

Religion and art in Ashanti

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Religion and art in Ashanti

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BY
CAPT. R. S. RATTRAY
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G. T. BENNETT, VERNON BLAKE H. DUDLEY BUXTON, R. R. MARETT
C. G. SELIGMAN
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PREFACE

IN the preface to Ashanti, published in 1923, I endeavoured to explain the raison d'etre and the objects of the new Anthropological Department which had recently been set up in that country by the Colonial Government, and I pointed out that the book was the firstfruits of the policy to which it owed its inauguration. It is unnecessary therefore to repeat here what I wrote in that preface, except to state that further experience has tended to strengthen the views I then held and expressed.

In this volume I have attempted to complete the general survey of Ashanti religious beliefs which 1 began in my first book.

The student who makes careful and sympathetic study of the social institutions of a so-called ' primitive ' people, sooner or later finds himself, almost unconsciously, writing what is virtually a book or treatise on primitive religion ; for religion, in the sense of the late Sir E. B. Tylor's definition, seems almost inseparable from every action and thought of such peoples. In Ashanti ' to divorce religion from any of these would be wellnigh impossible and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that any such estrangement would lead to an illegality'. Religion, indeed, in this sense, runs like a silver thread, even through their arts and crafts, and thus tends to become the real inspiration of the craftsman.

I have striven throughout this volume and in Ashanti to make them as purely objective as the subject and scope seem to demand ; here I only crave permission, before leaving the subject of religious beliefs, to state that I sometimes like to think, had these people been left to work out their own salvation, perhaps some day an African Messiah would have arisen and swept their Pantheons clean of the fetish (suman). West Africa might then have become the cradle of a new creed which acknowledged One Great Spirit, Who, being One, nevertheless manifested Himself in everything around Him and taught men to hear His

voice in the flow of His waters and in the sound of His winds in the trees.

Fetishism is singularly difficult to elucidate and define. I have endeavoured to do both, and I can only hope that what I have written in Chapter II on this subject may throw some fresh light on an obscure and somewhat debatable problem. As West Africa has been termed 'The Land of Fetish ', it seems only right and proper that we should try to discover what this term conveys to the mind of the West African himself.

I am afraid that some of the following pages may be repellent to some of my readers. I have considered it to be my duty to set out the details of many of the horrors of the old regime. I have done so in order that the motives and reasons for them may be better understood. In olden times, and in times not so long past, the Ashanti people may seem, to the superficial observer, to have been merely bloodthirsty men and women unworthy of any sympathy whatever, and yet more than one hundred years ago, when these orgies of blood were at their height, one who knew them well 1 placed the following statement on record :

' It is a singular thing that these people-the Ashanteeswho had never seen a white man nor the sea, were the most civil and well bred I have ever seen in Africa. It is astonishing to see men with such few opportunities so well behaved.'

If such praise could be bestowed on a people who were at times guilty of the deeds that have been recorded by many travellers, I thought I would try to find out how these apparently opposing characteristics could be reconciled.
Ashanti Arts and Crafts have been dealt with in the present volume in some detail, in the hope that a certain commercial advantage to Ashanti may possibly result from our knowledge of the skill and ingenuity displayed by its craftsmen.
I also venture to draw special attention to the chapters on Cross-Cousin Marriages and to the hypothesis which is suggested with regard to these.
The first full account of the Burial of the Ashanti Kings, the description and photographs of Bantama and of other important sites in Coomassie and elsewhere, have a certain historical value, Mr. James Swanzy, given before a Commission of the House of Commons (Parliamentary Paper No. 5o6, p. 32, 20 June 1816).

and also the description of the Odwira ceremony, with its deeply interesting account of the deliberate violation of a sacred object with a view to its cleansing and ultimate resurrection. The suggestion appears important, and seems borne out by facts, that taboos of all kinds in Ashanti (and possibly elsewhere) are really certain things, or actions, or words that are ' hateful ' to particular gods, to human ancestral spirits or to lesser supernatural powers, and must therefore be avoided in order to prevent the particular supernatural power concerned 'turning its back ' upon those who look to it for help and protection, and thus leaving them unprotected' and vulnerable to all the unseen evil influences with which mankind is beset.
Customs relating to births, puberty, marriage, and deaths are also here dealt with, and attention is drawn to funerals of animals and to the somewhat analogous rites over trees which may be worthy of our consideration.'
I am afraid, although I have endeavoured to make this volume and Ashanti as detailed as possible, that probably many of my descriptions are even now incomplete. When the library of the inquirer has been village, swamp, and forest, and his reference books human beings who have to be handled delicately; when the inquirer is often working under considerable physical discomforts, or physical disabilities, there are bound to be omissions. Serious faults of commission are less excusable, and it is hoped that there are not many in these pages. As a field worker who has endeavoured to investigate and record rapidly disappearing rites and customs, and as a student of anthropology from its practical and applied rather than its academic standpoint, I have had little opportunity to make deductions or elaborate theories.
Experience has taught me, moreover, that there is sometimes a danger when we have, before us a description of a rite which leaves us uncertain of its real meaning or its true raison d'gtre.
There still remain to be considered Ashanti Law and Constitution, which I hope to write about in my next volume. I shall have left to the last what the Colonial Government would probably judge to be more important than Ashanti or the present work. I am convinced, however, that primitive law and primitive religion are interwoven inseparably as weft is laid upon warp, and that we shall eventually

understand Ashanti Law and Constitution only because, and when, we have obtained a clear exposition of Ashanti religious beliefs.

PREFACE

We may commit the possible error, of filling in this gap in our knowledge by construing the custom in. terms of our own philosophy or of our own psychology. In most cases I believe, if we could follow up this rite to its end, or could properly understand it, we should find some good or, from our standpoint, perhaps some jejune consideration to account for it. In any case, at least the Ashanti would give some concrete explanation.

There are several contributors to the pages of this volume to whom I am much indebted. The first is Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, M.A., late Kahn Fellow and now Lecturer in Physical Anthropology at Oxford, He has written the chapter dealing with the Biological aspect of Cross-Cousin Marriages to which reference has been made already. A second contributor is the artist and art critic, Mr. Vernon Blake. From his chapter on Ashanti Art, educated Africans will realize that their race' possesses certain artistic gifts of which they may be justly proud ; that it would be a calamity not to foster this talent; that they should not be over-ready, in this as in other spheres, to imagine that what the European may bring to them and teach them is necessarily more excellent than some of the products evolved by their own peculiar genius.

To my many friends at Oxford-Dr. R. R. Marett, who has contributed a valuable chapter on Religion, Mr. Henry Balfour, F.R.S., Professor Arthur Thomson-and to Dr. and Mrs. Seligman, who have ever been ready with encouragement and help, I wish to express my gratitude. Dr. Seligman, F.R.S., has contributed a Note on the chapter on Dreams, and also lent two interesting photographs.

I am under a very special obligation to my brother-in-law, Sir Henry New, who in spite of many calls upon his time has read all the proofs of this volume while I was in Africa.

The late Mr. Ling Roth, the greatest authority on Primitive Looms, kindly undertook the revision of my chapter on Weaving shortly before his death. Lieut.-General Sir Robert Baden Powell, whose acquaintance, through our common interest in the Ashanti Drum Language, I have been proud to make, has kindly lent me two photographs which appear in this volume.

My thanks are also due to Joseph Bridge & Co., Ltd., of Manchester. They have prepared the six plans of Ashanti

textiles which appear in this volume, a task involving considerable time and labour. Capt. T. A. Joyce and Mr. Plenderleith of the British Museum have both added valuable contributions which have been noted elsewhere.

Dr. G. T. Bennett, F.R.S., of Cambridge kindly consented to write out the rules of the African game of WARI, which I had the pleasure of teaching him at Wembley. I have to thank Dr. Hastings Gifford for his notes on the ' pigmies '.

The Clarendon Press has again laid the Anthropological Department of Ashanti under a deep obligation by generous financial assistance in the publication of this volume.

Finally, to my many good friends among the chiefs and people of Ashanti, among others the Chief of Bantama, Chief Osai Bonsu, Chief Nuama, and Chief Totoe, I renew my heartfelt thanks for all their generous help, their affection, and their encouragement. To them all I have only one message: 'Guard the national soul of your race and never be tempted to despise your past. Therein I believe lies the sure hope that your sons and daughters will one day make their own original contributions to knowledge and progress. Thoughtful Englishmen can never wish that free peoples such as you, members of a diverse and widely scattered Commonwealth, should try to become wholly Europeanized. In your separate individualities and diversities lies your ultimate value to the Empire and the world.'

ROBERT S. RATTRAY.

NOTE

As the interest of this volume is primarily
anthropological, I have deliberately avoided the use of diacritical marks on words in the vernacular.

R. S. R.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Plates 126-33 in the original edition were reproduced in colour. For technical reasons it has been impossible to do this in the reprint.

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RELIGION

Lower graded spiritual powers. Souls of trees, plants, and animals.

IN my book entitled Ashanti various Ashanti religious beliefs were examined, which related to the Ashanti Supreme Being, 'Nyame', to the propitiation of ancestors, and to the abosom or higher gods. In this and the following chapters of the present volume I shall endeavour to fulfil a promise previously made 1 to continue my inquiries into the cult of the lower-graded spiritual powers. An examination of these will include an inquiry into the nature of the souls of animals, plants, and trees ; a study of the suman (fetish), and the belief in fairies and forest monsters, witches, witchcraft, and black magic ; a study of medicine-men and witch-finders ; of taboos (magico-religious prohibitions) and their real significance ; and, finally, of the training of doctors and priests.

There remain the rites practised at Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death, which are also dealt with in this volume. An examination of these Rites de Passage 2 will add considerably, I hope, to our knowledge of the beliefs of the Ashanti concerning a future state. The description of Ashanti Arts and Crafts in the later chapters, perhaps, will encourage further examination of this interesting subject. A consideration of all these subjects just mentioned, together with those contained in Ashanti, will help us, I trust, to form some definite conclusions as to 'the true nature of the beliefs of this wonderful people '.

In Ashanti man is not the only animal held to be endowed with a soul surviving after death. In the minds of the Ashanti the lower animals share this attribute equally with themselves.

I See Ashanti, i, p. 212.

2 See Chapters V-XX.

Just as, however, the souls of men are not all of equal importance

-that of a chief or king being deemed more powerful than the almost negligible soul of a slave-so the souls of certain animals are considered to be of more importance than others.' I propose to deal with what the Ashanti terms sasa animals more fully in a later chapteri so will only briefly touch upon these here. Various writers have noticed, in other countries, beliefs that recognized a soul in the beasts only apparently inferior to that of man ; a soul containing the anima but not the human animus. They have also described the slaughtering of animals at funerals to accompany their dead owners as a logical conclusion from such a belief. I cannot, however, recollect seeing recorded elsewhere what I shall describe later, i.e. funeral customs actually held for animals. I have deferred the fuller examination of these rites to the chapter dealing with funeral and death customs.2

When we approach the subject of the souls of trees and plants we are often confronted with a somewhat difficult question. Our difficulty does not consist in determining whether trees and plants in general have their own particular souls which survive after 'death '-the Ashanti think that all these undoubtedly have such a soul-but whether in certain specific instances it is really the soul of the tree or plant-the true genius loci-which is being propitiated, or whether a particular tree or plant has become the shrine, or medium, or dwelling place of some external and totally different spiritual agency which has entered into the plant or tree and become the object of veneration and propitiation. I shall deal with this last-named contingency first, and then proceed to describe other rites where there is little doubt that the soul of a plant or tree propitiated is that of the plant or tree itself, and not some exotic spirit which has merely lodged temporarily or even permanently within it. At Nkoranza in Northern Ashanti, near the site of the present rest-house and just off the main road, stands what the European and the native interpreter calls a ' fetish ' tree. I made friends with its custodian, who called himself 'the priest of Edinkira' (Edinkira okomfo). He permitted me to attend one of the rites, and from an observance of this and also from conversations I had with him it became clear to me that it was not the spirit of the tree itself which was pro-

ISo also with plants.

2See Chapter XIX.

FIG. I. Summum pots at the foot of the Akata tree

FIG. 2. ' He then broke the eggs and rubbed them in the bark'

pitiated, but some other spirit altogether, which had taken up its abode in this particular tree. The priest called his tree an obosom, i. e. a shrine of a god. The spirit, he declared, ' dwelt in its roots'. I asked him if the spirit of the trees and the spirit of his god, whatever the latter was-for this I could not discoverwere upon good terms. He replied somewhat evasively by saying, ' I do not ever give offerings to the sunsum (soul) of the Akata ' (the Ashanti name of the tree). His

god, he continued, did not ever give direct oracular utterances. It would make its wishes known through some other god-as a mouthpiece. Some one might have promised to give Edinkira an offering, have failed to do so, and fallen sick ; on consulting some other obosom (god) he might be told his illness was caused because he had failed to keep his promise to Edinkira. This god was also, the priest said, propitiated without the advice of any intermediary god-by farmers who prayed for good crops. At the foot of the Akata tree lay many inverted pots, showing that the rite known as summum was constantly resorted to at this spot (see Fig. i). This rite consists in bringing a pot containing water and summe leaves (Costus sp.). The priest takes the pot and waves it round and round his head, at the same time uttering some such prayer as this : ' So and so is ill and does not know the cause; do you, Edinkira, make the sickness to return to him who caused it.' The pot is 'then quickly inverted, placed upside down on the ground, and a stone, placed upon it. A string had been tied round the trunk of the Akata tree. This had been given as a token 'that the donor wished the god to bear him upon his back as a mother carries her child ' ; it may be seen in Fig. I.

The priest informed me that the following were the taboos, lit. things ' hateful', of his god, which of course he also observed :

i. Red peppers, on a Wednesday only (I saw some given to it on a Friday).
2. Asikyima (menstruation).
3. Dogs.
4. Goats.

The god's special day of service was a Wednesday.

Fowls, yams, and eggs are also given to it annually.

Botanical name indeterminate. A medicine is made from the roots ' for pains in the back and waist'.

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Edinkira's priest informed me he might address his god as follows on presenting a gift :

' Edinkira, asumasi se okoe bisa ne 'ti na obosom... ka kyere no se omfa 'kesua mre wo na ama wagye adi area wanya ahooden.'

' 0 Edinkira! so and so says he went to ask about his head (i. e. went to consult a god) and the god . . . said he must bring eggs to you ; may you receive them and eat and cause him to have strength.'

The eggs are then broken and rubbed on the trunk of the tree.

I was present during the following rite, when two of my Ashanti followers made a gift of a fowl, three eggs, and a pot of palm-wine to the spirit in the tree.

The priest, taking an egg in his right hand, stood beside the tree and spoke as follows: 1

'Edinkira Kwaku Abu ne Wisirika na be ne 'Broni ham na be se ba te wo 'din na be de nsa ne akoko ne 'kesna be de be fwe wo anim. Wa be gye adi, ama benya ahooden mma benyare nna ho, be ne 'Broni na wo akwantuo mu mma be mfom no na be nto ba akatua mo.'

'0 Edinkira! Kwaku Abu and Wisirika2 who are walking with the White-man say they have heard your name and bring wine, and a fowl, and eggs, to behold your

face. May you receive them and partake and may they gain strength and not become ill and lie yonder. Do not let them offend the Whiteman on the journey and may their payment be increased.'
He then broke the eggs in succession upon the trunk and rubbed them on the bark, muttering as he did so ; 'Be nkwaso, gyinza be 'kyi akyigyina pa.' ' Life to them, stand behind them with a good standing' (see Fig. 2). Next he took a fowl, wrung its head completely off, and rubbed the bleeding neck against the tree, repeating as he did so the same words as above. He then tore the fowl open with his hands, removed the heart, lungs,
In the Brong dialect.
2 See Fig. 19, Ashanti. This fine man was to die later under very sad circumstances. Since my return to Ashanti I have had my attention directed to two other very interesting rites in connexion with trees. One is the ceremonial planting of trees by a chief; the other a ceremony to be observed by a chief on enstoolment. The new chief, after receiving and taking the customary oaths, proceeds to make a circuit of the town and to take an almost identical oath (i.e. to rule wisely and guard his people) before certain trees (gyadua), which are dressed in white for the occasion.

FiG. 3. ' Here is wine from their hands'
FIG. 4. 'He then held the calabash for those who were present also to drink'

intestines, and liver, and placed them along with the head upon a small stone lying at the foot of the tree. Next he poured some of the wine into a calabash, and hDlding this in both handsa sign of respect-poured it over the trunk, saying as he did so : ' Here is wine from their hands' (see Fig. 3). He then sat down, poured out and drank a little wine, and then held the calabash for those who were present also to drink (see Fig. 4). The remainder of the fowl he declared might be eaten by children.
This is a typical instance where the casual inquirer might easily be misled into supposing he had come across a case of tree worship. The tree in this instance was, however, nothing more than a shrine in which some spirit, quite different from the tree spirit, had come to rest, in spite of, or ignoring, the other spirit already in possession, i.e. the spirit of the tree itself.
With regard to the propitiation of real tree and plant souls, it may be observed, just as we shall see presently in dealing with the souls of persons and of the lower animals, that some of these are comparatively harmless and negligible; so it is with the souls of trees and plants. All have spirits, but many of these are held in little account, because they have no power for evil. Some of the best examples which I possess of the propitiation of tree souls have already been given in Ashanti, and I shall draw from that source for my information.1
When an Ashanti craftsman wishes to cut down the particular tree from which he is about to carve a stool or drums, or whatever it is that he is about to make, it behoves him to be very careful how he sets about it. The three trees upon the

wood of which the carver chiefly depends, the Kodia or Tweneboa (Entandophragma) from which the talking drums are fashioned, the Nyame dua and Osese (Alstonia gongensis and Funtumia sp.), from which stools, &c., are carved, are all trees with potentially vindictive spirits. An Ashanti would designate them to be 'Nye kora', not at all good '.

We have seen 2 how the executioner places the Gyabom suman upon the lap of his victim just before severing his head, in order to prevent the man's sasa from troubling him hereafter; from

I have pointed out elsewhere in this volume the similarity in the motives underlying this ritual to funeral rites for the dead.

2 See Ashanti, p. IO0.

a very similar motive the woodcutter strives to propitiate the spirit of the tree, upon which he is about to ply his axe, by placing offerings before it. ' Osese 'gye 'kesua di, mma dadie ntwa me.' ' Osese tree, receive this egg and eat, do not permit the knife to cut me', he says as he breaks an egg upon the tree, just before he lays the axe or cutlass against it.

Yet again :

' Me re be twa wo m'asen wo, gye 'kesua yi di... mma dadie ntwa me mma me nyare.'

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

Sp speaks the maker of the ntumpane before he fells the Tweneboa tree from which he will hollow out the talking drums. Nor does propitiation stop here, for later the wandering spirit whose habitation or body has been destroyed is expected, and in fact is actually enticed, to enter once again the material substance where it dwelt when the tree was yet alive. This explains the subsequent rites of consecration of the completed stool 1 or the completed drums 2 (see Figs. 5 and 6).

The stool thus becomes a shrine for the disembodied spirit of the osese or Nyame dua. The drums become a potential home for the spirit of the Tweneboa tree, and also of the elephant, whose ears form its tense membrane.

Primitive man thus strives to placate and control the forces which he has been compelled by his needs to anger, or whose original abode on earth he has destroyed. He provides a new home which he will endeavour to make acceptable to them. He will keep it free from the pollution of those things which each particular spirit is known to ' abhor '. These spirits, when he has set them free, will learn to know that a new home (now a shrine) always awaits them, where they may 'feed' and be propitiated and tended; to this new abode they will be summoned when occasion arises, with due formalities, upon the drums when for example they beat out the following summons:

Spirit of Funtumia, Akore, Spirit of Cedar tree, Akore,

I See Ashanti, p. 297. Ibid., p. 262.

FIG. 5. Breaking an egg upon a new pair of talking drums

FIG. 6. Sacrificing a fowl before the new talking drums

Of Cedar tree,' Kodia, Of Kodia, the Cedar tree. The divine drummer announces that, Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep), He has now made himself to arise; As the fowl crowed in the early dawn,
We are addressing you, and you will understand.
(Spirit of) the mighty one, Ankamanefo, He and the drummers will set out together, Spirit of the mighty one, Ankamanefo, He and the drummers will return together. You of mighty bulk, Gyaanadu, the red one, The swamps swallow thee up, 0 Elephant, Elephant that breaks the axe, Spirit of the Elephant, the divine drummer declares that He has started up from sleep, He has made himself to arise We are addressing you And you will understand. (Spirit of) the fibre, Ampasakyi Where art thou ?
We are addressing you, And you will understand
0 Pegs (made from), the stumps of the Ofema tree 2
Where is it that you are ?
We are addressing you
And you will understand.3
We have seen ' in Ashanti how the roots and leaves of many 'powerful' trees are taken as subsidiary ingredients which contribute to the making of a shrine for a god, and how certain other plants are also constantly employed because of their particular spiritual potency. The following are a few
Entandophragma, the trade' cedar ' of West Africa.
Microdesmis puberula.
These are extracts from the message sent on the talking drums on certain ceremonial occasions. See Ashanti, Chapter XXII. ' p. 147.
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of these ; in each case the Ashanti name comes first, then the botanical name.'
Kotobata (Bauhinia reticulata).
Summe (Costus sp.).
Nunum (Ocimum viride).
Saman 'dua or dua wonsi (Clausena anisata).
Piaa (Hyptis brevipes).
Afarna (Yusticia flavia).
Damabo (Abrus precatorius).
Guakuru (Ageratum conyzoides).
Asuani (Cardiospermum grandiflore).
Osese (Funtumia sp.).
Ewire (Acacia sp.).
Pea (Hyptis sp.).
Asiresidie (Platystoma africana).
Abeneburu (Alternanthera repens).

These are but a small number of the trees and plants that have spirits with which the Ashanti think they must reckon, but this list includes the more important, for the names are constantly recurring in many different rites and in localities widely apart. Some of these plants are used in a manner we should call purely ' medicinal', i. e. they are taken internally or applied externally. In other cases the same curative effect is obtained by indirect application. To an Ashanti both methods are but a means to the same end. What the action of these ' medicines ' really is I shall endeavour to describe later on when dealing with doctors or medicine-men.

Belief in a Supreme Being, belief in the spirits of the gods, in the spirits of trees, of plants and of animals, have each been examined in turn; we now arrive at that class of objects, also inhabited by spirits, which, really unimportant in themselves, have nevertheless given their name to the religion of West Africa. The subject of the suman (fetish) is so important that it will be examined independently in the next chapter. I For the botanical names I am much indebted to Major T. F. Chipp, Assistant Director at Kew.

THE FETISH (SUMAN)

FETISHISM, the least important feature in Ashanti religion, had until comparatively recent times been considered its distinguishing characteristic. How and why this has come about has been fully discussed in Chapter IV of Ashanti; and to this I would venture to advise my reader to refer, before proceeding further with the present chapter.

I propose to treat my present subject, the suman (fetish), in exactly the same ordinary, simple, and mattei-of-fact method that has served my purpose heretofore. This method does not differ much from what a student would employ were he studying Ashanti Arts and Crafts, e.g. the making of a pot, the weaving of a textile fabric, or the casting of a metal vessel. By such a method it is possible to avoid much useless theorizing. If we endeavour to examine every fragment of available evidence, then we may, if we wish, draw our conclusions from these premisses. What is the nature of the Ashanti higher gods ? We have found, I trust, some answer, by examining the actual construction and ingredients of their shrines. What is the psychology of their priests ? This has been disclosed by recording carefully the prayers and supplications poured forth in numerous and varied rites, by many different men, widely separated from each other, living in different districts; and united only by a common culture, a common religion, and a common tongue.

It is by such methods that I propose to arrive at a new, and, I trust, more accurate definition of the word ' fetish '.

Before describing what the Akan-speaking African calls a suman-a word which I would like to see substituted altogether for 'fetish '-I propose to give the meaning of the word ' fetish ' as defined and accepted by our greatest anthropological authorities. We find in that classic, Primitive Culture,' that the author first quotes Comte's definition of the word as denoting

1 Primitive Culture, by the late Sir E. B. Tylor, Vol. II, Chapter XIV.

'a general theory of primitive religion, in which external objects are regarded as animated by a life analogous to man's'. The late Professor Tylor goes on to say that he prefers the word & animism, for the doctrine of spirits in general and to confine the word Fetishism to that subordinate department which it properly belongs to, namely the doctrine of spirits embodied in or attached to, or conveying influence through certain material objects.' . . .
'The turn of mind which in the Gold Coast negro would manifest itself in a museum of monstrous and most potent fetishes might impel an Englishman to collect scarce postage stamps or queer walking sticks.' . . .
' As to the lower races, were evidence more plentiful as to the exact meaning they attach to objects which they treat with mysterious respect, it would very likely appear, more often and more certainly than it does now, that these objects seem to them connected with the action of spirits, so as to be, in the strict sense in which the word is here used, real " fetishes
And again:
' To class an object as a fetish demands an explicit statement that a spirit is considered embodied in it, or acting through it, or communicating by it, . . . or it must be shown that the object is treated as having personal consciousness and power, is talked with, worshipped, prayed to, sacrificed to, petted or ill-treated...'
Again:
' One of the most natural cases of the fetish theory is where a soul inhabits or haunts what is left f its former body ... thus the Guinea negroes who keep the bones of parents in chests, will go to talk with them in the little huts which serve as their tombs ... This state of things is again a confirmation of the theory of animism here advanced, which treats both sets of ideas as similar developments of the same original idea, that of the human soul, so that they may well shade into one another. To depend on some typical description of fetishism . . . is a safer mode of treatment than to attempt too accurate a general definition.'
It will be clear that in the foregoing long-accepted definitions we are asked to include a whole series of objects and religious beliefs as fetishes and fetishism which every African with any knowledge of his own creed would emphatically repudiate as coming under his category of suman. If any of these definitions was to be accepted for Ashanti, then we should be compelled to

accept that unsatisfactory appellation 'fetishism' to describe also the higher Ashanti religious beliefs. We should also, as I have already stated, have to ignore the African's own distinct classification and divisions of Nyame, the Supreme God; abosom, the gods; samanfo, ancestral spirits; and suman (yet to be defined). The cult of the Supreme Being, when His great spirit manifests itself through some material object, would become 'fetishism'; the lesser gods (abosom) would be forced into the distinct category of suman ; the hallowed bones of the dead kings and all the fine traits in the worship of ancestors would become ' fetishes ' and 'fetish worship'. Clearly then there is something wrong with these definitions.

To quote such a great anthropologist as the late Sir E. B. Tylor can never be out of place, for time will never detract from the value of his work. New schools of thought, however, have arisen and grown from the foundations which he laid. Lest I should seem to lay myself open to the accusation that I am flogging a dead horse, I shall quote the definition of the more modern school. It restricts the use of the word ' fetish ' 'to describe a limited class of magical objects in West Africa'. Professor Tylor's definition was clearly, with our present knowledge, too wide, and too general. The modern school tends to restrict its application to ' a limited class of objects in West Africa' This definition does not tell us, however, what objects fall within or without the now more restricted sphere. Why are the objects magical ? If magical objects are those capable of being inhabited or actually inhabited by a spirit, are they ' fetishes ' ? If so, why should another similar object, also inhabited or capable of being inhabited by a spirit, not be a fetish ? Professor Tylor, it appears to me, was more logical than his successors. After so much criticism, I may perhaps venture to observe that it is little wonder that the European anthropologist, supplied with insufficient and often incorrect data, has found it difficult to define the word 'fetish'. Even in Africa we may observe cases where a suman is in process of being promoted to take its place in the more orthodox pantheon of the higher gods, the obosom dan.

The natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti classify as suman all those objects, such as charms, talismans, and amulets,

which the foreigner calls fetishes. On the other hand they would never call other objects, which to the casual observer seem very similar, and are also animated by spirits, e.g. the shrines of his gods, or the bones of his dead kings, suman. Wherein then lies the difference to the African ? When we have answered that question we shall have solved a problem which has for long been a stumbling-block to the anthropologist.

The nature of the abosom has already been described. Let us now examine the suman, and try to find, if possible, wherein lies the essential difference between it and other objects equally endowed with spiritual powers. I shall first describe a number of suman in detail. These comprise two separate and distinct collections. Group A (see Fig. 7) are suman actually in the possession of a practising okomfo (priest) (see Fig. 8): The description given of each is from their owner's own mouth. Group B (Figs. 9, &c.), which are now in my possession, formerly belonged to a priest who became a convert to Christianity. He had handed them all over to a native pastor for destruction. I arrived at the very time when their consignment to the flames was imminent. I asked if I might keep them, arequest which was most courteously granted by the missionary body concerned. The description of each of these, which is given here, was not obtained from their owner, with whom I was unable unfortunately to get into touch, but was supplied by another priest. I omitted to inquire the taboos (prohibitions) attached to these, but a few of them were supplied indirectly from another source in the course of my inquiry into the training of priests, when the names of several of the suman in Group B were mentioned, and their ' hateful things ' tabulated.1

Suman of Group A. Figs. 7-8.
Fig. 7, No. I. Kunkuma. 'The greatest suman in Ashanti.' 'The father and elder of all suman.' In appearance it is just like an ordinary household broom which all Ashanti women use for sweeping out their rooms and compounds. It was in fact originally a broom, made by binding together the centre fibres I See Chapter IV.

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of the leaf of the Palma vinifera. The separate fibres are all held together with a rope of twisted fibre made from the tree called Tikyitekyerema which, after being bound and knotted round the handle, is allowed to hang down, and can then be fastened upon the wrist of the person carrying the suman. Six small pieces of iron off an old flint-lock gun are stuck into the binding round the handle. The whole is stained and clotted with esono dye, eggs, and the bloodof sheep andfowls that have been sacrificed upon it. The priest had chosen to make this suman, in the first instance, of an old and much used broom ' because such an one had come in contact with every kind of filth'. Hidden away inside the broom handle was a piece of baha fibre that had been used by a menstruating woman, one of the greatest and deadliest taboos in Ashanti. Not content with thus defiling it, the owner had taken every tabood object which concerned him in any way and brought each in turn into contact with his Kunkuma suman, saying as he placed each upon it: 'Me di a menwu' (If I eat [that] may I not die). Standing before it he had spoken to it every proscribed name which ordinarily he would never allow to pass his lips, and could not even be spoken by others in his hearing with impunity to himself. After uttering these words to the suman, he had addressed it saying:
' If I hear that word or utter it by mistake may it not touch me (n'ka me).'
'The Kunkuma can save you,' said the priest, 'it takes on itself every evil.'
He gave me the following further information about it.
' The springs of the flint-lock gun bound upon its handle will prevent you being shot.'
'This suman may never be taken into the ancestral stool house.' 1
'This suman is to protect all your other suman from chance defilement, e. g. if you have had sexual intercourse and not yet bathed and you touch something, it will do you no harm.'
'If you put any food, otherwise taboo, on this suman, you may then eat it.'
'This suman must never be sprinkled with water to purify it like ordinary suman.'
I Because of its contact with menstruation.

Fowls and sheep are sacrificed upon it, while the following words are spoken :
' Kunkuma gye akoko di, obi to me aduru a, mma no ntumi me; obi bo me din, din bone a, mma ntumi me ; obi de 'tuo sa me so a, mma ntitmi me.'

'Kunkuma, receive this fowl and partake; if any one poisons me (i. e. does something to make me break a taboo) 1 let it have no power over me; if any one invokes my name, in connexion with an evil name, do not let it have any power over me; if any one takes a gun and points it at me, do not let it have any power over me.'

A priest is supposed to be safe without any other protective charm provided he has with him his Kunkuma.

' This Kunkuma cost me £2 7s., two bottles of gin, and four fowls,' said the priest.

He concluded by saying: ' All akyiwadie, hateful things (the Ashanti word for taboos), were enjoined on man by Nyame-the Supreme Being. The dead first gave this suman to the mmoatia (the fairies); they then gave it to man.'

I think it is clear from the above that the Kunkuma suman is of the nature of a scapegoat or something that takes upon itself the evils and sins of the world.

Fig. 7, No. 2. Yentumi. This suman consists of a knotted cord made of the fibre of the Tikyitekyerema tree. Yentumi means literally ' they are not able '. It was also smeared over with blood, eggs, and esono dye. Attached to it is an appendage known as the Krampan, which is hollowed out of a piece of wood and has a wooden stopper at one end. It is made from the tree whose name it bears. ' The Krampan tree has a very powerful sunsum (spirit).' Attached to the Krampan are small strips of skin of the lion, leopard, and hyena. This suman is protective as its name implies, no one will be able to hurt the wearer. Its taboos will be noted later. They are also those enjoined on a novice who is training for the priesthood. Fowls are sacrificed upon it in the manner already described. It is protected in some measure against a violation of its own particular taboos, so long as it is associated with the Kunkuma suman which has just been described. This suman is worn round the neck of the owner. The priest in Fig. 8 may be seen wearing such a fetish.

To break a taboo of any person or thing is ' to no adu ', lit. to poison him or it.

Fig. 7, No. 3. Ahunum. This suman, the name of which means literally 'seeing in', or 'through', is worn knotted round the forehead (see Fig. 8). It consists of plaited strands of the same tree fibre of which the last-named suman was made. One end is made in the form of a loop, the other is bifurcated, and at the extremities of each end are attached pieces of the tail of the apese.1 The plaited thong is decorated at intervals with cowrie shells arranged as seen in the photograph.

'This suman helps a priest to guess at the errand of any one consulting him.'

Its taboos-the breaking of which will nullify all its supernatural powers-are as follows:

I. The mention of the word mframa (wind) anywhere within its vicinity.

2. Sweeping anywhere near it; even the sound of a broom at work is ' hateful ' to it.

3. Fufu (pounded yam or plantain) left overnight.

So long as this suman is in close association with the Kunkuma suman, the latter nullifies the evil resulting from the breaking of any of the above prohibitions.

Fig. 7, No. 4. This suman is also called Ahunum, and its use is similar to that suman just described. It consists of a cloth foundation decorated with cowrie shells in the manner seen in the photograph. This form of decoration-the four shells forming a rosette-is called nkwanta nan (the four cross-roads). Fastened to the centre is a small pouch ; inside this, the priest informed me, was a small piece of an apakan (hammock) in which a dead body had been carried ; attached to it were seven small strips of skin of the lion, leopard, hyena, and kwabrafo,' and on the outside of the pouch was fastened a leopard's claw.
Its akyiwadie (taboos) are the same as No. 3 ; to which must be added a prohibition to pronounce the word saman (ghost) anywhere in its presence.
Fig. 7, No. 5. Apo. This suman is worn above the right elbow.
1 Atherura, the brush-tailed porcupine; these tails enter largely into the composition of many suman. The atherura in Ashanti is credited with very great courage and fierceness. It will pass, they say, even through fire.
2 The honey-badger or ratel (Mellivora cottoni). I am indebted to Major C. M. Ingoldby, R.A.M.C., for having identified this animal.

RELIGION
'It is a charm against bad medicine which might cause you to fall down when dancing.' To do so is considered a great disgrace and extremely unlucky. It consists of black and white cotton threads, twisted into a string, upon which are fastened the following objects
i. Tails of the brush-tailed porcupine.
2. Three leopard's teeth.
3. Two aba seeds.
4. Two firifiriwa seeds.
5. Iron ring chains, between the teeth.
The reason given by the owner for the use of each of the above-named materials was as follows:
i. The attributes ascribed to the brush-tailed porcupine have already been noted.
With reference to 2, £ no one may eat of a leopard's kill, i.e. you cannot touch me ', or alternatively ' a leopard cannot bite me, how much less you '. The chains denote 'I shall bind, or drag away any bad thing'.
3. Aba seeds are ' very hard and strong'.
4. Firifiriwa seeds; this is a play on the name. Firifiriwa means 'get out, get out'.
The 'things hateful' of this suman include the following: Either to mention or even to overhear spoken any of the following names: Osebo (the leopard) ; Firifiriwa (the tree of that name) ; Ababo (the seed of the aba).
Fig. 7, No. 6. Iron bangles known as Bansere. These are worn on the right arm, and are usually made out of an old gunbarrel. They are a charm against assault or blows, 'if you shout Bansere when attacked'.
Their taboos include Mentioning the word woma (a pestle) sweeping; continuing to eat if, while you are eating, any one knocks over a mortar.
Fig. 7, No. 7. An afona (sword). The priest informed me it was for his particular god to cut a path with, when the king went to war. A priest and a chief were alone, he stated, permitted to grasp a sword by its handle; an ordinary person must

always take hold of an afona by its blade. This last article is perhaps hardly a suman. It has not, apparently, any taboos.
Fig. 8 shows the priest wearing the various suman which have

just been described, and also his peculiar headgear. This is also a suman. The name of this hat was Bisakotle, which means ' ask and turn aside'. Its foundation consisted of woven grass matting, which went by the name of Boadekra (lit. a vow made to your 'kra, soul). At the front and back were ram's horns. At the front and between the horns was a wooden afona (sword), at the back a sepow knife. On the outside of the horns, on each side, were small knives representing the implements used by executioners to cut off heads. Inside the horns, the priest told me, were leaves of the trce known as Asase ne obuo (lit. earth and rocks), and also pebbles taken from cross-roads, or from the entrance to a village or town, because' at these spots any stranger coming to do me harm, will halt and ask the way to my house '. The horns mean ' I shall butt you ', the knives ' I shall cut off your head'. The taboos of this head-dress are, mentioning by the wearer, or by any one in his presence, any of the following words:
I. Mframa (the wind).
2. Nwansanapobiri (the blue-bottle fly).
3. Boadekra (the matting from which the hat is made).
The whole of the hat and its appurtenances had been smeared over with eggs and esono dye. The priest is wearing the usual doso, or palm-fibre kilt.1
Suman of Group B. Figs. 9-18.
This collection I acquired long before I examined the foregoing Group A. At the time I obtained it I was ignorant of the very interesting fact that each suman had its own taboos or ' hateful things'. I might have guessed at their existence, however, from the exact parallel of the akyiwadie of the abosom (the gods, and of shrines of the gods) which had already been noted.2 The similarity in composition and also in name of several of these suman to those of Group A is significant, as the collection was obtained in a part of Ashanti remote from the places where those in Group A were in use.
Fig. 9, No. I. Kunkuma. Made of edowa palm-fibre in the form shown here. I was informed this suman had no taboos, and

I See Ashanti, Figs. 59, 6o, 62, 64, 67, 68.
2 Ibid., p. 21x2.

I have little doubt its nature and functions are the same as the suman of the same name in Group A. Just below the knot in the ring-handle are bound eight cowrie shells.
Fig. 9, No. 2, is a suman called Apoapo, which is possibly a reduplication of the name of the suman apo in Group A. It consists of a twisted fibre, forming a loop at one end and bifurcating at the other, upon which lumps of nufa 1 ('medicine') have been stuck. Projecting from the nufa are pieces of tail of the brush-tailed

porcupine. I was informed rather vaguely that this suman was 'to frustrate evil planned against a person'.
Fig. 9, No. 3. A suman called mfiri m'akyi ('do not pass out behind my back '), made of what looks like cotton threads, twisted and knotted at intervals, with little pieces of red flannel at each knot. The cord passes through two very small antelope horns, which have been bored to admit the passage of the thread, as has also the seed of some tree, which looks like a bead in the photograph. In one of the knots is a tuft of porcupines' tails and pieces of leopard skin. Hanging from it is a cheap iron European padlock. The priest who described this suman said it ' prevented one having pains in the neck'.
Fig. 9, No. 4. Name not given. A necklace of lumps of nufa strung on what looks like a piece of twisted cloth. In Ashanti, Fig. 68, a priest may be seen wearing such a necklace, almost identical in appearance.
Fig. IO shows an ordinary cheap trade mirror with a sliding front to protect the glass. The woodwork round the sides has been elaborately surrounded with lumps of nufa strung on a thread with very small white beads between each lump. The back and front have been plastered about one-eighth of an inch thick with ' medicine ', to which may be seen adhering little pieces of egg-shell from former sacrifices. An appendage of similar lumps of nufa, with white beads between them, similar to those on the sides, and a small antelope's horn hang down. In Ashanti, Fig. 68, a priest may be seen dancing and gazing into exactly such a mirror (afwefwe). This mirror is used to help the priest to predict the future.
Fig. i i, Nos. I, 2, 3, 4 are headbands worn by priests called Ahumu. No. i consists of a knotted cord with a single lump I Sing. dufa.

Fic. 9. Suman (Group B). (See p. 17)
Fic. io. Suman (Group B). (See p. 18)

Fic. ii. Suman (Group B). (See p. 18)
Fic. 12. Suman (Group B). (See p. i9)
FIG. 13. Suman (Group B). (See p. i)

of dufa-into which has been sunk a cowrie shell-threaded upon it.
Nos. 2 and 3 consist of lumps of nufa strung on a fine rope with small white beads between each lump.
No. 4 consists of beads threaded on twisted cotton with a small bundle in the centre, made out of narrow strips of skin of various animals, including the lion, and tufts of the atherura's tail. Hanging down from this is a tassel of varied coloured beads. The explanation given me concerning these headbands was that the wearer of them could see what was invisible to others.
Fig. 12, Nos. i and 2. These two suman are called mpobi. No. i is simply a large lump of dufa, clotted with blood and plastered with fragments of egg-shell from the many sacrifices made upon it. Attached to it is a loop of seven cowrie shells and between each one are tied small tufts of hair, which appear to be those of a lion. It is worn round the neck and hangs down at the back of the okomfo.

No. 2 is a large snail-shell, almost completely caked and covered over with ' medicine ', with which it is also stuffed full. Several small cowrie shells, interspersed with what appear to be small black seeds, are fastened upon it. It is also worn round the neck, and both, I was informed, are ' to protect the okomfo '.
Fig. 13 depicts six suman. No. i is called sabe or oten. It consists of four small antelope horns, joined in pairs, and so plastered over with ' medicine ' as almost to disguise what they really are. This is a thoroughly 'bad fetish', used to kill people by a process of sympathetic magic. One horn in each of the two little bundles contains a rusty needle. The inside of the horns is also packed with all kinds of 'medicines ', including a red feather from a ' grey ' parrot. The fetish is used in the following manner. A lime is taken; the needles are removed from the horns and stuck into the lime, with the words: 'Sabe suman, this lime is so and so's sunsum (spirit) ; take away his heart.' This incantation and ceremony must be performed either at midday or at sunset.
No. 2. A small cotton bag called adampa, filled with 'medicine' and tied on an okomfo's hair. The ends hang down; to these are attached beads and cowrie shells and the skin and hair of an

animal, of some unknown species. It is said to be a charm against bullets.
No. 3. Name not recorded; two cowrie shells attached to dufa and a string.
No. 4. Called Babaso. Made of the bones of a tortoise, three tails of the brush-tailed porcupine, an old wooden cigarette holder, and a small bundle tied up in a rag. This suman is supposed to cause an enemy to contract venereal disease, by placing it where he must pass.
No. 5. Name unknown; composed of small bones, with an iron chain between each.
No. 6. Two small lumps of nufa attached to a string, probably worn round wrist or ankle. Name not recorded.
Fig. 14, Nos. I to 5, are sunian known as asase or gyeme and are worn round the ankles of a priest to prevent his stumbling when dancing. No. I is made with many different coloured beads. Nos. 2 and 3 consist of seeds called dwenwira placed between white beads called ' cat's eyes '. No. 4, many strands of cotton, knotted with small pieces of red felt at intervals, and containing a tuft of a lion's whiskers. No. 5, a single white and blue bead. All these necklet and armlet talismans are made with running knots to facilitate slipping them over the hand or head.
No. 6 consists of a string of nufa with a small bag in the centre covered on one side with the skin of some antelope, on the other with red flannel; contents unknown.
No. 7. A suman called Bekwa, made out of many strands of blue cotton thread ending in a cowrie shell at each end embedded in dufa and containing tufts of brush-tailed porcupines' tails,. and strips of the skin of various animals, among others the lion and leopard ; it is said to be a poison antidote.
Fig. 15, No. I, is a suman called Kadwo; it consists of a knotted string, to which are attached tufts of tails of the brushtailed porcupine and a single small leather

packet. This amulet is worn by a man round his waist, and is said to cause any man who attempts to have sexual intercourse with a woman with whom the wearer of the charm has had sexual intercourse to become impotent.
Nos. 2 to 6 are perhaps charms purchased from the Mohammedan Hausas, and possibly contain verses of the Koran. The

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Fic. I4. Suman (Group B). (See p. 20)
FiG. 15. Suman (Group B). (See p. 20)

FiG. i6. The Chief of Bantama with a war-dress and head-dress covered with charms

FIc.'I7. Surnan (Group B).
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FIc. 18. Suman (Group B). (See p. 21)
(See p. 21)

Ashanti, though not of course Mohammedans, have great faith in these charms sold by the Hausa. Fig. I6 shows the Chief of B- wearing a war coat and head-dress covered with such charms.
Fig. 17, No. i, is the well-known Nkabere suman, already fully described in Ashanti.1 The string in this case, which is wrapped round it, is called mpanto, and is made from bofunu fibre. At either end of this rope-fibre is a bundle of suman, encased in dufa, consisting of a leopard's claw, strips of skin (the hair of which is so much worn off as to make it impossible to name the animal), and tufts of the brush-tailed porcupines' tails. Some of the latter, with feathers of a bird (the turacou ?), are also attached to the largest of the sticks. Fragments of egg-shell from past sacrifices adhere to parts of the nkabere.
No. 2 is a suman called Bodit Wangara, consisting of a single horn of the bush buck, containing 'medicine' into which two porcupine quills have been thrust. This suman, I believe, is sometimes placed on a path for an enemy to step over-or upon.
Fig. 18, No. i. Called Boto toa (lit. a gourd for holding ground or powdered 'medicine'), worn round the waist. One contained, I was informed, ground tortoise bones ; so also No. 5.
No. 2. A cow's tail, held in the hand while dancing.
Nos. 3 and 3a. A cow's horn and sheep's horn; the latter is covered with red cloth and is carried inside the former. This suman was called Kwasa by the man who examined this collection with me. He said it was hung up inside a house to catch witches.
No. 4. A sheep's horn, containing all the 'medicines' that had been applied to all the suman.

This completes the description of the collection of suman in Group B. Read in conjunction with the fuller account of the suman in Group A, this information, although inadequate and incomplete, may be of some value in helping us to understand what fetishes are like, externally at any rate, and how they are made. The labour and infinite pains, the prayers, the spells, the sacrifices, the abnegation, the heart-burnings, the disappointments, the hopes that are inseparably bound up in each one of these poor fetishes we can only imagine in part, but they should See pp. 310, 311.

never quite be lost sight of when we are considering such objects, or judging the makers of them.

A few other well-known suman may be mentioned.

The Gyabom suman has already been described.1

'It is a powerful charm for driving away evilly disposed, disembodied human spirits. .. the revengeful sasa will flee from the presence of this suman (fetish), which consists of a bundle of porcupine quills, a bunch of feathers of the fish eagle ... the skull of a porcupine, several human maxillae, an odawuru (gong), and leaves of a shrub called emme... All these objects had been dyed a deep red colour by pouring over them a concoction made from the powdered bark of a tree.., mixed with eggs.... When a man was to be executed the Gyabom was set upon his knees, while his head was cut off. . . . This was to prevent the sasa (revengeful spirit) of his victim from returning to wreak vengeance on his executioner or upon the king who had ordered the execution.... A human sacrifice . . . was occasionally made on the Gyabom fetish. My informant told me how he had, only twenty years ago, seen a child sacrificed upon this very fetish. His body was cut open from the throat down to the abdomen, the intestines pulled out, the sides of the body folded back, and the corpse laid face down upon the suman which thus became saturated with its blood.'

Many kinds of beads are classed as suman. A bodom bead, for example, is supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers ; whence this power comes is difficult to say. ' One bodom bead, in time, becomes two.' The children of Ashanti kings were washed in powdered bodom beads ' to make them grow'. Certain beads are bound as amulets, suman, upon infants.2

The famous odwira suman will be described later on; it was in some way connected with fertility and the crops.

I now propose to quote a number of answers-given to me independently by many Ashanti at many different times and places-to the question: 'What is the difference between an obosom and a suman ? ' The late Kojo Wisirika, a very remarkable Ashanti, once said to me ' Obosom and suman are like the white man's cannon and lesser guns. He cannot take big guns everywhere' (translation).

Again : 'The power of suman does not come from the abosom (the gods), but from mmoatia (fairies) and the sunsum (spirit) of plants and trees.'

I See Ashanti, pp. 99-ioo

2 See Chapter VI.

'The power of suman comes from the mmoatia (fairies), Sasabonsam (forest monster of that name), saman bofuo (ghosts of hunters), and abayifo (witches).'
Another said: 'Suman come from the mmoatia (fairies), by whom they were first made and from whom they are still obtained. You place ten cowries on a rock, go away; on your return you find your cowries gone, having been replaced by a suman.' 1
'An obosom (shrine of a god) " is carried " and has its own okomfo (priest)', said another. This is a most important distinction, meaning that suman, of themselves, do not give oracular utterances.2 'Suman have not their own akomfo, though an okomfo will nearly always have suman of his own.'
'Suman are personal charms, they help the okomfo or owner, personally.'
Let me now endeavour to extract the meanings to be derived from our present information.
I. Although, as we have seen in Ashanti, suman (fetishes) may form part of an obosom (god), suman and obosom are in themselves distinct, and are so regarded by the Ashanti.
2. The main power, or the most important spirit in an obosom, comes directly or indirectly from Nyame, the Supreme God. The power or spirit in a suman comes from plants or trees, and sometimes, directly or indirectly, from fairies, forest monsters, witches, or from some sort of unholy contact with the dead, i. e. contact which in the ordinary way would be unclean or repellent, and has not any connexion with ancestor worship.
3. An obosom (god) is the god of the many, the family, the clan, or the nation. A suman is generally personal to its owner.
From the foregoing statements the following definition may be framed.
A fetish (suman) is an object which is the potential dwellingplace of a spirit or spirits of an inferior status, generally belonging to the vegetable kingdom ; this object is also closely associated with the control of the powers of evil or black magic, for personal ends, but not necessarily to assist the owner to work evil, since it is used as much for defensive as for offensive purposes.
In this definition, all reference to the spirits of the lower
I An interesting example of ' the silent trade
2 But see Ashanti, p. 149.

animals has been omitted, although, as we have observed, parts of certain animals, teeth, skin, hair, and claws, are among the common ingredients of the ordinary suman. We should not, I believe, be entirely wrong in assuming that these, possibly, may be considered effective owing to the action of the spirit which once animated their bodies,' but I have preferred, nevertheless, to consider such additions to the ' battery' of the suman's powers as working rather in the category of sympathetic or symbolic magic.
'Suman (fetishes) spoil the gods.' This statement has been made to me time and again by different priests. It has already been recorded how Ta Kora's temple, unlike so many pantheons, did not contain a single fetish.2 I sometimes think that,

had these people been left alone to work out their own salvation, sooner or later, perhaps, scme African Messiah would have arisen and swept their pantheons and their religion clean of the suman (fetish). Then West Africa might have become the cradle of anew religion, which acknowledges one Great Spirit, Who, being one, nevertheless manifested Himself in everything around them, and taught men to hear His voice in the flow of His waters and in the sound of His winds among the trees.3

There is one other interesting point which has not, I believe, received sufficient notice in the past, i. e. the question of certain prohibitions associated with gods and suman. It will be seen how sensitive and delicate is the power or spirit which animates gods and fetishes. After a chance word, or an apparently harmless action, the spirit flies, leaving to the poor possessor of the shrine of god or fetish a perfectly empty and useless object. I shall refer to this subject again later, and I now pass on to describe fairies and forest monsters and other cults connected with the magic art.

I We should have a good precedent for so doing in the use of human hair and human nail parings as a substitute for the corpse at certain funerals.

2 As anti, p. 182, and also p. i5o.

3 ' He learns to hear the voice of the trees and the leaves and the rivers.' Extract from the curriculum undergone by an Ashanti priest in training. See p. 44.

lII

FAIRIES, FOREST MONSTERS, AND WITCHES

IF there is one kind of supernatural manifestation of which the average Ashanti is more firmly convinced than another, it is his belief in the existence of the mmoatia, the little folk, the fairies. He believes in them ' because he has seen them '. So emphatic is he on this point that he has been able to convince perfectly stolid, matter-of-fact Englishmen that he is speaking of something he has seen. I have more than once received communications from brother officers, who, not knowing the language or the meaning of the word mmoatia, have written to me to declare that they were convinced, from apparently trustworthy statements of eyewitnesses, that a pigmy race, known locally as the mmoatia, existed somewhere in the forests of their districts, and have asked the Government Anthropologist to come and investigate.

I once offered as much as £Io for the capture of one fairy to an old and perfectly respectable Ashanti friend, who was constantly telling me he saw them. 'They run up and down the rafters of my hut almost every night ', he declared.

My friend, Mr. 0. K. Jones,' once told me he had a serious argument with an Ashanti on this very subject, and at last had gently but firmly told the Ashanti that he must be telling lies, otherwise how was it that he, Jones, who was not blind, could never see, and had never seen, what his informant stated he was constantly observing.

' Ah ! ' replied the Ashanti, ' but perhaps you have not got the right mind 2 for seeing the little folk.'

Perhaps that is what is the matter with us, but at any rate as I have not yet seen real mmoatia, I can only attempt to describe them, and their language, manners,

and appearance, from the accounts of others who state that they have seen, conversed, and even lived among them.
I 1 regret to record Mr. Jones's death from blackwater fever since the above was written. 2 Sunsum.

Fig. 19 shows two mmoatia in the company of a Sasabonsam. The most characteristic feature of these Ashanti ' little folk 'the word mmoatia probably means 'the little animals '-is their feet, which point backwards. They are said to be about a foot in stature, and to be of three distinct varieties: black, red, and white, and they converse by means of whistling.1 The black fairies are more or less innocuous, but the white and the red mmoatia are up to all kinds of mischief, such as stealing housewives' palm-wine and the food left over from the previous day. The light-coloured mmoatia are also versed in the making of all manner of suman which they may at times be persuaded to barter to mortals by means of the ' silent trade ', to which allusion has already been made. Little figures of mmoatia of both sexes are often found as appurtenances of the abosom, the gods, whose ' speedy messengers' they are.2 When I was entrusted with the two seen in Fig. i9, which were exhibited at Wembley in the 1924 Exhibition, I was requested to see that they were given monkeynuts, palm-kernels, and sugar occasionally.
As we shall see, many Ashanti medicine-men claim to have lived with the little folk, and to have learned all their arts of healing from them. To serve an apprenticeship with them seems indeed to be considered a necessary preliminary qualification to the profession of Sumankwafo or medicine-man.
While I am dealing with the subject of ' the little folk' it may not be entirely out of place to include a reference to persons of both sexes, of very diminutive stature, who are to be found in many Ashanti villages. They are called in Ashanti pirafo or dwarfs. I first came across these curious little people in some of the forest villages in the Brong country of Northern Ashanti, where I saw at least three in a single village. They were extremely shy, and at first always ' not at home' when I tried to visit them. One, however, later became a great friend of mine, and over innumerable cigarettes we became so well acquainted that she permitted me to take several physical measurements.
-said she was about forty years of age, and this was found to be approximately correct by reference to certain family events
1 I have well-authenticated accounts of tribes in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast who have a whistling language.
2 See Ashanti, p. i63. Fig. 69.

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which had occurred about the time of the 19oo siege of Coomassie. Experts at home, to whom I have submitted her measurements and the photographs (Figs. 20-22), as will be seen from the report given as an appendix to this chapter, seem to be of the opinion that her stature and other physical characteristics may be due to pathological causes. My tentative suggestion, which Dr. Gifford thinks just possible, is that ' the lady ', and several more like her of both sexes whom I have seen, were possibly a reversion to a very diminutive forest race, possibly the original inhabitants of the Ashanti forests. I do not wish of course to press the point, against the opinion of experts.

Little Kojo Pira-the wise little man, who had been courtjester to many Ashanti kings, is possibly another of the same type, but his very diminutive stature (he is not 3 feet high) may be due to deformity (see Fig. 23).

Fig. 24 shows another of the same type who used to track elephants for me.'

Leaving now the mmoatia and pirafo, whom I believe I have the honour of introducing for the first time to the anthropologist, we come to a figure made known to the European ethnologist by the writings, among others, of the late Miss Mary Kingsley. This is Sasabonsam 2 (see Fig. 19) ; Miss Kingsley encountered him somewhere down the Rivers, far away from his Ashanti home, which shows how wide his distribution appears to be. Here is what she had to say about him : I

' Well do I remember our greatest terror when out at night on a forest path. I believe him to have been Sasabonsum, but he was very widely distributed-that is to say we dreaded him in the forest paths round Mungo Mah Lobeh, we confidently expected to meet him round Calabar, and to my disgust, for he was a hindrance, when I thought I had got away from his distribution zone, down to the Ogowe region, coming home one night, with a Fan hunter, from Fula to Kangwe, I saw some one coming down the path towards us, and my friend threw himself

He also came from Northern Ashanti. I am a very short man (5 ft. 4 in.), but it will be seen that the tracker is only a few inches taller than myself sitting down.

2 Miss Kingsley wrongly spells it Sasabonsum. The derivation of Sasabonsam is sasa, spirit surviving after death, and bonsam, a male witch. Christaller, in one of the few etymological errors he commits, gives it wrongly as asase-bonsam, witch of the earth.

a West African Studies, p. 99.

into the dense bush beside the path so as to give the figure a wide berth. It was the old symptom. You see what we object to in this spirit is that one side of him is rotting and putrefying, the other side sound and healthy, and it all depends on which side of him you touch whether you see the dawn again or no.'

The Sasabonsam of the Gold Coast and Ashanti is a monster which is said to inhabit parts of the dense virgin forests. It is covered with long hair, has large blood-shot eyes, long legs, and feet pointing both ways. It sits on high branches of

an odum or onyina tree and dangles its legs, with which at times it hooks up the unwary hunter. It is hostile to man, and is supposed to be especially at enmity with the real priestly class. Hunters who go to the forest and are never heard of again-as sometimes happens
-aresupposed to have been caught by Sasabonsam. All of them are in league with abayifo (witches), and with the mmoatia, in other words, with the workers in black magic. As we have seen, however, and will see again farther on, their power is sometimes solicited to add power to the suman (fetish), not necessarily with a view to employing that power for purposes of witchcraft, but rather the reverse. I cannot help thinking that the original Sasabonsam may possibly have been the gorilla.

Under the heading of Witchcraft we shall see how the Sasabonsam's aid is solicited to defeat and to detect the very evil with which he is thought to be associated indirectly. The word for witchcraft in Ashanti is bayi 1 and for witch obayifo and bonsam, which are feminine and masculine respectively. The bonsam appear to be much less common than the female variety-the obayifo.

Two important limitations exist in Ashanti with regard to witches. First, a non-adult cannot be a witch; and, secondly, a witch is powerless to use her or his enchantment over any one outside the witches' clan.

'Obayifo n'anom enam a, odidi asuagya na ontumi mfa ntwa asu.'

' However fierce (in) a witch's mouth may be, she eats on her own side of the stream but cannot cross the water.'

The question of the inability of non-adults to be witches is an important point to which reference will be made later.

I The word ayen is also used, but this is really Fanti.

Fic. 23. Kojo Pira and another

FIc. 24. Self, with tracker of primitive forest type
(Volta district)

A woman with hair on her face is in Ashanti looked upon as a potential witch. A witch's blood may not be shed; she is strangled. A self-confessed witch used to have a firebrand placed in her hand before being expelled from the village. A message was sent to the next village, from which she would also be driven and so on. This punishment therefore really amounted to the death penalty. It was my good fortune to meet and make friends with an Ashanti, Yao Adawua, a famous witch-finder or priest of black magic. This old man left his home and accompanied me on one of my journeys. During our travels, in many confidential talks, he gave me the following information about himself and his profession. He told me that he was the survivor of two hundred Bonsam 'Komfo who had been killed in the reign, and by the order of, King Mensa Bonsu. His correct title he said was Bonsam 'Konfo,1 which means 'the priest of a Bonsam, i. e. of the monster who has just been described.

'Sasabonsam is my master, he helps the nation, he is very tall, has long thin legs, long hair, very large red eyes, sits on an odum tree and his legs reach the ground.' Here most certainly we have an open confession of alliance with the powers of evil.

' I was not trained by any one,' he continued, ' the spirit of a Bonsam came upon me like the wind, and thus I learned who were the witches and how to catch them.' As an afterthought, he added, ' There are no Sasabonsam any nearer than Sefwi.' 2

'The majority of witches are women,' he continued, 'but they need not necessarily be very old women. If an old witch wishes her daughter to become a witch she will bathe her repeatedly with " medicine " at the suminaso (the kitchen-midden). The great desire of a witch is to eat people, but she will not do this so that any one may see; they suck blood. Each witch has a part of the body of which she is particularly fond. All witches know one another and are in league. They have their regular court officials, " linguists ", executioners, and so on; a witch can cause a woman to become barren. Witches walk about naked at night, and when they come to a house where some one is lying asleep they will turn round and press their buttocks against the outside 1 it will be seen that the word ' witch-doctor ', the use of which has been discouraged as being a contradiction of terms, is almost exactly a translation of the word the Ashanti themselves use. In the north-west of the Gold Coast Colony.

wall of the hut. A suman they carry, called atufa, will then make a connexion between their bodies and the body of the person who is asleep, and by this connecting link the blood is drained. The person, on awakening, will complain of illness and may die before nightfall. Witches always try to obtain some object that belonged to the person whom they wish to kill, such as hair, nailcuttings, or waist beads ; witches can transform themselves into birds, chiefly owls, crows, vultures, and parrots; into houseflies and fire-flies, into hyenas, leopards, lions, elephants, bongo, and all sasa animals, and also into snakes.' ' Some witches have a waist-belt of snakes', he added. ' Witches are often visible at night by a glowing light they give forth. They are all connected at night by spider's webs with the doors of all dwellings. As soon as a door is opened, they are thus warned and flee. They eat all together, each supplying the feast in turn. A witch can only kill in her own clan.' Yao Adawua here quoted the well-known proverb already noted. He continued. ' All witches are in league with Sasabonsam and with the red mmoatia (fairies).' (He then went on to give the distinction between black, red, and white fairies, which tallied with the information already quoted, which came from a different source.)

'Witchcraft originated,' he said, in the Aduana clan 'who came from the ground.' 2 In olden times as soon as any one was found to be a witch she was killed. The conclusive evidence that any person is a witch is, he said, the discovery of her bayi kukuo (witchcraft pot). Yao Adawua told me he could tell a witch practically at sight. Indeed he several times would nudge me as he sat beside me in the Ford car, saying, 'That man there is a witch, or that woman.' When I asked him how he

could tell, he replied he could ' see red smoke coming out of their heads ', (an aura?). He said he could cure people of being witches without having to kill them, provided that once he had treated them they did not resort again to their evil practices ; if they did so, they would die.
' I have found bayi kukuo of witches hidden inside rocks which had opened at their bidding', he said. Asked how witches made rocks to open, he replied they would command the rocks : 'Gye
He also called the very short mmoatia, ntiantia
See Ashanti, Chapter X.

nkuku yi sie me' (' Receive this pot and place it in safe keeping for me ').
Witches in Ashanti in olden days were also sometimes subjected to trial by ordeal, by being made to ' chew odom' (we odom). That is the idiom, but the poison is really drunk, the bark being pounded and mixed in water. Should the person accused of being a witch vomit the poison and recover, the accuser would be fined such an amount as to ruin the whole family.
Yao Adawua also stated that the abosom (gods) were never consulted for the discovery of bayi (witchcraft), because it was recognized that they would not tell, 'being afraid of bayi which was more powerful than they'. ' When I am under possession of Sasabonsam,' he said, ' a priest will address me as " father ".'
Yao Adawua had a suman for detecting witches, but he had not this with him, nor did I see it. He told me he sacrificed sheep and fowls upon it, allowing their blood to drip upon it while he summoned the spirit of Sasabonsam Kwaku to enter into it.
I shall close this chapter on witches, witchcraft, and witchfinders with an account of the famous fetish Fwemso,I which has lately been suppressed by Government. This very elaborate suman formerly had its head-quarters on the shore of Lake Bosomtwe.2 It was used ostensibly for the purpose of discovering witches, but like so many fetishes, once they have achieved a more than personal or local reputation, was being used for purposes of blackmail and extortion. This fetish, in common with several others, I believe, was not of pure Ashanti origin, having been introduced from Apollonia. It was far more elaborate than the usual unostentatious suman, having its men and women attendants and its temples, exactly on the same lines as the orthodox abosom. The complete fetish comprised at least six separate suman, all in anthropomorphic form. The most striking part of the fetish were representations of two life-sized models in clay of female breasts which, supported on a column, formed a kind of altar, the whole having the general appearance of a headless and armless trunk. Fig. 25 is a sketch made from photographs which I took, none of which, however, were successful owing to the dim lighting of the interior of the
Another name, I believe, for the A berewa fetish.
2 See Ashanti, Chapter II, for a full account of the lake.

temple. Between the breasts a knife was thrust and below it was a chaplet of leaves. Above the breasts rested the small wooden figure called Fwemso, from which the whole composite fetish took its name. Suspended above the breasts and swinging between two upright posts was another ' doll' called mframa (lit. the wind). The remaining dolls, four in number, stood all round resting beside covered pots. One of these dolls, Kwaku by name, carried a knife under his armpit.

The names of these wooden figures were as follows:

i. Fwemso (a male).
2. Kwaku (a male).
3. Berehua (a male).
4. Mframa (a male), lit. 'the wind'.
5. Batan (a female).
6. Awisa (a female).

When the attendants, male and female, of the fetish were summoned to a village for the detection of witchcraft, 'these suman themselves assumed the form of witches, a ball of fire, and by making the witches call Ka cha ! Ka cha ! Ka cha ! enticed real witches to approach them, when they would seize them and wound or kill them, i.e. their sunsum (spirit), with the knife which Kwaku holds.'

The fetish has certain taboos (akyiwadie) which the attendants are bound to observe. Several of the taboos are rather curious and unusual.

I. Avoidance of sexual intercourse on Fridays and Sundays, 'because on these days the fetish may have sexual intercourse with them.'
2. No direct contact with blood of sacrifices, but does not taboo menstrual blood.
3. Vexation or anger.

I was informed that the male and female attendants of this fetish do not themselves lay an accusation against persons that they are witches. Witches themselves come forward and confess that the fetish has caught them ; they confess in order that their lives may be spared, as they think that otherwise they would die. This forgiveness may be granted provided that the supposed indispensable adjunct of a witch is produced and handed over, i.e. ' the pot of witchcraft '.

FIG. 25. Within the Fwemso witch-finders' temple

I witnessed a dance, in which the attendants of the Fwemso fetish took part, and obtained photographs which are here reproduced (Figs. 26-7). Unfortunately I was leaving the Lake that very morning, and was unable to obtain all the information I wished to have about the dance and other rites which wer performed on this occasion.

A large rectangle had been marked out by sprinkling powdered clay on the ground. At one end and inside the lines stood the fetish house, with its white-frocked priests standing before it. At the opposite end were the drummers. Another line cut across the centre of the rectangle, and from the centre of this line another line ran to the end at which the musicians were assembled. Where this

line and the cross-line met an egg was placed. The women attendants, smothered in white powdered clay and dressed in white skirts scalloped round the edges, danced in a stooping posture with a shuffling gait, while the onlookers, swaying backwards and forwards, sang :
' The bird of prey is the parrot.'
And again:
'Some one is going to die.'
'Gyaba e.'
And again:
' No one can play Kwaku's game,
No one can play it.'
The white outside line, I was told, was a fence to keep off evil from the dancers, who thus perform within a symbolical fence; 'Any evil will pass into the egg.' Foolish and childish in the extreme as many of these beliefs may seem to us, we must realize how terribly real they still are over vast areas of the African continent, where they persist in spite of the restraint of paternal administrations and the steady advance of civilization. We should be careful to read the history of our own not very remote past, before, in a spirit of pious indignation, we sit in judgement upon the African. I would have no pity on these witches ; I would burn them all,' said Martin Luther.

