanctity in this respect. The historian must necessarily evaluate documentary material bearing in mind that it is the product of human mental processes in a particular social situation. The historian working only with the aid of dictated texts, which purport to refer to a remembered past not otherwise documented, has a yet more complex task on hand and requires to be considerably more circumspect and discriminating in his approach.

<sup>1</sup> Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1912.

## II. PROBLEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

The distribution of languages in the area between the Black and White Voltas is shown in the sketch map (opposite page 3). The sub-groupings within distinct linguistic areas, such as Grusi, are not based solely upon linguistic criteria. The existence of a standardized language is associated with centralized political systems, for the exercise of social control over a given area requires a common communicative system; but in stateless systems, and often within the state organizations themselves, one finds a series of gradual changes within the dialect cluster which defies separation into distinct dialects. These sub-groupings are therefore based upon the normal verbal response to the question "What do you call yourselves?". Among peoples without a centralized political system, these replies are not always simple to elucidate. Indeed the question itself may be meaningless, or may have meaning only within certain social contexts. The degree of identification with or disassociation from neighbouring groups may be considered only in connection with specific cultural criteria and not in the general sense which we associate with tribal and state nomenclature. Reference to one's own and to neighbouring groups, may be analogous to the use of directional terms such as eastern and western. In this case local usage provides no adequate basis for sub-dividing the dialect cluster, but groups emerge who point to the same criteria of differentiation in relation to surrounding peoples. Such a classification can obviously only be made after an intensive study of the groups concerned, and even then it is often no simple matter.

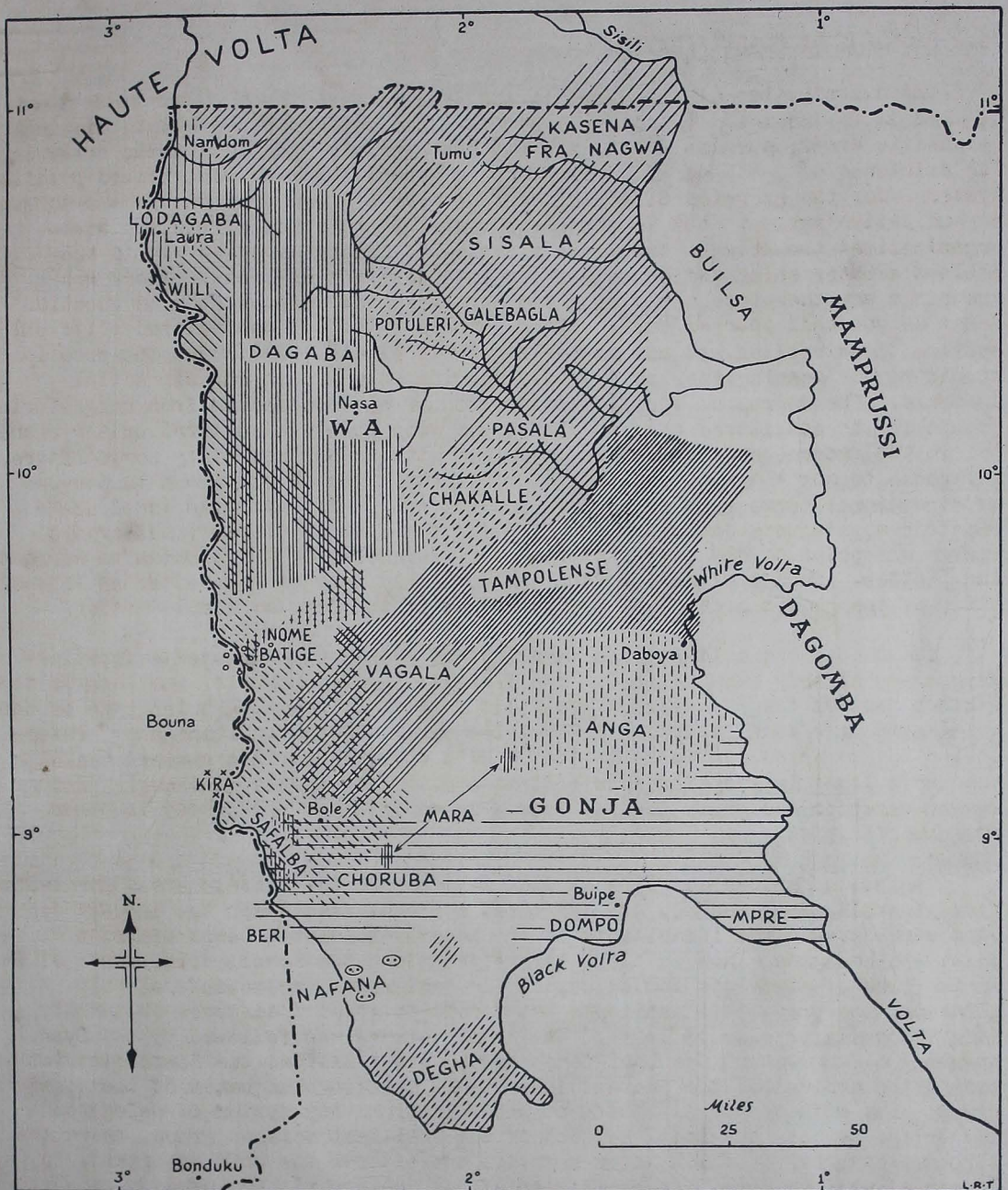
The use of one self-applied name may cut across the linguistic frontiers which have already been defined. The T/akalle (Angl. Chakalle) who inhabit the eastern part of the Wa district are split into those speaking a language of the Mossi group and those speaking a Grusi language. "Speaking a language" refers to the tongue which dominates in the Child's play group; the eastern Chakalle who use a Grusi language in this context are in fact mostly bilingual. The common name for the group derives from a recognition of uniformity in other social activities.

Migration further complicates such usages. In the Voltaic area, movements have generally been made by small groups, conjugal families; the process can be observed among the inhabitants of the heavily-populated Lawra district - Wiili and LoDagaba - now settling themselves along the Kumasi road, south of Wa. In the case of stateless societies, if the immigrants become sufficiently numerous, the previous inhabitants are forced to adapt themselves culturally and linguistically or else to leave. The latter course was followed by the Dyan,<sup>2</sup> speaking a language of the Lobi-Dogon group, who inhabited the Lawra district before the arrival of the present inhabitants speaking languages of the Mossi group. But without any situation of subordination, any system of delegated authority, outside the local section of the unilineal descent group, there are strong pressures, of which inter-marriage constitutes the most important, in favour of uniformity. This acceptance of the immigrant's way of life appears to have been made by those of the original Lo<sup>3</sup> inhabitants of the Wa area who did not leave when the migration from Dagomba took place. A similar situation is arising among the Sisala around Lambussie; through shortage of arable land the LoDagaba from Nandom are being forced to live among their easterly neighbours. In many parts of the district they have now achieved a numerical superiority over the Sisala, who are on the other hand decreasing in strength. A significant fact is that few of the immigrating LoDagaba but all the Sisala are bilingual. The LoDagaba are gradually eating into Sisala communities and culturally absorbing their members.

1. This is analysed in detail in the section on The Lawra District, p. 22.

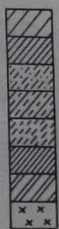
2. Angl. Janni. v. Westermann and Bryan, 1952, p. 59.

3. The terms "Lobi" and "Dagarti" are anglicized versions of names used in the west of the Northern Territories for a number of groups which I have distinguished by cultural and linguistic criteria, v. p. 22 et. seq. Inverted commas indicate the European usage. In translating the local words, I employ the root forms Lo and Dagaa on account of dialectal variations.



**THE TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES  
OF THE GOLD COAST WEST OF THE WHITE VOLTA**

**GRUSI-SPEAKING**



- KASENA
- SISALA ✓
- POTULERI
- DEGHA ○
- CHAKALLE
- TAMPOLENSE
- VAGALA -
- KIRA -

**MOSSI-SPEAKING**



- DAGABA
- LODAGABA
- LOWILI
- DAGAWILI
- BIRIFOR ♡
- NOME
- BATIGE
- ANGA -
- SAFALBA -

**GUANG-SPEAKING**



- GONJA -
- DOMPO -
- CHORUBA -
- BERI -

**SENUFO-SPEAKING**



- NAFANA

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

### III. A LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

I shall take as a basis for my discussion of the sketch map opposite the relevant sections in Westermann and Bryan's "Languages of West Africa". Names referring to languages are doubly underlined. Those referring to peoples are not. Where there is no previous record, I have put the self-applied designation in brackets immediately after the name of the dialect; these, like other local usages, are underlined once. The names of villages are those given in survey maps.

#### 1. THE GUR LANGUAGES (Larger unit)

##### A. CRUSI (Single unit) v. Word List, App. 1.

These languages appear to be much less closely related than is suggested by the term "dialect cluster".

i. KASENA. Manoukian shows Kasena as spoken over a larger area than Rattray describes. I have followed the latter.

ii. TAMPRUSI. This dialect is closely related to Vagala and Chakalle. The peoples speaking these three dialects appear to have similar social systems; double clanship combined with a double system of inheritance resembling that of the LoWiili.

Spoken in Bugay, Konkori, Sala, Isala-kawu, Bungweli, Mankariga, Lokuli, Yabum, Zantana, Goreba, Jinkrom, Nalori, Basampa, Nabengu, Denkerepe, Donkempi, Kuto, Gua.

##### iii. VAGALA

Spoken in Sawla, Jentilipe, Grupe, Nakwaby, Tuna, Soomia, Jang, Kpolebi, Dabori, Degwigu, Chorobang, Gelencon, Bole, Nyanga (part).

iv. CHAKALLE (T/akallo pl. T/akalle). I do not know of any previous record of the existence of the group speaking this dialect. Although now living entirely within the administrative district of Wa, there is in their midst the village of Kandia inhabited only by Guang-speaking Gonjas. The chiefship of Kandia was an important office in the Gonja political system. Either at the time of the arrival of the British military forces or a little before, during the course of a war between the State of Wa, allied with Bole, and the Yabumwura, the senior chief of Gonja, it fell within the orbit of Wa. The western section of the group comprising the villages of Cnago, Bisikan and Bulinga speaks Wala, i.e. the dialect of Dagari spoken within the State of Wa, and was certainly under the influence of the Chiefs of Wa before the European conquest. The Chief of Bulinga, the central village of this section, claims to have been a KamboNa (a semi-dependent war-chief) in relation to Wa.

The eastern group of the Chakalle speak Chakalle and seem to have been under the suzerainty of the Gonja Chief at Kandia. This group consists of the villages of Katua, Tosa, Sogola, Motigu, Chasia, Ducie and Gurembele.

##### v. KANJAGA (or BUILE)

Manoukian, following Rattray, classifies this as a Mossi language, whereas Westermann and Bryan include it among the Crusi group. As Rattray has pointed out, it occupies an intermediate position and in the absence of accepted criteria of classification it would be preferable to recognize it as such a link.

Apart from the villages listed by Rattray, the language is also spoken in the Tumu district by the inhabitants of Nyandem, Santijan and Benebise to the west of the Sissili River which is usually shown as the Sisala-Buile boundary. The last two villages speak both languages, which are apparently not mutually comprehensible. Gwosi may well prove to be in the same group; Guinness (1932) states that the inhabitants migrated from the Builsa country.

vi. DEGHA

The sketch map shows the distribution of Degna speakers (called Mo officially in the Gold Coast, but this is the Guang name) in the Northern Territories only. The language is spoken in the villages of Fumbo, Jenma, Tesselima, Jogboi, Carpenterkrom, Bamboi, Bampewa, Chiribirinyo and Babato.

vii. SISALA

Distribution. This is considerably larger than Manoukian shows, as the language is spoken along the Northern boundary of the Gold Coast almost to the Black Volta. In the Lambussie division, LoDagaba from the Nandom area and from the Haute Volta are occupying territory between the widely-scattered and compact Sisala villages. I estimate from tax rolls that at present there are at least 4,000 LoDagaba living amongst the Sisala of this division. There are a further 1,600 LoDagaba in the Tumu district in the vicinity of Fielmon.

Subdivision. Rattray gives names of subgroups, the criteria of distinction being in each case linguistic. I was unable to confirm Rattray's account of the use of the terms Sisala, Debe and Tamboboba; the last would certainly seem to be of the same order as "the people down there" and its use therefore relative to the geographical position of the speaker. On the other hand the following groupings were generally accepted:-

- a. PASAALA inhabiting the villages of Hallembai, Du, Sawobe, Tinabell and Kunyebin in the Tumu district; and Funsu, Du, Jumo, Bofiama, Yakenebi, Yala, Kulun, Kundungu, Sombisi, Chawuli and Jerbaga in the Wa district.
- b. GALEBAGLA v. Rattray, 1932, p. 466.
- c. POTULE (Potuli, pl. Potuleri, or Potuluri). This group which have not been previously recorded distinguished themselves only linguistically from the adjacent Sisala speakers. They inhabit the villages of Kujoperi, Jellin-Iri, Chala, Jiripansi, Kinkele and Duo to the north-west of Kujoperi, all in the Wa district.

This exhausts the Grusi speaking peoples of the area. The secret language of the Dyoro society of the Birifor and Lowilisi of the Ivory Coast is related to BUGULI v. Labouret, 1931, p. 428.

B. MOSSI (language group)† v. Word List, App. II.

i. In the section on the Lawra district I classify the various Mossi speaking groups known as "Lobi" and "Dagarti" by cultural criteria, v. p. 22.

The languages spoken by these groups, the DagaaWiili, the LoWiili, the LoDagaba, the Birifor and the Dagaba belong to one dialect cluster, which is best called Dagari.

ii. WALA is not a separate language as suggested by Westermann and Bryan. The word is derived from the town of Wa which was the headquarters of a small state on the Dagomba pattern set up by immigrants from that area. Although the dialect spoken there has certain differences from that of the Dagaba who remained outside the orbit of this system of centralized chiefship, it must be remembered that in this area the variation in language, as in other cultural features, is gradual and continuous. This being the case, it would be better to consider Wala as a sub-dialect of Dagari.

† The Gbanyang or Gbianian dialect recorded by Delafosse appears to be a misnomer for one of the Mossi dialects spoken in Gonja. v. Westermann and Bryan, 1952, p. 64. I have employed the terminology of Westermann to avoid confusion. Fortes, 1945, p. 6, more correctly calls this language group Mole-Dagbone.

- iii. NOME (Nomo, pl. Nome). This language is spoken to the south of the state of Wa by a people who, like the Vagala and Tampolense, have Gonja chiefs. They occupy the villages of Kulmasa, Pongeri, Ypala, Nahari, Kinchin and part of Sonyeri. v. Armitage, 1924, p. 4.
- iv. BATIGE (pl. Batige). The group speaking this language has not hitherto recorded but is apparently very similar to the Nome. They inhabit the villages of Kunfosi, Kalba (part only) and Tantama in the Ivory Coast, and, except in the last, are under Gonja chiefs.
- v. SAFALBA (Safalo, pl. Safalba). This is spoken in an area a little to the south of the above groups and lying immediately to the west of Bole by a small group who inhabit the villages of Mandara, Tankpe and Buanfo. They inherit movable property through females, and houses and land patrilineally on the same pattern as the LoDagaba, and probably have a system of double clanship by which this is organized. They also are under Gonja suzerainty. v. Armitage, 1924, p. 4.
- vi. MARA (Mara pl. Kamara). This language is spoken in the villages of Larabanga, Nabori and Dokrupe; it has close resemblances to Anga and therefore is closer to Dagbane than to the western group of Mossi languages.
- v. ANGA. Spoken in Daboya and to the south-west in the villages of Semissi, Bowena, Jinfromu, Anyanto, Kubeng, Yarizori, Kopota, Kodengu, Chutadi, Murugu, Lankatere, Busunu, and in parts of Supuni and Baka.

C. SENUFO (Single unit)

NAFANA. Spoken in Tinga, Wasipe and Tesselima (part), in the south-west of the Northern Territories and adjoining the Banda area of the Wenchi division where other Nafana are to be found,

D. LOBI-DOGON (language group)

LOBI dialect cluster. This language is spoken by the people referred to by the LoDagaba as Lowilisi, i.e. the "Lobi" or labourer. Some Lowilisi came with the Birifor in their migration from the Ivory Coast and are being becoming assimilated by the latter; the Gonja know them as Miiwo. I use Lobi to refer only to the language spoken by the Lowilisi, Dyan, etc., and never to a people, owing to complications described later.

2. THE KWA LANGUAGES

GUANG (Dialect cluster) v. Word List, App. III.

In Western Gonja the following Guang dialects are spoken:

- i. CHORUBA (Choruba pl. Choruba), in the villages of Seripe and Senyon.
- ii. DAMPUTU (Dampo pl. Dampo, alt. Dompo), spoken in Kalonso, Boakipe, Jembito and Bonipe.
- iii. AGBANYITO, spoken by the lineages to whom the chiefly offices are open (Erubi) and by the Nyemassi to whom such offices are denied. The chiefs are of course distributed throughout Gonja in villages inhabited mainly by the Gur speaking peoples already mentioned. The following villages are entirely Gonja, or have large Gonja elements:- Bole, Ntereso, Kiape, Lampurga, Sakpa, Maluwe, Kabalima, Nyanga, Kabanpe, Kananto, Damongo, Buipe, Baso, Frago, Supuni, Baka, Fryfusu, Mangpang, Lampol, Kpansera, Kajasi, Mpaha, Tamaklaw, Nyawrupe and Zaw.
- iv. MPRE, spoken in Butie and Debre (part) v. Cardinall, 1931(a). Although the first five numerals and certain other words given in Appendix III closely resemble the Guang languages, the word list as a whole differs considerably both from this group and from the Togo remnant languages. For purposes of comparison I have included it in the word lists of the Guang dialects.

#### IV. THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

IV. Taking as a starting point the genetic theory of languages,<sup>f</sup> one would expect that, in the absence of migration or invasion, neighbouring dialects would gradually shade into one another, and the more so in an area where the social organizations of adjacent peoples interpenetrate in the way described by Fortes in his analysis of the Tallensi. This is not of course to suggest (and this seems a difficult point for historians studying oral tradition in Africa to realize) that a group of peoples speaking the same language are necessarily themselves genetically homogeneous. Guinness's paper on the Sisala shows clearly the diversity of origin which may be claimed by a linguistically and culturally uniform community. Such a process of assimilation must have taken place where, despite migration stories indicating diverse origins, the language spoken by the present inhabitants fits into the general linguistic pattern of the region. There must also have been a previous population living in the area from whom the immigrants of all origins acquired a common language. For example, the Ashanti speak one of the Kwa languages which extend through the forest belt of the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Western Nigeria, and which shade into the Gur group through the Guang languages,\* and one cannot accept stories of migration from quite a different area as applying to the entire population when this linguistic continuity has to be accounted for. Neglect of this fact produces basic errors in Meyerowitz's reconstruction, quite apart from those introduced by the tendentious use of ethnographic material and the employment of techniques of free association in analysing the names of places and of peoples. Given that these stories may contain an element of historical fact which can be cross-checked against the traditions of other peoples, the linguistic situation indicates that there must have been an existing Akan speaking population from whom the immigrants acquired the language. The tendency for the traditions of the ruling lineages to be adopted by those of subordinate rank would explain the uniformity throughout the society of these migration stories.<sup>x</sup> A failure to realize this leads Meyerowitz into some of her less considered statements such as "Those peoples called Guan to-day in the Gold Coast, and who are patrilineal, are, in my opinion, Negro aboriginals from the Niger bend....,"<sup>o</sup>

Linguistic uniformity indicates the continuity of a considerable portion of the population. The appearance of abrupt linguistic cleavage within an area of gradual dialect change indicates that an important movement of peoples has taken place. If the region was previously inhabited and the language of the former inhabitants has disappeared, this must have resulted from extermination, expulsion or the domination of the earlier population by the newcomers.

With stateless systems where the two groups have similar types of social organization, the critical factor is numerical domination. Such is the case in the instance already cited of the LoDagaba penetrating into the Sisala areas around Lambussie. With state systems, however, where one group achieves political domination over another, the numerical factor may or may not continue to be of importance. The numerically inferior but politically superior Romans imposed their language on Gaul. In West Africa on the other hand the usual solution has been for the invaders to adopt the language of the autochthones. It has been suggested that this is due to the fact that the invading forces, lacking women of their own group, married those of the autochthones. The language of the offspring was determined by that used between mother and child. In Gonja this appears to have happened when the invaders first arrived. But the Gonjas extended their rule over other peoples who spoke different languages. The third possibility was adopted. The conquered retained their own language, giving rise to a polyglot state, an inherently unstable situation unless modified by bilingualism, for a communicative system is the prime prerequisite of any social system.

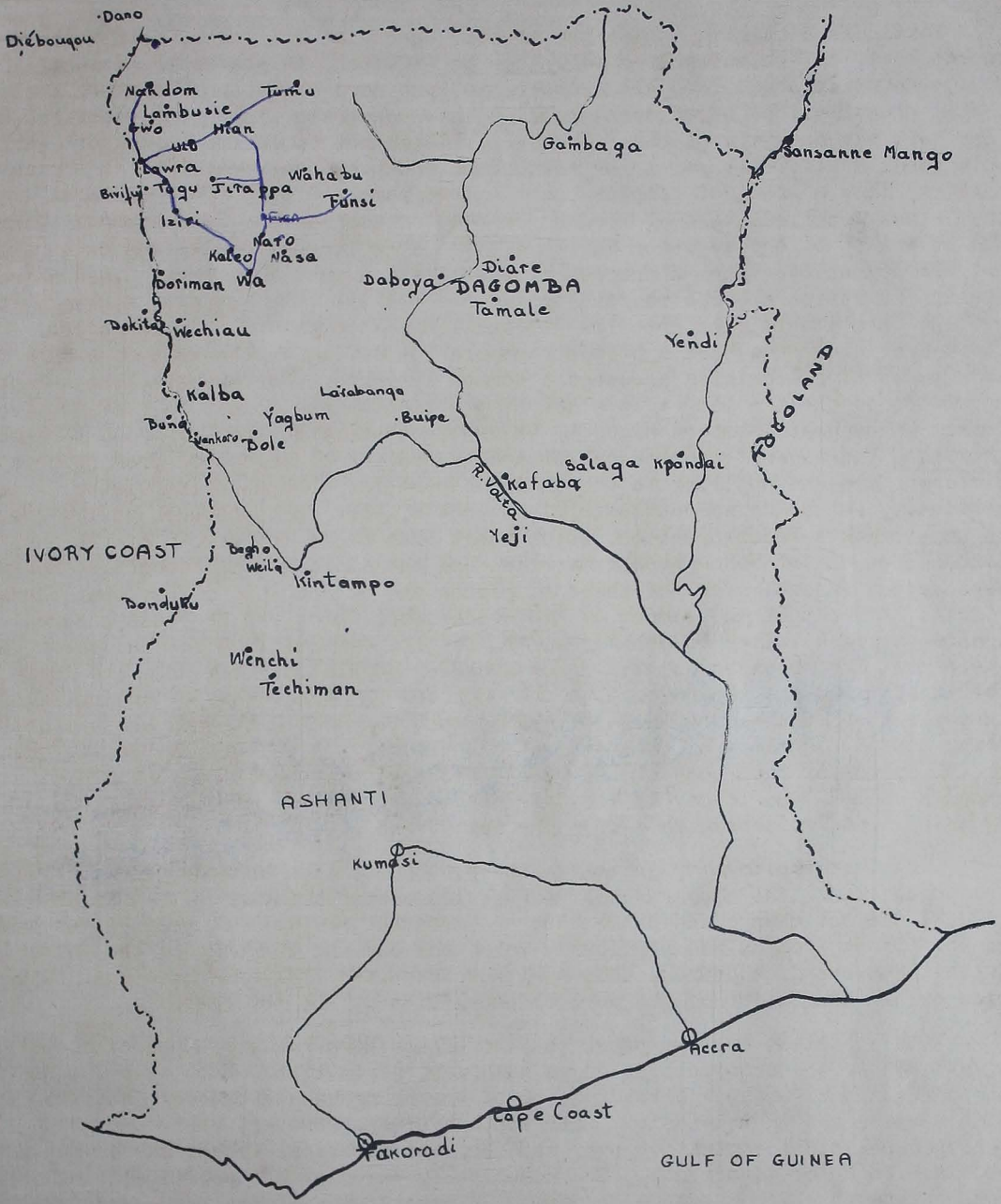
<sup>f</sup> Greenberg, 1949, p. 79.