FIG. 26. The witch-finders' dance at Lake Bosomtwe
FIc. 27. 'They danced in a stooping posture '

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III
FIRST REPORT
205 Kings Road, Reading.
13 Jan. 1925.
The photographs I find of very great interest and I am grateful to you for letting me see them. They are of peculiar interest to me just now for I am about to collect material for a small book on infantilism.
I think this dwarf is a case of ' sexual ateliosis
My reasons for so thinking are :
i. The improbability of a racial dwarf being found in Ashanti.
2. The seeming darkness of the skin and uniform woolliness of the hair.
3. The comparative size of the hands and feet.
4. The suggestion of myxoedematous (?) puffiness of the face in photo 239.
The size and shape of head, proportions, physiognomy, protuberance of abdomen and buttock would do for either form of dwarfism.
The physiognomy seems to be of the same type as that of the normal man and woman except that the nose is flatter and the face shorter, but these may quite as well be due to the infantilism as to racial causes.
SECOND REPORT
205 Kings Road, Reading.
21 Jan. 1925.

Dear Capt. Rattray,
Your dwarf interests me very much, especially after reading your letter.
It seems to me, though my opinion on the point is of little value, that your suggestion that the remnants of the original pigmy inhabitants may still be met with is highly probable. I know of a small group of original Welsh still existing in a rural district not far from here. We know that such cases of arrested

RELIGION
social development occur on the Continent and what can be more likely than that primitive dwarf type should still exist in parts of Africa now inhabited by bigger peoples ?
I know that there is no such thing as a true black in Africa, and wonder if my typist in typing my letter omitted to include the inverted commas I had put over the word ' black'.
Probably if this dwarf were of a much lighter, more reddish or yellowish, tint than the ordinary natives you would have noticed it. This lighter colour of the forest dwarf is, however, apt to become much darkened by exposure to the sunlight if living in more open country.
The tracker in this photograph reminds one strongly of the forest dwarfs in his physiognomy and proportions, though his nose is not so spread out as theirs usually are. His hair, too, is, I gather, not tufted.
The main difficulty in coming to a decision as to the nature of the dwarfism arises, it appears to me, out of the fact that an arrest of progressive development tends to recall the primitive type from which the individual arose. Hence an ateliotic African dwarf might be expected to resemble a racial dwarf. For if Africa were at one time inhabited by a much smaller people, whose remains still linger in the upper Congo forests or on the Kalahari, or in the Atlas region, and the Bantu and some other African races have developed out of them, it stands to reason that for those present, more advanced, peoples to remain undeveloped must have the effect of bringing about a resemblance to the more archaic stock. The Congo baby is light yellow when born and turns 'black' after a few weeks, strongly suggesting that the present Congo nation has sprung out of a people whose colour was light yellow.
It seems to me equally probable that your prognathous, shorter Ashanti people are of this nature. If so one would expect to find among them a fairly good intelligence, but of somewhat childish or simple type, perhaps a slight tendency to throw off variations in the form of masculinism or feminism, of sterility, of mild cretinism, or of premature senility or unusual longevity.
Yours faithfully,
H. GIFFORD.

APPENDIX
MEASUREMENTS OF 'PIGMY'
Glabello-occipital length Greatest breadth Maximum frontal diameter Cephalic index . Upper facial length Total facial length Interzygomatic breadth Gonial breadth Nasal height Nasal breadth

xf upper Facial index Itotal Nasal index Stature
millimetres
1 '75 *138
. 103 78"86 43
84 122
96 38 38
35'25 68.85 **3oo * 1380

THE TRAINING OF MEDICINE-MEN AND PRIESTS

IN localities very widely separated, and among Ashanti speaking different dialects, I constantly obtained the same answers to the questions: ' How did you become a doctor ? How did you become a priest ? ' I shall deal with the former class first. The reply to this inquiry generally was, 'the mmoatia (the fairies) taught me.' My hunter friend, Kwaku Abonyowa, related how, as a young man, he lived for forty days and forty nights in company with the mmoatia, being fed only with an egg a day with which his tongue was touched. He also recorded what has already been mentioned, i. e. the language of the mmoatia was a whistling language. This man was mourned as dead and his funeral celebrations were held by his relatives. In Northern Ashanti, in the village of Sekwa, is a life-size suman of anthropomorphic form. It was made by the brother of its present custodian, who is called Kwesi Asante. This brother, now dead, was one day found to be missing. After many weeks his funeral rites were held, ' One day we heard some children shouting that my brother was in the back-yard. We ran out and found him with an armful of suman and nufa (" medicine"), made up in little balls or cones. He said that a Sasabonsam had caught him, but instead of killing him had taught him all about plants. He also brought a cap with him and became very famous. He made this suman which he called Sasabonsam.'

From such stories-and there are many similar-one fact emerges clearly. A would-be practitioner retires alone, for a considerable period, into the solitude of the forest where he lives and studies nature. He eventually emerges from his retreat and is hailed as one returned from the dead. He tells his relations he was not dead, but merely serving the usual apprenticeship for a ' doctor's degree ' with fairies or forest monsters as his mentors. This gives him 'a good local press ',

and the rest depends upon his skill in, and his knowledge of, roots and herbs, no less than his acquaintance with the psychology of his patients.

Medicine-men are often hunters and hunters medicine-men. Wonderful folk they are; botanists, knowing every tree and plant and fern by name, and the spiritual properties of each; zoologists, intimately acquainted with the haunts and habits of animals, birds, and insects. The forests, with their sights and sounds, are books which they can read with unerring skill; taciturn and suspicious of the would-be European hunter, they love the solitude of nature, whose voices they claim to hear and understand. Thus, in course of time, the medicine-man-hunter becomes different from his fellows and a 'mad hunter' becomes the epithet by which he is known among his kinsfolk. These men are members of a class which is rapidly

disappearing, with only a very few who know them to lament the passing of the oldest of the world's brotherhoods. If any European could put into words all the knowledge and the ideas possessed by one of these strange forest-men, then he would be able to write a wonderful book on nature, viewed by men as part and parcel of themselves, and not viewed objectively and scientifically as we are apt to do.

I have referred already to the 'spiritual' properties of trees and plants, when my reader would possibly have expected me to mention their ' medicinal ' properties. Miss Mary Kingsley was the first to place on record what every careful student of West Africa will sooner or later discover for himself, i.e. ' that everything works by spirit on spirit.' Thus, the Ashanti doctor who finds out from experience that some leaf or plant or root is a specific for some particular disease, really considers he has discovered some leaf or root or plant with a spirit stronger than the disease spirit. It is spirit acting and reacting upon spirit, not antitoxin acting on toxin.

From the information at our disposal, we now know that the Ashanti makes a distinction between the following: the okomfo (priest); the sumankwafo or dunseni (the medicine-man) ; and the Bonsam komfo (witch-doctor). The word okomfo, without any further qualification, refers to a priest of one of the orthodox abosom (gods). We see, however, that a witch-doctor is allowed

the same name as a kind of honorary title or degree, being known as a Bayi 'komfo (a priest of witchcraft). Again, the ordinary medical practitioners are never termed akomfo ; they are sumankwafo, dealers in suman; or dunsefo, workers in roots or odu'yefo, workers in medicines.

The novitiate and training undergone by an Ashanti priest, a first-hand description of which will now be given, is a long, trying, and very serious business, and even when a man is fully qualified the profession of priesthood is no sinecure.

Most, if not all, Ashanti priests and priestesses will state that the reason they first adopted their profession was because they discovered that they were subject to possession by some spirit influence. They might have been going about their ordinary tasks, but more often were attending some religious ceremony, when suddenly, and without previous warning, they heard ' the voice of Tano ' or of some other god, or fell down in a fit, or went into a trance. Some fully qualified priest or priestess would then be called in to interpret this phenomenon and would probably say that it is the spirit of such and such a god 'who wishes to marry' that person. The subject of these fits would then probably decide, or be persuaded, to enter and train for the priesthood, and would therefore enter the service of some fullfledged priest of the particular god, whose spirit he has been told has manifested itself in him. What now follows is mainly a translation of an account given me by a qualified priest. It is the fullest description I have ever been able to obtain, but I have no doubt it is very far from being complete. Many of this priest's statements are corroborated by fragments of information gathered from time to time from other-sources. As may be easily imagined, it is difficult to obtain full knowledge of such a delicate subject.

The novitiate lasts three years. The neophyte has to leave his own home and go to reside with his new master; if he is a married man he must also leave his wife, with whom he may no longer cohabit until his three years' training has come to an end; if he is unmarried, he must remain chaste for the three years. In the case of a neophyte already married, his wife, if she does not wish to wait for him, may obtain a divorce; ' if she loves her husband, she will wait for him.'

MEDICINE-MEN AND PRIESTS

The period of training seems to fall into three clearly marked sessions, each of a year's duration. As far as I can gather the first year is occupied in ceremonial ablutions, ' bathing with medicine'. The priest who is training the okomfo foforo (novice) gathers leaves of the asoa and krampan trees; the former is ' for strengthening the ankles ' (for dancing), the latter ' to cause his god to stay with him'. For seven days he must wash in a decoction made from these leaves. Nsansomo leaves, mixed with green summe leaves and white clay, are rubbed upon his eye, ' that he may see his god daily '.' If the nkomoa (the spirit of possession) will not manifest itself to him, the priest takes nyenya leaves and presses them on the novice's eyes, also behind his knee-joints, and upon the soles of his feet, 'when the nkomoa will return whence it had gone'. For the novice who cannot 'hear his god's voice' afwina leaves are put under his pillow. The instructing priest will collect leaves from any plant growing over some grave in the samanpow (thicket of the ghosts), and bring them to the village, where they are placed in a pot. Eggs and a fowl are then sacrificed upon them, and the pot containing them is placed upon the grave from which the leaves were taken. The novice is then ordered to go alone in the middle of the night to the ' thicket of the ghosts ' and ' bathe ' with the medicine in this pot. 'The ghosts will beat him and you will hear him screaming, but he must " bathe " nevertheless.' Three times he must go to the grave for seven nights in succession, and ' bathe ' there. The medicine in the pot upon the grave is then changed, a tree fungus, known as Sasabonsam 'kye (the Sasabonsam's hat) being now the ingredient in the pot. With this the novice must wash himself at the same time and place, also for seven successive nights. The instructing priest will walk down one of the narrow forest paths, plucking leaves from left to right at random ; he may even shut his eyes while so doing. He will also take pieces cut off from roots which run across the path. All these will be placed in a pot and cold water poured upon them, and in this water the novice must bathe three times a day, and three times a night, for several days. Medicine is also made from the odum, the bark of which is pounded ; with this the would-be priest will rub him. Not literally, for there is a common saying that' a priest cannot look upon his god and live '.

self. These various lustrations are intended to bring the nkomoa (spirit of possession) upon the pupil. The bathings at the cemetery are in order to get into contact with the samanfo (spirits of dead men). ' He bathes with these and many

other plants and roots, and the nkomoa will come upon him little by little, and you will see him trembling.'
Should a priest in training break his vow of celibacy he must make a sacrifice to his own obosom and also the obosom of the master who is training him, and begin his training all over again.
Besides the taboo of sexual intercourse the novice must observe :
I. All the taboos of his own god.
2. All the taboos of the new god whose priest he is striving to become.
All this time he lives with the priest, helps him in his farm, and at night sleeps in the temple beside the shrine of the god whose service he has entered. During the first year the novice may not use any but cold water for his ablutions, nor may he use a soap or a sponge (sapow). On holy days (foda) he will return to his own village and give his own obosom an offering. The old priest who is training the novice keeps the latter under constant observation during the whole year. He is not told anything very secret; should he not prove obedient and attentive to instruction, his family is informed that the novice is not likely to make a good priest, and his training will cease.
Oso, tie, ene akom, ' instruct, listen, that is (the secret of) akom,1 (possession)', runs a well-known saying.
On the god's ceremonial days the novice fasts all day. He must never, in fact, eat too much, but he sits with food before him. His locks will remain uncut. 'There is little difference between a would-be priest and a madman', said my informant.
The taboos or prohibitions which he must observe vary according to the particular god to whose service he has dedicated himself. Whatever these taboos may be, he will have to take an oath to keep them. In this particular instance some of these taboos-in addition to that of sexual intercourse-were:
I. Prohibition to tap palm-wine.
1 The root of akom, possession, and okom, hunger, is I believe the same. This my informant confirmed, and added, ' If you are full you will never hear your god's voice.'

2. To set any fish traps (nsoa).
3. To pluck palm-nuts.
4. To roam about other people's homes.
The violation of any of these taboos would cause the akom to fly from him. At the end of the first year he kills a sheep to his god. On all ceremonial days of the god he will sit beside his shrine and strive to listen to his voice. All this time he is being instructed in dancing.
The second year's training appears to be somewhat similar to the first. The novice bathes, dances, is admonished, and is given various suman to wear, and instructed in the further taboos attached to each, but he is not yet taught how to make or energize suman. He is permitted to bathe in water without 'medicine' in it, and to use a sponge of nyenya leaves. After his bath he will rub himself with mashed roots of the Toatini plant, mixed with guinea grain.
He is admonished:

I. Not to drink any spirits.
2. Not to gossip.
3. Not to quarrel or fight.
4. To salute his elders by bending the right knee and
touching the ground with the right hand.
5. Never to adjure his god to kill any one.
6. Never to attend the chief's court (unless summoned).
7. Not to go out at night and join other young men.
He is now introduced to suman. They are fastened on his wrists, ankles, and in his hair, and he is told what are the things 'hateful' (taboo) to each, lest he should unintentionally 'poison them' ; to break a taboo is, in Ashanti, to n'adu (lit. to poison it, i.e. kill).
Some of the common suman (fetishes) given to the novice and their respective taboos, are as follows: Adampa. This suman ' hates' any one passing behind it while carrying a mortar, when its owner is eating. Should such a thing happen, the priest who owns the suman must immediately stop eating and throw away all the remaining food, or give it to the children.
Gyeme (a suman). Its taboos consist in :
i. Any one sweeping while its owner is eating.
2. Mention of the name gyata (lion) ; ofui (hyena) ; or
osebo (leopard) ; also while eating.

The priest who was my informant in this case would not directly mention one of these animals by name, but in each instance used the following sobriquets :
Aboa kese (the great beast, i.e. the lion). Sebe, 'Kwasea (pardon me, the fool), a common title of the hyena; note the amusing apology for calling him by such a name. Aboa fufuo, the white beast, i. e. the leopard.
Asase (a suman). Its taboos include:
i. Eating out of any pot which had also been used as a
cooking pot.
2. Sweeping while its owner is eating.
3. Any person in his presence permitting a pestle to come
to rest inside the mortar, when pounding grain. If the person pounding wishes to rest, he or she must rest
the pestle on the rim of the mortar.
4. To cover one pot with another while cooking.
5. To wave about a faggot.
6. To mention the name of the nkutadene (Bosman's
Potto).
If any of these things, hateful to a particular suman, is said or done, that suman loses its power (tumi) until sacrifice and propitiation are made to the offended spirit. The novice is taught how to perform this propitiation. Laying the fetish upon the ground, he will kneel down in front of it, holding a fowl. He will cut off its head and allow the blood to drop upon the fetish, repeating such words as the

occasion demands. In the example given by my informant the prayer was as follows:
' Some one passed behind me carrying a mortar while I was eating, and I did not stop eating, so I have offended you ; receive this fowl and partake.'
The women-folk who wait on and cook for priests have to be very carefully instructed in all these avoidances. This must add very considerably to the woman's ordinary housework. They are given little bracelets to wear on the left wrist, called nkae, which means 'remembrance'.
The novice now enters upon the third and last year's training. During this period he is taught water-gazing, and divining ; how to impregnate charms with various spirits; how to hear the voices of the trees, and the stream, and the mmoatia; what trees

he should salute, and in what manner; what animals have sasa more to be feared than others.
Here follow some details about each of these subjects given me by my friend, the priest.
'We teach the novice (okomfo foforo) what lies within the water' (Ye Kyere no nsu m'), and he went on to describe how this was done. Water is freshly drawn from the stream. This water is now energized, as it were, by the following sacrifice and incantation :
Palm-wine or rum, palm-oil, seven eggs, the blood, intestines, neck, and legs of a fowl, all are put into the pot, and the following words are spoken by the priest, while the novice kneels beside the pot watching and learning what is done
Abosom be gye nsa nom.
Nsamanfo be gye nsa nom.
Nnua ne nhama be gye nsa nom.
Nyankonpon Tweaduampon, wo na wo wo me, bra be gye nsa nom.
Nse bosom be gye nsa nom.
Ntadie abosom be gye nsa nom.
Momera megye be yi enom.
Na momegyina m'akyi akyigyinapa na menkom akompa.
Momfa nsuo nyina wo ano m' nka asem nkyereme.
Obi yare a wo ma me niumi mfwe no.
Me 'kom ahen kom wo nind me nkye nkye nkom bone.
Mma me kote nw'u.
Mma m'ani mfura.
Mma m'aso nsi.
Alima me kote mfa me kon enye akoa.
Ye gods, come and accept this wine and drink.
Ye ghosts, come and accept this wine and drink.
Trees and lianae, come and accept this wine and drink.
Supreme Being, who alone is great, it was you who begat me,
come and accept this wine and drink.
Spirit of the Earth, come and accept this wine and drink.

Spirit of pools, come and accept this wine and drink.
Come all of you, and accept this wine and drink.
Stand behind me with a good standing, and let me be possessed with a good possession.
Do not take water and retain it in your mouth when you speak to me (but address me clearly).
If any is sick, let me be able to tend him.

When I become possessed and prophesy for a chief, grant that what I have to tell him may not be bad.
Do not let me become impotent.
Do not let my eyes become covered over.
Do not let my ears become closed up.
Do not let my penis make a slave of my neck.

Then a number of articles is added to the ingredients already inside the pot; namely an Ashanti weight (abrammuo), a neolith (nyame akuma), several seeds of the Abrus precatorius (damabo), several small white pebbles (bohima), a red bead, called oponko dwinso (the horse's urine), a bone of a sheep that had been sacrificed to some obosom, a bead known as akomen, a cowrie, a miniature soso, hoe, and an ate seed. The pot is now set upon a head-rest (kahiri) of summe leaves (Costus sp.). The novice will now look into the pot. ' He may see on the surface of the water the faces of his ancestors ; he may see his god, that is, the water may become disturbed, "for no priest may look upon the face of his god and live ".' He is now told to take a wooden spoon, stir the contents of the pot, and then to pick out something by the aid of the spoon. He is taught the meaning of the various objects ; the damabo, akomen, or ponko dwinso mean 'sorrow', the abrammuo means ' a debt ' ; the cowrie, ' ridicule ', the ate seed, 'weeping'; the nyame akuma, 'that a grave will be dug'; the miniature hoe, ' death' ; the legs of the fowl, ' that the path is clear which you would follow' ; and so on. The name for the water in such a pot is Nsuo Ya, i. e. water Ya; Ya being a feminine name. 'This water is your god's wife ', added the priest.

For many weeks the priest in training will be unable to look into the water without seeing the faces of the ghosts of his ancestors, and as long as this happens he will not be able to do any water-divining (fwe nsu m'), lit. gazing into the water. Again, 'Very secretly,' he is told, 'when you reach an odum tree, a domene, an odame tree, or any nua abosoma (lit. little treegod) you will bend the right knee, place the right hand upon the ground, and say " nana makye o, gyina, m'akyi akygyina pa."' 'Good morning, grandparent, stand behind me with a good standing.' He is taught how to read omens from the colour of a fowl's kidneys; when he has made a fetish and prepared it for the spirits, and has made the final sacrifice upon it, if the fowl's

kidney is 'black' he-is instructed to do everything all over again. As in his first and second years' training, his dancing lessons continue. At the end of the third year

he enters into the status of full priest, after the following rite has been performed. Issa logs are collected and placed outside the house of the old priest, who has been the instructor for the past three years. A pot is set near the logs. Drummers and singers assemble, and after dark the logs are set alight, the fire being kindled with a flint and steel. The new priest is dressed in his doso,' with all his charms upon him (see Fig. 8). His hair is cut and put into the pot. The old priest examines the new priest's head, and takes from it any bad nkomoa he may find there. ' It is these nkcamoa bone (bad nkomoa) which are placed in a priest's head by the mmoatia, which cause a priest to do wrong.' These nkomoa, which have entered into lice, are tied up in adwino leaves and placed, along with the hair, in the pot. The new priest will dance all night to the accompaniment of the drums and of singing. Early next morning this pot is placed on the head of some young boy, and he is bade to run off with it wherever he wishes, and place it, inverted, on the ground.

The new priest will ' cut ' a sheep for his god, saying as he does so :

' Obosom asumasi gye 'gwan yi di, nne na wa ware me wa wie; me nsa m' gwan ni, na gyina m'akyi akyigyinapa.'

' God so-and-so, accept this sheep and eat ; to-day you have completed marriage with me; this is a sheep from my hands, stand at my back with a good standing.'

After this he may marry, or if married resume cohabitation with his wife. A man and wife may not both be in the priesthood. 'The fees payable to the priest who trains another are £6 and a bottle of gin.'

I have now completed the survey under the headings outlined in the first paragraph of this volume, and shall now proceed to examine a group of rites which-borrowing the title of M. Van Gennep's well-known work-I have classed as Rites de Passage.

I Palm-fibre kilt.

RITES DE PASSAGE

Introductory.

M. ARNOLD VAN GENNEP, in a work entitled Les Rites de Passage, has made a systematic study of certain types of ceremonies observed among primitive peoples, which he has classed under this name. He treats of rites on passing through a portal or crossing over a threshold ; formalities in dealings with strangers ; rites in connexion with adoption, initiation, ordination; with the changes of the seasons of the year ; and lastly, but for my present purpose most important of all, of rites practised at birth, puberty, marriage, and death.

It is with these last-named turning-points of existence among the Ashanti that the following pages are mainly concerned.'

Les Rites de Passage is not an attempt, however, merely to collect and present to us, under the headings mentioned above, a series of comparative studies from different parts of the world. It does, it is true, do this, but only with the express object of proving that, in all the rites set forth, there would appear to be not only a certain sequence, but also a bond between each. According to M. Van Gennep a large number of rites, which have otherwise little or nothing in common, agree in exhibiting a formal procedure consisting of three stages. First a separation from

the profane world is symbolized. Next a marginal or intermediate condition is represented, during which experience moves on a purely sacred plane. Lastly a reunion with the profane world is set forth, whereby the participants in the rite are divested of their sacred character, and enabled once more to mingle safely with their fellows. In the background lies the assumption that,

I If M. Van Gennep's other headings are here noticed at all, it is because these appear from time to time as an inseparable part of my main theme. For example, the Odwira custom, described under funeral rites, might perhaps be classified with equal correctness under those ceremonies which deal with a cosmic rather than a human cycle.

consciously or subconsciously, primitive religion distinguishes somewhat sharply between two planes of experience-two worlds as M. Van Gennep puts it-the one, which we would call normal, and the other supernormal-the world of the ordinary and the world of the sacred. On this view the life of the individual and the life of society alike may be regarded as a series of movements forwards from the ordinary to the taboo, and back again from the taboo to the ordinary. Hence regarded from the side of what we should call religion, namely the side of the taboo, the typical rite not only expresses the central purpose of attaining to a holy state, but likewise dramatizes the entrance and the exit, whereby the worshipper abandons and in due course resumes the tenor of his workaday life.

Some English scholars have expressed the opinion that, if M. Van Gennep's scheme is to be employed for explanatory purposes, it would be necessary first to justify it by reference to deepseated psychological tendencies, as for instance has been done tentatively by Dr. Marett in his essay, The Birth of Humility. M. Van Gennep, however, does not himself attempt any such justification of his mode of classifying rites. He seems to regard it only as a convenient way of arranging descriptive matter of an otherwise heterogeneous nature, according to a simple and consistent plan. It is not proposed here to pursue the difficult and indeed doubtful question how far, if at all, primitive man is aware of the taboo condition as one of spiritual retreat in which a readjustment to life is somehow effected by a disciplining of the soul. In descriptive work in the main, as this study of the rites relating to certain critical periods in the life of the Ashanti is intended to be, it will be enough to use M. Van Gennep's classificatory scheme for the sake of its formal value, that is, just in so far as it enables us to apply a similar analysis to a number of ritual processes otherwise distinct in character.

In the descriptions of the rites which follow, I propose to describe such scenes at birth, puberty, marriage, and death as I have witnessed or of which I possess trustworthy information. These ceremonies were attended or inquired into by me, and were described, not primarily with the object of proving or disproving Van Gennep's theories in relation to them, but were set down rather with the idea of recording, as fully as the circum-

stances permitted, the actual events in detail and in proper sequence.

I may mention that I purposely delayed a careful examination of Les Rites de Passage until after the data here presented had been collected. My reason for doing so was that I was unwilling to be influenced, however unconsciously, by preconceived ideas and schemes of classification. An examination and comparison of the results so obtained with M. Van Gennep's valuable work should therefore have a twofold consequence. Where his observations find confirmation in an examination of rites described for the first time, the new evidence thus obtained in favour of them will give them an enhanced value. On the other hand, certain other aspects and issues in these rites might have escaped observation, or have appeared in a different light, had the Frenchman's theories been assimilated beforehand.

BIRTH

IN none of the rites about to be described does the idea of separation from a preceding state-in this case literally existence -and the beginning of a new life, appear to stand out more clearly than in those customs practised at Birth. Before, however, I proceed to describe these rites in detail, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly what I have attempted to describe at some length in Ashanti, concerning the theories held by this people with regard to the supposed physiological (from their point of view, magico-religious) causes of conception.

The Ashanti believe that it is an element which they call the ntoro or nton (a generic name embracing all the patrilineal exogamous divisions, to one or other of which every Ashanti man or woman belongs) which I have translated by the word ' spirit ', that, mingling with the blood (mogya) of the female, gives rise in the first instance, and after the sexual act, to conception, and continuing to exercise its creative functions, moulds and builds up the embryo in the womb.

There is an Ashanti proverb which runs: ' Die wahye wo ti 'sene ono na obo no.' ' He who moulds your head like a water-pot, it is he who can break you.'

They further believe that it is the male parent who alone transmits his ntoro, just as they hold that it is the woman who alone can transmit her blood-blood in this context being always synonymous with clan. Every child is then supposed to have within him, or her, two elements, the male transmitted and inherited ntoro, and the blood transmitted by the mother.

This belief, when coupled with the further fact that both the ntoro and the blood divisions are exogamous, explain all the apparent anomalies and difficulties in the classificatory system, and the marriage laws and prohibitions of the Ashanti. To give but one example-it makes the law intelligible which decrees that

a union with the mother's sister's daughter, or the father's brother's daughter is incest. In the former case, such a union would entail the breaking of the law that two persons of like blood, i.e. clan, must never wed, while in the latter example such a union would infringe the rule that like ntoro must not mate with like ntoro. In the first case-under a system of matrilineal descent one's mother's sister's child must necessarily have inherited one's own blood, through the female channel

common to both, and in the other case, while not infringing that law, it would be transgressing the second, as a father's brother's child must be of the same ntoro as oneself.

It is necessary to understand these facts, for they explain many of the taboos or restrictive measures imposed during the period of gestation, and some of the rites practised at the naming of the infant. Ntoro relationships have also very special bearing, as we shall see later, on certain aspects of funeral celebrations.

As soon as a woman is married she generally observes her husband's particular ntoro taboos ; sometimes, however, I believe these observances do not begin until she is pregnant. These things, ' hateful' to that particular deity who is her husband's 'familiar', have been very fully dealt with in Ashanti, and it is not necessary to repeat them.'

Now did we not know that it is the husband's ntoro which is deemed instrumental in causing conception, we might wonder that it should be considered necessary for the wife-who must belong to a totally distinct ntoro division-to observe these avoidances with which, prior to her marriage, she would have been unconcerned. I shall here quote, as an illustration of what I mean, a short account of the ceremony, taken from my volume on Ashanti customs.2

'From the day on which a woman marries she makes her husband's ntoro taboos her own, lest if she did not she might offend his ntoro and thus seriously interfere with the conception and even the birth of the children she will bear to her husband. About the sixth or seventh month the husband will give a present to his wife of a white cloth and some gold ornaments. The woman will then present her husband with a fowl (if his ntoro is Bosompra it must not be a white fowl) and eggs, saying

I See Ashanti, Chapter II. 2 Ibid., Chapter II, pp. 50-2.

"You of such and such an ntoro, take these and give to your ntoro that my child may come forth well and sound."

' The husband takes the fowl into the corner of his sleepingroom and addresses his ntoro thus :

'" Bosommuru (or whatever his ntoro may be), come and receive this fowl that your child in the woman's womb may come forth without harm." As he says this he severs the head of the fowl with a knife, and allows some of the blood to fall upon the floor.

' He then puts some eto (mashed yams or plantain), that his wife has made, into his kuduo (brass vessel), and also puts some blood upon it. He then sits down beside the kuduo and waits until the fowl has been plucked. This is done outside at the foot of the onyame dua (the forked post found outside almost every Ashanti house, on which is placed a pot or bowl with offerings to the Sky God). The fowl, after being plucked and singed over a fire, is brought back to the husband, who cuts it up. A piece is taken away, roasted, and brought back. The man then takes a leaf of a plant called adwira and some salt, and putting both between his lips, says, Kus ! kus ! kus ! Tweaduampon Onyame Bosompra, me 'kra, me 'bosom, mo ma akoda yi mmera dwo (" 0 supreme God, upon whom men lean and do not

fall, 0 Bosompra ntoro (or whatever ntoro it may be), 0 my breath, 0 my obosom (god), allow this infant to come forth peacefully.")
'He says this three times, blowing out the adwira leaf and salt, which he renews between his lips each time. He and his wife and any of the children then each eat a little of the roasted fowl.
'The wife wears the white cloth given her by her husband, and the gold ornaments; the child in her womb is said to bu wearing these.
'Fufu (pounded yam or plantains) is brought and soup (nkwan) made from the remainder of the fowl. The soup must not be poured over the fufu as would ordinarily be the case.... They all sit down beside the kuduo and eat, and some of the food is placed in the kuduo.
'After eating, the husband rubs hyire (white clay) on the back of his wrists, while his wife paints, with her fingers, a line of clay from between her breasts to the navel and another strip half-encircling her waist but not quite meeting at the back. The husband dresses in white. The man and woman now have connexion beside the kuduo .... This ceremony, which is called afodie (i. e. a ceremonial day), takes place on the proper day assigned to the particular ntoro to which the man belongs.'
A pregnant woman, besides having to observe all her husband's (and of course, as ordinarily, her own) ntoro taboos, is subject to

many other restrictions, as during this period she is thought particularly subject to outside evil influences against which she must be protected. For the first three months of pregnancy the woman should not leave her own compound, or when she has occasion to do so, will cover her head with a cloth. After that period more liberty is allowed her, but she will still cover her head and breasts when she ventures outside.
No one may address a pregnant woman, saying, 'You are pregnant.' Should any one say so and a miscarriage follow later, that person is held to have been responsible and subsequently will be fined. Special amulets are worn by the woman during this period to protect her and the unborn child against witchcraft, to the influence of which both seem, at this stage, particularly susceptible.
A miscarriage at any period is attributed to any of the following causes :
i. Adultery on the part of the wife.
2. Abuse of an obosom (god).
3. Little red ants falling upon her.
4. Bite of a snake or of a certain kind of spider.
5. The machinations of a co-wife (Kora) in placing an egg in the water the other wife will drink.
6. Abayifo, witches (of either sex).'
7. Eating any sweets, like honey or sugar-cane.
8. A quarrelsome husband. (To be always quarrelling with a wife when in this state, as will be seen later, is a ground for divorce.)
9. The sight of blood.

IO. A pregnant woman should not look upon a monkey or upon any deformity, even a badly carved wooden figure, ' lest she give birth to a child like it'. She may, however, carry an Akua 'ba, the black Ashanti doll, ' because its long-shaped neck and beautiful head will help her to
bear a child like it' (see Fig. 28).
The husband must, equally with his wife, avoid breaking any of his own (not her) taboos.
Infidelity on the part of the husband during a wife's pregnancy is not considered to have any harmful consequences ; on the part
I In Ashanti a male witch is bonsam.

FIG. 28. Akua Mmd
FIG. 29. Ashanti kitchen midden

of the woman, however, it is a serious matter. If the offence is not immediately confessed, it is believed that a miscarriage or the death of the woman during child-birth, or both, may ensue. Should the woman confess, however, the consequences are deemed likely to be less serious and the case is generally met by fining the guilty party (the man) the usual adultery fee 1 plus an extra sum-about apereguan of gold dust (L8) ; this latter sum is divided between the chief and elders. In ancient times illicit intercourse with a married woman who was pregnant was a capital offence; the adulterer was termed owudifo (murderer). The extra heavy fine now paid in such cases is no doubt in the nature of blood money, and some of it is used to propitiate the ancestral ghosts and the non-human spiritual powers. All this shows that such an offence was considered altogether outside the sphere of a purely private matter, as between the injured parties themselves, and was looked upon as an offence against the community as a whole.
The idea that a confession on the part of the woman in some way may mitigate the consequences likely to ensue from hiding the fact of her infidelity appears to operate, as we shall see later, even during the act of parturition. That confession is deemed good for the soul is clear, for when we have a case of the wife's infidelity coming to light by an accident, or otherwise than by her own confession, it is legitimate (at any rate at the present day) to endeavour to bring about abortion in order to save the mother's life, which is supposed to be endangered should nature be allowed to take her course. The means employed would be 'the drinking of medicine ', a decoction of the leaves of the plant called in Ashanti abiniburu,2 mixed with salt (conversely there is a medicine to counteract the attempts of abayifo, witches, or supernatural powers to bring about abortion). For this purpose the pounded bark of the opam 3 tree, mixed with eggs and cold water, is used.
Before proceeding to a description of the actual rites and observances practised at child-birth, I would venture to remark that in no branch of anthropological research in Ashanti does the

I A scale of adultery fees will be found under the marriage customary laws; see.Chapters VIII-X. This L8 is known as akantamaditwe.
2 Alternanthera repens. 3 Indet.
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318-A STREET, NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002

inquirer find it more difficult to elicit information. The reason for this is that in the not very remote past the secret rites now about to be described were really'deadly', known only to women, and to be disclosed only to their own sex. If a woman revealed these secrets to any man of her own race, the people expected her to die. I shall always consider it one of the proudest rewards of our friendly association, and of my work among the people, that some of the old mothers of Africa have given me their confidence in these matters.
About the eighth month, and after the ceremony of the propitiation of the husband's ntoro which has already been described, the woman goes home to the village of her own clan (abusua), to her mother's house, to await confinement. The reason stated for this custom was the always present dread that she might be going to bring forth some monstrosity. Among her own clanfolk this would be kept a secret, and so ridicule or other consequences to her husband's people would be avoided. There are traditions of women having given birth to children half human half monkey, half man half fish, children with three or more breasts, six or more toes. All such would, of course, be destroyed, as also hermaphrodites.
The actual act of parturition takes place in the room in the compound set aside for washing. Males are not permitted to be present, nor has an exception to this rule been made in my case. Four elderly women are generally in attendance and their fee in olden times was gold dust to the weight of an asia (about 26s.). Dried plantain fibre is strewn upon the floor and upon this the woman sits with her back to the wall and is further supported by .one of the midwives, who stands behind her, placing her arms under the arm-pits of the recumbent woman and placing her hands against her breasts. Two other women each hold an arm. The fourth woman sits in front with her left foot under the patient's posterior and with her toe pressed against her anus. As soon as the child begins to make its appearance, the old women adjure the mother saying: 'mia w'ani' (lit. press your eyes, i. e. strain). The woman squatting in front also assists in drawing forth the child. As soon as it is born, all the old women shout, ' Hail so-and-so', at once naming the infant after that particular day of the week upon which it is born. This

name, which is sometimes called ' God's name ,1 will ever after be the child's natal day name. To this, as will be noted presently, will later be added a patronymic, and possibly later on in life one or more 'strong names' (mmerane).
The umbilical cord is cut against a piece of wood. The infant is then washed with water which must not have been boiled, and when this has been done all say, 'As

so-and-so has arrived, let him (or her) sit down (with us).' (Asumasi aba a, tenase.)
Anklets and armlets of plantain fibre (baha) are bound round its limbs. Some of the hair is cut off and this is put away in the mother's work-basket (adosowa). This hair is known as 'ghost hair' ('saman nwi). The excreta of the infant are called ' ghost's excreta ' and are rubbed against the wall of the hut. The cooing of the infant is called ' the language of the ghosts '. The afterbirth is thrown away in the village kitchen-midden. The infant's throat is moistened with the juice of a lime or sometimes with a little rum, with which the finger is wetted and the back of the throat touched.
Should the woman have difficulty in bringing forth, steps have to be taken, according to the supposed cause, to combat the obstructing agents. The reason may be ascribed to one or other of several causes. One of them may be that her husband's ntoro is 'cruel' or 'hard'. The antidote for this is the application of or taking certain medicinal plants; the leaves of the ewire (Acacia sp.) which are squeezed over the woman's head and abdomen, or a mixture of the leaves of the asesiridie (Platystoma africana) and nunum (Ocimum viride). I unfortunately omitted to ask whether the last-named is taken internally or applied externally. It is interesting to note that the Ocimum viride, or nunum as it is known in Ashanti, is a common 'medicine' to drive away ghosts. A decoction of the leaves of Pea (Hyptis sp.) is also often administered on this occasion as a drink.
Should any or all these remedies fail, the attendant midwives bid the woman disclose the name of the man with whom it is now considered certain she committed adultery subsequently to her having become pregnant. At the same time they warn her that should she be obdurate she will certainly die. Should she refuse to disclose the name of the real or imaginary lover, these old I 'Nyame, the Sky God.

women will themselves address the child in the womb saying: ' If your father be so-and-so come forth ', running through a list of all the men with whom they think their patient may possibly have had a liaison. It is not difficult to imagine the power and hold over a young girl that the old women who attend the accouchement may thus obtain.
Should a woman die in child-birth, but before delivery, she must on no account be buried with the child in her womb; consequently just before interment the body is cut open and the child removed. It may then be buried with her. The nonobservance of this custom would be what is known as a ' red taboo ', i. e. one the violation of which would be deemed to aff eet adversely the whole nation.
An Ashanti law forbade a pregnant woman, who had been sentenced to death, to be executed before the child was born. The reason of this law was not humanitarian, for, as we shall see later, the infant of an adulterous union was in some instances only spared to be born in order that it might immediately be slaughtered as a sacrifice to some injured deity. The object of refraining from taking the life of a woman about to become a mother was undoubtedly the disinclination to kill any person who had been blessed with fertility by the great

powers upon whom a flow of new young life depends, and lest their gift might thus seem to be interfered with before it had passed from their care and province to another world, where it became subject to earthly sanctions and control.
It is considered a great disgrace for a woman to die in childbirth. All pregnant women in the particular village go and cut a budding plantain leaf, and, entering the compound where the body is lying, point the shoot at the corpse, saying :
' Poom ! fa wo musuo ko, wantumi anwo, wantumi anko, wa ko ato.' ' Bang ! (imitating a, gun) begone with your evil, you have been unable to bring forth, you have been unable to fight, you have fought only to die.' The woman who told me the above spoke in a whisper, at the same time snapping her fingers about her ears ' lest any pregnant woman should hear her words'.
Next each woman takes a knife (' because a woman may not touch a sword '), and, holding the weapon before her, addresses the body as follows :

Ye ka kyere wo wodie wa ko, na wantumi anko, se ye nie yanko na yenfiri mu a, ye ka ntam.'
' We told you to fight but you could not fight, when our turn comes to fight we swear the oath 1 we shall not pass out.'
I shall now continue with the account of the rites and ceremonies when the child has been born and mother and child are both doing well. It has already been recorded that baha fibre is the material used for the first adornment (really charms) worn by the infant. Now this material is generally regarded somewhat contemptuously, as it is largely used for sanitary purposes. Its use on this occasion is twofold. First it satisfies that innate desire to protect the little stranger by the use of charms, which all necklets, bracelets, and such-like originally were, and secondly the use of such an inferior material with which to bind these, is to avoid any semblance of making a premature or too open claim to this new young being, who is regarded at this particular stage, as we shall presently see, as just possibly nothing more than some 'ghost child' which has no intention of remaining long in this world. 'When a child is born in this world, a ghost-mother mourns the loss of her child in the samandow (spirit world).' Further developments are awaited for eight days after birth. During this period no one is very certain whether the infant is going to turn out a human child or prove, by dying before this period has elapsed, that it was never anything more than some wandering ghost. It is given any kind of old mat or old rag to lie upon ; it is not addressed in any endearing terms ; water or pap, if given to it, is administered out of an old banana skin or ground-nut husk. It is true it is permitted to feed at the mother's breast, but it is hardly encouraged, although it is considered a favourable portent should it show an inclination to do so. Both the mother and child remain indoors during these eight days and the mother is considered as unclean. Should the infant die before the eighth day, the attitude of suspicion and distrust, which one notes struggling with maternal love, turns to genuine anger. The little body is whipped (sometimes it is mutilated by having a finger cut off) ; it is wrapped in sharp cutting spear-grass (Penisetum purpureum);
I For the meaning of 'swearing the oath' see Chapter XXII.

is placed in a pot and buried in the village midden heap, which was formerly also the women's latrine.
The insults to which it is subjected do not cease here. The parents shave their heads, here a token of joy, dress in white, an unpardonable insult at any funeral, and partake of ground-nut soup-a joyful feast. They then retire to their sleeping-compartment and make pretence of lying together. This last act is never permitted until forty days after birth, lest a sickness called apie fall upon the woman. The actions of the parents on such an occasion are ordered by the desire to do everything that lies in their power to disgrace the ' ghost child' and thus to deter its ' ghost mother' from sending it down to earth where she had no intention it should remain. An Ashanti once told me that on such occasions the ghost mother was possibly going on a short journey, and not wishing to take the child with her, had sent it to the earth, and recalled it on her return. We are not, however, compelled to guess at or seek the reasons which lie behind these curious and interesting rites, for a ceremony which sometimes follows the observances which have been described makes the motives fairly clear.
The maternal grandmother takes some mashed yams or mashed plantain (eto) and eggs, and accompanied by the mother, goes to the cross-roads and standing at their junction speaks as follows :
"Na owo asamandow gye eto ne nkesua yi di, ye da wo ase pi se wa ma woye aba, ye sere wo foforo. Akoda wokoro gye wo nkesua ko ma aberewa se de obeba bio die a, ontenase.'
' 0 Mother who dwells in the land of spirits, receive this eto and eggs and eat. We thank you very much that you permitted this one to come, but we beg you for a new one. And you infant who are going, receive your eggs and give to your old mother saying: " Let one come again but permit it to remain." '
The earthly mother of the dead infant is next fed by the grandmother, with a wooden spoon ; she is given a spoonful three times and the following words are spoken three times
'Sudie didi 'kwanso na nnidi me yafuno mu.'
Spirit (of a child that has died before eight days) I eat on the path, do not eat in my belly.'
It will be noted in this account that the rites described are on
1 Or perhaps even before puberty.

the whole the deliberate antithesis of funeral rites. An infant, whether alive or dead, has not any power for good or evil and this belief is, I believe, further extended to include all persons of either sex who have not reached puberty. In times not so very remote, persons dying before they reached adolescence were in no case accorded the ordinary funeral rites, and were often merely buried on the village midden heap. They were classed, with the ' ghost children ' who had not even survived eight days, as nkuku mma (sing. 'kuku 'ba), i. e. 'pot children', after the nature of the receptacle into which the body might be placed for burial. One

kitchen-midden into which I dug (see Fig. 29) contained many skeletons, not only of infants in pots, but bones of children of maturer years. A report on some bones taken from this particular spot, very kindly drawn up by Mr. Dudley Buxton, M.A., will be found in an appendix to this chapter.

The Ashanti believe that to accord proper funeral rites to a non-adult would result in the mother becoming sterile. It may be worth while recording that in my opinion the treatment of the corpse of an infant, or non-adult of either sex, and the lack of the customary funeral rites, do not necessarily entitle us to come to the conclusion that such persons are not held to have surviving souls. Such persons are, I think, held to enter the spirit world with their elders. But a child, i. e. a person of either sex who has not reached puberty, whether he or she be alive or dead, is considered to be a comparatively harmless individual, from what we might term the ' psychic ' point of view. A child may, it is true, be subject to evil influences such as witchcraft, but in Ashanti it cannot be active in any kind of evil or, as a matter of fact, in any kind of good.

Let us now imagine that the child has survived these first eight days. On the eighth day, supposing everything and everybody is ready for the ceremony, the important rite called in Ashanti Ntetea is held. The infant's father brings gifts to the mother which generally include the following: a cloth, and fish and meat to the value of one suru weight of gold dust (about £i). For his child he brings a metal (brass) spoon, two metal bowls, a new mat, a pillow, a wooden comb, and a small cloth known as the ' umbilical cloth' (funuma ntama).

Very early that morning, before dawn and ' before any one has

passed down the path ', the maternal grandmother had come to the hut where infant and mother were asleep, collected the infant's excreta, and taking these and the child, passed down the path leading out of the village. When some little way out she cast away the excreta with the words: ' Now I have taken your child away, along with your ghost child's excreta.' She carries the infant to one end of the village and back again, and then takes it home. The next step is to disguise the infant as far as possible. Its eyebrows are made to appear thick and bushy by painting them with powdered charcoal. Three little spots of white clay in the form of a triangle are daubed on each temple and the whole body is rubbed with shea butter (Butyrospermum Parkii). The new mat and new pillow are laid in the sun and upon this the infant is placed (see Fig. 30). This is the first occasion by daylight upon which the infant has been out of doors ; the sun bath it has now to undergo is ' to take away the cold air of the spirit world ' whence it is deemed to have come.

The baha fibre armlets and leglets have been removed and replaced by bands of particular kinds of beads, gyanie, abia, nwansana 'ti, interspersed with other charms and little gold nuggets. The mother, dressed in her best attire, with shoulders, breasts, and arms smeared over with white clay (see Fig. 31) now goes up to the infant and bending over it murmurs, ' I thank you for not having caused my death.' Next the baby is fed with pap out of the metal spoon (see Fig. 32). This is the first occasion upon which metal has been permitted to be used in connexion

with the feeding appliances used. After being thus exposed for some little time the child is removed and again carried indoors. Until now it has had only its natal day name which, it will be recollected, was bestowed quite unceremoniously by the old women who helped to bring it into the world. The day of the Ntetea rite it is given its personal name. The only individual who can bestow this name upon it is one of the child's own ntoro division, i. e. some one belonging to that spiritual body to which the infant's father belongs. This may be the infant's own father, paternal grandfather, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's brother's daughter, father's sister, and so on. I am inclined to believe that in this rule which enjoins that only a person of the child's own ntoro division may name the child, and

further taking into consideration the peculiar nature of the naming ceremony, we have an indication of a belief that there is reincarnation into that nioro division to which the person belonged in a previous existence.1 A careful examination of names in various family trees would be further valuable evidence for or against this theory. For, if my supposition is correct, we should expect to find a male child named after his paternal grandfather, but never after his male ascendants on the mother's side. In the case of a girl child we should not find her named after a maternal grandmother, if her father had married his father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter.' I have not so far obtained sufficient data to be able to state definitely that such a belief will invariably lie behind the giving of names, but the few cases of personal names I have collected in one family, quite independently of the above-mentioned hypothesis, appear to confirm the theory I have mentioned. In an old note-book, moreover, in which I made some jottings several years ago about cross-cousin marriages, I find that in answer to a question put to my old friend Kakari as to why a man should be enjoined to marry his father's sister's daughter, or mother's brother's daughter, this was his curious reply, which I then did not understand: 'It is because of names,' he answered, and he went on to state that if he married his maternal uncle's (Kwatin by name) daughter (a cross-cousin marriage), and if she then gave birth to a son, he would call that boy Kwame Apieje after the child's paternal grandfather.

It might seem curious that the ntoro divisions, which for all material and practical purposes play apparently a less important part than the clan or blood divisions in the social life, should play such an important part in naming. The Ashanti themselves appear to recognize this, for one of their well-known sayings runs: ' Oba ose ose 'nso odan n'ni abusua' ('A child is the same as its father,' nevertheless it lies in its mother's clan '). Yet another saying which I have already quoted, is, 'Die wahye wo' ti 'sene, ono na ose no.' ' He who moulds your

See Ashanti, p. 8o. See also Chapters XXIX and XXX, Cross-cousin Marriages. Chapter XXIX was written some months after the above and contains new information and facts which were not at my disposal when this chapter was written.

2 Cross-cousin marriages. ' Using the word in the classificatory sense.

head like a water-pot (i. e. the father), he is the one who can spoil you ' (referring to the power of the male parent's ntoro to cause complications at birth). Again, there is a well-known saying: ' Obi nwo obi saman' ('One does not beget the ghost of some one else '). It may be possible that in the giving of family ancestral names we have a clue to theories of reincarnation which may in turn have some bearing on those curious cross-cousin marriages, the object of which no one seems quite able to explain.1 I must not, however, here digress farther as the matter has been fully dealt with elsewhere, but return to the description of the actual naming ceremony.

The infant is bathed, and given a new cloth by its father, who also presents the mother with a fowl. If the paternal grandfather is alive the parents will probably take the child to him to be named after him (if a boy). If a girl it would, so far as I am aware, be named after a female relative on the paternal side. The mother will place the infant on the grandparent's knees ; he then spits into the infant's mouth, saying :

'Agya 'bosom Bosomtwe me 'ba asumasi na wa wo 'ba, na ode no abere me, na me de no to me ho asumasi ; nyini, be to me be ma me biribi minni.'

'Father and god Bosomtwe (or whatever particular ntoro division to which he and the infant belong), my child so-and-so has begotten a child and he has brought him to me, and I now call him after myself naming him so-and-so ; grant that he grow up and continue to meet me here, and let him give me food.'

He makes the infant such a gift as he can afford. 'The spittle has given to the infant some of the grandfather's spirit.' The grandchild when he grows up is now entitled to say: ' Asumasi na oto ntasuo gu m'ano in ' ('So-and-so put spittle into my mouth '). It should be noted that here we have an instance of a child being named after some one who is still alive, and apparently receiving from him in the spittle an increase of the spirit already common to both. Sometimes, when the grandparent is dead, the infant is carried to the ruins of his hut (asefieso) and here the father pours out a little wine with the words, ' Receive this wine and partake, I place your grandchild before your face and give him your name, see that he does not lack food.' The naming ceremony does not always take place the same day as the ntetea

I See also Ashanti, p. 38, foot-note

Fic. 32. 'The baby is fed out of the metal spoon'

FiG. 33. A ' come and stay' child

custom, for if the person whose duty it is to name the infant is absent, this part of the rite may be delayed.

After the ntetea celebration, the child may for the first time be carried on the mother's back. It may then be taken out by day for the first time and may be

properly dressed for the first time. Forty days after birth there is a little ceremony in connexion with the 'first time' the infant is placed in a sitting posture. The mother sits it down, saying: 'Supreme Being, we thank you that forty days ' have fallen upon the child, and we now take the child's buttocks and set them *upon the ground.'

I have attempted to describe in as much detail as possible certain particular ceremonies I have witnessed wholly or in part. I propose to close this account with some further notes which have a bearing upon the subject.

To refer once again to names, an interesting custom exists when the previous issue of a union have all died young. Such losses are looked upon as caused by malignant spiritual influences. To counteract, or rather, to deceive these, the parents resort to various devices. One of these is to suffix the name 'donko (slave) to the natal day name. So ' Kojo' becomes ' Kojo, the slave child '. The same idea gives us ' Moshi ' added to the ordinary name. The Moshi are the tribe in the north from whom the Ashanti formerly drew many slaves. The idea may be carried further, for the infant may actually be given the tribal markings of one of the slave class (the Ashanti ordinarily never tattoo). Again, children may be dedicated to a particular obosom (god) who is then expected to protect them. The hair in such cases is allowed to grow long and to the strands is fastened every conceivable kind of charm. All such children are known as Begyina mma (lit. ' Come and stay children') see (Figs. 33-5). The little girl in Fig. 33 had a younger sister, also 'a come and stay child ', but-I was not allowed to photograph her, as the mother declared her sunsum (spirit) was so delicate that she could not run the risk of any being taken away in the portrait.

Some names for children at various ages are:

Mota, the embryo child,

Akoda ngd, new-born infant,

'Ba pupro, infant at crawling stage.

Possibly forty-two days ; see A shanti, pp. I i4-15.

RITES DE PASSAGE

Twins were not killed in Ashanti (with the single exception of those born in the royal family).1 In the ordinary way, if they are boys, they become elephant-tail switchers at the court; if girls, the king's potential wives. In both cases they must be presented at the court, and carried there in a brass basin as soon after birth as possible. A woman bearing triplets is greatly honoured ; hermaphrodites (busufuo) were buried alive at birth.

Some interesting customs are found associated with the birth of the third, sixth, and ninth child. These are considered the lucky ones in a family; the fifth is supposed to be especially unlucky. This number, in any kind of numeration, is in fact ill omened, and to give an Ashanti five of anything deliberately would be regarded as an intentional attempt to bring the recipient ill fortune. The number three is as lucky as five is the reverse, and this number is said to stand for agoro nsa ('everlasting affection', lit. ' playing ').

At the birth of the third, sixth, or ninth child some of the hair of the head is cut off (ghost hair) and placed in a special receptacle called the abammo pot. This pot is

really in the nature of a shrine for the particular protecting deity who is supposed to guard the destinies of such children. Two special beads are taken, one red, one yellow, called abammo beads ; one is placed in the pot and the other fastened on the infant's head. The word abammo is always added to the child's natal day name. Every time the infant's hair is cut, some must be put into the pot, and if the child dies this is placed in the grave. This abammo pot takes the place of the work-basket in which, as we have already noted, the hair of an ordinary infant is kept.

When the season comes round for planting new yams, three, six, or nine yams are planted respectively for such children. These are known as abammo bayere (abammo yams) and the resulting crop is only eaten of by an abammo child; some, mashed or cooked with three, six, or nine eggs, being also placed in the abammo pot at the annual ceremonial occasions called abammo afahye, or when an abammo child falls sick.

Just as has already been noted the parents of large families and mothers of twins or triplets are held in especial esteem, so L The reason for this, it is alleged, being that such an event is ' hateful' to the Golden Stool.

does the converse hold good, not only in life, but after death. Childless married couples are subject to derision ; the man is called by the vulgar 'wax penis' (kote krawa). Not so very many years ago the dhildless man or woman after death had great thorns called pammewuo (lit. 'link me with death) driven into the soles of the feet. In the case of a chief a pretence only was made of doing so. At the same time the corpse was addressed with these words, 'Wonwo, 'ba, mma sa hio' ('You have not begotten (or borne) a child ; do not return again like that ').

In some cases the months of pregnancy are recorded by the woman's mother knotting a piece of cloth to mark each moon. The pregnant woman must, however, on no account see this, 'lest she have a miscarriage'. In the majority of cases no sooner does a woman become aware that she is pregnant than a doctor is called in to give her charms against witchcraft and evil influences, to which her state is supposed to render her particularly susceptible. These prophylactic measures generally consist in making three small cuts on the forehead and at the joints, and rubbing in a medicine they call boto. This accounts for the small cicatrices seen on many Ashanti women, which should never be confused with tattoo markings-the cuts on the Begyina 'ba, already noted, being of course an exception.

When a small infant makes water, it is the duty of any one who is attending it immediately to mix a little earth with the urine and to mark a cross upon the back of the child. Any one who fails in this duty is abused by the mother. This is done that ' Mother Earth may have a bond with the child and take care of it, and that it may not have pains in its waist.'

Many Ashanti mothers do not feed their infants for the first two or three days after birth, but call in a wet nurse (obagyegyefo), lit. ' one who receives the infant'. In

the case of a child of the Oyoko or royal clan, from which were drawn the Ashanti kings, this was always done. The woman so chosen was compelled to send away her own child and to nurse the royal baby. Such a foster-mother found great honour ; she was fed on the best food and richly dressed ; she might be given ' a stool' and subjects, and so become the founder of a new house. Her own child, which she had been compelled to leave with another woman to suckle, might also be made a chief. Many of the Coomassie chiefs owe

their position to this cause in the olden times. Afua Fofie, an ancestress of the present chief of Bantama, the Ashanti war lord, suckled the famous Ashanti king, Osai Tutu. Afua Fofie was mother of Amankwatia who was created the Chief of Bantama.

These notes contain all the information I have been able to collect with regard to Birth customs. "n the following chapter I propose to consider the next stepping-stone, the attainment of adolescence or puberty.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

REPORT ON HUMAN BONES SUBMITTED FOR EXAMINATION

THE bones examined belonged to two individuals. One was represented only by part of the lower jaw. It appears to have been probably about full term, that is to say that it died at or a few days after birth, but in any case at a very early age. The other individual is better represented. The skull is fairly complete and some of the long bones and vertebrae are also present. The pelvis is absent, so it is impossible to state the sex. The evidence of the lower jaw, for the upper jaw has not survived, suggests that the individual was probably about five years old at the time of death ; this point is, I understand, the question of importance to the inquiry.. The first permanent molar has not yet been cut but can be seen in the alveolus. It is possible that African children may be slightly more precocious than European, but in any case the child was certainly no longer an infant, as the milk teeth show a certain amount of wear. The bones therefore prove the statement that in the old days it was not merely the young infants who were exposed on the midden.

It is impossible to express any view as to the time which has elapsed since the bones were ' buried'. The organic material seems to have disappeared, but the time required for this to happen varies according to conditions, but the bones appear to me to be of no great antiquity-the date, however, could only be decided by archaeological evidence.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

VII

PUBERTY

THE rites practised during pregnancy, at birth, and afterwards, which have been described, are performed in the case of infants of either sex. The ceremony now to be dealt with refers exclusively to girls. During a long residence in Ashanti I have never been able to discover any analogous rites for boys who have reached

adolescence. A father will, however, instruct his son in sex matters and warn him not to masturbate.

There are various idioms and euphemisms in the Ashanti language to denote the advent of the state of puberty. The most common one, used especially to designate the passing of the first menses is, wa bo no bara (' the Bara state has stricken her '). There is also a verb kyima, ' to menstruate', and various circumlocutions, such as nsa ko n'akyi, ' the hand has gone behind '; wa bit nsa, ' she has turned her hand'; wa kum esono, ' she has killed an elephant '.

A young girl will usually contrive to be at her mother's home when this event is about to take place. It is considered very unlucky for a girl to menstruate for the first time in the day-time ; 'since Odomankoma (the Creator) first created things, cock-crow is the time for a young girl first to menstruate', is an often-quoted saying, and disobedient and naughty little girls are admonished with the threat, 'wo ntie woni asem a ena wo be ye bara awia' (' If you do not listen to your mother's words, then you will be menstruating for the first time in the day-time ').'

As soon as the girl is aware of her condition (and knowing the superstition as to the unlucky time, she possibly takes care to disclose the fact only at the proper hour) she will inform her mother. The latter immediately rises up, and taking an old hoe upon which she beats a stone or a knife, she sallies forth to make I I have been informed that in ancient times a girl to whom this happened was killed.

the news known to all the villagers. This is the signal for all the old women to come out and commence to sing bara songs. Some examples of these will be given presently.

The girl's mother now takes some wine and spills a little upon the ground, saying the following words :

Nyankonpon Tweaduapon 'Nyame, gye nsa nom.
Asase Ya, gye nsa nom.
Nsamanfo, munye nsa nom.
Obd yi a Nyankonpon de ama me yi, nne na wa bo no bara.
Oni a owo Samandow, ommefa no onnye bara nwu.
Supreme Sky God, who is alone great, upon whom men
lean and do not fall, receive this wine and drink.
Earth Goddess, whose day of worship is a Thursday,
receive this wine and drink.
Spirit of our ancestors, receive this wine and drink.
This girl child whom God has given to me, to-day the
Bara state has come upon her.
0 mother who dwells in the land of ghosts, do not come and
take her away and do not have permitted her to menstruate
only to die.

When daylight comes the girl's hair is shaved under the armpits and pubes, and she is decked in her best attire and adorned with many gold ornaments, both her own and others borrowed for the occasion, to make a fine show (see Fig. 36).

These include the gold ornaments known as 'Kra sika (' soul's money '), hair ornaments, and garters of precious beads worn below the knee.
I may state here that the ceremony now to be described, which was held for a young princess of the royal clan of M. . . ., had no relation to the actual date upon which this little maiden ' grew up ' ; I was informed it had not been convenient to hold the ceremony on the correct date owing to its clashing with a funeral custom.
The girl then took up her position in the village street, seated under an umbrella, with her mother and other clanswomen in attendance. Here she remained from soon after dawn until about six o'clock in the evening, receiving the gifts and congratulations of all her friends. The presents included silk cloths, combs, scents, waist beads, pomades, yams, soap, &c. (see Figs. 37-8).
All the time she was seated, bands of young girls paraded

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Fic. 36. 'Adorned to make a fine show'

FIG. 37. ' The girl then took up her position in the village street '
Fic. 38. ' Seated under an umbrella with her mother '

the street waving white flags and singing Bara songs (see Fig. 39), of which the following are some examples:
Wa yo, wa yo, ye 'nua ayo
Ye ma no mo, ne yo
(Chorus) A ye, ye 'nua ayo j! !
She has done it, she has done it, our sister has done it.
We congratulate her on the doing of it.
(Chorus) She has done it, our sister has done it.
Oba 'hema nana j! j!
Orebedi nkesua 'to,
The Queen Mother's grandchild e! e
She is about to eat mashed eggs.
Ohema da mo ase o ye.
Ohema da mo ase o ye.
Mo a mo kye sika, Ohema da ino ase.
The Queen Mother thanks you.
The Queen Mother thanks you.
You who have given gifts of gold dust,
The Queen Mother thanks you.
Bra ohene 'ba, ohene 'ba,
Fa wo k n be gye abodom yan.
Come hither King's child, King's child,
Present your neck to receive the precious 'Bodom beads
around it.

About 6 p.m., in the particular case which I am describing, the girl's mother brought soap, water, and a fibre sponge (sapow), and soaped and sponged her child down to the waist (see Fig. 40). The hair of her head was cut. This hair was preserved, being put into a hole in the wall of the hut, which was scratched to mark the spot. It was preserved in case the girl should ever die far from home, in which event the funeral custom would be held over the hair. All her hair cut previously to this is called ' ghost hair'.
An old Ford car now came along, and in it she was driven down the main motor-road to the path which branched off to the local stream. From this place she was carried, on a woman's back, down to the river. Only the Queen Mother and other women were permitted to follow. I was informed that the following rites took place at the waterside.

RITES DE PASSAGE
The girl was disrQbed, taken round the waist by a woman whose first-born was still alive, and immersed three times to the accompaniment of these words, 'Ye dom bara 'gya ano ' ('We quench the bara fire at its source '). The etam (loin-cloth) which all girls wear between the legs, tucked into the waist girdle of beads before and behind, was removed. This cloth, the sponge with which she had been bathed, and an egg were placed in the stream and the following words spoken:
'Gye 'tam, ne sapow, ne 'kesua yi ma akoda yi nye bara nwu.'
'Receive this loin cloth, and sponge, and eggs, and do not let this infant have come to puberty (only) to die.'
These words are apparently addressed to the river. At another ceremony, but held at a different time and place, the following were the words spoken on a similar occasion:
' When the ghost-mother of this infant comes to draw water, do you, 0 stream, give her these things, and tell her that her child has reached puberty, and that she must not look upon her again as she has now a mother here.'
As the girl sat in the water she was sponged down by three old women and a lime rubbed over her head, while they sung:
Anka koko eye wo de e e.
A ripe lime is a good thing for you.
A new loin-cloth was then put on her; she was dressed, and her head was covered over. Water was sprinkled on all present, and she was carried back to the car and thence home.
'Women are carried on such occasions because they are newly born and cannot walk', said an old woman to me. It will have been observed also that in the address to the stream the girl was described as akoda, i.e. an infant.
When everybody had returned to the mother's house, the girl was seated on a stool with her head still covered, while the women danced round her to the accompaniment of dono 1 drums and songs. A repast was prepared consisting of eto (mashed yams and plantain), eggs boiled whole with shells removed, and ekyim (a stew made of palm-oil and sheep's blood). The grandmother I Dono drums are one of the few kinds of drums that may be used by women, an exception to the rule that women may not touch a drum, e.g. the ntumpane or

talking drums. Dono drums are carried under the left armpit and beaten with a stick.

FIG. 39. 'Waving white flags and singing Bara songs'
Fic. 40. 'The girl's mother sponged her child down to the waist'

took a little of each of these dishes and put them on a plate, and then made a pretence of feeding the bara girl with a spoon, at the same time repeating :
P.... me ka w'ano ennye bara gye.
P . . . (the girl's name), I touch your mouth; do not let misfortune follow the coming of your puberty.' 1
The girl did not swallow the food, which fell upon the ground. Taking another spoonful the grandmother continued:
Ye goro ama wakye, Area wo awo badit, Bone biara nto wo,
Ne 1 .... fo wo' nkwaso,
A ye be goro wo ne mpanyinfo nkwaso,
Wo nkrofo nhyina wo nkwaso.
We play (and dance) for you that you may remain (with us).
That you may bear ten children,
That no bad thing may come upon you,
Life to the people of M ...,
Life to all your village folk and the elders who are celebrating
(lit.' playing) this festival for you.
She was fed with the spoon three times; the food was allowed to fall to the ground three times. While this was going on the women were singing the song already noted:
The Queen Mother's grandchild e e
She is about to eat mashed eggs.
Next she was given water which she drank ; this was followed by three boiled eggs, which she ate. A young girl before reaching puberty is not supposed to eat eggs. Three roasted pieces of an elephant's ear were now produced, and her mouth touched with each in turn, the pieces being allowed to fall upon the ground. As this was done the following words were addressed to her, being repeated three times :
' Esono tmfa n'awodie mmere wo na w'awo mia du.'
'May the elephant give you her womb that you may bear ten children.'
There is a superstition in Ashanti that the death of some member of the family will soon follow the reaching of puberty of one of its members, and old women often weep during these rites, in consequence. In this case the belief was substantiated, for, very soon after the ceremony, the dear old Queen Mother died.

Some eto (mashed yams) and eggs were now placed in the metal vessel called a kuduo,' and placed on the ground before her. Her head was completely covered in

a white cloth, and as young children came and scrambled with their hands in the dish, the bara girl snatched at their hands ; it was believed her first-born would be a boy or a girl according as it was a boy's or a girl's which she caught.
For the five days following this ceremony the girl was a barafo, i.e. a person in the bara state.' Upon the expiration of that period she dressed up in her best, and went all round the village, returning thanks to all who had attended the ceremony. If a girl is not already betrothed she is expected to become so after this ceremony. If she has been 'married ', i.e. is a 'child wife ',3 the husband is immediately informed. In times not so very remote, any laxity of morals prior to reaching puberty was commonly punished by death or expulsion from the clan of both the guilty parties; if a man had sexual intercourse with a young girl prior to the appearance of her first period it was considered as an offence for which the whole community would suffer.
A girl does not change her name upon reaching puberty, but from that date children call her eno (mother). I have alluded to the fact that the old women regard such an event as puberty with no little sadness, for they look upon it as a portent of their own death. 'A birth in this world is a death in the world of ghosts; when a human mother conceives, a ghost-mother's infant is sickening to die ', is a saying often quoted in Ashanti, as the advent of puberty is apparently looked upon as a rebirth into the world of mortals. Confirmation of this idea has already been seen in connexion with the burial of infants and young children. The restrictions and taboos on an ' unclean' woman are many and interesting. She may not cook her husband's or any adult male's food, but may cook the food for her own sex or for children of either sex, but may not herself eat food cooked in any dwelling-house for any man.
In olden days if a woman entered the ancestral stool house
I See Ashanti, Chapter XXV, pp. 313-15.
2 She will bathe three times a day, and after each ablution will smear a narrow line of white clay (hyire) on her temples and between her breasts, and also a broad line of clay on the back of the wrists. See Chapters VIII-X, Marriage.

(where the blackened stools are kept) during her monthly periods she would have been killed instantly. ' If this were not done the ghosts of his ancestors would strangle the reigning chief.' She may not cross the threshold of any man's house. Even to-day in Ashanti every 'bush' village has its bara dan or bara fieso (bara hut) where women go and live during the menstrual period. She may not 'swear an oath', nor may an oath be sworn against her.' She may not cross certain sacred rivers like the Tano; even should she become unwell when away from her home for the day, she may not return home across the river till six days have elapsed. She is not allowed to reside in certain sacred villages, e.g. Santemanso, near the sacred grove.2
The wives of certain craftsmen, e.g. weavers, may not even address their husbands directly when in this condition, but must do so through the medium of a spokesman, generally a young child. They must not touch the talking drums. For most suman (amulets), contact with them is the deadliest taboo. Women who die

in this state may not even be removed from the bara hut and buried until that day when in the normal course they would have come forth from their seclusion. They may not sit in court as an arbitrator in any case. The reasons underlying the abhorrence of the unclean woman in Ashanti I believe to be based on the supposition that contact with her, directly or indirectly, is held to negative and render useless all supernatural or magico-protective powers possessed by either persons or spirits or objects (i. e. suman). Even by indirect contact, therefore, an unclean woman is capable of breaking down all barriers which stand between defenceless man and those evil unseen powers which beset him on every side. These protective powers once thus rendered inactive, have to be ' recharged ', as it were, by propitiation, extirpation, and augmentation rites, to placate them and build them up anew.

A breach of this law was formerly punished by death.

2 See Ashanti, pp. 131-2.

VIII
MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE, among civilized peoples, is considered a very important transition stage in the journey through life. Among people such as the Ashanti, however, who were until recently in a comparatively primitive condition, the legal union of the sexes appeared to be looked upon as such a natural step from the preceding state as not to have required as many new rites as we might expect.

In Ashanti a young man or a young woman who has reached puberty will marry- in the past was compelled to marryalmost at once after that event. I think, therefore, that the absence, in the marriage ceremonies about to be described, of many of those rites with which we have now become familiar in connexion with birth and puberty may be accounted for satisfactorily by realizing that ail Ashanti looks upon marriage as being only the natural consequence of the rites just described.

To the Ashanti mind I feel sure this is so. It is only when we approach the marriage ceremony from the strictly legal, as opposed to the magico-religious, standpoint, that we really find our justification in treating it as a special rite and under a special heading.

Courtship in Ashanti runs a course not very different from that followed among ourselves. There are also, however, the 'infant wives', to give the literal translation of the native idiom, 'yere akoda. A married couple will promise an infant girl, or even a child as yet unborn, to a friend as hisfuture bride.' The infant will be brought up to consider herself betrothed and the property of the man to whom her parents had promised her. Six days after the end of her second period the union will be completed with little additional ceremony, or without any.

In these' infant ' engagements, the future or potential husband will have presented the parents with small gifts, e. g. fish,

I These arranged marriages appear very often to have been cross-cousin unions.

tobacco, meat, &c., sometimes even before the futurewife is born. These presents are not recoverable should the child born to his friends turn out to be a boy. On the day his future bride enters the world he will also bring her a present of a piece of cloth, a mat, and a pillow. From time to time he makes her and her parents small additional gifts and will probably assist his future father-in-law in the farm or in building. In this manner the' bride price ' and dowry are paid ; this payment and acceptance constitute a recognized legal union, which will entitle the future husband to claim the customary seduction or adultery fees from any other man who makes advances to his ' infant wife '. The little girl will address her future husband as me 'kunu (' my husband '). When able to walk and old enough to carry a small bundle for him, she will accompany him on short expeditions, but on her return will always go home to sleep with her parents.

Nowadays, upon the parties reaching mature years, there is a fairly large number of repudiations of such betrothals. In all such cases, where the girl does not wish to go on with the matter, she and her parents have to repay the value of the gifts received. Such prolonged betrothals-which are really marriages consummated on the girl reaching puberty-while even now quite well known are, however, the exception rather than the common practice. In ordinary cases the two young people become attracted to each other ; the youth will be ready to do little odd jobs for the parents and will eventually propose in the common formula, me pe wo, which literally translated means 'I need you', or ' I want you '.

Although there does not seem to be any exact equivalent in the Ashanti language for our abstract word ' love ', it does not necessarily follow that ' love ', in its higher sense as opposed to the purely physical aspect of the matter, is non-existent. In my opinion, the student of a language of a primitive people cannot -make a more foolish mistake than to suppose that because a vocabulary does not appear to contain certain abstract expressions such as ' love', ' honesty', 'gratitude ', &c., these finer human attributes are necessarily lacking in individuals of that race. These virtues, while possibly not having a single abstract word to express them, will be readily found if sought in the concrete examples afforded by the everyday life of the people.

Before we proceed farther it will be advisable to examine

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some of the common terms used in the vernacular for' to marry'. Ware is the expression in most common use. The word is used of a man marrying a woman or vice versa, but it is also employed in the sense of mating among domestic and wild animals or birds. The word, therefore, possibly means just ' to take a mate ', or ' to mate with', but is used as a general term covering any legitimate union of the sexes.

In Ashanti there was an idiom indicating a particular form of marriage, where in addition to paying the parents the customary ' bride price' or 'head money', the man had, beforehand as a condition to the union, paid some debt (called tiri 'ka) incurred either by the woman he wished to marry or by her family. The idiom in such a case was, to 'yere, lit. ' to buy a wife '. This expression in itself did not

imply anything particularly derogatory to the status of the woman whose position as wife overshadowed that of pawn (awowa). Under a system of matrilineal descent she was-as readers of Ashanti will be aware-very well able to look after her own rights and interests ; moreover, as every student of primitive institutions knows, the idea of purchase1 probably underlies the majority of formalities connected with marriage. This idiom, 'to buy a wife', was, however, offensive not only to the ears of Europeans, who knew little of native customs, but also to the semi-educated African. He was generally supremely ignorant and contemptuous of his own ancient institutions, and very sensitive to ridicule ; consequently for these reasons he came to drop this expression altogether, and substituted for the offending phrase the term, tiri nsa, lit. 'head wine'. This at the hands of the semi-literate native interpreter became mutilated still further and is now heard all over the Coast as ' head rum '. The derivation of the new idiom, ' head wine ', is itself interesting. The expression is borrowed from the fact that wine would pass between the contracting parties on such occasions. The original use of this term has now been extended. It is now loosely used to designate any and every form of marriage, whether or not a debt or other

I This aseda or bride-price, the Ashanti state, only 'buys the woman's body for the exclusive use of one particular male-the husband'. Moreover, any sum so paid does not, in Ashanti, enrich the parents or family of the bride, for it is distributed among witnesses. What the payment really secures is (a) 'a purely sexual prerogative', (b) the consequent right to claim damages for its infringement.

liability has been paid by the prospective husband prior to and conditional to the union. There are several other idioms and expressions which it will be necessary to discuss, but these can be dealt with as they arise.

Before a proposal of marriage, and the subsequent seeking of the consent of the parents (more especially that of the mother') and the exchange of gifts, it is the business of the young couple to satisfy themselves that their union would not violate any of the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

I have elsewhere entered very fully into what these are and the reasons for each prohibition, so I need not repeat in detail what has already been written.2 It will be sufficient here to state that an Ashanti may not knowingly marry any of the following persons:

i. His grandmother, grand-aunt (maternal).
2. His mother.
3. His sister or half-sister.
4. His mother's sister, mother's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
5. His sister's daughter.
6. His daughter's daughter.
7. His daughter's daughter's daughter.
8. Grandmother, great-aunt (paternal).
9. His father's sister.
Io. His father's brother's daughter, father's brother's son's daughter.

i i. His son's daughter, nor
12. Any one of the same abusua (matrilineal clan or blood) or ntoro (patrilineal exogamous division), whether really
kindred or not.
He is expected or enjoined to marry:
i. His father's sister's daughter.
2. His mother's brother's daughter.
Sexual union, whether promiscuous or not, between any of the above-mentioned prohibited persons would in olden times, in the case of matrilineal clan (blood) relatives, have been punished by the death of both parties ; in the case of patrilineal ntoro relationship, by death or expulsion from the clan-this latter sentence amounting to outlawry. In a primitive community,
She will confer with her brother, i. e. the girl's maternal uncle.
B See Ashanti, Chapter I, The Classificatory System.

where the clan and family alone give strength and afford protection to the individual, such a sentence probably amounted to a virtual sentence of death. We see in such severe sanctions that the breaking of the laws of exogamy is not considered in the light of an offence as affecting the guilty parties alone. The whole clan to which the delinquents belong would expect the wrath of the unseen powers to be wreaked upon it, were the violation of these time-honoured laws not punished severely.
It is instructive and interesting to note the penalty now in force for this offence. The death sentence is of course no longer permitted under English law. The crime, which is still looked upon as very heinous, must now be atoned for by a monetary fine (atitodie) of about £5, and several sheep.' The blood of these animals is poured out upon the ancestral blackened stools.
I am inclined to believe that the drastic punishments imposed for this and other crimes which come under the category of incest are due to the belief that such outrages are' hateful ' to the great powers upon whom the fertility of all things depends. The Ashanti think that, should they pass unpunished, nature would cease to be prolific. This crime, to a people whose whole creed seems summed up in the command, ' be fruitful and multiply', would be a calamity of the first magnitude.
The young couple then satisfy themselves that there is no ntoro (spiritual) or mogya (blood) relationship existing between them. Every 'uneducated' Ashanti man and woman whom I know has an amazing knowledge of genealogies.2 The girl then gives the man to understand she does not object to his proposal. The next step is for the man to interview the parents, more particularly the mother. The latter's consent implies, of course, the consent of her clan. Having obtained the parents' consent, the man will make them small gifts, varying according to his social status, and pay the sika aseda and nsa aseda.
I In the case of a private individual. For scale of adultery damages for chiefs, &c., see pp. 87-92.
2 Nevertheless, it is difficult, and often impossible, to obtain a complete pedigree. There is a law in Ashanti to the effect that one must not give another's genealogy

(obi nkyere obi ase). This necessitates the calling in of every person not of the informer's abusua (clan) whose family is related by marriage to the person whose pedigree one is endeavouring to obtain. Moreover, there is often 'a medicine gourd in the bag', i.e. some skeleton in the cupboard in the shape of a union in the past with a slave, which naturally the informer does not wish to be discussed.

The parents' consent, the presentation and acceptance of these gifts, and the aseda are the only formalities that are necessary to constitute a valid marriage. The money and wine payments are known in Ashanti as tiri aseda (lit.' thanks on, or for the head'), and sometimes as abagwadie, and really are the 'bride-price '.' The following scale shows what these sums were, and in many cases still are :

i. For a royal princess of the reigning house, an odehye, a pereguan weight of gold dust (value about £8).2

2. For a daughter of the reigning King (ohene 'ba), (who could never of course be of the father's royal blood), the weight in gold dust of osua ne domma (value about £2 7s.)
plus kukuo mienu = two pots of palm-wine.

3. For a chief's grandchild ('hene 'nana) gold dust to the value of sur ne dommafa (value £ 3s. 6d.), and wine.

4. For a chief's great grandchild (ohene nana 'ba), gold dust to the value of nsanu ne soafa (I6s., i. e. 3s. + 3s.) the extra 3s. being used to purchase wine.

5. For an ordinary person, a commoner, awiamfo (lit. ' someone in the sun') nsuansa ne ntaku (i. e. Ios. + 6d.) the extra 6d. again being for rum or wine.

6. For a slave girl (afuna), domma ne ntaku anan (i. e. 7s. + 2S.) the odd 2S. for wine.

This ' bride-price ' was paid, in the case of No. 6 to the master; Nos. 1-4 to the King of Ashanti, who gave one-half to the bride's clan ; No. 5 to the mother, i. e. the clan.

In addition to gold dust or cash payments the future son will make the customary gifts of antelope meat, salt, palm-wine, tobacco, &c., to the parents.

If the man wishes, or is in a position to afford it, he may also give to the bride certain formal gifts which we might call 'dowry'. The Ashanti name for these isayeyedie (lit. things to make the wedding). The presentation and acceptance of such presents, however, are not, I am convinced, essential to the making of a legal union.

The following list was given to me by an old Ashanti, showing what ' dowry' he had himself paid ; it is fairly typical:

I A father paying the bride-price for his son cannot later proceed against him or his wife for its recovery, as it is a father's duty to see that his son secures a wife. He must, however, consult his son's matrilineal uncle.

2 See Ashanti, Chapter XXV.

Salt (about is.) ; tobacco (6d.) ; IOO fish (value about a soafa of gold dust, 3s.); meat, value about sea, i. e. 6s.; fat (soafa, 3s.); 2 Kete mats; i Boadikana mat (a sleeping-mat, on the top of which the Kete mats are laid) ; waist beads (toma) to the value of about agyiratwefa, i. e. 4s. 6d.; an etam cloth to wear between the legs ; ntama, i.e. large cloths of the total value of about a dwoa of gold dust, i.e. 3os. ; and an ago duku (velvet cloth).

Reference has already been made to marriages in which the future husband liquidates a debt for the parents of the girl whom he wishes to marry. It is somewhat difficult to find out clearly if such a procedure alone constitutes a legal union, i. e. whether the payment of the family debt can be considered as an equivalent of the customary sika aseda or ' bride-price '. I should feel inclined, if I were asked to state the legal position, to say that it does. The legal union of a man and woman in Ashanti was intended by the wise law-makers of old to be a simple ceremony, costing little. I would go so far as to state that in certain cases, e. g. where the parents' consent had not been obtained, the continuance and open living together of a couple as man and wife might be held as proof that the couple were in fact legally united. In a case where the man, besides beginning cohabitation with the woman as his wife, has paid 'head wine', i. e. has liquidated a debt for her family, but not sika aseda, ' bride-price', the woman certainly seems to have all the status of a lawfully wedded wife; and her position does not differ materially from that of a woman for whom sika aseda has been paid. It is only upon her death that an important distinction appears to arise.

To make all this more clear we may consider these separate cases: (a) An ordinary marriage where aseda has been paid, often
known as adehye, awadie.

(b) A marriage where sika aseda has not been paid, but only 'tiri
nsa (head wine), inferring in this case that the man ' bought his wife' by liquidating a debt owed by the
woman's family.

(c) Where both aseda (bride-price) and 'tiri nsa, i.e. a debt, have
been paid by the man.

In the case of (a), should the woman die or be compelled to leave her husband, but not through any misconduct of her own, the husband is not entitled to any refund of the ' bride-price ',

nor does the bride's family have to replace her by another woman.1

In the case of (b), on the death of the woman the family must repay the amount paid by the husband in liquidation of their debt.

In (c) the procedure to be followed is the same as in case (b) but only the 'tiri nsa, i.e. the money for the debt, not the ' brideprice ', need be refunded. The bride-price is in fact never recoverable, unless, as will be noted presently, where the union is dissolved owing to the misconduct of the wife.

I was once discussing these points with my learned old friend the late Kakari; in the course of our talk I asked him why a man, having perhaps lived with a woman as his wife for years, should expect her family, upon her death under the

circumstances just outlined, to refund moneys which might be considered as having been liquidated by her services. I said to him : ' If you bought a hoe and in course of time it became worn out or got broken, would you expect the vendor to replace it ? ' His reply, which I wrote down at the time, was as follows : 'The hoe which ! buy I shall use on my farm, and the crops of groundnuts or yams or maize it brings to me are my own, and I do not have to hand them over to the man from whom I bought the hoe. With my wife it is different; if she bears me ten children, they are not mine but hers and her abusua (clan's), therefore in particular cases I expect to have replaced that which I bought.'

In the various scales of ' bride-price' which have been quoted above it will be noticed that wine forms part of the payment, or extra gold dust is set aside in lieu of it, for its purchase. Furthermore, in the case where the man secures his bride on condition of his paying a debt for her parents, the transaction has come, as we have seen, to take its name from the wine which formed an inseparable part of the transaction.

Sarbah 1 considers that the passing and acceptance of ' rum' is

Except in the case of paramount chiefs. I believe that this custom, known in Ashanti as ayete, was not formerly confined, as it is now, to certain 'stool wives'. The custom no doubt arose owing to the fact that marriage in Ashanti is much more of the nature of a contract between two families than between two individuals.

2 Fanti Customary Laws, by J. M. Sarbah, p. 40

not a material factor in the legality of the transaction, though he acknowledges the presence of what he terms 'the nuptial wine'. Sarbah was, however, writing of a branch of the Akan stock which had long contact with European civilization on the Coast, and had forgotten most of its old tribal customs. I am of the opinion that the payment or passing of wine as part of the 'tiri aseda, or ' bride-price ', was originally a very important, if not the essential part of the ceremony.' This wine is used in the religious part of the marriage rites, to which this historian does not even allude, and is also handed round to those who are present, who, along with the ancestral spirits, thus become the witnesses of the marriage contract. The sika aseda is also always distributed among those attending the ceremony. Wine, and later ' rum', were undoubtedly originally used to propitiate the gods (abosom), or shades of ancestors ('samanfo), where a blessing was invoked. As the old religion declined and old customs became obsolete or forgotten on the Coast, this ' rum' came to be looked upon as merely ' nuptial wine' ; so the gods and ancestral ghosts were deprived of it.

I propose now to give a short account of marriage customs in a translation from the vernacular. It contains a description of the use of the ' nuptial wine' in Ashanti to-day.

'A man says to a girl, " I need you ". The girl will then refer him to her abusua (clan). The man will begin by paying small attentions to his future mother-in-law and presenting gifts. Then one day he will tell her, saying, "I have seen your daughter and wish to marry her ". If he is a shy man he will get some one else to

do this for him. The woman will refer him to her husband. She will also tell her brother and her (maternal) uncle. If all agree, the man is informed. He will make gifts to them and also to any of his wife's clan to whom she may tell him to make presents. These gifts will consist of fish, tobacco, salt, and some gold dust. The man will know the woman's clan and ntoro. The small gifts made to the bride's relations before the atiri aseda (i. e. customary " bride-price ") is paid, can never be recovered under any consideration. The payment of atiri aseda, the consent of the girl and of her parents make a legal marriage. If only nsa (wine) were given for atiri aseda, that would suffice. The

I Or even, perhaps, sometimes whole payment.

atiri aseda is given by the man to the girl's family (abusua). If the girl belongs to " a stool" (i.e. is a princess), then the" bride-price" (atiri aseda) is handed over to the "linguist " (okyeame) for the chief, who, however, gives one-half to the parents. The chief will use some of his share to buy a sheep to kill over the black stools, and some of the wine is also poured over the stools with the words,

'" Nana asumasi gye nsa nom, wo nana asumasi wa ware, ne kunu abetu ne 'tiri nsa (abagwadie), wo die ni ; ne nkwaso, aware a ore ko yi nye yiye, owo mma a, yenkye."

'"0 grandsire so and so (addressing the spirit), receive this wine and drink, your grandchild. . . has married. Her husband has paid his ' head-wine' (or 'bride-price') and this is your share. Health to them, let this marriage on which she is setting out go well; when she bears children let them remain (i.e. survive)."

' In the case of people without stools, the wine is poured on the ground for the spirits of ancestors' and the remainder shared by those present.

From the above brief account, which was given me by the old Queen Mother of M. . ., and from a similar application of wine in other ritual observances where the legal and the religious functions merge into each other, e. g. in the alienation of land,1 we may safely assume that the giving and acceptance of wine as part of the ' bride-price' was an important feature in the marriage transaction. The actual ceremonies on the day prior to the consummation of marriage seem few, simple, and unostentatious. The following is an account of a wedding of a girl to a man to whom she had been betrothed since infancy. On the sixth day after she has menstruated for the second time, the bride, dressed in her best clothes and gold ornaments, is led by her mother to the bridegroom's hut, where he is sitting ready to receive them. The bride and her mother thank him for all his gifts; after which she and her mother again return home. After dark the bride is again escorted by her mother to the man's house. They all sit on a mat and converse, and the man gives his mother-in-law some tobacco. Then the mother-in-law departs, leaving the young couple alone together.

Chastity before marriage is not now, I am afraid, demanded to I See Ashanti, p. 137.

the extent it was in olden times. ' Infant wives ' are, it is true, in virtue of their particular status expected to go to their husbands as virgines intactae.' In olden times a white cloth used to be spread on the bridal mat. Should the man have any doubts as to his bride's virginity, he would accuse her, asking obi wa di wo ? lit. 'Has any one eaten you? ' She would deny the accusation, or refuse to disclose the name of her seducer. The man would then appeal to his mother-in-law. Should the girl remain obdurate or still maintain her innocence, she and her husband and her father and mother would go along the path until they reached cross roads. Here the girl would take an egg in her right hand and cast it upon the ground, taking at the same time the following oath: ' If any one has eaten me may my obosom (god) kill me.' 2

This ceremony may take place at any time a husband accuses his wife of infidelity. Should the woman, on the other hand, confess her infidelity, the parents (in the case of an ' infant wife') must compensate the husband; this compensation in olden days varied from two fowls and eggs to a suru weight of gold dust (fi) or more. The man named as her seducer would also be fined the customary damages for adultery, paying according to the social status, and not according to the wealth of the plaintiff. The husband might also' swear an oath' upon his wife never again to mention her seducer's name.

I have already mentioned that the penalty for committing adultery varies in specific cases, and I now propose to give a table containing information as to the alleged nature and amount of these 'satisfaction' fees, in times before the arrival of the English in Ashanti. I have purposely used the word ' alleged', for it is not easy to be certain of obtaining wholly trustworthy information on such a subject. A table of damages, if correct, would give us a valuable if indirect method of arriving at a correct table of precedence in the Ashanti Court in ancient times, and so help us to appraise the merits of the present-day claims of jealous

I A virgin, in the Ashanti language, is asiwa, which simply meant a young girl prior to marriage, a remarkable proof of the high moral standards held by this people.

2 In such cases the sanction is a purely spiritual one and does not depend upon the drinking of a noxious medicine which will kill the drinker, if guilty, but will be vomited, if innocent. Such a test is not of course unknown, and was noted by Bosman two hundred years ago (Bosman's Coast of Guinea, p. 12 5), where he compares it with the purgation test in the Old Testament.

factions and individuals, who, since the banishment of Prempeh in 1896, have possibly usurped positions to which they were formerly not entitled. It is therefore always possible that the questions asked on this subject may receive answers inspired by political aspirations and motives. I have, however, endeavoured to check my information from many sources, and I believe it is on the whole accurate. I will now mention the punishments in olden times for committing adultery with a wife of any of the dignitaries named below. The list gives the offices of the holders in order of precedence and importance, in the Ashanti capital, Coomassie, prior to 1896.

A. The King of Ashanti (Asante 'hene) was the head of the state and the first in rank in the kingdom. The penalty inflicted on any one who had a liaison with any of his numerous wives was a terrible one. Not only (it is alleged) were the woman and her paramour killed, the latter in the manner about to be described, but the mother, father, and maternal uncle of both parties also suffered death, while all the remaining families of both had to undergo the ceremony which is known as 'drinking the gods ',' and to swear that they had notconnivedattheoffence. Theguilty wife was beheaded (an exception to the rule that women were generally strangled), after a sepow knife had been driven through her cheeks to prevent her invoking a curse on the king. Aworse fate befell her lover. He had to die the death known in Ashanti as atopere, or the 'atopere dance of death'. This form of capital punishment has been alluded to in the pages of Bowdich,2 and by the German missionary prisoners in Coomassie, Ramseyer and Kuihne,3 but has never been described in detail. The account in my possession is from the lips of an old friend of mine, who had been a king's executioner, and had taken a leading part on several occasions in scenes about to be described. It is I think of sufficient interest to warrant a short digression here to permit me to place the story on record.

1 This rite is described in Ashanti, Chapter VII, pp. io9-19.

Mission to Ashanti.

3 Four Years in Ashanti.

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MARRIAGE (continued)

(THE A TOPERE DANCE OF DEATH)1

THE culprit, through whose cheeks a sepow knife has already been thrust, is taken, about six o'clock in the morning, to that part of the town of Coomassie which is still known to the old inhabitants as Nkram' (lit. ' In the midst of blood '). I shall refer to this place later on when dealing with funeral customs. Here he is seated, and the famous Gyabom suman (Gyabom fetish) 2 is placed upon his lap (Fig. 41). The nasal septum is now pierced, and through the aperture is threaded a thorny creeper called kokora, by which he is later led about (Fig. 42). Four other sepow knives are now thrust through various parts of his body, care being taken not to pass them so deeply as to wound any vital spot. He is now led by the rope creeper to the spot called the Topere dua ase (i. e. ' beneath the Topere tree ') ; this tree formerly stood near the site of the present (Ashanti) butchers' market. Thence he is taken to Akyeremade, where the chief of that stool would scrape his left leg, facetiously remarking as he did so, Me were me 'yerenom ewhwim' (' I am scraping perfume for my wives') ; next, to the house of the chief of Asafo, where his left ear is cut off; thence to Bantama, the village near Coomassie containing the royal mausoleum, where the Ashanti generalissimo resides. He personally severs the victim's right ear, and scrapes bare the right shin bone; then the man is taken back beneath the shade of the atopere tree. Here he is compelled to dance all day, keeping time to the rhythm of the atopere drums. After dark he is dragged to the spot outside the royal palace called Bogyawe, where the king and outraged husband sits surrounded by all the chiefs and court attendants to witness the final dispatch of the victim. His arms are now hacked off at

I The last occasion upon which this punishment was inflicted was, I am informed, in the reign of Mensa Bonsu.
2 For account of which see Ashanti, pp. 99-1oo

the elbows, and his legs below the knee; then his eyelids are cut off. He is ordered to continue dancing, but as he is unable to do so, his buttocks are sliced off and he is set down on a little pile of gunpowder, which-is set alight. A slab of skin is then cut off his back, and this is placed before him with the pleasantry, ' Efise wo 'ni ne wo 'se ewo wo, wa hunu wo 'kyiri nam?' (' Since your mother bore you and your father begat you, have you seen the skin of your back ? '). The small executioners, sons of the chief executioner, for this office descends through the male line, now approach their father and complain, saying, 'Agya wa gye ye 'sekan' (' Father, he has taken our knife '). They receive the reply, 'Ko gye wo ade' (' Go and take that which is yours ').
With these words they are let loose upon the dying man and cut pieces of flesh from various parts of his body. The chief executioner now reports to the king that the man is nearly dead, and receives permission to cut off his head. The pieces of his body are then collected, and cast away in the hollow near the spot formerly called Diakomfoase. The executioner's fee for this day's work is an asia weight of gold dust (i. e. 26s.). A punishment somewhat similar was inflicted on a murderer.
Such then was the terrible retribution that awaited any one who was proved guilty of an intrigue with a wife of the Ashanti king. Money payments, atitodie, lit. that which buys the head, could not be made or accepted in lieu of the death penalty.
Once my informant had composed himself after a recitation which I could see evoked many-I cannot state painful-memories, I ventured to suggest to him that the punishment inflicted on the criminal was somewhat harsh. He replied that it deterred others, and added with a tone of regret in his voice that in his younger days, years often passed without a single murder or the necessity of an execution on these lines. Obviously he did not include human sacrifices in the same category.
There will be some statements later concerning the nature and meaning of human sacrifices, and I would ask my reader meanwhile to suspend judgement on what has just been written. I may add that my friend the executioner was normally a most delightful, humane, and benign old gentleman.

9o RITES DE PASSAGE

It has already been remarked that a pregnant woman who was under sentence of death might not be executed until after delivery. Ina case where a wife, guilty of adultery, was supposed to be with child by her lover, the woman under sentence of death was kept a prisoner in the house of the chief executioner where she was kept ' in log'. On the day of her delivery she was killed.
It might be supposed that her life was spared in order that she might bring into the world, and give the chance of life to, an innocent child. This was not, however,

the reason. Humanitarian ideas did not enter at all into the motives which inspired the giving of this partial respite to the condemned mother. Immediately the child was born it was handed over to the priest of the suman (fetish), Aserampon; it was cut down the middle, the two sides folded back, and it was laid, face downward, on the suman. I have already hazarded an opinion as to the reasons which inspired the temporary respite of the carrying out of the death sentence.

An interesting distinction is worthy of notice that marks out this and other cases where the death penalty is demanded and carried out from cases where monetary damages are accepted.

In the former judgements there is not any mention of attempts to placate the unseen powers; wine was not poured upon the ancestral stools, and sacrifices of sheep were not apparently offered upon them. This is the more noticeable, when, as we shall see presently, these rites are the inseparable consequences of similar, but less heinous, offences. I was at pains to point out this anomaly to an Ashanti friend, and his answer I think supplies the necessary explanation. ' The ghosts (spirit ancestors) are satisfied with human blood spilled upon Mother Earth, what need of sheep's blood?'

I now continue my table of precedence from page 87.

B. Next after the Ashanti king, in Coomassie, came his war lord, the Chief of Bantama.1 The violator of his honour, after trial and sentence by the king's court, had the sepow thrust through his cheeks and was handed over for execution. His body was stuck full of porcupine quills ; his penis and testicles were cut off, and nailed upon the great bombax tree that used to stand at Bantama.' He was then decapitated, and his blood

I The Korentire chief. 2 See frontispiece.

was smeared upon the drums called Mpebi and Nkrawiri. The woman was also killed.

C. The Akzeamu stool, according to my informant, came next. The guilty party had his ears cut off and these were nailed upon the drums appropriately known as amaneasoyeden (the ears of the nation are hard of hearing). He was then beheaded and the woman was killed. Included with akwamu is the Adum stool. The culprit in this case was handed over by the chief executioner to the young executioners who were learning their trade. The woman also suffered death.

D. Adontin. Death to both parties.

E. The Gyase stool, including the Gyasewa, the Nanta (lit. 'Dane gun '), the Dadeasoaba (Dadeasoaba means literally ' iron has borne seeds '). The same punishment as before.

F. The Kyidom stool, including Dornakwa and Domiinase. In each case the death penalty was inflicted on the guilty parties.

G. The Oyoko stool, i. e. the head of all the Oyoko clan, other than that branch from which the reigning kings were descended, who had settled in Coomassie from the reign of Osai Tutu. The same punishment as in the preceding cases.

H. Ankobea, including Atipin.' Death to both parties.

In addition to all these holders of great hereditary offices in Coomassie itself, who in course of time and from their close association with the king came undoubtedly to arrogate to themselves more and more power, were the heads of the great territorial divisions, the Amanhene. These feudatory lords took precedence in a certain order over all the local Coomassie dignitaries whose offices have just been mentioned. They were one and all entitled to inflict the death penalty upon any man who was proved guilty of adultery with any of their numerous wives. The culprit had in all other cases to be tried before the king, and if found guilty handed over to the king's executioner

1 The following chiefs who were, I am informed, formerly independent and had a direct appeal to the King of Ashanti, are now under the Ankobea stool:
Barim 'hene. Royal mausoleum, Barim in Coomassie.
Manwere 'hene.
Aserampon 'hene.
Akotesinfo, the chief of eunuchs.
Akomfori 'hene.
Bosommuru 'hene.

to be executed. It is not, I think, sufficiently recognized that in olden times in Coomassie the power to inflict the death penalty lay with the king alone, and that the war lords in the capital, however high their rank, could not kill even a slave without the royal assent.

The list of those who could claim the death penalty for a violation of their honour has now been given.1 It only remains to record the holders of minor hereditary offices and the damages they were entitled to claim for a similar offence, in the times prior to our occupation of Ashanti.

The holders of the following hereditary offices at the court of the king could claim damages of an ntansa worth of gold dust (£24) and twenty sheep 2 from the co-respondent.

The Akonuasoafo 'hene (head stool-carrier).
Barimfo 'hene (head of mausoleum).
Afonasoafo 'hene (head of swordbearers).
Atum'tufo 'hene (head of gunbearers).
Asoamfo 'hene (head of king's carriers).
Nsumankwafo 'hene (head of king's doctors).
Sodofo 'hene (head of king's cooks).3
Patumfo 'hene (head of king's cellar).'
Nsafisoafo 'hene (head of king's palm-wine tappers).'

The destination of the sheep which were for sacrifices is particularly instructive as showing the powers likely to take offence at the commission of such a crime, who had therefore to be propitiated.

Eight sheep were given to the eight skeletons at Bantama, eight to the mausoleum called the Barim Kese, one to the burial ground at Akyeremade, one to the ntoro called Bosommuru, and one to the head of the royal fetishes (nsumankwa).

The subjects of the various chiefs have also scales of adultery fees, which may be varied from time to time by the passing of local by-laws.
I At the present time, of course, the capital penalty cannot be demanded. A scale of damages has, therefore, been drawn up to meet each individual case. It is worth while noting that a schedule, drawn up in 191 1, clearly shows that the Amanhen' (heads of clans) take precedence over the holders of the hereditary offices in Coomassie. The adultery fee claimable by the former was fixed at 15o and one sheep, and for the latter varied from £24 to L30.
2 Unless otherwise stated. 3 Twenty-four sheep.
I One or two sheep. 5 Six sheep.

MARRIAGE 93
I do not make any apology for having, in my last few pages, touched indirectly upon topics where the political interest perhaps tends to overshadow the anthropological. I have already, elsewhere, expressed the view that the field anthropologist must ever be ready to note and to point out facts which may possibly be of future value to the practical administrator. I have here, however, only touched in the briefest manner on a subject which will be given particular attention in a future volume on Ashanti Law and Constitution.
Before I leave this subject, and proceed to an examination of other marriage customs, I would draw attention to a form of adultery which I shall term ' dream adultery'. I have dealt elsewhere with dreams,' dream beliefs, and interpretations, so I shall here only mention what is relevant to the subject under review. The Ashanti, as we know, believes in a volatile soul (sunsum) that need not await death to free it from its bodily fetters. This soul may flit about during sleep or even during an illness. In its wanderings it may encounter other souls and converse, quarrel, and even have sexual intercourse with them. Woe betide the man or woman who foolishly talks or brags of such a sexual dream, for should he or she be overheard by any interested party, e. g. the husband of the woman with whose soul (sunsum) the dreamer has had intercourse, the latter will find himself in the native court, and liable to pay the same penalty as if he had been discovered in flagrante delicto.
1 See Chapter XXI.

MARRIAGE (continued)
I HAVE now dealt with the actual marriage ceremony or contract, and with one aspect of its violation ; other possible legal consequences I now propose to mention. The section dealing with the actual marriage rites is short, but this is not due to any curtailment or omission in the treatment of the subject. It is due to the fact that the rite is in itself of the utmost simplicity.
Sarbah, the Fanti historian of Fanti Customary Laws, writing of the marriage customs of this other branch of the Akan stock, says : 'The customs relating to marriage, simple in the extreme * . .'. The whole aim of the early law-makers among this people was undoubtedly to make it so, and in this respect I think it will be admitted they showed no little wisdom.

We have seen that in exceptional cases even these meagre ceremonies and gifts may be dispensed with, and that a mere declaration of a man and woman, before witnesses, of their intention to live together as man and wife, followed by cohabitation, may constitute a valid union. It might seem, in consequence, that any formality at all is superfluous, but such is not the case, for there is a considerable gulf between pure and simple concubinage and the legal unions just described. No one can claim any damages for the abduction or seduction of a concubine or the return of any moneys or gifts. A man may, of course, marry his mistress, but the simple formalities of the marriage rite must be observed. A tribunal to-day would possibly rule that such a subsequent marriage legitimized any children born out of wedlock, provided the parents were in a position to marry when the children were born. We are here, however, leaving the domain of the old Ashanti customary law, and touching on hybrid institutions which puzzle the investigator who carries on his researches in the Europeanized region of the Gold Coast

littoral ; with such of course we are not here in any way concerned. In Ashanti, under a system which traces descent through the mother, 'illegitimacy' has quite another meaning and the legal results are also wholly different. A child of a woman belonging to any of the recognized clans would always have its clan name, which would be that of its mother, and this even where the father was wholly unknown. I shall again quote from what Bowdich wrote more than a hundred years ago. He then noted the custom which ' countenanced the king's sisters not only in intrigue with any handsome subject . . . but allowed them to choose any eminently so (however inferior otherwise) as a husband. . . .' All such a child would lack would be, possibly, a knowledge of its father's ntoro. Such a child is not really illegitimate in the English sense. This term might perhaps apply to the child of a slave concubine-the slave not belonging to any clan, i.e. not having an abusua of her own ; such a child is perhaps recognized as illegitimate, being called odonko 'ba (i. e. child of a slave), whatever the status of the father may be.

Polygamy was legal and in theory is universal, the number of wives allowed to a man varying from two to I,OOO.1 A great chief might possibly never have seen some of his wives, for theydid not all live in the royal harem, many being scattered in outlying villages. One woman, however, was generally recognized as the senior wife, and she out of courtesy would be consulted before any additions were made to the harem. Jealousy apparently did not play much part in their psychology. It must be recollected, however, that the addition of one or more women into the ordinary small household would considerably lighten the housework. It is also significant that the name for a co-wife is kora, which may be translated ' the jealous one '. I recollect a man who, on coming up before me in court, differentiated between the two women who were his wives in the following terms : ' This one I desire, and that one

According to Bowdich the King of Ashanti had 3,333, but the historian was misled in accepting as a fact a statement often heard but never intended to be

taken literally, this number being ascribed to him purely from a desire to flatter. In practice, among the Ashanti, I doubt if polygamy is nearly as common as is generally supposed. This custom is in fact severely regulated by two factors, i. e. the economic and the biological. Moreover, I doubt if sexual reasons for a plurality of wives enter very largely into the question at all, the motives for polygamy, where practised in Ashanti, being rather religious and social. I hope to deal more fully with this question in my next volume on Ashanti Law.

cooks for me ' ; in such a menage there is possibly a little ill feeling. A plurality of wives, at all events where the number was excessive, undoubtedly tended, especially on the Coast where the strict morality of the interior had been broken down by European civilization, to give rise to a lamentable state of affairs. Bosman, the Dutch historian, describes very quaintly the results of polygamy when carried to excess under a degenerate system. He writes
' Several negroes are so Brutal that they marry many wives only to get a good Living by 'em, and to wear gilt Horns. These are truly contented Cuckolds, who give their wives full Order to entice other Men to lye with them ; which done these SheBrutes immediately tell their Husband who know how to fleece the amorous Spark. 'Tis inexpressible what Subtleties these Phaedras use to draw Men, but especially Strangers, into the Net ; to those they will pretend they have no Husband, and are yet unmarried and free : But the Job is no sooner over than the Husband appears, and gives them cogent Reasons to repent their Credulity. Others whose Admirers very well know they are married, the better to allure them to their Embraces, will promise and if required, swear Eternal Secrecy ; but most of them keep their words like Women, and are sure not to tell their Husband before they see him, and indeed twould fall very hard upon them if their Husband came to the Knowledge thereof by any other means.'
But, as the old Dutchman says, 'Enough of this, 'tis too tender for my rough handling, wherefore leaving that I shall return to my subject.' 1
I do not here propose to reconsider those interesting cases where, as will be seen in the Ashanti classificatory system, certain female relatives are addressed as 'yere (wife), who may not at the present day appear to have any moral claim to that term. The subject has been dealt with rather fully in my book on Ashanti customs.2 I will therefore close this account with an examination of the Ashanti law relating to divorce ; to the position of mothers-in-law ; to the property of married persons and to the position of children.
Divorce-awa'diegyae, lit. 'abandonment of the marriage state', with the verbal phrase gyae aware, 'to leave off marriage ', also idiomatically expressed by gu no hyiri, ' to sprinkle her with
I Bosman's Coast of Guinea, pp. 170-1. Ashanti, Chapter I.

white clay '-is generally obtained by the husband, but the proceedings may be instituted by either party. It is just possible that among the Coast tribes, owing to the position and status of women having deteriorated owing to contact with

Europeans in that locality, wives may have lost redress by means of which every Ashanti woman can, under certain circumstances, demand the cancellation of the marriage tie.' The wife obtains this end, not by divorcing her husband, but by compelling him to divorce her. ' Gye hyiri gu me ', ' Here is clay, sprinkle it upon me ', she is entitled to say to him, in certain clearly defined circumstances. Should he refuse, her redress does not lie in any single legal remedy but in a hundred ways and wiles common to her sex all the world over. She will make the man's life impossible; she will refuse him marital rights ; she will not cook for him ; she will follow him with abuse wherever he goes, even to the latrine; she will openly and brazenly flirt with other men, taking care never to go so far that her husband could prove her guilty of misconduct and so claim from her parents a return of all his marriage expenses. Sooner or later, therefore, the man will be glad to give her the freedom she demands. The peculiar circumstances which will justify her in this conduct will be detailed presently.

I now propose to set out the grounds for divorce under two heads: A. where the man, B. where the woman, is the petitioner.

A. A man may obtain a divorce upon one or any of the following grounds:

I. Barrenness.
2. Adultery.
3. Habitual drunkenness.
4. Under certain peculiar circumstances, without publicly assigning any cause.
5. The quarrelsome nature of the woman.
6. The impossibility of maintaining ordinary relations with his Wife's mother, especially should she always be abusing him.
7. Should he discover after marriage, that he has married into his own ntoro or abusua.
8. Witchcraft.

I Sarbah, writing of the Fanti, says that divorce is marital only.

RITES DE PASSAGE

B. A woman may demand divorce from her husband on one or other of the following grounds:

I. Impotency.
2. Her own sterility.
3. Adultery.
4. Refusal to house, clothe, or feed her properly.
5. Assaulting her in some lonely spot.
6. Taking another wife without asking her permission (provided she is his senior wife).
7. Absence for three years without provision for her maintenance.
8. If the husband is a witch (bonsam), confessed, or found to be so by a god (obosom).

Several of these grounds for. divorce require further examination and explanation.

Under A. i. Barrenness. Though a man may obtain a divorce from his wife on this ground, in nine cases out of ten the woman would demand proceedings to be taken, for no disgrace is so keenly felt as that of not having any children.
2. Adultery. This is, of course, a ground for divorce, and if proved will entitle the husband, besides divorcing the woman, to recover the customary damages, in addition to all his marriage expenses, i.e. ' bride-price 'and any sum of money he had paid to liquidate a debt of his wife's family. Very often, however, the offence will be condoned and the couple will continue to live together.
4. Under certain peculiar circumstances, without publicly assigning any cause. What really has happened in such a case is that the husband's dearest friend has seduced his wife. In Ashanti a man's particular male friend holds a place in his affections ' equal to, if not greater, than that enjoyed by mother, wife,,father, slaves, food, drink, or clothes ', as an old Ashanti put it to me. Such Amoaku and Adu (the Ashanti Damon and Pythias) friendships are not uncommon. In such cases, no doubt, a select few will know the real cause of the family rupture and others may guess at it, but the divorce would be carried through without the co-respondent's name being cited and without any reason being given publicly for the dissolution of the marriage.

5. Quarrelsome nature of the woman. This is very similar to our own 'incompatibility of temperament' theory, which we find extended to :
6. The Mother-in-law. It is always a temptation to be facetious when we come across the ' mother-in-law' problem cropping up even among semi-civilized peoples. It is possibly a legacy of a yet more remote era when the man, if his clan were of sufficient strength, solved the difficulty of living with the old woman by hitting her over the head with a stone axe. I may be excused my little joke at her expense, because I have never yet had dealings with any primitive people who have not had their own jokes on the subject, unless it happened to be looked upon as no joking matter, which is just another aspect of a similar point of view. The position of these, otherwise estimable, old women in Ashanti, where women are of great importance, and (or perhaps because) matrilineal descent is the rule, seems to lie somewhat midway between these two points of view. There is a well-known saying which when repeated generally causes a sly giggle, ' ase, fie yenko ', which might be rendered by ' You don't catch us going to mother-in-law's hut'. Another mother-in-law tag runs, 'Be shy', or perhaps our' fight shy', of your mother-inlaw, is nearer to it. Again, there is the following saying, full of sinister meaning, ' w'ase funu onfere se osi wo a, wo'nso 'onfere se wosum no' (' If your mother-in-law's corpse is not too shy to knock up against you, do not you be too shy to push it away '). An Ashanti would not ordinarily eat out of the same dish as his mother-in-law. Occasionally one finds sons-in-law going to the opposite extreme, for in my note-book I have the following statement : ' If a man has sexual intercourse with his mother-in-law, ase, his wife is taken from him and he is fined double adultery fees.' There is, of course, a great deal more in this apparently simple statement than meets the eye. It affords, in fact, a good example of the value of recording all statements of competent informers, even when these

appear flatly to contradict each other. At the time this may be somewhat disconcerting, more especially to that rather dangerous type of anthropologist, the man who is out to prove something. In the long run, if one is sure one has obtained the facts correctly, such apparent contradictions may, however, be of very great value. They should always be faith-

fully recorded, even when they may seem wholly to destroy an argument or theory.
In this case such a statement might seem to negative the sayings and the evidence of innumerable witnesses, all testifying to the aloofness with which mothers-in-law, in general, are treated. It would only be after years of study of their classificatory system, when we came to understand the complexity and significance of the Ashanti word ase, that we could realize that the two statements-one testifying to aloofness or shyness or avoidance of this relation, and the other recording actual sexual relations with her-are not nearly so contradictory as they seem. In the Ashanti classificatory system it will be found that a man may have some ten potential 'mothers-in-law' among his immediate relations, some of whom may become his wives. I will give one concrete example that came under my notice.
A was entitled to marry B, who was his mother's brother's daughter. He, in fact, did not do so, but eventually married her (i. e. his mother's brother's daughter's) daughter. Later B's husband died, and A, in virtue of his relationship, had undoubted right to the woman, and actually married her, though she was now his ase (mother-in-law).1 It will be thus seen that there are certain cases where a mere caprice or accident may alter the status of a woman from that of a de jure mother-in-law, to becoming de facto her son-in-law's wife. In such cases, though the terminology is similar, the actual relationship and feelings associated with it must be very different. Thus we might easily have, and in fact do have, cases where a man might have sexual intercourse with a woman who is in fact his mother-in-law, but has just escaped being his wife, in which latter category he had always been brought up to regard her.
7. Discovery after marriage that he has married in a like ntoro or abusua. In this case 'annulment' would perhaps describe the subsequent proceedings better than ' divorce'.
Referring now to B., i. e. the grounds which will entitle a woman to gain her freedom by compelling her husband to grant it, we find in Ashanti law a certain equality for the sexes, with which the English law has only just fallen into line in the case of adultery.
5. Assaulting a wife in some lonely spot is a curious cause for her to demand her freedom. It reminds one of the Ashanti
Such marriages are now permitted only in the case of chiefs.
I0

law which decreed that if a man and woman were found having sexual intercourse in the ' bush ', i. e. anywhere in the open, they should become the property and slaves of the person so discovering them.
6. The failure to obtain the wife's consent to a second or subsequent marriage on her husband's part. This shows that in olden days a head wife, who was generally the first a man married, had a considerable say when it became a question of increasing the establishment, although her consent, if properly asked, would probably seldom or never be refused.
The actual legal formula in divorce is important. The husband has, in the presence of witnesses which include relatives of both parties, to declare that the marriage is at an end. ' I have ceased to cohabit with you.' He then takes some white powdered clay and sprinkles the woman's shoulders. Where
alleged adultery on the woman's part has been the cause of the divorce, the parties will often go before an obosom (god) before whom the woman will recite the following oath: ' Se firi se me ware wo, se obi ape me, me yi asumasi nko a, obosom nkum me.'
' Since I mated with you, if any one with the exception of so-andso (the co-respondent) has ever desired me (i. e. committed adultery), do you, 0 god, slay me.' The husband will repeat the injunction, saying: 'Se obi ape no aka ho a, 'bosom yi nkum no.' ' If any one else besides (so-and-so) has committed adultery with her, may this god kill her.' Both parties then break an egg on the wall of the temple or upon the ground.
In all cases where the man divorces the woman owing to her own misconduct, such as adultery or witchcraft, he can recover from her or from her family most, if not quite all, of the expenses he incurred in connexion with the marriage. Should he have 'bought his wife', i. e. paid a debt for the parents conditional upon his receiving her as his wife, he can claim repayment of this amount. Expenses incurred for maintenance are not, however, recoverable, nor is that portion of the bride price which went to purchase wine for the ancestral ghosts. ' You may not take back what you have given to the spirits.'
Should a man divorce his wife for her misconduct, he may *' swear an oath ' upon her to the effect that she must not marry the co-respondent. This means that if she does so, she will forfeit a certain sum of money (the fees of that particular oath).

This amount will not be paid to the husband but to the chief or to some specified local god. The co-respondent often pays this sum to enable him to marry the woman. When a woman divorces her husband because of some wrong which he has committed, he cannot then legally claim his expenses, and may even have to refund to his wife's family the sums of money expended upon him by them.
A married woman's property is distinct and wholly separate from her husband's, nor can he possibly become her heir nor she his. Mr. Brown marries Miss Smith. Miss Smith not only remains a Smith, but all the issue of the union are Smiths, and all Smith property must revert to Smiths. This is putting it very simply. The matter has been more fully treated in Ashanti," to which I would refer the reader.
A husband is liable for the debts incurred and the torts committed by his wife only

when she is actually living with him as his wife, or when he has sent her somewhere upon his business. He is also under similar circumstances responsible for any oath she swears ; otherwise her own family or clan seem to be responsible. All the children of the marriage are of course of the mother's clan (blood), but in spite of this all-important fact the father, in olden times at any rate, had, as long as he remained alive, a considerable claim upon them. Even when a marriage was dissolved for any cause, the male children often remained with the father and the girls were expected to visit him from time to time. This arrangement perhaps may have arisen from the fact that certain offices descended from father to son, e. g. executioners, swordbearers, and so on.2

A well-known saying bears out this statement, 'oyere nko, na mma emera" (' The wife may go but the children come'). Parents had not any right to kill or to mutilate their children. Only the King of Ashanti could do so. A father could of course chastise his children, and even sell them if in debt, but this last only with the full consent of the mother and her clan.

The liabilities of a husband or wife upon the death of the spouse, for funeral expenses; the question of levirate ; the position of and remarriage of widows, and other incidents of widowhood; an account of 'wives of ghosts '-all these will be dealt with in the next chapter, which treats of Death and Burial.

2 And also owing to the bond of the ntoro.

IAshanti, PP. 41-2.

XI
DEATH
FUNERALS OF KINGS

THUS far we have seen that the stages in an Ashanti's life have been indicated by a series of rites marking, as it were, certain exits and entrances. These transitions have not been abrupt, as all have been approached or departed from gradually. The child as yet unborn is already a denizen of the world of spirits. Its approaching arrival having been revealed, the expectant mother has a care not to do anything which might scare it back whence it is journeying. On the birth of the child a short period of suspense elapses, during which no one can be quite sure if the visitor from that other world of ghosts has come to stay permanently. After eight days there is more than hope, and the child is given a name. Still, the link with the land of spirits is not yet severed absolutely ; the child grows up and lives in a kind of borderland between the world of men and women and the world of ghosts. Gradually, as years go on, bonds with the latter seem to weaken, until at the age of puberty they are perhaps severed completely, and the ' ghost child ', the 'pot child', becomes a man or woman, capable of performing those functions which seem to an Ashanti to be the only reason or compensation for being born again or reincarnated, the propagation of the species. Such persons are now admitted for the first time in-to the status and to the full privileges of grown mortals. They are entitled to a say in matters concerning their family or clan's welfare ; they are a potential power for good or for evil, not in an ethical sense, but in the realms of magic and religion. This recognition and acknowledgement of the new state into which they have now entered are really epitomized in the fact

that should such a person die, he or she is entitled to, and must be accorded, full and proper funeral rites, and after death will receive honour and propitiation. His or her name will be held in pious memory as long as the clan exists.

RITES DE PASSAGE

Funeral ceremonies help to separate the dead from the living, to sever the ties with this world, and to assist the newly dead to pick up again the threads linking him or her with the land of spirits, which had been cut or dropped at puberty. It is these final rites that it is proposed now to describe in as minute detail as the material collected will allow. I have found it best to divide this subject into several headings.

A. Funeral rites for Ashanti kings.
B. Funeral rites for ordinary individuals.
C. Funeral rites for a priest.
D. Funeral rites which possibly show some trace of contact with some external culture.
E. Funerals for certain animals and trees.

A. Funeral Rites for A shanti Kings

Although the funeral rites' for an Ashanti king and the ulti. mate disposal of his remains seem to differ materially from the obsequies of an ordinary individual, it does not necessarily follow, I think, that this indicates an intrusive culture. In the ceremonial for a dead king the differences possibly arose from a desire on the part of his people, not only to accentuate the disparity between the king, Asante 'hene, and the common herd, and even the great chiefs, but also to preserve his remains more carefully and reverently in order that these might serve as a medium or shrine for his spirit when it was summoned to return to his people in times of national reunion or national emergencies. In all this there is nothing exotic, it is only a crowning feature of the Ashanti belief in ancestral spirits and their propitiation.

The funeral rites and the mode of disposal of the bodies of Ashanti kings have never been fully described. Moreover, what is now about to be recorded is still known only to a very few Ashanti themselves, who are connected with the royal mausoleums at Bantama and at the Barim Kese.

One aspect, however, of these funeral rites of an Ashanti king has attracted much attention. This is the so-called ' blood-lust ', and the consequent apparently indiscriminate slaughter of victims. This feature of the royal obsequies has been emphasized

and recorded in full by missionaries and other historians. One of the best known of our anthropologists said to me, a little over a year ago, after reading the manuscript of Ashanti, ' I do not seem to recognize your Ashanti as here portrayed; they seem milk and watery as compared with the conception I had formed of them; what about all the slaughter at their funeral customs? ' Now that very question had also worried me considerably. I could not imagine that the fine,

charming, and manly people I had learned to know would become the bloodthirsty savages described in many works I had read. As I had not then, however, investigated funeral rites and 'human sacrifices ', I could not express any opinion, and I therefore reserved judgement. I am now indebted for my knowledge to several old Ashanti of high rank, who have done me no small honour in admitting me into their confidence. They have disclosed to me secrets which would otherwise have passed with them into the grave. I have hesitated whether or not to allow some years to pass by before these statements are made public. Ashanti is, however, so rapidly advancing in civilization, that probably few of the younger generation will feel much interest in their recital. I am sure, moreover, that my older friends, venerable greybearded folk who themselves were actors in these events, will not object to the English public knowing the facts, which will help, I hope, to free the Ashanti from the stigma of having been bloodthirsty and ferocious savages before we took over the government of their country. Lam now able to understand that there were motives other than mere blood-lust and cruelty, which ought to be known and taken into account before we pass judgement on the scenes of slaughter which seem to have been inseparable from great national mourning. Europeans seem to have an innate fear of the unknown beyond the grave ; this the psycho-analyst calls thanatophobia, which has also been aptly designated as our 'passionate, absorbing, almost bloodthirsty clinging to life '. It will not therefore be easy to persuade the average person that there was something underlying all this spilling of blood, that ought to excite, if not admiration, at any rate a feeling that should be remote from disgust or pious horror.

In the first place we should take into consideration a fact which was, of course, already well known, namely, that the persons

killed on these occasions were supposed to resume after death their various duties under their royal master. It was incumbent upon those left on earth to see that the king entered the spiritworld with a retinue befitting his high station. Such killings thus became a last pious homage and service to the dead. The ideas and beliefs of the men who acted as executioners on those occasions and of their ' victims' with regard to death were the same. Death was merely a transition, like birth, from one kind of life to another. Although it would nowadays be far from correct to state that an Ashanti would as soon be dead as alive, nevertheless his outlook even now with regard to his exact position after death is not filled with any vague, troublesome misgivings as to what the hereafter may hold in store for him.

In ancient times, when life was much more uncertain and precarious than now, the attitude towards death was one of comparative indifference. That is a second point to keep in mind. Thirdly, the great majority of those killed at funerals were either prisoners of war, whose lives had only been spared for this purpose, or criminals who had been tried and sentenced to death, but like the former class had been preserved for such an occasion.' I may here quote two stories which illustrate the stoical indifference of the Ashanti to death in olden times.

Bowdich mentions that on his journey to Coomassie he passed through a certain town where the chief was waiting under sentence of death for some offence. ' He conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over his leg with an emotion of dignity rather than shame; his head arrived in Coomassie the day after we had.'
Winwood-Reade, in his book The Story of the Ashanti Campaign, tells the story of an Akropon woman who had been stripped before sacrifice, and had been stunned but not killed. ' She recovered her senses and found herself lying upon the ground surrounded by dead bodies. She rose, went into the town, where the elders were seated in council, and told them she had
There was actually a whole village inhabited by such people awaiting the carrying out of their sentence, who went about their various occupations in the ordinary way. The village was called Akyerekuro and was founded by King Kwaku Dua I. Ak 'erc is the word used for persons sacrificed, or to be sacrificed, kuro is village,

been to the Land of the Dead and had been sent back because she was naked. The elders must dress her finely and kill her over again. This was accordingly done.'
There is a fourth point, the most important perhaps of all, which should be taken into consideration before any judgement is passed on these events ; moreover, I believe, it has not been previously known. Among the scores killed at royal funerals were some of the highest of the land-high court officials, relatives and wives of the dead monarch, who, no longer having any desire to live once ' the great tree had fallen ',, compelled their relatives to slay them by swearing the great oath that they must do so, thus not leaving them any option except to carry out their wishes. If we, then, take all these points into consideration, we may perhaps be entitled still to think this slaughter terrible, and to view such rites with abhorrence; but, on the other hand, we shall not be entirely just to this people should we, when writing or thinking of them, designate them senseless, savage, and brutal murderers.
The man or woman who, like some of these old Ashanti, was ready to die for an ideal, however misguided and mistaken it may have been, nevertheless is of the stuff which goes to the making of a virile and courageous nation, and is entitled to our respect and admiration.
When an Ashanti king fell seriously ill, the priests were consulted as to the cause and probable termination of his malady ; swift punishment was the lot of those whose prophecy proved false. There is a tradition of one such case where a trick was played on the priests to test their real powers. The king, who was already dead, was laid upon his couch, as if asleep; a cat was put on his chest, under the coverlet ; its breathing made the coverlet rise and fall. Seventy-seven akomfo (priests) were called in one by .one, and all but one prescribed various remedies for the king's illness. The seventy-seventh, a priest of the god Asuhyia Tano (the blessed waters of Tano), began to sing as follows:
Me re kom, ogwan funu'ti
'Nipa a me kom, ne 'tiri asa.
I am possessed of the spirit ; it is the head of a dead sheep,

This man for whom I call upon the spirit (of my god), his
head is finished.
1 dupon kese attu.
823144 L

RITES DE PASSAGE

The seventy-six priests were executed and the seventy-seventh found great honour.

No one in Ashanti would ever dare to use the equivalent of our phrase ' the king is dead'. Neither a king nor any one of any importance ever 'dies'. 'A mighty tree has been uprooted' ; ' He is absent elsewhere' ; ' He has departed, or gone out ; 1 all these are circumlocutions by which such an event is described. ' Death' and a great man's name may never be coupled. In olden times any one saying 'nana asumasi awu' ('Grandfather so and so is dead') would have been killed if speaking of the king. Even in using these euphemistic expressions the voice is dropped almost to a whisper.

The first intimation that the king had breathed his last would be, so I am informed, the sight of blood pouring from the royal bath-room. Here the body had been carried to be washed and dressed; at each stage of the process some attendant or other had been killed, one 'to carry his bath mat, one the sponge and soap, one the bath robe ', and so on. The Queen Mother, perhaps the most powerful person in the kingdom, was immediately informed. She in turn dispatched messengers to the royal harem, for certain of the late king's wives to prepare themselves to accompany their husband on the journey upon which he had set out. The king, before his death, might have informed the Queen Mother which of his women he wished to go with him, and she also might choose others for this privilege. Others again would volunteer to share their fate.2 The message delivered to these women of the harem was, 'Me ka kyere wo se wo ko bi' (' I bid you set out for a certain place'), and the answer always was, ' Ma te Akoranto' 3 (' I have heard Akoranto'). These women then sent for their relatives, bade them farewell, decked themselves in white, as for'a ceremonial feast, and put on all their gold orna1 So also, the word for' skeleton ' or' bones' could not be used.

2 Two cases known to me of royal wives volunteering to accompany their husbands were those of Afoa and Kra Akyere, who were natives of Agona and Breman, and wives of King Kwaku Dua I. They were buried with full funeral rites, dressed in oyokoman cloth (the cloth of the royal clan). Kwesi Dubi, the ntahera' hone, uncle of my friend Kwame Sapon, shot himself in order to accompany his master Kwaku Dua I to the spirit world. Captives and criminals killed at funerals were not buried, their bodies were cast into the forest uear the spot Diakonfoase (somewhere near the site of the present rest house).

3-A koranto. A title for any descendant of Osai Tutu.

ments. On the night the royal body was removed from the palace to the first and temporary mausoleum (the Barim Kese), the women, who had drunk themselves

into a state of semiconsciousness with wine or rum, were strangled with leather thongs (abomporo) by men or women executioners. An alternative method of killing them was to twist their necks 'with strong hands '. Strangling in Ashanti is considered the aristocratic method of killing, because blood is not shed and there is not any mutilation.

Representatives of each section of household office-holders were killed in order to accompany the king; these included many young boys to act as elephant-tail switchers and heralds. The latter had their necks broken over the large elephant-tusk upon which the king used to rest his foot when bathing; they were smeared with white clay as a sign of joy. Besides all those who had not any option, freemen and sometimes slaves would volunteer for death. 'Okom de me' (' I am hungry') they would say, and should the executioner refuse to dispatch them they would swear the great oath, saying: 'Me ka Ntam Kese se wonkum me na me ne me wura nko, na okom de me' (' I swear the great oath I that you must kill me that I and my master may set out, for I am hungry '). Such volunteers could always choose the manner of their death ; some chose to be shot, others preferred to be strangled, and they were also accorded full funeral rites. They could, moreover, choose such articles as they wished to take with them; these were put into the grave.

In addition to the four classes of victims-criminals, captives of war, volunteers, and various holders of offices at court, who did not seem to have any say in the matter-there were undoubtedly a certain number of persons killed, during the first few days after the death was made public, by people who had worked themselves up into a state of frenzy, and by some psychological process, which I do not pretend to understand, seemed to find in promiscuous killing the only satisfactory relief to their emotions.2

An old Ashanti, one of my very good friends, was describing I The expression 'to swear an oath' which I have been compelled to use on several occasions is so little understood even by Ashanti scholars that in Chapter XXII I have attempted to explain its meaning.

2 Compare 'running Amok.'

to me how he had been sent as an envoy to the King of Gyaman 1 to report the death of the Ashanti king. He was accompanied, among others, by several carriers to convey his personal belongings. 'Whenever in sorrow 2 I recalled my dead master I cut off one of their heads, and when I reached Gyaman I myself had killed them all but one.' When he was asked if the persons he killed were intended to serve his dead master, he replied that this was not necessarily the case. I have seen an Ashanti worked up into an acute state of grief on looking at a photograph of a person who had died. In fact, such likenesses are often turned face to the wall and only turned round on the occasions when the funeral custom is being revived.

Before I pass on to describe in detail the method of burial and other ceremonies connected with the royal funerals, which have not previously been recorded, I may quote an account written by the German missionaries, Ramseyer and Kuihne, of a funeral custom which was held at Coomassie on the 2nd September 1873 and

following days, while they were prisoners in that town. The whole statement, it will be noticed, seems to be based merely on hearsay evidence; in many details there are obvious inaccuracies. This account, however, gives a good idea of the impression such events would make on observers in a condition of considerable mental anxiety and without any opportunity for careful examination into the real meaning of the scenes which were enacted. The fact that almost all this hearsay evidence was told the writers by terrified Fanti servants must make us somewhat chary of accepting as strictly accurate the statements made by them.

'Our small affairs were now forgotten, for a sudden death plunged the palace and the town into great grief. On our Rosa's birthday, the 2nd, crown prince Mensa Kuma died, at sixteen years of age. This was publicly announced at four o'clock, but before that hour royal servants occupied all the streets to catch the fugitives. Kwabena, the captive son of the chief of Peki, who had often been our informant, brought the news, warning us to let none leave the house lest he should fall into the hands of the odumfo, who were searching everywhere for victims.

1 Now the French Ivory Coast.

2 Sorrow and anger would appear in Ashanti to be related, m'ani abere (my eyes are red) being the idiom common for both expressions.

FUNERALS OF KINGS II

'His master Kwantabo had been sitting in council half an hour before in the palace, with the other chiefs, surrounded by their followers. A messenger suddenly appeared and whispered to the king, who stooping down rubbed the tips of his fingers with red earth, and painted his forehead.

'On this all the servants rushed from the palace, and on a sign from his master our young informant did the same, without really knowing why, for this was his first experience of this savage custom. Soon after came Dayson in a state of alarm, to enquire the reason of the awful tumult. The people outside were frantic, seizing poultry and sheep, killing and throwing them away, and men were everywhere falling victims to the odumfo's knife.'

'The deceased youth was to be followed to the grave by slaves only, some of his own, and others who had long been languishing in irons. It was expected that every great chief would offer a gift of human life, and many n'ien who were going about free, fell beneath the knife of the odumfo. Up to mid-day the king and his followers had been sitting at the north-side of the marketplace under the tree where we used to preach. Around him were crowds, playing the wildest music, who all fasted, but drank the more. These offerings from the chiefs were presented-dresses, silk cushions, gold, ornaments, sheep and MEN! In the afternoon he resumed his seat in the market-place, and all who had guns fired them ; at this signal some victims fell.

'M. Bonnat and Ktihne, who were in the streets for a few moments, saw three odumfos rush upon a man standing among the crowd, pierce his cheeks with a knife and order him to stand up ; they then drove him before them with his hands bound like a sheep to the slaughter.

'The deceased prince had, besides several wives of royal blood, three of low birth, who when they heard of his death ran away and hid themselves. The king supplied their places by other girls, who, painted white, and hung with gold ornaments, sat around the coffin to drive away the flies-and were strangled at the funeral. The same fate befel six pages, who, similarly ornamented and painted, crouched around the coffin which was carried out at midnight.'
From the Ist to the ioth Septemb.er, the slaughter continued. The King himself actually killed some members of the royal house, many slain corpses lay exposed, and in forty days the same dreadful doings were to be repeated.'
1 This must be an error, for on another page he writes, ' On her birthday, September 2nd,' and again as quoted above where he says, ' On our Rosa's birthday, the 2nd, crown prince Mensa Kuma died'.

RITES DE PASSAGE

The slaughter described in the preceding pages continued during the days that the body of the king remained lying in state at the palace. During the first days of wild frenzy no one was perhaps quite safe except the children and grandchildren of the royal clan (oyoko), the adumfo (that body to which the executioners themselves belonged), the asokwafo (the hornblowers, who were also the royal sextons), the akyeremadefo (the drummers), the amanhen' (the paramount chiefs), ahene (chiefs), and asafohene (captains in the army). These last three bodies were each expected to supply its quota ; they in turn collected from lesser and sub-chiefs. The whole nation, in fact, had to send representatives to swell the ghostly bodyguard. The corpse should in the ordinary way lie for fifteen days in the palace, but this period was, I am informed, often cut down to three or four days, with the intention of curtailing the slaughter, which was supposed to continue as long as the royal body lay in the palace.
All these killings did not take place in a haphazard manner, but many of them with ceremonial and at certain well-defined spots. I may digress here for a moment to place upon record, for the first time, the exact sites of the famous execution grounds in Coomassie. I visited each one of these historical sites in turn, accompanied by an executioner who had carried out the duties of his office on these very spots. The wives of the king were strangled in the palace, generally within the walls of the harem, together with many of the attendants, who were killed immediately the king had breathed his last, in or near the room where he died, or within the palace confines. The rest were publicly executed at one or other of the following places:
Nkram'. This name means literally 'in the midst of blood'. The spot was just below the burial ground for queen mothers and princesses, called Ahemaho, which still remains untouched, though standing in one of the busiest thoroughfares in Coomassie, near the junction of Adum (wrongly spelled on all the street notices, Odom) and Kingsway. The victim, with the sepow knife through his cheeks, awaiting execution, used to stand facing the Ahemaho, almost exactly on the spot where a lamppost now stands (see Fig. 43).
Bonsanmbuoho.' This name means 'at the witch's stone'
I Bonsam is a male witch, obayifo a female.

FIG. 43. Nkram' ('in the midst of blood')
Fic. 44. 'The Bonsambuoho on chief Totoe's left'

FIo. 45. The site of the spot formerly known as Diakomfoase
FIG. 46. Bantama, showing the royal mausoleum and the aya kese (the.great brass vessel)

There is a tradition that this stone came from Annum, near the Volta river, having been given to the ancestors of the present Adumfo (the family from which executioners are drawn) by the mmoatia (the little folk). It formerly rested on the site where Delbanco's store now stands, but has now been removed and lies near Chief Totoe's (the chief executioner's) house. It may be seen on the ground on Chief Totoe's left (Fig. No. 44). An oath is sworn on this stone to this day, 'Bonsambuo nkum me', ' May the witch's stone slay me ' (if I am lying).