\* J. Berry in Manoukian, 1952, p. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Bowdich asserts quite categorically that the traditions of emigration current in Ashanti refer not to the whole population but to particular "families" (1821, p. 5). Rattray, 1932, p. xx, makes the same point.

<sup>o</sup> Meyerowitz, 1952, p. 125.

HAUTE VOLTA



THE GOLD COAST

A restatement of these points has been made to clear the way for an examination of the ethnological position in the west of the Northern Territories.

A. GONJA. Westermann in "Die Sprache der Guang in Togo und auf der Goldküste und fünf andere Togosprachen", speaks of "the famous kola country of Gondja, also known as Gwandja, Gwandjiowa, Gbandja, Gbanye, Ngbanye and Bandjaue. As Christaller discovered, all these names can be traced back to the Guan race, the termination - dja, - djaue being derived from the Hausa, who like the Arabs, knew the country of old and travelled to it on account of the abundance of its kola." (p. 144).

Meyerowitz writes of the "matrilineal Lemta Berbers who called themselves Dia or Dja"<sup>#</sup> and, on the basis of her etymologies, connects the Akan aristocracy with these inhabitants of the Sahara (p. 124). She attempts to connect the Gonja, a name she apparently associates exclusively with the Anga (N'Gwa), with the same people, on the grounds that an elder at Daboya claimed they came originally from Dia.<sup>x</sup> In support of this she assumes that the word Gonja is derived from Guan-Dja (p. 51). Gonja however is an anglicism of the Hausa name Gonjawa; the people refer to themselves as Ngbànyà (sing. Kàgbànyà).<sup>†</sup> This, and Westerman's comment quoted above concerning the significance of the termination 'dja' in Hausa, destroys all basis for the association with Dia. And the assumed derivation, Guan-Dja, is in any case quite inappropriate to the Anga, whose language belongs to the Gur (Mossi) and not the Kwa (Guang) group. They have a subordinate Status within the Gonja state and are differentiated linguistically from the ruling lineages. Apart from the misleading derivation of the name Gonja (and the similarly astounding transformation of Yagbum) - the title of the senior chief of Gonja is the Yaagbumwura - into Dja-Gbon, p. 56), her use of the word Dia is highly speculative, Dia according to Delafosse refers (i) to a branch of the upper Niger, a village nearby or the region of the Mande country in which it is situated; (ii) a title held by the chiefs of the Songhai dynasty of the middle Niger. Delafosse and Barth claim these Songhai chiefs were Berber in origin, but this is contested.<sup>‡</sup> In any case it refers in this context to a dynastic title. There is no evidence for a "Dia Kingdom" (p. 52), nor for a Dia people (p. 128) apart from the inhabitants of the Mande region of Dia or Diaga; and her attempt to link this region with the Songhai empire conflicts with the opinion of scholars of the Western Sudan.

#### The indigenous peoples - Grusi speaking inhabitants

Gonja is patently a conquest state. Over most of the area, one finds villages inhabited entirely by Grusi or Mossi speaking peoples, with one compound occupied by the Guang speaking chief. It was assumed by Rattray, Meyerowitz and others that the aboriginals of Gonja spoke Gur languages. Meyerowitz writes,<sup>\*</sup> "The aborigines of Gonja were Mo people, commonly called Grunshi by the Europeans. The Dja-Mo or Djo-Mo, pronounced thus by the Bono, or Ka-Dju-Mo...as they were called by the Gonja, came, according to their tradition, with the Bono and the Gonja from Mossi. They were as their name says, Dja-Mo, i.e. Mo people of Mossi, who had accepted the matrilineal organisation of the N'Gwa from Dja." Mo or

<sup>#</sup> Meyerowitz, 1952, p. 128. But she was anticipated by Bowdich in "An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs and Arts common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees", p. 17, where he associates the prefix to the name of the Asantehene, Sai or Zai, with that of the Shepherd Kings, Za, Zo, Zai or Sai. The Shepherd Kings are often identified with the Berbers and Meyerowitz claims that the names of the Dia dynasty of the Songhai Empire, possibly of Berber origin, "could well be Akan names" (p. 52). Bowdich produces quite as convincing a comparison of the Ashanti names of Abyssinian and Ashanti rulers as Meyerowitz does with the Songhai and Ashanti. The dangers of this linguistic snag are even more apparent when the word chosen is so common a phoneme in West African languages as Dia or Dja.

<sup>x</sup> 1952, p. 51. She writes of the "N'Gwal (Anwaa)" "a section of the Gonja people - the Guan-Dja - claim that their ancestors came originally from Dja or Dia - i.e. the region between Djenne (Djani) and Timbuktu (Tarmutu)".

<sup>†</sup> Westerman and Bryan, p. 81.

<sup>\*</sup> Delafosse, 1912, Vol. 8. p. 252. Dia also means a clan or company in Mande.

<sup>‡</sup> Delafosse, Vol. I. p. 193.

<sup>‡</sup> 1952, 53.

Djamo is the Guang name for the people who call themselves the Degha,<sup>□</sup> a fact of which Meyerowitz later informs the reader but not while she is extracting the etymological implications. This confusion between names applied by the group itself and those used by its neighbours destroys Meyerowitz's attempt to associate their tribal name with Dja and Mossi. From the traditions of the Degha it is quite clear that they were not aborigines of Gonja, that they were in not far distant times immigrants from the Sisala country north of Ulu and Lawra; this is confirmed by traditions in the area from which they came.\*

Of the other Grusi speaking inhabitants of Gonja, the Vagala say they migrated into the district from the North (Gurense)<sup>†</sup> and arrived before the Gonja invasion. In view of the linguistic situation, there seems no reason for denying their claim. The Tampolense living near Gambaga also have a tradition of migration from the North and maintain that they and the Sisala had a common ancestress.<sup>♢</sup> According to Delafosse the Kira or Siti, a small Grusi speaking group inhabiting the Ivory Coast villages of Vonkoro and Hymbié to the west of the Black Volta, are also immigrants from 'Gourounsi'.<sup>x</sup> The Grusi speaking peoples of Gonja do not therefore consider themselves the original inhabitants, but apparently moved into the area before the present rulers.

(ii) Mossi speaking inhabitants

Of the Mossi speaking groups, the Nome of Kulmasa claim that their founding ancestor came from the North on a kola trading expedition, but, his horses having been stolen by the Chief of Wa, he moved south to settle on the site of the present village. The Batige of Kunfosi maintain that their forefathers came from Kaleo in the Wa district and before that from 'Mogo', that is, the Mossi Empire. Both groups therefore appear to have arrived from the North after the establishment of the States of Wa and Gonja. Concerning the Anga, the Mara<sup>‡</sup> and the Safalba, I have no data, nor is there any published material. The first two groups appear to be closely connected linguistically and culturally with the Dagomba. The isolated Safalba, however, have a system of inheritance similar to that of the LoDagaba, Lowilisi, Chakalle, Tampolense and Vagala, movable property being transmitted matrilineally and immovable property patrilineally; this suggests a system of double unilineal descent groups, but my short investigations were not sufficient to establish the existence of designated matrilineal groups for either the Safalba or the Vagala. Possible factors in the present distribution of these groups are discussed in the section on Wa.

A more recent movement of Mossi speaking peoples into Western Gonja must be mentioned here. Labouret has described the "Lobi" as "très mobile"; where there is sufficient land they prefer shifting cultivation. The Birifor and the Dagaawilli of the Ivory Coast, whom Labouret includes under the designation 'les tribus du rameau Lobi', formerly inhabited the Wa and Lawra districts and moved westwards across the Black Volta as a result partly of the Dagomba invasions which established the States of Wa and Buna (Fr. Bouna) and partly of the system of agriculture. The direction of the migration then swung south. Later, the resistance of the "Lobi" to the French administration, the subsequent repressive measures and the higher level of taxation required to develop a less prosperous colony than the Gold Coast led some of the Birifor and Dagaawilli to cross the Volta again and settle in the thinly populated areas of Wa and Gonja. Kalba was one of the earliest of these settlements. An entry in the Record Book for West Gonja, dated 1919, remarked on the twelve recently built "Lobi" compounds. The 1948 Census Report gives the "Lobi" population of Gonja as 7,333. I estimate a similar number have crossed the river into Wa during the last thirty years.

□ Tauxier, 1921, p. 397.

\* Eyre Smith, 1933, p. 13.

† v. Rattray, 1932, Vol. 2., p. 516. Meyerowitz herself mentions this; it is difficult to see why she maintains in successive paragraphs that they were "the aborigines of Gonja" and yet "came from... the Lawra-Tumu area".

♢ v. Rattray, 1932, Vol. 2., p. 515.

x v. Tauxier, 1921, p. 410.

‡ Komara, the local usage, is the Malinke and Diallonke name for the musician caste.

The Census Report puts the "Dagarti" population of Gonja at 1,012. These are former inhabitants of the Lawra district who have settled along the Kumasi road between Wa and Bole, and even further south. The recruitment by the Administration of labourers to work in Ashanti and later the coming of motor traffic led to a considerable, mainly dry-season, migration to the south in search of employment. The sparsely settled areas of Wa and Gonja became known to the inhabitants of the heavily populated Lawra district. At the same time their migration routes westwards across the Black Volta had been disturbed by the demarcation of the international boundary between the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast. The type of long distance migration which resulted differs from the gradual encroachment arising from the practice of shifting cultivation, but, owing to the motor road, contact with the parent villages could be maintained. Large settlements of former inhabitants of the Lawra district exist at Nyoli, Gindabo, Gbongbongduri, Nakwaby, Tuna and Kong in Gonja, and at Kunfabela, Piri (Pisi), Tanina and Taninasa (Taninaha) in Wa. With the exception of Kong, all these villages are situated along the main Kumasi road.

(iii) Senufo speaking inhabitants

The third group of the Gur language represented in Gonja is Senufo spoken by the Nafana. The Nafana are recognized as having been long resident in the Banda area, in the north-west of Ashanti (Wenchi Division); they are called Mfantera by the Akan and Pantera by the Gonja. Both the Ligbi and the Nafana are sometimes referred to as Banda by their neighbours. The 1948 Census Report gives the Banda population of the Gold Coast as 14,819, of whom 13,638 live in the Wenchi-Sunyani District and 172 in Gonja. W. J. Pitt in an article on the 'Mfantra' states that in the Wenchi District they occupy villages along the road between Mengi and Sikassiko, especially Dibibi, Namasa, Duadaso, Jamara and Kokwang; there were also groups in Nsokor and Sikassiko. Their distribution in the Gonja District has been indicated in the section on language. Tauxier gives little information about them. He lists their chiefs since the coming of the Abbron (Brong i.e. Guang-speaking) rulers to Bonduku and records that each was succeeded by his sister's son. In this connection he writes (p. 64) "Comme nous le verrons plus loi (loin) en disant un mot de la famille nafana, les Nafanas sont des communautaires matriarcaux ou semi-matriarcaux." But his chapter on the Nafana in fact makes no further mention of this. Meyerowitz (p. 45) remarks 'Their social system however, in contrast to their 'brothers', is matrilineal'. This is presumably based on Tauxier, but exactly what he means by matrilineal is not clear; he describes the Abbron (i.e. Brong), who have an Ashanti type of social structure, as "semi-matriarcaux" (p. 323), the Gan (or Gbeinnngn) as "teintés de matriarcalisme" (p. 375), and the Koulango, who like the others inherit all property matrilineally, as having a "famille..demi-matriarcale" (p. 160). His categories confuse the locus of domestic authority with the reckoning of unilineal descent and post-marital residence. It should be noted that matrilineal and dual-descent systems have a considerable extension in this region among people speaking Kwa, Gur and Mande languages. This fact throws some doubt on Meyerowitz's thesis that "One can safely deduce therefore - and descent in the matrilineal line is further proof of this contention - that the ancestors of the present Akan aristocracy were Saharan Libyan Berbers.." (p. 124). In any case, accounts of the Tuareg of the Sahara are not complete enough to establish any similarity with the matrilineal system of the Akan. Concerning the provenance of the Nafana, Tauxier suggests they entered the Bonduku area after the Gan and the Kulango (p. 52); "les Nafanas étant des Senufos viennent probablement du centre senufo de la Côte-d'Ivoire, à savoir le pays situé entre Kornogo et Kong." (p. 62).

(iv) Guang speaking inhabitants

The evidence available suggests that Grusi speaking peoples penetrated into Gonja before, and the Mossi speakers mainly after, the establishment of the Gonja State. Who then are the recognized autochthones? Tauxier<sup>x</sup> writes of the Beri, a Guang speaking people who inhabit only the village of Taghadi situated on the borders of the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, between Buna and Bonduku, "ces gens ne savent pas d'où ils viennent." Ward, rejecting "Rattray's theory that the Vagale-speakers were the oldest inhabitants and the Gonja-speakers were the

<sup>†</sup> 1926, p. 71.

<sup>♠</sup> 1921, pp. 59, 378.

<sup>x</sup> 1921, p. 646.

invaders",\* writes "The only theory which I can suggest to reconcile the facts is that the oldest inhabitants of the country were Gonja-speaking; that at a later date there occurred a gradual, and probably peaceable, infiltration by Vagale-speaking clans so that the two peoples lived side by side; that when the recent invasion from the west took place, the small party of men happened to marry Gonja-speaking, not Vagale-speaking, women, so that the Gonja language became associated with the conquerors and became the language of the ruling class." This hypothesis<sup>x</sup> is almost certainly correct; the word-lists of Choruba and Damputu given in Appendix III show these to belong to the Guang group, like Beri. It was presumably from speakers of these languages that the invaders learnt their present tongue. Buipe, so often mentioned in traditions of the early years of the Gonja state, lies in the country occupied by the Dampo.

#### The ruling dynasty

The ruling lineages of the Ngbanya claim to be of Mande origin. Duncan-Johnstone has translated an Arabic Manuscript found in the possession of the Kanankulaiwura of Kpandai in Eastern Gonja, which appears to be a copy of an account of the Gonja people written about 1770.\* This gives the reign of Jakpa, often said to be the founder of the dynasty, as 1634/5-75/6; he lived another six years after handing over the chiefship (Yagbumwura) to his son, So'ara. Another manuscript, also translated by Duncan-Johnstone, puts the commencement of Jakpa's reign two years earlier, but otherwise gives the same dates.† Although these manuscripts cannot be regarded as confirming each other, it would appear that the date of the commencement of Jakpa's reign is somewhat later than that given by Meyerowitz (A.D. 1591). Meyerowitz says that this date is preserved in "a Koran which is at present in the hands of the Mallam in Bole" (p. 55). I presume this refers to the Larabanga Koran, for in a footnote on the same page she says that she did not succeed in seeing this. R. B. Hall, in his "Notes on Gonja History", (App. VII), refers to Jaffa's conquest of Bole in the following words:- "It was circa A.D. 1760; in this year the Arab from Mecca founded Larabanga." Jaffa, however, is here stated to have ruled before Manwura, who preceded Jakpa.‡ The discrepancy in the dates reported as given in the Larabanga Koran leaves no alternative to the acceptance of the Duncan-Johnstone manuscript. #

The Kano Chronicle, referring to the reign of Yakubu (1452-1463), states: "In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina" (Note 1). This reference to the kola trade does not of course imply that the Gonja state was necessarily in existence at that time. It does however confirm what other records of the Western Sudan suggest, that a main function of these centralized systems lay in the establishment of a wider framework of law and order for the prosecution of trade. A stateless system like that of the Lowilli is adapted to a subsistence economy; it is not adapted to a wide network of trade.

The date has some bearing on Dagomba chronology. According to Tamakloe,<sup>o</sup> "It was during the reign of Na (Chief) Dariziogo that the Ngbanye people under

\* Ward, 1948, p. 123.

<sup>x</sup> previously put forward by A. C. Duncan-Johnstone (1930 (b), p. 5).

† A. C. Duncan-Johnstone, in typescript, referred to as Duncan-Johnstone I. v. App. IV.

‡ A. C. Duncan-Johnstone, "The History of the Origins of the Gonja, Nchumuru and Nawuri", dictated by Soalli, Chief of Kombi, i.e. Kpembu or Alfaire, near Salaga. This typescript is referred to as Duncan-Johnstone 2. v. App. V.

§ Duncan-Johnstone states in his notes "Jakpa is a title,"; the same manuscript gives his other name as Lanta. It is not necessarily the same individual in both cases.

# The Bona chronology gives 1595 as the year in which Nana Berempon Katakryira starved himself to death at the time of the Gonja invasion of Bona. Meyerowitz, 1952, p. 32, associates this invasion with Jakpa, but it may have taken place under one of the earlier rulers.

Note 1. Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

<sup>o</sup> Tamakloe, 1931, p. 21. This history is also printed in Cardinall, 1931 (b), p. 237 et seq.

their leader Sumaila Ndewura Jakpa came".<sup>/</sup> Dariziogo was killed in battle when Jakpa crossed to the eastern bank of the White Volta after conquering the Tampolense, who had been subject to Dagomba rule from the time of chief Zulande. This is said to have occurred in the year 1584. The date is certainly too early, a fact which supports Tait's criticism of the long chronologies adopted by Delafosse, Meyerowitz and, to a lesser extent, Ward.<sup>o</sup> His suggestion of ten years to a reign would place Dariziogo's death at about 1720; a calculation based on thirty years to a generation gives 1707 as the approximate date. This is rather later than the two Duncan-Johnstone manuscripts suggest; and the first of these is the most trustworthy guide to the chronology of this area that we possess. If the Gonja invasion of Dagomba took place under the leadership of Jakpa, as recounted in most of the traditions of both these states, this must have occurred, according to the chronology of the Duncan-Johnstone manuscripts, about the middle of the 17th century. The Dagomba capital at old Yendi (Yendi Dabare), north of Tamale between Yogo Depale and Diare, was then too near the Tampolense who were now subject to the Gonja, and was therefore moved to the present site.\*

Although it is the dates of Jakpa's reign which are always emphasized by the Moslem writers, for he is the most important of the legendary figures of Gonja tradition in terms of the present political structure, in neither the Hall account nor in Duncan-Johnstone I is he spoken of as the first ruler of the Gonja state. The second of these accounts extends the list of chiefs to Naba's (1566/7 or 1564/5-1595/6 or 1593/4) but makes no mention of the origin of the dynasty. The first claims that because of internecine strife among the Nsawua at Beawu<sup>x</sup> their ancestors left for Segu<sup>#</sup> and later moved from Mande to Palagu

<sup>/</sup> Binger, 1892. Vol. II, p. 373, writes "Ndé était le nom sous lequel on designait le pays d'origin mandé." 'Wura' means chief. But there is no sufficient basis for Meyerowitz's assumption that the state of Gonja was ever known by its inhabitants as "Ndo (Nda or Nta)" (p. 58) and has now changed. The Akan know the Gonja as Ntafo. Delafosse writes "Les Gouan sont dus à la troisième migration des Nta (i.e. Gondja or Gbanyang). Ils semblent même représenter assez purement les Nta primitifs, et ont gardé le nom que portent encore les habitants du Gondja (qu'on appelle indifféremment Gwá et Ntafu, gens du Nta (1900, p. 187). Westermann comments "This agrees in the main points with my own opinion if one disregards Delafosse's tendency to use the general term Nta, which is sometimes misleading....". (1922, p. 150). Bowdich always refers to Gonja as Inta or Nta, adopting the Ashanti usage; but Delafosse appears to maintain that the referent is the indigenous Guang population, not the invaders from Mande, or the state established by them. Meyerowitz's suggestion, 'ruler of the State of Nta', appears impossible. Of the alternatives, 'ruler of the Guang', involves a union of an Akan with a Guang word. Binger's remark suggests a third possibility, the 'ruler from Ndé'.

<sup>o</sup> Manoukian, 1952, p. 14.

\* Tamakloe, 1931, pp. 18, 19, 27. Tait suggests the date as the latter part of the 18th century, Manoukian, 1952, p. 14.

<sup>x</sup> I am uncertain whether this is the Beo of Meyerowitz and the Bégho of Tauxier, that is, the former site of Bonduku situated in the Banda area; Meyerowitz, 1952, p. 46, dates its destruction through internal warfare at 1630-40, Tauxier at 1500. The suggestion seems unlikely in view of the subsequent sojourn at Segu. It might possibly refer to the Bitou in Wongara of the Tarikh-es-Soudan, which states that a certain Muslim migrated from there to Jenne, towards the end of the sixteenth century because of "des troubles qui y régnaient". Tauxier discusses in detail the question of the identification of Bitou and Bégho,, (1921, p. 65). Meyerowitz, (1952, p. 49) speaks of "N'Gwa proper, now called Gurma, whose capital was Biego (Bingo)"; Delafosse gives the name of the capital of the Empire of Foda-n-Gourma as Yunga, 1912, Vol. II, p. 150; he once mentions a "pays de Bengo" (p. 253) within the Niger bend but is uncertain of its location. If Beawu is Begho, then Nsawu may refer to its twin city, Nsogho or Nsooko, inhabited by Moslems.

<sup>#</sup> Meyerowitz (1952, p. 54) mentions Kangaba and Segu, both in Mande country on the lower Niger. Tamakloe, (1931, p. 21) states they came from "Gizi and not from Mendi". I cannot identify Gizi, which is said to be "north of Mendi". Duncan-Johnstone 3 gives Gizi as the name of the King of Mande-Kabba who sent his sons Imoru and Naba's to Segu in search of gold. Kaba was the name of the ancient capital of the Mali Empire and is now known as Kangaba v. G. Dieterlen, 1951, p. XIV.

in the Bonduku area. Jakpa is mentioned as one of the leaders of this band, of which Namba was the first chief. A third manuscript translated by Duncan-Johnstone (App. VI) claims that the ancestors of the present rulers were two sons of the Chief of Mande who sent them to Segu in search of gold. The eldest son Imoru remained in Segu but the younger, Naba'a, went on to Gwona (i.e. Buna in the Ivory Coast) where he was successful. Later he settled in Yagbum and founded the present state of Gonja. These records all insist upon the Mande origin of the ruling lineages; the presence of Mande words in the language\* and the clan names of the chiefs# support this contention. It would also appear incorrect to use the dates of the reign of Jakpa given in the Duncan-Johnstone manuscripts to establish the year of the founding of the Gonja state by the Mande invaders, for the genealogy of the ruling lineage extends beyond this. The prominence given to Jakpa's dates may be connected with the arrival of the famous Arab Mallam who it is said settled at Larabanga after Jakpa had gone out three days to meet him.

#### Other Mande speakers

The ruling lineages of the Ngbanya were not the first Mande speaking peoples in the area. According to Tauxier, the Huelas were the founders of Begho and together with the Ligbis established the town as a commercial centre on the basis of trade in kola and gold, bought from the Akan and sold to the empires of the Niger bend. Both these groups speak Vai languages of the Mande-tan group which includes the Malinke (Mandingo) - Bambara (Banmana)-Dyula (Dioula) dialect cluster.<sup>x</sup> A branch of the Huela left Begho and settled on what is now the boundary between Liberia and Sierra Leone; these were the Vai, whose script caused such an interest when first discovered by Europeans about a hundred years ago. The Huela, the Ligbi and an endogamous caste of blacksmiths, the Numu,<sup>o</sup> whom Tauxier refers to collectively as the Proto-Dyula, were joined in Begho by the Dyula themselves. When the civil war took place there, the inhabitants dispersed, and part of the Dyula element founded Bonduku while others went to Kong. Some of the Ligbi then moved to Bole in western Gonja, but they now no longer speak their old language. Binger records the Ligbi as occupying Takla (Domiabre?), Soso (Siso?) and Tasalima (Teselima) in Ashanti and a village called New Tasalima in Gonja;<sup>x</sup> he also noted large Ligouy (Ligbi) quarters in the important market towns of Buna, Kintampo and Salaga. Binger maintains

After the Moorish invasion of the Niger bend in 1591 the Songhai Empire collapsed; about this time Mande speaking Bambura moved into the Segu area and by 1670 had established the two Empires of Segu and Kaarta at the expense of the Malinke (Mali) Empire. The rulers of Gonja came as pagans and were therefore probably of Bambara or Malinke origin. The Dyulas who played the largest part in the Mande penetration within the Niger bend were largely Moslem traders.