Diakomfoase. Literally ' beneath (the tree) where priests are devoured '. This site was formerly marked by a large silkcotton tree, which stood on the site of Messrs. F. & A. Swanzy's present building (Fig. No. 45). This photograph is interesting as it shows the immense change that has come over Coomassie during the past thirty years. Here were killed men of rank, and, as the name implies, priests who had been sentenced to death.

Ayakeseho. 'The place of the great brass vessel.' The Aya kese (great brass basin), which is now in the United Service Museum, formerly rested at Bantama. It stood in front of the two trees at the entrance to the royal mausoleum, which will be described presently, and under a great silk-cotton tree (see frontispiece and Fig. 46). A few feet from this pan, the victims about to be sacrificed upon this and similar occasions were marshalled. From its proximity to, and associations with, the execution ground, and owing to misstatements by prejudiced and ignorant interpreters, a myth has arisen that the blood of the human sacrifices was caught in this pan, and their heads lopped off over it. This is quite incorrect. The blood of the victims was never collected in this vessel, nor were they executed over it, nor, of course, were the bones of the dead kings ever bathed in blood. The blood of human victims was poured on Mother Earth (Asase Ya) as an acceptable offering to her. It was also smeared over certain kinds of drums, while to others it was taboo. Among the former were the drums known as Prempeh, Fontonfrom, A'krawire, Mpebi, Adondonkuruwa, Nkyehoma, Fasafokoko, and among the latter, the Niumpane, or talking drums I and Etie

I I haye dealt with the talking drums in Chap. XXII of Ashanti, and some of the others here mentioned are described in the Chapter on Woodcarving (Chapter XXV).

drums. The ground near this metal basin was known as Ahen' 'boboano, i. e. 'before the doorway of the kings'. This brass pan was, according to a tradition, captured from the Sefwi by the Ashanti.

I do not propose in this place to describe the fasting, the drinking, the feast laid out before the corpse, the taking of oaths before it, nor the other incidents of the royal funeral, prior to the removal of the body from the palace, because I prefer to deal with these later on when describing funeral customs which I have actually witnessed. Royal celebrations were probably on similar lines, but on a grander and vaster scale. I will therefore pass over these and come to the day that the royal body was finally removed from the palace.

This removal took place in the dead of night, when any person encountered on the way was immediately killed.

Bantama, as all students of Ashanti history are aware, contained the mausoleum of the Ashanti kings, but it was not to Bantama that the corpse was borne, but to the scarcely less hallowed spot known in Ashanti as Asonyeso, ' the place of the drippings ', or the Barim Kese, i.e. ' the great burial ground ', or sometimes Bampenase, from the name of a tree that formerly stood there. Unknown to Europeans, and unrecorded, so far as I am aware, in any work on Ashanti, this mausoleum has escaped the destruction which befell Bantama. Its custodian is the old, totally blind, white-haired Ofusu. Formerly it was a capital offence to touch even his robe in anger. I shall presently describe this and other royal cemeteries in greater detail.

The royal corpse was carried to ' the place of drippings ' by the court officials called asokwafo, 1 (the royal elephant-horn blowers, I Asokwani, plu. asokwafo, a generic name for all horn-blowers (derivation aso, perhaps esono, elephant, kwafo=z Koafo, a person). Horns are generally made from elephant tusks,* large or small, according to the particular instruments required, all of which have different names. The elephant horns seen in Fig. 47 are known as owuo, i. e. death, the name being taken from the note which they sound.

owuo, owuo, owuooo, death, death, death.

They are often decorated with human jaw-bones. These notes were not only sounded at executions and funerals, but on ordinary, and even festal, occasions. The first chief of the asokwani, according to tradition, was one

* I have seen a beautifully chased metal horn which was unearthed while a farm was being dug.

also the sextons) 1 (see Fig. 47). Here for eighty days and nights the body lay in a coffin,2 which rested on supports and was placed above a pit. The bottom of the coffin was perforated with holes. As decomposition set in, the liquids ' dripped' through the holes into the pit. Attendants sat beside it day and night, fanning away flies, and sprinkling earth into the pit. On the eightieth day the corpse was removed, and the process of disintegration hastened by scraping the remaining flesh from the bones, which were finally oiled with buffalo fat, or with ' the Queen's fat ,,3 all the suman (talisman) worn during life being fastened on the proper bones. The long bones were then articulated with flat

gold wire. I think that the articulation of the bones and the reassembling of the whole skeleton was not done very accurately, e.g. the vertebrae were not put together. This would account for the very short coffins in which the bones finally rested. On the anniversary of the death the skeleton was
Edubankoto, who lived in the reign of King Osai Tutu. There are also the horns called Kotokosafo, which sound at Mampon ' Safo, safo, safo,
Kotoko safo e ' (solo).
Three others now join in, sounding :
' Asante Kotokosafo e
Asante Kotokosafo e
Hwane na wo se no ho adwo ?
Onipa ose ne ho adwo di toro.'
'Ashanti Kotokosafo, Ashanti Kotokosafo ; who says he will rest in
peace ? the man who says he will live in peace, he lies.'
There are the horns called ntahera. They sound notes which the Ashanti interpret as follows :
'Osai wo okropon wo tua de nam befa'fie.' (solo)
'Osai, you are a great eagle, when you fly away you return home with
meat.'
All then repeat, ' Osai, you are a great eagle.'
As soon as the King's stool was lifted up, the horn-blowers sounded 'Noa ! agyawa !'
'Mother ! Little father
Each paramount chief has his own particular horn-blowers, and the Ashanti can always tell what chief is arriving from the notes sounded. The asokwafo, like the akyereinadefo (the drummers) keep the huts of chiefs' wives in repair. They were formerly also the traders for the King of Ashanti-the great trade in olden times being in kola, which was carried north among the Mohammedan tribes. The asokwafo were also the sextons to all Oyoko princes, princesses, and to the king's grandchildren.
' In ancient times this was made out of the buttress roots of the silk-cotton tree.
3 The Ashanti state that among certain presents sent by Queen Victoria to King Kwaku Dua I was some fat (pomade) which was called the Queen's fat (Oheiva srade), and was used on such occasions as this, and also at the Odwira ceremony.

removed from the great Barim to its final resting-place in the mausoleum at Bantama.
Before I proceed to a description of this place a few notes on the Barim Kese may be of interest. Ofusu, who has been mentioned already, has been caretaker I of the Barim Kese since the reign of Kakari. This old man, whom I have known for many years, during my last stay in Coomassie very kindly allowed me to enter the Barim and escorted me round its sacred precincts, pointing out with unerring accuracy sights and objects his eyes could no longer see. The chamber on the left of the doorway, as one enters, is ' Osai Tutu's room'. If any one touched the wall (called , Osai Tutu's wall ') of this room, even from the street outside, he in olden

times incurred the penalty of death. The wall is seen in Fig. 48, with Ofuso sitting by the gate. Inside the gateway is a long, rather narrow, compound, with an edwino tree growing in the middle, under which stood a kuduo resting upon three stones covered over with an iron plate. Seven rooms, each with its own door, of the seven Ashanti kings whose skeletons formerly rested at Bantama, lay on one side of the compound, and the chamber of Osai Tutu by itself opposite. Each of the rooms, like other Barim I have seen elsewhere, seemed bare except for two small brass pans, a small jug (English) containing water, and a chewing stick, in each. Ranged along the wall outside were eight large and eight small calabashes, for use, I was informed, at the Adae ceremony.2 Ofusu informed me that any holder of an office in court who had occasion ever to go to the Barim Kese had always to take with him the badge or insignia of his high office ; for instance, the head executioner, his sepow knife ; the Bantama war lord, his gun ; the Gyasehene,3

Caretakers of the royal grave or mausoleums (Barimfo) ; they are also the cooks for the royal ghosts and tend the graves, or coffins, and the burial quarters which it is their duty to keep in repair. The head of them might not be killed whatever his offence ' for he has begged for his life from the dead kings'. Any one assaulting them would be killed ; they do not attend state functions. The food they prepare for the spirits on ceremonial occasions is given by the chief himself, but the barni.fo give the usual daily ration of yams or rice and water. Ghosts must never fast, and so these officials are themselves absolutely forbidden to fast. Old Ofusu, the head of the royal Barim Kese, was born in the reign of Osai Yao and must be nearly one hundred years old.

See .4 shanti, Chapter V et seq.

The king's treasurers, known as afotosanfo (fotuo, a leather bag, and san, to loosen, to open), were also custodians of the keys of the king's boxes and servants of the bed-chamber. They kept the king's household accounts,

Fic. 47. The asokwafo, horn-blowers, who are also the royal sextons
FIG. 48. Ofusu, sitting by ' Osai Tutu's wall'

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FIG. 50. ' Bantama ... a few mounds alone now mark its site'
FIG. 51. The European Cemetery now at Bantama

his golden keys ; the okyeame, 'linguist ', his staff. Shoulders had to be bared and sandals slipped, ' for did not the great Osai Tutu himself inaugurate all these offices ? ' said Ofusu.

When the royal skeleton, in its hexagonal coffin, was removed to Bantama, it was deposited in a room reserved for it alone. The coffin was uncovered and the

contents propitiated on great ceremonial occasions, such, for example, as the Odwira ceremony, which will be described later, and at Adae customs.

The Barim (mausoleum) at Bantama was situated in the village of that name, about a mile from Coomassie in those days, but now practically forming part of the latter town. The mausoleum itself formerly occupied the ground which is close to the European cemetery. It would have been difficult, I think, to find a more inappropriate spot for the latter! This last restingplace of the Ashanti kings was finally destroyed after the abortive rising in 1895. A few mounds alone mark its site (see Fig. 50)

Lieut.-General Sir R. S. Baden-Powell, in his book The Downfall of Prempeh, thus reports its demolition :

Finding so little of real value in the palace, it was hoped that some treasure might be discovered in the sacred fetish-houses at Bantama, the burial place of the Kings of Ashanti, about a mile out of Bantama. This place had been piqueted, but all its priests had disappeared previously, and when we broke in, only one harmless old man was found resting there. No valuables-in fact little of any kind-was found in the common huts that form the sacred place. In the big fetish-building, with its enormous thatched roof, when burst open, we found a few brass coffers (see Fig. 49),1 all empty! The door, which was newly sealed with mortar, showed no signs of having been freshly closed up, and it may therefore be inferred that the treasure had been removed

balancing accounts every twenty days, and keeping an accurate tally by the use of cowrie-shells. Any serious errors in accounts were punished by decapitation. The King of Ashanti was bathed every morning to the accompaniment of the rattling of the treasury keys. The afotosanfo were also the royal barbers and manicurists. The Gyase chief was always the head treasurer (a kind of Chancellor of the Exchequer), carrying as his badge of office a golden key, while the assistant treasurer was the Gyasewa chief, who carried a silver key. The fotuo (leather bags), from which they derive their title, were probably made by the leather workers among the Mohammedan tribes in the north. They contained the ' Ashanti weights,' as we call the mramruo (sing. abrammo), which the Ashanti used to weigh out gold dust. See Ashanti, Chapter XXV.

I This photograph was very kindly sent to me by Lieut.-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell.

some weeks previously. Then, in accordance with orders, we set the whole of the fetish village in flames, and a splendid blaze it made.' 1

In front of the present-day European cemetery still stand the two historical trees known all over Ashanti as the Akuakuaanisuo and Wama trees (see Fig. 51). The name of the former means ' water from Akuakua's eyes ', and the latter word is the Ashanti botanical name, I believe, for this tree. These trees stood at the gates of the mausoleum grounds, and, as already stated, near by, at the foot of another great tree-blown up by us in 1895-stood the ' great brass pan ', the aya kese (see Frontispiece, also Fig. 46).

The mausoleum itself consisted, I am informed, of several buildings, the largest being known as the Edan Kese, great house, in which the eight coffins of the eight Ashanti kings were placed. The Hia or harem of the 'saman yerenom, 'the wives of the ghosts ', to whom I shall refer presently, lay behind the main building. The architecture and decorations of the buildings were, I believe, of the typical Ashanti pattern such as may still be seen in the remoter villages, where corrugated iron and burnt bricks have not yet driven out their beautiful old designs 2 (see Figs. 52-3).

In ' the great house', the Edan Kese, in eight separate chambers rested the skeletons of the following kings ' in small coffins of hexagonal shape, covered with black velvet, and decorated with gold disks in the form of rosettes :

Osai Tutu. Bonsu Panyin.
Opoku 'Ware. Osai Yao.
Osai Kojo. Kwaku Dua
Opoku Fofie. Kwaku Dua II.

I have referred more than once to the 'saman yerenorn, wives

The Downfall of Prempeh, pp. 130-I.

2 This was written before the two photographs, that which appears in the frontispiece and Fig. 46, came into my possession. These two photographs are surely the most interesting ever shown in connexion with the Gold Coast. They were in the possession of Dr. Seligman, F.R.S., and were inscribed on the back' Fetish House and groves and sacrificial bowl [sic] at Bantama about two miles from Kumasi' (Initialled A. J. C.) The photographs were probably taken by the late Dr. Chalmers, who gave them to Dr. Seligman. I am much indebted to the latter for placing them at my disposal.

3 Any king who had been ' destooled' could not be laid at Bantama ; the following kings were buried elsewhere: Kusi Bodom, Osai Kwame, Kakari, and Mensa Bonsu.

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FUNERALS OF KINGS

of the ghosts, an interesting and another hitherto unrecorded feature of these ' customs '. It will be recollected that certain of the wives of the dead king had already been strangled, and dispatched to join him in the samandow (place of ghosts) ; the saman yere (wife of the ghost) must not be confused with them. These ' wives of the ghosts ' 1 had never been wives of the kings during their lifetime but were women chosenfrom certainfamilies2 to minister perpetually to the supposed wants of their respective skeleton spouses. Each of the royal skeletons had his ' wife '. She was ' wedded ' to a ghost for her life ; when she died she was buried behind the harem and her place was immediately filled by another. These women brought their ghost husbands their food. Each week, when the day for the ' washing of the soul ' came round, they would shave their heads, and dress in white and come with their chewing sticks and sit beside the bones of their ' husband '. They had to observe all their ' husband's ' ntoro taboos that he had

observed during life, just as if they expected to bear him children. No one, not even the reigning King of Ashanti, might have speech with them. Should they ever have occasion to leave the precincts of the mausoleum, they were preceded by boys carrying whips who continually shouted fwe ! fwe! (look out! look out!); any one who saw them coming had to kneel down and cover his head with a cloth. Food, clothes, and personal adornments were supplied them by the King of Ashanti, and they were guarded by eunuchs ; I not even a cock bird was permitted within the walls of the Hia (Harem).4

The skeletons at Bantama had their own special men cooks. These cooks had to ' drink the gods' I that they would not

An interesting parallel is noted in Primitive Culture, vol. i, p. 489.

2 1 have been informed that these women were often the wives of captive generals.

3 Known as adabra, or csono (elephant), eunuchs in Ashanti were not only castrated but were deprived of the penis ; a piece of skin was left, which was then grown over a long gyinae or nekyirema bead.

" Hia is a term exclusively applied to the royal harem. The usual word used is ,mnam which means simply 'among the women'

6 The royal cooks, Sodofo (i. e. men of the kitchen), also have ' to drink to the gods' (see Ashanti, pp. IO9-IO), that they will not poison the king. While cooking they were permitted, in fact expected, to eat of the best of any food that they were preparing for the royal table. It was considered that if they denied themselves this ' their eyes would follow the food' and that in consequence the king would possibly have suffered stomach-ache.

The king's sodofo did not cook for the spirits, who had their special cooks.

poison the reigning king, the reason for this being that the food exposed before the skeletons on the Monday following a Sunday Adae ceremony, and on the Thursday following a- Wednesday Adae, was afterwards taken to the king, who, having previously fasted, was compelled to eat it. ' It made the king fruitful ', I was told. Any of the food left over was eagerly sought for by women who were barren. The skeletons were fed about I I a.m. and were served with palm-wine about 4 p.m. All their food (ntoro) taboos were rigidly observed ; we have already seen that their wives observed the same taboos.

Bantama was, I am informed, chosen as the site of the royal mausoleum, and also of ' the royal treasure-house of the ghosts ', because this place was the head-quarters of the Ashanti general and a standing body of about one thousand fighting-men. These served as a bodyguard of the skeletons and the treasure. The Bantama general was not, however, actually permitted to enter the mausoleum. An immense treasure in gold dust and massive gold ornaments was stored near the bones, possibly in the ' brass coffers' 1 mentioned by Sir Robert Baden-Powell. This wealth belonged to the ' ghosts ', but could be ' borrowed' from them in cases of great national emergency and also to finance national festivals.

These eight rooms at Bantama, with their eight skeleton occupants, waited upon by their eight ' wives ', became the centre and prototype of the cult which

venerates and propitiates the spirits of ancestors. What was the reason for this veneration and propitiation ? I think that any one who has studied this people, their religion, their social institutions, their arts and craftsfrom which much may often be learned-would state without any shadow of doubt that this cult of ancestral spirits in Ashanti is intimately bound up with the predominating desire for the fertility of man and the fertility of nature. ' Give us children give us good hunting ; give us a good harvest'; such is the basis and essence of every prayer, whether to the gods or to the ghosts.

Before passing on to deal with other funeral rites I propose to give a description of a ceremony intimately associated with these dead kings. It is ' the feast of the dead ', incomparably the greatest of Ashanti national rites. This annual national festival I See Fig. 50.

for the dead, which has not been observed since the reign of Mensa Bonsu, has been witnessed by Europeans at least on two occasions, once by Bowdich in 1817 and again by the German captives in 1871. Though it has been twice witnessed and described, it has never before been set forth in detail, nor has the significance of any of its intensely interesting observances ever been explained. Of these two accounts,1 Bowdich's is the better. Before I proceed to describe this ceremony in detail, I will quote his account in full. The scene he witnessed he portrays with a wealth of local colour and in well-balanced sentences, which prove this remarkable man to have been a writer of real ability ; this passage is one of the classics in the literature on Ashanti.

I In his book, The Tshi Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, the late Sir A. B. Ellis also gives an account of this custom. His description is, however, little else than a paraphrase of the account given by Ramseyer and Kihne.

XII

THE ODWIRA CEREMONY

THE following is Bowdich's description:

'The Yam Custom is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, which is planted in December, and not eaten until the conclusion of the custom, the early part of September. All the caboceers and captains, and the majority of the tributaries, are enjoined to attend, none being excused, but such as the Kings of Inta, and Dagwumba (who send deputations of their principal caboceers) and those who have been despatched elsewhere on public business. If a chief or caboceer has offended or if his fidelity be suspected, he is seldom accused or punished until the Yam Custom, which they attend frequently unconscious, and always uncertain of what may be laid to their charge. The Yam Custom is like the Saturnalia, neither theft, intrigue, or assault are punishable during the continuance, but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.

'On Friday the 5th of September, the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town, on their entr6.

'In the afternoon of Saturday, the King received all the caboccers and captains in the large arena, where the Dankira cannons are placed. The scene was marked with all the splendour of our own entr6, and many additional novelties. The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Sai Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture : they clashed their knives in the skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the

spirits from troubling the King. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm wine were the only divertissemens to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the King, they were announced, and passed all round the circle saluting every umbrella; their bands preceded ; we reckoned above forty drums in that of the King of Dwabin. The effect of the splendour, the tumult and the musquetry, was afterwards heightened by torch light. We left the ground at IO o'clock ; the umbrellas were crowded even in the distant streets, the town was covered like a large fair, the broken sounds of distant horns and drums filled up the momentary pauses of the firing which encircled us ; the uproar continued until four in the morning, just before which the King retired. I have attempted a drawing (No. 2), it is by no means adequate, yet more so than description could be.

'On the left side of the drawing is a group of captains dancing and firing, as described in our entr6. Immediately above the encircling soldiery, is a young caboceer under his umbrella, borne on the shoulders of his chief slave ; he salutes as he passes along, and is preceded and surrounded by boys (with elephant tails, feathers, &c.) and his captains, who lifting their swords in the air, halloo out the deeds of his fore-fathers ; his stool is borne close to him ornamented with a large brass bell. Above is the fanciful standard of a chief, who is preceded and followed by numerous attendants ; he is supported round the waist by a confidential slave, and one wrist is so heavily laden with gold, that it is supported on the head of a small boy ; with the other hand he is saluting a seated caboceer, sawing the air by a motion from the wrist. His umbrella is sprung up and down to increase the breeze, and large grass fans are also playing ; his handsomest slave girl follows, bearing on her head a small red leather trunk, full of gold ornaments and rich clothes; behind are soldiers and drummers, who throw their whitewashed drums in the air, and catch them again with much agility, and grimace, as they walk along. Boys are in the front bearing elephant tails, fly flappers, &c., and his captains with uplifted sword are hastening forward the musicians and soldiers.

Among the latter is the stool so stained with blood that it is thought decent to cover it with red silk. Behind the musicians is Odumata, coming round to join

the procession in his state hammock, lined with red taffeta, and smoking under his umbrella, at the top of which is a stuffed leopard. In the area below is an unfortunate victim, tortured in the manner described in the entr6, and two of the King's messengers clearing the way for him. The King's four linguists are seen next, two Otee and Quancum, are seated in conversation under an umbrella ; the chief Adoosey, is swearing a royal messenger, (to fetch an absent caboceer), by putting a gold handled sword between his teeth, whilst Agay delivers the charg.e, and exhorts him to be resolute. The criers all deformed and with monkey skin caps, are seated in the front. Under the next umbrella is the royal stool, thickly cased in gold. Gold pipes, fans of ostrich wing feathers, captains seated with gold swords, wolves heads and snakes as large as life of the game metal, depending from the handles, girls bearing silver bowls, body guards, &c. &c., are mingled together till we come to the King, seated in a chair of ebony and gold, and dressed much in the same way as described in the first interview. He is holding up his two fingers to receive the oath of the captain on the right, who, pointing to a distant country vows to conquer it. On the right and left of the state umbrella are the flags of Great Britain, Holland, and Denmark. A group of painted figures are dancing up to the King, in the most extravagant attitudes, beating time with the long knives on the skulls stuck full of thyme. On the right of the King, is the eunuch, who superintends the group of small boys, the children of the nobility, waving elephant tails (spangled with gold) feathers, &c. Musicians, seated and standing, are playing on instruments cased or plated with gold. The officers of the Mission are next seen their linguists in front, their soldiers, servants and flag behind, at the back of whom is placed the King's state hammock, under its own umbrella. Adjoining the officers is old Quatchie Quofie and his followers ; at the top of his umbrella is stuck a small black wooden image, with a bunch of rusty hair on the head, intending to represent the famous Akin caboceer who was killed by him ; vain of the action he is seen according to his usual custom dancing before and deriding his fallen enemy, while his captains bawl out the deed, and halloo their acclamations. The manner of drinking palm wine is
exhibited in the next group, a boy kneels beneath with a second

bowl to catch the droppings (it being a great luxury to suffer the liquor to run over the board), whilst the horns flourish, and the captains halloo the strong names. The Moors are easily distinguished by their caps, and preposterous turbans. One is blessing a Dagwumba caboceer, who is passing on horseback (the animal covered with fetishes and bells), escorted by his men in tunics, bearing lances and his musicians with rude violins, distinct from the sanko. The back of the assembly is lined with royal soldiers, and the commoner ones are ranged in front, with here and there a captain and a group of musicians, who, some with an old cocked hat, some with a soldier's jacket, &c. &c., afford a ludicrous appearance. This

description will be rendered more illustrative of the drawing, by referring to that of our entr6.

'The next morning the King ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing round and drinking like hogs ; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen, parties of four, reeling and rolling under the weight of another, whom they affected to be carrying home; strings of women covered with red paint, hand in hand, falling down like rows of cards ; the commonest mechanics and slaves furiously declaiming on state palavers ; the most discordant music, the most obscene songs, children of both sexes prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest cloths, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness.

' Towards evening the populace grew sober again, the strange caboceers displayed their equipages in every direction, and at five o'clock there was a procession from the palace to the south end of the town and back; the King and his dignitaries were carried on their hammocks, and passed through a continual blaze of musketry; the crush was dreadful. The next day (Monday), was occupied in state palavers, and on Tuesday the diet broke up, and most of the caboceers took leave.

'About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over

the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within (fresh and putrefied), to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole.

'The royal gold ornaments are melted down every Yam Custom and fashioned into new patterns, as novel as possible. This is a piece of state policy very imposing on the populace, and the tributary chiefs who pay but an annual visit.

'About ten days after the custom, the whole of the royal household eat new yam for the first time, in the market place, the King attending. The next day he and his captains set off for Sarrasoo before sun rise, to perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah. Almost all the inhabitants follow him, and the capital appears deserted ; the succeeding day the King washes in the marsh at the south-east end of the town, the captains lining the streets leading to it on both sides. He is attended by his suite, but he laves the water with his own hands over himself, his chairs, stools, gold and silver plate, and the various articles &f furniture used especially by him. Several brass pans are covered with white cloth with various fetishes under them. About twenty sheep are dipped (one sheep and one goat only are sacrificed at the time), to be killed in the palace in the afternoon, that their blood may be poured on the stools and door posts. All the doors, windows, and arcades of the palace, are plentifully besmeared with a mixture of eggs, and palm

oil ; as also the stools of the different tribes and families. After the ceremony of washing is over, the principal captains precede the King to the palace, where contrary to the usual custom, none but those of first rank are allowed to enter to see the procession pass. The King's fetish men walk first, with attendants holding basins of sacred water, which they sprinkle plentifully over the chiefs with branches, the more superstitious running to have a little poured on their heads, and even on their tongues. The King and his attendants all wear white cloths on this occasion. Three white lambs are led before him intended for sacrifice at his bed chamber. All his wives follow, with a guard of archers.'

THE ODWIRA CEREMONY

This concludes Bowdich's account. I propose now to describe, from information given me by an Ashanti eyewitness and an important actor in many such ceremonies, the proper sequence of events, the details, and the raison d'tYre for this rite. All these are hidden or obscured from the ordinary uninitiated spectator or even casual participator in these ceremonies, by the tumult, the barbaric pomp, the splendid, sometimes ghastly scenes, the marching and counter-marching of thousands, in fact just all these sounds and sights which forcibly attract our attention. These were, however, after all, only the background and the setting for the real business on hand. As to what that business was, previous historians remained silent because they were uninformed ; nor is this surprising when we realize that not one Ashanti in a hundred, even of those who took part in these rites, really understood their inner meaning.

An account of this rite is not at all out of place here, as it is essentially a rite in connexion with the dead. The title ' Yam Custom ' by which it has hitherto been known is incorrect, at any rate as far as Ashanti is concerned. Its proper title is Odwira,1 concerning the derivation of which there is no possible doubt. Dzvira means 'to purify' or 'to cleanse', and Odwira means simply ' purification' or 'cleansing'. The account which now follows is mainly a translation of what was told to me in the Ashanti language.

The Odwira or Apafrain was an annual ceremony held in September in honour and propitiation of the Ashanti kings who 'had gone elsewhere', and for the cleansing of the whole nation from defilement. Such was the definition given to me by an Ashanti. He might have added-as will be clear from what follows-that it was a feast of the dead, very closely associated with the crops and the first-fruits. Indeed this has, apparently for Europeans, been the most noticeable part of these rites; hence the name 'Yam Custom' by which this ceremony has hitherto been universally described. My informant might also have noted that, not only was it a cleansing of the nation, but the purification of shrines of ancestral spirits, of the gods, and of lesser non-human spirits. These rites are I think among some 1 It appears also sometimes to be called Apafranz, the derivation of whicb I do not know.

RITES DE PASSAGE

of the most interesting and instructive that have been recorded in connexion with the Ashanti. The source of my information has been checked, in its most

important points, from other quarters, and is to be trusted. This custom is no longer held in Coomassie. It recalls, in some respects, such rites as the Apo and the Afahye ceremonies, which were described in Ashanti.1

A particular Monday immediately following a Kwesidae (a Sunday adae ceremony) 2 was chosen for the commencement of this ceremony. On that day the reigning King of Ashanti paid a semi-state visit to the mausoleum at Bantama and ' borrowed from the ghosts ' gold dust to the value of £3o0 to £I,OOO. This treasure was kept in kuduo (metal vessels), or in the 'brass coffers' which were set before the coffins containing the skeletons (see Fig. 54).3 The king presented a sheep, which was killed for a repast for the ghosts, at the same time addressing them as follows :

'Afe ano ahyia, ye be twa odwira, omma bone biara mma, na afe foforo nto yen boko.'

'The edges of the years have come round, we are about to celebrate the rites of the odwira ; do not permit any evil at all to come upon us and let the new year meet us peacefully.'

Before sunset on the same day a meeting was held in the open space within the palace called kyinhyia (the whirlpool), at which the king presided, attended by all the hereditary office-holders, whose titles and precedence have already been described.4 The approaching ceremony was discussed and messengers were dispatched to outlying towns and villages, to warn the chiefs to assemble at Coomassie and to collect further contributions.

Eleven days elapsed before the ceremony proper began. This interval was employed in making preparations. Houses were repaired, the state regalia, chairs, stools, drums, and state umbrellas were cleaned and overhauled. The eleventh day from the Monday, when the king went to Bantama, was a Thursday. Upon that day the chiefs of Kokofu 5 and Nsuta arrived (as they

Chapters XV and XX. 2 See Ashanti, Chapters V-IX.

This photograph was kindly sent me by Lieut.-General Sir Robert BadenPowell. The vessel is one of those actually mentioned above.

See pp. 90-2.

6 The Kokofu stool was always occupied by 'a brother' of the King of Ashanti.

FIG. 54. A kuduo

might not travel on a Friday) ; on that day the King of Ashanti and all his councillors and ministers, preceded by the Golden Stool,' paid a ceremonial visit to the houses of certain persons for the purpose of pouring out libations and making certain sacrifices.

First the king went to the door of Amo, the head of the stoolcarriers 2 of the Golden Stool, and poured out a libation at the door; next, to the house of the chief of Dominase, where a sheep was killed and its blood smeared over the stools of the ancestral ghosts; thence he proceeded to Bantama, where with bare shoulders

and sandals slipped, he entered each chamber in turn and poured out a libation before each of the skeletons. From Bantama he went to the site of the present Fort, which was formerly called Anowo, where the house of Owusu Yao, the father of King Osai Yao stood ; thence in turn to that part of Coomassie called Asokwa, to the house of the head linguist ; at each of these places the usual libation was made; then to the house of the Queen Mother, where a sheep was sacrificed for the ancestral Queen Mothers' stools. Next a visit was paid to Nkwantanan, the four cross-roads, where Adum and Bank Street now intersect; there wine and sheep's blood were poured on the shrines (i.e. the stools) of Boakye Yao Kuma, who was the father of King Kwaku Dua I ; to Akyeremade, where Efiriye, father of King Osai Kojo, lived, where similar offerings were made ; to the dwelling of the chief executioner Totoe, head of the adumfo, and guardian of the Ahema 'gwa (the blackened stool of Nyanko Kusi Amoa), and finally to the house of Owusu Ansa, the father of King

I Another of my informants said that, when he last witnessed this rite, the Golden Stool was not taken round with them, but was so later, at another part of the ceremony.

2 Stool-carriers (A koniuasoafo) are always in attendance on a chief. They carry his ' white ' stool during life and attend to the blackened or ' smoked ' stools of his ancestors. The three head stool-carriers of the Ashanti king were in charge of the Golden Stool ; they might not be killed whatever the offence they committed. In the time of Prempeh these men were Amo, Yao Dabanka, and Kobina Nyame. Any one striking one of these men would have been killed. Among other privileges they had the right to intercede for the life of any one sentenced to death. The youthful stool-carriers were in charge of the king's palm-wine. A chief should not pass in front of his stool. Women-carriers carry the Queen Mother's stool. I have heard it stated that at times when the Golden Stool was being carried ' it would come to a halt and the men bearing it could not advance until the Kwadwumfo, the minstrels, came and sang before it'.

Bonsu Panyin. In each case on the libation of wine or blood being poured out, the 'linguist' repeated the following words after the king:

'Asamanifo inunye nsa ne ogwan yi innia asem'one bi mma, ye be t c'a odwira.'

' Spirits of the dead, receive this wine and sheep, let no bad thing come (upon us), we are about to celebrate the Odwira ceremony.'

The Golden Stool,1 the shrine and symbol of the national soul, which has cost us so much in lives and treasure, was borne by Amo upon the nape of his neck, and sheltered from the sun by the great umbrella, made of material called in Ashanti nsa (camel's hair and wool). This umbrella 2 was known throughout Ashanti as Katamanso (the covering of the nation). On either side of the stool walked attendants, each supporting one of the solid gold bells wN-hich were attached by thongs to the ' ears ' of the stool, and formed a portion of its regalia. Two other bells of brass, also attached to the stool, hung down over Amo's chest, the thongs attaching them to the stool being grasped by his right hand, while his left held the

stool in position on the nape of his neck. The remaining insignia of the Golden Stool consisted of iron and gold fetters, gold death-masks of great captains and generals, whom the Ashanti had slain in battle since the time of Osai Tutu. Among these were likenesses of Ntim Gyakari, King of Denkyira;
See Ashanti, Preface, and Chapter XXIII.
Umbrella carriers, kvinickvimivi, were an important body of officials at the king's court. The King of Ashanti was never allowed to step out of doors, or to pass from one room to another of the palace unless covered by an umbrella. 'Onyarne nhi ohene apanipam', 'The Sky God must never behold the crown of the King's head', is a well-known saying. An ornanhene, paramount chief, on the other hand, must always step out from beneath his umbrella before greeting the king.
Barnkvinie is the name for a state umbrella ; the great state umbrella of the King of Ashanti was known as Boaman (the nation's conqueror) ; the umbrella that covered the Golden Stool was called Iatamanso (the cover of the nation).
The ornamental tops on state umbrellas are called Babadua ; they varied according to the rank of the chief. The top of the King of Ashanti's umbrella was of gold and might represent a war horn, akoben, a hen covering her chickens, akokobatan, or a palm-tree (see Fig. 156), abe. The Babadua of the amanhene were of silver, with the exception of Juaben, who being of the king's clan might have one of gold. Gods have their umbrellas for their shrines just as kings and princes, but they are made of white material and are generally surmounted by a gong (odwuru).
I1o

Adinkira, King of Gyaman;' Bra Kwante, King of Akyem; and Mankata.2
It will be noted that this royal progress was for the express purpose of informing the ancestral ghosts of all the famous houses in Coomassie of the business on hand. When we read Bowdich, Ramseyer and Ktihne, and Ellis the only impression we obtain is that this cavalcade was concerned in filling ' great brass pans with intoxicating liquor, from which all drank ' like hogs' It is true that much wine was given to the populace, the rabble, the slaves, and the hangers-on. I have already been at some pains to point out elsewhere 3 that we have been most unfair in judging these customs by these outward signs ; yet that is what the historians have uniformly done.
The next day was Friday. It witnessed the arrival of the outlying subjects of the Coomassie Asafohene, i. e. Denyase, Manso-Nkwanta, Berekum, Ahafo, Kwahu, Asante-Akyem, &c., and the subjects (nkoa) of the great Amanhene, i. e. Bekwai, Juaben, 'Asubingya, Mampon, who halted outside the town, into which they made their official entry on the following morning.
'On Friday, the 5th of September', writes Bowdich, 'the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals thronging from the different paths was as astonishing as entertaining.' He wrote this nearly a hundred years before the scenes witnessed and described by my informant were enacted; yet the actual day of the week (not date of course) for this and other particular days of the ceremony still hold good.4

'The following day was Saturday ', continued my whitehaired Ashanti friend, who was recounting these events, 'and about two hours after midday the king received the chiefs at Apremoso', i. e. 'at the place of cannons '. ' In the afternoon of Saturday ', wrote Bowdich, ' the king received all the caboceers and captains in the large arena, where the Dankira cannons are

1 This king had dared to fashion a stool similar to the Golden Stool. This caused a war, in which he was captured and slain, and his stool melted down to make his own death-mask.

Sir Charles Macarthy, who was killed by the Ashanti at Esamanko, 182 8.

3 Ashanti, Chapter XI, p. 135.

4 Such confirmation of otherwise minor details is of the greatest value, as tending to prove the general trustworthiness of a witness's statement

placed." At this gathering of all the heads of the great territorial divisions, the oath of allegiance was taken by any one who had not already done so, and problems of state were discussed. In this respect the Odwira ceremony, combined with its purely magico-religious aspect, was of great political significance and practical utility. Among a primitive people superstition, the cult of the magical, religion-call it what you will-does as much as force and arms to keep cohesion in a far-flung rule, such as was the Ashanti confederacy; for it was at 'customs' and rites such as these that the many loosely bound, and often hostile factions, which owned nominal allegiance to the Ashanti king, came for the time being to think themselves part of a nation rather than branches of a family or clan.

The following day was Sunday. A captive of war was executed early in the morning at the spot called Nkra'm, which has already been described. All the skulls of the generals or kings who had been captured or slain in the various wars were brought from Bantama on this day. They reposed, in the ordinary way, before the coffins of the particular kings who had commanded the victorious armies responsible for their capture. On this occasion the skulls were smeared with bands of red clay 2 interspersed with white, and sprigs of emme (indet.), nunum (Ocimum viride), and pea (Hyptis sp.) were stuck into them, the smell of which was supposed to drive away sasa (evil revengeful spirits). Among the skulls were those of the following persons : Ntim Gyakari Adinkira; Bra Nkante; Mankata (Sir Charles Macarthy); Ofusu 'hene Apenten; Frimpon Ampim; Ame Yao Kwakye; Worosa (Banna 'hene) ; Boadu Akafu, and many others. As the king sat among his chiefs, each skull was placed on the ground before him, and upon each in turn he placed his foot, saying as he did so, ' Such-and-such of my ghost ancestors slew you.'

In the afternoon of that day the odwira suman (the fetish called odwira) was carried by the chief of Asafo to Bampanase, before the king. I shall presently give such information as I have been able to obtain about the suman. The king now discarded his I The exact grouping at this and other great public functions has never been recorded. I have endeavoured to do so diagrammatically in Fig. 5 5.

2 This was probably the' red rag ' mentioned by Ramseyer and Kiihne; and again so designated by Ellis, whose account was taken from the description given by the German missionaries.

T able shewing the seating at a durbar" at which were present
the King of Ashanti, the great paramount Chiefs (Amranhene), and Officers of State.
.53.35
9 56-
FIG. 55
Key to seating: i, King of Ashanti; 2, Queen Mother; 3. Akycrnpim 'hene 4, Nsuta 'hene ; 5, Adum 'hene ; 6, Akonnuasosafo and KwadNumfo : 7, Atumitufo; 8, Ankobea 'hene ; 9, Atipim 'hene ; io, ii, Afonasoafo and Ahoprafo ; 12, Official holding the dwete kuduo, a ' silver vessel' containing ji,ooo in gold dust ; 13, Gase 'hene ; 14, Oyoko 'hene; 15, Juaben 'hene ; 16, Kokofu 'hene ; 17, Bekwai 'hene 18, Lesser Oyoko chiefs ; 19, Dominase 'hene ; 2o, The King's twelve 4kycame 21, Asene : 22, Mampon 'hene; 23, Donten 'hene; 24, Ejeiso 'hene; 25. Ofinsu 'hene: 26, Asumengya 'hene; 27, Kumawu 'hene ; 28, Tafo 'hene ; 29, Ananta 'henc; 3o, Gyasewa 'hene; 3, Dadeasoaba 'hene ; 32, Asafohenfo 'hene ; 33, Asafo 'hene; 34, Bantama 'hene; 35, Danyease 'hene ; 36, Bantama Asafohenfo ; 37, Afotuosaf.) with horn blowers, and fontornfrom, and ntumpane drummers.

gorgeous robes and dressed himself in Kyenkyen 1 (bark cloth), the garb of the poorest slave in the realm. On the odwira suman being set before him he smeared it over with esono (red dye, made from the roots of the edwono tree) and placed new yams upon it, and then poured wine upon it, with the words:
' Osai Tutu 'Dwira gye nsa nom, obiara a ompe se osom wo ma menya no menkum no mfa ne 'ti nto 'Dwira.'
' Odwira of Osai Tutu, accept this wine and drink, any one who does not wish to serve you, let me get him, and let me kill him, and let me throw his head [on you], Odzcira.'
The king was also smeared all over with the red esono ; then he took some of this and rubbed it across the forehead of certain of the chiefs, including Bantama and Asafo. Towards evening, or perhaps later, the king, seated in his hammock,2 was borne towards the quarter of Coomassie then called Subenso (where the old bungalow of the Chief Commissioner now stands), accompanied by a vast throng. In front marched executioners carrying new yams, smeared on one side red, on the other with black, and a bodyguard of seven atumtufo 3 (gunmen). On arriving at
a certain spot the king's okyeame (spokesman) advanced and cried out in a loud voice :
Awo e! Awo e! Awo e!
Awo! Awo! Awo! (a name).
Antiaris sp. See Chapter XXIV.

2 Hammock men, Asoamfo, sometimes also called abampofo, besides their ordinary duties used to prepare the king's bath. They were also in charge of the king's sheep, pigs, and fowls. The King of Ashanti is reported to have had about one hundred carriers, many of them natives from the Northern Territories.
3 Gunners, Atum' tufo, carrying flint-locks, formed the king's bodyguard. They wore bandoliers, called adoku, containing sepow knives, and waist-belts, called ntoa, containing powder flasks and ammunition. Their guns were mainly flint-locks and the barrels were bound with gold bands. The Ashanti state they first obtained guns during the time of Osai Tutu (i 700). Before that they fought with bows and arrows and swords, and used shields for defence. The king's bodyguard of gunners were also the' washers of the king's soul'. Winwood Reade mentions in his book, The Story of the A shanti Camfpaign (p. 122), a transaction he witnessed in 1868 between some Ashanti and a French trader, when the latter sold the Ashanti i,ooo muskets. 'These muskets were the weapons of the French Army under the first Napoleon, bought from Government by an enterprising merchant, and sold by him to the African trade.' ' It is therefore possible ', continues Winwood Read, ' that some of the guns used by the Ashantees against the Black Watch at Amoaful had been previously used by the French against that regiment at Waterloo.'

THE ODWIRA CEREMONY

A voice from far away replied:
Yoe! Yoe! Yoe! 1
Yes ! Yes ! Yes !
The spokesman then called out:
Afe ano ahyia, ye be twa odwira
Be gye aduane di.
Obiara a ompe se osom Asanite 'Hene ma yen nsa nkum no
senea ye kum wo ne wo nkurofo.
The edges of the years have met, we have come to celebrate
the Odwira.
Come and receive this food and eat
Anyone at all who does not wish to serve the King of Ashanti,
let our hand slay him as we slew you and your kinsfolk.

With these words the yams were cast towards ' the spirit who had answered' ; guns were fired ; and then every one turned round and ran homeward in complete silence. Any one falling down was killed on the spot where he fell.
Before describing the concluding events of the ceremony, I will give such scanty information as I have been able to obtain about the interesting rite just described. Awo, I am informed, is ' the name of a person ' (Awo in the Brong dialect means just ' you '). Many independent informants state she was a hermaphrodite, and was the first human being ever killed. ' She was sacrificed to " Asase Ya " (Mother Earth) 2 to make her fruitful.'
With regard to the Odwira sumain or fetish, information is equally scanty. All are agreed, however, that it was a suman, not an obosoin.3 It consisted, outwardly, of the horn (or horns) of the Bongo antelope (Boicervus eurycerus), in which were

placed the ingredients which went to make up the fetish. It is said to date from the time of Osai Tutu, and to be more ancient than the Golden Stool. This then is an account, accurate in the main, I believe, but possibly incomplete, of what happened when, as
Perhaps an echo.
Ashanti tradition everywhere records a time when human sacrifices and capital punishment were not known, and disputes were settled between clans by single combat of leaders of the clan. With reference to the statement that Awo was a hermaphrodite, it is interesting to note that I have in ry possession a wooden figure, purporting to be the Earth Goddess, who is shown as such.
3 For this distinction I must refer my reader to Ashanti, Chapter IV, p. 90.

Bowdich writes, speaking of the events of a Sunday: 'Towards evening the populace grew sober again, the strange caboceers displayed their equipages in every direction, and at five o'clock there was a procession from the palace to the south end of the town and back....'
The day following the events just described was a Monday. On this day ' a rite of paramount interest and importance in helping us to a better understanding of Ashanti religious beliefs was performed. In order to understand its full significance it will be necessary to refer again to those exogamous divisions on a patrilineal basis known as ntoro. It has been noted, in that chapter of Ashanti which deals with this subject,2 how each of the ntoro divisions had, its own taboo or taboos; that the most important ntoro, socially so to speak, was the Bosommuru ntoro to which so many of the Ashanti kings belonged ; that Bosommuru's day of observance was a Tuesday, and that one of its taboos (I shall not call it a ' totem ') was an ox or cow. By ' taboo of a ntoro ' I mean something (generally an animal) which was held to be ' hateful' to the spirit of that particular ntoro, and in consequence was rigidly taboo to all its votaries. Now without this previous knowledge the rites about to be described would not have any special significance to us, and would appear not to record anything more than the ordinary sacrifice of an ox.3
The following was the rite. An ox was dragged before the king, who, seated at the spot called Abogyawe in front of the palace, was again smeared with the red esono. The king then rose up and took the gold afona, state sword, known as Bosommuru-the shrine of that ntoro-whose taboo is an ox, and struck the ox three times with it, saying as he did so" ' Wo ni o! Wo ni o Wo ni o ! ' (' This is yours ! This is yours ! This is yours ! ')
The ox was immediately killed by one of the adumfo (executioners). The carcase was cut up, and was, I am informed,
I Another informant told me this rite was carried out on the Sunday.
2 Ashanti, Chapter II, p. 47, where these divisions and their significance were recorded for the first time.
3 We have here a good example of the value of recording the minutest piece of information, even although, at the time, it does not appear to be of any particular importance ; for had I not been aware that an ox was a taboo of Bosommuru, I

should not have asked the questions which elicited the reply that this taboo was deliberately broken, and the subsequent account of the resurrection, as it were, of this ntoro.

V w
FIG. 56. An Ashanti weight

eaten by the adumfo. Here we have a deliberate and public violation of a taboo and pollution of the potential dwelling-place of a sacred power. Such an act would in ordinary circumstances be expressed by the phrase wa to n'adu' ('They have poisoned it '). The reason for this strange conduct will be seen presently.'
On this day (Monday), the great amanhen' (paramount chiefs) returned, each to his own country, there to continue and complete the Odwira-the ' purification ' which was the essential part of this rite. The following day was a Tuesday, which, as we have seen, was the one day, in the seven-day week, set aside for the propitiation of the Bosummuru ntoro, whose shrine and cult had the day previously been publicly and deliberately defiled. On this day the King of Ashanti made an equally public sacrifice. A sheep was brought to him, held over the golden sword-the shrine of Bosummuru-its throat was pricked, and the blood allowed to fall on this emblem. Roots and leaves of certain plants were also squeezed into a bowl with water from the sacred rivers, such as the Tano, Abrotia, Akoba, Apomesu, in which white clay had been mixed; with this the shrine was also sprinkled, the following words being spoken by the king :
' Bosommuru afe ano ahyia, wo wo nam, na mede wo akyiwadie ma ka wo, nue na me bo wo as io, ama w'ano 2 sore bio. Ale ne me 'yonko, osa 'hene biara ehyia, wo twa ne 'ti ma me, na wo gwan, me de bo wo asuo, e ni.'
' 0 Bosommuru the edges of the years have met ; you were sharp but I took that thing which you abhor and touched you (with it), but to-day I sprinkle you with water in order that your power may rise up again. When I and my equal, some war lord or other, meet, cut off his head and give it me; and along with the water, with which I sprinkle you, here is a sheep.'3
An Ashanti weight very commonly seen displays two crossed afona (State swords) with the head of an ox placed upon them (see Fig. 56). I think that this may represent the ceremony here described, although I omitted to ask if the head of the sacrifice was placed on the afona.
2 ano, lit. power, efficiency, strength.
During the past year, in Ashanti, I have been making a study of sumian (fetishes), those shrines of lower-graded spiritual powers which only indirectly derive their power from the Sky God. It was then I discovered that a rite similar in practice and intention to the above exists, whereby the spell, the mana, the potency, the power, of a charm is sometimes deliberately broken by touching the object with something ' hateful' to it, i. e. what we call I a taboo '. I had already come to the conclusion for some time past that all these taboos with which every god, surman, or person is hedged about, existed

The Friday following was a Fofie, i.e. a sacred Friday which comes round once every forty-three days ; this was a day of purification for all. The king and his court, dressed in their best, and preceded by the Golden Stool and the ancestral blackened stools, the odwira suman, the Bosonmmuru suman, the shrines of the gods, together with all the paraphernalia of the household, stools, chairs, drums, horns, &c., were marched to the stream, near Akyeremade. Here the war-chair called fwedom (' drive back the enemy ') was set up, and upon this was placed the Golden Stool. The numerous blackened stools, the shrines of ancestral spirits, were held in front of the bearers, each by its respective stoolcarrier. The king held in his hand a branch of the plant called Bosommuru adwira; this he dipped into a large brass basin that had been filled with the sacred water, and with it sprinkled the Golden Stool, repeating as he did so the following words :

Friday, Stool of Kings, I sprinkle water upon you, may your
power return sharp and fierce. Grant that when I and another meet (in battle) grant it be as when I met
Denkyira ; you let me cut off his head.
As when I met Akyem; you let me cut off his head.
As when I met Domma; you let me cut off his head.
As when I met Tekiman; you let me cut off his head.
As when I met Gyaman; you'let me cut off his head.
The edges of the years have met,
I pray you for life.
May the nation prosper.
May the women bear children.
May the hunters kill meat.
We who dig for gold, let us get gold to dig, and grant that
I get some for the upkeep of my kingship.'

because the infringement of them would destroy their powers, and so render them vulnerable. I think we have here and in the rite just described some substantial proof that such a supposition is correct.

Ahen' Gwa Kofi, me bo wo asuo, ama wo ano aba namn am.
Ama me ne obiara h'ia.
Se me ne Denkyira hyia a, wa ma me twa ne'ti.
Akyem hyia a, wa ma me twa ne'ti.
Domma hyia a, wa ma me twa ne'ti.
Tekiman hyia a, wa ma me twa ne'ti.
Gyaman hyia a, wa ma me twa ne'ti.
Afe ano ahyia.
Ye sere wo nkwa.
Oman nve yiye.
Mmawofo nwo mma.
Mmofuo nkum nam.
Yen a edie sika, yenya siha ntu, na menya bi nni 'hene.

Then the Odwira, Bosommuru, the ancestral blackened stools, and the assembled people were likewise sprinkled, and similar prayers offered up, asking for prosperity for the nation, freedom from sickness, plentiful crops, and many children.
Then every one returned home ; sheep were sacrificed to the ghosts of the kings, and wine and new yams offered to them, with these words :
Afe ano ahyia, me de 'gwan ne bayere foforo mede ma wo, na
wagye adi,
Me nkwaso.
Ale Asante 'man nkwaso.
Alma a ye ye afuo, se ye ye a, aduane inmera bebree.
Alma ya'die biara mma ha.
The edges of the years have met, I take sheep and new yams
and give you that you may eat.
Life to me.
Life to this my Ashanti people.
Women who cultivate the farms, when they do so, grant the
food comes forth in abundance.
Do not allow any illness to come.
Fresh yams were also placed on the shrines of various abosom (gods), on the Odwira and on Bosommuru. New yams were sent to other burial-places of the royal house, which will be noted presently. A week later the chief of Bantama gave new yams to his ancestral ghosts. Only after ghosts, gods, and other nonhuman spiritual powers had partaken of the new crops, might the king, his chiefs, and the nation eat of them.
I will close this account with the method of conducting the human sacrifices which were made on the occasion of the Odwira ceremony. The reigning king proceeded to the royal mausoleum at Bantama, whither the victims, generally twelve in number, were also conducted. These were generally captives or criminals already sentenced to death. With a sepow knife through the cheeks, and arms pinioned behind them, they were lined up before the Aya Kese (the great brass vessel), which has already been described (see Frontispiece). The King of Ashanti now entered the ' great house' to visit each of his ancestor's skeletons in turn, and to pour out wine before them. A drummer, with his ntumpane drums, stood waiting for a. given signal. As the king entered each chamber in succession, beginning with Osai Tutu

and ending with Kwaku Dua II, 'the divine drummer' sent the message of death, which was the signal for one of the waiting men to be dispatched. Just before cutting off his head the executioner would say to him : ' Ko samandow ko som Osai Tutu.' ' Off with you to the land of ghosts and serve Osai Tutu ' (or whichever king he was being sent to serve). The drums (sometimes horns also)-

which other writers have noted seemed to be the signal for a head to be cut off-in each case sent the following message.1

I give each message, (a) in the tones ; (b) in Ashanti ; (c) in English. M stands for a beat upon the 'male' or low-toned drum, F for a beat on the ' female ' or high-toned drum.

M M F M F MMM Osai Tutu Firampon.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
M F Due.
Osai Tutu Firampon.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!

Before the last note had sounded the first victim was beheaded. The body was quickly turned over on its stomach, and some of the blood smeared on certain drums, which I have already mentioned. The king then entered the second chamber, which contained the skeleton of Opoku Ware alias Owusu Kokoo, and the drums again spoke.

M M F M M F MMM Owusu Kokoo Firampon.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
M F Due
Owusu Firampon, the red one, Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!

The whole system of tympanophonic communication has been carefully discussed in Chapter XXII of Ashanti, to which I would refer the reader.

The second head was cut off. The king passed into the third chamber, that of Osai Kojo. The drums sent the message: MMF MF M(FF) MMF
OsaiKojookooowia.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
M F Due.
Osai Kojo who fought in the sun.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe
The third man was then killed.

The fourth skeleton was visited.
I F F M M F F MMMM Osaforo Opoku Agyeman.
F F M F F Wagye nie dine.
F F F F Dainirifa.
F F F F Daniirifa.
F F F F Dainirifa.
M F Due.
Osaforo Opoku Agyeman.
He has received a name.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!
The fourth head fell.
The king passed on and entered the next chamber.
MMF MM MF FM MFF Osai Bonsu Oko kyere ahene.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
M F Due.
Osai Bonsu who seizes kings.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe
The fifth victim passed into the spirit world, to serve the master whom the drums had called up from the land of ghosts.

RITES DE PASSAGE
The king entered the sixth chamber ; the drums again spoke. M M F M M
MMM Osai Yao Firampon.
F F F F Damirifa..
F F F F Damirifa.
F F F F Damirifa.
M F Due.
Osai Yao Firampon.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!
The sixth man fell. The king continued his round but one : MFFMF MMF FM MMM
FFFF FFFF FFFF MF
and entered the last chamber
Ofebiriti Kwaku
Firampon. Damirifa. Damirifa. Damirifa. Due.

Dua
Ofebiriti Kwaku Dua.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!
A seventh soul was released for service of the dead king. The king entered the last chamber, and the talking drums beat out their message of death:
MFFMF I
FFFF FFFF FFFF MF
M M M M F MMM Ofibiriti Agyeman Kofi
Fira npon Damirifa. Damirzfa. Damirifa. Due.
Ofibiriti Agyeman Kofi Firampon.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!
Woe!

THE ODWIRA CEREMONY
The eighth man was killed. The remaining four were beheaded together as the king stepped out of the gate of the mausoleum.
We should not forget that these same men were capable of composing and sounding forth this stanza:
The stream crosses the path, The path crosses the stream, Which of them is the elder ?
Did we not cut a path to meet that stream ?
The stream had its origin long long ago.
The stream had its origin from the Creator.
He created things.
The bodies were then dragged into the forest behind Bantama, at the spot known simply as born' (in the hollow). When I penetrated the dense undergrowth and visited this place a year ago I had only to turn over the mould with my foot to disclose bones and fragments of skulls.
The Ashanti state that King Kakari (always misspelled Karikari in official and other records) made a humane rule that only twelve persons should be sacrificed on this occasion, the number previously not having been limited. The king after visiting Bantama for the purpose of these sacrifices returned to the palace, where he was entertained by the music of the kete drums and kete reed-pipes. These kete players, and also singers, are somewhat like the minstrels the Ashanti name Kwadwumfo.' They recount in song the names and heroic deeds of the dead, ' whereupon the king would weep and give orders that a captive was to be killed '. These sacrifices, I believe, generally ended the ceremony. There was little real rejoicing at the coming in of the New Year. My Ashanti friend remarked, 'Eyee vie de na menya me 'ti ' (' I was glad I still had my head ').
I The minstrels, kwadwumfo. These men are trained from childhood in all the history of the clan. They are still to be found at the courts of the great amanhene

(paramount chiefs). They chant the titles and deeds of dead kings with a curious nasal intonation, as they stand behind the stool of the reigning chief; the recital of these greatly affects the chief and often moves him to tears.
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XIII
OTHER BURIAL-PLACES FOR
KINGS AND QUEENS

BEFORE I leave the subject of the death of the kings, and pass on to the death customs of more ordinary mortals, I think it will be of interest to write a few words about some other burialplaces for kings, for Queen Mothers, and others of the royal Oyoko clan. Not all the Ashanti kings were placed in the mausoleum at Bantama. Students of Ashanti history will have looked in vain among the names of the royal dead at Bantama for Kusi Bodom, Osai Kwame, Kakari, and Mensa Bonsu. The reason for this was that some of these were deposed ; a dethroned king might not rest at Bantama. These kings are laid in one or other of the royal Barim (cemeteries) in Coomassie, or at the little village of Tradition has it that this village was founded
by Kusi Bodom, the grandson l of the great king Osai Tutu. It was also believed to be a favourite resort of Osai Kojo, Osai Kwame, Opoku Fofie, Bonsu Panyin, and Osai Yao, who used to visit it for three or four days every year.2 At the end of the village street now stand the walls of a tumble-down ruin, which is known as Kusi Bodom Barim (the Kusi Bodom mausoleum; see Fig. 57), but I have reason to believe that this king is buried elsewhere. The odekuro (head of town) of -- used to be directly under the King of Ashanti, which points to his having held an important position. The present head of the village is a very old man, who told me that he was born during the reign of King Osai Yao and was a grown boy when Kwaku Dua I came to the stool, which would make him to be now over ninety years old. He was wounded in the 1874 campaign, fighting against us (see Fig. 58).

Before the Odwira ceremony, which has just been described, the King of Ashanti is said always to have gone to this place
In classificatory sense.
2 Almost certainly, I think, in connexion with funeral rites.

FIG. 57. Kusi Bodom Barim
FIG. 58. The chief of the village of B

to inform the spirit of his ancestor, Kusi Bodom, of the approaching rites. I had repeatedly heard that the Ashanti, anticipating the destruction of Bantama in 1895, had removed the skeletons of their kings to this place. I therefore decided to visit it and to find out what was possible. I arrived at - on the 17th of May, 1923, and on the following day, after a long talk with the old man whom I have already mentioned, I had the privilege of being shown the coffins containing the skeletons

of two of the Ashanti kings, Kakari and Mensa Bonsu. These are more sacred, perhaps, than the Golden Stool and its regalia, in the pursuit of which our blood and treasure had vainly been poured.

I gazed upon these coffins, objects of so much veneration, and began to feel some of the awe and reverence the Ashanti have for these relics, and almost unconsciously, as I stood bareheaded before the dead kings, I found myself greeting them in the Ashanti formula, 'Nananom makye o' ('Grandsires, good morning'). The two coffins were quite short, not more than four feet long, and hexagonal in shape; the material of which they were made was covered with green silk, studded with gold disks or rosettes. Seven of these were visible on each coffin ; the design of these disks varied in each case.

I saw only these two coffins at -. A trustworthy informant, who accompanied me on this occasion, stated that he had last seen the coffins of these two kings in February 1921, but that they were then covered with black velvet. He had on that occasion accompanied his father, who was a great man in the court in former days, to inform the skeletons of the death of Akua Afiriye, niece of ex-King Prempeh. The ceremony on that occasion, at which he had taken a small part, had consisted in pouring some wine before the coffins, with the words :

'Akyempow Kakari, nne ye hu amane, na me bobo wo amanie se wo ara nua odehye Akua Afireye na wa firi m' na me bo wo nkae.'

'Kakari, the giver of pure gold, to-day we have seen a calamity, and I give you the news that your own sister the royal Akua Afireyc has passed forth, and I call her to your recollection.'

OTHER BURIAL PLACES

Similar words were said before the second coffin. The shape of these coffins was something like the rough sketch below, which I made as soon as I returned to my quarters.

The royal mausoleum at Bantama was not destroyed in 1874,1 and the eight skeletons were removed from it before it was burned in 1895.2 It is perhaps -- politic not to inquire exactly where the bones now rest. I hope, however, that a day will come for Ashanti, when its people, not despising their ancient past, but enlightened, peaceful, prosperous, and no longer fearing that we should wish to desecrate their dead, will again rear a worthy mausoleum over their kings.

Another royal burial-ground is Akyeremade, known as the Akyeremade Barim (see Fig. 59), which lies behind Adum Street. Here are interred the 'royals' of the Oyoko clan, who were eligible to be kings of Ashanti, but never sat on the stool or, having been elected, were deposed. A great metal basin, lying at the foot of an ancient tree, marks the site of the grave of Ohene 'ba Sabin, son of Kusi Bodom.

The burial-ground called Ahemaho, to which reference has already been made, stands at the corner, of Adum Street and Kingsway. A very ancient tree whose roots straggle all over the ground marks the site. Here, as the name implies, royal princesses and queen mothers were buried (see Fig. 60).

There was a ceremony in connexion with that group of high officials called the Wirempefo, who when the king died rushed in and seized the Golden Stool, and

the stool belonging to the late king-which was to become his blackened stool. This ceremony had a political significance. I propose to deal with it later on, when treating of a similar ceremony which I witnessed.3

See The Story of the Ashanti Campaign, by Winwood Reade, pp. 354-5.

- According to the account by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, already quoted. See Chapter XVIII.

FIG. 59. The Akyeremade burial ground

FIG. 6o. The burial ground called 'Ahemaho '

XIV

FUNERAL RITES FOR ORDINARY INDIVIDUALS

IT is not, perhaps, in the obsequies of kings or queens that we shall find in any country examples of funeral rites that will best illustrate the beliefs underlying the customs and ceremonies in connexion with them.

Beyond describing the magnificence and splendour of royal funerals and the lurid details of human sacrifices, contemporary writerg about Ashanti at the height of its power have told anthropologists little of real value. It is by examining the affairs of those whom we may term' the plain folk '-whether at prayer, or at play, or in their sorrows-that we can arrive at an understanding of the nature of national beliefs and of the national soul.

It is proposed therefore to give, in somewhat minute detail, descriptions of funeral customs of ordinary individuals-customs which I have attended, sometimes merely as a respectful spectator and stranger, at others as a mourner.

When an Ashanti falls ill, and the sickness does not yield to the ordinary household remedies (really household magic), or cannot be diagnosed, it then becomes necessary to call in a doctor. The doctor, as we have already seen,1 may be either what we should call a general practitioner, or a specialist. The Ashanti word for the former is Sumanni (pl. Sunankwafo), or sometimes Oduruyefo, and for the latter Bonsam 'Komfo. The exact derivation of these terms is interesting. Sumanni is just one who deals in suman, i. e. charms. If we studied his methods superficially, we should say he was a herbalist, and so he is, in so far as he works with leaves and roots and plants ; but there is this great difference-his medicines are not efficacious because of their antitoxic properties, but because of their magic properties. The disease, for which he sets out to prescribe, is itself caused by superhuman agencies, and can only be cured by similar counter' See Chapter IV.

FUNERAL RITES FOR

measures. It is spirit acting upon spirit, not antitoxin upon toxin. There are many allied diseases in the spiritual pharmacopoeia, with all of which the sumankwafo are capable of dealing. There is one, however, which he cannot treat, the most dreaded scourge in Africa, a malady which I suppose it is no exaggeration to state has taken toll of tens of thousands of lives-i. e. witchcraft. Against this disease the Ashanti calls in the specialist, the Bonsam 'Komfo. Now okomfo is really a priest,

one upon whom akom (possession) may come, and Bonsam is a male witch. I have already dealt with the craft of witch-doctors, or white witches, or whatever we may decide to call them, and we have seen how an analysis of their title explains the source of their inspirations, for these are men who have learned to use and control black magic in order to defeat black magic.' As a general rule their methods of treatment are indirect, for they strive to cure the patient by stamping out the cause of the disease at its source, i. e. the discovery and exposure and killing of the witch. This quest, as we shall see presently, does not end with the death of the doctors' patient, for this 'priest of the powers of evil' will cvcn call the spirit of the dead man, whom he has been unable to cure, to help him in his search for the murderer.

A man or woman who is ill may also consult a priest of one of the many abosom (gods) as to the nature, cause, and probable ending of his sickness, and in many cases is informed by the god, through the medium of its mouthpiece the priest, that 'samanfo ye fzwe fwe wo ' (' the spirits of your ancestors are seeking for you ,).2 This affords us a further clue as to another possible source of sickness and death.

The services of the medicine-man and of the witch-doctor and the propitiation of ancestral spirits and offerings to the gods all having proved equally unavailing, and death being about to claim the victim, the watchers by the death-bed are expected, at the moment the soul leaves the body, to pour a little water down the throat of the person who is dying, with these words :

' Asumasi se begye nssu yi nom, wo kore yi emma asem biara mma ha, na mma ezo efie ha nyina nwo mna.'

(Your clansmen), so-and-so and so-and-so, say : receive this

See Chapter III.

A priest will not make a charge for such an oracular utterance.

water and drink, and do not permit any evil thing to come whence you are setting out, and permit all the women of this household to bear children.'

An Ashanti lives in dread of 'passing over' without some one to perform this last pious rite, and it is considered a disgrace to relatives to have omitted to do so. ' Wo nua wafirinz' na wonya obi ennu n'anom' nsuo' (' Your clansman went forth and you did not get any one to pour water into his mouth ') is the reproach cast at them. This is the reason why an old Ashanti of any standing will seldom set out, even on a very short journey, unless accompanied by a child or an attendant, who would be ready to perform this duty should death suddenly overtake him. The Ashanti declare that in order to reach the samandow (place of ghosts) ' a steep hill must be climbed'. They see the dying man panting for breath, and think of his soul struggling up some steep incline, and this draught of water is to speed him on his journey.

Preparations are then made for washing the corpse ; for this, hot water, a new sponge, and a new towel are used. The chief of the village must be at once informed, nor may any one commence the funeral wail until this has been done, under a penalty of a fine of asant ne nsanu (i.e. £4 I3s.) and a sheep. The washers

and dressers of the corpse are paid vith wine which is known as nsa ye de yi no gzcare ye (the wine which is used to bathe him). Rum is often poured down the throat, with the idea, I believe, of staying the process of decomposition; 1 a small quantity is also poured upon the ground for the spirit. Various forms of 'ghost' or 'soul' currency ('sa man sika or 'kra sika), in the form of ornaments of a certain shape and design, are bound round the wrists of the corpse. Gold dust is often put into its ears and into the hollow above the zygomatic arch, known as sika gzt bere (the place for pouring gold dust). Gold dust is also bound up in a small packet and tied to the loin cloth; hair is sometimes placed in the mouth.2 The body, dressed in its best cloth and adorned, in addition to the ' soul money ', with every available

I The idea of embalming appears to be not entirely unknown to the Ashanti. In the case of a great man being killed in war, or dying far away from home, the intestines were removed through the anus and the abdomen stuffed with certain leaves. The corpse was then placed on a rack and smoked over a slow fire.

2 1 have been informed by some Asbanti that hair is a form of money or has some value in the world of ghosts.

gold ornament, is laid on its left side, generally with the hands folded against the cheek, and sometimes with a silk handkerchief between them to wipe off the sweat that comes upon them in climbing the hill. In the photograph, Fig. 61, which was taken in the Brong country of Northern Ashanti, the deceased is also dressed in a European felt hat, under the rim of which, as also between his fingers of both hands, are stuck numerous cigarettes.