\* According to Duncan-Johnstone "the Gonja dialect of Guan has a number of Mandingo words and the words "Gbanya ka na", "go and come quickly", are Mandingo (Wangara). It is said that from this the Gonjas took their name. The salutation to a chief Masa (lion) is also Mandingo as is their word for Mallam, Karamoko, from Moko, man, in Mandingo and hence the Ashanti word Kramo for a Moslem, for it was Mandingo influence that first brought Ashanti in touch with the Moslem world to the north" (1930(a), p. 30).

# Binger, 1892, Vol. II., p. 113.

o v. Benquey, quoted by Tauxier, 1921, p. 68. "Des grandes caravanes venant de Ségou et de Djenné venaient chaque année y échanger leurs produits contre l'or extrait des terrains environnants et la noix de kola venant du pays Achanti." The red kola of Ashanti is particularly prized in the Western Sudan, both because of its powers of keeping and because of its flavour.

x Westermann and Bryan, 1952, p. 31.

o Delafosse, 1904, pp. 166-7, and Tauxier, 1921, p. 393. Delafosse states that Numu quarters existed in the villages of Banda and Lawra in the Wenchi division. This name for the blacksmith caste occurs throughout the Mande speaking peoples.

however that the founding of these settlements occurred only four years previous to his voyage, as the result of an attack on Fugula by Ardjumani, chief of the Brong state of Bonduku. But the Ligbi were widely scattered before then, partly because of the destruction of Begho, partly because they specialized in the gold trade. Indeed, it may well have been due to this that they settled at Bole, for at the time of Binger's visit gold was obtained at Ouosipe (Wasipe) and Sanoudinkara. / Of the Ligbi, Binger writes, "Trés actifs, et occupants une position centrale entre les pays du Nord, d'où l'on tire le bétail, et la région mandé de Kong, ils se livrent eux-mêmes à l'exploitation des gisements aurifères de leur région et produisent beaucoup de tissus. Ils sont devenus les seuls intermédiaires entre les producteurs de kolas achanti et les peuples des environs" (Vol. II, p. 109). The importance of the Dyulas and the 'Proto-Dyulas', and the Mande speaking peoples generally, within the Voltaic area in pre-Administration times will be examined more fully in the section on Wa.

#### Summary

The present ruling class of Gonja were Mande speaking invaders who adopted the language of the Guang speaking indigenes. Of the Gur speaking groups who are also subject to Gonja rule, the Grusi speakers migrated from the Sisala area sometime before this invasion. The Mossi speakers adjacent to Wa claim to have arrived from the North after the Gonjas, although those adjacent to Dagomba appear to have been settled there for a considerably longer time. But about these latter little is known. At present a further migration of Mossi speakers from the Ivory Coast is taking place. Senufo speaking peoples form a minor element in the extreme south-west; they probably arrived from the Banda area before the Gonja rulers, as did the Mande speaking Ligbi.

#### B. WA

The lineage in which the chiefship of Wa is vested claims descent from Dagomba immigrants. / The version I heard from the elders of the Wa Na, based upon an account written down some forty years ago, spoke of two westward movements of Mossi speaking peoples into the area. The Chief of Dagomba\* sent out a band of warriors to fight the "Lobi"; these settled in the area and took over the custodianship of the Earth shrines. A daughter of the leader of this band was sent back to marry the Ya Na, the senior Chief of Dagomba, to whom she bore a son, named Derzego, "the fair skinned (lit. red) man. Derzego was later taken by his mother on a visit to her father at Wa at a time when the Ya Na was dispatching a second contingent to fight against the "Lobi". In this force were two brothers, one of whom fought his way to Wechiau, the other to Dorimon. The latter crossed the Black Volta and reached Buna and the Pono River. He bore two sons called Dakpa and Bunkani.

#### Wa and Buna

This tradition has certain striking similarities to the one recorded by Labouret relating to the founding of the chiefly lineage of Buna in the Ivory Coast. He writes that "un Dagari, nommé Toroboussien, dont la famille, originaire de Yendi, s'était installée à Doloma, non loin de Wa." / While he was out hunting to the west of the Black Volta, he killed an elephant and called upon some nearby Mande settlers for assistance in cutting up the beast. During his stay in the village, he had an affair with one of the girls, who gave birth to Bunkani, the first chief of the state of Buna. The chiefly lineage of Buna, like that of Gonja, adopted the speech of the inhabitants, in this case Kulango. These were not however the only inhabitants, and like Gonja, Buna was a polyglot state, the chiefship being vested in the lineage of the conquerors. As in the case of the other states in the same area, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Mossi, Wa and Gonja,

/ Rattray, 1932, p. 452.

\* It will be recalled that at this period the capital of the Dagomba state was at old Yendi, much nearer to Wa than the later town of the same name. v. p. 26.  
/ Labouret, 1931, p. 21. By 'Dagari' is meant Dagaba. Dorimó appears on Survey maps as Dorimon. The 'l' and 'r' are often interchangeable in the western Mossi dialects.

it had a hierarchical military organization and could establish and maintain dominion over other peoples by means of the institution of chiefship. The extent of the dominion varied from one time to another. When the International Boundary Commission visited Buna in 1901, the Chief claimed that his sway extended over the 'Lobi' as far as Diébougou, although he tried to dissuade the members from proceeding further northwards on the grounds that "les Lobi sont des sauvages qui ne reconnaissent aucune autorité."\* We are dealing with the organization of states, not of culturally homogeneous tribes.

According to Tamakloe,<sup>†</sup> it was the Dagomba chief Darigudiemda (1442-1454) who conquered Gbona (i.e. Buna), and his son Bonkane who became the first chief of the town. If the Gonja invasion of Dagomba took place about the middle of the seventeenth century, as I have suggested, Tamakloe's date is too early. On the basis of the Buna genealogy and a count of thirty years to a generation, Labouret suggests 1710, but Tauxier prefers an earlier date, between 1560 and 1575.<sup>‡</sup> However, the allocation of thirty years to a generation and of ten years to a reign from the time of Dariziogo would put the establishment of the states of Wa and Buna at about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Buna was a large market town before its occupation by Samori's son in 1897, when the inhabitants took refuge in the Birifor village of Dokita and Lt. Henderson, R.N., leader of the first British expeditionary force to Wa, went to their aid and was defeated by this son of the powerful claimant to the Mande Empire whom the French had driven down from the Niger bend. Like Kong, Begho, Bonduku and other towns situated on the route between Ashanti and the Niger bend, Buna owed its commercial prosperity to the presence of Dyula traders.<sup>°</sup> According to Nebout,<sup>x</sup> these Dyula consist of two groups, of which one, the Donzo Quatara (Angl. Watara) came from Begho; the destruction of Begho which might have caused this migration is placed by between 1630 and 1640, that is, about the beginning of Jakpa's reign. The Watara may have been preceded at Buna by the ancestors of the Ligbi quarter there. As at Bonduku, the Dyulas did not directly exercise political authority which was vested in the descendants of the Dagomba conqueror. But they doubtless exercised a great influence on the royal house, who adopted the Dyula clan name of Watara. The second group of Dyulas in the town claim to have come from the east, they say from Mecca.<sup>#</sup> This may have some connection with the 'Arab from Mecca' who is reputed to have founded Larabanga, the Mara settlement in Gonja, for I have heard it maintained that the inhabitants of that town came from Buna.

#### Chiefs and commoners

Wala tradition maintains that there were two migrations from Dagomba; this corresponds to the existing structural situation as well as to the archaeological evidence. Over large parts of the Wa and Lawra districts it is possible to collect from the surface fragments of rouletted pottery of quite a different type from that made by the present inhabitants; it is variously ascribed by them to the Dyan or to the Lowilisi. These peoples who speak languages of the Lobi-Dogon group themselves claim to have formerly dwelt east of the Black Volta.<sup>‡</sup> The present distribution of the western group of Mossi speakers appears to be the result of migrations from the Dagomba area. In Wa however there is a structural dichotomy between the chiefly lineages of the later invasion and the commoner clans who had come first and expelled and absorbed the Lobi speaking peoples. The names Wala and Dagaba conceptualize this cleavage from the actor's point of view. Although all inhabitants of the area under the dominion of the state of Wa, and, as we have pointed out in discussing Buna, this was not static, refer to themselves as Wala in opposition to non-Wala, the members of the commoner clans are spoken of as Dagaba by the dominant group. I have also heard

\* Delafosse, 1908(b), p. 139.

† 1931, p. 19.

‡ Tauxier, 1921, p. 98, note 3.

° Tamakloe refers to the inhabitants as Wangara, Labouret as Mende.

x Tauxier, 1921, p. 100, note 1.

♢ Tauxier, 1921, p. 100.

# Tracing the starting point of their migration to Arab lands is a not uncommon feature of African peoples converted to Islam.

‡ Labouret, 1931, p. 23 et seq.

them referred to as black Wala, the white Wala being the members of the chiefly lineages, but it is not so readily applied to themselves by these politically inferior clans. The names Wala and Dagaba also refer to the distinction between Moslem and pagan, which in some contexts is quite independent, although the chiefly lineages or the white Wala are in fact generally Moslem. Peoples outside the orbit of the state of Wa also refer to themselves as Dagaba. These are the Dagaba described by Rattray in "Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland" and listed as 'Dagarti' in Census reports. In this area, no pejorative significance attaches to its use. The names Lo and Dagaa<sup>x</sup> - to use the root forms - constitute a pair of words by which, in slightly varying phonetic versions, a number of culturally different peoples refer to themselves and to others. This usage makes any classification by an outsider a matter of some difficulty; it will be treated in detail in the following section.

#### Wa and Mamprusi

There is some evidence of a connection with Mamprusi. The Imam of Wa informed me that the Chief of Mamprusi formerly ruled over part of the Grusi speaking area in eastern Wa, including the villages of Finsi and Wallembelli. The clan section living at Nboro (Angl. Naro), on the Wa-Tumu road, appear to be Namoos,<sup>†</sup> for their eldest sons forbid the flesh of the domestic fowl; when a child is born to a male member of the clan, he or she will sneeze the name 'Mogo', i.e. the Mossi empire. Clansmen with the same sneeze, or praise, name (dano) are to be found at Kaleo and Manwie; they are the nabiisi, the lineages in whom the local chiefship is vested. It is with this clan that the Batige in Gonja claim agnatic kinship. These chiefships are vested in locally domiciled lineages; the system in Wa is quite different from that operating in Gonja, whereby members of the ruling lineages are sent out to take charge of the villages inhabited by the Gur speaking population and authority was exercised directly by members of the dominant lineages in the state. The right of the chief of Kaleo, however, to his office was validated independently of the Chief of Wa, through his position in the dominant lineage in the settlement; his relationships with the state of Wa were concerned mainly with assistance in war. The chiefship of Wa itself operates differently; around the town there are a number of villages with a few compounds belonging to the dominant lineages in which the chiefship of Wa is vested. Like the chiefship of Dorimon and Wechiau, it circulates among the major segments of the lineage. There are four such segments whose founding ancestors are the 'sons' of Sorliya, son of Derzego; each of these four segments has as a lineage home a village within five miles of Wa and spoken of as a 'gate' to the town. Each is situated literally on one of the main approaches, and the chiefship of Wa theoretically circulated among the holders of these local chiefships in turn. The four gates, Busa, Pirisi, Sing and Goli, were associated respectively with the segments known as Yijiisi, Nadzare, Dzanguasi and Nakpaasa. Each segment also has its own quarter in the capital itself.

The connection with Mamprusi is suggested in a Hausa manuscript entitled "The Moshi Tribe",\* which claims that the Mamprusi "brought under subjection the Grunshi, likewise the Moshi, the Dagombawa, and the Gurmawa. The men of Gambaga ruled over Lobi and as far as the country of the Kolansawa."<sup>†</sup> Because of the tradition of common descent from the Mamprusi chiefs held by the ruling lineages of the Mossi, Dagomba and Gurma Empires, this may refer to the extent of Dagomba rule. The manuscript continues to relate how the Chief of Mamprusi travelled "through his country until he reached Gona" (that is, Buna) "and crossed its river, and he went on until he came to Bitugu", which is Bonduku. There he cut down a kola tree to make a drum, which forms part of the state regalia. At a later date, another Chief of Mamprusi sent some of his men to capture his younger full brother, who would have succeeded him, in order that his sons might rule on his death. The brother whose name was Kugu escaped "into the Banbara country and went on until he reached Mangutora" (p. 10); there he obtained helpers, the Chakosi, who returned with him to Gambaga, killed the chief, his elder brother, and installed him on the throne. The inhabitants of Mangutora, who "knew no business save war", were rewarded for their services by being allowed to fight, subdue and enslave certain peoples who had inclined towards the elder brother. "Up to

<sup>x</sup> v. p. 7n.

<sup>†</sup> Fortes, 1945, p. 68.

\* J. Withers-Gill, Accra, 1924(a), p. 9.

<sup>†</sup> Gambaga is the capital of Mamprusi.

the land of Barba they went and came to the bank of a certain river where they made a camp midway between four territories - Barba, Moba, Konkomba and Gurma. They opened a road from there to Ganbaga so that whoever wills can go thither and come thence. Roads were also opened to Gurma and Sangoi (Songhai). They fought until a road had been opened to the banks of the Quorra (Niger). Thus people travelled there, going and coming from Hausaland to the camp of the Mangu people. The place became a big city and is known no longer as the Camp of the Mangu, but as the City of the Mangu." The town of Sansanne Mango (Sansanne is Hausa for war camp) was the headquarters of the Chakosi and became an important centre on the trade route between Salaga and the Hausa states of Northern Nigeria. At the time of the visits of Binger and Ferguson, they were almost independent of Mamprusi. "The Moshi Tribe" states (p. 11) that the chief of Mamprusi "became like a sub-chief under the men of Mangu. He remained in this position for many years till the Nusara (i.e. the Europeans) came." Duncan-Johnstone confirms the influence of the Mamprusi west of the White and the Black Volta, to which the present position of the Chakosi testifies. This may be connected with the tongue of the Mossi speaking peoples which extends as far as Bole in the south-west, and possibly with the early movement of Dagari speaking peoples into the Wa and Lawra districts. But the first movement of peoples from the Dagomba area is more likely to be related to the invasion of that area by the present ruling lineages coming from Mamprusi. This appears to have been accompanied by a considerable degree of violence towards the indigenous population. The killing of the Earth priests at the time of Chief Nyagasi's conquest of western Dagomba is most unusual; in Gonja the Earth priests of the previous inhabitants were retained by the Mande invaders. In Eastern Dagomba the Konkomba were driven from their lands; the same appears to have happened in Eastern Gonja, for the Konkomba and Nanumba are said to have formerly lived in the vicinity of Salaga. In Western Dagomba, however, the Earth priests were said to have been killed and a proportion of the original inhabitants became absorbed in the political system of the conquerors, who still refer to them as Tin-bihe, children of the land.<sup>x</sup> In view of the violence of the invasion and the situation in Konkomba, it would seem probable that there was a certain degree of dispersal of the original inhabitants towards the East, and that these now form the basis of the Mossi speakers in the area with which we are concerned.

#### The Penetration of Islam

Islam made its appearance in the Western Sudan as early as the 7th century, coming from the great commercial centre of the Sahara, the Berber town of Tadmekket, known to the Arabs as Es-souk, the Market, and from southern Morocco, where Moslem Arabs had penetrated about the year 680 under the leadership of Okba-ben-Nafi.\* But its influence was at first slight; neither the earliest Berber tribes nor the Berabish Moors adopted Islam at that time. Indeed the movement of these latter from southern Morocco into the Sahara towards the end of the 8th Century may well have been an attempt to maintain their independence from the later, Moslem, immigrants from Arabia.

The great period of Islamic expansion began during the 11th Century with the founding, on an island in the Senegal, of the Almoravid<sup>#</sup> sect, which spread rapidly

<sup>f</sup> 1932, p. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Duncan-Johnstone, 1932, p. 7. He also mentions the existence in the Tamale area of a group known as the Kpariba who formerly spoke a Guang language but have now adopted Dagbane and "regard the appellation of Kpariba as somewhat in the nature of an insult" p. 4. I think Duncan-Johnstone is wrong in suggesting the same process occurred among the Tin-bihe of Western Dagomba.

\* Delafosse, 1912, Vol. III, p. 186: Vol. I, p. 182.

<sup>#</sup> or Morabites. The arab armies which conquered Spain were largely composed of Berber troops. When the first, Ommeiyad, dynasty weakened in the face of Christian attacks, the Almoravids, who had recently constructed Marrakech as their northern headquarters, were called in to assist; they drove back the Christians and established themselves as rulers of Moslem Spain. Events in the Western Mediterranean again influenced the Niger area four centuries later. In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella recaptured Granada, and the Moors gradually withdrew from Spain to North Africa. When the Turkish naval defeat at Lepanto (1571) led them to seek military expansion along the coast of North Africa the Moors were then forced to turn towards the south. In 1591, they succeeded in organizing a trans-Saharan expedition and captured Timbuktu.

among the Berbers of South Mauretania. The crusade against the infidel led to the establishment of an empire to maintain control over the conquered 'converts', a pattern which recurs in the Fulani Jihad of the nineteenth century.

But the great mass of the Negro population within the Niger bend did not adopt the new religion. In 1912, Delafosse estimated that among the two million six hundred thousand inhabitants of Haut-Séregal-Niger speaking Gur languages there were only some twenty-six thousand Moslems. Apart from the Songhai (100,000) and the Fulani (38,000), the great majority of whom were Moslem, Islam was largely confined, among the other language groups, to the Mande peoples, 400,000 out of a total of 1,400,000, in particular the Northern group consisting of the Soninke and the Dyula. The Dyula are traders above all, and the ability to write Arabic, which the Moslem religion provided, was of considerable advantage in their travels.<sup>x</sup> During his exploration of the Voltaic area, Binger was given written safe-conducts to pass from one Dyula community to the next.

As can be seen from the map in "The Languages of West Africa", languages of the Mande family are distributed right along the great trade route which led from the Niger bend down to the Begho-Bonduku area. The economic basis for the achievements of the empires of the Niger bend lay in the trade in gold, ivory and slaves across the Sahara to the Barbary Coast and thence to Europe, a trade largely carried on by Moorish merchants. The gold mines of Wangara (Mande) were the goal of European exploration. The source of these supplies of gold and slaves lay to the west and south of the famous Sudanese cities, and the trade to those areas was largely in the hands of the Mande speaking Dyulas, whose name is itself derived from the Mande word 'to trade', and has taken on the generalized meaning of trader throughout the region.\* Salt from the mines of the Sahara was exchanged for gold, ivory, slaves and kola nuts; cloth and cattle also went south from the regions between the forest and the entrepôts on the Niger. The great importance of this extensive system of trading in West Africa can be seen from Binger's account of his travels. This he noted in particular detail, as he was interested in possible markets for French manufactures; and his knowledge of Mande made him well aware of personnel involved in this elaborate network of trade.

A second tongue of Mande-tan languages, mainly Dyula, extends into the Voltaic area in the direction of Bobo-Dioulasso and Boromo, another region in which gold was obtained, "en grande quantité" according to Binger.<sup>♠</sup> The spread of Mande languages to the north-west of Ashanti, the Begho-Bonduku district, follows the main trade route; and it was from here that Islam penetrated into western Gonja. That section of the Moslem population of Wa, not descended from the Dagonba invaders, also claim to have come from Mande;<sup>♢</sup> like the Gonja chiefs, they have the characteristic 'clan' names of the Mande speaking peoples.<sup>##</sup> Some of their songs are still sung in Dyula, although for all purposes other than those concerned with Islam they use Dagari (Wala). They arrived, however, not from the south but from the north, from the upper Black Volta between Wahabu and Dano, at the extremity of the second tongue of Mande-tan languages.<sup>x</sup> They claim to have settled first at Nasa in the vicinity of Wa before the foundation of that state. Internal conflicts later led to their dispersion; some then moved to Wa itself, others to the country inhabited by the Kasena and Builsa.

<sup>x</sup> Delafosse, 1912, Vol. I, p. 376. "Cette facilité de correspondre entre eux est certainement l'une des principales forces des musulmans du Soudan."

<sup>\*</sup> Tauxier, 1921, p. 209.

<sup>♠</sup> 1892, Vol. I, p. 415.

<sup>♢</sup> Rattray, 1932, p. 452. There is also a section claiming descent from a Hausa 'prince'.

<sup>##</sup> One of the clan names in Wa is Sisse, a Marka or Soninke name.

<sup>x</sup> Tauxier, 1912, calls these the Dafings (Dafing-Markas, Dafis) x. Delafosse, 1912, Vol. I, p. 138, describes them as part Soninke, part Dyula; the Markas he identifies with the Soninke. Westerman and Bryan, p. 35 classify the dialect spoken by the Dafing as Dyula, and say it is spoken in the north-western part of the Gold Coast by the Dafe, but I have failed to locate this people.

The extent of Mande influence in the Western Sudan has not been fully appreciated, particularly by historians of the Gold Coast. Meyerowitz, concentrating upon the "Dia", overlooks or misinterprets much of the evidence; Rattray is sceptical concerning the claims of the Wa Moslems to have come from Mande.<sup>x</sup> French authors, and especially Binger, Delafosse and Labouret, all Mande scholars, have been much more conscious of this influence, the extent of which can be seen in the dispersal of the Mande-fu and Mande-tan languages within the Voltaic area.

The main centres of the Mande-fu or southern group are in Sierra Leone, Liberia and in the hinterland of French Guinea, apart from the Susu to the North of the Lower Niger. At the eastern edge of this area there is the Kweni dialect cluster, spoken by the Gouros. One of these dialects is spoken further to the east, separated from the Gouros by a group of peoples who now speak Agni (Kwa language), but recently changed from Mande-fu.<sup>\*</sup> This Kweni dialect is spoken by the Gan or Gbeinngn who live among the Agni and the Kulango who speak a Gur language in the west of the Cercle de Bonduku. The remaining Mande-fu languages are widely scattered among the Gur languages of the Voltaic area and apparently represent an earlier stream of Mande speaking peoples than that which introduced Islam. Sya, another Kweni dialect, is spoken in and around Bobo-Dioulasso; Samo is found west of this and also to the north among the Mossi of Yatenga. Further east are to be found groups of Busa speakers widely distributed along the 11th parallel; the Bussansi of the north-east of the Gold Coast and adjoining areas in Togoland and the French Haute Volta;<sup>‡</sup> the Busano of the Nikki-Kande area in the north of Dahomey; and the related Busa peoples of Northern Nigeria.

The Mande-tan group spread more widely still throughout the Voltaic region. There are the long established Ligbi and Huela (Vai language) in the vicinity of Bonduku. The Malinke-Bambara (Fanmana)-Dyula languages are by far the largest group. Among the Senufo of the Northern Ivory Coast, the Malinke dialect Minya is spoken by the ruling lineages of Mande origin, and is also being adopted by the Senufo themselves. "A certain number of Senufo, mostly amongst the members of the former aristocracy, have adopted the dress, religion and names of the Mandingo Moslems in order to retain leading positions in the new society; the Mandingo language has expanded amongst them".<sup>‡</sup> Dyula however is the most important Mande language in the Voltaic area, being spoken in numerous communities along the main trade routes. No trading settlement is complete without a strong Dyula element. The two tongues of Mande-tan languages stretching south-east to Bonduku and eastwards to Boromo have already been described; Dyula is much more widely distributed, being spoken in a number of large commercial centres by the Mande section of the population; in Kong, where the ruling lineages were of Mande descent; in Bouna, where they had considerable influence; and in the important entrepôts on the boundaries between the rain forest and the more open savannah

<sup>x</sup> 1932, p. 452.

<sup>\*</sup> Delafosse, 1904, p. 146.

<sup>‡</sup> R. P. A. Prost, who has written a dictionary of Bisa, regards the Busa groups as very close to Samo; indeed the widespread tradition of two groups splitting over the possession of a dog's head at a sacrifice is told by the Bussansi of themselves and the Samo. The Bussansi claim to have been in the Tenkodogo region prior to the coming of the Mossi. Prost also says that some came from Yendi - this seems difficult to reconcile with the absence of any Mande-fu languages in the area - and others followed from there with the Mossi. This does not agree with the main Mossi traditions.

<sup>‡</sup> Delafosse 1908(a), p. 48, quoted in Duncan-Johnstone, 1930(b).

country north of Ashanti, namely Bonduku (formerly Begho), Wenchi, Kintampo, Yeji and Salaga (formerly Kafaba).<sup>x</sup> And between these larger townships are the smaller settlements of traders,\* with the Dyula strongly represented.

The influence of the Mande speaking peoples cannot be judged only by the present distribution of the various dialects and languages. For in many areas such as Wa (the Dagaa-Dyula), Mossi (the Yarse, specialized traders of Dyula origin<sup>o</sup>) and Gonja (the ruling lineages of Bambara or Malinke descent), the Mande immigrants, entering as traders or as conquerors, adopted the language of the indigenes. A similar process took place among the Dogon, whose myths on this subject have received considerable attention in recent years. Even where they did not form a substantial proportion of the population their influence was great. The association of the founders of the Mamprusi group of states, namely, Mamprusi, Mossi (of Yatenga and Wagadugu), Gurma, Dagomba, Wa and Nanumba, with Mande is explicit in the 'drum histories'. Binger,<sup>f</sup> during his travels in the area, remarked that the Chiefs of Mamprusi and Dagomba belonged to the Traouré clan, or diammu in Mande, "d'origine mandé", and that the Agni speaking Chakosi had clan names of similar origin. The presence of these clan names is not in itself a reliable indication of Mande origin, as we have seen in the case of the Senufo and the ruling lineages in Buna; the prestige of the Mande, and in particular of the Moslem Dyulas, was such that others tended to adopt their clan names as well as their religion and their dress.<sup>o</sup>

A complementary aspect of their rôle in the network of trade which linked the West African hinterland with medieval Europe and Egypt was the part they played as carriers of Islam. The great traders among the Mande, the Dyulas, were largely Moslem. Their constant pilgrimages to Mecca provided links between the Western Sudan and the Middle East, either by the northern route through Timbuktu and across the Sahara to Ghadames and the Fezzan, or south through the Hausa states, Bornu, Wadai, Dafur and Kordofan.<sup>#</sup> In Northern Nigeria Islam reached the Hausa states, which may at one time have owed allegiance to the Malinke Empire, through the medium of Mande trader-missionaries. According to the Kano Chronicle,<sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup> In 1888 the population of Salaga consisted of Gonja 50%, Hausa 20% and Dyula 20%, (Binger, Vol. II, p. 93.) Salaga was the entrepôt for the Hausa trade between Nigeria and Ashanti passing through Sansanne Mangc. Cwing to disturbances further south, many trade goods were brought by Hausas from the coast of Nigeria to the Gold Coast hinterland. Binger's encounter with a Brazilian of negro origin who was trading in Salaga is an index of the importance of the town.

\* The trading quarter is known as Zongo in Hausa and Nsoko in Mande.

<sup>o</sup> They have also spread throughout the Grusi speaking areas. The traders known as Mossi in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast are mainly Yarse. Tauxier, 1912, p. 415, gives the total of Yarse as 72,000.

<sup>f</sup> 1892, Vol. II, p. 39 and 78. He also noted the presence of the Diabakhaté and Kamara clans.

<sup>o</sup> The Timne of Sierra Leone adopted clan names from Mande invaders who ruled over them. Where the Mande element constitutes the ruling group, the identification of the unilineal descent groups of the indigenes with those of the invaders counterbalances certain of the centrifugal tendencies inherent in the structure of a conquest state. The Mande clans appear to resemble the Ashanti, large-scale, dispersed groups consisting of an indefinite number of localized lineages; there is no internal organization above this lineage level nor is the unity of the group ever expressed in any joint meeting or ceremony. Common descent carries with it a common name and a common avoidance; it is associated with the obligation to marry out and with the idea of joint rights over property which emerges as a duty to provide hospitality for clan members.

<sup>#</sup> Binger, 1892, Vol. II, p. 87. On the average, the return journey took some seven years. The best known description is that by Ibn-Khaldoun, who writes of the Malinke Emperor Kankan-Moussa's pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 accompanied by 60,000 carriers and 500 slaves; the Kanankulaiwura's manuscript shows that residents of Gonja took part in such pilgrimages at least as early as the 17th century. v. App. IV.

<sup>x</sup> Palmer, 1908, p. 59.

it was during the reign of Yaji (1349-1385) that the Wongarawa brought the Moslem religion from 'Melle'.\* The neighbouring state of Bornu was visited by Fulani teachers from 'Melle' a little earlier (1288-1306); Bornu had by this time already received Islam directly from North Africa./

Even societies which strongly resisted Islam were influenced by it indirectly; this was particularly the case with the Mamprusi group of states. Ashanti represents a less notable example, but from Bowdich's# account it is possible to get a clearer idea of the rôle of the Moslem traders. We have seen that Islam was long established in the Mande settlements on the northern boundary of the Ashanti forest, at the end of the trade route leading from the Niger towns; that the Twi name for Moslem, Kramo, is derived from the Mande Karamoko. At the time of Bowdich's visit, however, the main Moslem element in Kumasi came from the north-east rather than the north-west. The chief of the Islamic community was Baba, who had previously resided in Gamba i.e. Gambaga, capital of Mamprusi. Islam in the east of the Northern Territories has undoubtedly undergone much greater Hausa influence than in the west, for it was through Salaga and Sansanne Mango that the caravan route to Northern Nigeria lay. The development of European trading posts on the Coast decreased the importance of the Niger trade; the gold of Ashanti no longer crossed the Sahara but entered Europe through the medium of the trading companies, in exchange for cloth, gunpowder and metals. The supremacy of the Ashanti army depended upon its superior firepower as well as upon its military organization and numerical strength; it relied upon the acquisition of gunpowder and firearms of European manufacture from the Coast, and the export northwards of these items was forbidden (p. 335). Indeed, there appears to have been little trade in European goods across Ashanti. ✓ Bowditch quotes Sir William Young's remark that "the Slatées of old Calebar are said to carry on their trade to Degombah northward," (p. 177) that is, from the Nigerian Coast via the Hausa states to the hinterland of the Gold Coast. The Ashantehene did not encourage the growth of a distinct mercantile community even among his own subjects (p. 335); and they prevented "all intercourse but their own with the water side nations" (p. 337). There was therefore little trade through Ashanti and the peoples of the interior obtained European goods via the Hausa route. Even the Ashanti preferred to obtain their cloth and tobacco from the markets on the northern edge of the forest,§ rather than from the trading posts to the south of them; with the people to the north they could barter kola, whereas the Europeans required payment in gold, which the Ashanti preferred to store and to employ for other, mainly ritual, purposes. The establishment of European trading posts therefore led to a shift in importance from the north-western to the north-eastern routes from Ashanti;<sup>x</sup> and the representatives of Islam in early nineteenth century Kumasi, when the Niger empires were on the decline and the emirates of Northern Nigeria at their peak, were largely of Hausa rather than Mande extraction.¶

\* Merowitz, 1952, p. 49, gives 1200 as the date of the "so-called Wangara invasion of Kano" which she associates with the migration of the ancestors of the rulers of Mamprusi from Zamfara; but she quotes no authority for this statement.

/ Urvoy, 1949.

# Bowdich, 1819.

§ Salt however was obtained from the coast around Adda; the importation of Daboya salt from the North was forbidden, Withers-Gill, 1924(b), p. 7. The same source states that "The Hausa does not come by the River Yagi (the Volta at Yeji) because the Ashantis prevent travellers entering their country for they buy nothing except slaves" (p. 10). In Ashanti the organization of trade was directly subordinated to the political system.

<sup>x</sup> Bowdich, 1819, p. 181, "This route to Timbuctoo... is much less frequented by the Moors than that from Dagwumba (i.e. Dagomba), through Houssa (Hausa). They alledge that the people northward are neither so commercial, so civilized or so wealthy as those north-eastward."

¶ Bowdich, 1819, p. 206. "It will excite surprise that I heard nothing of Wangara."

The rise of the Hausa states was the result of the Moorish invasion of the Niger bend. The chaotic conditions which resulted from the Moroccan conquest of the area led to the development of the eastern trade route across the Sahara and the growth in importance of the towns of Northern Nigeria as the termini of the desert caravan routes. (Note 1).

These Moslems operated the long-distance trade to the North; it was from them that Bowdich was able to gain his information about the little known Niger, as well as an account of the death of Mungo Park among the Mande speaking Busa of Northern Nigeria. They were the principal commercial rivals of the British, the extension of whose activities they endeavoured to limit.<sup>x</sup> They thus exercised some influence over certain decisions of the Chief and his Council, particularly in the sphere of external affairs. The ability to write reinforced this influence; the Chief, for example, employed a "Moorish secretary" to record the important events. Writing had economic and ritual functions in addition to the political ones. The use of "certificates" or passports, already noted in Binger's account, was essential to the prosecution of long-distance trade. The ritual value attached to writing gained respect for these passes even among the non-Moslems. In Ashanti as in the other non-Moslem communities of West Africa a there was a great, and commercially important, demand for "saphies", charms which contained a piece of paper on which had been written some Arabic characters, usually a verse of the Koran. At a critical point of the mission, Bowdich himself was asked to swear an oath on the Koran. As in the case of trade and communication by writing, Moslem religious sanctions had an effective range far beyond the limits of the social relations of any particular West African community, and this cross-cultural validity was recognized within any particular society. The development of long-distance trade depended upon Islam; today the unity of the very diversely-constituted strangers' quarters inhabited by the trading community emerges in the performance of the regular Islamic ceremonies, in the esoteric aspects of which both believer and infidel participate.

The Mande speaking peoples were largely responsible for the spread of Islam and the organization of long-distance trade in the Voltaic area. But they were also linked closely with the development of centralized systems of government. Rattray noted the dichotomy among the peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast between the autochthones, characterized by the office of Earth Priest (ten'dana, lit. owner of the earth, more correctly custodian of the Earth Shrine), and the immigrants with the politico-ritual office of chief (na).<sup>†</sup> This he relates to the influx of "warrior bands - possibly refugees or off-shoots from one or other of the Negro kingdoms of the interior", which, being composed of males alone, took wives from the indigenes and adopted their language. "They were better armed, better clothed, familiar with the idea of kingship or chieftainship in our modern sense, in some cases conversant with the rudiments of Mohammedanism. ..." The Mande speaking peoples were not only the first carriers of Islam but also formed the basic population of the earliest known states of the western Sudan, the Empire of Ghana and the Malinke Empire. So that, although the Mande conquerors of Gonja were pagan, they effectively paved the way for the extension of Islam,<sup>o</sup> which, like the organization of trade, was facilitated by the presence of centralized governmental institutions.#

Note 1. see Greenberg, 1946, p. 8.

<sup>x</sup> p. 53. "The Moorish chiefs and dignitaries by whom the King is surrounded, ... whose influence is powerful, urged these arguments against unbelievers and competitors in trade."

<sup>†</sup> Rattray, 1932, p. xii.

<sup>o</sup> It should be remembered that a considerable proportion of the Mande were pagan; and the social organization of many of their communities appears to have been built upon a segmentary lineage structure of some depth. v. Labouret.

# Nadel's study of the Nupe of Northern Nigeria shows how the effective administration of Islamic law both requires and maintains a state organization. Nadel, 1942.

Islam and trade and state systems were closely interconnected; and the role of the Mande speaking peoples in the spread of these institutions is everywhere apparent in the Western Sudan.

#### Other inhabitants of the Wa District

##### i. Grusi speaking inhabitants

Reference has already been made to Chakalle who form part of the Vagala-Tamprusi group in the main pattern of the social organization.†

The Pasaala are at present divided between the Administrative districts of Tumu and Wa; like the neighbouring Potuleri, their social organization approximates to the Sisala pattern.

##### ii. Mossi speaking inhabitants

In the west are the DagaaWiili and Birifor who have crossed from the Ivory Coast; along the Kumasi road south of Wa, LoDagaba from the Lawra District have established settlements. The recent migrations have been discussed in connection with Gonja. These peoples live within the part of Wa directly under the control of Wala chiefs. To the North, along the boundary with the Lawra District, in the vicinity of the village of Iziri, live the DagaaWiili, and next to them the Dagaba. Although they came within the orbit of Wa, probably even before the coming of the Europeans stabilized a fluid situation, chiefship is vested in locally resident lineages of the Dagaba.

#### C. THE LAWRA DISTRICT

The administrative district of Lawra is inhabited by peoples speaking various dialects of Dagari (Mossi group) and, in the areas adjoining Tumu district, Sisala (Grusi group). But the classification of these peoples gives rise to certain problems which have not been previously encountered. In discussing the ethnology of Wa and Gonja, the names which the constituent groups applied to themselves (actor names) were adopted as observer categories, a situation which is entirely satisfactory only when such a name refers to one particular group in all contexts. This is rarely the case, particularly when we are dealing with groups of widest compass (societies). Indeed, the concept of "a society" is inappropriate here. The names for these major groups frequently refer not to one principle of recruitment, but to several, according to the context. What emerges may be regarded as a series of partially overlapping groups, recruited according to different criteria, the boundaries of which do not entirely coincide; each of these partial groups uses the same group name, for the majority of the members of one group are also members of the others. Indeed membership of one of these groups is normally assumed to entail membership of the other groups in the series. But what within the actor frame of reference is one group, conceptualized in a single group name but having several criteria of eligibility, is from the observer's point of view a series of groups, each recruited according to different criteria of eligibility, which do not in all cases coincide. This problem can be observed in the actor's use of the name 'English'. We might continue to refer to an emigrant to America as 'English', although he is a member of the American state organization; in this case the criterion of eligibility to the class 'English' is origin by birth. A naturalised immigrant from America might also be described as 'English', in which case the reference is to the system of political authority which he has accepted rather than to origin by birth. The name 'English' does not therefore refer to a circumscribed group, the members of which are excluded from all similar groups. This has also been shown to be true of groups of widest compass in primitive societies. Among the Nupe of Northern Nigeria, what is for the actor one group is only analysable by the observer as an overlapping series.

In this discussion the group has been regarded from the point of view of its personnel and the method of recruitment. But the group can also be defined by the social relationships which exist between the members; in certain cases these may themselves provide the criteria of eligibility. In groups of widest compass it is the potentiality rather than the actuality of social relationships which gives rise to the consciousness of unity conceptualized in a group name. It is on this level where face to face relations play so little part that the group name is of particular importance; as Nadel has pointed out, such names are not only "pointers to a conscious group unity", but also a "means of indicating and maintaining that unity as they desire it to obtain".<sup>x</sup>

Groups emerge on the basis of certain criteria of differentiation, which may be given either by the principle of recruitment in the case of descent or contiguity or by the institutional activity itself in the case of cultural similarities. The principle of association of the group is at the same time the principle by which it is differentiated from similar groups. On the action level, the boundaries of the group are constituted by a hiatus in social relations. The criteria of differentiation with which we are here concerned are those applicable only to cross-sectional groups, that is, groups which include individuals of total physiological span, not to those recruited on the basis of physiological factors such as age and sex. These criteria may be classified under the following heads:-

- i. common descent.
- ii. contiguity.
- iii. political allegiance.
- iv. common language.
- v. other cultural similarities.

#### Common descent and contiguity

As Nadel has observed, these two principles are of a special character. Except in the larger aggregates, "recruitment by residence is simply an implicit feature of the coactivity, one entailing the other" (p. 152); local groups have "a spontaneous community character" (p. 164). While "recruitment by descent seems to sustain groups more effectively than does any other form of recruitment", "since the continuity of groups...is coterminous with group existence, and since descent itself produces continuity, in a physical and biological sense" (p. 164).

Groups of major compass are defined by the criteria of descent in the case of the Bedouin, the Tiv and the Gusii. The whole society is organized around an inclusive genealogy; all members regard themselves as descended from one founding ancestor. The idea of descent in its most tenuous form, common origin, seems to be one of the constant referents of these major groups names. This emerged from the example of the use of the word 'English'. An elder of a certain SISALA<sup>x</sup> clan section in Lambussie once told me that they were DAGABA, despite the fact that they are to all outward appearances thoroughly assimilated into the SISALA. The use of the former name indicated that the founding ancestor of the lineage had come from the DAGABA area to the south and, settling among the SISALA, had adopted their customs; it was an indication of origin, not of present cultural affiliations.

<sup>x</sup> 1951, p. 148. Nadel's discussion of group nomenclature has proved most helpful.

\* In order to try and clarify for the reader a complicated situation, I adopt the following conventions in this chapter with regard to 'tribal' names:-

- i. The names I adopt are printed in capitals.
- ii. Where the names used by previous European writers differ from these, inverted commas indicate that they are being quoted. Where possible, give the proposed name in brackets in order to indicate more precisely the group referred to.
- iii. The terms used by the local inhabitants whether in the capacity of actor or of observer are underlined in the same way as are all other vernacular words. However in order to avoid confusion due to small variations in dialect the two basic terms of reference for these major groups are given in their root forms, Lo and Dagaa.
- iv. As throughout, languages are distinguished from peoples by double underlining.

Contiguity is also found to be a constant principle of recruitment to major groups. The hiatus in social relations caused by geographical features can be the reference point around which consciousness of unity crystalizes and therefore the central referent of the group name; such is particularly the case with the small island communities of the Pacific. Groups of major compass are not necessarily distinguished by territorial continuity with marked geographical boundaries. But dispersal tends to the disintegration of the consciousness of unity through the development of dialectal variations of culture, and therefore to the emergence of distinct names for the breakaway groups.

Why descent, in the form of common origin and contiguity, should be principles of recruitment basic to the organization of major groups emerges from their special character discussed above. Contiguity is an essential factor in the development of cultural homogeneity,<sup>2</sup> and it is a critical if not essential factor in the development of state systems, particularly where the means of communication are limited.

The effect of contiguity on cultural homogeneity is particularly noticeable in the development of dialects. A similar process of differentiation takes place in respect of other features of the culture, the institutional activities in which the groups emerge on the action level. Cultural features, like dialects, may appear to vary at random, but the variations are essential as distinguishing characteristics of social groups. A certain degree of cultural differentiation, within an overall homogeneity, contributes to the solidarity of the society. The development of cultural dialects and the process of group formation derive in an important sense from the principle of contiguity. Descent is also an important factor; the continuity of culture and group is dependent on reproduction, the physiological basis of descent. These two principles then are more than principles of recruitment; they represent the conditions of cultural uniformity.

The principles of descent<sup>4</sup> and contiguity are closely interlocked in the formation of groups of major compass; indeed they represent the two dimensions of group existence, time and space. For less inclusive groups, the criteria of eligibility may be primarily either descent or contiguity. The convergence of the two can however, clearly be seen in local unilineal descent groups which, in the case of the area with which we are dealing, are defined patrilineally. In such a situation the system of group nomenclature will have a spatial as well as a descent referent. The name of a Tallensi clan is equally the name of the settlement. The wards of the town of Wenchi (Ashanti) are known by the names of the lineages which inhabit them. The group designations have therefore a double referent, the local descent group itself and the area inhabited by its members. An example from the Lowiili of Birifu will illustrate the point. The father of Dzato, a member of the Nayiili clan, moved from Nayiili, the area in which the local section of his clan dwelt, and went to live with his mother's brother in 11manbiili, which was again the name both of the local descent group and of the area which it inhabited. In one context, Dzato might be referred to as 11manbiili; here the referent was the residential group. In another situation, he might deliberately be distinguished as Nayiili; here the referent was the patrilineal descent group. Alternatively, any place name for an inhabited area may also be used to refer to the group living on that area; thus the inhabitants of Tfaa, who belong to an offshoot of the Kpiele clan, are commonly known as Tfaale. The name 11manbiili refers to an inhabited area, to the people who dwell upon it (i.e. a local group) whatever their clan, and to a particular clan or local descent group who form the core of this residential unit but all of whose members will not in fact be living there. Where eligibility to the core of the local group is governed by the principle of unilineal descent, the place name and group name are likely to be interchangeable.

#### Political allegiance

Inclusion in a state system gives rise to a group name even where considerable linguistic and cultural diversity exists within the political framework. The state of Gonja includes groups speaking a number of different languages. In such multitribal organizations a distinction must be made between the name of

<sup>2</sup> Under this head, I include common language.

<sup>4</sup> In this account the word 'descent' includes 'filiation', ties traced to either parent; 'cognatic ties'; 'descent lines'; unilineal ties relating a particular individual to a particular ancestor; 'descent proper'; ties between members of a unilineal descent group; and 'common origin', ties between members of one stock.

the state itself, that is, of the dominant group within the state, and those of the constituent groups who differentiate themselves by the use of separate 'tribal' names. Within the state of Gonja, the Nome, Vagella, Tampolense and others regard themselves as distinct cultural units, although at the highest level their authority structures, systems of social control, are subordinated to that of the Gonja rulers. The 'tribal' names, indications of relative cultural homogeneity, are to be distinguished from the state name which refers to political control.

#### Cultural homogeneity

Among stateless societies, recognition of cultural similarities is the main factor in the emergence of a major group. Language plays a special rôle in this connection, for it is not only a feature of a particular culture but the basic tool in the learning process. Sharp linguistic differences create a hiatus in social relationships which gives rise to distinct group names. The Chakalle of Wa District provide an example of a major group whose consciousness of unity is maintained despite such a linguistic cleavage.<sup>†</sup> The common name here indicates the recognition of unity in respect of their social structure with its double unilineal system of descent groups. But intercommunication is in fact possible because the Eastern group is bilingual. *Dagari* was probably adopted by the Western group of the Chakalle, as the result of their inclusion in the Wa state system; the Eastern group under the Gonja chiefs retained their former language.

Cultural homogeneity is never of course absolute; divergences in custom are basic to organization of the constituent groups of a society. The particular features around which the consciousness of unity crystalizes will be different in each case. In Lawra District the use of group names is often referred to the type of xylophone used; but other criteria, which normally overlap, are also used.

Nadel has defined a tribe of people as "a group the members of which claim unity on the grounds of their conception of a specific common culture".<sup>‡</sup> The existence of a name is the criterion of the consciousness of unity in this, "the widest, loosest unit in the hierarchy of communities." These designations consist of two types, actor names, those applied by the group to itself, and observer names, those used by neighbours. An actor name emerges when one major group requires, in a large number of verbal contexts, to dissociate itself from its neighbours, that is, where there exists a pronounced hiatus in social relations between the groups concerned. This hiatus may, as has been pointed out, arise in connection with the reckoning of descent, spatial discontinuity, political allegiance or cultural differences.

In the Lawra District, there are few marked discontinuities. Unilineal descent groups are widely dispersed among peoples of different language and social organization. Compounds are scattered unevenly across the countryside in such a way that it is difficult to tell where one settlement ends and the next begins. <sup>§</sup> There was no centralized political system before the advent of the British, nor does any grouping crystalize around a cohesive ritual institution such as the Great Festivals of the Tallensi.<sup>‡</sup> Cultural changes seem to take place imperceptibly, like dialects merging into one another. Group nomenclature, the actor's conceptualization of the social system, reflects this gradual merging. In other areas, names are normally found to be individual to each particular major group; these point to their differences by means of a series of mutually exclusive tribal designations.\* But when we examine the system of group designations used in the Lawra District, we find that it is based not upon a series of exclusive tribal names but upon a directional system in which a number of contiguous peoples refer to themselves obliquely by means of two names. This produced considerable complications in the previous discussions of these peoples by European writers, as the names were assumed to be of the former type. I will therefore first examine the usages of previous European observers; then the directional system of actor names, later the observer names used by neighbouring groups, and finally introduce my own classification; for it will be appreciated that a directional system is very confusing when used for purposes of ethnographic reference.

<sup>†</sup> v. p.3.

<sup>‡</sup> 1942, p.17.

<sup>§</sup> Fortes, 1945, p.28; 1936.

\* Mutually exclusive in a relative sense, for where there are several criteria of eligibility, the composition of the group may seem to vary according to which is considered relevant in the particular context.