The funeral wailing is now begun: Agya e! pue! (' Alas! father ') or Pue en'e ! (' Alas ! mother '), according to the sex of the deceased, and guns are fired. The blood relations smear lines of red clay (ntwuma) or odame on the forehead (known as kotobirigya), and on the upper part of the arms (called asafie). In the case of any relation who is in the priesthood, he or she must smear himself or herself with white clay. Mourning bands (abotiri) are fastened round the head, into which red peppers are sometimes placed ; the russet-brown mourning cloths are put on ; these are sometimes marked with the Edinkira stamped designs.1 Sometimes the head of the corpse is shaved and marked with alternate red, white, and black stripes, made with esono (red dye), white clay, and bidie (charcoal). This, I am informed, is done that the dead person may be readily recognized if he or she walks as a saman (ghost). Occasionally a brass pan is placed beneath the head and later is buried in this position, in order to receive the head when it drops off. Instead of the hands being folded, as just described, they are sometimes allowed to rest with the fingers inside one of the metal vessels called kuduo which contain gold dust. Every one must now fast,2 but palm-wine may be drunk. Sexual abstinence is not enjoined on the part of those taking part in funeral rites ; in fact, relatives are enjoined to have intercourse with their wives on these occasions. This does not apply, however, to the spouse of the deceased ; the widow's special position will be examined later ; in the case of a widower

I These are dyed with a decoction of kuntunkuni bark (Sapindaceae) see Chapter XXV.

I Fasting is abuada (lit. 'cover up [food] and go to sleep') the period varies for different persons. The general public attending a funeral is supposed to fast from the day of the death to the day of the interment. The old women of deceased's abusua (clan) ' fast ' for forty days, but they may drink slops. Other members of the family fast from the day of death till that day week, da hyia da (lit. ' day meets day '), with short intervals when they may partake of food.
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FIG. 61. The body is laid on its left side
FIG. 6z. Firing guns at a funeral

FiG. 63. Drumming at a funeral: ntumpane drums on the left, fontomfrom drums on the right
FIG. 64. Dancing at a funeral

he is expected to abstain from sexual intercourse with any other wife or wives for fifteen days after the death. The next stage in the proceedings, after the body has been washed, dressed, and laid out in the manner described, is the preparation of food for the journey, upon which the deceased is supposed to have embarked. This food generally consists of a fowl, eggs, and mashed plantains or yams and water, which are placed beside the body, which has been laid on its left side purposely to leave the right arm and hand free for eating. The food, known as 'Kra aduane (food for the soul), is placed before the corpse, with the following words repeated three times: ' Wo 'kra akoko ni o' (' Here is a fowl for your soul ').
A 'wake' is now kept up, night and day, until the body is buried. The whole time is spent in firing guns, drumming, dancing, and singing (see Figs. 62-4). The widow sits beside the body, fanning away the flies, and sleeps beside it when she is exhausted. Every one generally becomes very drunk, but we should not pass a very severe judgement on this account. Grief and sorrow are very real where the clan (blood) relations are concerned, for the tears demanded by social custom are none the less a token of genuine grief. For others, not clansmen and women, such occasions are perhaps not so tragic, and on this account these rites may seem to the uninstructed to be somewhat heartless shows, as mirth and jollity are not altogether absent (see Fig. 65).
The following are translations of some of the songs sung at the funeral shown in Fig. 61. They are commonly heard all over Ashanti, with necessary local variations.'
Our brother, we and he were happy together.
Kofi Donko,2 with whom we were happy.
Take us away too, 0 death.
Look what death has done.
But did not our Master, the Supreme Being, create death ? 3
Grandmother Ampronfiya is a child of the river.
Always I think of the day of death.
I cannot eat.

I walk in sadness, and I die.
Phonograph records have been made of these songs, but I have not yet been able to have the music examined.
The deceased.
There is a well-known Ashanti saying which runs : 'Odomankoma bo owuo ma owuo hum no' ('The Creator created Death and so caused his own death ').

O Amankwatia, son of Adu,1
Whom does death overlook ?
Mother hen, do with your own chickens as you do with ours. You keep your own chicks behind you while you peck at ours.
Chorus: 0 Amankwatia, whom does death overlook ?
I am an orphan, and when I recall the death of my father,
water from my eyes falls upon me.
When I recall the death of my mother, water from my eyes
falls upon me.
We walk, we walk, 0 Mother Tano (the river),
Until now we walk and it will soon be night.
It is because of the sorrow of death that we walk (i. e. to
the burial-ground).
In the meantime all the arrangements for the funeral are being made, and blood and ntoro relations and friends will be arriving; quantities of gunpowder will be purchased, and preparations made for the final feast and gifts for the dead, which will presently be set before the body.
Before I begin a detailed description of these and other rites, I propose to digress for a moment, in order to make some observations regarding the exact meaning of certain words, which are constantly to be met in connexion with these ceremonies, but are really very little understood. The Ashanti use a number of names which have been roughly translated into English by the words ' soul ' or ' spirit ' or ' ghost ', without any clear attempt to find out if these words to an Ashanti are synonymous terms, or refer to different kinds of soul or spirit, or to a series of multiple souls, or particular spirits, with different functions during life and with a varying destination after death. I will mention each Ashanti term separately, and give a definition when possible.
Saman. This is a ghost, an apparition, a spectre; this term is never applied to a living person or to anything inherent in a living person. It is objective and is the form which the dead are sometimes seen to take, when visible on earth, and in it they go about in the asaman or samandow (the place of ghosts) ; samanpow is the ' thicket of ghosts' ; Samanfo, the ghosts, i. e. spirits of ancestors. The word has no connexion whatever with any kind of soul.
A famous war-chief of Bantama.

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FIc. 6S. An old woman at a funeral (note the mourning
band on the head)

Sasa. This is the sisa of Miss Kingsley and of Ellis. This word also can only be used in connexion with the dead, but is not confined to persons, as we shall see presently when discussing animal funerals. The sasa is the invisible spiritual power of a person or animal, which disturbs the mind of the living, or works a spell or mischief upon them, so that they suffer in various ways. Persons who are always taking life have to be particularly careful to guard against sasa influence, and it is among them that its action is mainly seen, e. g. among executioners, hunters, butchers, and, as a later development-among sawyers-who cut down the great forest trees. The remorse that might drive the murderer in this country to confession or to suicide, the Ashanti would explain at once as the operation of the sasa of the murdered man upon his murderer. I have mentioned occasionally in the preceding pages the steps taken to avoid the vengeance of the sasa. The sasa is essentially the bad, revengeful, and hurtful element in a spirit; it is that part which at all costs must be ' laid ' or rendered innocuous. The funeral rites which are now being dealt with are really, I believe, the placating, appeasing, and the final speeding of a soul which may contain this very dangerous element in its composition.

Okra, 'kra. This is perhaps best rendered by the word ' soul' It seems to be used only of human beings, at least I have never heard of the 'kra of an animal. There is an excellent note on this word in Christaller,1 which in some respects approximates to the results of my own inquiries.

'Okra: The Soul of a man. According to the notions of the natives the kara of a person exists before his birth and may be the soul or spirit of a relation or other person already dead.'

' In life the 'kra is considered partly as the soul or spirit of a person (cf. sunsum, honhom), partly as a separate being, dislinct from the person, who protects him . . . gives him good or bad advice, causes his undertakings to prosper, or slights or neglects him . . ., and therefore, in the case of prosperity receives thanks and thanksofferings like a fetish.' . . . ' When the person is about to die, the kara leaves him gradually, before he breathes his last. .. .'

An Ashanti once said to me that there were seven 'kra. He

I Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language, pp. 254-5.

was possibly referring to the fact, that according to the day a child is born, i. e. receives its 'kra, that day is dedicated to the 'washing' of the ''kra. The 'kra is the ohoho (the stranger), an Ashanti once said to me, 'for it found the obosom or ntoro already there '. 'It is that which makes one breathe', said another. ' It goes to the spirit world when one dies.' ' It protects a man.' 'When you sleep your 'kra does not leave you, as your sunsum may.'

The name for a slave or a person destined to- be sacrificed on the death of a king, to accompany him as an attendant to the spirit world, is okra, which if the same word, as it probably is, proves at least the destination of the 'kra at death. It is very

difficult sometimes to distinguish between the 'kra and the next kind of soul, the sunsum, and sometimes the words seem synonymous, but I cannot help thinking this is a loose use of the terms, e. g. me 'kra ye, me sunsum ye seem equally common, 'I have a lucky 'kra', ' I have a lucky sunsum'. On the other hand, an Ashanti would never talk of' washing his sunsum '. When a man is dying his 'kra may start off for the samandow (land of ghosts) before him; that is why a man pants, 'his 'kra is climbing the hill to the spirit land.'

Sunsum. It is a man's sunsum that may wander about in sleep. ' It may encounter other sunsum and get knocked about, when you will feel unwell, or killed, when you will sicken and die.' Perhaps the sunsum is the more volatile part of the whole 'kra. If a man's wife is unfaithful, it is his 'kra which will inform his obosom (ntoro), which will then let his sunsum know, and this last will seize the woman so that she may become ill and die. The sunsum is what protects you: ' Me sunsum edu' ; ' Me sunsum ye den'; 'Me sunsum gyina m'akyi'; 'My sunsum is heavy' ; 'My sunsum is strong' ; 'My sunsum stands at my back ', are all expressions constantly heard, but in almost any of them the word 'kra might be submitted for sunsum. On the other hand, in the expression 'Me kunu sunsum akyere me', 'My husband's sunsum has caught me', 'kra could not be substituted, which seems to point to the fact that the 'kra is not volatile in life, as the sunsum undoubtedly is. ' Your sunsum is an advance guard and often sits at the door.'

In a very interesting ceremony, to be described later, it is

not the sunsum but the 'kra which is separated from the clan, the sunsum, of which it is a part, being perhaps included in the whole.

'One's sunsum may be an obayifo (witch).' 'The 'kra and sunsum are the same.'

All these quotations, even when sometimes contradictory, nevertheless give one an idea of what these terms mean to an Ashanti, and certainly will help to a clearer understanding of the rites which are to follow. There still remains one other element in a man or woman to which reference has already been made, that is the nioro. ' The 'kra is the stranger, for it found the obosom or ntoro already in the child.' The functions of the ntoro in the making of the child are clear enough, and when the man-child grows to puberty, it repeats these functions. ' The ntoro does not go with the 'kra to the spirit world, it remains behind and goes to a man's children, or if he has none, then to his brother's children.' A man performs rites for his ntoro just as he does for his 'kra, but I cannot state what the link, if any, is between the two ; at times I am almost inclined to think that they are synonymous terms.

Obosom, meaning the spirit of a particular ntoro division, and ntoro seem in this connexion synonymous, as the very name of the various ntoro divisions indicate, e. g. Bosom twe, Bosom Mmuru, Bosom Pra, i. e. the god Twe, the god Mmuru, the god Pra, all these again being river or lake spirits, and ' sons of the supreme Sky God '.

It is proposed now to give in detail a list of the customary donations, food and presents, which are given to the dead by those attending the funeral, and especially to note the exact relationship of the donors to the deceased. So essential

and rigid were the unwritten laws that certain persons must perform certain acts and give certain presents at the funeral, that proof of this kind of co-operation is even now held in the Courts of Law as evidence that a certain relationship between the deceased and the person who took a particular part in the rites must have existed. Such details, though they may make rather uninteresting reading, are therefore of value.

The expenses in connexion with a funeral, for which the family (in the narrowersense of blood relations of the deceased) primarily

is responsible, are known in Ashanti as ayi asi 'ka, i. e. funeral debts which bind or hold. Voluntary contributions towards these expenses made by strangers, as an act of friendship and courtesy, are called nsa. They are kept separate and distinct and do not in any way make the donors liable for funeral expenses, for the debts of the deceased, or conversely give a claim to share in any surplus of the estate. The contributions, even where more or less obligatory, of the spouse and the children and grandchildren (i. e. in the case where the deceased is a man) also come under the category of nsa.

In the final adjustment of the funeral accounts, the family (blood relations and clan) alone take a hand; they alone share any liability in case of a deficiency, or profit in case of a surplus.

The following are the time-honoured nsa funeral contributions in the case of an adult male leaving issue. A. The wife or wives each contribute-:

(I) Gold dust, to the value of about ntaku miensa, i. e. 1/6,
which goes to the general funds.

(2) A small quantity of gold dust and sometimes a small nugget
of gold, which, with some charcoal, is tied up in a piece of white cloth and placed in the danta (loin-cloth) of the deceased. This gift is known as "kra sika', 'soul's money', and is intended for the purchase of necessaries in the world of ghosts. The charcoal is ' to blind the
sasa of the dead man'.

(3) A cloth called efunu ntama, i. e. shroud.

(4) Food, which the wife cooks and places beside the body;
this last item is not compulsory (n'hye). B. The children collectively give :

(I) A sheep, some of which is cooked and placed beside the
body.

(2) A cloth, which is buried with the body.

(3) Gold dust to the value of domma or suru (i. e. 7s. to 20S.).' C. The deceased father's brothers' children (Agya mma) collectively
give:

(I) A sheep.

(2) A cloth which is buried with the body.

1 In ancient times coffins were not much used, except for persons of high rank. Nowadays they are quite common and the sons generally bear the cost.

(3) A contribution of from lOS. to 40s. in gold dust, towards
funeral expenses.
D. Deceased's grandchildren collectively give:
A contribution of from 7s. to ios. in gold dust. E. Brother's grandchildren:
As in case of D. above.
F. Friends in general:
What each can afford. Soafa, i. e. 3s.-worth of gold dust,
is a very favourite sum.
The deceased's own family, i. e. blood or clan relations, his abusuafo, may now be mentioned. They will consist among others of :
A. His mother, brothers, sisters, sisters' children, mother's brothers and sisters, mother's sisters' children (in case where deceased is a woman, her own children). All these persons are collectively responsible for the following items, which are the chief expenses in connexion with a funeral :
(i) Gunpowder. The amount is only limited by the wealth of the family, who take great pride in expending as much as they can afford. The wealth, number, and position of a family on such occasions is gauged by the quantity of gunpowder expended; heavy debts are willingly incurred for this. Ashanti whom I have questioned generally repudiate the idea that this firing of guns is done with any other motive than the making of a public demonstration ; ' It is not to drive away the sasa of the dead', they say. The sasa is dispelled by much more subtle means, as will presently be seen. I have been told, however, that it is to deafen the sasa, and to prevent it from hearing.what is said about it, but I doubt this, for de mortuis nil nisi bonum is a prohibition which none would think of disobeying.
(2) Palm-wine or rum. As much is purchased as the family can afford; 20-30 nkotokyiwa pots full.
(3) Food. Sheep, as miany as they can afford. Portions of these are cooked and placed before the body, and the remainder eaten by children who have not reached puberty, and so are not required to fast or to observe alimentary taboos. The abusuafo (family) doos not collectively buy a cloth, but any member who wishes, to present one to the dead may do so.
The deceased's mother's brothers' children and father's sisters'

children fall into a class by themselves, for they are neither blood nor ntoro relations : they are not compelled to give anything, but possibly will contribute some small amount.
The formal presentation of these gifts, especially those given directly to the dead, is an impressive and moving spectacle. One such scene, out of many I have witnessed, will always remain in my memory. I had been summoned from a camp across the Volta to look for a man who was reported to have been killed byan elephant. We found the body lying in fairly open'orchard' country; it was terribly mutilated-one arm was almost torn off at the shoulder; and the body had been trampled into the soft ground. The wounded elephant had trodden on him, picked him up again, carried him some yards, trampled upon him again', and had

repeated this operation three times. We, a tracker and I, followed the wounded elephant, whose spoor was still fresh, until it entered some impassable swamps where the water rose above our armpits and swimming was impossible owing to the long grass. I afterwards attended the funeral ; the body was in an open coffin, wrapped in a rich cloth. Each person approached it in turn in the customary manner with his or her gift, which was laid on the body. The theme of all the presentation speeches was the same. ' Let your family have long life and health. May we get money to pay for your funeral. Do not let any of us fall sick. May the women bear children.' When my turn came I presented my small donation by proxy; the tracker who had accompanied me presented it, and recounted all we had done in our attempt to follow the elephant, until turned back by the swamps that had swallowed it up. The simple faith of the mourners that all that was said was heard by the dead was very touching. It was not possible on this occasion for me to attend the remaining rites, so I shall continue this account of funeral rites, by mentioning further details from other funerals which I have attended.

The sheep given by the abusua (the family) is often killed in the courtyard in presence of the body. It is presented by the head of the family; addressing the dead by name, he says: ' Here'is a sheep. Let all your family have long life and health. May we get money to pay your funeral expenses. Do not let any one die, or any cause of quarrel arise out of the funeral.'

The blood of the sheep is allowed to fall upon the earth, and the rest is caught in a wooden bowl. When the spouse is presenting his or her gift, he or she almost invariably adds : ' Do not let me become impotent', or 'Let me bear children '.' The offerings of food are arrayed on low tables before the corpse, who is informed, as water is poured on the ground before it : Here is water, wash your hands and eat.' At the funeral of my old friend, Kakari, I counted no less than thirteen dishes placed before the coffin.2 These contained boiled fowls stuffed with hard-boiled eggs, parts of four sheep ' cooked in different ways, fish, fruit, yams, and various soups.

The body is generally buried on the third day (ayi yo da). In olden times the actual interment took place at night, but day-time burials are now not unknown. Coffins nowadays are quite common. They were used in olden times, as we have seen, in the case of kings. They are said to have been fashioned out of the great flat buttress roots of the onyina (silk-cotton tree). When a coffin was not used, the body was wrapped in mats.

Before the coffin is nailed down by the asokwafo (sextons), 'dea ote ayi kete so', 'he who sits upon the funeral mat', reckons all the nsa, and the body is then informed of these total contributions. The firing of guns, the weeping and lamentations, the halfdrunken jollity of the crowds, the songs, the dancing, the drumming, the nauseating stench of the body, the heat and the dust, all combine to drive away the European spectator of such scenes. What follows, however, repaid investigation, and like many of the rites described in these chapters, has never been recorded.

Just before the coffin is nailed down, one of the family of the deceased steps forward, and addresses the dead in the following words :
To-day you go.
We have fired guns.
We have brought sheep.
We have brought cloths.
We have made a fine funeral.
I The full significance of this request will be seen presently.
2 This coffin contained, I believe, only hair and nail parings, the body having been buried some weeks previously.
3 The heads of these sheep covered with the omentum were placed in front of the coffin.
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Do not let any one fall ill.
Let us get money to pay for the expenses we have made.
Let all the mourners have strength.
Life to the chief.
Let him beget -children.
Let all be fertile.
The coffin is now closed, and a hole is knocked in the wall; 1 through this the coffin is carried by the asokwafo ; on its arrival outside it is placed on the ground, but not without a pretence being first made to set it down twice before it finally comes to rest. The reason for this curious custom is undoubtedly to give Asase Ya (the Earth Goddess) due notice and warning. The same courtesy was paid to the Golden Stool.2
The head of the deceased's family (i. e. blood) now steps forward, holding in either hand a branch of summe (Costus sp.); touching the coffin with each branch alternately, he says:
Asumasi me pae wo 'kra ne yen ntem.'
'So-and-so, I separate your soul ('kra) from us.' 3 (i. e. from the abusua.)
One of the branches is laid upon the coffin and buried with it the other is placed at the head of the sleeping-place of the person who performs the rite. This rite is sometimes carried out also by the spouse, and by the brothers' sons.
The next rite is sometimes omitted. What is here narrated took place at the funeral of A. .. , wife of the paramount chief of
- . . A sheep was killed in front of the coffin by a representative of the clan, with the words :
'A... w'akyere 4 ni o, mma obiara nyare.'
'A..., here is a slave, do not let any one fall sick.'
The custom of sacrificing a sheep instead of a person on such occasions is not, as one might imagine, of entirely modern growth. I am informed that in olden times, long before there was any prohibition of human sacrifice, a sheep was often sacrificed by those
I This is closed soon after. 2 See Ashanti, Chapter XXIII, p. 290.

3 A slight variation of custom is seen when, as sometimes, the head of the clan is touched by an old man or woman of the clan with the second branch, with the words, ' I separate you from the 'kra of this ghost.'
4 Akyere is the word used for any person who is killed upon the death of the master, in order to accompany him or her to the spirit world; the word okra is also used in this sense ; the term seems also employed to describe some one who volunteers for this fate.

who were not able to supply a human victim, or when the permission of the king or local omanhene to kill a slave could not be obtained ; for to kill even one's own slave without such permission was murder according to Ashanti law. This sheep is left lying upon the ground, and will later be dragged, by a rope attached to one of the legs, to the grave, where a leg will be cut off and hung on sticks near the grave. The sextons now raise the coffin to carry it away for burial ; the same courtesies are paid to the Earth Goddess as when the corpse was set down. The spouse of the deceased leads the way, carrying a pot upon the head containing three stones. This pot is known as the kuna kukuo, 'the widow or widower's pot '.' When the spot is reached where all the general mourners will stand fast and leave the relatives of the deceased to proceed alone to the cemetery, the bearer of the pot will turn about and allow the pot to fall backwards off the head, to break into fragments and scatter the three stones and other contents 2 that were within it. He or she will then run back to the town, without once looking backward. The grave will have already been dug in the particular samanpow (thicket of ghosts) set aside, from ancient times, for the burial of that particular clan. As I have already pointed out elsewhere, the bond of clanship exists even in the graveyard and in the world of ghosts. None except a member of the clan could possibly be buried in that clan's burial-ground. In olden times it would have been as much as life was worth, even to be found in the burialground of some other clan than one's own. Family ghosts, whether kindly or not, are the business of the family to whom the person belonged during life. Each village has its various cemeteries, that of the ruling clan from which the headman or chief comes being generally in the centre, with paths radiating from it. In a country where land is held as a great asset, this land was of the highest value, and inalienable.
Before the grave is dug, a libation is poured on the spot, with the words :
Asase Ya, gye nsa nom.
Wo nana asumasi na wawu.
Ye be sere wo aha abo amena.
1 Emme and nunum leaves are also placed in this pot.
2 See p. 173.

Goddess of Earth, receive this wine and drink;
Your grandchild so-and-so has died.
We beg of you that we may here dig a hole.

Asase 1a, 'Thursday's Earth Goddess ', is the spirit which the talking drums address on ceremonial occasions in the stanza which runs :

Spirit of Earth, sorrow is yours.
Spirit of Earth, woe is yours.
Earth with its dust,
Earth, while I am yet alive,
It is upon you that I put my trust,
Earth, who receives my body.
We are addressing you,
And you will understand.

The original type of Ashanti grave was an oblong pit, on one side of which a niche, called ahyenemru,1 was excavated, above the level of the floor, sufficiently large to receive the body. This niche was then screened off with a mat and the rest of the cavity filled in. A similar type of grave was, I recollect, made by the Mang'anja in Nyasaland. The motive in making such a grave is undoubtedly the reluctance to pour earth over the face and body of the dead, who has to be made as comfortable as possible. The introduction of coffins in Ashanti is altering this type of grave to the ordinary pit. The body was placed in the niche, lying on its left side, with the legs slightly drawn up, and hands palms together, under the left cheek, often with a handkerchief between them; the face was covered. The orientation of the grave and the body does not seem to follow a uniform rule, All Ashanti agree that the corpse should not lie facing the village. but they appear to attain this desired end by different methods. Some say the body should be laid facing away from the town, but others declare that as soon as the sextons and mourners have filled in the grave and are departing homewards, the corpse turns round; knowing this to be the case, they deliberately bury it facing home, so that when it turns about it will be facing the forest. They say hunters should always be buried facing the east-to be up and away at dawn-their wives

' Lit. a place in which something is pushed.

facing west, to be ready with the evening meal on the hunter's return.1

To return now to the funeral party-all the food that had been exposed in front of the body is collected and placed in basins ; this food, together with the sponge and towel and water-pots used in bathing the corpse, is taken with the body to the burialground. Only the family and clansmen of the deceased may actually go to the graveyard. Every one else turns back at the cross-roads leading to it. If the grave is one in which a niche has been made, the body is placed in it by persons standing in the grave ; if an ordinary pit has been dug, the coffin is lowered by ropes placed underneath it. These ropes (often a creeper) are afterwards thrown into the grave; then the grave is filled in. The wooden handles are knocked out of the hoes that have been used, and are left behind; the pots, sponge (sapow), and towel are placed in the grave and the food is scattered around. Sometimes another sheep, which is known by the significant name of kogyafo, i. e. some one who accompanies a person on a journey, is killed at the grave side. Wine is poured on the grave, with the words: 'So-and-so, here is vine from your family, do not cause

any of us who have carried you to fall ill.' All drink some of the wine. They then return home ; when they arrive at the village, one of the clansmen brings water and all wash, not only their hands and feet, but the hoes or other tools used at the grave side. Dancing, drinking, and singing continue until sheer exhaustion sends every one home.

The next day is the fourth since the death. The family, who are still fasting, return thanks to every one who has assisted at the funeral. On the fifth day the fast is broken, and the sora hut,

I There were certain days of the week and certain times when actual interments were prohibited. Some of these prohibitions were perhaps local, others were universally imposed. In the Mampon division no one might be buried on a Friday. Tuesday, the day the King of Ashanti washed his ntoro, was another day upon which it was forbidden to bury a body. All burials were also prohibited during the time occupied by a campaign, when the king accompanied the army to war, nor might any one even cry or lament or hold a funeral custom. The bodies of persons who died were placed on racks in the bush, until the armies returned. These taboos were connected in some way with the non-breaking up of the soil. It was in connexion with pottery-making, strangely enough, that I was made aware of their existence, for the potters informed me they were not permitted to dig clay under the circumstances recorded above ; the soil likewise might not be cultivated.

FUNERAL RITES FOR

to be described presently, is made.1 The sixth day is most important ; it is the sora da, which means literally 'the day of rising '. A rough temporary hut has already been made on the outskirts of the town, consisting of four uprights with forked ends, across which other sticks are placed, forming a kind of roof which is spread over with branches of summe. Underneath is placed a pestle and mortar, a strainer, three cooking hearthstones (bukyia), a new pot, and a spoon.

On the actual day on which the sora rite is to take place, one of the family (clan) of the deceased rises in the middle of the night and removes all the sticks of the sora hut but one. Upon this is hung the edowa (palm-fibre streamers) worn by the women of the family during the funeral ceremony. A sheep is now killed in front of the sora hut ; wine is poured out, and the ' spokesman' of the village chief repeats the following words

Nne na ye sora ye wie wo 'yi yo
Bra be gye nsa nom, na ko da dwo.
Mma ohene n'ani infura
Mma onwo mma
Mma asem 'one biare mma
Ye nya sika ntua wo yiye ase 'ka.
To-day with the sora rite we finish your funeral.
Come and receive this wine and drink and begone and rest
peacefully.
Let no one fall ill.
Do not let the chief's eyes become covered over.
Let the women bear children.

Let nothing evil befall.
Let us get money to pay the expenses of your funeral.
Some of the meat of the sacrifice is cooked on the spot, and other food prepared in the utensils that had been placed at the sora hut. A pot is now produced, the abusua kuruwa, i. e. the family pot 2 (see Fig. 66). This pot generally has a lid or cover which has been fashioned to represent the dead; it has frequently also red and white and black stripes. All the blood relations of the deceased now shave their heads ; this hair is

I It is difficult to find out if the date is arbitrary. Some Ashanti say a sora day must be on a Monday, a Thursday, or a Saturday, and within seven days after the person has died.

2 The Dutch writer Bosman mentions these.

FIG. 66. An abusua kuruwa (the family pot)

placed in the pot. About sundown some of the women of the clan take the whole of the utensils from the sora hut, the food, and the ' family pot ' containing the hair, together with the remaining stick, and proceed, being very careful not to look behind them, to the ' thicket of ghosts ', i. e. the burial-ground, where all these articles are deposited, not on the grave, but in a part of the cemetery known as asensie, 'the place of the pots '. Here the mortar is set down, the cooking stones are set in position, the cooking pot placed upon them, with the strainer on top, and the ' family pot' set down beside them ; at the same time the following words are spoken :

Aduane eni o.
1'e tiri eni o.
Gx'e, ko sie yen o.
Here is food.
Here are (hairs from) our heads.
Accept them and go and keep them for us.

The path down which they have passed is closed by laying across it a creeper, at the same time speaking the following words:

We have finished your funeral rites,
We have finished the sora rites,
We have closed the path
It is finished.

They then return to the spot where all the rest of the villagers are awaiting them at the sora hut. As soon as they reach the people who have remained behind, the latter one and all push forward a few inches the stools or chairs upon which they have been seated, repeating this action three times. This was explained to me as meaning that death had gone back and life forward. A pot of wine, which had not been taken along with the rest of the food to the ' place of pots ', is now passed round. All the females of the clan dip their fingers in the pot and lick them; then all the others present drink. None of this wine must be taken back to the village,

'death must not be taken home'. The place where all are sitting is now thoroughly swept, and every one then returns home.
During the whole of this rite, weeping and mourning are not permitted, and every one having discarded funeral attire is dressed in ordinary clothes. On this day the ghost departs to the land
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of spirits. The funeral rites are not, however, by any means ended. On the eighth day (nawotwe da) the relations again fast, dance, and smear themselves with red clay.' On this day the funeral accounts are gone into, and final settlements are made.
The next celebrations are on the fifteenth day; the fortieth day (adaduanan) ; the eightieth day (adaduotwe); and finally on the first anniversary (afehyiada). Any of these ceremonies may be postponed, and sometimes are, for family or social reasons, but there is always danger in doing so, both to the immediate relatives, and perhaps to the community at large.'
Before the account of these particular funeral rites is concluded by an examination of the special position of widows and a curious custom in connexion with the 'in-laws ', I shall describe in the following chapter a rite which in the old days very often followed on a death-the ceremony by means of which it was hoped to discover the person who by witchcraft had caused the death of the deceased.
I The elders of the family are expected to observe this day each week for a whole year.
2 At least in the case of an important man such as a chief or king.

XV
'CARRYING THE CORPSE'
THE custom of 'faUntt sOa, lit. carrying the corpse ', is well known; it is even still sometimes put into practice. The rite consists in imploring the spirit of the dead man or woman to assist the living in pointing out the 'bayifo (witch) who, by his or her black magic, has compassed the death. This the dead person does by causing those who are ' carrying the body ' to push or knock against the guilty party. A case of this kind came before me some time ago in my magisterial capacity. The evidence which was given to the court on this occasion was remarkable. It seemed to point to the fact that the persons concerned, who appeared to have had every motive not to incriminate the accused, were not entirely free agents. In this modern example, typical of hundreds of such cases that once decimated whole villages, the tradition of centuries was so firmly instilled in the mind of the accused man, that he seemed to have forgotten that he had only to appeal to the nearest European court to find redress. What now follows is taken from the court records of the case, the names and places only being suppressed. The charge against the accused was that of being concerned in the rite called 'funu soa, i. e. carrying the corpse, which is forbidden by the English law. Some of the evidence, not strictly relevant to my present purpose, has been omitted.

First witness N. . . ., S.A.R.B.,1 stated
I got a message from the head chief of L .... to come to help him in a case. I am a " linguist .2 When I arrived at K .... the chief told me he had received a message from A. . . . that some people at A .... had been carrying round a body to find out who had caused the person's death.
'The person who had died was a woman called M.... The body had caused the persons carrying it to halt at one, A. . . .'s, house and had knocked up against him. A.... had then demanded that the corpse should be carried again, and a second time it went to A. .... 's house. The chief of the town then summoned A.... to
Sworn according to his religious belief.
- That is a spokesman to a chief, an official at a chief's court.

come before him to have the case heard. A .... refused, and shut himself up in his room. He was ordered to come out, but refused, and threatened to shoot any one who came near him. In the night he came out, went to the bush, and shot himself.'
B. . . ., one of the accused, states :
' I was at D .... when a message came from the chief that my sister had died at K .... When we got to K .... the people there said that just before my sister died, she had said that her death was caused by some one at D .... As I knew that in olden times we could discover the person who had killed a person by carrying round his body, I now did so. We tied the body in a cloth and two men carried it. We asked the corpse if her death was caused by a human being or caused by destiny ? The body then bent to one side. Again we asked it to show who killed it ; and it ran to A.. . .'s house. This was in the night. Two men were carrying it, K.... and K .... He, i. e. A .... , then went to the chief, and
demanded that his (A.... .'s) own sons should carry the body, and that he himself should interrogate the corpse. The chief told him to choose his men, and A.... took his sons A.... and K ...
The corpse was carried away from A .... 's door, and A. asked the body saying, ' Shall I be the first person to die in this village ? ' The corpse swayed assent. Then he asked again, 'Shall your coming to my house cause any of my women to die ? The corpse bent again. Next he asked, ' Did I kill you by witchcraft ?' Thereupon the body rushed on him again, and the lintel (of the doorway) struck against his forehead. The chief then ordered us to take the body to an empty house. The chief ordered A.... to come before the elders to see about the matter, but he said he would first go to his house. He then locked himself in his room and said that if any one came to take him out he would shoot them .... Next morning A.... was found shot in the neck.'
K. . . . stated :
' I went to the bush along with many others. I saw A. ... lying on his back, his gun was lying on him, still in his hand and the muzzle pointed at his neck. He was dead, and his throat was all burned with the powder.'
Question by the Court: ' Did you carry the corpse ?
Ans. ' Yes, the woman M .... is my sister ; we heard of her death at K.... and brought the body to D.... We determined to

ask the body who caused the death. E.... questioned the corpse, saying : ' Point him out who caused your death.' I was carrying at the feet; I felt my body was pulled very strongly and I found myself at A. . . .'s house.'
Question by the Court:
'Did you know whose house you had come to ?
Ans. ' No, till I found myself in A.... .'s yard I did not know where I was; I felt weak and as if something was pushing me, and not till I got to A. . . 's yard did I remember things clearly. When we first got to A. . . .'s yard we walked round and round and could not stand until people came and held us by force. The corpse kept knocking the fence in the yard.'
Question by the Court :
' What was it you first felt when E. addressed the corpse ?
Ans. 'It was as if a god (obosom) had possessed me. I have been possessed before. The corpse seemed to pull me. I could not see anything till people held me and I found I was at A. .. .'s house.
'A .... then demanded that his own people should carry the body. His own two sons then carried the body. One is called K. . . ., and the other A. . . . These two men carried the body and A .... (the dead man) himself questioned it .... The corpse was slung in a net with a cloth on it and carried on a bamboo.'
K .... stated :
' One of my sisters was sick at K.... We heard she was dead. We said as she had died very suddenly without being ill, we would have to ' carry the body'. . . . I was carrying at the head. I felt something shake my whole body.... when asked if death had been caused by a human being, I was violently shaken and felt as if I were being pushed to go forward. I did not know where I was going when we arrived at A.... .'s yard. I was turned here and there. I could not see anything clearly, it was night ; many of the people were assembled watching us; as we were forced forward people made a way .... A .... then got two of his own sons to (carry the body). A. . . . asked the body, saying, ' Am I the person who caused your death by witchcraft ? ' The body ran at him and knocked him. He asked the same question again, and again the corpse rushed at him. His own sons A.... and K .... were bearing the body.'
The case was here adjourned to enable the sons of the dead

man to be summoned. When the hearing was resumed the following was the further evidence.
K... ., son of the dead man A .... , stated:
' I was in my house when some people brought me a dead body which was being "carried" by two men K .... andA.... to our house. My father said he was innocent and asked that we, my brother and I, should be allowed " to carry " the body....

My father said to me, " Come and carry the corpse and I have (shall) question it myself."
Question by the Court :
'Was A.... your own father ?
Ans. ' 1o, he was my father's brother .... I carried the corpse at the head, my brother A .... carried the feet ; we carried the body from our yard on our heads into the street. When we got outside my father questioned the corpse. . . . When my father spoke thus to the body, my whole body shook and I felt weak and as if a great weight was upon me. The body pulled me backwards and then suddenly pushed forward .... My father tried a second and a third time.'
By the Court :
' Did you want to make the corpse rush at your father ?
Ans. ' He is my father and I could not want to do that ... I knew I was going to knock my father but I could not help myself, my whole body became weak ..
By the Court :
' Who do you think shot your father ?
Ans. ' He shot himself ; I know no one else shot him, because no one followed him. I believe he is the one who caused the woman's death, that is why he shot himself. I know in truth I did not want to bring any harm on my father, but I could not prevent the dead knocking him, so I know my father must have caused its death.'
The evidence of the second ' son' who had ' carried at the feet ', and had been taken out of court whilst the previous witness was giving his evidence, was somewhat similar to the above.
He also stated: ' I did try to stand firm on one place but could not help going forward. I knew if the body knocked my father, he would be killed. I could not prevent it. I tried to, but could not.'

XVI
WIDOWS AND 'IN-LAWS' AT FUNERALS
THE next point to be examined is the special part taken by widows during funeral rites, and their position subsequently. The Ashanti word for widows is 'kunafo,1 lit. ' those in a state of kuna ', i. e. widowhood. It has already been noted that the widows' place is beside the dead body of the husband day and night until he is buried. Their position is one of great danger during this period, for it is thought that should the sunsum or spirit of the dead man return and have sexual intercourse with them, that they will ever after be barren.
I have always felt sympathy for Ashanti widows during these rites. Their lot, apart from the loss of their mate, is not particularly happy. The clan, i.e. blood relations of their late husband, appear, as customary law would seem to demand, to treat them somewhat harshly. They are for the time being, and until they settle down to a new life, just the goods and chattels of the dead man. The matrimonial contract into which they had entered on marriage is not entirely dissolved. Under a system where levirate is in vogue they will become (after a year) the wives of their late husband's brother, or the property of the late husband's heir.2 A wife's

contribution to the funeral expenses has already been noted, and also the rite in connexion with the 'kuna kukuo (widow's pot). On the day of the husband's death the widows smear their faces, arms, and legs with odame (red powder) and bind their foreheads with the botiri bands. Beads known as gyabom, after the famous charm of that name, are fastened on their right wrists and ankles. Waist-belts of bofunu fibre 3 are substituted for their toma beads ; these are fastened

I The same word is used for widower.

2 Nevertheless I believe this custom in Ashanti is regarded much more in the nature of an obligation than the claiming of a right. Ashanti public opinion would consider it a disgrace for an heir to succeed to property but refuse to accept the obligation of taking over the deceased's wives and children, and the sanian (ghost) of the late husband would be expected to be angry at such neglect.

3 A widower also puts on a similar belt, but may take it off after fifteen days.

upon them by one of the late husband's blood relations. On this girdle a key is often suspended. 'The vagina is locked' for a year from the date of the death. Should they marry or indeed have sexual intercourse before the end of this period, ' the dead man will come and sleep with her and cause her either to be barren or to die '. The widows live indeed in constant dread of such an occurrence. During the nights they are compelled to sleep or sit beside the corpse they wear a man's danta loin cloth instead of the woman's etam in order to deceive the ghost, and after the burial they constantly change their sleeping apartments for the same reason. The man whom a widow eventually marries must pay her a fee of a domma (i. e. 7s.) before he is permitted 'to pluck the bofunu girdle' (ko te bofunu).1 She must also prepare some food for her late spouse, and this repast the new husband will present with the following words :

'Gye aduane yi di; me mma no emfa wo mma nko babi, nti gye aduane di ; nkoda nkwaso. Ma me nwo mma se de wo ne no awoye.'

' Receive this food and partake ; I did not let her take your children elsewhere ; therefore accept this offering and eat; long life to your children. Grant that I too may beget children as you and she did.'

Besides the precautions already noticed, to protect widows from the sasa of their late spouse, various plants are employed with the same end in view. The following is a description of the dress of the widows seen in Figs. 67-8. Wreaths of a plant the Ashanti call asuani, i. e. tears (Cardiospermum grandiflore), are passed over the shoulders and crossed, passing under the arms ; similar wreaths are worn on the head.2 On their heads are small brass basins. This, I was informed, denoted that their husband belonged to the Ekuona clan ; why this should be so I could not ascertain. They are stripped to the waist and are wearing skirts of a russet brown, Kuntunkuni. Above the elbow joints are bound strands of edowa (palm fibre) and as they dance these float behind. ' Had we wings we would fly to him'

Sometimes known as hyekve n'aba so.

2 The abusua (clan) also wear these, and the sons; when a big chief dies every one may do so. There is a well-known Ashanti proverb which runs, 'nana asumasi oni

ho, ena asuani ebua dan yi', 'When Grandfather so-and-so is no longer here, then the asuani creeper will cover this house.'

FIG. 67. Widows
FIG. 68. Widows (back view)

was the interpretation given to these streamers.1 The botiri mourning bands on the head are not visible, but these are generally worn. In the right hand they hold a cane called fwedie which denotes ma fwere me kunu, ' I have lost my husband.' In the left hand they hold burnt Indian corn, prekese seeds, and a small parcel of the leaves of emme and nunum.2 All these are antidotes for sasa and are discarded on the day the body is buried, being put into the ' widow's pot ' along with the three stones already mentioned.3 On the sora day the widows are taken by the women-folk belonging to the family of the deceased to the stream, and are made to pay a fee of soa, i. e. 6s., for the privilege of having their heads washed ; their hair is shaved, and they are made to bathe ; their cloth may be taken from them. After all this has been done, they run away as fast as they can to a friend's house, to escape from the late husband's sasa.

Widows during the funeral rites may not even use a chewingstick (tooth-brush) without paying a fee of ntaku miensa, i. e. is. 6d., to the women of the clan of the deceased, nor may they drink palm-wine without paying another fee. They remain unclean for eight days. On the ninth day they take the leaves of edwino and adwira,4 which are carried in a basin by a child, and some sand, and go about calling upon every one in the village. When they come to a hut, they place an edwino or adwira leaf on the ground and a little sand on the top, and say, ' Good morning, I thank you'. Sometimes widows have to undergo further public purification and are sprinkled by the chief's ' spokesman', who applies with adwira leaves the water from one of the more sacred rivers.

It has already been stated that widows become the property of their late husband's elder brother, i. e. the heir to the property of the deceased. When there are not any brothers or male kindred, we may have a case where the heir is a woman, e. g. the deceased's sister. The following is then the procedure. The widow, the heir of the deceased, and the clan (family) of the widow all meet. The widow produces all the gifts she had received from her late husband, and whatever had been handed

Also worn by the abusua (clan).

2 The latter is Ocimum viride, the former indeterminate.

8 See p. 161. 4 Indeterminate.

to her by him, with the words 'fa sie me ', ' take (these) and look after them for me', and then hands them over to the heir.' The deceased's heir now takes an egg and hands it to the widow, bidding her swear as follows : 'Swear by my god so-and-so that if you have been unfaithful to your late husband the god may kill you.'

The widow takes the required oath, at the same time throwing the egg on the ground.
She may now return to her own clan and remarry after the customary interval. If she has borne children to her late husband, the heir will probably give them some of the gifts the deceased had given his wife during his life-time, but this is optional. These children now go off with the mother, but are expected to return to the heir's house to perform certain services. When they grow up and are in a position to marry, the 'bride price '2 for a girl is paid to the heir, who will share it with the girl's abusua.
Before the account of the funeral rites for ordinary individuals is closed, it may be noted that certain of the ' in-laws ' (ase)-in this particular case, the deceased's sons' wives and their sisterssometimes parade up and down during the general ceremony, carrying a bundle called in case of a male futuo, in case of a female adosowa. This consists of a pillow, a cloth, a stool, and sandals. They sing songs in honour of the deceased, known as 'adosowa songs'. As they walk carrying these articles they say that the spirit of the dead man comes into them and causes the bearers to sway about and rock from side to side ; thus they know that the deceased is pleased with them and wishes them no ill (see Figs. 69-70). I have also been informed that the sunsum (spirit) of the articles so carried accompanies the deceased to the spirit world.
If the wife had died before the husband, her heirs would have the right to the gifts. IA seda (bride-price) is, I am informed, only shared among males, the female relatives on either side not being given any share (obd ngye aseda).

FiG. 69. ' In-laws ' at a funeral
FIc. 70. ' In-laws' at a funeral

XVII
FUNERAL RITES FOR A PRIEST

THE funeral of a member of the priestly class has an interesting additional ceremony as a distinguishing rite. This is rendered necessary owing to the priest's or priestess's close association 'with his or her particular god. We have seen elsewhere 1 how the gods manifest themselves to their servants by using them as the media through which their influence acts. It is therefore perhaps feared that on the death of a priest (or priestess), the deceased may carry away for ever the emanation of the particular power he has learned to control. This is one interpretation given to account for the ceremony. It seems to me, however, that the wording of the incantation or prayer, which in this case accompanies the sacrifice, points to the fact that by death the servant of the god has defiled the shrine of his particular deity and so rendered it unacceptable to the spirit which is expected to enter it. This supernatural element which they fear may be lost, or taken away by the dead, is in Ashanti called nkomoa, a noun derived from the verb koin. The German missionary Christaller defined this word as ' to dance wildly in a state of frenzy or ecstasy, ascribed by the negroes to the agency of a

fetish; to be possessed by a fetish, to perform the action or practices of a fetish man.'
It has already been mentioned how the outward and visible signs of mourning, the red ochre and the funeral clothes affected by the ordinary mourners, are taboo to a priest. He must wear white and sprinkle himself with white clay, as if as far as he is concerned death and mourning and sorrow do not exist. The corpse of a dead priest is draped in white and sprinkled with white clay, symbolizing the antithesis of ordinary funerary customs, which possibly mark out the wearers as being in a state of sorrow and defilement.
I See Ashanti.

The rite is as follows:
After a priest has been buried, a sheep is sacrificed over the shrine of his particular god 'to prevent the sainan (ghost) taking his nkomoa to the spirit world'. The following words are spoken:
' Wo 'komfo de akom, zeo Odomankoma obo adie na obo owno a wabefa no ko. llVagye ogwan yi na wa te efi a ka wo atwene, na wa te w'ani afwe yen a ka yi so.'
'The Creator, who created things and (also) created Death, has come and taken away your priest, who used to become possessed by you. May you receive this sheep and pluck and cast away all uncleanness that has touched you, and may you open wide your eyes and look upon us who are left behind.'

XVIII
FUNERAL RITES
WHICH POSSIBLY SHOW SOME TRACE OF CONTACT WITH AN EXTERNAL CULTURE

THE funeral rites to be described now are those which in one respect appear to differ very materially from any yet mentioned. It is suggested that this may possibly be due to contact with some foreign influence. My information on this point is,. however, very scanty, and it is only in order to place these rites on record for possible future consideration that they are set down here. In both cases the customs were reported in Northern Ashanti, among the Brong-speaking branch of the Akan stock, to which the Ashanti of course also belong. The first of these burial customs relates to the priests of a well-known god called Dame, who seems to hold a position midway between an obosom and a suman. My informants state that, when one of the fraternity dies, he is dressed in white and is crucified on a silk-cotton tree, being fastened to it with staples which are placed round the legs and arms. Every priest has these staples made in readiness during his lifetime. When the flesh has disappeared from the bones, the skeleton, it is stated, is then buried.
The second custom relates to the burial of the chiefs of Nsoko. When a chief of this town dies, he is buried in a room in his own house, where his successor continues to live. A fire must not, however, be ligh-ted in the room under the floor of which the body is buried. Afterseven years the body is exhumed, the bones

placed in a box, and carried to the river Dunkuro. The stream is then dammed, a grave dug, with a niche similar to that already described ; the bones are placed in it ; the grave is filled in, and the dam opened. A reigning chief of Nsoko may not look upon this stream, and should he ever have occasion to cross it, he must first be blindfolded.
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178 FUNERAL RITES

I propose, before passing on to those last rites which I have classed as ' funeral customs for animals and trees ', to give an account of part of another funeral custom I witnessed, also at Nsoko, which is of value as showing the functions of the Wirempefo, to whom I have already alluded.1

The rites on this occasion also contained some other novel and interesting features. This particular funeral rite, I was informed, was being held for one Ame Yao (a namesake of the famous chief of Tekiman), and for the late Queen Mother, Akua Ata, who had died respectively twenty-seven and twenty-six years previously. 2 At that time the Nsokos were living at a place called lsitagya, i. e. across the river (Tain), near Wanki.

I arrived at Nsoko from the north, a very sick man, carried in a hammock, and found a great crowd assembled in the wide village street. It was composedof two groups, seated and standing, facing each other. One of these groups was the chief and his clansmen (see Fig. 71), and the other opposite to it was composed, they told me, of the Wirempefo. The chief, whom I knew xell, gave me permission to sit down beside him and to attend the ensuing ceremony. Before I proceed farther, I must explain the meaning of the term Wirempefo. The only time I ever saw this word in print was in Christaller's dictionary. He there defines it as ' the official mourners who have to care for a proper funeral '. The functions of Wirempefo are of a political nature. They are composed of certain groups of court officials, who, on the death of the king or of a chief, swoop down and seize the Golden Stool, or in the case of a lesser chief the ancestral stool or stools, and also one ' white stool ' of the late king or chief, which it has been decided to blacken ; it will then become an ancestral stool As 'the stool' in Ashanti is of paramount importance in the kingdom or in a division, and as a new king or chief cannot possibly be enstooled, i. e. enthroned, without ' the stool' which the Wirempefo seize on such occasions, the power and political significance of the body may well be imagined. In this case ' the Wirempefo consisted of all the court officers directly under the chief, known as the Gyase 'hene, and comprised

See p. 146.

Allusion has already been made to the custom of holding funerals long after the person in whose honour they are held has died.

3 In Coomassie itself they vary slightly from the above.

FIc. 71. 'The chief and his clansmen'

FIG. 72. ' Headed by a boy with the white calico in one hand '

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the heads of the following important court offices and those under them, namely heralds, stool-carriers, gun-bearers, swordbearers, horn-blowers, drummers, umbrella-carriers, elephanttail-bearers. None of the ruling clan might be a Wirempe ; the name Wirempefo might never, on any account, be spoken save during a time of mourning.

The following ceremony was then performed. Three persons from among the group seated round the chief were sent across to the opposite group, the Wirempefo, with a message and as bearers of the following presents : a white fowl, a bottle of palmoil, a new cooking-pot, a yam, two knives, a small brass pan, a small piece of white calico, and a sheep. The message they were bade to deliver was as follows:

'Se akoko bi na mo de bere yen ayera a, aboa akyere no.'

If any fowl which you gave us to rear has been lost, it must have been a wild beast that caught it.'

This referred, as will be seen presently, to the death of the late chief. No sooner had these envoys delivered this message than they were attacked by the Wirempefo, and driven back whence they had come. They returned again with the same gifts, and the same message, only to be driven back a second time. They returned a third time, but this time the message which they were sent to deliver was :

Ohene Aine Yao oka babi

Ohemna Akua Ata oka babi.

The chief Ame Yao has remained elsewhere.

The Queen Mother Akua Ata has remained elsewhere.

The gifts were now received, and the Wirempefo sent back a message, saying that as the chief had remained elsewhere and the Queen Mother had remained elsewhere, they had taken the stool and now demanded a payment of osua ne domma, i.e. £2 7S. for having looked after it. The chief at first made a pretence of demurring to this request, but eventually agreed to pay the amount. The gifts sent to the Wirempefo were used in the rites which followed. A message was then sent to the reigning Queen Mother demanding wood to cook the yam. The yam was cut up with the knife, and cooked in the new pot, with the oil; it

was placed in the small brass pan and carried and scattered on the ground 1 over the whole village by a band of Wirempe women, headed by a boy with the white calico in one hand and a knife in the other (see Fig. 72). This boy had his forehead, arms, and shoulders snared with white clay, and as he walked at the head of the procession he made pretence of cutting a path through the forest with the knife. With them also marched a man holding a pan with emme leaves in it, possibly to drive away sasa. As they made the circuit of the town, and met any of the children or relatives of the ruling clan, they abused them and chased them

away. After the circuit of the village, the crowd proceeded to the chief's house. Outside this stood a 'Nyame dua altar to the Sky God, and upon this a little piece of the yam was smeared. Every one now entered the compound of the chief's house, which became so thronged that I was compelled to seek refuge in one of the open veranda rooms. A man then dipped the emme leaves in a basin of water, and sprinkled the ground three times (see Fig. 73). In front of the crowd were some very old, white-haired women, one holding a plate with mashed yams upon it, another the small brass pan, and a third the white fowl (see Figs. 74-5). The last named now began to sing a song in the Brong dialect of Ashanti, which was difficult to follow, and still more difficult to translate. I could not persuade any one to repeat or explain it later, except to say that it was to summon the spirit of the Queen Mother.

Adwo e, nye e!
Ye afa no nye
Ye ne hemea ye koo bea
Ye nnim sa ye o
Puno pumpuno ye na yenye
Ya bere nnua ne asuo.

The literal translation would be

Adwo e! it is not good.
We have taken her, it is not good.
We and the Queen Mother went elsewhere.
We do not know how to do such things.
We are they who act roughly and are not good.
We are tired of forests and of rivers.
This yam was scattered for the sainanfo (the ghosts).

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Fic. 78. ' Put on chaplets of osuani creeper, and many armed themselves with small sticks '
FIG. 79. Wirempefo
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POSSIBLE EXTERNAL CONTACT

No sooner had she finished this song than she seized the white fowl by the legs, and swinging it round and round in the air, dashed its head on the edge of the veranda floor (see Fig. 76), and in doing this bespattered me with blood. She then

made the following speech in a loud, high voice, pointing down on the ground where she had cast the dead fowl (see Fig. 77)

' Wo ba a wape banyiii se wo anka ankyere wo 'kiltit 7u1 Zo , so, na wo di akoko yi bi a wo tiri be holno se akoko yi. Obarima 'so a wo 'yere adi kote se wanka na wo si so a wo tiri be hono sara.'

' If any woman has committed adultery, if you do not tell your husband but hide it, if you eat any of this fowl here, your head will swell up like this fowl's head. And any man also whose wife has been unfaithful to him and has not told him, his head will swell up in like manner.'

The women present then placed their hands on their heads and wailed, and all filed out of the door, shouting, hu ! hu t

All the Wirempefo, both men and women, afterwards went to the end of the village street, and put on chaplets of ositani creeper, and many armed themselves with small sticks (see Figs. 78-9), while others carried guns. They now began to rush wildly about the village yelling, and slashing with the sticks at the leaves of the trees growing in the village street. After doing this for some little time, they removed the wreaths and piled them and the sticks into a heap in the street, which afterwards were all thrown away into the bush. The women now walked about the town weeping and lamenting ; the chief and his elders sat and listened to the songs of the kwadwnmfo (minstrels) ; men circled round firing guns ; the sub-chiefs who had come from outlying villages came up one by one and saluted the chief; dancing, drumming, and singing continued until late into the night. Unfortunately, owing to my illness, I could not follow the rites farther.

XIX

FUNERALS FOR CERTAIN ANIMALS AND TREES

I PROPOSE now to mention some customs and rites connected with death and burial outside the usual limits of such inquiries, which have hitherto always been confined, so far as I am aware, to cases dealing with human beings, on the supposition that they only are believed to have souls surviving after death. To expect to find any such narrow limitation among people with an animistic creed, such as the Ashanti, would appear to me to be as illogical as incorrect.

I believe that in the ceremonies about to be described we can trace the motive which first prompted men 'to honour' their dead with funeral rites. That motive seems to have been pure fear; fear of the harm the ghost could do. The stages of evolution between this conception and the belief which comes to look upon spirit ancestors as possible benefactors, and finally as wholly beneficent, are not difficult to bridge. They are, I think, well illustrated in the preceding pages. The requests we have noted to the ghosts to ' give us children ', ' give us long life ', ' good crops ', and so on, if analysed, really amount to this. The ghost 1 can, if vindictive, make a man impotent, or a woman barren ; it can hasten death ; it can interfere with the crops. All the prayers and petitions addressed to it for these blessings, therefore, really amount to a request that it should be passive and neutral, or at .any rate should not interfere with what might otherwise turn out successfully. ' Give us children ' is the polite way of saying 'do not exercise your evil power and make us unfertile'. So, with non-human spiritual powers, the

evolution from a god who is worshipped because of fear of his evil propensities to a 'God Who is love' may possibly be on the same principle. The Ashanti is midway between these two points.
1 i. e. a family ghost.

In the funerals of animals we have the elementary idea of making the ghost passive and innocuous, and leaving matters at that point. In funerals of human beings we are gradually arriving at the intermediate stage where, having rendered a power passive, the intercessor thinks it worth while to try to make the power active on his behalf.
When on hunting expeditions among some primitive tribes, I first became aware that certain dances existed among them which bore a strange resemblance to funeral rites for man. This led me to discover that, in Ashanti, animals were looked upon either as dangerous or harmless. This may appear a very ordinary classification, but when we find that the buffalo (bush cow), a most savage animal, is placed by the Ashanti in the latter category, and that the little adowa, antelope, is in the former, we begin to realize that the Ashanti classification does not take cognizance of physical dangers, but of spiritual. The Ashanti hunter divides all the animals he may encounter in his forests or rivers into two classes, those animals which have a powerful sasa, and those whose sasa is of small account, or at any rate is not vindictive. The former he designates as sasa mmoa, i.e. which have sasa, the latter simply as mmoa, beasts.
The following are sasa animals: the bongo (otromo) ; the elephant (esono) ; the roan (oko) ; the waterbuck (fusuo); the duyker (otwe) ; a very small antelope called adowa; the black duyker (ewiyo) ; the yellow-backed duyker (kwaduo). Of all these sasa animals, the bongo is the most dangerous and most feared. I can vouch for it being extraordinarily elusive. I have hunted this noble-looking antelope for years;' followed it through swamps and under thickets where one hundred yards in half an hour is good going ; taken every precaution known to the hunter, e. g. never mentioning it by name, and speaking of it by one of its sobriquets in a whisper, and carried ' medicine' to further the quest. Every native hunter who goes after the bongo has in his wallet some of the root of the tree called atwere nantem,2 which is a sasa antidote. No sooner has a hunter deliberately killed his bongo' than he sets up the same funeral lament he would use
I No European has, I believe, ever yet shot one in Ashanti.
2 Lit. ' between the frog's toes.'
Generally after he has watched for it at a water-hole at night.

for his father or his mother. After cutting up the meat,1 he and his companions will not bring it to the village directly. Some liana, hanging down over the path, is selected and split open; through the aperture thus made, all the meat is passed and repassed,2 and finally the liana is joined together and spliced. This is exactly the idea underlying the use of the ' corpse door' which has been noted. The hunter will

wash himself with the 'medicine ' mingled with water. In addition to all these precautions he must always keep a small portion of the meat in case at any future time some one comes along and says, ' I want a piece of that bongo you once shot.' When referring later to the event, the hunter will never say, ' I shot an otromo ', but instead will use the name tenkwa or sakwa. It appears to be a great feat even for the African hunter to kill a bongo, for there is a saying, ' Wo ye woho se die wa kum tenkwa ' (' You give yourself airs as if you had killed a bongo ').

Dancing in Africa invariably has a religious significance. It forms an indispensable accompaniment of all funeral rites. What follows is a brief account of a dance I witnessed in connexion with the killing of an elephant. I judged from the condition of the jaw-bone, which lay on the ground during the ceremony, that the animal must have been killed a considerable time previously; this shows that delay in such matters is as common as in the case of funerals for human beings. I was informed that omission to hold this dance (called obofuc agoro or esono ayi, i. e. the hunter's dance, or the elephant's funeral)' would entail one or another of the following disasters to the hunter who had shot the elephant :

i. He would never again be able to kill an elephant.
2. He would grow immensely fat and die.
3. He would always want to sleep.
4. He would eat all day and never be satisfied.

' It is the sasa of the elephant that would be the cause.'

The dance in this case, in addition to the customary firing of guns and drumming and funeral songs, consisted in a mock elephant hunt conducted with great realism. Every stage of

A hunter who kills a sasa animal may not himself eat its meat.
Three times for a male, four times for a female.
Note the significance of the name.

FIG. 80. ' Finding the fresh spoor'
FIc. 8I. ' The " elephant ", the arms uplifted to represent the tusks '

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FIG. 82. ' The "elephants " putting sand on each other's backs
FIG. 83. ' The hunter, about to fire '

the hunt was portrayed, the finding of the fresh spoor, and the * stalking of the quarry (Fig. 80) ; the ' elephant ' itself (Fig. 8I) (the arms uplifted to represent tusks) ; the ' elephants ' putting sand on each other's backs (Fig. 82) ; the hunter about to fire, with his companions lying prone, waiting for the fateful moment (Fig. 83) ; and the cutting up and carrying away of the meat (Fig. 84). Fig. 85 shows one of the dancers, and the elephant's jaw lying upon the ground. The following were some of the songs sung:

The hunter watches from behind a tree.

He holds a tail.
Father Yao Kra (a hunter's name).
As the dusk fell cool,
A male bongo.'
As the day dawned,
A male bongo.
Go and pluck the medicine and bring for me,
For I have slain a sasa animal.
Women are ungrateful creatures,
Cut it small.
Cut it little,
Women are ungrateful creatures.
Animals are not scarce,
And yet I cannot get one to kill.
Now there is some profit in killing
(A harmless) animal like the hartebeste.
I killed one as big as this.
I killed one as big as this.
As big as this I killed one.

In concluding this section, I have to mention that trees also have funerals of a kind held for them. As the ceremonies for animals are less elaborate than those for human beings, so the rites for trees, shrubs, &c., are still more simple and less clearly marked as funeral rites. Nevertheless, perhaps I am not unduly straining the point in suggesting an analogy between certain of the rites at funerals of human beings and a ceremony which accompanies the felling of a tree. When a wood-carver is about to cut down a tree to obtain material for his work, he kills a fowl

Although the animal for which the 'funeral' was being held was an elephant. This seems to point to the song being one also sung on similar occasions at the funeral of a bongo.

before attacking it'with his axe, and sprinkles the blood upon it, with the words : ' I am coming to cut you down and carve you; do not let the iron cut me, and do not let me suffer in health.'

The maker of the talking drums will not even do his work in the village, but will carve his drums in the bush, and propitiate the material before it is taken to his home.

At the national festivals, the adae, which are really in a sense funeral customs, it is the spirit of the tree, the spirit of the fibre, and the spirit of the elephant that go to the making of the composite drums, which are honoured equally with the names of the dead kings, and have pronounced over them the lament for the dead : 'Damirifa ! damirifa ! damirifa! ', alas ! alas! alas !

FIc. 84. ' Cutting up and carrying away the meat '

Fic. 8S. 'The dancers ; with elephant's jaw lying upon the ground '

CONCLUSIONS

I NOW propose first to summarize briefly the prominent features in each of the rites which have been described, and at the same time to see how far they conform with M. Van Gennep's theories; secondly to draw attention to what, in the Introduction to this subject, I alluded to as ' certain other aspects and issues of these rites '.

During pregnancy there is a period of seclusion for the mother, during which she, or perhaps the embryo in her womb, is held to be particularly subject to outside evil influences. Her enforced retirement is a prophylactic measure. It is undergone, I believe, rather with the idea of protecting her from the outside world than the outside world from her. The taboos which she must observe are particularly instructive. They include among others her husband's ntoro taboos, because, as we now know, that ntoro is the spiritual element which has been instrumental in moulding the child. This period I understand M. Van Gennep would call ' a marginal period'.

The child is born. It is believed that it came directly from the land of the ghosts, and that there a spirit mother laments the death of her child. To protect the earthly mother from the child, or the child from the earthly mother, the infant is often at first suckled by a wet nurse. The child is now ' on probation ', as it were, for eight days. This time is allowed i n order to ascertain if the infant, or those responsible for sending it, have the intention of permitting it to remain in this world. The infant is up to the eighth day certainly not in any sense a member of the community and is hardly acknowledged even as the offspring of the mother who bore it. It is really a potential ghost and the child of a ghost. This is a true ' marginal period' for both the infant and mother. The latter is now secluded because she is

a danger to the members of the community rather than, as formerly, they were to her. On the eighth day we have clear ' separation ' and ' reception ' rites. The infant is tentatively admitted into the family, obtains a personality and a name, and is separated from its previous existence. Simultaneously the mother is readmitted, to a certain extent, into the social world. These main landmarks are punctuated with various ' first-time ' rites ; the first time the infant is fed with a metal spoon ; the first time it is carried on the mother's back ; the first time it is set on the ground; and, for the mother, the first time sexual intercourse is resumed. All these conform in the main with M. Van Gennep's classifications. In certain minor details one may disagree with him ; for example he sees a cosmic significance in a rite practised elsewhere, similar to placing the infant in the sun. The Ashanti mother bluntly states this is to warm the infant after the chill of the land of ghosts. We have seen what happens when the infant dies before eight

days-or for the matter of that before puberty. Van Gennep, alluding to similar rites among other tribes, assumes that funeral rites are not accorded to children who die before marriage because they have not any soul and cannot enter the spirit world. I am of the opinion that the Ashanti do not deny funeral rites to infants for this reason. Such children have souls and they clearly do return whence they came, ' . . and you infant receive these eggs and give to your mother, . . .' are the words addressed to the spirit of the ' pot child '. The reason such children are not accorded funeral rites is, I believe, because all such non-adults are considered powerless for evil or for good.1 Moreover, it is not desirable that such persons should be reincarnated ; the treatment of the body is certainly not such as to encourage that person to revisit this world.

Next we come to puberty rites. Here we find a very interesting, and what, at first sight, would appear to be curious omission. Why are there apparently no ' initiation ' ceremonies for boys ? The answer, I feel sure, lies in the fact that the rites for women are really not initiation rites in the true sense, but are simply ' customs ' that must be held because of the peculiar physiological

I Perhaps also because they are not deemed full members of the clan, and we know that only a clansman's spirit is concerned with its own clan.

phenomena apparent when a female reaches puberty. In these rites we can once more, if we wish, distinguish ' separation ', &marginal ', and ' reinstatement ' periods. We also find that physiological puberty does not necessarily coincide in time with social puberty. This is an interesting and important point. We notice the same discrepancy in the times at which other rites are actually observed, e. g. at birth, and in connexion with funeral customs. These do not of necessity synchronize with the day upon which the event, which is the reason for the ceremony, has taken place. This gives us the clue to the important fact that many, if not all, these rites are held far more with the idea of safeguarding the community than of indulging in a theatrical display in honour of a particular individual, in so much as the convenience of this individual, who would seem to us to be chiefly concerned, has to await the pleasure of the community. In these puberty rites again we can readily assign various parts of the ceremony to one or other of M. Van Gennep's classifications.

Vhen we come to the various rites in connexion with marriage we may be surprised to find this ceremony apparently almost lacking in ritual, and so informal that at first sight it may be felt that somcthing has been overlooked. One explanation to account for this apparent simplicity has already been offered.' An additional explanation may be added. If we examine marriage rites in communities where formalities are many and important, and very distinct rites of 'separation' exist, we shall possibly find that the economic loss of a unit to the family or the clan is the reason for many marriage rites. Now in Ashanti it is true that a woman leaves her home and goes off to her husband's village, but her family and clan do not necessarily lose one of their members ; all the children she may eventually bear her husband are of her own clan. She retains her clan name and all her individual property remains her own. There is one other point that may easily be overlooked. We have seen that the

giving and acceptance of a few simple gifts seem almost the only formality in the Ashanti marriage rite. We should realize, however, that such gifts from the man, and acceptance by the girl's mother (really the girl's clan), are, among primitive people, a sacred and significant act. We see perhaps an indication that

1 See Chapter VIII.

the couple that are to be united move for the time in a sacred plane, from the fact that the ancestral spirits are asked to bless the union and make it fruitful.

When we come to the last stage in the journey of life, we find that the main object of the rites appears to be the separation of the soul of the dead from his living clansmen, and the speeding of the ghost to the land of the spirits. ' I separate your soul from us ', says the head of the family, as he stands over the corpse. Here again, besides a separation rite, we certainly have what we may call, if we wish, ' a marginal period ' ; during the days when the dead and the living participate in the funeral rites they dwell in a borderland between the world of the living and the abode of the dead. Next come the final separation rites on the day of 'the rising ', and the reception rites, when the visible signs of mourning are thrown off. M. Van Gennep construes a repetition of funeral rites, such as we find in Ashanti, as indicating marginal ' rites spread over a long period, during which the spirit is supposed to be finding its way to the land of ghosts. He also sees in the detention of the corpse in the death chamber a ' marginal ' period, and would read the same motive into the keeping of a body until the bones are bare of flesh ; he sees in the delay to hold the definite funeral rites a desire to wait until the dead has arrived at his final abode.

M. Van Gennep explains the removal of a corpse by an exit other than the ordinary doorway as being caused by a desire not to pollute the threshold. It is certainly quite unnecessary in Ashanti to seek for any such elaborate explanation. The body is removed through an improvised doorway, which later is closed up, in order to cheat the ghost if it wished to return to the house. The Ashanti, like many other races, appear to credit their spirits with what we should consider a somewhat inferior intelligence.