### Usages of previous writers

The descriptive nomenclature used by writers on this area has been extremely confused and the ethnological data consequently difficult to assess. The earliest known European traveller in these parts, Capitaine L. Binger,\* whose information was largely gathered from the Dagomba at Wale-Wale in 1888, records the supposed position of the state of Wa, the "Oulé" (WIILI), the "Lobi", the "Dianne" (DYAN), and the "Lama" (SISALA, who are known to the Dagari speaking peoples as Lanbe); the SISALA are shown to occupy the whole of the Lawra District. The "Dagari" (LODAGABA) and the "Dagabakha" (DAGABA) are also mentioned and assumed to be one and the same; the latter are placed in territory occupied by the BIRIFOR.†

Henderson, the commander of the first expeditionary force to reach Wa, refers to the BIRIFOR of the village of Dokita, who sent for protection against the Mande slave-raider Samori, as "Lobi"; the whole of the area between Gonja and "Grunshi" (i.e. Grusi speakers) he calls "Dagarti, of which Wa is the capital".‡ This is exactly the position in Northcott's map of 1899.+ In the earliest Record Book at Wa, the first administrative station in the north-west of the Protectorate the WIILI and the LODAGABA living in the Wa and Lawra Districts are known as "Lobi" as distinct from the "Dagarti" (DAGABA) to the east of them. No distinction was therefore made between the WIILI, the LODAGABA and the BIRIFOR of the Haute Volta and all were grouped with the Lobi speaking peoples still further west under the all-inclusive name, "Lobi". Rattray's chapters on the "Lobru" in his survey of the tribes of the Northern Territories‡ were written as the result of field work carried out partly around Lawra, and partly in the village of Tiole, south of Wechiau on the borders of Wa and Gonja, that is, among the two groups I refer to as the LODAGABA and the BIRIFOR. His account was written up as if it pertained to one culturally homogeneous group, known officially as the "Lobi", whereas the institutional activities and social structure of these peoples are by no means the same. Labouret recognized the distinction between these two groups when, in his book on the tribes of the "Lobi branch", he included the BIRIFOR but excluded the "Dagari" (LODAGABA).Δ These "Dagari" of the French writers are in fact the people referred to as "Lobi" by the English; indeed it is a blanket name often used to cover all the Dagari speakers in the Gold Coast. Meanwhile, to the English, the LODAGABA, LOWIILI, BIRIFOR, and LOWILISI of the Haute Volta are all known as "Lobi". The English restrict the name "Dagarti" to the most easterly group, the DAGABA; the French limit "Lobi" to the most westerly, the LOWILISI. Rattray, misled by the accepted English designation "Lobi" which included the BIRIFOR and the LODAGABA, confused the two groups in his account. Labouret, while distinguishing these, was misled by the French use of the name "Dagari" to confuse the LODAGABA with the DAGABA.

The apparent discrepancies in these reports arise from local usage. Neither of the names "Lobi" nor "Dagarti" (Fr. "Dagari") refers exclusively to one group; they are anglicized versions of two local words, which I have translated by the roots Lo and Dagaa in order to avoid the complications of the dialectal variations and are used by a series of peoples living to the east and west of the Black Volta when referring to their neighbours and, obliquely, to themselves. They are not mutually exclusive names indicating individual groups. The reason for this has been suggested; the lack of any pronounced hiatus in the social relations of neighbouring peoples sufficient to arouse the consciousness of unity necessary for the emergence of a group name. For there are no effective groupings larger than the settlement (normally corresponding to the ritual area of the Earth cult) which are characterized by "territorial unity and exclusiveness".+ There is no build up of these units into more inclusive groups because there is no centralized authority, system, geographical discontinuity, or any extensive ritual collaboration outside the ritual area. In warfare the association of these local units constantly altered and never constituted permanent alliances.

\* 1892, Vol. II, p. 35 and map.

† The 'tribal' name BIRIFOR should not be confused with the settlement name Birifu, which is in fact LOWIILI.

‡ 1898, p. 489 and p. 496.

+ Northcott, 1899.

‡ 1932.

Δ 1931, p. 45.

+ Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 278.

The inhabitants of neighbouring ritual areas are exclusive to one another only in so far as they belong to congregations sacrificing at different Earth shrines. Social relations between members of adjacent areas may, if geographical and kinship factors insist, be more intensive than within the area itself. Descent ties operating between local sections of the dispersed clans cross-cut ties of contiguity realized in the form of the Earth cult. As Fortes has made clear in his analysis of the Tallensi, we are dealing in the Northern Territories with a continuous inter-meshing of social relationships; there are few discontinuities between neighbouring groups. The interlocking of social relationships is paralleled by a gradual and continuous change of culture over the whole area; there are no distinct 'cultures', but a slow merging as of linguistic dialects.

Within the Lawra District, people recognize their affinity with their neighbours in matters for example, of bridewealth payments, but will dissociate themselves from this group and identify themselves with another in relation to some other feature such as the xylophones they play, just as the inhabitants of a ritual area, or even the members of a constituent descent group, combine in warfare on one occasion with their eastern against their western neighbours, and on another reverse the alliance, depending upon ties of contiguity, ties of descent, and the particular casus belli. Even within a limited area such as the settlement of Birifu, cultural differences were observable and recognized; for example, in Biro people were considerably more proficient at the high jumping funeral dances of their Dagoa (DAGAAWILLI) neighbours, but the inhabitants of T/aa regarded them as beginners in the Kobine dances which take place between the end of hoeing and the harvest of the guinea corn and are widespread among the Lo (BIRIFOR) to the west of them. The inhabitants of Birifu have no designation which distinguishes them from any of their neighbours; indeed the question of which Europeans are so fond, "What do you call yourselves?" is hardly meaningful within their frame of reference. In response to such a question, they would in all probability give a name derived from that of the settlement, Birifuole. Self-applied designations arise only in the context of a particular social fact, as they have no general referent of a political or geographical nature. They emerge with reference to a unit of customary action by which a certain group of people differentiates itself from another. At a funeral, the people of Birifu will watch the leaping dances of the inhabitants of Tugu (DAGAAWILLI) and smile at their Dagaa ways (dagaa tomo), automatically associating themselves with the dances of the Lo (BIRIFOR) to the west of them. Or, hearing that the cows of a dead clansman in Kwōnyūkwo (LODAGABA) have been taken by his sister's son, they deplore this Lo practice (lori tomo), now placing themselves in the opposite camp, this time among the Dagaa. Thus, if one asks the question, "Are you Lo or Dagaa?" the answer is only meaningful in relation to the context of custom in which the hearer conceives the question to have been asked. Thus a Birifuole, if he took the question as referring to the matrilineal inheritance of wealth would reply Dagaa; if he thought you were referring to dancing he might say Lo (Lor).

These same group designations are used by peoples stretching between Kampti in the Ivory Coast and Hian in the Gold Coast to refer to themselves or their neighbours; the groups concerned are, from west to east, the LOWILISI, the BIRIFOR, the LODAGABA (consisting of the two sub-groups, LOSAALA and LOPIEL), the LOWILLI, the DAGAAWILLI, and the DAGABA. The reasons for this classification will be clarified later. We can regard the LOWILISI as placing most emphasis on matrilineal descent; they have a dual system of inheritance and descent groups based on both lines of descent. Land is inherited patrilineally, marriage is patrilocal, but wealth passes matrilineally. Owing to preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the matriclan of a founder of a settlement tends to be that of his grandson, so that specific areas within a settlement become associated with a certain matriclan. In any case, the population density is lower than in the Lawra District. Land is plentiful, and the preferred system of shifting cultivation encourages mobility. Moving to a new area, a man will tend to settle with his matrilineal clansmen.

The BIRIFOR to the east have a similar dual system but place less emphasis on the matriline in matters of residence. Like all the other groups to the east of them, they speak a Mossi language which is unintelligible to the Lobi speaking LOWILISI.

† Labouret, 1931, p. 54.

The LODAGABA, which include the LOPIEL or WHITE LODAGABA and the LOSAALA, also possess fully fledged dual descent systems, but there is increasing emphasis upon the obligations of patricianship. The matriclan is less important among the LOPIEL than among the LOSAALA.

The LOWILLI, whose social organization I have outlined elsewhere, recognize descent groups based on both lines but property of all kinds is inherited patrilineally and consequently matriclans play a comparatively subsidiary role.

The DAGAAWILLI only have patrilineal descent groups but in certain ways, such as the prohibition on a son inheriting his father's wives, they are distinct from the DAGABA proper and closer to the groups previously mentioned.

The DAGABA themselves, the most easterly of the cluster, are emphatically patrilineal.

In general, these peoples have no nomenclature individual to themselves. For both internal reference (actor names) and external reference (observer names), they make use of dialectal variations of the two names Lo and Dagaa. At the two poles, the LOWILISI and the DAGABA consistently refer to themselves as Lo and Dagaa respectively. The DAGABA refer to all groups to the west of them as Lo, the LOWILISI refer to all groups to the east of them as Dagaa; and they refer to their neighbours in the same way intermediate groups. But the referents of the names Lo and Dagaa are not fundamentally groups but aspects of culture, the most important being the relative weight placed upon matrilineal or patrilineal descent. That is to say, a statement such as ti loba ib (LODAGABA), our Lo way, is, in the absence of other contextual implications, to be taken as referring to the existence of the matrilineal inheritance of wealth. Thus, those who inherit wealth in this way will sometimes use the term Lo for self-reference when this issue is under discussion. But matrilineal inheritance of wealth is not the only referent of Lo, nor is patrilineal inheritance the only referent of Dagaa. Only the groups at the two poles use one name consistently for self-reference in every context. When the BIRIFOR speak of their language in opposition to that spoken by the LOWILISI, they can call it Dagaa, thereby placing it among those Mossi dialects spoken by the people they call Dagaa, those dwelling to the east of them.

The process is seen most clearly when we examine the usage of the two names as external referents. The example of the LOWILLI speaking of the dancing of the DAGAAWILLI and of the inheritance system of the LODAGABA illustrates the mechanism whereby the intermediate groups define their own institutions by opposing them to those of their neighbours on one side, and by associating them with those of their neighbours on the other. Such unity as characterizes any one of the groups which I have given distinctive names, such as DAGAAWILLI, or LODAGABA (names which would have little or no meaning for the groups concerned), emerges only in situations where certain common features of their culture require to be distinguished from those of their neighbours; it is unity in juxtaposition. Of the Nuba, Nadel writes "in a few groups tribal consciousness is not intensive or clear enough to have evolved a common tribal name which the group would itself use, though the group would be known by such (a) name to its neighbours. The consciousness of unity, of varying intensity, must be the basis of the definition of the tribe." Definition by opposition does not in itself constitute consciousness of unity. The group to which I have given the name LODAGABA emerges as a group only in so far as it employs the terms Lo and Dagaa in the same contexts; its members refer to the same people as Lo and Dagaa on the basis of certain criteria of cultural differentiation. This means of course that there is a uniformity in regard to these specific criteria within the group employing these verbal symbols in a particular way, but this does not give it a consciousness of unity sufficient to require a group name. It is a reflected unity, a positional unity.

For internal reference the groups intermediate between the two poles employ both Lo and Dagaa to characterize various features of their culture. But in their use of the names for external reference, neighbouring groups are either Lo or Dagaa. The reasons given for so describing a group vary; if the usage is questioned, a particular criterion will be indicated linking the designated group with the other peoples lying in that cultural direction.

∕ 1947, p. 13.

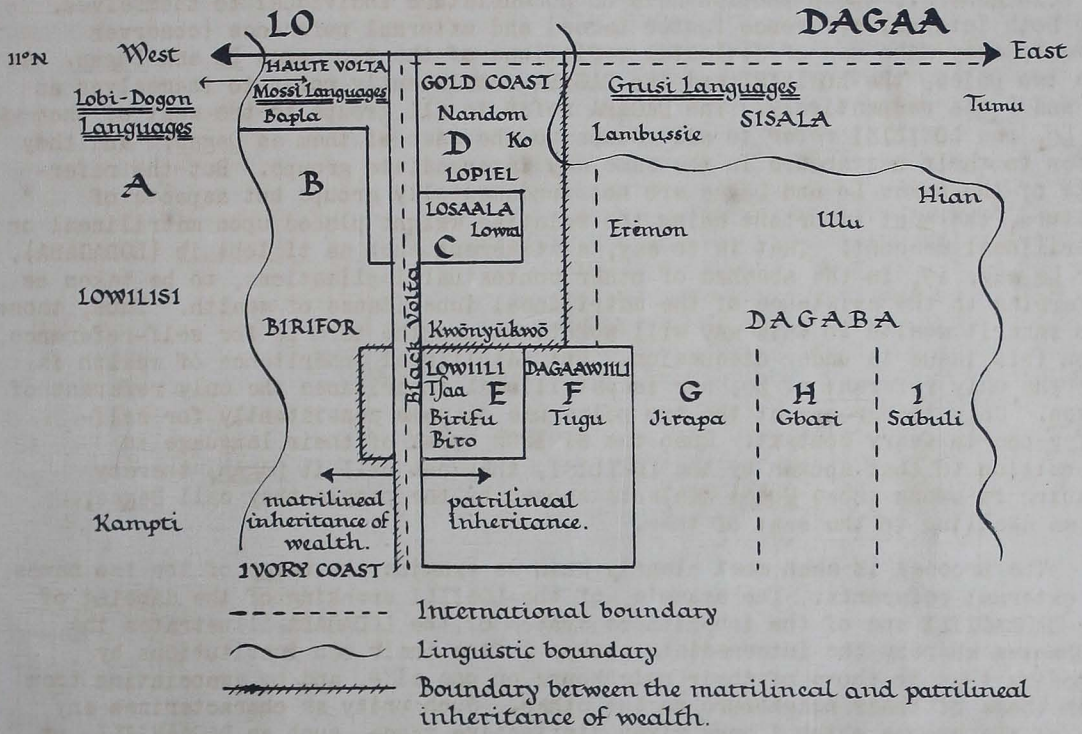


Fig. 1. Diagram to illustrate the use of the directional names, Lo and Dagaa, for external reference.

TABLE 1  
 MAIN CRITERIA IN THE USE OF THE NAME LO  
 (v. Fig. 1)

Speaker's Group	Group referred to	
B	A	Language of <u>Lobi-Dogon</u> group
C	B	i. Emphasis on matrilineal inheritance of movable property. ii. Bridewealth payments.
D	C	i. Emphasis on matrilineal inheritance of movable property. ii. Use of <u>Lo</u> xylophones in dances.
E	D	Matrilineal inheritance.
F	E	i. Emphasis on matriclanship. ii. Use of <u>Lo</u> xylophones in dances.
G	F	i. Sons cannot marry widows of lineage members of adjacent generation. (i.e. "Fathers"). ii. Dialect resembles that of those who inherit wealth matrilineally.

H. and I. also refer to those to the west as Lo on grounds of dialect resemblance.

TABLE 2  
 DISTRIBUTION OF XYLOPHONES AMONG THE LO AND DAGAA

	Xylophones (Gil) in order of size			
	<u>Dagaa</u> <u>Gil</u>	<u>Lo Gil</u> <u>Kpēē</u>	<u>Lo Gil</u> <u>Prumo</u>	<u>Gbin</u>
DAGABA	X			
DAGAAWILLI	X			
LOWIILI	X	X	X	X
LOPIEL	X	X		
LOSAALA		X		X
BIRIFOR			X	X

Attention is particularly directed to the diminishing emphasis on the matriclan from A. to G. (Fig. 1). The main criteria are recorded in Table 1. They are not, however, the only ones employed. For other institutional features are associated with the central referent, the method by which movable property, wealth, is inherited. Xylophones for example include Lo and Dagaa types. The distribution of these among the groups we have differentiated is given in Table 2. The lack of the Dagaa xylophone among the LOSAALA is often pointed to by the LOPIEL as the reason for their classification as Lo. It is the act of pointing at such indices which gives the group its unity - a consciousness of what it is not. These subsidiary criteria may conflict with the central referent of matrilineal descent. I know of only one case in which this happened and that was when I was living in a LODAGABA community and speaking of the LOWIILI to my cook, Timbume (literally, Tengaan bume, thing of the Earth shrine). He came from Tom, near Nandom, whose inhabitants I have classified as LOPIEL or WHITE LODAGABA and had worked for many years in the south. There language is the main referent of the two names because the important fact among migrant labourers and their employers is what they speak and not how they inherit. Thus the name Lo tends to be restricted to the LOWILISI. And it has pejorative implications, particularly in these days, when the Gourd discs inserted in the lips of women and girls arouse considerable derision from outsiders. Timbume at first insisted he was Dagaa; only later on, when I pointed out that members of his patrilineage inherited wealth matrilineally, did he reluctantly

agree that in this respect they were Lo. Having agreed to this, but remaining resentful at the implications, not only because of the reason I have mentioned above but also because his father, a comparatively rich man, had died in his youth, while his mother's brother, from whom he would inherit, was still middle-aged and something of a spendthrift, he then maintained that the LOWILLI were also Lo. He pointed to their use of the Lo xylophones, to the particular dance (Kobine) with which they celebrate the end of hoeing and to their dialect. It is true that in these respects the LOWILLI are more like the BIRIFOR than are the LOPIEL of the Nandom area; this is related to their geographical position between the DAGAAWILLI and the BIRIFOR. And to this extent they are out of cultural alignment, for these features do not coincide with the absence of matrilineal inheritance of wealth. This usage was later confirmed only by listening to the way the LOWILLI were referred to in ordinary conversation. Direct questioning by an outsider tends to be misleading, for a man's response will depend upon his interpretation of the question. This was the only time I have heard a neighbouring group referred to as Dagaa in one context and Lo in another, the reason being that elsewhere the criteria are consistent with one another and no conflict arises. When I first came to Lawra, and asked about a "Lobi" community outside the administrative centre itself, the LOWILLI were mentioned; it was some time later that I realized I had been directed to what for my purpose was the wrong community - as they did not inherit wealth matrilineally - but only towards the end of my fieldwork there that I understood why. As terms of external reference, Lo and Dagaa are normally used consistently by one group to its neighbours; but for internal reference, the group may employ either term according to the context.

The group, unable to visualize its unity from within, defines itself in opposition to the surrounding peoples, who are considered in relation to the two cultural poles, Lo and Dagaa. This conceptual mechanism resembles our employment of the directional terms, North and South, for their use is determined by the speaker's situation in relation to two poles; indeed the words were once translated as West and East by an educated native whose attention I had drawn to this phenomenon. This view corresponds to the sociological reality, for the polar cultures have inevitably a spatial aspect and the groups are strung out on the East-West axis. But there is a closer parallel to the use of directional terms. If we employ the term westerners to refer to all those living to the west of us, we automatically include ourselves among the easterners. This is how the cluster of peoples in this area use Lo and Dagaa in relation to their own institutions and to those of their neighbours.

This mechanism provides a means of dealing with, that is to say, of accounting for and referring to, a multitude of cultural differences within and without communities; it places institutions in relation to the speaker and its use is always relative to his position between the two poles. This relativity explains the LODAGABA for example, are called "Dagari" by French writers and "Lobi" by the English, and why Delafosse regarded the inhabitants of the Wa and Lawra districts as all "Dagari" / . In the Nandom area one sometimes hears Dagara used by the LODAGABA for internal reference, whereas the WILLI and DAGABA, those culturally to the east or patrilineal side of them, are called Dagaba (pl. Dagabr). But this appears to be a recent adoption of a name by which they were known to a neighbouring society; a name of external reference applied to them has been taken over by the group as a name of internal reference.

#### Classification of groups

An attempt has been made to elucidate the local usage of the terms Lo and Dagaa, and its function among the peoples of this area. For the purposes of an objective classification it is necessary to give names to the groupings which emerge on the basis of this directional system. As far as the Ivory Coast is concerned I adopt both the nomenclature and the distribution given by Labouret,\*

/ 1908 (b), p. 168. Labouret, 1931, p. 23, speaks of both "Dagari" and "Dagaba"; he does not apparently realize however, that they are structurally distinguishable nor that the two names are variations of each other.

□ To the Puli, I was told; these are perhaps the Pougouli of Labouret, a Sisala speaking group living to the west of Diébougou.

\* 1931, p. 50.

except to indicate in the sketch map (opposite page 3) the pockets of LO TILI and LOSAALA adjacent to their Gold Coast counterparts. The term "Lobi" Labouret uses to refer to a relatively homogeneous cultural group and to a language; I use it exclusively in the latter sense, to avoid the confusions which have arisen from its widespread use among the various peoples as one of the pair of directional terms (Lo and Dagaa). The group which he refers to as "Lobi" I call LOWILISI, a name sometimes employed in the Lawra district to indicate that sub-class of Lo whose language they do not understand, i.e. to differentiate them when necessary from the BIRIFOR. The name BIRIFOR I also take from Labouret. The LODAGABA, the "Dagari" of French writers, use, as I have explained, the terms Lo and Dagaa for self-reference according to the context; the name I select indicates their intermediate position between the two cultural poles. Of the names given to the two subdivisions of the LODAGABA, LOSAALA is sometimes used by neighbouring groups to refer to the people living within a few miles of Lawra itself. I have heard etymologies which derive this from the name of that town and alternatively from the epithet 'black'. The name LOPIEL (White Lo) for the other subdivision of the LODAGABA, I heard occasionally used in the settlement of Birifu to distinguish these from the BIRIFOR; it is not used by the LODAGABA themselves. A group of former inhabitants of Birifu who migrated to Bapla, south of Diébougou, in the Ivory Coast are known by outsiders as WILLI.<sup>\*</sup> Most of those called WILLI in the Ivory Coast differ from the LOWIILLI, who have certain features characteristic of the BIRIFOR and the LOSAALA. I therefore distinguish two groups of WILLI in the Gold Coast, the LOWIILLI and the DAGAAWILLI; they refer to each other as Lo and Dagaa. The DAGAAWILLI in the Gold Coast do not call themselves WILLI, although this is the name of one of their central settlements. On the other hand, they are aware that this name is sometimes given to them. The name DAGABA is the one by which these people refer to themselves. But they sometimes call the DAGABA to the west of them Lo. There are certainly differences, in for example the general layout of the settlements, between the DAGABA of Ulu in the east and Eremon in the west, but further investigation is required before an adequate subdivision can be made.

#### Provenance

Most of the patrilclans in the district trace their migration along a chain of villages leading back some twenty miles to the boundary of the Wa district; others trace their origins back still further to the district round Wa itself and others to Dagomba (Dagbô). Previously the country was inhabited by the DYAN who now dwell in the vicinity of Diébougou. The present inhabitants recognize this, and some stories tell of the DYAN moving out as the Mossi speakers advanced. The same patrilclans appear among all the various groups in the Lawra district, just as the same four major matrilineal groups are to be found among all those inheriting wealth matrilineally. Common descent is often recognized between patrilclans in the different groups, although they may have different names. The clans coming from the south spread into the SISALA area; the name of Lambussie is held to be derived from the village in the Wa district (DAGABA) called Busie, Iam (lanbe) being the name given by the LODAGABA to the SISALA. There they adopted the language of the indigenes, but in the migration stories they still refer to themselves as DAGABA to distinguish themselves from other Sisala-speaking clans. This migration from the south is not to be confused with the more recent movement of LODAGABA into the area from the vicinity of Nandom owing to shortage of land, and from the Haute Volta in order to avoid high taxation and other measures of the French Administration. In the recent case the immigrants were numerically dominant and have retained their own language and culture.

The subdivisions of the SISALA have been discussed in the section on linguistic classification. According to Guinness's report, they are remarkably heterogeneous in their remembered origins, coming from the north and east as well as from the south. The Mossi speaking people in the Lawra district also have an element who claim to have originated in the north, like the Nome and Batige in Gonja. Indeed, the firstcomers among the present inhabitants of the

\* French writers use the name "Oulé". According to Delafosse, 1912, Vol. 1, p. 141, the Dyulas call them "Dagari-Oulé" (red "Dagari") to distinguish them from the "Dagari-Fing" (black "Dagari" i.e. LODAGABA). I myself have heard only WILLI in both the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, and assume "Oulé" to be a bad transliteration. In any case, there is some doubt as to whether the term is Mande in origin or whether it derives from a place name.

^ This includes the TEGESYE, the DYAN, the GAN and the DOGHSIE.  
Labouret, 1931, p. 222.