In this review we see that these rites in Ashanti readily conform to and fit in with M. Van Gennep's categories. Nor is this surprising, for, after all, every rite must have a beginning, a middle, and an end. It would be most unfair, however, to dismiss M. Van Gennep's classifications with such an obvious criticism. His categories are of very great value in helping us to a better understanding of these rites. Having acknowledged this

much, I think, however, when speaking for the particular people with whom we arc here concerned, that M. Van Gennep's abstractions do not exist. The Ashanti thinks and acts in terms of the concrete alone. In the minds of the dramatispersonae in these rites there are rather, I feel certain, the following ideas:

the thought of protecting a concrete entity, be it nation, clan, family, or individual; defence against a concrete danger; propitiation of a concrete power, the dead, the gods, or other supernatural power ; expression of a concrete desire.

XXI
DREAMS AND DREAM INTERPRETATIONS

A SURVEY of Ashanti religion would hardly be complete vithout some reference to dreams and dream interpretations. To the Ashanti mind dreams are caused either by the visitation of denizens of the spirit world, or by spirits, i. e. volatile souls of persons still alive, or by the journeyings of one's own soul during the hours of sleep.

Oneiromancy, the pseudo-science which pretends to read omens from dreams, is the natural sequence of such beliefs. This practice prevails in Ashanti, for the dreamer will seek the aid of his ' elders' or of some old woman versed in the interpretation of dreams, or of the gods (abosoin) to interpret for him what he has seen in sleep.

I shall give presently some examples of typical Ashanti dreams collected at random from the dream experiences of various individuals. From these it will be seen that, among the many varieties of dreams, certain dreams have received stereotyped explanations which are commonly accepted. It will be noted moreover that, broadly speaking, ' dreams go by contraries '. Before giving these examples, I should like to quote a delightfully typical passage from the pen of the late Mary Kingsley apropos of the ' dream soul ' in West Africa. It is from her book West African Studies. She writes :

'The dream-soul is the cause of woes unnumbered to our African friend, and the thing that most frequently converts him into that desirable state, from a witch doctor's point of view, of a patient. It is this way. The dream-soul is, to put it very mildly, a silly flighty thing. Off it goes when its owner is taking a nap, and gets so taken up with sky-larking, fighting, or gossiping with other dream-souls that sometimes it does not come home to its owner when he is waking up.'

She goes on to tell how the patient becomes ill, how the witch-doctor is called in, the case diagnosed as ' absence of dream-soul', and how the doctor will attempt the delicate and sometimes dangerous operation of inserting a substitute, an operation sometimes not altogether successful, for as she writes,

occasionally, . . . this fresh soul slips through the medical man's fingers and before you can say " knife " it is on top of some I0O ft. high or more silk-cotton tree, where it chirrups gaily and distinctly '. Such a state of affairs is, she adds, ' a great nuisance '.

The Ashanti idiom for 'to dream' is so.dae. The etymology of these words is particularly interesting and instructive; dae is from da, to lie down, to sleep, and so is probably to reach, to arrive at a place, the phrase meaning ' to arrive at a place in sleep'.

I have heard of a case of a sexual dream where the disclosure of the dream cost the owner his life. It would not be easy to obtain a better example of how real

events are held to be which pass before the sleeper. Such dreams mean that 'your soul desires that woman's soul ', stated my informant.
' If you dream that you have had intercourse with a woman with whom you have never had sexual relations, it means that you will never in all your life have sexual intercourse with that woman, because "your soul has already devoured her ".' 'If you dream that you have had sexual intercourse with another man's wife and any one hears of it, and tells her husband, then you will be fined the usual adultery fees, for your soul and hers have had sexual intercourse.' ' If you ever dream such a dreamyou should not tell any one, but very early next morning you should go to the midden heap, which is also the women's latrine, and whisper to it and say, " Suminna ma so dae bone emma no nye sa " (" 0 midden heap, I have dreamed an evil dream, grant that it may never happen like that "). Any bad dream you must carry away to the refuse heap, where everything bad is put.'
' If you dream that you have sexual intercourse with some one who is now dead and with whom you have had sexual relations during her life, then yourpenis will surely die ; but this does not happen if the dream is about some woman now dead, but with whom you have never had sexual relations during her life.'
Dreams about ancestors have various interpretations given to them.
If you see your ancestor in a dream lying dead, as he did 1 This belief also holds good when a woman dreams about her dead husband. In such a case the woman is supposed to become barren. These beliefs account for the precautions taken at funeral customs (see Chapter XVI).

on the day of his death, then you know that there is going to be another death in your clan; otherwise, to be visited by an ancestor only means that he is hungry and you place food upon his stool.'
'I dreamed, not long ago,' said Kwaku Abu, 'about my brother Kwesi Gyadu. He was a hunter. In my dream I went with him to hunt, but we did not meet anything and I woke up. Next morning I went hunting and killed an antelope. I often dream of my brother who was a hunter, and he shows me where to go. Any antelope I kill, I give him a piece with some water.'
' I once dreamed about my uncle and he said, " Come let us go and see the god Boabaye ". He and I were once drummers to that god. I followed him, but when we reached a certain stream I could not see what way he passed. Next day I went to the priest of Boabaye and told him my dream. The god was consulted and said that my uncle was hungry and as he could not make me understand had tried to lead me to him (the god) to explain. I returned home and prepared food for him.'
'The last dream I had about my uncle was that he came to me and gave me some leaves. I related my dream to others. At that time a child was very ill in the house, and they told me to make medicine with the leaves, and I did so and the child recovered.'
Again: ' If you dream you see your ancestors coming home followed by a sheep, then you know you are to sacrifice a sheep to them; an ancestor who has a bad spirit may appear as a cow and chase you all night. As soon as he overtakes you, you wake. You must find medicine an'd bathe to drive away that ghost. There is a

herb which you can burn to drive away bad dreams, and you can place emme leaves in the veranda.'
Again : ' I saw an ancestor of mine who was half human and half an antelope (kwaduo, the yellow-backed duyker) ; that was a bad ghost.'
' If you dream that you are eating and you see one of your ancestors hiding himself (perhaps you only see his feet or hands), that means he is hungry. You give him fish and water on a table in your room or at his grave, and when you put the food down you call all your ancestors' names, then you will not dream of any of them again for some time, but if you dream and see your father, you only call out his name, for he is not of your clan.'

' If you dream that some of your ancestors take you by the hand and are trying to lead you away, it means that they are trying to lead you to the samandow (spirit world), and unless you have powerful medicine you will die; sometimes you see an ancestor sitting on a chair, and, as you look, he has changed into a tree or into a sheep ; sometimes you only hear a voice but do not see any one.'
'If you dream about fish, your wife is going to conceive; to dream about a snail means a funeral custom; ghosts live chiefly on snails ; to dream you are pulling up mushrooms means a funeral; to dream about a house without a roof means some one will die in the house (because the houses in the spirit world have no roofs) ; if you see some one covered with sores or in rags, that person is going to live a long time ; if you dream that some one is dead, it means good for that person, and that the Sky God will bless him ; if you are thinking of going to a certain place and go there in a dream, do not go again, for your spirit has already been there ; if you dream that you are swimming, you must wash your soul; if you dream that you are smeared with white clay, a sign of joy, it means that you will be covered with red clay, a sign of mourning; if you dream that you are sucking salt, you must wash your ntoro; if you dream that you have fallen into a latrine, it means you are going to get money.'
' If you dream that you have been carried up to the sky, sitting on a sweeping broom, and that you have returned to the ground and are sitting on red clay, that means long life ; if you dream that you have found gold, you will always be poor; if you dream that you are picking up big yams, some one will die; if you are a hunter, and dream that you are cutting up afasie yams, you are going to kill an elephant or a buffalo; if you dream you are hurrying with a great number of people, and that you kill one, that is war ; if you dream of a chief surrounded by elephanttail switchers, it means that you will kill an elephant ; if you dream that a hunter has killed an elephant, some chief is going to die; if you dream that you have lost a tooth, then your greatest friend is about to die ; 1 if you dream that your wife has brought forth a child, then there is witchcraft about; if you
1 Me se bofuo atu, ' My hunter's (i. e. canine) tooth has come out ', is a saying meaning the speaker has lost a clansman.

dream that you weep, that is joy ; if you dream that you laugh, that is sorrow; if you dream you are climbing a tree, you are going to be ill; if you dream that you are in a far place, and see a leopard following you like a dog, it means that your god (obosoni) has come to bless you.'

One Mensa recounts the following dream.

' I had gone to Wanki and while there I received a message that my wife had died. I was on my way home and when sleeping at Akurobi, I dreamed that a bongo was about to gore me with its horns. I awoke and was afraid, and next day I consulted the god Senaman at Tanosu, and the god spoke as follows: " I came to you as a bongo to see if you were going to hang or wound yourself because of sorrow." I gave the priest of the god 3s. 6d. and a bottle of gin.'

' If you have a fearful dream and awake calling upon the name of any particular god, then next morning you must give an offering to that god ; if you dream that some one is about to wound you with a cutlass, and you quickly speak the name of a charm (i. e. mention the name of some suman) against cutlass blows, and in your dream you do not see that the cutlass breaks, then you must have broken a taboo of that charm and must sacrifice a sheep or fowl upon it.' 1

' I once dreamed I went to some far place and saw a very tall person with an enormous head. Around his neck were three balls of dufa (medicine), one white, one red, and one black. He also wore a doso (fibre kilt) round his waist. I shouted to a friend to look and my cry woke my mother, who was sleeping in the same hut, and she woke me and said, " What is the matter ? " The next morning I went with my mother to a priest at Tanosu; the priest shook hands at once and said, " What did you see in the night ? " I told him and he said I was not to be afraid as it was a good dream and was only my father's god, Adare, who had come to visit me, and that I must give him a fowl.'

' If one does not dream for eighty days, it means that one will become mad.'

In the Appendix to this chapter Professor Seligman will deal with the psychological aspect of this subject. See preface; an independent confirmation of the theory of the meaning of taboos.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI

NOTE BY C. G. SELIGMAN

MODERN advances in psychology indicate the value, it might even be said urgency, of recording the dreams of non-Europeans, especially of the more primitive races. Recent work among Europeans has shown that the form which a dream shall take, and the series of changes which memories undergo before appearing in a dream, are not accidental, but determined by certain factors which psychologists have been able to recognize and classify. It has been discovered that dreams are the expression of a mood or emotion, more often perhaps of a clash of emotions

-' conflict '-and that frequently, if not always, they embody in some sense a wish-fulfilment which may be entirely unconscious and which sometimes never has been conscious. The examination of the dreams of savages then constitutes a mode of studying their unconscious mind, and provides the possibility of determining, at any rate roughly, whether the unconscious of savages is greatly

different from our own, and it should enable us to ascertain whether, as has been urged by one school of psychologists, there exists in the unconscious certain archaic ideas that among peoples of varying race and culture are expressed in the conscious mind by identical or closely related symbols (archetypes). In fact one of the matters upon which the study of savage dreams may be expected to throw most light is that of symbolism. Further, it will be obvious that if -as actually happens-among peoples separated in time or space there are found the same symbols, i.e. there occur dreams exhibiting identical ' manifest ' content which are considered by their dreamers to have the same 'latent ' meaning (meanings not obvious from the dreams themselves), then at least one avenue will have been opened along which the question of diffusion versus independent origin may be profitably studied in those instances in which no direct or probable historic nexus

can be traced.' I have dealt with some aspects of these questions in Anthropology and Psychology, the Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1924, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Rattray for the information he permitted me to incorporate, before considering the significance of the data he records in the chapter on Dreams and Dream Interpretations in his present work.

Mr. Rattray is perhaps over emphatic when he writes that 'broadly speaking, dreams go by contraries'. That this is so in certain instances is obvious (' If you have found gold you will always be poor '), but it clearly does not apply to the dreams recorded concerning ancestors, nor to a number of others about fish, snails, gathering mushrooms, and roofless houses. In the following pages references to Ashanti beliefs and ideas not cited in Chapter XXI are derived from data supplied by Mr. Rattray, generally in reply to specific questions.

As in other parts of Africa, dreams of ancestors are commonly taken to indicate that the dead man requires a sacrifice. ' If you dream and see your ancestors coming home followed by a sheep then you know you will have to sacrifice a sheep to them', or the dreamer places food on his ancestor's blackened stool or makes offering in some other manner. Ancestors or dead relatives may appear and indicate good hunting-grounds or trading-places. Sometimes the elements of conflict or worry succeeded by wish-fulfilment are clear : ' The last dream I had about my uncle (who had already indicated a good tradingplace in a dream) was that he was giving me some leaves. I told my dream to others. At that time a child was very ill in the house, and they told me to make medicine with the same leaves, and I did so and the child recovered.' The hunting dreams of Kwaku Abu (p. 194) in which his dead brother shows him where to go are other examples of the wish-fulfilment dream. Ancestors may also appear in animal or half-animal forms. According to one informant, 'an ancestor who has a bad sunsum (spirit) may appear as a cow and chase you all night. As soon as he overtakes you, you wake up. You must find medicine and bathe to drive

I In Joseph's dream (Genesis xxxvii)-a very simple example of symbolismhis brothers' sheaves bowing down before his sheaf is the manifest content, while the interpretation embodies the latent content.

away that ghost.' The same man once dreamed of an ancestor 'who was half an animal, the yellow-backed duyker, and half a man ; that was a bad ghost.' Again, ' you may see an ancestor sitting on a chair, and then you see he has become a tree or a sheep. Sometimes you hear a voice but do not see any one.' 'If you dream of ancestors who take you by the hand they are trying to lead you to the spirit world, and unless you have powerful " medicine " you will die.' In these examples there is no interpretation by contraries, and it seems probable that this form of interpretation does not apply generally to dreams of ancestors.

Some of the instances of interpretation by opposites given on page 195 are so clear that nothing more need be said about them, but a number of other dreams recorded in this chapter are worth closer examination in view of the associations given in their explanation.

' To dream you are pulling up mushrooms means a funeral', because you leave a hole, i.e. a grave.

'To dream about a snail means a funeral', for ghosts live chiefly on snails.

' If you dream about fish your wife will conceive.' Fish are the children of the gods, for certain rivers and lakes are among the most powerful of gods, i.e. possess immense creative energy.1

' To dream of a house without a roof means that some one will die in the house', because in the spirit world houses have no roofs.

' If you dream that a hunter has killed an elephant, some chief is going to die.' In Africa the elephant is commonly a symbol of the king, or of great power and strength. Thus the Zulus addressed their king as ' Great Elephant ', ' Powerful Elephant ', &c. ; while in Ashanti, as Mr. Rattray informs me, a chief may be referred to as ' Elephant ', though I understand that this is not common usage.

Type dreams may be considered next. Something has been said concerning these in the address to which I have already referred, but I may perhaps be allowed to repeat myself here to a certain extent.

1 R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, cf. e.g. pp. 143, 146. It may also be well to bear in mind the widespread idea of the relation of water to birth in one form or another.

A study of dreams in which symbolism occurs soon shows that certain dreams recur so frequently, i.e. in so many different subjects belonging to races genetically far apart and differing profoundly in their civilization and social organization, all or many of whom attach the same meaning to them, that these dreamsmay be regarded as 'type' dreams. Such dreams are, e.g. those of flying, and the loss of a tooth or teeth, and, interesting as such dreams are themselves, as well as from the standpoint already referred to on page 195, it seems that their main importance lies perhaps in the chance they offer of comparing the unconscious of the various races. If it can be shown that identical symbolism (i. e. identical symbols with the same meaning attached to them) prevails, then we shall

have to admit that the unconscious of the most diverse races is qualitatively so alike that it actually constitutes a common store on which fantasy may draw, and it becomes imperative to give full weight to this in any discussion of the origin of myths and beliefs. Now in the present stage of our knowledge what evidence is there of the existence of type dreams common to the Ashanti (as representing the African negro) and to non-African races ? It is obvious that the evidence cannot be complete, for not only have field-workers failed for the most part to direct their attention to the existence of such dreams, but any one searching through literature will be surprised to find how few dreams, other than those connected with the appearance of ancestors, are chronicled.

Among the dreams recorded by Mr. Rattray are two of the best-known type-dreams, namely those of the loss of a tooth (or teeth), and of flying through the air. The record of the former is typical, that of the latter, as far as my limited experience goes, is in an unusual form (assuming that the dreamer was male) and complicated by the dreamer finding himself sitting on red clay on his return to the ground, a part of the dream that is not in any sense typical but which appears to be brought into the correct affective relation with the rest of the dream on interpreting it by contraries (cf. especially the dream concerning clay, given on page 195).

THE ToOTH-LOSING DREAM. The following is an outline, so far as I have been able to discover, of the distribution of this, apparently the most widespread of type dreams, bearing every-

where the significance of the loss of a near relative or friend, though not infrequently there is a modification of meaning according to the particular tooth lost, and whether it is in the upper or lower jaw :

Europe. Probably found everywhere, and certainly widespread in the northern and central parts of the continent.'

Africa. Ashanti ; see foot-note, p. 195.

Sudan (Northern). ' If you dream that a molar or eye-tooth is broken or falls out, the head of your family will shortly die. The breaking or loss of a front tooth foretells trouble of no great moment or the death of a child.'

Asia. The Near East, Palestine, and probably Mesopotamia as well as Persia. The belief is well expressed in the following passage which James Morier puts into the mouth of his hero Hajji Baba: ' Out of the dirty manure cometh rich fruit and cucumbers ; so out of evil cometh good', said he [Mohamed Beg]. ' I may now lay my head on my pillow in security, with the certainty that my boy is alive. I cannot now dream that I have lost my favourite tooth, since it no longer exists. But as for our master (may his liver turn into water), you will soon hear that his child is no more ; for three nights ago he told me that he had dreamed of the loss of a tooth.'

Nagas. The dream is known from Manipur, and among the Angami and the Thada Naga, in both instances with similar significance.

Malaya. This interpretation holds equally in the Straits, Java, and among the Achehnese.
China and Japan. The type interpretation is also held in these countries.
THE FLYING DREAM. The dream of flying on a broomstick, recorded by Mr. Rattray, is not the common form of the flying dream, and so far as I know is a woman's dream, definitely associated as a dream or trance experience with the idea of witchcraft (Europe, Arabia), the broom itself being commonly taken to be a phallic symbol (for a connexion between flying and the phallus, cf. e.g. the Roman winged phalli). The distribution and significance of this dream makes its occurrence

I Any one anxious to check my statements as to the distribution of these dreams will find most of the references in my Address already cited.

in Ashanti particularly interesting, and it is important, if possible, that the sex of the dreamer should be stated.
In its more general form its distribution as at present known to me is as follows :
Europe. Probably general. All variants occur among ourselves, from huge leaps taken with only the slightest effort, to levitation with such speed in movement that the subject has no difficulty in rising and steering through an open first-floor window. It is not, as far as I can ascertain, ever a painful or unpleasant dream and generally seems to be associated with a sense of exhilaration. In Tyrolese folklore it is definitely erotic.
Africa. Rhodesia, i.e. Ba-Ila and Ba-Kaonde. The Ba-Ila point of view concerning this dream is so interesting that it seems worth quoting textually, especially with regard to what has already been written concerning its erotic significance in the Tyrol and the presumably phallic symbolism of the broomstick dream in Europe, Arabia, and Ashanti. ' If ... he dreams of flying through the air, going flying over the trees and next morning tells them (the Elders) " I dreamt of flying ", they will tell him, " You live very well. It is life. That is a great dream." ' Among the Ba-Kaonde it is a ' good' dream.
Asia. Naga tribes. A ' good ' dream.
Java. Good luck.
China. Good luck.
In these two dreams from Ashanti we have then the first evidence from West Africa of the occurrence of two common type dreams, but in the one instance in an unexpected form requiring further study on the spot.
One other type dream occurs in Chapter XXI, but with an unusual significance attached ' If you dream you are climbing a tree you are going to be ill.' Usually the climbing dream is regarded as betokening good fortune ; here it indicates the reverse. The suggestion may be made that, as I believe in other instances (the western Ukraine and almost certainly some Naga), the good or bad quality of the dream depends upon the ease with which the dreamer ascends ; if the climb is difficult and exhausting it portends bad luck, if easy then good fortune. In any case further instances and study of this dream are required.

Besides the features of wide, even universal interest discussed above, which bring the dream mechanisms of the Ashanti into line with those of other peoples, reference may be made to certain other data recorded by Mr. Rattray which are rather of tribal interest. Foremost among these is the excellent example of imitative magic, with association by contiguity, provided by the dream concerning sexual intercourse with a woman now dead causing the dreamer's penis to wither, while if a woman dreams of her dead husband she becomes barren. Here, given the Ashanti belief that a dream is caused by the wandering of the soul or spirit (p. 192), there can be little doubt but that it is the contact with the dead, a real though perhaps not fully realized necrophily, which brings about the destruction of the living.

The appearance of ancestors in animal or semi-animal form is another fact of great interest, especially as there is no clear evidence of totemism among the Ashanti. It may, however, be suggested that the appearance in a dream of an ancestor in animal form is psychologically equivalent to the conscious identification of the ancestor with the totem animal among other African peoples. The fact that the ancestor of Mr. Rattray's informant appeared half as a yellow-backed duyker is important from the standpoint that in Ashanti eyes this really harmless creature is a sasa animal (cf. Chapter XIX), and as such to be feared. The dream thus exemplifies the ambivalent attitude towards the dead ancestor that is so common in savages. Whether half-human, half-animal appearances in dreams will prove to be common cannot be stated; meanwhile the only other example of which I have a note is from Asia (Lhota Naga), of three men with heads like cows and horns like goats but with human eyes. There were other peculiarities, and perhaps the record here is rather of a delirium than a dream proper; but before leaving the subject it may be worth recording that the writer of this note has dreamed of a friend, a successful breeder of pedigree cattle, as a bull with human eyes, while mention may be made of the many references to and representations of the Pharaohs as the ' strong bull ', and also as a human-headed lion.

These then are some of the points of interest which emerge

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from Mr. Rattray's record of Ashanti dreams, and it seems permissible to draw the following conclusions :

(i) The dreams of the Ashanti-as far as they have been studied-are to be explained as produced by the same dreammechanisms as occur in ourselves.

(ii) Their dreams may clearly be wish-fulfilments, and, though this is less obvious in the evidence adduced, may be produced by conflict.

(iii) Dreams with symbolism occur; in the examples which it has been possible to explain by association, the symbolism is fairly evident.

(iv) The dreams of the Ashanti indicate that this people has at least two of the best-known type-dreams, viz. the toothlosing dream and the flying dream.

(v) The Ashanti interpret their dreams (i) by the attribution of a meaning directly opposite to the manifest significance of the dream, or (2) by an elementary analytic process, the manifest content of the dream being rejected and the symbolic nature of the dream image recognized and its true meaning (latent content) sought by association.

XXII

'OATHS'I

THE expression 'to swear the great oath', or 'to swear an oath', so constantly heard in Ashanti, so little understood, and met with frequently in these volumes, requires, I think, some further explanation.2 The real meaning of the idiom ka ntam has tended to be obscured by reason of the translation given to it by semi-educated interpreters, who originally rendered the expression into English by the phrase 'to swear an oath'.

I have already mentioned many kinds of taboos, the violation of which was thought to be followed by disastrous consequences; sometimes the sanction was death. These taboos include prohibitions from doing certain actions, or from saying certain words. For instance: One must not say 'the king is dead'; one must not use the word 'skeleton', and so on. In these so-called 'oaths' we have, I believe, an exact parallel to these 'word' taboos, which, originally sacred in their origin, have had in the case of 'oaths' that aspect somewhat obscured by a later-day profane and legal significance.

The origin of 'oaths' and their meaning to-day may be traced to a time before the advent of kings or chiefs, when each family was a separate self-contained and organized unit, governed by its head-the senior maternal uncle. In these days, of which a dim tradition still survives, the outstanding events in the life of these family groups were the death (by accident) of the head of the family, or some hurt to his person-to an arm, a leg, or a hand. Thus it came about that these greater or lesser tragedies, which were first of all subjects that were wholly taboo, came later, by a process at which we can only guess, to be used I would refer my readers to a brief note I wrote on this subject in Ashanti Proverbs, pp. 129-31.

2 1 propose to deal more fully with this subject in a future volume on As an!i Law and Constitution.

by the members of the household as a means of obtaining something which was otherwise unobtainable, or of justifying an action which could not otherwise be justified. ' If you do not do so and so, or if you continue to act thus, or if you do not give me such and such a thing which should be mine, may that accident that once befell grandfather's 1 leg, or head, or arm repeat itself.' Thus spoke the aggrieved member of the communal hearth; or more briefly-and this came to be the recognized formula-'I mention grandfather's leg (&c.) if you do not do such and such a thing.'

Three possible lines of action were now open to the person to whom these sacred words had been addressed. First, he could comply forthwith with the demand, and not take any further action in the matter; any possible evil results were thus immediately nullified-in fact none were possible, because the contingency, the

happening of which would alone put the sanction into operation, actually never occurred. The person using the formula thus readily and simply obtained what he desired. There the matter ended (asem bi nni ho kora). Secondly, the person thus adjured, if he considered the demand made (on the threat of a repetition of a misfortune following non-compliance) unjust, might perform the required action, but simultaneously (or later on) invoke the same calamity and bid the person who had 'sworn the first oath' upon him to show good cause for having done so. Yet a third line of action was possible. He might refuse altogether to agree with, or to obey the order and would answer the demand by saying, 'If I do what you demand then may the calamity you have invoked happen.' In either case he did what is now called 'responding to the oath' (bo ntam so).2

An arbitrator was then clearly necessary. In olden times he would be the house-father. He it was who was likely ultiI In the classificatory sense.

2 The first of these alternative procedures was possibly the more correct line of action to pursue in a case where the party did not intend to abide permanently by his original submission to the demand.

Thele is a well-known saying, which has all the force of a legal maxim, which runs: If any one 'swears an oath' upon you saying that you must strip off your clothes and give them to him, then strip them off, and inquire his reasons for making the request afterwards (Obi ka niam gu wo so se pa wo ntama ma no a, pa ma no, na t'o bissa n'asie).

mately to be the one to suffer by the violation of the taboo. The tragic event thus recalled would almost certainly be visited upon his own head, or leg, or arm, as master of the household and direct intermediary between the living and the spirit ancestors. It was his duty, therefore, no less than his own interest, to inquire carefully into the matter and to punish both the members of his household who had recalled, and thus invoked a possible repetition of, an accident which had maimed or possibly killed his ancestor.

This punishment served both as a deterrent to others not to speak lightly of a subject which was taboo, no less than to show the ancestral ghosts that the house-father was ready as guardian of their shades to see that their misfortunes should not be recalled.

It will be noted that the persons who had spoken of the forbidden subject were both punished. At the same time, however, the party who was found to have been in the wrong was ordered to desist from his unjust demands.

The family now expands into the clan and the clan into the great territorial divisions. The house-father becomes the king or chief, and the power of life and death over his subjects becomes his prerogative.

The family misfortunes and mishaps that had once only concerned the family circle now become affairs of greater and wider import. To mention such events now becomes a very serious matter, no longer bringing down the wrath of ghostly ancestors on the small family circle, but venting it on a king and on his people who have become a nation.

Instead of the trivial accident to a limb, there was substituted such a disaster as the death of a king in battle or the decimation of an army. Hence we come to a most interesting, if possibly a transitory phase, in the history of ' the oath ', one which left its mark on a later procedure. At first any one and every one who dared to mention such a calamity was indiscriminately killed. Such a sanction did not, however, serve wholly to suppress all reference to the event.
A man or woman, exasperated beyond measure by the conduct of an individual, and risking the non-compliance of a demand backed by such 'an oath', would swear this 'great oath' against

the aggressor. If compliance followed, well and good; as in olden times, the matter ended there. If, however, 'the oath' was not obeyed or the second party swore a counter-oath, both persons were executed, just as formerly both had been punished, though in a minor degree.' This was justified in the Ashanti mind on the supposition that the conduct of one party had driven the other to violate a taboo the sanction of which he well knew was death.
The next stage in the history of 'the oath' was when only one of the two parties to it was killed. At this stage both persons were arrested and brought before the chief; the matter was carefully investigated, and the party adjudged guilty executed. The innocent party did not, however, get off scot free, for he had to pay a sum in gold dust known as Aseda sika (thank-offering money). The procedure, it will be noted, now presupposes an inquiry being held into the degree of responsibility for the violation of the taboo ; in other words it necessitated-indirectly it is true-an investigation into the original cause of dispute between the parties. Here, by clearly defined steps, we reach-or rather perhaps get back to-the stage when a taboo, involving in its violation some national calamity, is deliberately broken in order to remove a dispute from a purely private domain and carry it in judicium-to borrow a term from Roman Law. In other words, the plaintiff now states his case, the defendant replies ; witnesses are examined, judgement and sentence are passed, and one of the parties is executed. He is executed, not for anything he may have said or done to his rival, but for having wrongfully violated a taboo. The other party, it is true, also did so, but he is now held to have been driven to desperation by the conduct of the other. His life is spared, but, though in one sense he has won his case, he has to pay what is virtually a fine, aseda, as a thank-offering for being given his life. The execution of one of the litigants is now held to be full expiation for the violation of the taboo. Human blood spilled on the ground is held to placate the wrath of those powers who had been offended and were supposed in consequence to be likely to vent their anger on the king and his
I Compare the Akan custom 'of killing oneself on the head of another', mentioned by Bowdich.

people. The next stage in the evolution of 'the oath' followed naturally. Once the value of wealth came to be realized, the guilty party (except in certain specified cases) was allowed 'to buy his head'. He did so by paying a fine of an indefinite amount, sometimes as much as a hundred pereguan (i. e. about £8oo). This fine was known as atitodie (that which buys the head). It was accepted by the chief with the words, ' I present you with your head' (me de wo tiri kye wo).

There may not now seem to be much distinction made between the innocent and the guilty. The former had to pay what was practically a fine (aseda), the latter, a fine called atitodie.

The distinction will, however, on closer examination be found to be considerable. The aseda was a fixed amount and comparatively small; the atitodie was only limited by the greatest amount the accused and his clan could be expected to collect, and might necessitate the selling of whole villages with their inhabitants in order to raise the money. The party judged to have won the case was, moreover, allowed a certain margin of time to find his aseda, generally up to a day preceding an adae,1 i. e. to an adapa. He moreover, of course, won his action.

Yet another most important distinction was made between the two.

Besides 'the money to buy his head' the guilty one had to give one or more sheep. These sheep were sacrificed (in the case of the ntam kese heard in Coomassie) at the various mausolea and barim (cemeteries) which have already been described ; and also upon the shrine of the national soul-the Golden Stool.

This affords us a clear indication as to those who were supposed to have the power to punish the living for the violation of the taboo. The blood of these sheep was, of course, a substitute for the blood of the human victim.2

This outline of the history of ' oaths ' brings us down to the time of European intervention and of European administration.

Under our rule the procedure in the case of these ' oaths' has undergone a further change. Aseda and atitodie are now no ' See Ashanti, Chapters V-IX.

2 I need hardly state that the latter was never on any account poured upon stools.

longer taken. Both parties in 'the oath' deposit in the Court a certain sum of money which attaches to the particular 'oath'.

This is known as dwomtadie, and the amounts for various oaths are fixed by Government. He who wins his case has this sum refunded to him. The unsuccessful litigant forfeits his deposit, which is then claimed by the Tribunal and divided among the various court officials. He will, in addition to this sum, have to hand over one or more sheep, for the purpose already described.

The successful litigant is then relieved of all costs but one, a survival from the old days. He has to pay a small sum, 3s. 6d.-7s.,which is handed over to the Court heralds, whose duty it is to sprinkle white clay on the party who has won the case. This fee is called nhyiribosa (i. e. wine for the sprinkling of white clay).

Tradition records that one of the first subjects the mention of which became a national taboo was the death of the great Ashanti king, Osai Tutu, who died on a Saturday, about the year 173o, being killed in battle, and thus gave rise to the

prohibition to mention the word Memeneda, i.e. Saturday.1 It was not, however, until a later date that the circumlocutions of mentioning the event by the term ntam kese or the ' great ntam ' came to be introduced. Every clan thus came to mark special events in its history by avoidance of direct or indirect mention of such happenings, on pain of death, until in the course of time, and by a course of evolution the history of which has been outlined above, the mentioning of such events came to be used as a judicial formula by which disputes were taken to a court of first instance, and later to courts of appeal. When this procedure became the established practice, no sooner had any person deliberately pronounced the proscribed word than it was the duty of any one who heard him (or her) to arrest both parties, i. e. the person who had used the word and the person who, by his alleged misconduct, had driven the first-named to use it. If either party, after the ntam kese had been spoken, struck a blow, he was in olden times liable to be killed. There was a recognized fee of a nsanu weight of gold dust (i. e. I3s.) for effecting the arrest. An outside party, Prior to that date the ntam kese was, probably, to mention the word IVukuada, Wednesday. See ASshanti, p. 124.

on hearing the proscribed words spoken and not arresting the speaker, was originally also liable to suffer the death penalty. The chief in whose jurisdiction the parties resided made a report to the King of Ashanti, and the case had to be investigated without delay. The king might delegate authority to try the case to one of his feudatory war-lords; all the great Amanhene had the right to hear 'great oath ' cases. Such a case was bound to be heard, and omission to do so would have entailed the dethronement of the king himself. The man who first used the forbidden words opened the case and excused his violation of the taboo by charging the defendant with the offence alleged. Then the defendant spoke, and finally judgement was given by the okyeame.

A woman during her menstrual periods is absolutely forbidden, whatever the provocation may be, to speak any of these prohibited words, and no one, knowing her condition, might speak them against her; violation of this rule would have been punished by death.

Serious notice is not taken of a breach of these taboos by children. My informant gave me the following example: 'A child is being rubbed down with medicine for yaws, and in his pain and rage speaks the proscribed word to compel his mother to desist. The mother must immediately cease rubbing him ; the child would be taken before the king and severely admonished.'

I have generally heard it stated, and I believed it was the case, that the reason for thrusting a knife through the cheeks of a person who was destined for execution was ' to prevent his swearing the great oath that he should not be killed'. This statement I now find is not correct. I inquired from a former executioner under the ancient regime, what would have happened in such an event. He informed me that such a case had actually come to his notice. He had been ordered by the king to execute a certain man, by name A. K., who was a stool-carrier to the Omanhene

of K. The man had been condemned to death for rape. 'When I went I met two men, and seeing one with his hair dressed in the fashion adopted by stool-carriers, called the nkonnu..asoafo pua (the stool-carrier's tuft), I was about to arrest him when he called out " not me, but this one". The other, thereupon, shouted " me ka ntam se nkit me na me sam K. . ..

'hene akonnua " (" I speak the forbidden word that you must not kill me, for I serve the stool of the chief of K. . . ."). I desisted and ran to Coomassic and reported to the king. He was very angry and was about to charge me, saying I had only left the man because he happened to be my namesake. I was sent back for him, and brought him to Coomassie and killed him, after one of my small executioners had been allowed to practice on him.' 1

A good example, illustrating that true democracy existed under the ancient Ashanti constitution, is seen in the well-authenticated case where a King of Ashanti was himself impeached by means of this formula. The king had invoked the national taboo, in the cause of sanitation, ordering that every one must clean his compound. He himself, or those responsible, omitted to do so in the case of the precincts of the palace. One Kwaku Seku Otweafunu, i. e. Kwaku Seku, the corpse-dragger 2 to the king, spoke the proscribed words against the king himself (Kwaku Dua I), for not causing his own compound to be cleaned. The case was heard and the king was fined ten pereguan of gold dust, i. e. £8o ; ' he bought his head' for this amount.

If it can be proved that a man was under the influence of drink when he broke these taboos, he may be excused the resulting penalties ; ' me de tam me kye wo ' (' I take the proscribed word and present you with it '). The use of these forbidden words was clearly restricted to cases the seriousness of which was held to merit their employment. It was, for example, strictly forbidden to use such words in any quarrel arising out of a paltry dispute ; the following were included in this category; litigation arising from quarrels about

I. Palm-wine.
2. Ownership of palm-trees.
3. Palm-nuts.
4. Mushrooms.
5. Limes.
6. Tobacco.
7. Pots.
8. Anything of very small value.

I The sepow knife was used to prevent the man about to be killed from invoking a direct curse on the king.

2 i. e. of victims who had been killed or sacrificed.

While every ruling clan has thus its own particular tabooed words, these seem generally restricted to events in connexion with the males of these clans, i. e. to disasters in war or to deaths of male rulers, but there is an equivalent on the

female side, for Queen Mothers have sometimes 'an oath', me ka nana yafunu (I mention grandmother's belly).
I have stated that not only may an action, civil or criminal,
be brought before a court of first instance in this manner, but a similar procedure may be employed to bring a case before a higher tribunal on appeal. This was formerly effected by the dissatisfied party, against whom judgement has been given in a lower court, appealing against the okyeame in that court, by coupling his name with another and greater calamity associated with some higher chief. This necessitated a reopening of the case before the higher court, in which the place of the original litigant, in whose favour judgement had been given, is now taken by the okyeame who had given that judgement. This okyeame now finds himself defendant-a curious procedure, but one for which there was much to be said, in that it made the judge in these cases very careful to give a fair judgement. Nowadays this procedure is obsolete and both the original litigants appear in the court of appeal.
I shall close this chapter by giving a list of the forbidden expressions peculiar to some of the more important stools in Ashanti, with the monetary penalties (dwzomtadie) now attached to their violation in each case where they are known. In addition to the prohibition to mention the word Memeneda, already noted, which was the ntam kese proper of the Ashanti kings subsequent to the reign of Osai Tutu and formerly necessitated a trial before the Ashanti king or great Amanhene, there was-and still is-the proscribed word Koromantin, or sometimes also Meineneda (Saturday), referring to the disaster which overtook the Ashanti army in the reign of Osai Yao, when it was defeated by the Fanti. There are also less expensive king's ' oaths ', e. g. the use of the words ohene akora, i. e. the king's sire. The penalty for use of these words is now osoa ne domma, i. e. £2 7s. od.
The reign of Kwaku Dua I gave rise to a new 'oath ', which consisted of the words me ma ohene di afasie, I shall

compel the king to cat afasie yams ', a taboo of the Bosompra ntoro.1
A similar form is seen in the prohibition to say me ma ohene di bodom (' I shall make the king eat dog ').
For the great Asafohene in Coomassie these tabooed words were, and still are, as follows:
For the Bantama chief: merely the mention of the word ntwuma, red clay, i. e. a sign of mourning. This taboo had its origin in the fact that Amankwatia-later a famous chief of Bantama-was returning from Akwamu, accompanying Osai Tutu, before the latter became king, when news was brought to the latter of the death of Obiri Yaboa, the Ashanti king. Amankwatia then offered himself as an akyere (a sacrifice) and was smeared with red clay preparatory to being killed. Later, Osai Tutu released him, and he lived to become his great general. The fine for its use is osoa ne domma ([2 7s. od.).
Another Bantama taboo-in this sense-is the use of the words Amankwatia Kwesiada, i. e. Amankwatia Sunday. I could not obtain the origin of the prohibition to use these words, nor any of the remainder which follow.2 Naturally

the persons concerned are greatly averse even to mention these words, and most of the information here recorded was told me in whispers.
The Asafo chief : Wukuada, i. e. Wednesday ; fine [2 7S. od.
Akyeremade chief: Kwesiada, Sunday; fine [2 7S. od.
Head linguist Nuama : Ti kwa ; shaven head; fine [2 7s. od.
Ananta chief : Yaoada, Thursday; fine [2 7s. od.
Dadieasoaba chief : Banda, the name of a town in the north.
Adum chief: Efiada, Friday; fine [2 7S. od.
Gyase chief: Yaoada, Thursday; fine [2 7S. od.
'Dontin chief : Sabe ; fine [2 7s. od.
Dominase chief : Adwoada, Monday ; fine [2 7s. od.
The following are those of the great Amanhene (paramount chiefs).
Mampon : Yaoada, Thursday ; fine [4 13S. od.
Nsuta: Efiada ne Droman, Friday and Droman; fine
[4 I3S. od.
See Ashanti, P. 47.
2 I have since obtained the origins of most of these ' oaths', but too late to include the explanations in the present volume.

Juaben : Kwadu Tumnz ; fine £4 13S. od.
Bekwai: Kwesiada ne mpete, Sunday; and small-pox; fine
£4 13S. od.
Kokofu: 'Fiada ne Dwoada, Friday and Monday; fine 4 13S. All of these are undoubtedly days or places when or where some ancestor died or met with defeat in war.
I think it will be clear that the hitherto accepted translation of the Ashanti idiom ka ntam by the English ' to swear an oath' is both misleading and erroneous. The exact translation and etymology of the word ntam are somewhat obscure. Ka is of course just ' to speak', 'to pronounce', 'to say'. Ntam on the other hand is not an oath, in the accepted sense of that word. The word for that in Ashanti is nsedie (an oath), and di nsew (to swear an oath), meaning to call upon some supernatural power to witness what has been said and to impose a supernatural sanction should the statement be false.
The phrase ka ntam is a circumlocution to avoid using the actual proscribed word. The root of ntam may possibly be the same as that in the word tam, which may be used in the sense of something 'heavy', 'difficult to grapple with', 'burdensome'; or it may be from the root seen in the word tan, to hate. For this latter etymology there would appear to be some historical evidence. To this day there survives in families, as a kind of 'family oath', the expression metan agya se (I shall hate father if ...). The expression me ka ntam, now rendered by ' I swear an oath', therefore, really means, ' I shall mention or speak the hateful, or weighty, or forbidden word', and is a euphemism to avoid the use of the actual forbidden word in talking of the practice generally or when in fact there can be no ambiguity as to

the real meaning, e. g. me ,a ohene ntam; me ka ntam kese, 'I speak the word hateful to my chief', or ' I speak the great forbidden word'.
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XXIII
TECHNOLOGY
Introduction.
IN Ashanti I ventured to express the opinion that 'the most urgent need of this science (Anthropology) to-day is not so much the physical or technological side of the subject . . . as minute and exact studies with accurate detailed accounts of social and religious beliefs, rites, and customs.'1 When I wrote this I did not expect it would fall to my lot to attempt to unravel the ' mysteries ' of Ashanti Arts and Crafts. Fate, in the form of the British Empire Exhibition 1924, willed it otherwise, and in 1923 I was compelled to turn from my inquiries into the social and religious problems which had hitherto engaged my attention and interest among this people, as I found myself appointed ' Section Officer ' in charge of the following ' sections for the forthcoming Exhibition :
A. Manufactures of the Empire.2
B. Machinery and Electrical Appliances.2
C. Fine and Industrial Arts.2
I am inclined to think that some one, who really believed that none of these existed among our native population, had suggested that these sections should be turned over to me in the hope that I might possibly have some knowledge on the subject. I can forgive this ignorance in others, for I have to confess that I hardly realized that the Gold Coast could produce much of value or interest either in Arts or Crafts.
Section B, it is true, had to be eliminated altogether, unless one cared to include drum-talking, the ingenious traps, and the clever attempts of the little black children to reconstruct some super-mechanical wonder out of the 'innards' of old clocks, or derelict Ford cars, as showing latent electrical or mechanical talent.
Be that as it may, I settled down during the short time at my disposal to find out some details about these subjects. At first sight it appeared that the former existence of many of these could
2 So far as Ashanti was concerned.
I See Preface, p. 8.

FiG. 86. Exterior of a temple to one of the Tano gods
Fic. 87. Interior of the same temple

FiG. 88. Showing method of making ornamental pillars
Fic. 89. Showing method of making a spiral pillar

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FIG. 92. A squirrel-trap
FiG. 93. A mouse-trap

be traced only by words in the vernacular. However, it was soon seen that though these arts and crafts were dying out, there was life still left in some of them. I believe, therefore, that an event which at first sight I had been inclined to consider almost as a misfortune to the new Anthropological Department in Ashanti may turn out to have been for the best, for it is unlikely that on any other occasion funds would have been available upon the scale generously placed at my disposal for these researches.

For my present purpose I propose to treat the subject in separate chapters. The religious element in these Arts and Crafts, however, runs like a thread of silver through one and all, and links up this portion of the present volume with all that has gone before, and discloses to us how so-called ' primitive ' man has not as yet divorced the mythical, the mystic, and the religious from his handiwork. The art of weaving is discussed first, because its commercial possibilities are, perhaps, greatest, on account of the great beauty in the finished product, and the skill displayed by the weavers. I shall attempt to describe in detail the looms and other tools used, and to give an analysis of some of the products of these appliances. Attention will be drawn, for the first time I believe, to the names and significance of Ashanti textile patterns, and to ' stamped cloths ' and to the manner of their manufacture.

The numerous photographs which accompany these descriptions will serve, I hope, to make the whole clear and intelligible to the ordinary reader. One can almost forgive the student who, from an examination of the looms alone, would form an opinion that the art of weaving in Ashanti must be of a very primitive and crude order, and not likely to produce textiles of outstanding merit. But in this, as in the other arts here described, let us not be over-ready to judge of the African's handiwork only by an examination of the tools and the materials he employs, for, if we do so, we are ignoring the brain behind the hand and tool. In connexion with weaving, I have elsewhere alluded to certain commercial possibilities arising from a close study of this craft. From an examination of the names, designs, and significance of these textiles it will be possible for Manchester cotton-manufacturers and others interested to obtain the correct designations and

designs of many Ashanti patterns. It is not too much to hope that Commerce and Anthropology may find themselves under mutual obligations. The 'Trade' will be able to note and to give the correct patterns, colouring and names to their goods, while Anthropology will also be the gainer by the publication and the preservation of designs which are not only artistically beautiful, but are ethnologically accurate.'

Passing from weaving, I shall endeavour to describe the art of wood-carving, which largely owes its technique to religion, and thus finds a parallel in ancient Egypt, for it is highly probable that sculpture in wood owed its conception to the

demands created by the priestly class. Wood-carving is itself subdivided into many separate branches, all of which have their 'specialists '. There are wood-carvers who make nothing but stools, others who fashion umbrella frames for the great state umbrellas, others who make suman (fetishes), while some are makers of drums.
Pottery-making is next described, an art mainly in the hands of the women. The stages through which a pot passes are illustrated in some detail, and also the methods of firing and glazing the pots.
Metal-working, by the cire perdue method, is next described, in somewhat greater detail than will be found in Ashanti.
Incomplete as is this survey of Ashanti Arts and Crafts, and inadequate as the treatment of some of them may be, I hope that these chapters will help to show that the Ashanti craftsmen are in their own way artists of no mean skill. Their brains, hands, and eyes guide tools which a European worker would disdain and with which he would declare it was impossible to work. At some future but not very remote date Ashanti men and women will, I think, take their part in producing handiwork which will find an honoured place with us, because of its individuality and originality.
Some other examples of Ashanti Art, which do not fall under the headings dealt with here, are also shown, but here I only draw attention to the photographs. Mr. Vernon Blake, the artist and art critic, will treat of them all elsewhere in this volume.2
Since the above was written, I am happy to be able to record that one, at least, of the Manchester firms is weaving cotton goods for West Africa in conformity with these suggestions.
2 See Chapter XXXI, The Aesthetic of Ashanti, by Mr. Vernon Blake.

FiG. 94. Small animal trap, side view
FIc. 95. The same, front view

FIG. 96. The anfota trap
FIG. 97. The anfo trap

Figs. 52, 53, 86, 87 are photographs of a temple to one of the Tano gods, showing the exterior and interior of the building. Figs. 88-9 show the method used to make pillars of various designs. Fig. 90 depicts a finely carved calabash.
Figs. 91-7 show some ingenious animal- and bird-traps; several of these are models. Space will not allow a detailed description of these, but the mechanism of most of them may be seen by an examination of the photographs.

XXIV
WEAVING

BEFORE I begin a description of weaving, it will be of interest to note that the material used for clothing, in a not very remote era, was bark cloth, which the

Ashanti call Kyenkyen, after the name of the tree from the bark of which it is made.1 Bark cloth is actually even nowfound in use in the Brong country of Not thern Ashanti and there it is still manufactured. The bark is stripped off the tree in long narrow pieces, about a foot wide ; these strips are softened in water, laid over a trunk of a fallen tree, and then beaten out with wooden mallets with round corrugated heads (see Fig. 98) ; after it has been beaten, the original width of the bark is almost trebled. Hunters still often dress in bark cloth ; we have seen how, at the Odwira ceremony,' the King of Ashanti himself discarded his rich state robes and dressed himself in this coarse fabric-an interesting example of what anthropologists call survival.

It is not easy to state exactly when the art of weaving was first introduced into Ashanti. The Ashanti themselves state that they learned the art about the time of Oti Akenten, one of their early kings or rather chiefs, probably in the seventeenth century. There is also a tradition that a certain man, Ota Kraban, went at that time to Gyaman (now the French Ivory Coast) and brought back with him the first loom, which he set up at Bonwere (near Coomassie) on a Friday.3 I feel, moreover, almost certain that the art of weaving was introduced into Ashanti from the north and not from the south, i. e. not by the sea route from Europe. The earlier fabric woven on the looms in Ashanti was undoubtedly made of cotton threads, obtained from cotton grown and spun in the country. Silk cloths were woven soon afterwards, for the tradition still survives that the manufac'tured silk wares of the Dutch or other early merchants on the Coast were purchased only to be unravelled,

Antiaris sp. 2 See Chapter XII.

' Hence they account for the name for a loom, Odomankoina nsa dua Kofi. Ota Kraban also, it is stated, designed the cloth known as Oyoko man.

in order that the thread might be rewoven into the designs which local taste and custom demanded.'

While weaving in Ashanti is an art entirely confined to the male sex, cotton may be picked and spun into thread by the women-especially old women-who have reached the menopause. The woman's share in the work begins with the planting of the seed, and ends with the spinning of the cotton into thread, the intermediate stages of picking the cotton (tete asa) and removing the seeds (yiyi asa) also being carried out by them. Great deftness and skill are displayed in spinning. It is quite fascinating to watch some old dame at the work. Firi asa, 'spinning the thread', is done on a spindle called gyani buo (lit. the gyani or bead-stone), i.e. the whorl from which the spindle takes its name. The unspun cotton is held on the distaff in the left hand, the sticks of the spindle wetted with spittle, a strand of cotton is stuck upon it, and the spindle is set revolving with a twist of the thumb and forefinger. The spindle generally revolves upon a concave fragment of a smooth snail shell.2 The thread is teased out and twisted into a uniform thickness by the revolving spindle assisted by the fingers of the right hand, which run deftly up and down the teased-out cotton. The action of the revolving spindle first twists the cotton and then winds the spun thread on the spindle (see Fig. 99),3 as is common

elsewhere. The weavers, invariably men, for reasons to be explained later on, now take up the work ; the next stage is to wind off the cotton from the spindle on to spools (dodowa) which will then either go into the shuttle to be used laterfor weaving the weft, or on to the apparatus called inenko-me-nam (lit. I walk alone)-a bobbin carrier, which will be described presently, and is for laying the warp threads.

The spools or bobbins (dodowa) which may be seen in Figs. ioi and 112 are made out of hollow bamboo. To charge them with the spun cotton, an iron skewer with a wooden hammer-shaped head (dade bena)-(see Fig. II6, No. i)-is passed through the

1 Bowdich, I find, mentions the same fact. ' The caboceers ... wove Ashanti cloths of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern .

L In most cases the end of the spindle stick projects beyond the whorl.

3 The photographs I took of an Ashanti woman spinning were failures and I had to borrow the one reproduced here, which was kindly lent me by Mr. Dudley Buxton. The method is similar to that employed in Ashanti, but the woman spinning is not an Ashanti.

hollow of the spool and wedged tight, and upon the latter the thread is wound off the spindle, by keeping the dade bena revolving; this is done by holding the end of the iron skewer farthest from the hammer-like end and causing the whole to keep revolving by skilful action of the wrist, thumb, and fingers of the right hand, in which the instrument is held. Fig. IOI shows some bobbins when filled in this manner, and Fig. I0O two men using the dade bena, the whorl being on about the level of the shoulder of the man winding. Cotton and silk yarn used by the Ashanti weavers are now generally imported in hanks or skeins. Instead of asking a companion to hold the skein out on his hands, or placing it over his own knees, the Ashanti weaver has adopted a simple apparatus which he calls fwiridie. This consists of two crossed pieces of palm ribs or branches fastened at the point of intersection with a wooden pin, which pierces both bits of wood and projects underneath. At each extremity of the crossed sticks are short upright wooden pins which hold the skein in position when it is placed over them. The projecting centre pin is put down the neck of a bottle and the whole apparatus revolves as the thread is wound round the spool. Fig. ioo shows this process, called boro asawa tir, ' to strike (make) a head of cotton '. The weaver, having decided what particular design he is going to manufacture, has next to prepare his warp threads. If it is a simple design, he will carry this in his head, but if it is one with a great variety and combination of colour schemes, he will have a sample made showing the colour combinations with the exact number and order of threads of each colour. This he will do by winding the cotton or silk over a small flat piece of wood. This small sample has exactly the appearance of a medal-ribbon on its bar (see Figs. 126 et seq.). The laying of the warp is called asa 'tene, i.e. stretching or trailing thread. This process is performed by using a simple apparatus which the Ashanti call menko-me-nam, I walk alone'. A menkomenam (a bobbin carrier) may be seen in Fig. 10I and in use in Figs. 102-3. It consists of a piece of light

palm rib, into which have been struck 2, 4, 6, 8, (couples or multiples of two) 1 upright pegs capable of passing through the hollow centre of the spools or bobbins containing the thread, which are to be placed over them and upon which the

1 One is missing from apparatus shown.

spools will revolve. Let us suppose that the design chosen for weaving is the simple black with white pattern seen in Fig. 129, No. 78, and let us follow the whole process from the beginning until the ' warp is beamed '.

This warp contains 288 threads in all, which the weaver has arranged on his sample card in the following order.

8 Black This the Ashanti weaver would describe, not as 4 White containing 288 separate threads (224 black and 64 12 Black white) ; but as containing 72 mma (sing. oba), 4 White composed of 56 mma black and 16 mma white, for in 14 Black weaving, threads are reckoned in fours or multiples 4 White of four, which the Ashanti calls one oba, two mia, 14 Black half an oba, and so on.

4 White He now prepares to lay these threads in the order 14 Black and sequence of colours indicated to form the 4 White warp. First he fills up his spools with white and 14 Black black thread, saytwo with white and four with black, 4 White and places them over the upright sticks on the 14 Black menkornenam. He next drives three upright posts, 4 White about 4 feet in height, into the ground, two of these 14 Black about a foot apart and the third in the same plane 4 White at a distance as great as it is desired to make the 14 Black length of the warp. He now joins the ends of the 4 White threads on the spool in pairs. Having joined them, 14 Black he loops them over the upright post standing alone, 4 White but in the same plane as the two other posts which 14 Black stand close together. He now begins to walk 4 White towards the other two posts, carrying the apparatus 14 Black in his right or left hand (see Figs. 102-3). As 4 White he walks the spools revolve as the thread is ' trailed ' 14 Black out ; when he reaches the posts he will have a trail 4 White between the posts of two white threads and four 14 Black black. He now passes all the threads one by one 4 White round these two posts in the manner shown in 14 Black Figs. 104-5 so as to form a laze, passing on down 4 White the line (the threads now lying at the other side of 14 Black the post) till he again reaches the single post. He 4 White will by the time he reaches this have laid in all 8 Black four white and eight black warp threads. Passing

round the post, he once more proceeds down the line and repeats the same process, returning again to the single post, by which time he will have laid another four white and eight black threads. He now requires four more black threads together to make up the twelve, before he commences the next four lines of white. He therefore puts the two spools containing the white threads out of action and

walks down the line reeling off only black threads ; by the time he has reached the two posts he will have laid the required number, i. e. 12. I need not continue to go through the whole process. Let us suppose that the warp has been laid. The appearance of the threads on the posts will be as in Figs. 104 and 105. The next step is to tie up the different coloured threads where they cross, i. e. where they form the laze. This is done by knotting a piece of thread at the intersections of the sheds of different colour. The weaver now removes the whole from the posts, beginning at the end

-_ farthest from where the threads intersect.

- - The threads are wound on a flat stick,

a form of spool notched at the ends, called a bobo (see sketch). The next process is to pass the warp through the healds or heddles.

The common form of loom in Ashanti has four healds 1 (in two pairs), called asatia and asananY Figs. IO6-7 show these, and Fig. 108 an end-on view of an asatia-the circular disks are the treadles, the use of which is well illustrated in Fig 120.

The healds used are known as ' clasped' (a very primitive form) as opposed to those which are ' eyed ' or ' mailed ', neither of which allow of the same amount of play as the clasped heald does.

I will now give the sequence and number in which the warp is passed through these healds, using for my example the warp, the laying of which has already been described.

The healds called asanan are threaded first in the following manner. The healds are laid on the ground, one on top of the other; a large stone is placed on the coil into which the warp has been rolled, only the end with the laze which was taken off the I I have heard of, but not seen, a loom with six healds.

2 The derivation given to me of these names was, asa to dance and tia short or little, nan is four, from the fact that an oba (four threads) or groups and fractions of an oba are generally passed through them.

FIc. 98. Hammering out bark cloth with corrugated wooden hammers

FIc. 99. Spinning cotton

FIG. 1oo. Men using the dade bena and apparatus called 'fwiridie' for winding the thread in the bobbins. As the twirling of the dada bena is going on, the square whorl

(see Fig. 1i6, No. i) is not clearly shown

Fic. IoI. Above, a shuttle with loaded spool ; below, a bobbin

carrier with five loaded bobbins

FIG. 1O2. A bobbin carrier in use ; 'laying' the warp threads

FIG. 103. Laying the warp

FIG. 104. Showing manner in which the warp is passed round

the posts to form a laze, viewed from above
FiG. loS. As above, viewed from the side ; the separate coloured threads are tied up as shown

FIG. io6. Asatia healds
FIG. lO7. Asanan healds

Fic. io8. End-on view of an asatia heald
Fic. io9. Showing method of passing the warp through the leashes

FIG. iO. Another view of the preceding
FiG. iii. (i and 2) asanan healds ; (3 and 4) asatia heald; (5) the reed

Fir. I12. I. Shuttle ; 2. bobbin ; 3. shuttle with bobbin inserted
FIG. 113. A reed or ' beater in ', called in Ashanti kyereye
Fic. 115. End-on view of reed
FIG. 114. The same, partly dismantled
Fic. i16. (i) The dade bena with bobbin; (2 & 3) heald pulleys; (4) sword or shed stick

two posts and about a foot of the warp being left exposed. This is held in the right hand by putting a finger through the loop, (see Fig. lO9). The weaver now cuts the number of threads he wishes to pass at a time through the leashes of the asanan. He passes these through a leash of the top heald and out and between two of the leashes of the under heald, see Fig. IiO. In the sample, of which I made a detailed .examination, the warp threads were found to have been passed between the leashes of the top or bottom healds in the order and number now shown. In each case the threads after being passed through the leashes in one heald were then passed between a pair of leashes in the other heald, and vice versa, this of course not being effected when the heald, the leashes of which they had missed, was raised or depressed.

FIRST OR Top HEALD, ASANAN, NEAREST THE WEAVER

Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads	Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads	Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads
I	B	6	9	B&W	2&4	17	B	61
2	B	6	1o	B	6	18	B	62
3	B&W	2&4	1I	B	6	i9	B&W	2&43
4	B	6	12	B&W	6	20	B	6
5	B	6	13	B	6	21	B	6
6	B&W	2&4	14	B	6	22	B	6
7	B	6	15	B&W	2&4	23	B&W	4&2
8	B	6	16	B	6	24	B	6

This gives 144 single threads passed through the leashes of heald No. I, comprising 26 white threads and In8 black, i. e., it will be remembered, exactly half the total number of threads in the whole warp. Let us now take heald No. 2, i. e. the under heald. Every group of threads actually passing through its leashes passed outside the leashes of No. I heald, and so are not effected when that heald is depressed or raised to form a new pick. The warp is passed through the loops of the second heald (asanan) in the following sequence and number.

1 Passed through the leash of top heald, but passing outside corresponding leash on No. 2 or bottom heald.

2 Passed through 2nd leash of top heald and between ist and 2nd leash of No. 2 heald.

3 Through 3rd leash of top heald, but between 2nd and 3rd leash of No. 2 heald, and so on.

WEAVING

SECOND OR UNDER HEALD (ASANAN)

Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads	Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads	Leash No.	Colour	No. of threads
I	B&W	2&4	9	B	6	17	B	61
2	B	6	1o	B&W	2&4	18	B&W	2&42
3	B	6	1I	B	6	19	B	6
4	B&W	2&4	12	B	6	20	B	6
5	B	6	13	B&W	2&4	21	B&W	2&4
6	B	6	14	B	6	22	B&W	4&2
7	B&W	2&4	15.	B	6	23	B	6
8	B	6	x6	B&W	2&4	24	B&W	2&4

An analysis of the above will show that they comprise 144 threads, i.e. 38 white and io6 black, making a grand total of' 288, composed of 224 black and 64 white, which, on reference to p. 223, will be found correct.

The warp threads have now been~passed through the two healds called asanan in groups of oba (4's), oba and half oba (i.e. 6's) and half oba (2's) .

The weaver next proceeds to arrange them in the remaining pair of healds, the asatia. This is done in the sequence shown on the next page.

1 Having been brought between, but not through leashes i and 2 in No i heald.

2 As above in order.

3 The following note on an Ashanti loom, which was submitted to Joseph Bridge & Co., Ltd., Manchester, explains the results obtained by the use of the asanan healds. For this note, and their detailed examination and report on several Ashanti textiles, I am very much indebted to them.

'In order to produce the cross-over or decorative pattern across the stripe, two extra healds are used at the back of the healds which are employed to produce the plain weaving, the warp for this being drawn through both sets (in the case of the front pair of healds singly on alternate shafts ; in the case of the back pair in sixes on alternate shafts). It will be seen that by employing this method and using

healds of the clasped pattern, as sketch, either front or back sets of healds may be used at will, by allowing the set not in operation at the time to remain slack and the yarn to have freedom of movement to form the shed through which to pass the shuttle.'

FIRST ASATIA HEALD

Leash No.	No. of Colour threads	Leash No.	No. of Colour threads	Leash No.	No. of Colour threads
I	B I	49	W I	97	B
2	B I	50	W I	98	B
3	B	51	B I	99	B
4	B	52	B I	100	B
5	W	53	B I	ioi	B I
6	W I	54	B I	102	B I
7	B I	55	B I	103	W
8	B i	56	B 1	104	W
9	B i	57	B 1	105	B
io	B	58	W I	io6	B
ii	B I	59	W i	107	B
12	B I	6o	B I	io8	B
13	W 1	61	B 1	109	B
14	W 1	62	B I	Ii0	B I
15	B 1	63	B I	III	BI
16	B 1	64	B 1	112	W I
17	B 1	65	B i	113	WI
I8	B 1	66	B i	114	B I
19	B 1	67	W I	ii5	B
20	B 1	68	W I	ii6	B
21	B 1	69	B I	117	B
22	W i	70	B I	ii8	B
23	W i	71	B I	I19	B
24	B I	72	B I	120	B
25	B I	73	B I	121	W
26	B I	74	B I	122	W
27	B i	75	B I	123	B
28	B 1	76	W I	124	B
29	B I	77	W 1	125	B
30	B 1	78	B I	126	B
31	W I	79	B I	127	B
32	W 1	80	B 1	128	B
33	B 1	81	B 1	129	B
34	B 1	82	B I	130	W
35	B I	83	B 1	131	I
36	B 1	84	B I	132	B

37 B 1 85 W I 133 B I
38 B 1 86 W I 134 B I
39 B 1 87 B I 135 B
40 W 1 88 B I 136 B
41 W 1 89 B I 137 B I
42 B I 90 B 1 138 B I
43 B I 91 B 1 139 W
44 B I 92 B I 140 I
45 B i 93 B I 141 B
46 B I 94 W 1 142 B
47 B I 95 W I 143 B
48 B 96 B I 144 B

These, it will be noted, amount to 144 single threads, composed of 32 white and I 12 black.

No.3 No. z
Taut Loose not
in use. in use

The 'drawing-in' plan for such a cloth is as sketched below.

4 ' shaft
2"
LL-) _ Ist
1 T IT.... ITITI I TI I
Threads 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 310111213 1415 161718192021222324

The first and second shafts in sketch represent the plan of healds through which the yarn is drawn singly, in order to produce the plain or what is known as the calico weave. The crosses indicate the particular heald or heddle through which the warp thread is drawn.

Shafts 3 and 4 represent the healds or heddles through which these same ends or warp threads are bunched together in sixes and drawn through, in order to produce the decorative work in the cloth.

We now come to the 2nd asatia heald. Every thread which passed through a leash of asatia heald No. I, now passes between the leashes of asatia No. 2, and vice versa.

/&/I /&/I
..... - ------
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WEAVING
SECOND ASATIA HEALD
Leash No.
I
2 3
4 5
6 7

8 9 I0
II 12 13
14 15
16
17
18 19
20 21
22 23 24
25 26 27
28
29 30
31 32
33
34 35 36 37
38 39 40 41
42 43 44 45 46 47
48
Colour
B B B B
w
W
B B B B B B
w
W
B B B B B B B w w B B B B B B B W
w B B B B B B B W
B B B B B B B
No. of threads
I I I I I I I I I I
I I I
I I I I
I I I I I
Leash No.
49 50
5' 52 53 54 55 56 57
58 59 6o 61 62
63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70
71
72 73 74 75 76 77
78 79 8o 8I 82
83 84 85
86 87 88 89 9o
91 92 93 94 95 96
Colour
W
W

B B B B B B B
w
w
B B B B B B B
W
w
B B B B B B B
w
MV
B B B B B B B
w
w
B B B B B B B
w
W
B
No. of threads
I
I I I I
I
I
I
229
Leash No.
97
98 99 100 101
102 103
104 105
io6
107 io8 109 log
III
112 1I13
I 14 115 II6
117
118 I'9
120 121 122 123 124
125 126 127
128
129 130 131
132
'33 134
135 136 137
138 139
140 141 142 143 '44
Colour
B

B
B B B
B
W
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
MI
B
B
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
W
B
B
B
B
No. of threads

I I
I I
I
I I
I I I
I I I
I I
I I
I
I I I I i
I I.
I I

WEAVING

We have again 32 white and 112 black threads, making, with the previous number, a total of 224 black and 64 white, and grand total of 288 threads.

The next process is to pass the warp through the reed. (This appliance will be described in detail later on.) This was performed (in the particular case being descibed) as follows :

ORDER IN WHICH WARP WAS PASSED BETWEEN THE DENTS OF THE REED

Colour

B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
W
B

B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
W
No. of threads
2 3 3
4 3
2 2 2 3 4 3 3
3 2
2 3
4 3 2
3 3
2 4 3
2 3 3
4
2 2 3
2 4
Dent of reed
Colour
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B

B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
No. of threads
3
2 3
2 3
4 3
2 3
2 2 4 3
2 3
2 .3
2 4
3
2 3
2
3
4
2 3
2
3
2 3
4 3
2
Dent of reed
Colour
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B

W
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
B
B
W
B
B
B
B
No. of threads
3
2 2 3 4 3
2 3
2 3
4
3
2 3
2 4 3
2 3
2 3
2 4 3 2 3
2 3
2 4
2 3
2 2
Again this gives us 64 white and 224 black, i. e. the total number of threads in the warp.
230
Dent of reed
Between I&2 2&3 &c.

The warp is now ready for setting up on the loom (or for 'beaming', as this process is technically called). Fig. i i i shows the actual warp after having passed through the process which we have described. I and 2 are Nos. i and 2 asanan healds and Nos. 3 and 4 are the two asatia healds, and 5 is the reed, which is also a' beater in '. In the centre of the shed is a' sword' (or shed-stick) which will be described presently (Fig. i I6, No. 4). Before I proceed to illustrate the framework and nature of the loom, some of the other appliances used in weaving may be described.

The shuttle. This may be seen in Figs. I0I and 112. It consists of three separate parts: (i) the case which contains the spool. The case is called Kurokurowa, an onomatopoeic word in imitation of the tuneful noise made by the dodowa, spool, (2) as it slides up and down the centre pin seen in (3), the dodowa dua. The shuttle has not any outlet hole or eye. Fig. I0I shows a shuttle with the spool charged; in Fig. I12 the spool is empty.

The healds have already been illustrated. Two asatia healds examined contained each 137 leashes, allowing for 274 threads in the warp. The asanan examined contained twenty-eight leashes in each, fifty-six in all. The disks attached to the strings leading from the healds are called utiamu, i. e. ' something for pressing on'; they are the treadles. Those shown in the photographs are made from pieces of a calabash.'