Nandom (LODAGABA) area appear to be the Berewiele clan in whom is vested the custodianship of the Ko Earth shrine. All other ritual areas north of the river Kamba have gradually split off from Ko, which is still recognized in speech as the senior shrine. These ritual areas are known collectively as Kabir, the same name as is used for the Lambussie Earth shrine and ritual area. The Berewiele claim to have come from Tenkuriko\* and Nabing in the Haute Volta and then to have settled at Bimballa and Kongwol, where their Sisala speaking clansmen are to be found to this day. Some then moved to the Nandom area where they found Mossi speaking hunters of the Kpiele clan who had already arrived from the south. The Kpiele are still said to 'own the land' in so far as land tenure is concerned; it is eventually from them that all the other inhabitants have acquired land by request. But the Berewiele are custodians of the Earth shrine and it is from them that other groups have acquired the right to set up local shrines which in the course of time have become largely independent. In this case, Sisala speakers have forsaken their language in favour of Dagari.

The Haiyuri patriclan also claims to have come from the north, where their kinsmen inhabit the settlements of Tinto-laleung and Nabing in the Haute Volta. They came as traders in salt and cloth, but settled down to agriculture. They recognize as clansmen the Mafobe (Sandalli) of Jirappa, who themselves claim agnatic kinship with the Yongyuole of Birifu and with a section of the Moslem population of Wa. Indeed there is a story current in Jirappa that formerly they 'prayed to God' (pure Naanmin) and 'knew the book' (boŋni a gan), but reverted to paganism.

I mention these migrations from the north to make it clear that not all patriclans in the district claim to have come from the south; the SISALA area in particular was a melting pot for peoples of many origins. The main influx however was from the south and appears to have been to be connected with the movement of Mossi speakers from the Dagomba area. This contradicts the thesis put forward by Baumann that the Dagari speaking peoples originated in a movement from Mossi in the first half of the fourteenth century. The expansion of the Mossi from Mamprusi to the Tenkodogo area must certainly have caused certain of the indigenous Mossi speaking peoples to migrate. The Nankana are said to have left at this time; one tradition maintains that because of this the Mossi called in the Bussansi to repopulate the district. Although the establishment of the Mossi empire no doubt created local migrations of the indigenous peoples, it is extremely doubtful whether this influenced the area with which we are here concerned. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Mossi ever established control over Wa. The Lawra district itself appears to have been occupied by Mossi speaking peoples only for some two hundred years.

\* Possibly Tenkodogo, the first centre of the Mossi Empire. Tenkuri however, means "the old homeland"; I have on other occasions heard it recited as a place name in migration stories.

† Baumann and Westermann, 1948, p. 404. "Vers la même époque, les Mossis se sont rendus dans le Sud jusqu'à Oua sur la Volta Noire où ils ont donné naissance, en se mélangeant aux autochtones (Gourounsis, Lobis?), à une série de peuples nouveaux (les Dagaris, Nankanas, Oualas, etc.)". These statements are based upon Tauxier, 1912, p. 360.

‡ Tauxier, 1924, p. 163. This would not however account for their westward extension into Dahomet and Nigeria. The Bussansi are probably an offshoot of the Samo; they speak a Mande-fu language.

## APPENDIX 1

## WORD LISTS OF THE GRUSI LANGUAGES

spoken in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast

ENGLISH	GOURCUNSI Tondiolé dialect Tauxier, 1921	SISALA Recorded at Lambussie, 13.6.52	SISALA Isal, Tuma dialect, Rattray, 1932	POTOLI Recorded at Kod operi, 27.8.52	CHAKALLE Recorded at Katua, 29.8.52	TAMPOLEM' Rattray, 1932	VAGALE Rattray, 1932	SITI Tauxier, 1921	SITI Delafosse in Tauxier 1921	DEGHA Tauxier, 1921	DEGHA Recorded at Bambol
1	bidon	bedum	kubala	diēm	diige	be'am/dige	kpan/kpe	bilakoum	billkpo	békou	gbíí
2	ballè	be'ell	lea	līa	lēwa	alle	anie	arè	aré	ané	ne
3	batoro	botoro	tore	tō	tōro	atora	ahoro	tyoro	shyoro	atoulo	turu
4	bana	bana	nese	nāa	anaasa	anase	anazo	nāso	našo	anaré	nari
5	boman	bamwō	n-ŋ	nom	anyō	anyu	anoe	mé	mé	anoumé	nyuē
6	boldo	bagbo	do	do	aloro	anora	anumbel	nimbélé	nuembélé	anoumbélé	numel
7	bopè	bapei	pei	pēa	aloropè	anope	anidanie	nuaré	nyéaré	anouané	nuani
8	kleuri	tfori	c-ri	kyuri	mantal	rwenasa	anidahoro	nikoro	nyéshyoro	anouatoulo	nuato
9	nivi	nama	nive	nibe	saanese	sandoso	kabel/anidanozo	ninasō	nuénaso	anouanaré	nuari
10	fi	fi	fi	fi	fi	fi	fi	nasikè	nasikyé	fi	fi
man		nandu		bal	bal			bālo		balo	
woman	halo	hala	hal	ha	han	han	han	hain-no		hano	
father		nīe	nyema	lkwo	nyina	nyena	mīe	mīna		na	
mother		ma	naŋ	ina	ma	nina	ma	mini		nien	
mother's brother		niera	nera	niela	natina	nera	nara	nara		nara	
sister's son		mabie	bi	niela	natina	nere	bie	néniera		nāra	
father's sister		naha	nyelma	nyila	ihiena	naha	nyana				
sun	oulsè	wisa	wea	wihé	wise	woha	weze	vuè		ouéré	
moon	kénin	tfana	kyene	pene	bwoge			palo		kien	
earth	tēna	tana	tinteī	tarha	haglī	tiene	here	élè		arè/bouè	
water	nīla	nyier	lle	née	nīe	ni	nee	nīo		née	
tree	dala	tuo	tea	dāa	dāa	da		dāhain		da	
guinea-corn		mīe		mīa	mīā						
maize		lamier	koromea	momaŋa	nyalami			sogora		garoda	
yam		pie		pīa	pīā			pīe		pè	
ground-nuts		sinko	gyosi	siŋkan	maŋsa			manntara		ngatie	
hoe				paal	parr			ginguian		palé	
cow	nolo	nō	na-hal	noho	nāu	noha	nau	naha		naon	
sheep	pīesa	pīenso	pīesu	pīehu	pīsi	pīsa	pīezi	awarao		pérou	
goat	bōno	boona	boŋ	buōŋ	buō			bouroum		bounou	
fowl	n'zimi	zīino	gwīwie	d'zimi	zal			zaalé		dialé	
dog		vaa	vaha	vaa	vaa	vaha	noahen	wara		manien	
horse	n'zara	zaka		d'zao	zō	zaga	zako	zarao		dīao	
arrow	hama			heŋ	hieŋ		hem	himmbi		hemm	
finger		ninyui-yir		noni	nubii			noumbi		nonié	
palm (of hand)		nitfaala		napatia	nupel						
calabash		fala	llon	bara	fale			léé		louou	
house	dia	d'aa		bé	bīa			dano		dia	

APPENDIX II

WORD LISTS OF THE WESTERN GROUP  
OF MOSSI LANGUAGES

English	Nome Recorded at Kulmasa 1.9.52	Batige Recorded at Tuna, informant from Kunfosi 2.9.52	Safalba Recorded at Bole, informant from ʔmandari. 3.9.52	Mara Recorded at Bole, informant from Larabanga. 3.9.52	Anga Recorded at Bole, informant from Daboya. 3.9.52
1.	yenti	ooyen	ya	yini	yini
2	ayi	ayi	ayi	ayi	ayi
3	ata	ata	ata	ata	ata
4	anaasi	anaasi	anaasi	anaasi	anaasi
5	anuu	anuu	anuu	anu	anu
6	ayoiwobi	ayoiwobi	ayobi	aiwobo	aiwobi
7	ayopoi	ayopoi	ayopoi	ayopoi	ayopoi
8	anni	anni	anni	anni	anni
9	awai	awai	awai	awai	awai
10	pie	pie	pi	pia	pia
20	lidʒer	lidʒer	(toko)	pisiyi	pisiyi
100	koo	koo	(kalfa)	kowa	kowa
man	dau	daba	daba	daba	daba
woman	poga	poʒ	pogo	poʒa	poga
mother's	ahaba	aseba	aseba	aseba	aseba
brother	ahaba	aseba	aseba	aseba	aseba
sister's	ahaba	aseba	aseba	asebie	asebie
son	ahaba	aseba	aseba	asebie	asebie
father's	pure	nyaana	nyaana	purba	purba
sister	pure	nyaana	nyaana	purba	purba
father	ba	oa	saa	ba	ba
mother	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
Supreme					
Being			Nanmini		
sun	ɲmina	ɲmina	ɲmininɲa	wulinɲa	wuluno
moon	tʃu	tʃu	tʃu	tʃu	merya
earth	tinge	tinge	tinge	tinga	tinga
Earth					
priest	tendaana	toŋbaandaana	teŋbaansoba	tindaana	tendaana
compound	yiri	yiri	yiri	yiri	yiri
room	diu	diʔi	di	du	diu
hoe	kuri	kuri	kuri	kuri	kuri
guinea					
corn	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi
maize	kamana	kamana	ɡooŋbosi	kamana	kamana
yam	waaro	waa	nyuuri	nuuri	nyuuri
ground					
nut	dʒeni	sʔnkpâ	(kalinko)	kosima	suma
fowl	nuo	nuo	nuo	noʔo	nu
cow	nâhu	nafu	naafo	naafu	naafu
sheep	pihu	piso	pisiqu	piu	piu
goat	bwo	buga	oua	bwu	bua
dog	baa	baa	oâa	oâa	bâa
horse	yoho	wianfo	wiêfu	wifu	bargo
calebash	ɲmaana	ɲmaan	ɲmane	ɲmani	ɲmamani
water	kwû	kwô	kô	kô	kuo
tree	dau	daa	daa	daù	daa
finger	nubiri	nubi	nubiri	nubla	nubla
palm	nupuro	nupuo	nupu	nutari	nupu
arrow	pi	pi	peŋ	pi	pi

APPENDIX III

WORD LISTS OF THE GUANG LANGUAGES OF WESTERN GONJA

English	Gbanya Rattray, 1932	Gbanya recorded at Kandia 29.8.52	Damputo recorded at Bole 3.9.52	Choruba recorded at Bole 3.9.52	Beri Tauxier, 1921, p. 647	Mpre Cardinall, 1931 (a)
1	Kukonle				eko	
	eko	eko	kokoone	eko	(ako, kako)	ekpe
2	anyo	enyo	anyo	enyo	anion	enyo
3	asa	isa	asa	isa	asa	eta
4	ana	inna	ana	inna	ana	ena
5	anu	inu	anu	innu	anou	enu
6	ashe	isie	asi	ishe	asié	grume
7	asheno	isienu	asinu	ishnu	asounou	ngpu
8	aburuwa	eburga	aburwa	iburgo	abourouga	nenengene
9	akpeno	ekpana	akpano	ikponno	akono	gokpa
10	kudu	kudu	kudu	kudu	koudou	edu
man	nyen		anyin	anyen		
woman	kye		atse	atfi	ekié	ejo
father	toto		tudo	turo	n'tito	chichi
mother	ni		nio	inyi	nio	emo
mother's						
brother	wopa		õmpa	maba		
sister's						
son	wpa-bi		nekar	mababi		
father's						
sister	tana		tana	mitfi		
brother's						
son	pibi		ana			
Supreme						
Being	ebore	ibwore		ibwõrri	éborè	agbem
sun		ipengi		kapen	épenngou	ezol
moon	kofol	kofol		kefel	kofol	nnopavo
earth	esesar	kasaweli		kosoli	kasaoulé	sunko
Earth	esesar-					sunko
priest	wura	kasalwura	kasaliwura	kosoliwura		kawuseggi
compound			kawu	zaga		eso
room			ebu	bu	bébou	
hoe		katikpa	katikpa	dar	katékoua	enwona
guinea						
corn		aiyú	atuwe	aiyú	koutoubé	avue?
maize	kuboye	kaboyu	kaboyu	aboyu	koubohi	aboyin
yam	kuj	kadjo	kadjo	kodjo	kôdio	ampi
ground						
nut	kulonku	kawú	kokulunko	kalinku	akébé	
fowl	kofi	kosi	kosi	koosi	kosi	kohor
cow	kina	kana	kána	kana	kéna	nogha
sheep	kobolepo	kobulpo	kobulpo	kasenda	kobolopo	
goat	kaboi	kobwe	kaboi	kobo	taboué	ade
dog	dwone	djuoni	djuono	kanawura	dioné	tebe
					(dioni)	
horse		õbange	õbanga	kidiso	gangué	vema
calebash	kawe	kawia	kawie	kowe		
water	ncu	ntfu	ntfu	nsu	n'tioum	nkaw
tree	kadibi	debi	kadibi	kade	kadivi	eyia
					(kadibi)	
finger		kasilbi	kasilibe	kaselbi	kisilébi	ataza
palm		konubilga	konigbingbo	konoburga		(pl.)
arrow	kinyembi	ignõ	kanyimi	nyim		neho

APPENDIX IV

A Fragment of Gonja History from the Reign of Naba'a to the  
Reign of Abu Bukari, Son of Osmanu.

This translation was made from an Arabic manuscript in the possession of the Kanankulaiwura of Alfaire in the Mandate of Togoland. It has been in his possession for fifteen years; he obtained it from a son of the Imam of Tuluwe. He had commissioned this Imam to write him out a copy of the Koran but as the Imam was, for some reason, unable to complete his task, he presented the Kanankulaiwura with this manuscript which was written at Buipe by Mahama, son of Abudullahi. The date of the writing is unknown but the story finishes in the reign of Abu Bukari in 1766.

The Kanankulaiwura sent his Malam to me in Tamale to help with the translation; his name was Abu Bukari, son of Imaru, son of Idrisu of Bawo, close to Kaffaba. The manuscript is not of course the original and as it must have been copied several times it is presumed that a number of mistakes must have crept in.

I wish to acknowledge the help and cooperation I received from my head boy and Driver Malam Isa Dan Geridi of the Zongo, Kumasi, a second generation Gold Coast Hausa and a son of a Sergeant in the old Hausa Force. Malam Isa, an excellent Arabic and Hausa scholar, took the greatest interest and trouble in searching for and translating documents which could throw a light on past history.

A. C. Duncan-Johnstone.

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, in remembrance of the people of old, and of the father of the Malam Mahama Lapayiru, son of Ismaila who came with his son to the town of Ghofe;<sup>1</sup> he came to the Chief of Gonja whose name was Naba'a;<sup>2</sup> he came to the Chief of Gonja who was at war in Kafiashi.<sup>3</sup>

1586/7 (or 1564/5)  
to  
1595/6 (or 1593/4)

He was received with honour but on their way back to their town Ismaila died, God have mercy on his soul; he died at Sanfi<sup>4</sup> and the news of his death was brought to his friend Naba'a.

And they said, "Your friend, the Malam Ismaila, is dead"; so the Chief sent much money to his brother at Ghofe to offer prayers and to give alms.

They offered prayers and the people of the Country of the Blacks<sup>5</sup> saw this and did likewise, each one making prayer and giving alms as he was able.

1595/6 (or 1593/4)  
to  
1614/5 (or 1612/3)

Then they took his son, who was also a Malam, Mohamed Lapayiru,<sup>6</sup> and he went in amity to the Chief, his father's friend. But he did not find him alive; instead he found his son the Mawura<sup>7</sup> sitting in the place of the Chief Naba'a. He found him at Kolo,<sup>8</sup> and that day, a Friday, he found him fighting fiercely.

The midday sun was strong and they were fighting in the sun; but the Malam saw a large and shady tree close to the scene of battle.

So the Malam said to the Chief of Gonja, "Let us go under the the shade of the tree."

The Chief of Gonja replied "How can we get a chance to go and sit under the tree; it is so close to the fight that we cannot rest there." The Malam replied "If God so wills it, we will drive off the unbelievers and then sit at the foot of the tree."

Then the Malam went in front and the Chief of the Gonja followed until they came to the foot of the tree.

In his hand the Malam carried a staff the head of which was covered with leather.<sup>9</sup>

He planted it in the ground; he struck the ground and planted the staff in the earth between the combatants.

So when he did this and the enemy saw, they fled. By the power of God did he do this.

Then the Gonjas opened the gates of Kolo and entered the town and when the Chief of Gonja saw what the Malam had done, he was astonished and said "Behold, the religion of these people surpasses our own".

So the Gonjas became envious and wished to adopt Islam.

So the Chief became a Moslem, together with his brother called Amoah, with Limu and with Jafa and Mafa, the twins, who were the sons of a Moslem.

His brothers Amoah and Limu died; at that time Mafa and Jafa, the paternal nephews of the Chief, the Mawura, were children.

When they grew up they followed in the faith of their uncle the Mawura, Chief of Gonja.

When they repented the Malam gave them new names.

Now the Mawura's name was Sa'ara, and the Malam gave him the name of Imoru Kura. The name of Amoah was also Imoru; and Limu was called Imoru Saidu,<sup>10</sup> Jafa, Al Hassan, and Mafa, Al Hussein.

They all repented on the same day.

Naoa'a ruled for thirty years before he died, and his successor ruled for nineteen years.

He built the Mosque at Ghofe. Amoah was also called Al Hajj, because he gave money to one to go and represent him in pilgrimage.

1614/5 (or 1612/3)  
to  
1634/5

The man went and prayed there and returned to Ghofe and so Amoah became Al Hajj. He, Amoah Imoru Saidu Al Hajj, became Chief and ruled for twenty-one years.

But the Malams dispute this and say he ruled for two years more.

1634/5

Now behold Lanta, who is Jakpa, entered into Bura.<sup>11</sup>

When he was Chief he became very powerful; among all those who had gone before him, not one could equal him as a ruler. Everything concerning his kingdom he took into his own hands; he divided the country of Gonja and gave it to his brothers.

When he became Chief there was no one who dared dispute with him, and the power has remained in the hands of his brothers right down to the present day.

1681/2

When he died in the year of the Hegira 1093, the Malams say, he had ruled for forty-two years.

1675/6

He was very old and when he was ready to take the chieftainship of Bura<sup>11</sup>, he handed over his kingdom to his son, who was called So'ara<sup>12</sup> after his grandfather but was also called So'ara Sulimanu.

He was the son of Lanta, and he had ruled only for six years when his father the Chief of Bura died. After this he ruled for sixteen years. His rule lasted twenty-two years, until he was deposed.

During his reign he conquered many lands and made war on many towns, and because there was continual war he was deposed.

1697/8

The Malams say that when he was deposed it was in the year of the Hegira 1109.

His son was dead and so his brother Limu succeeded him.

He took the name of Imoru son of Lanta and ruled for two months and fifteen days until he was killed.

After him came his brother called Banga, who had been Chief of Saywura; after eight months he died.

If you do not know Saywura, it is the place near Wasipe.<sup>13</sup>

In this year a Malam Osman, son of Alihu, was killed, he was well known, and liked by the people.

His brother remained at the Mosque of Ghofe to look after it.

At the end of this year the Liman Al Hajj died, God have mercy on his soul; he was the son of a true Malam, the son of Mahama Labayiru.

Then a war broke out between Abbas and the Chief of Longo,<sup>14</sup> in which many people were killed; brother killed brother, and those who were spared had no strength left in them. Their villages disappeared as well as their power; this lasted for twelve years, until peace was made between them.

Then the Chief of Longoro died, and the power remained in the hands of Abbas and his brother Langu.

Forty days after this Langu died and the power was left in the hands of Abbas at Garinsu.<sup>15</sup>

But Abbas would not take over the office of Chief until the time came for him to die, although he kept the power always in his own hands.

He sat on the Chief's skin<sup>16</sup> for a hundred days and then Tinaur<sup>17</sup> came and killed him.

Abbas said "I will be a ruler", he made for himself a powerful kingdom and no one withstood him.

Behold his power was as great as that of his father, who was a strong man among the sons of Lantar.

In the time of Abbas many people came under his sway exceeding in number those who had followed his predecessors. In power and in lands, he exceeded all his brothers; he also surpassed them in riches and liberality.

He surpassed his brothers in intelligence, in beauty and in religion; as a believer he acted like his father Lantar, who was Jakpa.

Therefore during his reign his power exceeded everything right down to the present day; and to this day his descendants still hold the power.

Behold Abbas the victorious, he even made war against Guna<sup>18</sup> and conquered it.

Guna is a large city; half way from Guna to the Gonja country<sup>19</sup> is the town called Ghofe; it is a ten days' journey and there is a river in between.

On the day that he destroyed Guna, on that very day was Abbas hailed as Chief of Gonja.

He had a Malam called Sherif, and on that day Abbas gave him gold weighing twelve miskals; in the name of God he gave him alms.

And he gathered together all the Malams who were following Sherif and gave them alms, a hundred miskals.

Abbas gave thanks to God because of the booty he had obtained from Guna. How much gold was there he did not know; that was known only to God.

After Guna, he made war against Fula<sup>20</sup>, a town in the hills in the country of Gonja; from Fula to Ghofe is four days for a quick walker and five for a slow one; a river lies between them.

The Chief went with his brothers to Fula where thanks to the help of the Moslems they were victorious; but in the course of the victory Abbas was slain.

This was in the month of Rabillawal, the fifteenth day of the month in the year of the Hegira 1121.

In 1122 his brother Mahomadu, Chief of Kombi<sup>21</sup> died; in 1123 the Chief of Diki died<sup>22</sup>, and his father's younger brother succeeded and was called Mahama Labayiru of Kombi, son of Lantar.

He succeeded to Yagbum.<sup>23</sup>

After the death of Abbas no one ruled for any length of time.

Mahama Labayiru, may God have mercy on him, ruled only two and a half years when he died. After his death, the kingdom was no longer in the hands of one man; all had their own towns and the country was divided.

Now the most powerful was the brother of Abbas; he took precedence over all, and was the chief of chiefs.

The affairs of the kingdom were in his hands and are so until the present day.

In 1123 Osmanu became Chief of Ghofe.

In 1125 a town called Tounouma was destroyed by war and twenty-six years after the Chief of Yendi was slain.

In 1129 the brother of Abbas killed the Chief of Yendi and he died at Kpalari.<sup>25</sup>

In the thirty-first year died Mahama So'ara, son of Lantar; he was Chief of Ghofe.

In the thirty-third year died the Malam Mahama Konadi,<sup>26</sup> and the Chief of Tuluwe,<sup>27</sup> Mahama, son of Abbas.

In the thirty-fifth year Bawo<sup>28</sup> attacked Tekyiman; they came and shot at the men of Tekyiman and killed them.

In this war the Chief of Debre<sup>29</sup> was slain; his name was Sulugu.<sup>30</sup>

In the thirty-sixth year died Al Hajj, Chief of Wasipe.

In the thirty-seventh year died Osmanu, Chief of Ghofe, and his brother Mustapha succeeded him.

In this year Sulimamu and Abu Bakr, sons of the Chief, went to Mecca; one Malam Mahama Bunayi<sup>31</sup> died at Suna.<sup>32</sup>

At the close of the thirty-ninth year died Malam Basa Karamoko<sup>33</sup>; his proper name was Al Hussein, son of Al Hajj Laminu.

In the forty-first year died Abudullahi Jowalla<sup>34</sup> and in the forty-third year died Malam Mawuli Pettigi<sup>35</sup> Mahama, Mahama Saidu, son of Sa'adu, son of Mustapha, son of Mahama Labayiru, and also Abudullahi, Chief of Wasipe.

In the forty-fourth year died Imoru, son of Al Hajj Laminu, who was also called Basa Karamoko.

In that year our father, Mustapha, went to Mecca; he went to Mecca on a Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of the month of Rajab.

25th May,  
1709

1710/1

1711/2

1713/4

1711/2

1713/4

1716/7

1718/9

1720/1

1722/3

1723/4

1724/5

1727

1728/9

1730/1

1731/2

Now in this time the people of Mango were called Zuma.<sup>36</sup>

1732/3

In the forty-fifth year died our father Mustapha on whom be peace; he died on the twenty-first day of the month of Muharram. He died at Yadinati, close to the town of Katsina.<sup>37</sup>

Oh! Hear the words of the Malam, father of Al Hajj Mohamed Labayiru.

In his talk he tells us how the Gonja had their origin.

In this year came the men of Bawo and fought with the people of Gonja.

1727/8

In the fortieth year Al Hajj Mahama returned from Mecca and in this year Mustapha, Chief of Ghofe, died and his brother Latape ruled in his place.