The reed is shown in Figs 113-15. This is known in Ashanti as Kyereye, and is used as elsewhere as a ' beater in '. The top and base (i. e. the body) are made from a wood called Kanwene and the dents from the tonton palm. Fig. 114 shows the top and bottom removed. Fig. 115 shows the reed side on. Fig. I16 shows two heald (asatia) pulleys, Nos. 2 and 3, whose use will be seen when the loom is described. Fig. 116, No. 4, also shows a sword (tabon). This sword is not used as a ' beater in ', the reed being used for that purpose. The sword (tabon) (the Ashanti name means any flat piece of wood) is used as a shed-stick. Let us suppose the weaver is at work with the heald treadles of the asatia between his toes. If he wishes to depress the asanan heald in the ordinary way he would have to remove the asatia

I These are now often made from the lids of cigarette tins

heald treadles and substitute those of the asanan healds. Instead of doing so, he pulls down the asanan heald with his hand, and quickly inserts the sword between the shed thus formed, which has the same result as if he were keeping up the downward pressure on the asanan treadle. This leaves his hands free to make a pick, and saves him the trouble of changing the treadles.

We now come to the framework of the loom itself.

Fig. IOO shows three looms before the beaming of the warp, and Fig. I17 the same looms after this has been done.

Figs. 118-22 show looms taken from various positions. All these will now be examined in detail.

The framework of an

Ashanti loom contains
1 ' thirteen pieces, named as
follows"
Z 8 The four posts, 1, 2, 3, 4, called Kofi nsa nnua (Sing.
Kofi nsa dua), i. e. IKofi's
hand sticks, Kofi being a
1,3 personal name generally
implying that the person
10a so named was born on a Friday.' The lower longitudinal supports 5 and 6 are
DIAGRAM OF FRAME OF ASHANTI LOOM called ntoho, and the upper supports 7 and 8, which are
generally notched, are known as nsantwerewa (i. e. small hand steps). The cross front bar (9), over which lie the warp threads, is called oponko dua, i. e. the horse stick ; the rear cross rod
(io) the ayase dua, i. e. the belly stick (our breast beam) ; around this rod the cloth is wound. At the end of this rod, and on the right hand of the weaver, two holes are bored, into one of which a wooden rod (13) is inserted leading from the cross bar (9). This enables the weaver to take a turn on the breast beam or ' belly stick ' (IO), and slip the rod into one of the holes and so prevent the pull of the web from causing this bar to revolve and thus slacken the warp. Nos. I I and 12 are the two cross sticks (called nyansoa) upon which are fastened the pulleys, awidie, which

1 See p. 220.

FIG. I 17. Three looms, and weavers at work
FiG. ii8. Weaver at work ; note warp held taut by ' anchor '

Fic. 121. Loom, showing cloth, warp, reed, and
healds, with the breast beam in foreground
FIG. 122. Weavers at work ; note the ' sword ' keeping open the shed

Fic. i23. Warp held taut by large rock
FiG. 124. Showing attachment to breast beam
FIG. lz5. Child learning to weave on miniature loom

support the healds and the reed. The asanan healds are supported from the front bar (II) and the asatia healds are supported from the rear bar (12).
Let us suppose that the weaver wishes to commence work on the warp, the laying of which we have followed so far. He inserts a short stick (heading rod) through the loop at the end of the warp threads farthest from his loom. To this stick will be fastened a piece of antelope skin and upon this skin he will place a heavy weight (see Fig. 123). This serves as an anchor to keep his warp taut. The other end of the weft he will fasten to a short heading rod, which will in turn be fastened to the 'belly stick' in the manner shown in Fig. 124. He next fixes up the strings leading

from his healds and reed on their respective top cross bars, and pulls his weft out taut. The loom is now set up and ready. Fig. 118 shows a single loom, which illustrates well the stretched warp and anchor. Fig. I 19 shows a loom from the rear, with the seat upon which the weaver sits.
Fig. 120 shows a loom from the front, and Fig. 121 shows the belly stick or breast beam, the reed, and the heddles, with part of the completed fabric wound round the ' belly stick ', and the warp lying in front of the reed and stretching away over the ' horse stick' to its anchor. In this photograph the rod leading from the front cross bar and locking the ' belly stick ' may be seen. Fig. 122 shows a weaver sitting between the poles of his loom. The sword (shed stick) may be noted, keeping the shed open as he mends a broken thread. Shuttles are loaded with the different coloured yarns and are used as required to weave the weft which is beaten in from time to time by the reed. Picks are also, however, made by hand, when the pattern demands that it should not be as broad as the width of the warp.
Little boys who are to become weavers begin to learn at a very early age. A weaver's sons-not necessarily his sisters' sons-generally become weavers. These children play at weaving on a small toy loom called asase tama, shown in Fig. 125. They become extraordinarily deft at making a shed by picking up the under threads with a little flat, pointed shed-stick. Having made a shed, they keep it open with the same stick, pass a miniature shuttle through the shed, remove the stick and start again.
Temples are unknown.

Before I proceed to describe Ashanti textile (cotton and silk) designs, and their significance, I may be permitted to refer to the religious side of weaving. Bonwere, a village not far from Coomassie, was the great centre of weaving for the Kings of Ashanti in olden times, and it was to this place that I went for a final inquiry into what I had learned elsewhere about this craft. 'Women could never be weavers owing to the fact that they have menstrual periods', said the chief of the village. No piece of weaving may ever be commenced or completed on a Friday, ' because Friday was the day when Ota Kraban set up the first loom'. Looms and weavers are subject to certain taboos. A woman during her periods may not touch a loom. A woman in this condition must not even address her husband directly, but must speak through the medium of a young child, even if the man is standing behind her.1 An old loom must on no account be burned or broken up; if it is broken accidentally, a fowl must be sacrificed upon it. A weaver who is going trading or on a journey will take up the parts of his loom and throw them into the river to prevent their ever being broken up for firewood.
Should the wife of a weaver be unfaithful to her husband, and the co-respondent be another weaver, a sheep must be sacrificed to the loom and another on the ancestral stools. The following are the words spoken on such an occasion : Odomankoma Nsadua Kofi me nua eni wa pe me 'yere, na ma gye no 'gwan nti be gye gwan yi di, efi biara a ka wo a me bo wo su, mma menyare me tena u'omu a menya ahomka, which translated reads, 'Kofi, the Creator's loom, this is my

brother, he has desired my wife and I have fined him a sheep, wherefore accept this sheep and eat; should any defilement have touched you, I have sprinkled you with water; when I sit between your sticks let me find content.'
The web of the Ashanti woven fabrics averages about 8 to 9 cm. in breadth. Lengths of web are cut off and sewn together to form a complete cloth. I discovered that not only were Ashanti textile designs artistically beautiful, but that each design was standardized, and that they were not flights of colour-fancy run riot. Each pattern has its name and in many cases also
1 See Chap. XXVI, p. 276.

represents the clan, social status, or even sex of the wearer ; or it may refer to some proverbial saying.
In olden times the King of Ashanti appeared to hold the copyright ' of all new designs, and these he would either reserve for himself or allocate them to great men or women in the kingdom ; these designs then became their ' tartan '.
The names of Ashanti textile designs do not appear to be taken from the patterns on the complete web, bat from the alinement of the various threads in the weft.1 The weft designs are called, in the case of silk cloths babadua and in the case of cotton cloths ban kuo.
It has already been recorded how extremely conservative the Ashanti are in their taste in textile fabrics ; this is shown by the fact that rather than wear cloths of European design which offended their aesthetic taste, they would (in the case of silk cloths) sometimes actually unravel and reweave the imported manufactured article to suit their own taste.
Most of the designs here shown are recognized standard patterns. They do not nearly exhaust all the different varieties. While the designs of these are more or less standardized, the names of the designs in some cases appear to vary in different localities. Much of the beauty in these patterns lies in the babadua or bankuo and in the blaze of artistically blended colours in the whole piece. The expense of reproducing in colours samples large enough to show both the warp and the weft patterns is prohibitive, and I have had to be content in nearly every case to show only the warp samples such as a weaver would himself mount before he commences to lay the warp ; as already noted it is from this that the textile derives its name. Owing to the courtesy and kindness of Messrs. Joseph Bridge & Co., Ltd., of Manchester, plans of several of these designs have been drawn and are here reproduced (Figs. 138-43).
I now propose to give the particulars I have been able to obtain concerning these designs. In each case the Ashanti name of the pattern will first be mentioned ; and next the English equivalent of that name (where it is capable of explanation) will be given, with some additional information.3
There are a few exceptions. "- Omitted from the 1954 impression.
The warp patterns (giving the exact number and sequence of threads of the

Fig. 126, No. i. Adjua Afwefiwe (beautiful Adjua), a girl's name, probably called after some beauty of ancient days. Bowdich records a similar naming of a cloth after a woman: He writes: '. . . The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogized and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name among the natives.' 1
Fig. 126, No. 2. Sama. Called after a man of that name, the son of one of the former chiefs at Bonwere, the village of the weavers. The warp consists entirely of yellow threads, into which red, black, red, green, red, black, red, green weft has been woven, in bands about 6 cm. broad; the portion of the web here shown being where the red weft mingles with the yellow warp.
Fig. 126, No. 3. Known as kyemfere (the potsherd), or sometimes ponko se (the horse's tooth). The warp consists of black threads. The design comes from the weft, and a small part of this may be seen in Fig. 133, No. 107.
Fig. 126, No. 4. Otromo (the Bongo).
Fig. 126, No. 5. Tweneboa, also sometimes called Ntokosie the former is the name of a woman whom tradition states to have been the wife of one Pampa, who was a weaver to one of the oldtime Ashanti kings. This cloth might only be worn by the Kings of Ashanti ; the meaning of the latter name is obscure.
Fig. 126, No. 6. Kofi Esono (Kofi, the Elephant), an Ashanti celebrity who was presented with this cloth by the King of Ashanti and given permission to wear it. The warp is black and white only, but weft bands of crimson, yellow, and green, in varying widths and beautiful designs and about 15 cm. in depth, cross the weft at equal intervals; the black weft threads pass in lines of varying breadth across the warp.
Fig. 126, No. 7. Atabia Bene, probably a person's name. The bands, across the warp at equal intervals, are white, maroon) yellow, and green.
Fig. 126, No. 8. Ofebiriti. A 'strong name ', mrerane, of King Kakari; might only be worn by the king. The weft bands are in lines of crimson, green, and yellow. various colours) for each of the designs here illustrated had been drawn up. These, however, would have taken up so much space that, in spite of the great amount of labour spent in recording them, I have decided to omit them from this volume.
1 See Bowdich, p. 2io, foot-note.

Fig. 126, No. 9. Atabia (the name of a small antelope). There is a slight error in the pattern, which should have had awhite line (4 threads) between the crimson and the yellow.
Fig. 126, No. IO. Kwakye Asare. Called after a prince of the Asona clan.
Fig. 126, No. ii. Amere (a personal name), formerly only worn by the King of Ashanti.
Fig. 126, No. 12. Abawere (the name of a small bird), ' the Queen Mother of all birds' (anoma nhyina 'ni abawere). Yaa Akyaa, Queen Mother of Ashanti, used to wear this pattern of cloth. Worn by Queen Mothers.

Fig. I26, No. 13. Bansoa (the name of a small white, black, and yellow bird; said to be very brave). There is a saying Bansoa di 'ben (the Bansoa bird eats the arrow).
Fig. 126, No. 14. Dokoasiri Krofa; exact meaning obscure. Formerly worn only by the King of Ashanti.
The weft design at intervals on this warp is very striking; it may be seen in Fig. 133, No. io8.
Fig. 126, No. 15. Ansaku, a former King of Akwamu.
Fig. 126, No. 16. Nkwantia ogye akore ('It is at the small crossroads that the sacrifice is pegged down') ; relation to design obscure.
Fig. 126, No. 17. Ntumedie (flying sparks from a bush fire); the Bomwere weavers, however, state it is in the Ntokosie designs called Kwame Badie, a personal name; ' the white is the ash, the crimson, the sparks, and black, the burned grass.'
Fig. 126, No. 18. Atoko (lit. ' they met the enemy ').
Fig. 126, No. 19. Abusuakuruwa (the clan's pot) ; the Bonwere weavers, however, call this design Hoaasonawo (the blue asona snake).
Fig. 126, No. 20. Adweneasa. This word means literally 'my skill is exhausted', or 'my ideas have come to an end. This pattern is one of the best known in Ashanti, and weavers who can make it are considered masters of their craft. Fig. 132, No. 103, shows a longer strip of this design, of about I8 cm. in length, and in Fig. 138 will be found the plan of the design. In olden times only the Kings of Ashanti might wear this pattern. One of the cloths presented by the Ashanti to the Princess Mary on the occasion of her wedding was of this design.

Fig. 126, No. 21. Nkuruma Bete (the soft okro).1
Fig. 126, No. 22. Dokoasiri, or Nokoasiri; derivation obscure; several designs, varying slightly in detail, are all classed under this title (e. g. see Fig. 127, No. 26). In olden days this pattern might only be worn by the King or Queen Mother of Ashanti.
Fig. 127, No. 23. Ohene Akamfuo ((it has) the king's approbation); in olden times might only be worn by the King of Ashanti, or by others with his permission.
Fig. 127, No. 24. Makowa (the little pepper), so called from the design woven at intervals to represent red and yellow peppers. Lesser chiefs might wear this pattern. The warp consists entirely of green threads.
Fig. 127, No. 25. Asase ne abuo (lit. the earth and its rocks); there is also a plant so named ; the association of the name with this design is obscure. The warp consists entirely of black threads, the weft of green. This design might be worn by chiefs.
Fig. 127, No. 26. Another of the Dokoasiri designs ; See Fig. 126, No. 22.
Fig. 127, No. 27. Bese Hene (the king of the kola-nuts) the white kola-nut is so called.
Fig. 127, No. 28. Abodaban (the iron bars of the castle) the Bonwere weavers, however, class this pattern among the Dokoasiri. (See Fig. 126, No. 22, and Fig. 127, No. 26.) This cloth in olden times might only be worn among the amanhene (paramount chiefs).

Fig. 127, No. 29. Oyokornan ogya da mu ('there is fire between the two factions of the Qyoko clan'); referring to the civilwar after the death of Osai Tutu between Opoku Ware and the Dako. This cloth was worn by the King of Ashanti at the Kwesi Adae (Sunday Adae ceremony).2 It is the clan 'tartan ' of the Royal House. Fig. 132, No. 104, shows a larger strip and gives the warp and wNeft pattern, the plan of which is also given in Fig. 139.
Fig. 127, No. 30. Ntumoa (the sand flies) ; also sometimes called Srafo biri (the black army) ; only worn by the Amanhene (paramount chiefs).
Fig. 127, No.31. Akyempiin ('he has given him one thousand'). Tradition states that this design dates from the reign of Osai
Hibiscus escdenlus, mnuh used by the \Vest African in soups.
2 See Ashzanti, Chapter VII.

Tutu (1700), and owes its origin to a gift from that monarch to one Owusu Efiriye, the Akyempin chief. The warp pattern has upon it at intervals parallelograms woven in yellow and maroon.
Fig. 127, No. 32. Toku ne 'Kra tama (the soul cloth of the Queen Mother Toku). Toku is reported to have been a Queen whom the Ashanti king Opoku Ware overthrew and killed; he took from her a cloth of this pattern, which he gave to the Queen Mother of Ashanti. Formerly only worn by the Queen Mother of Ashanti.
Fig. 127, No. 33. Kyirebin (called after a deadly snake of that name ; one of the titles of the Ashanti kings). The weavers at Bonwere call this pattern Semea.
Fig. 127, No. 34. Kyime Kyerewere or Kyime Ahahamono, (Kyime who seizes and devours, or the green Kyime cloth). The loin-cloths of Kings and Queens of Ashanti were made in this pattern. There are no weft designs in this cloth.
Fig. 127, No. 35. Nkateaasa birie ('the black nkwtewa seeds are finished'). There is not any doubt but that some historical allusion, which I have been unable to trace, survives in this name. The pattern was formerly only worn by the Ashanti kings.
Fig. 127, No. 36. Oyoko ne Dako (the Oyoko and Dako clans).
Fig. 127, No. 37. Afua Sapon (the name of a Queen Mother in the reign of Agyeman I). Worn by Queen Mothers at the Wukudae ceremony.
Fig. 127, No. 38. Aberewaben. Aberewaben was a woman of the Asenie clan who lived in the time of Kwabia Amanfi (about A. D. I6oo). This cloth used to be worn by the Adonten chief (leader of centre of Ashanti army).
Fig. 127, No. 39. Ko'ntiri ne Akwamu. This design might be worn by the Asafo, Adum, and Bantama chiefs. The warp is entirely green, and the pattern takes its name from the weft design. See Fig. 132, No. 1O5, where this is shown, and Fig. 140 where the warp and weft patterns are worked out.
Fig. 127, No. 40. Firimpoma. Firimpoma was Queen Mother of Bonwere and grandmother of Ota' Kraban, the first weaver. Formerly worn by Queen Mothers of Bonwere.

Fig. 127, No. 41. Mrmada K'rofa. The meaning of this name is obscure. There was a room in the palace of the Ashanti kings known as Mtmada, in which after the new king had been

enstooled he was compelled to sleep for seven nights, after which he was never to sleep there again as long as he lived ; the room would not again be slept in until his successor came to be enstooled.
Fig. 127, No. 42. Nyankonton (the Sky God's arch), the rainbow; might only be worn with the permission of the king. The weft pattern may be seen in Fig. 131, No. ioo, and the plan has been worked out in Fig. 141.
Fig. 127, No. 43. Asambo (the breast of the guinea-fowl), sometimes also called asain 'takra (the guinea-fowl's feather), and sometimes Kotwa (a scar). See Fig. 13o, No. 99, for the weft design of this cloth.
Fig. 127, No. 44. Oyokoman Asonawo. This is a composite design, borrowing something from the Oyoko clan cloth (Fig. 127, No. 29), and another pattern called Asonawa, hence the name.
Fig. 128, No. 45. iYaa Kete; called after a princess of that name ; it might be worn by any one of the Oyoko royal family.
Fig. 128, No. 46. Yaa Atta. Yaa Atta was a former Queen Mother of Kokofu, in the reign of King Bonsu the Elder (about A. D. 18oo). This cloth was formerly worn only by Queen Mothers of Kokofu, Bekwai, Coomassie, Nsuta, or Mampon.
Fig. 128, No. 47. Apea Akobi; he was a weaver who lived at Bonwere during the reign of Akusi Bodom (about A. D. 1750) ; formerly this design was only worn by the King of Ashanti. It will be noted that the warp pattern is almost the same as No. 31, Fig. 127.
Fig. 128, No. 48. Oyokoman Amponhema, a slight variation of No. 29. The King of Ashanti's great state umbrella was covered with cloth of this pattern.
Fig. 128, No.49. Arnanahyiamu (' the nation havemet together'). A cloth of this design was worn by the King of Ashanti at the Odwira ceremony.' The great chiefs might also wear it with the king's permission.
Fig. 128, No. 50. Nwotoa Adweneasa. The pattern called Adweneasa has already been described, see Fig. 126, No. 20. This design is very similar. Nwotoa means shuttles, and this design is said to be woven ' with a shuttle in either hand'.
Fig. 128, No. 51. Atmponsim or Akkurase. Amponsim is a
1 See Chapter XII.

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person's name ; akurase means ' the mouse's tooth'. This design is said to have been first worn by a chief (Adunku) who lived in the reign of Osai Tutu and was the first to fight the famous Ntim Gyakari, before the latter was defeated and slain at Feyiase.

Fig. 128, No. 52. Srafo (the army on the march). See Fig. I30, No. 98, for weft pattern.

Fig. 128, No. 53. Asonawo mnada. The clan 'tartan' of the Asona tribe; the father of King Bonsu Panyin was Owusu Ansa, who belonged to the Asona clan, the first of that clan ever to be the father of an Ashanti king. The pattern is said to have originated in this fact.

Fig. 128, No. 54. Agobamu. Said to be a personal name; formerly only worn by the Queen Mother of Ashanti.

Fig. 128, No. 55. Yaa Amanpene ('Yaa whom the nation loves'). Originally called after one of the daughters of King Osai Kojo. The Bonwere weavers say it is one of the Dokoasiri patterns.

Fig. 128, No. 56. Akoabena. Called after the mother of Ntim Gyakari, King of Denkira, who was slain by Osai Tutu.

Fig. 128, No. 57. Dokoasirifodua. Said to be another variety
*of Fig. 127, No. 26. The Bonwere weavers call it Amanpene; it might be worn by any of the greater arnanhene (paramount chiefs).

Fig. 128, No. 58. Wirempe ko gyina ('the Wirempe' go to consult together') ; worn by the Gyase chief.

Fig. 128, No. 59. Dado or Ansaku. The former word said to be derived from the name of the wife of a weaver who lived in ancient times, called Kuragu Yaa.

Fig. 128, No. 6o. Sika futuru (gold dust) ; might, in former times, only be worn by the King of Ashanti.

Fig. 128, No. 61. Bewo, called after a princess of the Oyoko clan who married the chief of Tafo during the reign of Osai Tutu.

Fig. 128, No. 62. Gyimikye, called after the weaver (a native of Bonwere) who designed it.

Fig. 128, No. 63. Nsankani koko (the yellow Nsankani flower). Formerly worn only by the King and Queen Mother of Ashanti.

Fig. 128, No. 64. Tiafo ('he who tramples upon'). A sobriquet

1 See Chapter XVIII.

of the King of Ashanti, and formerly worn only by him. The Bonwere weavers, however, state that the name of this pattern is onyina ne no man (the silk-cotton tree and its branches).
Fig. 128, No. 65. Yiwa ne Bota (the Yiwa and Bota beads). Formerly only worn by the King of Ashanti; the Bonwere weavers say it is one of the Dokoasiri designs.
Fig. 128, No. 66. Owireduwa. Called after a woman of that name (Owireduwa Akwafu), who lived in the reign of Osai Kwame (1781) ; only worn by Queen Mothers.
Fig. 129, No. 67. Agyapoma. The favourite wife of King Osai Tutu, who is also reported to have called his favourite gun after her; formerly only worn by the King and Queen Mother.
Fig. 129, No. 68. 'Dumrane (the great odum tree) ; also called Asonawo tuntum (the black Asonawo, see Fig. 128, No. 53). The first name was also a title of the Ashanti kings ; formerly only worn by the Kings of Ashanti.
Fig. 129, No. 69. Amma Benewa. Called after a woman of that name. She is said to have been the sister of a chief called Tibo of Asen (near Cape Coast), where the people of Asen who originally came from Adanse first settled, in the reign of Kwabia Amanfi (A. D. 16OO).
Fig. 129, No. 7o. Akyem konmu (the neck of the Akyem bird); might be worn by any omanhen' (paramount chief).
Fig. 129, No. 71. Higya (the lion) ; formerly only worn by the King of Ashanti.
Fig. 129, No. 72. Semea. This is a comparatively modern pattern, said to have been introduced from Kwitta. The warp is composed of black threads, the weft of yellow. No other weft designs are introduced.
Fig. 129, No. 73. Nkwadwe ('all my subjects are in peace '). The cushions in the King of Ashanti's hammock were made of. this pattern.
Fig. 129, No. 74. Amoako ne Asare (Amoako and Asare). Amoako was the Ko'ntire hene to chief Asare of Kokofu.
Fig. 129, No. 75. Atabia tuntum (the black Atabia), named after a weaver, Atabia, who lived in the reign of King Bonsu II (circa A. D. 1877).
Fig. 129, No. 76. Akyem ntama (the shield-bearer's cloth), formerly only worn by that body. The Ashanti formerly carried

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shields and bows and arrows, but so long ago that the shape of the shields is now only known to us in the form of Ashanti weights.'
Fig. 129, No. 77. Mmada Asonawo Ahahamono (the fresh green mmada Asonawo) ; see Fig. 128, No. 53.
Fig. 129, No. 78. Panpana ahahan (Panpana leaves) ; formerly worn only by the King of Ashanti.
Fig. 129, No. 79. Takyiawo. Said to be called after a favourite wife of King Kwaku Dua I (A. D. 1838).
Fig. 129, No. 80. Adwowa Koko (the red Adwowa). Said to have been the wife of one Pampo, a weaver of Bonwere. The cloth was presented to King Kwaku Dua I, who then allowed only his wives to wear it. (See also Fig. 131, No. IOI, and Fig. 142 for the plan of the warp and weft.)
Fig. 129, No. 8I. Amankuo. Said to have been called after a chief of that name (Nti Amoa Amankuo), who was killed by the chief of Juabin in the reign of Osai Tutu.
Fig. 129, No. 82. Aserewa Monom (the smooth Aserewa bird) ; the Bonwere weavers say it is one of the Dokoasiri designs.
Fig. 129, No. 83. Nkotimsefuopua (the Queen Mother's court officials' tuft) ; so called from the fashion of dressing the hair (pua) ; compare the stamped design, Fig. 148, No. 12. The pattern after which the cloth is named comes in the weft design; the warp is entirely green.
Fig. 129, No. 84. Adwobi. Said to be called after the wife of a weaver, Kofi Nyame by name. Kofi Nyame is also said to have designed the pattern called akyempim (see Fig. 127, No. 31). This pattern was formerly only worn by the wives of the Ashanti king.
Fig. 129, No. 85. Kontomponi wafere ('the liar is put to shame').
Fig. 129, No. 86. Manhyia Ntama (the meeting of the nation cloth).
Fig. 129, No. 87. 'Kontomerie Ahahan (the tender leaf of the coco-yam). Formerly worn by the King of Ashanti, and also by the chief of Jamasi ; the warp is yellow; the weft green; there are no weft designs.
I See Ashanti, Fig. 118, third row from the top, and Fig. ii;, Nos. x6 and 28.

Fig. 129, No. 88. Dwuma Horodo (the young bud of the Dwuma tree).
Fig. 13o, No. 89. Emmo (rice). The King of Ashanti, when 'washing his soul ', is said to have worn this pattern.

Fig. 13o, No. 90. Dokoasiri Krofa, one of the Dokoasiri patterns, formerly only worn by the Oyoko clan.
Fig. 13o, No. 91. Konkroma Tenten. The tall Konkroma tree, but called by the Bonwere weavers Asebi (see also Fig. 131, No. 102, and Fig. 143, for the warp and weft plan).
Fig. 13o, No. 92. Kradie (the Satisfied Soul).
Fig. 13o, No. 93. Atta Birago (Birago, the twin). Birago was a Queen Mother of Kokofu during the reign of King Bonsu Panyin.
Fig. 13o, No. 94. Afua Kobi. Called after the Queen Mother of that name; she was the mother of King Kakari and of King Mensa Bonsu. Formerly worn only by Queen Mothers of Ashanti.
Fig. 13o, No. 95. Nkontompo ntama (the liar's cloth) ; so called from the warp pattern (see Fig. 133, No. io6). The King of Ashanti is said to have worn this pattern when holding court, to confute persons of doubtful veracity who came before him.
Fig. 13o, No. 96. Anwonomoase (the root of the anwonomo plant). Worn only by special permission of the King of Ashanti. This design signifies happiness ' The anwomono root is sweet.'
Fig. 13o, No. 97. Bodom Bosuo. The Bodorn is the name of a precious bead. The Bonwere weavers call this pattern Gyimekye.
Fig. 13o, No. 98. Srafo, see also Fig. 128, No. 52.
Fig. 13o, No. 99. Asambo, see also Fig. 127, No. 43.
Fig. 131, No. ioo. See also Fig. 127, No. 42. This is the weft pattern.
Fig. 3I, No. IOI. Showing the weft pattern of Fig. 129, No. 8o.
Fig. 131, No. 102. Showing the weft pattern of Fig. I30, No. 91.
Fig. 132, No. IO3. Showing the weft of Fig. 126, No. 20.
Fig. 132, No. 104. Showing the weft of Fig. 127, No. 29.
Fig. 132, No. 1O5. Showing the weft of Fig. 127, No. 39.
Fig. 133, Nos. io6-8. Showing the weft of Fig. 13o, No. 95; Fig. 126, No. 3 and No. 14, respectively.

Frc. 13o. Ashanti Silk Cloth designs.

FIG. 131. Ashanti Silk Cloth designs.

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Fmc. 133. Ashanti Silk Cloth designs.

This completes the silk patterns, the names of which I have collected and the designs of which have been recorded. Like the nomenclature in other branches of Ashanti art, these names are replete with historical allusions and preserve for the

Ashanti and for us much in the past history of this nation that would otherwise have long been forgotten.

We come now to cotton-cloth designs. Here again, as in the case of silk cloths, the design in most cases takes its name from the warp patterns, irrespective of the warp designs. These in cotton cloths are known as bankuo. I have reproduced here seventy cotton textile patterns. The colours, it will be noted, are entirely confined to blues and whites or shades of these. These patterns, as in the case of the silks, do not by any means exhaust all the designs known, but they are a fairly representative selection.

Fig. 134, No. i. Boboserewa (joy and sorrow), alternately called Gyemeware ('take me in marriage ').

Fig. 134, No. 2. Aduana. The 'tartan' of the clan of that name.

Fig. 134, No. 3. Krofa. The derivation of this word is said to be kodo (a wooden plate), and fa (half). In olden times only the King of Ashanti might wear this cloth.

Fig. 134, No. 4. Akromafutfuo (the white hawk). The narrow lines in the warp are repeated every 5 cm., and at every 20 cm. is a weft of pale blue 51 cm. wide.

Fig. 134, No. 5. Ohene akamfo (at the king's pleasure), also sometimes called ohene nko nyon or ohene nko mfura, ' the king only may weave', or ' the king only may wear' ; said to have been personally designed by King Kwaku Dua I (A.D. 1838)..

Fig. 134, No. 6. Hiampoa ('I lack even a penny'). The poor man's cloth.

Fig. 134, No. 7. Asebi Hene (the Asebi chief). He was in charge of the King of Ashanti's weavers ; and it was worn by the chief of that stool, or by others with the king's permission. At intervals of 6- cm. is a weft pattern of four lines of blue, the two outer lines about I cm. wide, with two lines between about J cm. wide (see Fig. I37, No. 69), and with blue bands about 6 cm. deep at intervals of about 30 cm.

Fig. 134, No. 8. Kyere 'Twie (catch the leopard). This is said to refer to an incident during the reign of King Kwaku Dua I,

when that monarch ordered some Ashanti to catch a leopard alive.

Fig. 134, No. 9. Akoko de boro be kum ako ('the fowl may beat the parrot until it kills it ') ; association with design obscure; at intervals of io cm. are four narrow blue weft lines.

Fig. 134, No. io. Antoko ('they did not meet the enemy'). Said to refer to an historical event in the reign of Bonsu Panyin, when Amankwatia, the Ashanti general, was sent to reinforce the army already in the field, but before he arrived the campaign was over. It was worn by the Ashanti general and the King of Ashanti. The four lines seen on the right of the pattern run up the warp for about 9- cm., then cross it horizontally, then again run vertically till they meet a broad blue band of weft 6 cm. wide,' which obscures them, but they reappear again from this band, cross the warp again, and so on.

Fig. 134, No. i i. Krofa Nsafoa. A combination of the design seen in Fig. 134, No. 3 ; a thin double line crosses the warp at intervals.

Fig. 134, No. 12. Nyawoho (Nkyimkyim) ('he has become rich) ; nkyimkyim means bent, crooked, and refers to the design at intervals on the weft (see Fig. 137, No. 72). It is stated that in olden times a man had to be worth £I,OOO, in gold dust, to wear this pattern, with the king's permission.
Fig. 134, No. 13. Tetewa koro (the single small strip cloth). This refers to the blue line running up the side of the warp. The word tetewa is used by weavers to designate any remains of yarn left over after weaving a cloth, tete (old), wa (the diminutive).
Fig. 134, No. 14. Nnapane (sleep alone) ; a bachelor is said to da pane (sleep alone). The King of Ashanti might not wear this pattern unless at a funeral and when dyed with red clay.
Fig. 134, No. 15. Nkatewasa ('the nkatewa seeds have come to an end'). There is a weft pattern of dark blue (51 cm. in depth) across the warp at intervals. The narrow blue weft lines cover the whole weft as shown.
Fig. 134, No. 6. Biribi ne hia nse (' there is nothing so bad as poverty'). A poor man's cloth.
Fig. 134, No. 17. 'Fodua (the colobus monkey's tail). The warp is crossed at intervals by a band of blue about - cm. wide,
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then about 8 cm. from that another broad blue weft pattern about 31 cm. deep.
Fig. 134, No. 18. Tentene. Called after a worm of that name.
Fig. 134, No. 19. Akroma (the hawk). The warp is crossed at intervals by a band of blue weft about 5 cm. deep.
Fig. 134, No. 20. Afurumu aso (the donkey's ear). This is a woman's cloth; it is an everyday dress and is chiefly worn for farm work.

Fig. 134, No. 21. Anene kom' (round the crow's neck) ; the small sample here shown gives a wrong impression of this pattern; the weft is a perfectly plain white, crossed at intervals of 20 cm. or so by a plain band of blue ribbed weft, 5 cm. deep, of which about i cm. only shows in the sample.
Fig. 134, No. 22. Asikyiri ne Burowo (sugar and honey). Worn by the Queen Mothers and chiefs. Compare Fig. 135, No.3I.
Fig. 135, No. 23. Makowa (the little pepper). Compare Fig. 127, No. 24; a similar weft pattern in yellow and maroon crosses the warp at various intervals, and from this the design derives its name.
Fig. 135, No. 24. Ademkyernyamu (inside the belly of the crocodile). Formerly worn only by chiefs and sub-chiefs.
Fig. 135, No.25. Adjai Bohyen. Called after a Bonwere weaver of that name who lived in ancient times ; the warp is crossed at intervals by two lines of blue, as seen in Fig. 137, No. 68.
Fig. 135, No. 26. Aburo ahahan (corn leaves). Worn by the paramount chiefs. The warp is crossed at intervals of 20 cm. "by bands of ribbed blue weft, about 41 cm. deep.
Fig. 135, No. 27. Mosi Nkoasa (the three Mosi slaves).
Fig. 135, No. 28. Nsankani tuntum (the black nsankani flower). Formerly only worn by the King of Ashanti and Amanhene. The warp is crossed at 9 cm. intervals by four narrow white lines of weft.
Fig. 135, No. 29. Damienu ('the two who rest side by side ').
Fig. 135, No. 30. Se die fofoo pe, ne se gyinantwi abo bedie. See Chapter XXV, Fig. 149, No. 29, where one of the stamped cloths bears a similar title, the meaning of which is there explained. The warp is crossed at intervals of about 5 cm. by bands of ribbed blue weft about 41 cm. deep. Some Ashanti know this pattern under the name of Akurase (the teeth of the mouse).

Fig. 135, No. 31. Asikyiri ne Burowo Tuntum. Compare Fig. 134, No. 22, which bears the same name save that the name of this pattern has added to it the word tuntum (black or dark).
Fig. 135, No. 32. Higya (the lion). The Bonwere weavers told me this design is not correct and was never one of the oldestablished patterns.
Fig. 135, No. 33. Wa yi me bako ('I am the one to be driven out '). This design would also appear to be of doubtful origin, as it was unknown to the older Bonwere weavers. At intervals of 14 cm. a blue band of weft 4- cm. deep crosses the warp.
Fig. 135, No. 34. Nkasawesewa (the clever orator) ; formerly worn by Queen Mothers.
Fig. 135, No. 35. Bewo. Seethe silk patterns, Fig. 128, No. 61, for pattern of same name.
Fig. 135, No. 36. Nsafoasia (the six keys) ; formerly worn by the king's treasurers. At intervals of io cm. are three lines of blue running across the warp.

Fig. 135, No. 37. Adwire Nkyemu (the squirrel's flank) ; it might be worn by a freeman.
Fig. 135, No. 38. Agyinegyeninsu, the name of a black water insect. At intervals of about 15 cm. run bands (ribbed) of blue
4 cm. deep, across the warp.
Fig. 135, No. 39. Kotwa (the scar) ; also called asambo (the guinea fowl's breast), and asam 'takra (the guinea fowl's feather) compare the silk design Fig. 127, No. 43. Only worn by chiefs.
Fig. 135, No. 40. Ekomenmu (between the buffalo's horns).
Fig. 135, No. 41. Ahene mma mfura ('let the king's children wear it '). Said to have been designed by King Kwaku Dua I for his children. The warp is crossed at intervals of 16 cm. by blue bands 41 cm. deep.
Fig. 135, No. 42. Akagya (a kind of squirrel).
Fig. 135, No. 43. Etesiwani (a white spot in the pupil of the eye).
Fig. 135, No. 44. Ahene mma ntama (the cloth of the king's children). The warp is crossed at intervals by four narrow blue lines, each I cm. apart.
Fig. 136, No. 45. Abusua fwidie gu nkorowa (separate clans fall into groups(?)).
Fig. 136, No. 46. Onyina ne no man (the silk-cotton tree and

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its branches). Compare the silk pattern Fig. 128, No. 64. Formerly worn only by the King of Ashanti and the paramount chiefs.
Fig. 136, No. 47. Abusuasa (the three clans).
Fig. 136, No. 48. Nsafoasa (the three keys). See Fig. 137, No. 70 for the weft pattern, at intervals.

Fig. 136, No. 49. Nkruma 'Kwan (the paths leading to the okro farm). A woman's cloth, formerly worn only by Queen Mothers and princesses.
Fig. 136, No. 50. Adopie Konmu (the fairies' neck). The warp is crossed at intervals with a blue line about 3 cm. wide, with three narrow lines on each side of it.
Fig. 136, No. 51. Asomorodwe Mpampamu (the crown of the asomorodwe beetle's head). The Bonwere weavers stated that there is a slight error in the design.
Fig. 136, No. 52. Nnapane nketewa (the lesser nnapane pattern). See Fig. 134, No. 14.
Fig. 136, No. 53. Nankatiri (the puff-adder's head). Worn only by men, because ' nankatiri ye twa no 'barima na yentwa no ba' ('a man, not a woman, cuts off the nankatiri's head ').
Fig. 136, No. 54. Aboadie. Aboadie is perhaps synonymous with Bosomnpra, one of the ntoro patrilineal divisions ; formerly worn by one of that division. This pattern is said to have been invented by Kwaku Dua I, for his children ; at intervals are three white ribbed lines, as seen, and three blue lines (of the same width as those running up the warp) crossing the warp.
Fig. 136, No. 55. Yiwa ne bota. See the silk patterns, Fig. 128, No. 65 ; this pattern was woven without the second of the broad blue lines on the right side of the warp, which I have added (in ink) to make the pattern accurate.
Fig. 136, No. 56. Kyekye ; lit. hard, stiff, so-called from the ribbed effect in the weft.
Fig. 136, No. 57. Damienu. See Fig. 135, No. 29. This pattern, I was informed, is symbolical of the two stools of Coomassie and Mampon, the Golden Stool and the Silver Stool.
Fig. 136, No. 58. Ahenentma nsafoa (the keys of the king's children). The warp is crossed at intervals by two narrow blue lines.

Fig. 136, No. 59. Fwintea (the seed of a tree ?).
Fig. 136, No. 6o. .ilatatwine. The name of a creeping plant, which is also medicinal; there is a saying which runs: 'Ofuntum wuo esane matatwine', 'When the ofuntum tree dies, the matatwine (which entwines it) also dies (relaxes its hold ').
Fig. 136, No. 61. XVtontom beforo 'po? ('Does a mosquito cross the sea ? ')
Fig. 136, No. 62. Panpana ahahan (Panpana leaves).
Fig. 136, No. 63. 13osi. Name of a tribe, supposed to represent their tribal markings.
Fig. 136, No. 64. Nankatiri. Compare Fig. 136, No. 53, the same design, with a somewhat narrower blue warp.
Fig. 136, No. 65. Okomfo Akita (the Priestess Akua).
Fig. 136, No. 66. Afe (the comb), see Fig. 137, No. 71, for weft pattern, at intervals.

Fig. 137, No. 67. Ennanzenkoso (' the fault is not mine').
Fig. 137, No. 68. Nsafoatonton (the big keys, worn by the ing's treasurers).
Fig. 137, No. 69. AsebiHene (see Fig. 134, No. 7).
Fig. 137, No. 70. Nsafoa. See also Fig. 136, No. 48.
Fig. 137, No. 71. Afe. See also Fig. 136, No. 66.
Fig. 137, No. 72. Yyawoho. See Fig. 134, No. 12.

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XXV
STAMPED CLOTHS
IN addition to the textiles whose manufacture and technique have been described in the preceding chapter, there are in Ashanti other cloths woven in the same manner and on the same looms, with designs which, instead of being woven into the fabric, are stamped upon them. Such cloths are known in Ashanti as Adinkira cloths. The name by which they are called may perhaps serve as a clue to their

origin. Adinkira was the famous King of Gyaman (now the French Ivory Coast), who, having angered the Ashanti king, Bonsu-Panyin, by copying the Golden Stool of Ashanti, was defeated and slain by that monarch about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The foundation of the Adinkira cloth is a plain fabric of white cotton, or of cotton dyed russet brown (with the bark of the Kuntunkuni tree) 1 which is the 'colour of Ashanti mourning cloths. Upon this the designs here illustrated are stamped. The dye used in stamping them is made from the bark of a tree called in Ashanti Badie.2 The bark is cut up and then boiled in a big pot, into which several lumps of iron slag (etia) have been placed.' The bark and slag are boiled for several hours until two-thirds of the water have evaporated; the remainder is strained off (see Fig. 145). The liquid is now called Adinkira aduru, i. e. Adinkira medicine, and is the colour and consistency of coal tar; when this has cooled, it is ready for use. A flat piece of ground is cleared and swept, and upon this the cloth to be stamped is pegged out taut with small wooden pins (see Fig. 146). The stamps, cut in the various designs, are made from fragments of old calabashes, with small sticks leading from the stamp to a point which enables them to be held between the thumb and forefinger. Fig. 147 illustrates several of these. These stamped cloths have most interesting designs. A more or less complete series of these is illustrated here with the Ashanti name and meaningSapindaceae ? Fig. 144 shows a man dyeing a white cloth with this dye.

2 For an analysis of this, see appendix to this chapter.

PT-i ÖJD Z:t PT.4

FIG. 146. 'The cloth is pegged out taut with small wooden pins'
Fic. i47. The Adinkira stamps

if any-of each. If, as I think more than likely, the Ashanti merely borrowed these patterns, then they probably gave to each a name and a meaning which they invented to suit themselves. I think it worth while to set out the names by which these designs are known in Ashanti. It will be seen that many have historical, allegorical, or magical significance, and I cannot help thinking that all are possibly amulet signs or symbols introduced by the Mohammedans from the north.

These names are as follows:

FIGURE 148 8

i. Gyawu Atiko, lit, the back of Gyawu's head. Gyawu was a sub-chief of Bantama i 4
who at the annual Odwira 5
ceremony is said to have had his hair shaved in this fashion.

2. Akoma ntoaso, lit. the
joined hats. 8

3. Epa, handcuffs. See also No. 16.

4. Nkyimkyih, the twisted pattern.

5. Nsirewa, cowries. AA
6. Nsa, from a design of this
name found on nsa cloths. 06
7. Mpuannum, lit. five tufts (of hair).
8. Duafe, the wooden comb.
9. Nkuruma kese, lit. dried FIG. 148. Adinkira stamp patterns okros.
Nos. 1-16
IO. Aya, the fern; the word
also means ' I am not afraid of you', ' I am independent of you ', and the wearer may imply this by wearing it.
II. Aban, a two-storied house, a castle; this design was formerly worn by the King of Ashanti alone.
12. Nkotimsefuopua, certain attendants on the Queen Mother who dressed their hair in this fashion. It is really a variation of the swastika.
13 and 14. Both called Sankofa, lit. turn back and fetch it. See also Fig. 149, No. 27.
15. Kuntinkantan, lit. bent and spread out ; nkuntinkantan is used in the sense of 'do not boast, do not be arrogant'.
i6. Epa, handcuffs, same as No. 3.

STAMPED CLOTHS
FIGURE 149
17. Nkonsonkonson, lit. links of a chain ; as No. 44.
18. Nyame dua, an altar to the Sky God.
19. Agyindawuru, the agyin's (a tree) gong. The juice of a tree of that name is sometimes squeezed into a gong and is said to make the sound pleasing to the spirits.
20. Sepow, the knife thrust through the cheeks of the man about to be executed to prevent his invoking a curse on the king.
2 1. Adinkira 'hene, the Adinkira king, and 'chief ' of all these Adinkira designs. See No. 34.
22. 'Fihankra, the circular house.
23. Papani arma yenhu Kramo. 'All the people who pray and pretend to be devout Mohammedans prevent us knowing who are really Mohammedans' (association obscure).
24. MAnrafo ani ase, the keloids on a Hausa man.
25. Musuyidie, lit. something to remove evil ; a cloth with this design stamped upon it lay beside the sleeping couch of the King of Ashanti, and every morning when he rose he placed his left foot upon it three times.
26. Nyame, biribi wo soro, ma no me ka me nsa. ' O God, everything which is above, permit my hand to touch it.' This pattern was stamped on paper and hung above the lintel of a door in the palace. The King of Ashanti used to touch this lintel, then his forehead, then his breast, repeating these words three times.
27. As No. 13.
28. Akam, an edible plant (yam ?).

29. Se die fofoo pe, ne se gyinantwi abo bedie. 'What the yellowflowered fofoo plant wants is that the gyinantzi seeds should turn black.' This is a well-known Ashanti saying. One of the cotton cloth designs bears the same name. The fofoo, the botanical name of which is Bidens pilosa, has a small yellow flower, which, when it drops its petals, turns into a black spiky seed. Said of a jealous person.
30. Mmra Krado. The Hausa man's lock.
31. Dwenini aben, the ram's horns.
32. Dono ntoasuo, the double dono drums.'
33. Ma te, ' I have heard what you have said'; association with design obscure.
34. Adinkira hene. As No. 21.
FIGURE 150
35. Nyame nwu na ma wu, ' May Nyame die before I die.'
36. Hye wo nhye, 'He who would burn you be not burned.' See also No. 49.
1 See p. 283.

STAMPED CLOTHS
37. Gye Nyame, ' Except God (I fear none).' 38. As No. 26.
39. Ohene niwa, (in) the king's little eyes', i. c. in his favour. 40. Akoben, the war-horn.
41. Kwatakye atiko, lit. at the back of Kwatakye's head. Kwatakye was a war captain of one of the Ashanti kings; at the Odwira ceremony he is said to have cut his hair after this fashion. 42. Akoma, the heart, with a cross in the centre.
18
FIGS. 149-5o. Adinkira
stamp patterns Nos. 17-53
43. Ohen' tuo, the king's gun.
44. Same as No. 17.
45. Obi nka obie, ' I offend no one without a cause.'
46. Pa gya, to strike fire (with a flint).
47. Akoma, the heart.
48. Nsoroma, lit. a child of the Sky, i. e. a star, referring to the saying: Oba Nyankon soroma te Nyame so na onte ne ho so, ' Like the star, the child of the Supreme Being, I rest with God and do not depend upon myself.'
49. Hye wo nhye. ' He who would burn you, be not
burned.' This pattern was on the King of Ashanti's pillow.
50. This, I was informed, was a new design copied from Europeans.

51. Kodie mmowerewa, the eagle's talons.
52. Dono, the dono drum.
53. Akoko nan tia 'ba, na nkum 'ba, 'A hen treads upon chickens but does not kill them.'
APPENDIX
BLACK INCRUSTATION

Carbonaceous matter (Trace)
Silica 9"6
Ferric oxide 89.oo
Mn 3O4 1-24
99"84
BRITISH MUSEUM LABORATORY.
4 February 1925.
Analysis of slag used in making
Adinkira dye.
(Sgd.) H. J. PLENDERLEITH.

FIG. 151. Shuttles used for meshing
FIG. 152. Tools used in wood-carving
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FIG. 153. Tools used in making drums

XXVI
RELIGION, ART, AND ANTHROPOLOGY
IN WOOD-CARVING

I THINK it can be stated, with some certainty, that the art of wood-carving in Ashanti owed its origin largely to the demands made by religious factions, which were not compelled by any article in their animistic creed to abjure the representation of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic forms. On the contrary, a demand arose for shrines of varied shapes and forms to serve as dwelling-places for the various spirits. The souls of ancestors are supposed to have found an acceptable abode during life, and even more so after death, in the stools upon which the owners sat in their lifetime. Hence arose the desire for seats of artistic form. Later on, particular designs became specialized and standardized -for use by certain sexes, clans, or individuals.

The real artistic merit of these stools can be seen in the photographs in Figs 158-87. This series is possibly nearly complete.

The priestly class and the sumankwafo, the doctors in suman, demanded for their professional purposes figures in human or animal forms; this resulted in the carving ofSasabonsarn, mrnoatia, and, finally, human figures; in all of these the genius of the people found an outlet for latent artistic talent. If seen twenty years ago, these attempts at depicting the human form in wood (or brass) would have been merely called grotesque. Regarded in the light of certain modern aesthetic tendencies, they possess an individuality and peculiar merit which astonish many people who see them for the first time. Love and appreciation of what is artistic and beautiful are attributes which cannot be said to be the prerogative of all of us. In Ashanti, however, such traits seem tc be possessed by what we should call ' the uneducated masses'. There is hardly any object 6ap'able of artistic treatment which is not made the medium for some ornamental design which gives aesthetic delight to the African's mind and eye;

such as stools, spoons, combs, wooden plates, calabashes, doors, sticks, staves of office, canoes, wari boards, knives, mortars, drums, ivory tusks, pots, pipes, weights and scales, metal work of every description, walls of temples and dwellings, and textiles of every kind. Even the tools and appliances used to obtain these effects, the forge itself, the shuttle, the mesher used for making nets (see Fig. 151), are ornamental, being decorated with artistic effects, which, however crude, are never vulgar and inartistic. Art in pottery and textiles is treated fully elsewhere.

To convey a clear idea of Ashanti art as portrayed in woodcarving, to those who cannot see the actual products, photographic reproductions are of greater value than mere verbal descriptions. Before I draw attention, however, to the photographs which illustrate this chapter, I will describe the tools employed in the production of the objects shown here, and also give an account of the customary rites observed before the worker begins his task. The tools shown in Fig. 152 were the only implements used in the making of the wooden figures, stools, drums, umbrella frames, and other objects shown in the photographs, with the exception of sand-paper, which was purchased for the workers to take the place of a leaf with a rough undersurface which formerly would have been used.

The nature of these tools may be seen by referring to the photographs (see Figs. 152-3) ; they do not call for much comment, but attention may be drawn to their simplicity. Nos. I, 2, and 3 are adzes, two have curved cutting edges, one a straight edge. The Ashanti names for these are : I. Asene sosowa (lit. a small chipping hoe). 2. Bornye (lit. something for cutting with).

3. Soso paye (a hoe for splitting).

4. Pewa-pasito (pasuo is what an Ashanti would call a carpenter's plane).

5. Sekanmma (lit. a child-knife, a small knife).

6. Akuznturza (a species of spoke-shave).

7. Dawutruwa

8. Ahon Chisels.

9. Pewa J

Io. Fifiye, an awl.

iI i. Bowere, a chisel, lit. a finger nail, from their shape.

Fic. 154. Frame for state umbrella

Fic. i55. Frame for state umbrella

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IN WOOD-CARVING

The tools in Fig. 153 are used more especially for making drums, and were named:

I. Bowere.
2. Dawuru pareye.
3. Soso diamim.
The chief kinds of wood used by Ashanti wood-carvers are the osese (Funturnia sp.) and the 'Nyame dua (Alstonia gongensis), from one or other of which stools are made. All the woodcarvings here shown, both stools and figures, were carved out of the osese. Tweneboa-the trade 'cedar' of West Africa (entandrophragma)-is largely used for making drums; a tree called twafoyeden (Harrisonia occidentalis) is used for making umbrella frames (see Figs. 154-6). The propitiation of the spirits of these trees, before they are cut down for use, has already been described.' The tools which have just been named also have a rite performed over them, before any big task is undertaken, or should the work not be progressing favourably. Wine is poured upon them, and also the blood of a fowl, with the customary prayer for assistance and freedom from accidents caused by the tools slipping and cutting the worker (see Fig. 157).
In Ashanti, a generation or so ago, every stool in use had its own particular significance and its own special name which denoted the sex, or social status, or clan of the owner. The village of Afwia, a few miles from Coomassie, was the centre, in olden days, of the stool-carving industry. Sons and sisters' sons were equally allowed to learn the art of carving, from father or uncle respectively. Many of the stools shown here were the ' copyright' of the Ashanti king, and might not, on any account, be sold in the open market ; 2 they were first given to the king, who would then present them to chiefs whom he wished to honour. A woman might not carve a stool-because of the ban against menstruation. A woman in this state was formerly not even allowed to approach wood-carvers while at work, on pain of death or of a heavy fine. This fine was to pay for sacrifices to be made upon the ancestral stools of the dead kings, and also upon the wood-carver's tools. If any wood-carver's wife was unfaithful to her husband, and the latter, being unaware of this, went to work, then ' his tools would cut him severely'. A wood' See Chapter I. 2 Any one doing so would have been killed.

carver might not go to work leaving unsettled any quarrel or grievance with his parents.
The following are the names and a brief description of the stools shown :
Fig. 158. Sika 'Gwa Kofi. ' Kofi, the Golden Stool.' 1
Fig. I58. Ahema 'gwa. ' The Queen's stool ; ' that of Nyako Kusi Amoa, one of the early Queen Mothers of Ashanti.
Fig. 159. Kotoko 'gwa. A stool for amanhene (paramount chiefs).
Fig. i6o. Mmom 'gwa. 'The stool with two (instead of the usual four) side supports ' ; a sub-chief's stool.
Fig. 161. Atoduru kwadom 'gwa. 'The keg of gunpowder stool.'
Fig. 162. Ademkyem 'gwa. 'The crocodile stool.' The
crocodile has a fish in its mouth. Such stools are for the shrines of the gods to rest upon. (See Figs. 71-2 in Ashanti.)

Fig. 163. Owo foforo adobe 'gwa. 'The snake climbs the palmtree stool ' ; a stool used by ordinary persons of either sex.
Fig. 64. Kontonkorowi mpemu 'gwa. 'The divided circular rainbow stool ' (the rainbow sometimes seen round the sun); only used by the King of Ashanti. There is a well-known proverb-Kontonkorowi eda amansan kon, 'The circular rainbow that encircles the neck of the nation.'
Fig. 165. Kontonkorowi 'gwa. 'The circular rainbow stool', as above.
Fig. 166. Sakyi dua koro 'gwa. 'The stool with the single centre support ' ; used only by the priesthood.
Fig. 167. Nnamma 'gwa. 'The twopenny stool', i. e. the poor man's stool. In olden days it cost one damma in gold dust, i.e. about 2d.
Fig. 68. Nsebe 'gwa. 'The amulet stool'; the decorative effects on the sides are supposed to be like the leather sebe amulets.
Fig. 169. Alma 'gwa. * 'The woman's stool' ; a man, when he marries, generally presents his wife with this stool.
Fig. 170. Me fa asa 'gwa. 'My half is finished', i.e. half my clan is dead; a woman's stool.
Fig. 171. Mmarima 'gwa. 'The man's stool.'
Fig. 172. Mmaremu 'gwa. 'The cross stool ' ; only used by the King of Ashanti or by a greater amanhene with the king's authority.
Fig. 173. Wasaw'gwa. 'The Wasaw stool'; this stool was presented by the King of Ashanti to the Chief of Wasaw. It
I See Ashanti, Chapter XXIII.

FIG. IS8. I. The Golden stool (model) ; FIG. 159. Kotoko stool
z. the Queen's stool (model)
FIG. 16o. Mmnom stool FIG. 161. Atoduru kwadom stool
FIG. 163. Owofoforo adobe stool
FIG. 162. 4demkyem stool

FIG. I64. Kontonkoromi mpemu stool FIc. I6_. Kontonkorowi stool
FIC. 166. Sakyi dua koro stool FIG. 167. Nnamma stool
Fic. I68. Nsebe stool
FIG. 169. Alma stool

FIc. 170. Mlefa asa stool
FIc. 172. illmarcmit stool
FIG. 173. Wasaw stool
FIG. 175. Esono stool
'IM
FIG- 171. Alviarina stool
FIG. 174. Srante stool

FIG. 177. Kotoko stool

FIG. 178. Akyem stool FIG. 179. Pantu stool
FIc. I8I. Obi-te-obi-so stool
FIG. 176. Osebo stool
FIG. 18o. Krado stool

FIc. 182. Adinkira stool Fic. 183. Damedame stool
FiG. 184. illfraniadan stool Fic. I85. Nkonta stool
Fic. I86. Aninzinkwa stool
FIG. 187. Brakante stool

might only be used by him, the King of Ashanti, and the greater amanhene, to whom the king had given authority to use it.
Fig. 174. Srane 'gwa. 'The moon stool' ; used by men or women.
Fig. 175. Esono 'gwa. ' The elephant stool' ; only used by the King of Ashanti.
Fig. 176. Osebo 'gwa. 'The leopard's stool'; only used by the King of Ashanti.
Fig. 177. Kotoko 'gwa. ' The porcupine stool'; the stool upon which sat members of the king's council, composed of the Ashante 'Hene, the amanhene, and the greater priests.
Fig. 178. Akyem 'gwa. 'The Akyem stool'. The design of this stool is said to have been copied from a stool owned by the Chief of Akyem, Atafa, who was defeated by Bonsu the elder; used by chiefs and priests.
Fig. 179. Pantu 'gwa. 'The big spirit (gin or rum) bottle stool.' The centre of the stool is not unlike a European decanter.
Fig. I8o. Krado 'gwa. ' The padlock stool' ; used by chiefs and also ' linguists ' (akyeame).
Fig. 181. Obi-te-obi-so'gwa. 'Someone-sits-on-top-of-someone else-stool ' ; is carved to represent one stool standing on top of another.
Fig. 182. Adinkira 'gwa. ' The Adinkira stool' ; the stool of the King of Gyaman.1
Fig. 183. Damedame 'gwa. 'The draught-board stool.'
Fig. 184. Mframadan 'gwa. 'The-house-of-the-winds stool'; so called after the open lattice-work designs on some of the temples. See e.g. Frontispiece, Ashanti; may be used by persons of either sex.
Fig. 185. Nkonta 'gwa. 'Stool of head (?) of king's stoolcarriers.'
Fig. 186. Animinkwa 'gwa. 'Animinkwas stool'; a chief of Wasaw.
Fig. 187. Brakante 'gwa. 'Brankante's stool' ; a chief of Akyem.
These may not exhaust all the designs known in Ashanti stools, but they are sufficient to show their graceful lines, and the technique and beauty of their design. Besides
stools, which are owned by almost every man, woman, and child in Ashanti, chiefs possess what are known as asipim chairs. These are probably copies of early European designs, introduced by the early Dutch and Portuguese traders. A fine example of such a chair is seen in Fig. 277. It shows the elaborate repousse I

1 See Ashanti, p. 291.

silver-work with which it is decorated. For other interesting facts associated with stools, the reader is referred to Ashanti.

We now come to the group of wood-carvings which are shown in Figs. 188-202. Before I proceed to describe points' of anthropological or historical interest associated with any particular figure, I should like to make it clear that all these carvings are modern. They were made, as a group, on my suggestion, and at my request, in connexion with the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. Being anxious to obtain specimens of the Ashanti wood-carver's art, unspoiled by the hybrid product of the technical and other schools, I scoured the country for some of the old wood-carvers of repute under the former regime, men who had not had European education or training of any kind. In addition to making the stools which have just been illustrated, these artists set to work, at my suggestion, to portray in wood a king, a queen mother, and other officials in the entourage of an Ashanti Court in the old days. Beyond suggesting the subject as a whole, however, I did not take any direct part in the work, which, though modern in one sense, represents the technique and workmanship of the old school of artists. Apart from the value of such figures as illustrating the style of wood-carving, we have in this group the history in Ashanti, for those who can understand, to read. The workers entered into the spirit of my suggestion in quite a remarkable manner, and vied with each other in making every detail of the figures and their dress as accurate as possible. Hundreds of old men and women came every week from all over the country to my bungalow at Mampon to see this group, the report of which had spread far and wide. In the intelligent interest and keen critical examination which were displayed by my Ashanti visitors in these preExhibition ' private views ', I realized how deeply versed are the older folk in the history of their past, while the rising generation showed just such an intelligent interest in them as did the millions who later gazed upon these carvings at Wembley, and, with few exceptions until enlightened, merely regarded them as the wooden ' idols ' or ' ju ju ' of a people whom the majority supposed were steeped in idolatry.' The original groups comprised nearly a hundred figures; I Idolatry does not, of course, exist in Ashanti, nor I believe anywhere else.

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space, however, forbids the inclusion of illustrations of all of them in this volume. These figures subsequently were dressed, but they are here shown in the nude in orderto illustrate the wood-carvings. The description of each was taken down from the sculptors themselves, and are more or less verbatim accounts given to me as each figure was completed and handed over. Fig. I88 shows a chief, or king, seated-under his state umbrella-upon an asipim chair, studded with the

customary brass nails. He is dressed in one of the rich silk cloths woven in the country. Upon his right upper arm is a bangle, attached to which is an amulet; upon his right wrist is another bangle called barim' 'finam (' the fearful hero '), Upon the fourth finger of his right hand he wears a ring, called by the amusing name of kotoku-sa-bobe onkasa na'nso ohome ('the stick insect does not talk, but he breathes nevertheless '). Upon his left upper arm, but hidden by his robe, he wears a talisman called pesepese, to which are attached many other smaller amulets. Upon his left wrist is an amulet called sebe koro, i. e. the single amulet. Upon the thumb of his left hand is a ring called nkoko mmogye (' the fowl's beak '). On the third finger of the same hand is a ring called 'po 'koro (' the single knot '), and on the little finger (which is known in Ashanti by the name akokobeto (' is the fowl going to lay ? ')) is another ring of the same name. Upon his feet are sandals ; ' the feet of the king must never come in direct contact with the earth lest a famine come upon the nation ', said the carver. Around his head is a chaplet of silk, with the two ends standing upwards, known as 'the bongo's horns'" 1 beneath his chair are attached three suman, called respectively sansato, sebe, and adwene 'men.

The Queen Mother is seated on his left hand, sitting upon her stool and being fanned by two female attendants (see also Fig. 189). Her hair (visible only from the back) is cut in the fashion known as atiko pua ; this coiffure is only permitted for Queen Mothers, princesses of the blood, and the king's wives. Around her neck (not seen in Fig. 189) she wears three strings of beads, known as nkyia or sometimes odo bogya (love's blood). On each wrist are other beads and also dwete 'ka (silver bangles). Below each knee are garters, anantu hwinie ; garters are always worn below the knee. Around her waist are toma beads into The bongo, Boocervus eurycerus.

which the cloth which is worn between the legs is tucked in front and behind. The stool upon which she is sitting in Fig. 189 is incorrect. This was pointed out, after the figure had been completed, by an old Ashanti woman, and the wood-carver was much twitted for this inaccuracy; he eventually carved her a stool of the correct design, i.e. a mma 'gwa, women's stool (see Fig. 169).

The fanholders are of both sexes ; those of the Queen Mother are girls and those of the king, men. The former are known as ohema papafuafo or nkotimsefuo (see Fig. 189), and the latter as papahufo. A Queen Mother's fans are the equivalent of the king's umbrellas. The king's fanbearers are also in charge of the king's crowns and of the nkantan, iron, brass, silver, or gold neck ornaments worn at funerals. In company with the afotusafo (see below), they are also grooms of the bedchamber.

Fig. 19o (i) shows an okyeame, 'linguist' (or rather spokesman of the king), sitting upon a stool, holding the staff of office in his right hand. I have already, elsewhere,1 drawn attention to the absurdity of the translation of okyeame by our word ' linguist ', which postulates a polyglot accomplishment, neither required nor held by bearers of this high office of state. The okyeame is the king's spokesman.

Europeans have hitherto explained the raison d'etre of this office merely by noting that it is not etiquette for an Ashanti king to address or be addressed by any one directly. With this explanation I was satisfied for a long time. I do not now, however, believe that this is the true reason. It has been stated elsewhere 2 how the wife of a weaver may not, under certain physiological conditions, address her husband directly, but must do so through the medium of a child. In such a custom, I believe, we have the reason for the objection to a chief conversing directly with all and sundry, and the reason for the employment of an okyeame. It is to avoid any chance of supernatural contagion or pollution from those with whom the kings or chiefs must be brought in contact constantly. This danger is removed by causing all verbal intercourse to pass through an intermediary. The okyeame is present in his judicial capacity, and gives judgement in all cases brought before the king or chief. In case of appeal from a lower to a higher court, it is against the okyearne who in the first instance gave judge' See -Ashanti, p. 90. 2 See p. 234.

ment that the unsuccessful litigant must take proceedings. This he does 'by swearing an oath ' against him: 'Me ka ntam se wa bu me ntam kyea ' (' I swear an oath' that you have given judgement on a crooked 'oath '). The okyeame must be deeply versed in the whole history of the clan which he represents. He must be a walking storehouse of proverbs. The King of Ashanti had twelve 'linguists' ; an omanhene (paramount chief) might have as many as eleven. Ordinarily chiefs have one or two. An okyeame may address his king or chief as 'me kunu ' (' my husband.'), and a prince or king may call his okyeame 'eno' (' mother '). He is the prime minister and chief adviser to the king. His power and position are well exemplified in this wellknown proverb: 'Kuro ebo a, efiri 'kyeame, kuru gyina a, efiri 'kyeame' ('If a town becomes broken, it is the fault of the okyeame, if a town stands [firm] it is due to the okyeame'). Any one committing adultery with the wife of the King of Ashanti's okyeame was liable to be killed; if the co-respondent was himself a chief, then that chief's okyeame himself was liable to be killed, as the adviser and counsellor of his master and keeper of his conscience. Before any one becomes an okyeame he must ' drink the gods ',2 taking as he does so the following solemn oath which is repeated to him:

'Okyeame gye abosom yi nom, akonya yi ye de ama wo yi wanfa anka nokwere, na wode twa nkontompo a, na nso wo gye kete ase a, se ohene no wodi asem mone na wanka ankyereno a, na se wo ye no da duom da duom se wudi oman ne oman ntem a, ya, abosom yi nku wo ya wo to ntam kese.'

' Okyeame receive the gods and drink (of them); we give you this stool that you may speak the truth. If you do not speak the truth, but lie, and if you accept bribes (lit. receive things and place them beneath a mat), and if the chief does wrong and you do not tell him, but keep urging him on to evil, and if you walk between two nations (i. e. commit acts of treachery), if you do these things may the gods slay you, because you have broken your great oath.'

The symbol of his office is his staff. That of the 'linguist ' of the King of Ashanti was made of gold; that of the Chief of Mampon, of silver; that of the Chief of Juaben had a top of
This procedure is explained elsewhere. See Chapter XXII.
See Ashanti, pp. io9-io.
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gold, the remainder being covered with red felt. The staves of other arnanhenes' akyeame were also covered with red felt. These staves are placed against abosom (the gods) (see Figs. 37-8, Ashanti), and against the blackened stools of dead ancestors (see Figs. 34-5, Ashanti), to gain help and a blessing from this association with them. At the great Odwira ceremony, which has been described elsewhere in this volume,' the staves of the King of Ashanti's twelve akyeame were laid upon the Golden Stool and cleansed by being sprinkled with holy water, on the great day of the universal national purification.
One or more of the king's akyeame went on circuit for their royal master when important cases arose elsewhere. They were also sent, in time of peace, as envoys and ambassadors. When giving judgement an okyeame should transfer his staff from his right to his left hand, ' because no man may gesticulate with his left hand.' An okyeame might not become a real chief, 'Okyeame edane ohempa, ye kyi' ('That an okyeame should become a real chief, we taboo that '), runs a well-known Ashanti saying.
An amusing incident arose concerning the wooden figure shown here. It was dressed originally in a cloth of the design known as dokoasiri.2 An old Ashanti, who noticed this, accused the person who had so dressed it with want of knowledge, saying that an okyeame was not entitled to wear such a cloth. The woodcarver thus brought to book immediately replied, 'This okyeame is the husband of the Queen Mother, and may wear by day the cloth which would cover them both at night.'
Fig. 190 (2) shows one of the ahoprafo (lit. ' sweepers on the king's body '). These are the elephant-tail and ostrich-feather bearers, who sit beside the king and keep off the flies and are generally sons or grandsons of the ruling chief. They dress their hair in the peculiar manner shown here; they also assist their master on the day. set aside ' for the washing of his soul '.
Fig. 41 shows three figures: i, a herald (esene) ; 2, an executioner (obrafo) ; and 3, a slave, about to be executed (an akyere).
i. The distinctive feature of the herald's costume is the hat, which is made of a foundation of the skin of a black colobus monkey, ornamented in front with a flat gold disk or disks, with an eagle's feather projecting behind. In the case
I See Chapter XII. 2 See p. 238.