After that died Hussien, Chief of Kombi, whose nickname was Sabalagu.<sup>38</sup>

1734/5

In the forty-seventh year died Latape, Chief of Ghofe.

He had a brother whose nickname was Babalura.<sup>39</sup>

1735/6

In the forty-eighth year died Abu Bakr, Chief of Ghofe.

1736/7

In the forty-ninth year Sulimanu and Al Hajj Mahama returned from Mecca.

In this year the people of Kombi were destroyed by war; the Chief was called Karbuwura,<sup>40</sup> and his brother Sabalagu was with him as well as also his brother Murki, Chief of Sunbung.<sup>41</sup> In this year died the Limam Mustapha, known as Bajaberidi, and Abdul Arramanu, an ancient Arab, and Imoru Saidu, who had been a commander of the soldiers of Abbas; he was Master of the Horse.

Sangaragandi, Chief of Kandia,<sup>42</sup> was killed in the war, as was the the Chief of Kom, son of Osman, later Chief of Ghofe.

He was killed in battle, together with our grandfather Malam Fadabiga.

1737/8

In the year of the Hegira 1150 died Mahama, Chief of Ghofe, who was called Babalura.

After him came Saidu, son of Laga, known as Lantabi.

In the fifty-first year died Abu Bukr called Yegi; he was the son of Malam Imoru Konandi.

In the fifty-third year died Salifu, son of a chief, and brother of Al Hajj Sulimanu.

Jan.-Feb.,  
1742

In the fifty-fourth year in the month of Dhul-hijja died Saidu, called Lantabi, and also Atabin, Master of the Hobbling Ropes, which office he had filled for fifty-nine years.

1742/3

In the fifty-fifth year died Imoru Konandi, son of Al Hajj Limina, who was known as Basa Karamoko.

During his time Sulimanu, son of Abbas, was Chief.

Apr.-June,  
1743

During the month of Rabilawal in the fifty-sixth year, the people of Kombi fled on account of the pagans of Kulasi;<sup>43</sup> in the fifty-seventh year the people of Ghofe fled before the pagans of Daura.<sup>44</sup>

1744/5

At the end of this year the infidels entered into the country of Gonja, and the Gonja knew them as Imbo.<sup>45</sup>

They also invaded Gwong<sup>46</sup> and the people of Gwong took to flight, in the month of Dhul-hijja, the month of prayer.

1745/6

In the fifty-eighth year died Mohomadu, while he was going to his brother Mohammed Basa Karamoko.

Mohama Konandi became Iman of Ghofe and Asheka died, an old man on whom be peace.

On the twenty-second day of the month of Rabilawal, a Thursday Salifu son of Laminu returned from Mecca.

Abu Bukr, Chief of Wasipe, died and was succeeded by the son of his younger brother, Mohomadu, son of Al Hajj.

Then came a sickness which killed many people in the country of Gonja; there came also a famine and there was no food. The people were about to fly the country and a measure of corn was sold for one hundred and fifty cowries.<sup>47</sup> The weight laid down by the prophet was five hundred.<sup>48</sup>

In this year the locusts came in great numbers and all the people feared lest their crops should be destroyed.

But nothing was destroyed in their town,<sup>49</sup> and the locusts passed over.

In this same year the rain fell exceedingly heavily, and many houses were destroyed; behold the volume of the water was as it was of old, but the houses did not fall.

However the people feared that they would lose their houses and they made shelters of grass.<sup>50</sup>

In this year Murki, Chief of Kombi, died and his nephew succeeded him, and later succeeded to Yagbum.

1746/7

In the fifty-ninth year died Al Hajj Sulimanu, son of Laminu.

On the 30th night of Djul-hijja, when the moon was thirteen days old, the Chief of Buna was captured; his name was Malba<sup>51</sup>, son of Ali Mora, son of Al Hajj Laminu, known as Basa Karamoko. He was captured and roughly treated before he was killed.

In the sixtieth year the Imam died, Jarrawari, son of Saidu Imoru, son of Mustapha; he died on the eighteenth day of the month of Muharram.

The Imam was also called Imoru Bunasoma.<sup>52</sup>

Imoru, son of Osman, son of Soma, son of Kurfa, son of Mahama Labayiru, became Imam.

In this year the infidels called Weila came; the people of Gonja knew them as Sunguibe.<sup>53</sup>

The pagans came into the big town of Bandaweila and the men of Bandaweila ran away. They came to the bank of a river where they met with a man called Dandebo who had a brother called Dalibada. They saw him in his farm harvesting his corn.

They shot him with guns and hit him in the thigh, they shot him also in his testicles and he fell to the ground but his bones were not broken.

They beat him with axes on the head and the throat; he slept a little and then he died.

It was on the 12th day of the month of Lahiya that the locusts came and ate the corn of many people.

In the sixty-first year Soma died and the Chief of Busunu,<sup>54</sup> son of Abbas, came to Diki on the river on account of the people of Weila.

They came with Kofi Suno,<sup>55</sup> because they had killed his father's brother. The people of Bawo had killed his father's brother amongst the farms of Gwo.<sup>57</sup>

The people of Weila wished to destroy Gonja.

The people across the river<sup>58</sup> wished to take the country of Gonja and put it under their own rule; because of this the Chief of Busunu embarked on the river against them.

But they made no further move and remained quiet, nor did they do any evil against the country of Gonja.

And the Chief of Busunu sat down at Diki and remained there a month; the people were afraid and did no more wrong.

So he returned with his brother Sulimanu Salinga, a rich man.

In this year they<sup>59</sup> killed a man of Mango, Al Hajj Yakubu, son of Jima of Mango; the mercy of God be on his soul. His brother Abu Bukr saved himself in time; he did not even wait to bury his brother.

Not long after Kofi Suno came again with the people of Weila; the Gonjas killed many of them including the slayers of Al Hajj Yakubu.

They captured their leaders and troubled them greatly.

Those who remained fled to Dagonguraga.<sup>60</sup>

1748/9

In the sixty-second year war broke out again between the Dagombas of Dagonguraga and the rest of Dagomba.

They slew each other in great numbers, but the people of Dagonguraga were stronger than the others.

Their farms were in between them,<sup>61</sup> and the Gurugna<sup>62</sup> was victorious and waxed powerful.

The people of Gwo returned with Kofi Suno and drove away the Dagonguraga from their town together with the people of Mango.<sup>63</sup>

They said "El Hamdulillahi, we have driven away the people of Gurugu."

And in this month the Dagonguraga Na ran away.

In this war died Abu Bukr, son of the Chief of Busuna, son of Al Hajj Lamina Sankaramon.

1750

On a Friday night, the thirteenth day of the month of Jimada Lahiru, in the sixty-third year, there was an eclipse of the moon and on a Thursday the twenty-first day of the month of Muharram there befell an eclipse of the sun.

In this month on the same day died Ayi, son of Ayi, Chief of Ashanti;<sup>64</sup> may God curse him, may He take his soul and cast it into the fire.

He it was who troubled the people of Gonja; continually and at all times did he trouble them. He seized their possessions. Whatever he wished, so he did, for he was all powerful in his rule; in his pride and conceit he loved to interfere in the affairs of others.

And all his people feared him and feared him greatly.

The power of his rule endured for a long time; after forty years he died and his uncle's son whose name was Kayishi<sup>64</sup> succeeded him.

A dispute arose between the Chief of Busunu, son of Abbas, and one Banda Yaw<sup>65</sup> and a Chief called the Yasowura,<sup>66</sup> Abu Bukari, son of the Chief of Wuripe.<sup>67</sup>

The deed done by Banda Yaw was proclaimed in every town, for he killed a child of the Chief of Busunu.

Everyone made ready for war and the people were all very afraid for they no longer wanted war as in former days during the creation of Gonja. "God save us from the wars of the olden days".

They knew that if they fought as in days gone by, the war would never finish, as it was the kind of fighting that would involve the whole land.

So Sulimanu, son of Abbas, prevented war; he and his brother were the Chiefs.

These affairs were not good if they brought war to the land of Gonja.

Behold how the people fought of old; we pray God not to send wars again among the Moslems. God help our country. God helped them because of Mahama, Chief of Wuripe. He came to the Chief of Busunu and settled the matter; there was no more evil.

About this time, during the month of fasting, died Hussein, brother of Yunusa; and in this year the people of Dagonguraga fled to the Chief of Gwona.

The men of Gwo, together with Kofi Suno, followed them to Gwona.

Then the Chief of Dagonguragu begged the Chief of Gwona to settle the matter between him and the people of Gwo. But this he could not do and the fighting between them started once more.

The Chief of Gwona<sup>68</sup> was slain by them. May God curse him; may God cast his soul into the flames, together with those of his brothers; may God cast their souls into the fire, and those of all their people.

As for the brother of Dagonguragana, may his soul also be cast into the flames.

He met his end in the war; he was as the father of the Dagonguragana.

Then the people returned to their towns; all these happenings took place in the month of fasting.

In this same month was killed a man from Mango called Fogamajima<sup>69</sup>, the brother of Shehu.

1750/1

In the sixty-fourth year Salifu died, God give him peace; he was the Chief of Kapuyare.<sup>70</sup>

Mahama Jarrawari was the Chief of Ghofe.

On the thirtieth morning, of the twenty-third day of the moon, of the month of Safa, his brother took the skin of Sarrama;<sup>71</sup> he took it from his younger brother.

He was called Al Hajj; and on that day the people were greatly astonished, saying "We have never before seen such things".

In that month a Chief of Kombi died; he was called Murki, son of of Kombi Sabalugu, and had formerly been the Kanankulaiwura.<sup>72</sup> His father's younger brother succeeded to a town called Nakamawula.<sup>73</sup>

He was also the son of Kombi Sabalugu, Murki the son of Lantar, Chief of Kombi, whom they called Jakpa.<sup>74</sup>

After him came one Osumanu, son of the Chief of Kupugari,<sup>75</sup> son of the Chief of Debre, called Salawu.

He died in battle in the month of Jimadu Lahiru, near Kumbungu,<sup>76</sup> close to the Gurma country.

They were together with Jakpa and Jakpa was the Chief of Sansanne,<sup>77</sup> Jakpa, the son of Sulimanu, Chief of Kasbiwu.<sup>78</sup> His brother was the Chief of Longoro, and they were all gathered together in Mango.

In that month they were destroyed by war, they and the people of Mango were utterly destroyed by war.

During this year, in the middle of the month of Sha-aban, the Chief of Fula<sup>79</sup> died; his name was Shitayi and he had ruled for thirty-one years.

1762/3 This was in the year of Hegira 1176.

1764 In the ninth month of the following year died Sulimanu, son of Abbas, Chief of Gonja; may God have mercy on his soul.

On a Tuesday at Loha<sup>78</sup> he died. His paternal cousin, Abu Bukari, son of Mustapha, Chief of Gonja, succeeded him; it was on a Friday the twenty-seventh day of the month of Laiya Djul-hijja.

Now all this happened before the things that I have written, and at the time Abu Bukari, son of Mustapha, Chief of Gonja, had a very powerful kingdom.

July 12th, 1763 The twenty-ninth day of Ramadan, the month of the Fast called Marisu, was a Thursday, and on a Friday began the 1177th year of the Hegira.

On a Sunday, on the thirteenth day of the month of Rabillawal, died Abu Bukari, son of Mustapha, Chief of Gonja.

He died at sunset when the sun was no longer hot.

Abu Bukari made indeed a powerful kingdom of the country of Gonja; formerly he was Chief of Kombi and before that he ruled at Kulipe.

1764 1765 In the year of the Hegira 1178 he was at Kulipe and after eight months he was called on to take the chiefdom of Yagbum. What is written here is indeed the truth.

And because he had once ruled at Kombi, there was always great friendship between Abu Bukari, son of Mustapha, and the people of Kombi; how much no one could know save God.

After him came Abu Bukari, son of Osumanu, as Chief of Gonja.

In the year of the Hegira 1178, on a Friday, the twenty-third day in the month of Jimada Loune, he began to rule and ended on a Friday, the twenty-seventh day of the month of the Fast called Akutubar in the year of the Hegira 1179.

These are the words of two old men, two Malams, one of whom was called Imam Imoru Konandi, son of Imoru, and the other Al Hajj Mahama, son of Mustapha, - the things which God caused to happen, how the Gonja had their origin in the reign of Naba'a together with the deeds of the Moslems, Ismaila and his son, Mahama Labayiru, and of the Chief of Gonja, and all the Chiefs of Gonja up to the time of Abu Bukari, son of Osmanu, whose nickname was Layu, but the Gonja all called him Layon.

The writing of Mahama son of Abudullahi.

The words of our forefathers, whom God have mercy, and upon their descendants, the Moslems.

A note on dates.

The dates given in this manuscript present certain problems.

i. Those in the translation are given in full up to the death of Abbas in A.H. 1121. The next words read - "Twenty-two years after this...". The only interpretation which fits the next date given in full (i.e. A.H. 1150) is A.H. 1122, twenty-two years after the commencement of the century.

ii. p. . The date A.H. 1109 appeared as A.H. 1100 in the translation. This I take to be a mistake as A.H. 1109 accords with the stated length of Soara's reign; this is confirmed by Duncan-Johnstone 2.

iii. There is a jump on p.89 from the 64th year (i.e. A.H. 1164) to A.H. 1176 on the following page, at a stage when the text records events year by year. This is presumably due to a gap in the manuscript.

iv. There appears to be some confusion about the dates of the last two rulers.

v. It is impossible to reconcile the days of the week in the text with those given in Wuestenfeld's tables. No solution can be suggested until copies of the actual manuscript become available.

Notes. (A. C. Duncan-Johnstone and J. R. Goody)

1. Now called Buipe (Gbipe). Meyerowitz, 1952, P.57, states that, before the Gonja invasion, this was the capital of the Kania Kingdom and was known as Kania or Kaniamase. This kingdom she claims was also probably founded by immigrants from Kumbu in Mande who had settled in Buna. No other reference to this kingdom is known; Meyerowitz's information was obtained at second hand. It is possible that there has been some confusion here with the Gonja word Ka-Nyemasei, meaning the pre-Gonja inhabitants.
2. This name has a striking resemblance to the word for chief in Mossi, Naba.
3. Possibly Kafirchi, "among the pagans". The mistake seems hardly likely in Arabic but in Hausa it might occur.
4. Sanfi has not been identified.
5. Es Sudani (Arabic).
6. Arabic, "the white one". Also known as Mahama Labayiru.
7. A Guang name or title; wura means chief.
8. Possibly Kolaw, 24 miles west of Salaga, near the Volta above Kafaba.
9. The sceptre or rod always carried by the Imams.
10. "Imoru the happy" (Arabic).
11. The Burawura was the most senior office in the Gonja political system, senior to the Yagbumwura; but the latter appears to have been the effective head. The Yagbumwura was sometimes appointed Burawura as he approached senility. The office was surrounded by ritual prohibitions. It is difficult to understand this sentence in view of Lanta's retirement to the office in 1675-6.
12. So'ora and Sa'ara are the same. This would suggest that Jakpa was one of Naba'a's sons, though this is not altogether consistent with the sudden break at his "entry into Bura".
13. Daboya, on the White Volta.
14. Longo (Longero); south of the Black Volta in the Kintampo Division of Ashanti; at this time Longero lay within the Gonja State. Also called Longoro.
15. Garinsu has not been identified.
16. The skin corresponds to the stool in Ashanti and the crown in Europe; it is the main insignia of the office of chief.
17. Possibly a corruption of the Hausa name for the Ashanti, Batone (or Ton), pl. Tonawa (lit. diggers, those who dig for gold).
18. Buna (Fr. Bouna) on the Ivory Coast.
19. The bulk of the Gonja settled around Salaga and Daboya to form a bulwark against the Dagomba. It is presumably the Salaga region which is referred to here. Gonja territory stretched to Bimbila in Togoland.
20. The Hausa name for Panda. The Moslems referred to are either the Dyula or the Ligbi, who were partly pagan, partly Moslem. The town is presumably Fugula, where many of the former inhabitants of Begho settled.
21. Kong, near the Bole-Wa boundary; less probably Kombi or Kpembe, near Salaga.
22. Diki or Dikki, near Yanga or Nyanga.
23. Yagbumwura is the title of the senior reigning chief of Gonja, apart from the Burewura. Yagbum itself means 'the big company' and refers to the invading force. The Yagbumwura formerly resided at Nyanga which became known to the Administration as Yagbum.

24. Bimbila, in Togoland, 0°05'E, 8°50'N.
25. Kpalari is near Yendi, capital of Dagomba.
26. "Happy" (Mande).
27. Tuluwe, 0°55'E, 8°50'N.
28. i. Begho or Beee. v.p.27. According to Meyerowitz, 1952, p. , the Banda area was occupied by the Bono from Bono-Mansu shortly after the destruction of Beee, 1630-1640. About 1670, Doma refugees conquered the whole of Gyaman and Banda and set up the Brong state of Bonduku on similar lines to the Akan states. About 1730, this state was defeated by the Asante and incorporated into the newly established Union. The reference in the manuscript may be to a war between the Brong states of Bono (Tekyiman) and Bonduku (Bawo).
  - ii. Alternatively Kafaba, on the Volta some 15 miles south-west of Salaga, which was the centre of the kola trade before Salaga; this is certainly the town referred to later by this name.
29. Possibly Dibere, near the Black Volta, south-west of Banda Nkwanta.
30. "A hawk" (Dagbane).
31. "The fortunate one" (Arabic).
32. Suna has not been identified.
33. "The people's Malam" (Mande).
34. Possibly Jarrawari, a Mande title meaning "Golden Lion".
35. "The wise red one" (Mande).
36. Mango is situated in the Ivory Coast between Bonduku and Kong; it was there that the Chakosi came from. The language spoken there, like Chakosi, is Anufo, a dialect of Anyi (Kwa). The Nzima, who speak a closely related dialect, are known as Zimba to the Mande speakers.
37. On the borders of Northern Nigeria and French West Africa.
38. "Drops of rain" (Dagbane).
39. Possibly from the Hausa, "father of needles".
40. Possibly from the Dagbane, Kabon Na, "war chief".
41. Sunbung is a "gate" of Salaga and the seat of the war chief.
42. On the northern boundary of the Gonja state, now in the Administrative district of Wa. His name means "one who beats the gong". He is said to be Mahama Wari, known to the Gonja as Lumpati, v. Tamakloe, p.30, who gives the date as circa 1680.
43. Probably Kulipe, 12 miles south-east of Salaga.
44. Daura has not been identified.
45. The Ashanti. v. App. V, note 10, for the dates given elsewhere for the Ashanti invasion.
46. The Dagomba.
47. The normal price was said to be fifteen.
48. Presumably miskals.
49. That is, Buipe.
50. Instead of the flat-roofed compounds of swish which are characteristic of the drier Sudanese zone as distinct from the forest. The idea of the gradual diminution of the annual rainfall is not confined to Gonja. This has no connection with the progressive desiccation of areas south of the Sahara; where the rain has so intimate a relationship with the harvest, the tendency is to project the desiderated abundance of rain into a past Golden Age.
51. Neither this nor those given for his ancestors appear in the genealogy of the royal lineage of Buna in Tauxier, 1921, p.99.

52. Soma of Buna.

53. The pagans of Weila are presumably the Degha (Angl. Mo). Sunguipe means literally those who play the xylophone with their fingers; this instrument, of slats of wood suspended above a series of gourds, is played by the Mande, Lobi, Dagari and Grusi speaking peoples.

54. 1°30'W, 9°10'N.

55. Kofi Sono was placed in charge of the Brong state of Bonduku when it was conquered by the Ashanti in 1725; he reigned until 1755, according to Tauxier, 1921, p.101. But both Ward and Tauxier state that this Ashanti expedition was carried out by Opoku Ware, who reigned from 1731 to 1742, according to Ward.

56. i.e. the Gonja.

57. Presumably the same as Gwong, i.e. Dagomba.

58. The river Volta.

59. i.e. the Weilas.

60. Yendi, the capital of Dagomba.

61. This passage is obscure.

62. The Na or Chief of Guraga, Yendi. This is said to refer to Na Sigiri, whose reign Tamakloe puts at 1677-87. But as has been seen before, his chronology is too generous.

63. This could refer to the people of Mangu (Nzima) in the Ivory Coast allied to Kofi Sono or the Chakosi allied to Yendi.

64. Arabic, Mulik Asanti. Neither Ayi nor Kayishi can be identified.

65. The Chief of the Banda.

66. Possibly the Wasopewura, Chief of Daboya.

67. Wuripe has not been identified.

68. Tauxier, 1921, p.101, confirms that Kofi Sono attacked Buna and killed the Chief.

69. Foga in Mande means "strong".

70. Unidentified.

71. Unidentified.

72. The three chiefs, the Kanankulaiwura of Kpandai Alfaire (Togoland), the Sunbunguwura and the Kanyosiwura are elected in turn to occupy the chiefship of Kpemi (Salaga). These chiefships are spoken of as the "gates of Salaga"; each has a quarter in that town. Kanankulaiwura means "Chief of the speared hippo meat".

73. Unidentified. Possibly "His father's younger brother who succeeded to the town was called the Nakamawura".

74. This is a title.

75. Unidentified. Could Salawu refer to Sulugu, Chief of Debre?

76. Kumungu is a town under Savelugu and lies north-west of Tamale. According to Tamakloe, the Dagombas defeated the Gonjas here about 1730 (p.33).

77. Sansanne Mango, the capital of the Chakosi, "the war camp of the Mango".

78. Unidentified.

79. This may refer to the town of Fugula, v. note 7 above. But it seems doubtful whether this was at the time within the Gonja state. Perhaps it refers to the town Fula Ligbi or Fula Banda to the north of the Black Volta. Shitayi is the Arabic for rain.

80. 8 a.m.

81. There is a jump in the chronology here.

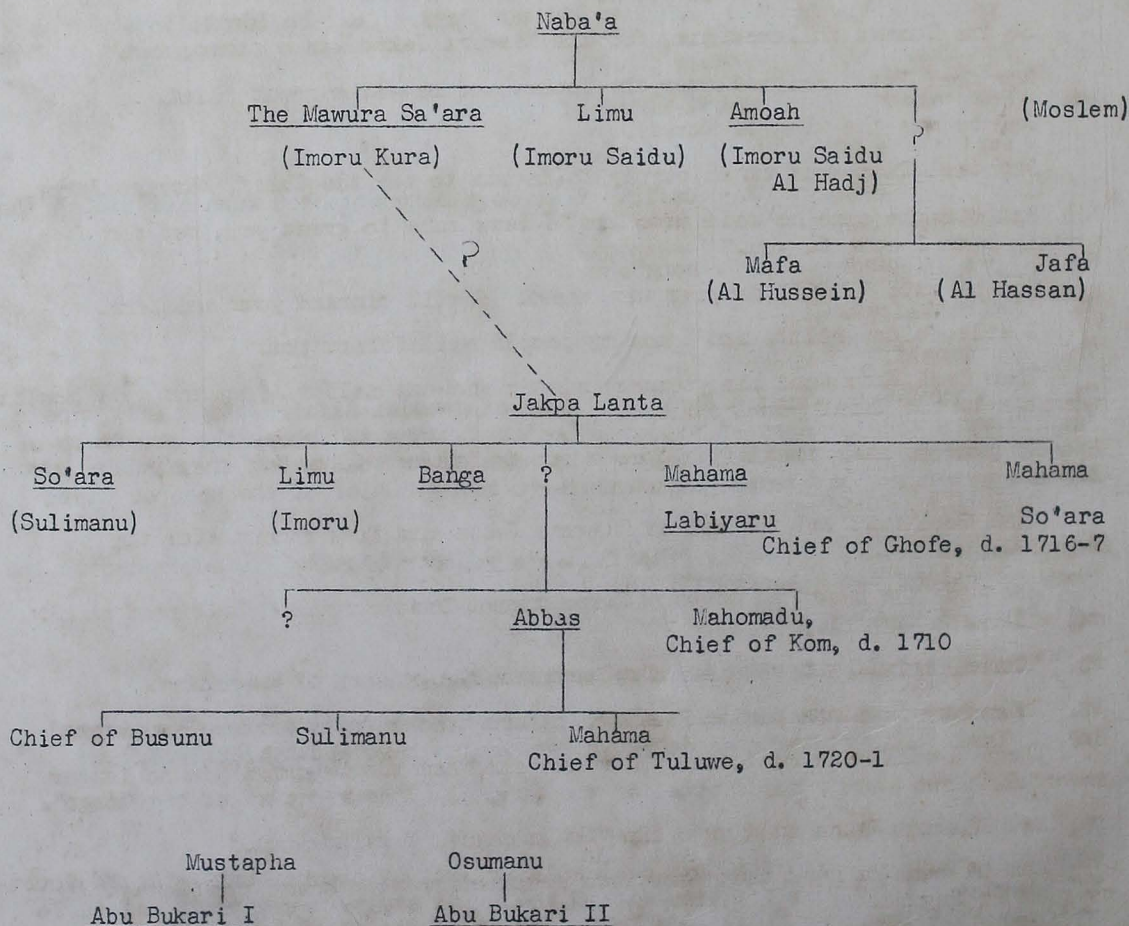
82. Laiya is Hausa for slaughter and refers to the sacrifice of the sheep in the last month of the Moslem year.

The Reigns of the Chiefs of Gonja,  
according to the Kanankulaiwura's Manuscript

Naba'a	1566-7/	-	1595-6/	
Mawura Sa'ara	1595-6/	-	1614-5/	
Amoah	1614-5/	-	1634-5	
Jakpa Lanta	1634-5	-	1675-6	Became Chief of Bura. d. 1681-2.
So'ara	1675-6	-	1697-8	Deposed.
Limu	1697-8	-	1697-8	Died.
Banga	1697-8	-	1698-9	Died.
(Interregnum)				
Abbas	(100 days)		1709	Killed
Mahama Labayiru	1709	-	1713-4	Died.
Sulimanu		-	1764	Died.
Abu Bakari I	1764	-	1764	Died.
Abu Bakari II	1764	-	1765	

/ These dates might be two years early.

Genealogy of Gonja Chiefs, according to the  
Kanankulaiwura's Manuscript



## APPENDIX V

### Tariyon Asalin Gonjawa da Chumbulawa da Nawurawa.

The History of the Origins of the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri.

This was dictated at my request by Soalla, Chief of Kpembe, Ewura of Eastern Gonja, to Mallam Mahama who wrote it down in the Ajami script, a script used by the Hausas and based on Arabic.

This was in 1922, ten years before the reconstitution of Gonja, and before it was even contemplated.

A. C. Duncan-Johnstone.

#### 1. The origin of the Kagbanya or Gonja.

Now this is what happened amongst the Chiefs and how the Chief of Kombi became the head chief.<sup>1</sup>

And in the days of our forefathers it came to pass that the Chief of Yagbum called Ndawura<sup>2</sup> Jakpa was the head of all the chiefs.

Now Ndawura Jakpa was the leader of all the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri.<sup>3</sup>

He came out of Mande to the west, the country of the Wangara.

He came with his people, the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri.

He came first to the country of Tonawa, that is to say Ashanti.

He came not in war but in peace.

So the Tonawa followed him, for the Ndawura Jakpa was a strong man.

Now Osei Tutu<sup>4</sup> reigned over the Tonawa and he was a great chief.

And he was the king of Kumasi.

Now Osei Tutu went on a journey to Yagbum to see the Chief, Ndawura Jakpa.

And when he came he said unto him "I have come to greet you, not for nothing have I come to you."

And he said "I will be your war chief. I will command your soldiers.

I will follow Allah, and I and my people will follow you."

Then Osei Tutu took his younger sister who was called Adjua and gave her in marriage to the Chief Ndawura Jakpa.

It came to pass that Adjua bore a son to Ndawura Jakpa and they called him Mahama.

Then Osei Tutu led the men of Ndawura Jakpa and they fought with the Dagomba.

Now when the heart of Ndawura Jakpa turned from war, Osei Tutu came to him and said unto him:

"Chief, behold the wars are finished and the country is now quiet.

Therefore I salute you and seek to return to the forest where I may rest.

There I will make my farms. I am now old, and the Dagombas are no longer powerful."

And Ndawura Jakpa said unto him "Go in peace, I salute you."

And it came to pass that Osei Tutu returned to the forest and Ndawura Jakpa reigned at Yagbum.

When Ndawura Jakpa was old and full of years he took the skin<sup>6</sup> and gave it to his son Ibrahimia.

Now Ibrahimia was the younger, and Mahama the elder brother.

Adjua, the mother of Mahama, grew angry and she said to Ndawura Jakpa:

"Behold I, Adjua, with my brother, Chief Osei Tutu, did help you in your wars.

Did we not trouble ourselves with your affairs until you became strong?

Now behold you have taken the skin and given it to Ibrahima. But to Mahama, the elder, you have given nothing.

Because of what you have done, I will be your wife no longer.

I will depart and go to my brother Osei Tutu and I will stay with him, I and my son Mahama."

So she went with her son Mahama and they left Ibrahima as Chief of Yagbum.

Now the Chief Ndawura Jakpa died and Ibrahima reigned alone at Yagbum.

And he took counsel with himself and grew troubled.

Then he gathered together all his chiefs and said to them:

"Behold I am but a boy, and I wish to do what is right for my brother Mahama. For am I not the younger brother, and yet Chief of Yagbum?

Therefore listen to my commands.

Each and every year you will find slaves and sheep to take to my brother Mahama.

Waist sashes of all colours you will also take and give to the uncle of Mahama, Osei Tutu."

Now these kummerbunds, called Kabichi, are worn to this day by the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri when they play and dance.

The fashion for wearing them is between the legs and round the waist.

It came to pass that when Osei Tutu died, Adjua the sister of Osei Tutu took the stool and gave it to her son Mahama<sup>7</sup>.

So Mahama reigned in Osei Tutu's stead.

Therefore to this day, this is the custom of the Tonawa. The stool passes only through women, to the son of the chief's sister.

It came to pass that Mahama, Chief of Ashanti, died and one followed him called Birri Sei.<sup>8</sup>

When news was brought to the Gonja that the Chief Mahama was dead, they sent presents no longer.

And the heart of Chief Birri Sei was wroth, so he sent messengers to the Gonja to ask them about the slaves, the sheep and the sashes called Kabichi which they used to send to Mahama.

But the Gonja answered and said "We will send them no longer."

The messengers returned and told Chief Birri Sei.

He became angry and he sent his troops against the Gonja.

Now the name of the general who led the troops was Asamoa.<sup>9</sup>

And he fought the Gonja at Yagbum.

Amongst the troops of the Gonja were the Nchumutu.

And the Chief of Alfaire was there also with his people, the Nawuri.

For they were all one people, who followed Ndawura Jakpa from Mande.

Now the Ashanti defeated the Gonja and the Gonja did homage to the Ashanti.

And they carried on the war until they reached the country of the Dagomba. And they conquered the Dagomba.<sup>10</sup>

But the Ashanti did not enslave the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri, but left them in their own country. And they were one people.

And Asamoa returned with his people to the forest.

## 2. The Conquest of Eastern Gonja.

In his wars the Chief Ndawura Jakpa came to the lands of Kombi and conquered them.

He took his brother Bori and set him over Kombi.

Now the people over the river<sup>11</sup> were Konkombas, who lived on the land of Alfaire which was Konkomba.

And when they heard of the name of Ndawura Jakpa they were much afraid.

And they left their lands and ran away.

Then Ndawura Jakpa took his son and set him over the land of the Konkombas to which he gave the name of Alfaire.

The name of the son of Ndawura Jakpa of Alfaire was Djoro.

And Ndawura Jakpa divided the lands which he had conquered.

To his brother Bori he gave Kombi.

To his son Djoro he gave Alfaire.

To the Chief of Kuli<sup>12</sup> he gave a piece of land, to the Chief of Tuluwe, to the Chief of Sunbung and to the Chief of Alfaire, he gave land.

And these chiefs served the Chief of Kombi.

And Ndawura Jakpa divided the people who had come with him, and the Nawuri he gave to his son Djoro, Chief of Alfaire, to serve him.

And Bori, Chief of Kombi, Chief of Gonja, reigned at Kombi.

That was the relationship between the Gonja and the Nawuri.

The country given to Djoro by Ndawura Jakpa was very big and as there was much space in it many people came to settle there.

They begged Djoro and he gave them land.

And they hunted the elephant and they took the ivory and out of each pair of tusks they gave one to Djoro, Chief of Alfaire.

And this is their custom to the present day.

They hunted the hippopotamus and they took a leg and cut it into seventy pieces to give to Djoro.

This they did every time.

And the name of the Chief of Alfaire went abroad until all men knew him and he was called Kanankulaiwura, that is to say, chief of speared hippopotamus meat.

In this way did he receive tribute.

## 3. The Nchumuru

Let us relate to you the story of the Nchumuru and how they are related to the Gonja.

The Chief of Yagbum, Ndawura Jakpa, also came with the Nchumuru.

He brought the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri out of Mande.

When he was coming, some of the Nchumuru delayed behind on the road and some followed Ndawura Jakpa.

Now to those who came first with him Ndawura Jakpa gave the lands of Banda<sup>13</sup> where they dwell to this day.

The people of Banda are blacksmiths.<sup>14</sup>

When Ndawura Jakpa had founded the town of Yagbum, he came to Kombi.

Those of the Nchumuru who had delayed behind on the road came to Yagbum and followed Ndawura Jakpa to Kombi.

Those of the Nchumuru who came first were called Banda and those who came after were called Kakanki.<sup>15</sup>

When the Chief Ndawura Jakpa had divided the lands of Kombi and Alfaire he said to the Kakanki:

"You have dallied in coming; those who came first with me are the most important people."

So he took them and gave them to the Chief of Sunbung and they peopled the land.

Now this was the connection between the Gonja and the Kakanki.

#### 4. The pagans of Kratchi

When Ndawura Jakpa conquered the land, the pagans of Kratchi came to him and followed him.

And it came to pass that when Ndawura Jakpa had finished dividing the lands, he returned to Yagbum.

And his brother Bori reigned at Kombi.

Then the pagans of Kratchi came again to Bori, Chief of Kombi, to salute him.

They said to him, "Behold there is a great shrine in our country called Late; we have come to tell you in case you may wish to have dealings with it."

And the Chief of Kombi answered "Yes, I will do this. Return to the shrine and serve it.

But bring me the news you hear from the shrine, all news concerning my domain.

I do not want you for slaves, but only to assist me with your shrine.

The things which you require to propitiate the shrine, cattle and sheep, you must come to me and receive them.

When my country is dry and there is no rain, intercede with this shrine that it may bring the rain.

When our women do not bear children, help them to do so, that we may grow numerous. This is the thing I wish done."

So spoke Bori, Chief of Kombi.

Now this was the connection between the Gonja and the pagans of Kratchi.

5.

Now this was how our ancestor, the Chief Ndawura Jakpa, left the country of Mandé and set up his kingdom.

And the people which followed him were the Gonja, the Nawuri, the Banda and the Kakanki, who are the Nchumuru.

And they were one people with one language.

And the Gonja, the Nchumuru and the Nawuri forgot the language of their forefathers.

But the Bandas speak it to this day.<sup>16</sup>

And all these people came from Mandé which is called Wangara.

And Ndawura Jakpa was a great chief and he conquered much territory.

And his son Mahama ruled the Tonawa.

And his son Ibrahima ruled at Yagbum.

And his son Djoro ruled at Kombi.

And the Chiefs of Sunbung, Tuluwe and Kuli followed him; to them also he gave land.

And Ndawura Jakpa he ruled over all.

And it came to pass that Ndawura Jakpa grew old and died.

1681/2

And the year of his death was the 1093rd year of the Hegira.<sup>17</sup>

1682/3

And he ruled for forty-four years until he grew old.

1675/6

And he took the skin and gave it to his son Ibrahima.

1675/6-1681/2

And Ibrahima ruled for six years before Ndawura Jakpa died.

And he died in the 1093rd year of the Hegira.

1681/2-1696/7

And Ibrahima then ruled for sixteen years after the death of his father, Ndawura Jakpa.

And he ruled altogether for twenty-two years until he died.

(1681)

From that day to this is one hundred and ninety years.

During the reign of Ibrahima there was a war which lasted for one year.

#### Notes.

1. Of Eastern Gonja, which was at this time more or less independent.
2. v. p.25.
3. In Eastern Gonja, v. Manoukian, 1952.
4. According to Ward, Osei Tutu reigned from 1697 to 1731; according to the date in the manuscript, Jakpa died in 1682, before the founding of the Ashanti Union. Much of this manuscript appears to be an attempt to account for the rights of tribute which the Ashanti exercised over Eastern Gonja (and Dagomba) until the British occupation.
5. Kujeron Sarauanta, lit. the stool or chair of the state. The Gonja chiefs sat on skins called kawal puti, the insignia of chiefship.
6. Osei Tutu was succeeded by Opoku Ware, his sister's daughter's son. There is no record of Opoku Ware having been called Mahama, an Islamic name.
7. Opoku was succeeded by Kwasi Obodum.
8. The only Ashanti general of this name mentioned by Ward is Asamoa Nkwanta who lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century and fought against the British.
9. Bowditch, p.330, states that the Ashanti invaded Dagomba during the reign of Opoku Ware, the dates of whose reign he gives as 1720-41. Nabanta was Chief of Dagbom. Ward, p.124, puts this invasion in the latter part of the reign of Osei Kojo, 1752-1781, and Tamakloe, p.33, in the reign of Osei Tutu and his Dagomba contemporary, Na Gariba (1700-20).
10. The river Dakar. The Konkomba were also said to inhabit the Salaga area before the Gonja invasion.
11. South of Salaga, near Yeji.
12. Banda is situated in the north-west of the present administrative division of Wenchi and, apart from the Brong population, is inhabited by Senufo speaking Nafana and Mande speaking Ligbi and Huela. These peoples have undoubtedly been settled there from long before the time of Jakpa; they were followed into the area by the Mande speaking Dyula, some of whom left to found Bonduku after the destruction of Begho. The Gonja chiefs were pagans, unlike the Dyula, and were probably of Bambara or Malinke origin.
13. The Numu are a caste of blacksmiths found among all the Mande speaking peoples, including those resident in the Banda area.
14. R. B. Hall in his comments on this manuscript wrote that "the only Kakanki known here are near Sansanne Mango."
15. The Ligbi, often known as the Banda, are Mande speakers.
16. The date of Jakpa's death is the same as that given in the Kanankulaiwura's manuscript, A.H.1093 (A.D. 1682). He is here stated to have reigned forty-four years, A.D. 1633-1676; the other manuscript gives forty-two years, A.D. 1635-1676. The manuscript gives the same dates for Jakpa's successor, A.D. 1676-97, but states his name as So'ara Sulimanu, not Ibrahima. So'ara is said to have been deposed, whereas Ibrahima's reign ends with his death. The consistency in the dating is curious in comparison with the discrepancies in other matters.

## APPENDIX VI

"A Malam that I have been trying to get hold of for more than two years has recently returned to Fole from his travels and this evening he came to see me in Bole with an old Arabic manuscript.

It contains an account of the coming of the Gonja dynasty and a link necessary in my history, so we spent a very profitable and pleasant evening."

This extract from my diary is dated 2nd October, 1932. The second version I obtained from another document.

A. C. Duncan-Johnstone.

Version No. 1.

In the name of the Compassionate, the Merciful.

This is about the forefathers of Gbanya and the things which came to pass in their country and the war fought by their Chief, Giji, nicknamed Jarra<sup>1</sup>. He was chief of Mande-Kabba;<sup>2</sup> his was a great kingdom in the country of Mande. He heard the news of gold in the country of Segu, where it grew out of the ground like grass, by the grace of God. The gold was kept in two houses which had no doors. Because of this, two messengers were sent to the Chief of Segu.<sup>3</sup> They told him that the Chief of Mande sent a message about the gold. "This gold you pick up and sell every year" they said, "you did not send any to the Chief of Mande, your father. Why don't you give any to him? Because of your own greatness, you should give some to him. If you do not he will take it by force."

The Chief of Segu looked at the two messengers and said, "I will never give him any."

The Chief of Segu sent the two messengers back to the Chief of Mande to tell him these words.

They recounted to him how they had gone to see the Chief of Segu and said, "The chief rejected the matter you sent us about. He prevented the gold being sent and said he would not give you any."

Then the Chief of Mande was angry, and he breathed heavily in his anger.

He called all his people to listen saying, "Come, and hear the news".

When they had gathered he said to them, "You know of the Chief of Segu. He has displeased me and it is because of this I have called you. Collect your beasts every one of you." And so they all assembled on camels, horses and mules.

Then the Chief of Mande said, "Cut down some big trees and lay them on the ground"; and they did so.

Then he told the mounted men to jump over the trunks; and they jumped over the trees until they split in half. They were kuka trees.

The chief then called to them, "Stand still," and they halted. He said, "As you went over the trees, go and do likewise to the Chief of Segu." But those who failed to go over the tree he sent back to their homes. And then two boys came forward from the crowd and they followed the company until they came to Segu. They razed Segu to the ground and they took the chief prisoner. One of the two boys was called Imoru and the other Naba'a.

Imoru the elder remained in Segu as chief. He told Naba'a that he had received news of gold in a town called Gwona<sup>4</sup>. "Go quickly," he said, "and come back quickly". This is the reason they were called Kagbanya.<sup>5</sup> Naba'a went with his troops to Gwona; he looted the town and took much gold. Then he went to his town of Yagbum and stayed there. Now if anyone does not know the meaning of Yagbum here it is. It is a big thing like a fort; for this reason it was called Yagbum.<sup>6</sup>

After that Naba'a made a Jihad<sup>7</sup> against Fula;<sup>8</sup> he sacked the town of Fula, got much gold and then returned to Yagbum.

The first king of Gonja was called Jakpa; he was also called Jarra. Now the Chief of Mande-Kabba, a great Chief heard that gold was found in the earth at Segu. So he sent a letter to the Chief of Segu saying that he wanted some of this gold. But the Chief of Segu refused to give him any, so the Chief of Mande-Kabba said he would come and take it. The Chief of Segu killed one of his messengers but another made his escape. The Chief of Mande-Kabba marched on Segu but was prevented from reaching it by the river. So he made the people cut down trees for a bridge. They cut down many trees and made a bridge and the men of Mande-Kabba passed over it until at last the bridge gave way when only half the army had crossed. With those who crossed were the Chief of Mande-Kabba's sons, the first called Jarra Nabaha and the other called Imoru. The army took Segu and found much loot and gold. Then a Mallam called Mohammedu Labayiru<sup>9</sup> came to greet Nabaha and then returned to his house in company with another Mallam. He died before he reached his home and when the people told Nabaha that the Mallam was dead, he sent money for the funeral. Such was the war of the Chief of Mande-Kabba against the Chief of Segu.

They were fighting; the men of Mande were in the sun while those of Segu were in the shade. Then the King of Mande said to Mallam Labayiru "See there is much sun, but our enemies are in the shade. Let us chase them out of it."<sup>10</sup>

#### Notes.

1. Jarra is Mande for lion; Jarrawari, golden lion, is a common salutation to a chief in Gonja.
2. This is now known as Kangaba and was the first centre of the Mande (Mali) empire; it again became the capital when the empire disintegrated after Mama-Maghan's unsuccessful siege of Segu (1667-70) v. Delafosse, 1912, Vol. II, p.220. I cannot identify Giji.
3. Segu was part of the Mande empire during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. It is difficult to relate this to any incident in the history of that town. According to Delafosse, about the year 1600 Mande speaking Banmara moved into the Segu area and by 1670 had established the state of Segu, which the Mande emperor tried in vain to destroy. But the dates of Naba'a's reign given in the Kanankulai manuscript are 1566-7 to 1595-6.
4. Buna, the centre of a gold-mining area now mainly occupied by the Lowilisi.
5. Gbanya ka na, go and come quickly.
6. It is also said to mean the big company or household.
7. A holy war.
8. Banda, the town being Fugula.
9. Mallam Mohammedu Labayiru is said to have come from Begho and to have died at Sampa. He planted his spear in the ground to found Yagbum.
10. This incomplete account resembles the Kanankulaiwura's manuscript, except that the locality is transferred to the Niger.

## APPENDIX VII

### Notes on Gonja History.

Gonja traditions recorded by R. B. Hall from Mallam Abudalai, a member of the entourage of the Chief of Buipe. The Mallam said they were based upon a manuscript.

Bole District Office, dated 24.10.29.

Overpopulation and internecine warfare among the Nsauwa caused a section of them to leave Beawu.<sup>1</sup> They first went to Segu, on the upper reaches of the Niger, and then to Mandé. Later they moved east. The leaders in order of seniority were Namba,<sup>2</sup> Wam, Lata, Lemu, Jaffa, Mamfu, (two full brothers), Manwura and Jakpa.<sup>3</sup>

All these leaders came from Mandé. At Palagu<sup>4</sup> they fought their way to Baragu. They did not go to Bonduku but via Ntereso<sup>5</sup> to Wabili, then a big place, 14 miles south west of Bole. Thence they moved to Sakpa and it was this chief who arranged that Wulasi, Mandara, Bole and Buanfo should make peace with the Gonja. At Damba<sup>6</sup> they all brought presents to Namba.

The Gonja then went to Kaupiassi (near Debiri). At Kolon<sup>7</sup> they fought with the Abonifau,<sup>8</sup> when Namba was killed. Wam then conquered Kolon.

The Abonifau created trouble and Wam was killed. Lata, having driven off the Nkoranzas, returned to Kaupiassi where he died.

Lemu then took over and fought and subdued the following countries north west of Bonduku; Palaga, Kong, Awussu, Kongolu, Kwanyini and Samata.<sup>9</sup> Going to Buna, he was pacified with a house and cattle. Lemu died there and Jaffa who succeeded him went to Bole where Mamfa died. It was about A.D. 1760<sup>10</sup>: in this year the Arab from Mecca who founded Larabanga came and was met. Jaffa went on towards Salaga. Jenton, Parabe and Kapendi made peace. Jaffa died at Vanna in the same country. Manwura followed by subduing the Nawuri and the Nchumuru; he died at Cheranhanteni.<sup>11</sup>

Jakpa had had enough of war and decided to settle at Buipe where he returned. There he said, "I am tired of fighting. All this country belongs to me. I will divide the country between my sons and my brothers' sons."

Osumanu, Lata's son, the Kagbwapeura,<sup>12</sup> was to be Yagbumwura. Osumanu refused the title, stating he was not sufficiently powerful. But he asked Jakpa to carry out the division. Jakpa then gave to

Ewuretorma, Lata's son, Tuluwe,  
Burelanyon, Namba's son, Bole,  
Saaka, Namba's son, Kumu,<sup>13</sup>  
Deleman, Namba's son, Kpandai,  
Yaya, Lemu's son, Kpembe,  
Seidu, Lemu's son, Kapendi,  
Yaya, Jaffa's son, Wasipe,  
Yaya, Manwura's son, Senyon.  
Seidu, Wam's son, Kawsaw.

All had an equal chance to succeed to the Yagbumwura.

Notes by R. B. Hall and J. R. Goody.

1. v. p.27, n.1.
2. Namba is apparently Naba'a of Duncan-Johnstone 1 and 3. v. p.27.
3. Lemu is Limu of Duncan-Johnstone 1, Mamfu and Jaffa are Mafa and Jafa; Manwura and Jakpa also appear there. On the other hand, Wam and Lata are not mentioned elsewhere; Amoah of Duncan-Johnstone 1 is not included here.
4. 3°30"W, 8°N.
5. On the Black Volta, south west of Bole.
6. This Mandé festival is celebrated in Gonja, Dagomba and Wa.
7. v. App. IV, note 8. The suggestion of Kolaw (Kawlaw) would agree with a struggle with the Nkoranzas in the vicinity of Debiri i.e. in the region of the confluence of the White and Black Voltas.

8. The Nkoranzas.
9. Palaga is presumably Palagu (v. n.4); Kong,  $4^{\circ}35''\text{W}$ ,  $9^{\circ}15''\text{N}$ . The other towns have not been identified.
10. This date is much too late.
11. Jenton may be Jantong, but I cannot identify Parabe, Varma Kapendi, or Cheranhanteni.
12. This was a village near Buipe, but the inhabitants have now moved to Buipe itself.
13. i.e. Kong, near the Gonja-Wa boundary.

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