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of hunchback heralds, the rim of the cap is decorated with red flannel; in other cases with gold. Hunchbacks are nearly always heralds, but the converse does not necessarily hold good. A child of either sex born a hunchback (akyakya) had, in olden times, to be sent to the court of the King of Ashanti, to be trained as a herald. In the case of a girl, she was given to the Queen Mother, and when she grew up would carry a horse-tail fly-switch. Heralds are often mentioned in the drum language.

'The creator made something,
What did he make?
He made the Herald.
He made the Drummer
He made ... the Chief Executioner.
Come hither, 0 Herald, and receive
Your black monkey-skin cap.'

It is thus always the herald's privilege to drink first from the wine cup, before the king, before any chief, and even before the spirits themselves. Heralds were sent as envoys when war was imminent; to flog a herald was a casus belli ; a herald delivered his master's terms and stated that if these were not accepted they might kill him. 'They would reply that they could not do that, but they could cut off the little finger of his left hand'; 1 this was equivalent to a declaration of war. (The little wooden figure seen here is minus the little finger of his left hand.) A herald's duty also included that of town sanitary inspector and tax-gatherer on the main cross-roads, where tolls and duties were collected for the King of Ashanti. Heralds were a charge on any village to which they were sent. Hunchback heralds were allowed access to the king's Hia (harem), 'because the King of Ashanti called heralds his wives '. A herald had also important duties in court; he would punctuate the remarks of the judges and witnesses with shrill cries of ' tie ! tie ! yentie ! odedew ! ' and such-like. (' Listen ! listen ! let us listen ! Too much noise ! ')

Heralds were also jesters and were privileged to say very much what they liked to their masters, and, like the eunuchs, they were often spies. (See Fig. 23, which is a photograph of my little friend Kojo Pira, who was a famous esene at the court

I Or, sometimes, the first finger of the right hand down to the first joint, or again, the middle finger of the right hand.

of the former Ashanti kings.) Fig. 41, Nos. 2 and 3, show an obrafo (executioner), and his victim (the akyere), seated on the ground with the gyabom suman (already described) 1 upon his lap.

The executioner, as we have seen, came third in the order of precedence. He is here seen wearing the executioner's hat, something after the shape of a bowler hat

with a serrated edge, made out of a piece of leopard's skin. He is holding his knife, which the wood-carver stated was called 'kyi afasie', i. e. ' my taboo is afasie yams', implying perhaps that itwould not cut up yams but had no scruples about cutting off heads.2 An executioner's knife was often deliberately blunted-note the saw-like edge in the photograph. Over his left shoulder hangs a bunch of knives (not visible in the photograph) ; his hair is dressed in a fashion peculiar to executioners called ntitabo, or sometimes obrafo sima (i. e. the executioner's fashion of dressing hair) ; that is, the hair over the forehead is shaved, but the rest is allowed to grow in long strands which are brushed back over the head. The first executioner in the world, so my informant stated, was one Obrafo Nyam, who executed the first person ever killed, a hermaphrodite 3 called Awo. The victim (No. 2) has a sepow knife driven through his cheeks. It was the custom in Ashanti, when any one was sentenced to death, immediately to transfix him in this manner, to prevent his invoking a curse on the king, and not, as so often erroneously stated, to prevent his 'swearing an oath ' that he must not be killed.' Upon his lap rests a wooden bowl, koduo, upon which is laid the gyabom fetish, sometimes also called asaman anka (the ghosts do not touch). While the victim's head was being cut off the drums called nkrawiri and mpebi were beaten near his ears ; the horns called owuo (death), and sounding that word, were blown, and his soul, terrified by the din, fled, never to return. If the victim was a person of any importance, his skull was attached to the fontomfrom drums, and his lower jaw added to the fetishes already comprising the gyabom.

Fig. 191 represents two sword-bearers (afonasoafo). The King of Ashanti had as many as four hundred. The swords

1 See Ashanti, pp. 99-IOO. 2 But see Ashanti, p. 47.

3 See Chapter XII. I See Chapter XXII.

Fic. 192. (I) Medicine-man ; (2) priestess

Fic. 193. (I) Wife of medicine-man; (2) wife of priest;
(3) bearer of a shrine of a god; (4) a priest

Fic. i9-j. Akua Ba (fuil face) F .~IkaB poie

Fic. 196. (1) Etwie ; (2) Ntumpane; (3) Kete mpentíma

Fic;. 195. dkua Ba (profile)

(afona) are really now ceremonial rather than offensive weapons. An ofona is, as we have seen, the shrine of the Bosommuru ntoro.1 The model on the right has its hair done in the fashion called 'ponko tete' (the horse's mane). The Afonasoafa, on ceremonial occasions, smear themselves over with white clay and suspend gold disks (dwinie) round their necks. The model on the left has its hair dressed and cut in the fashion known as mprakyifo sima, which I am informed is not strictly correct for a swordcarrier.

Fig. 192, Nos. i and 2, show a 'dunseni, or medicine-man, and a priestess, holding powdered clay in her right hand and a cow's tail in her left. Her face is also sprinkled with powdered clay.

Fig. 193 depicts a group consisting of the wife of the doctor shown in Fig. 192 (No. I) already mentioned, holding an egg in her hand to give her husband to break upon one of his suman. No. 2 is supposed to be the wife of No. 4; she is carrying a box containing his suman ; in her right hand she holds a stick ; in her left a rattle. Her husband, a priest (No. 4), holds the kunkuma suman, already described,2 in his left hand; he is holding his right out to receive white clay, with which his face is already smeared; about his forehead is bound a band of nufa (medicines); over his left shoulder is a suman called berensemase (the stiller of quarrels) ; he is dressed in the usual doso, fibre kilt.

No. 3 is an osoamni, a bearer of a shrine of a god, which may be seen upon his head. In his right hand he holds aloft an afona (sword) ; his face is also smeared with white clay.

Figs. 194-5 show Akua mma (front and side views), Ashanti dolls, such as are carried by women who wish to be blessed with children (see also Fig. 28).

We next come to a series of pictures showing different kinds of drums and their' drummers. Drums, in Ashanti, though sometimes classed under the general name of 'twene, have each their special names, their special taboos, and, in many cases, their special dress. Various drums are grouped together to form drum orchestras. Fig. 196 shows, from left to right : i, an etude (leopard) drum; 2, a pair of ntumpane, or talking drums; 3, a drum called Kete mpentima.

I See Chapter XII. 2 See Chapter II, p. 12.

The ntumpane drums have been fully described in Ashanti, to which the reader is referred. The two ntumpane drums here shown are beautifully modelled, and are accurate down to the minutest detail, save that the tense membrane could not be cut out of the ear of an elephant, owing to the thickness of its skin. Many Ashanti think that the 'man in the moon' is a drummer; children are warned not to watch him too long lest they should see him lay his drum-sticks upon his drums, when it is thought they would die. No one of the oyoko, the royal clan, may ever become a drummer. A drummer on the talking drums also beats the fontonifrom drums, which will be described presently.

No. i, the etwie, or leopard drum, is carried over the shoulder. It is covered with the skin of a leopard. The tense membrane of this drum is made of a skin rubbed down until it is as thin as a sheet of paper. The drummer does not beat the face of the drum; he rubs the end of his bent drum-stick backwards and forwards across its surface, when it emits a sound exactly like a snarling leopard. The thin skin has a cover to protect it when not in use. These drums are generally used in pairs, called a ' male' and 'female' ; they are used to announce the coming forth of the king from the palace; 'They accompany the Bosommuru ntoro shrine to Akyeremade stream every Tuesday when it is taken to bathe.' The etwie drums and drummers have to observe all the Bosommuru ntoro taboos. They, in the same way as the ntumpane drums, taboo blood, but may be smeared with eggs.

No. 3 is a drum called kete mpentima, which is held between the drummer's knees while he sits on a stool ; it is beaten with the palms of the hands. Such a drum belongs to the kete drum orchestra, which consists of five varieties of kete

instruments. Kete drummers walk in front of the king's stool. These drums are played at the Adae ceremonies, at funerals, and formerly were played at executions. Women to their accompaniment sing sagas recording the deeds of dead kings. Kete drums were also taken to war. At the Odwira ceremony, they and the mpintin drums were sprinkled with water.
The kete ntwamu (lit. ' the kete drum that breaks in ') are also beaten with the hands (see Fig. 197, No. 3). (The drummer shown is a hunchback, to represent one Adu 'Sai, who was

Fi;. 197 (1) dékomfo dpentima ; (2) Faasafokoko ; (3) Kete ntwamu
Fic. 198. (1) Cyamadudu; (2) AperedeIkokua;
(3) Dono

drummer to one of the Ashanti kings.) The kete drum proper, from which the rest of the instruments derive their name, is beaten by a drummer who holds drum-sticks in either hand (not shown here) ; the kete akukua 1 (Fig. 201, No. I), which is beaten with two drum-sticks, is another of the kete drums.
These drums, the kete kwadom (Fig. 199, No. i), an odawuru iron gong, and reed pipes complete the kete orchestra, played by musicians known as the ketefo (the kete people).
Fig. 198, No. i, shows the gyamadudu; No. 2, aperede akukua; and No. 3, the dono drums. The dono drum has a tense membrane at either end. The tone of the drum is altered by tightening or relaxing the cords (which keep the membrane in position) by pressure of the arm under which it is held. Women may beat a dono drum, which is used at bara (puberty) ceremonies. Dono, gyamadudu, and mpintini drums-the last named (see Fig. 200, No. I) made out of a large calabash, and beaten with the handsform what is called a mpintini orchestra. Aperede drums are generally four in number, and these four constitute an aperede orchestra. The ' clothes ' of the aperede drums consist of a white cloth (like the ntumpane drums). The blood of enemy generals, killed in war, was smeared upon these drums and their jaw-bones might be fastened upon them; no other blood might touch them.
Another aperede drum is called okomfo apentima (Fig. 197, No. i). It is beaten with the palms of the hands, unlike an ordinary apentima drum. Another aperede drum is known as aperede apentima, which is beaten with two straight sticks, an unusual shape for Ashanti drum-sticks. The aperede akukua (Fig. 198, No. 2) is dressed in nsa cloth, i. e. a cloth woven of wool and camel's hair, and is beaten with two sticks.
The taboos of aperede drums include menstruating women. contact with any one who has had sexual intercourse and has not bathed, contact with any slave. Aperede drums are specially associated with ancestral spirits ; when the blackened stools are taken from the stool house to the barim (mausoleum), they are accompanied by these drums, which beat out an accompaniment to a song which runs : Yen suru wo, na ye suro huan, ' If we do

I A kukua, added to the name of any drum, implies that the drum is hollowed out from the top ; but the bottom is left closed, with the exception of a small round hole in the centre.
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not fear you, whom do we fear ? ' Aperede drummers have tle same status as stool-carriers.
When the king died, the aperede drums were beaten incessantly for eight days and nights.
In Fig. 198, No. i, is the gyamadudu drum mentioned above, which is one of the mpintini drum orchestra. The dono, mpintini, and gyamadudu drums are much used at the adae ceremonies. The mptintinkafo drummers of this orchestra also have the work of making sebe (amulets), i. e. sewing the medicine into the small leather bags which form these talismans. Fig. 199 shows four kinds of drums: i, Kete kwadom; 2, Adukurogya; 3, Mpebi; and 4, Nkrawiri. Nos. 3 and 4, Mpebi and Nkrawiri, are beaten to announce that the king or chief is about to sally forth from the palace ; they are also beaten very early to awaken people on an adae day; they were drummed in a criminal's ears while his head was being cut off; they are often decorated with bongo horns and human leg-bones ; they rank among their taboos, however, contact with human blood ; they have different tones; they are always covered with nsa cloth (wool and camel's hair), and when in full dress have also a white cloth tied round them.
No. 2, the adukurogya, is beaten with a single straight stick (in the photograph the wrong drum-stickwas put into the drummer's hand) ; this drum forms part of the fontomfrom orchestra.
No. i, Kete kwadom, is one of the kete orchestra, already described.
Fig. 197, Nos. i and 3, have already been described. No. 2 is the drum called faasafokoko (' take the warriors to fight '). The original of this drum is said to have been captured in the reign of Osai Tutu from Asiedupapakese, King of Akyem. This drum was only beaten when the king was about to come out of the palace, or at executions. Formerly only the King of Ashanti was allowed to possess it; the blood of captive generals and other persons executed was smeared upon it, and human bones were attached t9 it. It was purified annually at the odwira ceremony. Its taboos include unclean persons and menstruating women. The drummer shown here has the peculiarly shaped head the Ashanti call the hornbill's head.1
I ' Your head is like the hornbill's ' is a very insulting thing to say to an Ashanti.
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FiG. 199. (i) Kete Kwadom ,(2) l4dukitrogya ; (3) Mýebi'; (.4j) Nkrawiri
FiG. 200. Mlpintini ; (2) Aperede dpentima ; (3) Sika dkukua

FIG. 201. (1) Kcte A4kukita ; (2) .4kukitadze ; (3) Odomankomia
FI o. 202. FontomfroM

IN WOOD-CARVING

Fig. 200 shows three drums. Nos. I and 2, mpintini and aperede apentima, have already been described. No. 3 is the drum known as sika akukua (the golden akukua). Its drummer was the chief of all the King of Ashanti's drummers ; the original drum was encased in gold leaf and its place was in front of the Golden Stool. The drummer might not be killed for any offence whatever. The drum was sounded every morning at dawn; it also accompanied the shrine of the Bosommuru ntoro when it was taken on a Tuesday to be sprinkled with holy water.

Fig. 201, Nos. I, 2, and 3, shows three drums-kete akukua, akuku'adwe, and odomankoma. The kete akukua has already been described; the akuku'adwe drum here shown is covered with the skin of an iguana, it should be crocodile; the odomankoma drum goes with the akuku'adwe and both are also beaten along with the sika akukua drum already mentioned. The taboos of the akuku'adwe and odomankoma are the same as those of the aperede drums already mentioned.

Fig. 202 represents the fontomfrom drums. The following drufns form the fontomfrom orchestra: two fontomfrom drums, one adukurogya, one banko (or penten) drum, one odawuru (iron gong). The fontomfrom drums are beaten either when resting on the ground or when on the heads of two carriers, as shown in these wood-carvings. Their dress is made of silk; they are commonly decorated with skulls of famous enemies; a newly made pair of fontomfrom drums may have a dog sacrificed upon them. The fontomfrom drums arelike the ntumpane-' talking drums', but their special function is to drum proverbs or sayings ; their ripertoire consists of seventy-seven such sayings. The drums are 'male' 1 and ' female ' ; but tones are not used, as each drummer sounds the whole sentence on his own drum. Each drummer uses two sticks and beats out on his drum each syllable of every word with proper rhythm and punctuation. The seventy-seven sayings drummed on the fontomfrom drums at Mampon are given here. It is sometimes impossible to find out their exact meaning. 'Strong names' and archaic words are mingled with fragments of quotations from folk-lore, or from some longer stanzas alluding to events which are now forgotten ; the

The 'male ' fontomfrom drum is sometimes known as Pinkyedomko.

brief extracts give us but little clue, nor could the drummers themselves always explain these obscure passages satisfactorily. Rather than accept what seemed doubtful explanations, I have for the present left such passages as were obscure untranslated.

i. 'Ogyapam ene ntetea efiri tete, ogyapam ene ntetea efiri Odornankoma.'
'The ogyapam tree with its little ants came forth long long ago, the ogyapam, with its little ants came forth from the creator.'

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

'0 path, thou crossest the River O River thou crossest the Path.
Which of you is the elder ?
We cut a Path, and it went and met the River.
The River came forth long long ago
It came forth from the creator of all things.'
3. 'Obirifi Akuampon odi akwanten die.'
'Obirifi Akuampon ('a strong name' for the King of Ashanti), he eats from a path however distant.'
4. 'Odum se wo obosom a odi eto ; Odan se obosom a, oboa.'
'The Odum tree says he has a god within him who eats mashed yams if the Odan tree says he is a god, he lies.'
5. ' Ye de die ben na esene twene, ye de tweneboa na esene twene, tweneboa gyankansa, damirifa.'
'What do they take to carve into drums ? They take the tweneboa tree to carve into drums, the tweneboa tree that lets (the drums) talk, alas ! '
6. 'Yefa ne ha, anikyienikyie! ankana anikyie be ku yen, ye ko a anikyienikyie ! anikyie no efiri tete, anikyie firi Odomankorna oboo adie.'
'As we pass here, Hate! Hate would kill us if it could. As we go there, Hate! that Hate came forth long ago ; Hate came from the Creator, he created all things.'

IN WOOD-CARVING
7. 'Ayensin boa boa afuo so
Mmaboa na ma ogya dere.'
'There are logs of firewood in heaps in the plantation,
It is the small twigs which set the fire alight.'
8. 'Osam Adawuruampon Kwame, huan na ko se nana se So wako 'funa mu'?
'Oh gong, whose title is Osam Adawurampon Kwame, who is it that tells grandfather " take up your war sword " '?
9. 'Otwe dua etia, 'nso die ode pra no ho ano no.'
' The tail of the duyker may be short, but nevertheless that is what he uses to flick himself with.'
10. 'Kwabetene akuntun akuntun, se bebuo, se mmuo, okuafo yam' ehyehye no.'
' The coco-nut tree is always bent, is it going to break ? Is it not going to break ? That is always making the husbandman anxious.'
I I. 'Okomantan enya noho se obe kum ananse oboa.'
'The grasshopper is always boasting that he is going to kill the spider. but he is lying.'
12. ' Okwankyen twiara, yei so aboa ben se Obirekuo. Obirekuo Seniampon wo nam kwankyen odi ayuo ? Obirekuo damirifa!
damarifa ! damarifa ! Akuranto.'
'We hear a rustling on the side of the path. We ask what animalit is. Oh, it is the little Birekuo bird. Birekuo Seniampon, are you walking by the side of the path eating guinea grains? Birekuo, alas! alas alas, Akuranto!'
13. 'Akomadoma wirempe, wirempe akurampon, anoma yi efenene ne tiri kakraka na okosa n'atabu, anoma yi ofenene papapapa.1

14. 'Hoho esene bese so, onte nwe, na onte nton, hoho obeye bese yi den, osene besi yi so kwa, hoho wosene so kwa.'
' Little red ants hang on the kola tree, they do not pick the fruit to eat and they do not pluck the fruit to sell. Little red ants, what are you doing on the kola tree ? they are hanging there for no reason. Little red ants, you are hanging there like fools.'
I I was unable to obtain any satisfactory translation of this saying.

15. 'Kurotwiamansa wo kunumu, Denkyenninampa ono so wukunum. Ye kunum na ya ka sene? wa ka se aboa bi Denkyeniampa ; Kurotwiamansa damirifa ! '
'0 leopard, you are roaring; 0 crocodile, you are roaring. They are roaring and what have they said ? they have said that there is a great beast called the crocodile. Leopard alas'!
16. 'Aboa bi odo sradie a, osua preko.'
'When some other beast becomes fat, it is only copying the (village) pig.'
17. 'Konkontima Gyesi Apere, onya wu a, efiri adwene.'
' When the Tadpole, whose title is Gyesi Apere, dies, the fish must be the cause of that.'
I8. 'Ye keka, ye di toro
Ye keka ye boa.'
'When they speak they are lying.
When they speak they are mistaken.'
I9. 'Twerebuo wo nsu ase a, n'ogya ewo m'.'
' The flint may lie at the bottom of the water, but it does not lose its power to strike fire.'
20. ' Kurotwiamansa oda sesea mu a, sesea owoso biribi.'
' When the leopard lies in the thicket, the thicket shakes.'
21. 'Me nyae nsu tene na me uko nom 'tadie.'
' I do not leave running water to drink at a stagnant pool.'
22. 'Asuo bi so a, enkyen 'bosom po.'
'However large any water may be, it is not greater than the god, the sea.'
23. 'Obenini ko, obenini onwane.'
'A man fights, a man does not run away.'
24. 'Osankanini Akuampon eye den, na ofusuo da homa ?'
'What has the wild boar, Akuampon (a strong name), been about, to allow the water-buck (his friend) to be bound with creepers ? '
25. 'Mmoa nyina foro boo, akyekyere foro boo a wawai, abefwe.'
'All animals can climb rocks, but when the tortoise climbs a rock, he falls down backwards.'

26. 'Ababawa ne dua weremfe Ampon Akosua Dampo. Ye nu' e.'
'Ampon Akosua Dampo is a maiden with a beautiful skin. Yes, brother.'

27. 'Ababawa weremfe Ampon a noho bono ebie srade.'
'When the maiden Ampon has a beautiful skin, her body smells like the fat of the ebie antelope.'
28. 'Twem ko dow, twem bra ha ababazva.'
' Trip there, trip here, maiden' (in dancing).
29. 'Ababawa koko kra kra, mo Akuranto, mo Santan.'
' A blood-red maiden, hail Akuranto, hail Santan.' 30. 'Otufo tenten, okatakyi fua otuo ne afona beko.'
' The tall gunner, the hero, holds a gun and a sword to go and fight.'
3 . ' Otufo tenten obu akuma.'
' The tall gunner breaks the axe.'
32. ' Akoko ntonto aduasa,
Akroma mfamfa aduasa.'
'The hen may lay thirty (eggs),
The hawk may catch thirty (chickens).
33. 'Akoko, mato mato bi azvura,
Akroma me fa me na ma bere.
'The hen (says) I have laid and laid for master,
Now let the hawk come and take me, for I am weary.'
34. 'Okotere " ma hu amane"
Okotere, ma hu amane papa"
Akura tima wu di adie te ho.
Na mmomfra sene eben a na ye de zvo me.'
'The lizard (says), I am in trouble. The lizard (says), I am in great trouble. You, the house-mouse who eats up things, sit there unharmed, while the boys have made a mouse-trap (lit. a bow) 1 and have pierced me.'
1 See Fig. 93.

35. ' Ye ma yenko nkofwe 'kurufa Na okurufa ye hu amane
Okurufa wa hunu amane papa.'
'Let us go and look for the rat.
And then the rat will fall into trouble.
O rat, you find much tribulation in that.'
36. 'Onwam kese Bereku ma ma me ho mene so na 'nwzam hema nnu ase.'
'(I am) Bereku, the giant hornbill, and I have risen up, so let the lesser hornbill lie down.'
37. 'Me ne agya akoa aduru asuo so, me ka kyere no se, oma me so nwa asuo no, na wa ma me so atwene m', me mnm aguare a nkrana asuo no fa me.'
' I and my father's slave arrived at a river and I told him to carry me across, but he lifted me up and dropped me in, and had I not known how to swim, the water would have carried me off.'
38. ' Wo ne me be goro a, me ne wo be go'
Wo ne ie n'oro a, me ne wo n'no'
Ye go' agoro ben.'
If you will play with me, I shall play with you.

If you will not play with me, I shall not play with you.
What play is it to be ? '
39. 'Agya Ananse oboo adie osene ogya ani, wisie epu ananse; wisie epunu ana nse abrawo.'
' Father Spider (once) created things, ' but now he hangs above the fire and the smoke has blackened the spider, the smoke has smoked the spider abrawo (a title of any one of Bosompra nztoro).'
40. 'Onyankokokwasakyi wo kyin, wu kyin okope biribi adi wonya biribi anni a osane ba kwa.'
' 0 vulture, you circle and circle when you want something to eat ; if you can't get anything to eat you go off without.'
41. 'Oserewari ani to, okunu ma no srade a, oto we.'
'A woman with a rough skin is ashamed, but when her husband gives her some fat (to rub her body) she puts it on the fire to cook and eat.'
I In Akan folk-lore the spider is sometimes credited with the power of creation.

42. 'Owea damirifa, Owea Koduampon Krofa, me te madoto fi, me kasa a, amane ete, aman gye me sere ni, Owea damirifa.'
'Alas the Tree bear, whose strong name is Koduampon Krofa, I sit on my house of creepers and when I talk the nation hears me, but the nation laughs at me, alas the Tree bear.'
43. ' Ye be koro, ye nam apem aduasa, ye be ba ya ka ape 'duonum, yen 'yina ka asuoso; Kokokyinaka ne din Akotene Yanfo Bediako damirifa.'
'When we set out, we were 30,000 strong, when we returned we were lO5O, all the rest fell at the River; Kokokyinaka whose strong name is Akotene Yanfo Bediako, alas! '
44. 'Akyerekokogyan wotwa Nwabe, ye duru Ofwim, Akyereko damirifa.'
'Akyerekokogyan (a name) you have no sooner crossed the Nwabe (a river) than you have reached Ofwim (a town), alas, Akyereko.'
45. 'Anosini se wope nsa, nsa, nanso onom nsa efwie gu.'
'A man without any lips says he wants wine and more wine, but when he tries to drink wine he only spills it.'
46. 'Aboa dabo kurotu, me da me sese m' obomofo obo ne fwene 'fre me 1 nanso me te nansoso me mmua no.'
'I the antelope, kurutu, lie in my leaf shelter while the hunter calls me, I hear him, but I do not answer him.'
47. 'Oha gyae nnua bo, oyonko be wu agya wo, oyonko be wu agya wo ne mma damirifa.'
'Flying squirrel, stop beating yourself against the trees (to get at the nest), your friend will die and leave you them, your friend will die and leave you his children (to eat) alas !'
48. 'Ntutume Sekyi Amponfi, ehyia wo bo a, obo no epae. 'Tututume Amponfi ehyia obo a obo gya.'
'0 locusts, whose strong name is Sekyi Amponfi, if you meet a stone, the stone splits, if a stone meets you it breaks up.' (The locusts are here the Ashanti army.)

49. 'Akokonobete wa we abe.'
'The kokono worm (though soft) can eat the palm-tree.'
' Lit. holds his nose and calls me; Ashanti hunters call up game by holding the nose and producing the noise of a bleating kid or doe.

50. 'Sisiremo Kzabrafo edi wo 'kyir 'a atuduru be sa.'
'If the Sisiremo Kwabrafo (the honey-badger) follows after you, the gunpowder will come to an end.' (Meaning obscure.)
5 1. 'Abetia Zo ye ewira a egu ,o kon.'
'O short palm-tree, if you allow weeds to grow upon you, they will cover your neck.'
52. ' Ohuriye gyae akyekyedie akyiri die, zu di n'akyi okwa.'
O fly, desist from following the tortoise, you follow him in vain.'
53. 'Odompo 1 nam anadwo a, wosi agyirim'.'
'Marsh mongoose, when you walk at night you trip up in holes.' 54. 'Akoko kokroko wantimi akroma, wa ma akroma akye' no akowe.'
' Even a big fowl is no match for a hawk, but will allow it to catch and eat it.'
55. 'Aboa apetupere kurwa ote ineko a ose koin ode eye no bo aduru.'
' When the little apetupere kurzea bird plucks peppers, he has to gulp them down (but he has a reason for what he does), he is taking them as a chest medicine.'
56. 'JTUo hu anene a, zc'o se asokwa, a'o hu asokwa, wo se anene, yenyina akratama gu ye kon ye se ho nam na ye nse din.'
'When you see a crow, you would say it was the asokwa bird, and when you see an asokwa bird, you would say it was a crow, for they each have a ' soul's cloth' (i. e. a white circle) round their necks, and their bodies are alike, nevertheless they have different names.'
57. 'Onankatiri ye twa no ininarima.'
'The horned snake, only a man can cut off its head.'
58. 'Kotebo e ne kotere ese din na ye nsa ho nam.'
' The Kotebo and the Kotere have names which resemble each other, but their appearance is not the same.'
59. 'Odum nkoto, Odan nkoto, ye koto A bran kwa, ye koto Adanse, Aniampam Osai, ohene 'Sai.'
' Let the Odum tree bend down, let the Odan tree bend down, they bow down before Abran kwa, they bow down before Adanse, Aniamparn Osai, chief 'Sai.'
SAftilax paludinosus.

IN WOOD-CARVING
6o. 'Osai Tu' firi Adanse, Weremkyem Aduakotene, Osai Weremkyem Adu, atram, okokuru esono wa da amena mu to twene.'
' Osai Tu', who came from Adanse (then follows a list of strong names), the strong one, he went and picked up the elephant that slept at the foot of the cliff, and threw it from him.'
61. ' Ye ma yenkoto morosa mego' agoro yi.'
'Let them go and buy wine to dance this dance.'

62. 'Brong Kyempem Duedu akwa.'
'The Brong's title is Kyempem Duedu Akwa.'
63. ' Ye ma yenko nkofa Fante meson.'
'Let them go and bring Fante to serve us.
64. 'Asen se sen, Asen se yawai.'
'What do the Asen say? the Asen say they have surrendered.' 65. 'Abokyi Kofiadu Kwasese ye de ne ti ko ayie, odonko bi mansisi mfikyiri ha.'
'Abokyi Kofiedu Kwasese (a sobriquet of all slaves), we take his head to our funeral customs (i. e. to sacrifice), (see) the track of some slave lies behind us here.'
66. 'Peregwan sisi m'futu naye hu amane.'
'We may be in distress even when we have a peregwan of gold dust in our bag.'
67. 'Akoabi de kaka, esai ' gwan nam.'
' When a slave has toothache, that spoils his mutton.'
68. ' Obosom akotere ode bere bere be ko aburokyiri.'
'The chameleon goes very slowly and carefully, but he can reach the country of the white man far away.'
69. 'Odomankoma bo adie, Borebore bo adie, wahunu die kotebo wa pam gyata hene pen ?'
'Since the Creator created things, since Borebore created things, have you ever seen the antelope chasing the lion ?'
70. ' Esono kokroko na adowa di panyin.'
' The elephant may be great and mighty, but the little adowa antelope is his superior.'
71. 'Okrakye Dente, Dente na oman zvono.'
'The nation is Krakye Dente's.' 1
1 Dente was a famous suman or perhaps obosom, which had its head-quarters in Togoland before the war. It was suppiessed by the Germans and its priests hanged.

72. ' Ye gye nkoko a ye gye no Abronfo dow.'
' When we get fowls, we get them from the Brong.'
73. 'Dua Totobrofo ayi ban abo ni hin so.'
'The Totobrofo tree has broken off one of its own branches and beaten its own roots (with it).'
74. ' Okuropi hene se ohene de 'hene.'
' The 'Kuropi chief says, a king is a king.'
75. 'Ya kyere kokobo na nkoko mfa hyiri mo ye to.'
'We have caught the wild cat, let the fowls sprinkle their bottoms with white clay' (a sign of joy).
76. 'Kokobo se akoko onko ngya no anadwo suo, na awia te sen?'
' The wild cat says the fowl ought to go with him to the water by night, but what about going even by day ? '
77. 'Odomankoma boo adie, Borebore boo adie, Okyerema ye ye no bere bere, Okyerema ye ye no gye adie di.'

'Since the Creator made things, since Borebore made things, men have treated the drummers with respect, men have offered the drummers hospitality.'

XXVII
POTTERY

IN Ashanti, page 325, with reference to one of the forestclad hills, near the gold-mining centre of Obuasi, I wrote: ' It is no exaggeration to state that there is hardly a square foot of ground on the tops of some of these hills, which does not contain fragments of pottery. . . . The pottery bears an endless variety of designs, herring bone, bands, elliptical punch-marks, contiguous and detached circles, &c.' Among these finds were also included celts and tuyers.

Drawings of a few of many hundreds of such fragments (kyemfere) are now reproduced; almost without exception they are extremely ornate. The description of each fragment, which now follows, was written by Captain T. A. Joyce, O.B.E., of the ethnological section of the British Museum, to whom I am very much indebted.

Early Pottery Fragments from Ashanti

Fig. 203. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware, fairly well fired. Lip slightly everted. Exterior decoration of impressed circles.

Fig. 204. Pottery fragment, portion of neck and shoulder. Coarse red ware. Well fired. Exterior ornament, five narrow horizontal bands in relief; above, a single row of impressed circles ; above this, close diagonal bands of ' string '-pattern, impressed.

Fig. 205. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Coarse reddish ware, dark grey on the exterior. Impressed pattern arranged in horizontal bands ; from above, (a) a series of horizontal lines,

(b) a second moulding, in higher relief, with similar diagonal ornament.

Fig. 206. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware, fairly well fired. The rim has been reinforced with an exterior shelving ledge, undercut, and the lip is slightly everted. The reinforced portion is decorated exteriorly with a dotted chevron imposed upon faintly impressed horizontal lines.

Fig. 207. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red

ware, fairly well fired. The rim has been reinforced with a shelving ledge, undercut, and the lip is slightly everted. The reinforced portion is decorated exteriorly with horizontal bands of impressed diagonal ' string '-pattern ; below the shelving is a series of impressed diagonal lines, ' combed out ' to the left at an acute descending angle.

Fig. 208. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware with greyish patches, moderately fired. The rim has been reinforced with a shelving. The reinforced portion is decorated with a series of impressed diagonal lines of ' string '-pattern.

Fig. 209. Pottery fragment, a loop-handle. Coarse red ware, well fired. Decorated on the convex side with a series of impressed horizontal lines.

Fig. 210. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Pale red ware, well fired. Lip with well-defined external flange, below which is a horizontal decoration consisting of a meander impressed by means of a five-pointed tool.
Fig. 211. Pottery fragment, in the form of a partially hollow cone, with a pronounced constriction immediately below the base. Coarse red ware, well fired. Probably the leg of a tripod.
Fig. 212. Pottery fragment, perhaps a portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware, well fired. The rim has been reinforced with a shelving, definitely undercut, scalloped along the edge. The reinforced portion is decorated with two transverse bands of diagonal impressed ' string '-pattern, separated by a wide groove.
Fig. 213. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Coarse red ware, moderately fired. The fragment, which obviously includes a portion of the rim, displays a well-defined ' shoulder', immediately below which is a horizontal band of impressed design, consisting of saltires between double linear borders, over which is a circular stud in relief, which was probably repeated at regular intervals.
Fig. 214. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Coarse brownish, micaceous ware. Moulded decoration consisting of a highly conventionalized (?) skull on the exterior.1
Fig.. 215. Pottery fragment, portion of rim with sharply inverted lip, the exterior angle marked by projecting flange. Coarse reddish ware, moderately fired. Exterior decoration of plain transverse bands in relief, produced by narrow impressed grooves.
Fig. 216. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware, well fired. The rim is reinforced with a shelving, slightly undercut. The flange which surrounds the greatest projection of the shelving is ornamented with diagonal series of impressed dots ; the rim above, with series of similar impressed dots,
1 Compare the design on the Ashanti weight seen in Fig. 114, No. i i, Ashanti.

.~-.,
Fig,9.2
Fg. 212 F,g. 0/3
na215
5jg.217 Fig 218
FIGs. 203-18. Early Pottery Fragments from Ashanti

enclosed above with dotted lines arranged in semicircles. The ornament below consists of impressed horizontal lines.
Fig. 217. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Coarse red ware, well fired. In high relief an oblong rectangle,' with moulded bands transverse to its length, and, in the centre, parallel to these, in high relief, the representation, apparently, of a European key.
Fig. 218. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Red ware, very coarse, and moderately fired. Exterior ornament of double punctate dots, disposed diagonally, arranged in horizontal series.

Fig. 219. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Dark, reddish, coarse ware. It is not easy to diagnose the upper and lower portions of the fragment respectively, but it is clear that the lip was sharply inverted, producing a well-defined 'shoulder'. Above (or below) this shoulder, the surface of the pot is ornamented with transverse bands in relief, defined by narrow, impressed, furrows; the band nearest the angle containing a series of impressed double arcs, enclosing vertical hatching. Below (or above) the shoulder, the surface is unornamented.
Fig. 220. Pottery fragment, portion of wall.' Red ware, well fired, but slightly smoked on the exterior. Headless female torso, broken, in high relief, the remaining (right) hand resting on a chevron moulded in bold relief.
Fig. 221. Pottery fragment, portion of wall. Coarse reddish ware, indifferently fired. This fragment shows a marked shoulder, with a palmate ornament in relief, probably representing a conventional elephant's tail.
Fig. 222. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Coarse pale red ware, well fired. The rim has been reinforced with a shelving, markedly undercut, and notched along the edge. The upper surface is ornamented with diagonal lines. The lower ornamentation consists of horizontal impressed lines.
Fig. 223. Pottery fragment, portion of wall, showing welldefined ' shoulder '. Coarse reddish ware, moderately fired, with impressed decoration consisting of series of multiple semicircles impressed, apparently, by means of a toothed instrument.
Fig. 224. Pottery fragment, similar to Fig. 219, with the exception that the impressed arcs along the angle are single, and contain no decoration.
Fig. 225. Pottery fragment, portion of wall of a large vessel. Coarse reddish ware, slightly blackened exteriorly. Ornamented with a raised semicircle, with close horizontal, and widely separated transverse, grooves. Design incomplete.
1 Representing, the Ashanti tell me, a padlock. R.S.R.
2 Not a wall, I think, but the cover of a ' family pot' (abusuakuruwa tiri). R.S.R.

FxCs. 219-29. Early Pottery Fragments from Ashanti

Fig. 226. Pottery fragment, probably the superior portion of a sagger. Moderately coarse reddish ware, well fired. The fragment is pierced in the centre with a circular hole, and the margins show signs of similar apertures.
Fig. 227. Pottery fragment, portion of wall 1 of a large vessel. Coarse ware, indifferently fired. Moulded relief decoration consisting of a rudely modelled human arm and hand, the fingers indicated by impressed lines.
Fig. 228. Pottery fragment, portion of rim. Thick, heavy ware, very coarse and imperfectly fired. Slightly inverted lip, marked on the interior by a definite furrow, and widening on the exterior to a prominent ' flange '. The superior surface of this flange is ornamented with transverse bands possibly structural and suggesting the "coiling' process.

Fig. 229. Pottery fragment, portion of wall, with well-defined shoulder '. Pale red ware, well fired. On one side of the 'shoulder' (probably above), a series of impressed ornaments.
(a) a transverse band of horizontal lines, (b) a double band of diagonal dots, enclosed in horizontal lines, with a circular disk in relief, probably repeated at intervals, extending across both bands.
' All these fragments are portions of "hand-made ", as opposed to " wheel-made ", vessels. They are composed of imperfectly levigated clay, and obviously fired in an open fire. That is to say, the vessels have been built up by hand, probably by the " coiling " 2 process, dried in the sun, and then baked in the open by the simple process of piling wood-fuel over them and setting fire to it.'
These examples are sufficient to show that these ancient fragments-some were found along with celts-represent a different style in decorative art from their modern equivalents. Modern Ashanti pottery is on the whole severe and plain. The commonest ornamentation appears to consist of the lines left upon the soft clay before it is dried and fired, by the corn-cobs which are used to model and smooth the outer and inner surface of the pot during its manufacture. We have here a rather interesting problem. Were the makers of these old pots of different race from the Ashanti, or has Ashanti decorative art in pottery undergone a complete change within the last five or six hundred years ? I am inclined, as readers of Ashanti will guess, to accept
Not a wall, I think, but the cover of a 'family pot' (abusuakuruwa tiii). R.S.R.
2 I think it is probable they were made in the manner to be described later and not by the ' coiling' process. R.S.R.

the former hypothesis as being the more correct. On the other hand, however, there is a tradition of a certain ' potteress 'whose name has even been preserved-one Denta, who is recorded to have become barren, as the result of having modelled 'figure pots '. From that time onwards, it is stated, women ceased to make highly ornamented designs in pottery. Among a people like the Ashanti, it does not require any stretch of the imagination to realize that such a calamity as sterility, having been ascribed to such a cause, might easily result in changing the fashion in this branch of decorative art.
It would hardly be correct to state that pottery-making in Ashanti is entirely in the hands of women. While it is true that they everywhere appear to be the makers of pots, there is not any unwritten law or taboo to prevent a male from practising this trade. As a matter of fact, men do not fashion pots or pipes unless they represent anthropomorphic or zoomorphic forms, for women are forbidden to make these. The reason given me for this was that the making of these requires greater skill. Another reason often forthcoming why women are the chief makers of pots also appears to be plausible. It is stated that in ancient times pots were invariably bartered in exchange for food, and that they were never sold for gold dust or

whatever was the currency of the time. This caused their manufacture to lie in the hands of the women-folk-with the exception noted-' as it was not worth the while of the men to make them.'

There is a tradition that the first woman potter, at the village of Taffo, an important centre of this industry, was a woman called Osra Abogyo. ' She learnt the art from Odomankoma, the Creator ' ; songs are still sung in her honour. Pot-making is a hereditary craft, which is handed down from mother to daughter; whole families of girls are ' potteresses ', having learnt the art from the time that they are quite small children. Fig. 230 shows the old Queen Mother of Taffo and her family, all of whom are ' potteresses '. I lived for some time at Taffo, making a study of the craft; many of the photographs shown here were taken on that occasion. The village of Taffo is famous for its pots ; it was formerly one of a number of villages, Pankrono, Obuokurum, Sisirease, and Ekwea, which, under the

old Ashanti regime, were wholly engaged in fashioning earthenware vessels. Taffo pots are still exported to places as distant as Seccondee and Accra.

The following is the terminology employed in the manufacture of pots.

i. A potter, kukunyonfo.
2. To dig the clay, bo ebuo.
3. To mould the pot, nyon nkuku.
4. To turn over and complete the base of the pot, tu nkuku.
5. To polish a pot (with a pebble), kokwa.
6. To burn or bake a pot, to nkuku.
7. To smoke or glaze a pot, pun nkuku.
8. To ornament a pot, toto nkuku.

Before describing various stages of pot-making, I may draw particular attention to the Ashanti idiom for making or moulding a pot, nyon nkuku, which means literally 'to weave a pot', and to the word for potter, which is kukunyonfo, i. e. 'a weaver of pots'. I do not wish to strain the point or dogmatize from what are purely etymological data, but it is just possible that pots were once made by plastering the clay upon a basket foundation, i. e. a ' woven ' fabric, which later was burnt off in the process of firing.

The clays used for making pots in Ashanti 1 are of several colours-white, red, yellow, grey, and brown. At Taffo the clay is dug with an implement like a hoe, but having the head set in the same plane as the long wooden shaft. Fig. 231 shows the clay beds at Taffo. The lumps of clay are broken up, sometimes by pounding them in a mortar. The mass is then softened with water and thoroughly worked up with the hands, until the required plasticity has been reached ; pebbles, grit, and other foreign substances are then removed. Fig. 232 shows a group kneading the clay upon a board, to keep it from contact with the ground. From this clay the pots are moulded entirely by hand; the use of a potter's wheel is unknown. The only implements used in ordinary pot-making may be seen in Fig.

233. These consist of three corn-cobs (aburo dua) from which the grain has been removed, a piece of rag (ntama gow), a couple of small blocks of wood (tame), a strip of palm stem bent into form of a ring, used
1 See Appendix to this chapter.

FIG. 231. Clay beds at Taffo
FIG. 232. Preparing the clay

FIG. 233. Implements used in pot-making
FIc. 234. Stages in the making of a pot
FIG. 235. First stage in making a pot

FIG. 236. Early stage in pot-making
FIc. 237. Shaping the form of the rim

FiG. 238. The piece of wood in use
Fic. 239. Using the wet rag

FIG. 240. Using the rag
Fi. 241. First three stages of ahena pot
Fir. 242. Fourth and last stage of ahena pot

as a scraper (ka), and a smooth pebble (kokwa bo, lit. polishing stone). The manner in which these various articles are used may be seen in the photographs. The stages through which pots-of whatever kind and shapepass are virtually the same in every case ; these stages are well illustrated in Fig. 234. (I) is a solid conical mass of clay (eboa) ; the size of this varies according to the pot which is to be made. (See also Fig. 235, which shows such a lump under the hands of the ' potteress '.) This conical lump is next scooped out from the top with the hand, see Fig. 234 (2) and Figs. 235-6, and the sides are pushed out into the required shape. So far onlythe hands have been employed. The next stage, (3), is roughly to shape out the form of the rim ; observe a water-pot at this stage in Fig. 237, which shows one of the corn-cobs in use; note also the lines round the body of the pot, from which it can be seen that the cob has also been used over the outer surface of the vessel ; the position of the hands should be noted.
In the next stage, (4), the pot is gradually taking on its final shape. It has been squeezed down and bulged out, and clay has been cut off from one place (with the ring), and daubed on in another. The small wooden blocks have been brought into use, and also the wet rag (see also Figs. 238-40), until the final stage is almost reached, when the pot is allowed partially to dry until it can safely be turned over and the bottom completed. Fig. 234
(5) shows the finished pot after it has been burned and glazed. This shaped pot is called asenewa, i. e. a small asene pot.
Figs. 241 and 242 show the four similar stages of an ahena (water-pot).

Fig. 243 shows a collection of pots in various stages.
Those in the left foreground are completed and turned bottom upwards to dry. This drying process is continued until the pots are ' leather hard '. The pebble is now brought into use for polishing the surface, and if further decorative effects other than that left by the corrugations of the corn-cob are desired, they are incised upon the clay at this stage. The pots are now ready for burning. The firing is carried out in the following manner: A carpet, or floor of sticks, is laid upon a level piece of ground; the pots ready for baking are laid inverted upon this, and the rest piled upon them. See Figs 244 and 245.

Sticks are then placed all round the pile and also across the top. The whole is now fired, a 'lucky' girl being chosen to ignite the pile (see Fig. 246). When the fire has burned itself out, leaving only a mass of red-hot pots and glowing wood-ash (see Fig. 247), the women remove the pots one by one with long poles (see Fig. 248). The pots at this stage are not black, but burnt a dull brick red. Those pots which are intended to be smoked, i. e. glazed, are then removed from the pile, but instead of being placed upon the bare ground to cool off, they are deposited upon a heap of some dry vegetable matter, leaves of ground-nuts, or shavings left by the wood-carvers, or dry grass-the actual material does not appear to matter. The red-hot pots immediately ignite this pile of dry material, but the flame is soon quenched with water and the pile is only allowed to emit a dense smoke. The immediate result is that the smoke so produced permeates the heated clay and deposits upon it, if not through it, a mixture of finely divided tar and carbon.
The following are some of the pots and utensils commonly made.
Ananane (Fig. 249); for melting shea butter. Kuruwa (Fig. 250); an ornate vessel for holding drinking water
(made by a man); it is an abebudie, i. e. ' a proverb pot ', the proverb in this case being, 'Onyansafo bo pow a, obagyimfo ntimi nsane.' 'When a wise man ties a knot, a fool
cannot loosen it.' See also Fig. 251.
Ahena, the large pots used for carrying water from the stream.
See Fig. 242.
Osene, a cooking-pot.
Tasenaba, used for soup (nkwan). Akotokyiwa, used for palm-wine.
Nkyeryeresa, lit. 'three steps ' pot.
There are also a certain number of pots used for religious or ceremonial purposes. Fig. 252 is an earthen vessel of very striking design called a mogyemogye pot, i. e. a jaw-bone pot; it was used to contain the wine poured upon the Golden Stool. Summum pots have already been mentioned (see Fig. i), as have sora pots; new pots are used for this ceremony.' An abusua kuruwa or 'family pot', the use of which has already been del Seep. 164.

FIG. 243. Pots in the making at various stages
FiG. 244. ' The pots ready for baking are laid inverted upon this'

FIG. 245. ' And the rest piled up upon them '
FIG. 246. 'The whole is now fired by a lucky girl'

FIG. 247. 'Leaving only a mass of red-hot pots and
glowing wood-ash'
Fic. 248. 'The women remove the pots one by one with long poles'

FIG. 249. I is a piece of proverb pottery, 'the snake lies on the
ground, yet God has given to it the bird which flies';
2 and 3 are ananane dishes for melting fat
FIG. 2so. Kuruwa (water-pot)
FIG. 251. Human and animal design in pottery: I. woman holding fan ; 2. child patting lion, illustrating saying, ' There is some one
left who does not know a lion' ; 3. woman with rattle

FIG. 252. Mogyemogye pot
FIG. 253. These designs of pipes may only be made and smoked by men
FIG. 254. Women's or men's pipes

FIG. 255. Carrying pots to market in nets
Iv~j
~/ -~A
Fic. 256. Carrying pots to market in a net,
a ' close up '

scribed is shown in Fig. 66.1 Makers of these last-named vessels for the King of Ashanti were specially privileged, and before one of these was made gifts had to be made to the potters, otherwise ' they would become ill '. A form of ayowa pot is used for washing the soul.
Abammo pots, kuna kukuo (widows' pots), and witches' pots have all been noted elsewhere.' Infants who die before eight days are buried in pots.3 Various designs of pipes are shown in Figs. 253-4.
Pots, when not too badly broken, may be repaired by using gum (ehye) from certain trees. Cracked pots are used for storing cotton, ground-nuts, &c. ; fragments of pots (kyemfere) are used for roasting ground-nuts, carrying pieces of live charcoal and refuse ; rims of old pots are used as stands upon which to set other pots.
There are several proverbs about pots ; one or two have already been mentioned.4 A proverb often heard runs: 'The one who goes to the water is the one who breaks the water-pot.' Pots for marketing are carried in nets, atena, made of edowa fibre (see Figs. 255, 256).
Religion and taboos are not absent from the potter's art. At Taffo, neither water nor clay must be taken from the Santan river on a Friday.5 An unbaked pot may not on any account be taken away from the village; pots before being baked may not be counted; pots might not be made when the Ashanti army was away on a

campaign. To break a pot intentionally is a serious offence, and entails the sacrifice of a sheep upon the spot where the pot was broken. To break a pot ' on a person's head ' in the above sense, is thought possibly to cause his death.
I observed a Nyame dua, altar to the Sky God, set up on the bank of the Santan river, near which the clay is dug. The chief of the village, in reply to my inquiry, told me that one of his wives being barren, he had consulted a god and had been told to set up the altar, in order that the sunsum (spirit) of the river might intercede for him to Nyame (the Sky God). Upon my asking if the Santan river really had a sunsum, he said not only

1 See p. 164. 2 See pp. 66, 161,30. 3 See p. 61. 4 See p. 51.

' This taboo is not directly connected with pot-making ; Friday is a dies non for Taffo ; on that day cultivation of the soil is not allowed, nor may the chief travel.

had it a spirit, but that the whole village of Taffo belonged to it and owed its origin to the river.
I witnessed the following ceremony at the Santan river. The occasionwas that on which Baa, the old Queen Mother's daughter, was about to leave Ashanti to attend the British Empire Exhibition as a ' potteress '. The offering and words spoken on this occasion were somewhat similar to those used when the river was propitiated at the ordinary annual ceremony in connexion with the work of the potters, or at unspecified times should the pots keep breaking when being fired. The Queen Mother and a woman called Adjua Kyewa, Akosua Baa the daughter, and another man and I went down to the spot where the stream flows past the Nyame dua already mentioned. The offering in this case consisted of a fowl and some palm-oil. The man cut off the head of the fowl and allowed the blood to drip into a pot sunk in the ground up to the rim, at the foot of the altar (Fig. 257), while the old woman repeated the following words:
Osantan koko,
Osantan tuntum,
Aberewa mogyie a ote mogye so,
Akye boa akyempow.
Asugyafo adamfo ko na obe ma wo
Mmofra ne mpanini adamfo yensa m' akoko ni.
Osantan wo din 'so,
Nne wo dine eko Aburokyiri,
Wa be gye akoko yi di.
Wo nana Akosua Baa oko Aburokyiri.
Ye sere wo nkwa, ma no ne
Oboroni a o de no ekoro, nkwaso Ye sere wo ma no nko mera dwo
Yen nyina nkwaso.
Santan (the river) is red.
Santan, who is black,
Old women's jaws which rest on jaws.
He presents bundles of nuggets.
Friend of the unmarried; go (ask him) and he will give to you.
Friend of the children and of the aged, Here is a fowl from our hands.

Fic. 257. ' Here is a fowl from our hands '

FiG. 258. Stone circle inside which pots are made
FIG. 259. Circle made out of logs, mudguards of derelict Ford cars, &c., inside which pots are made

Santan, your name is great ;
To-day your name will reach the country of the white man far away.
Come and accept this fowl and eat;
Your grandchild, Akosua Baa, is going to Europe.
We pray you for health.
Give health to her and to the white man who is going with her.
We pray you permit her to go and return in happiness.
Life to us all.1

The feet, wings, heart, and head of the fowl were placed in the pot; the kidneys were examined, and on being found white, every one exclaimed:

Santan ye da a'o ase o
Santan yen nyina ye da wo ase.

'Santan we thank you, Santan we all thank you.' The palmoil was now poured into the river, with the words

Gye ngo yi ko toto.'
Receive tfiis oil and apply it to your sores.' 2

Before Iclose this chapter Iwould draw attention to Figs. 258-9 -which show two circles, surrounded by large stones, trunks of trees, and mudguards of old Ford cars. The women work at the pots within these circles; these barriers are built to keep out livestock, goats, pigs, and fowls. I have seen stone circles similar in size to these in clearings in the forest where there is not any other sign of human habitation. If Taffo were deserted, these stone circles would remain long after the mud walls of the huts had been levelled to the ground, and be inexplicable to the ordinary tourist or explorer who did not know their origin.

1 On ordinary occasions the following is the prayer addressed to the river, to whom a sheep is generally sacrificed :

' Osantan koko, Osantan tuntum, aberewa rnogyie a ote rnogye so, Osantan nufuten a mmofra nom ano. Asugyafo adamfo ko na obe ma wo ; Santan akyempow, adaworoma, nansa yi ye to nkuku a ebubo nti abegye ogwan adi.'

' Santan who is red, Santan who is black, old woman's jaws which rest on jaws, Santan of the long breasts from which (your) children drink ; friend of the unmarried, go (ask him) and he will give you ; Santan who gives presents of

nuggets; you are merciful, but these days when we fire pots they break, on that account come and accept this sheep and eat.'
2 Referring to the clay-pits.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVII
ANALYSIS OF SPECIMENS OF POTTER'S CLAY FROM ASHANTI
Water (Combined) Silica Ferric oxide Alumina
Colouring Clay.
8.io 6o6o 14-11 17.20
100*01
Potter's Clay.
5.7' 69-62 1375 6-43
95.51
Colouring Clay.
9"95 57-20
1343 1750
98"08
H. J. PLENDERLEITH.
BRITISH MUSEUM LABORATORY.
4 February 1925.

XXVIII
CIRE PERDUE METAL-CASTING
IN Ashanti, Chapter XXV, page 306, a short account was given of the making of Ashanti gold weights, with several drawings illustrating the process. I would refer readers to those notes, to which this chapter is supplementary.
Not much new information has come to light; but it will be of interest perhaps to examine in detail the photographs now shown. These give a better idea than many pages of letterpress of the actual methods and results. The technique employed in the making of the metal vessels, known as Kuduo (numerous photographs of which appear in Ashanti) is interesting, disproving, as it does, various theories of the manner of their manufacture.
The religious side of the metal-worker's craft will be examined, and a description given of the tools and appliances used. An analysis of some of the metals employed in the ancient castings has been made, and is added as an appendix to this chapter.' Some seventy castings were made for the British Empire Exhibition ; the shape and design of these were left entirely to the workers. Photographs of a few of these castings are reproduced here. Examples of the forges commonly used are illustrated.
I have already suggested that the Stone Age and the Iron Age overlapped in Ashanti.2 The association of stone celts and tuyers seems evidence of this. Heaps of iron slag have also been discovered, extending over an area stretching from the coast to Ashanti, and many tuyers have been unearthed from other localities. A

short description with an analysis of some of these tuyers will be found in Ashanti.'
It is a curious fact that the art of iron smelting has disappeared so completely in Ashanti as not even to leave behind I For this and the other analysis I am much indebted to Mr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum.
2 See Ashanti, Chapter XXVI. 3 See Chapter XXVI.

traditions of the technique employed, while on the other hand the industry has survived just across the Volta at Akpafu. A possible explanation may be that on the Gold Coast the introduction of iron rods fromEurope (mentioned in Reindorf'shistory) has killed the Ashanti local industry. I merely mention this fact in passing, for we are not here primarily concerned with a description of the blacksmith's art in iron-work.
Concerning castings in metals other than iron, I am of opinion that the art of casting in brass and bronze did not reach any high state of development in Ashanti until after the foundation of the Ashanti kingdom about two hundred years ago. As the Court grew in wealth and power, artisans of every craft seem to have converged upon the centre of the kingdom, Coomassie. We certainly find Ashanti developing from a stage not far removed from primitive simplicity into a state whose barbaric splendour and wealth reached the ears of Bosman (about 1700). The whole country was by then organized into groups of villages, where various guilds plied their crafts-pottery, weaving, metalworking, wood-carving, &c. The pick of these craftsmen settled at or near Coomassie, to work for the King of Ashanti.
I can only hazard a vague guess as to the country whence the teachers of the cire perdue art came, but probably they hailed from the inland kingdoms. The decorative designs in metalwork and also in weaving and architecture seem to point to this, as, with the exception of the human and animal forms of the Ashanti weights which their own particular genius evolved, the preponderating influence appears to be Mohammedan, Moorish, or from Benin, modified later by the importation of the workmanship of Europe by the sea route.
Of all arts and crafts in Ashanti, that of casting in the baser metals such as brass is perhaps the most nearly extinct. Gold dust is, of course, no longer the currency; hence Ashanti gold weights I are not now the indispensable possession of every adult male; these weights are now only made, when made at all, to sell as curios to the European collector. The kuduo of the ancients are, when still in use, often supplanted by cheap B irmingham metal ware. The art of metal-work (i. e. in connexion with brass castings) is no longer taught, and would have I See Figs. 113-24, Ashanti.

A B C b E
Fic. 260. Showing five stages in the making of an Ashanti weight
FIG. 261. Foa dua being removed from the furnace

* FIG. 262. 'Painting wax model with clay
and charcoal'
Fir. 263. Two stages in the making of a kuduo

CIRE PERDUE METAL-CASTING

been extinct altogether had it not survived in the goldsmith's trade, which is still in a fairly flourishing condition and employs somewhat parallel methods.

The metal-workers who were collected around me to make the series of castings, some of which are here shown, were sadly out of practice. Faulty castings were numerous and the failures were costly ; the results too were not comparable with the castings of former times. These experiments were nevertheless of considerable value, as they have given us numerous and highly instructive examples of cire perdue castings in all their stages of manufacture.

In Ashanti, Chapter XXV, pp. 306-8, an account is given of the making of an Ashanti weight, so it is not necessary here to repeat in detail what was there written. Fig. 260 here illustrates the five stages of this process. A is the wax model, B the same, now coated with its fine charcoal and clay covering. Note in each case the moulding sticks, here three in number, which are employed in order that the liquid metal may be conveyed simultaneously to various parts of the mould.

C shows a complete foa dua which consists of the crucible, luted with clay to the mould which contains the impression of the wax model. Thisfoa dua has been in the furnace and is ready for breaking open.

D illustrates the metal casting and shows the mould of the crucible and the connecting metal rods which were originally the ducts for the molten metal.

E is the finished weight from which all excrescences have been filed. Fig. 261 shows a foa dua being removed from a furnace (an old bucket) such as that described on page 307 of Ashanti. The mould has just been inverted to allow the molten metal to run down the duct or ducts into the mould. Note the bellows on the right with the nozzle inserted into the hole in the bucket.

Fig. 262 shows a metal-worker painting his wax model with the clay and charcoal solution-a model of two men playing the game of wari; 1 the smith is using for his purpose a feather brush made from the tail feathers of a hornbill.

The making of the metal vessels called kuduo: In For a description of how this clever game is played see Chapter XXXII, below.

CIRE PERDUE METAL-CASTING

Ashanti, Chapter XXV, I gave a brief description of these interesting objects and reproductions of several photographs of them, Figs. 129-38. One of these vessels was certainly not of West African manufacture, i. e. Fig. 137, as it bore an inscription in ornate Arabic characters. Referring at the time to these metal vessels I wrote: 'whether they were originally made in West Africa remains to be proved.' I am now inclined to believe that thegreat majorityof these Kuduowere cast locally, i. e. in West Africa, and this supposition seems borne out by the statements of the craftsmen who made the castings here illustrated. That the Ashanti were fully cognizant of the whole process of manufacture of these vessels

would at any rate prove the possibility of similar vessels having been made locally in the past. Fig. 54 shows a particularly fine specimen in the possession of Sir Robert Baden-Powell, who most kindly had this photograph made for me. Figs. 263 and 264 show the various stages in the making of a kuduo. The method employed is very similar to that used in the making of an Ashanti weight, varying only slightly in detail.

In the case of these vessels the first stage is not the wax model, but a solid core of clay and charcoal. This core is then hollowed out when dry with a knife, baked and smeared all over with juice from the leaves of a tree called Afema (j7usticia flavia) ; the workers said this prevented it from cracking. The core serves as the foundation upon which the wax is laid. (An exactly similar process, it will be noted, is employed in the making of a bell, see Figs. 266-7.) The core is then slightly heated, and a thin coating of liquid wax smeared all over it, some of which is absorbed by the charcoal-and-clay core. Wax of the required thickness is then laid on, and the required design superimposedin this case with thread-like strands of wax, which, in the finished cast, give the impression that thin metal wire has been inlaid in the casting.

The miniature fetters seen on the side of this casting were made in the same way, and the fluted bottom and the ducts, in this case four, were added. The lid was made in a similar manner, having first a flat backing of charcoal, upon which the wax was spread.

Fig. 263 shows the combined charcoal-and-clay cores of the

FIG. 264. After smelting

A

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FIc. 265. Final metal casts ; note impress of crucibles and ducts

FIG. 266. (I) core ; (2) core with wax coating ; (3) after coat of liquid clay

FIG. 267. Fourth and final cast

FIG. z68. Unfinished metal castings

FiC. 269. Unfinished metal castings

Fic. 270. Unfinished metal castings

FiG. 271. Unfinished metal casting

FIG. 272. Unfinished metal casting

lid and the vessel respectively, covered with the wax. B was taken before the moulding sticks were added. C and D are the same objects which have received their first coating of the liquid wax; the charcoal and clay have almost obliterated the designs which are beneath.

Fig. 264 shows these same objects still encased in their covering but after smelting, and Fig. 265 the final metal casts, with the metal impression of crucibles and duct rods, all of which will eventually be removed by filing. These modern

castings are made out of trade brass rods, which before use are slightly heated in the fire and then broken off into little pieces-a quarter of an inch or so in length-by tapping the rod with a hammer; the required number of these shredded pieces is then placed in the crucible. Figs. 266 and 267 show stages in the making of a bell such as may be seen attached to the ' ears' of many stools (see Fig. 36, Ashanti).

(i) is the clay-and-charcoal core; (2) the core with its finished wax coating ; (3) the same after its first very thin coat of liquid clay and charcoal; (4) the metal casting immediately after removal from its case after casting; and (5) the finished bell after the moulding stick and the cast of the butt end of the crucible have been removed.

Where the nature of the object requires a core or foundation, this is scraped away easily after the cast has been made.

Figs. 268-72 are a series of unfinished castings; in each case the ducts and impress of the crucible remain, as when the cast was first removed from its casing. A few details of these castings follow.

Fig. 268, No. i, represents a child seated upon the ground holding in his outstretched hands a large stone. This is suspended above a snail and a tortoise which repose at the child's feet. The whole represents the well-known proverb: ' A child may break a snail's shell, but he cannot break that of a tortoise.'

Fig. 268, No. 2, shows a group of three men, one of whom is being made to ' drink the gods ' or ' drink fetish ' as the African interpreter has it. The tallest figure on the left is ringing a bell above the head of the man who is drinking out of the leaf cup. For an account of the ceremony see Ashanti, Chapter VIII, pp. l09-1o.

CIRE PERDUE METAL-CASTING

Fig. 269 (I) shows a man with a pair of scales, and (2) two men playing the game of wari.

Fig. 270 (I) shows an old woman sweeping with a broom;

(2) two men with their heads placed side by side, illustrating the proverb ' Ti koro mpam' (the equivalent of our ' two heads are better than one ') ; (3) shows a performer out of a Kete orchestra 1 blowing a Kete pipe, and rattling a Ntorowa (ground rattle).

Fig. 27L shows the method of tapping palm-wine. This is an elaborate piece of casting. Note the many ducts leading to the various parts of the model. Fig. 272 shows an old woman pounding peppers with the butt-end of a spoon, which is shaped so as to serve as a pestle.

These are a few examples of the modern metal-worker's art which I have space to reproduce. Before I pass on to an account of the religious side of the subject, a brief description of the appliances used and of the forges may be of interest.

The wax used is generally procured from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, and is sold in large flat blocks usually about the size of a soup plate. Fig. 273 shows the actual tools that were used in the making of the castings here described.

i. The bellows (efa) are apparently of a European design.

Double bellows are also sometimes used.
2. A small pair of scales : nsenia.
3. The tongs : dawa.
4. A block of wood with an oblong hole in the centre, upon which the wax is worked and rolled, called Adwen 'pono (i. e. the craftsman's table).
5. A wooden knife or spatula for working the wax upon the wooden block.
6. A small iron anvil called Siasie.
7. An anvil called Sae-tra.
8. A thin iron skewer called hyehyeye, lit. 'the thing for burning'.
A considerable amount of the decorative work on the wax model is done by deft application of this tool, which is heated and then applied to the surface of the wax.
9. The forges. Figs. 274-6 are three forges. Figs. 274-5 are of the same variety and are called ebura. This kind of forge is
1 Seep. 283.'

FIG. 273. Metal workers' tools
FiG. 274. Ebura forge

vq
0
Q-) (J.

used for the work just described. Fig. 276 is the forge of a blacksmith (worker in iron) at Breman. Such a forge is called tunsono.
In Fig. 276, the blacksmith's forge, the dark substance on the top of the two conical slabs is the blood of the sacrifices made to the forge. The smith's anvil, lit. stone (tunsuo bo), a large stone, may be seen on the right hand, with the smith sitting beside it. This smith was chiefly engaged in making agricultural implements. Fig. 277 shows an example of a totally different kind of artbeaten silver work. It is the back of an asipim chair belonging to the Omanhene of Mampon. Fig. 275 shows one of my workmen, who, after repeated failures, decided to sacrifice a fowl upon his forge, and allowed its blood to drip upon it. A new forge is always consecrated before use, and I saw the following ceremony at Mampon. The fowl was held over the forge by the smith, its head was cut off, and the following words were spoken:
'Asase Ya begye akoko yi di. Oboroni na ose yenye wo so ebura yi, se ye biribiara mu a, nye yiye ama no. Wonso Ebura Kofi gye akoko di, asumasi se menye adwuma ema no, me sere wo ma adwuma nye yiye ema no. Yen adwumfo yi nkwaso, Oboroni no nkwaso mma yen ani mfura, mma yen kote nwu, ye sere wo gye nsa yi nora ne akoko yi di.'

' Earth goddess, whose natal day is a Thursday, receive this fowl and partake of it. The white man has caused us to rear this forge upon you. Whatever we make within it let it be successful that we may give it to him, and you also 0 Forge, whose natal day is a Friday, receive this fowl and eat. So-and-so has told me to do work for him and I pray you that you may make the work go successfully which I do for him. Life to us metal-workers, life to the white man. Let not our eyes become covered over. Let not our penis die. We pray you to receive this wine and drink, and this fowl and eat.'
The blood was also allowed to drip over the bellows ; the egg was broken against the forge and then rubbed upon it and upon the bellows.
We have already seen (Ashanti, p. 301) how a smith's bellows may become a shrine, and how they may be invoked in cases of alleged infidelity on the part of smiths' wives, who may attest their innocence upon them.
823144
315

316
Copper Zinc Lead Tin
Bronze Figure.
82.26 17.86
Trace Trace
10012
Bronze Ornament.
83-14 15-26
Trace Trace
98"40
H. J. PLENDERLEITH.
BRITISH MUSEUM LABORATORY.
4 February 1925.
CIRE PERDUE METAL-CASTING
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVIII
BRONZES (ASHANTI WEIGHTS)

FIc. 277. Back of asipim chair, showing embossed
metal-work in silver

XXIX
CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGES1 IN ASHANTI
WHILE I was in England on my last leave, occupied in the preparation of this volume, certain facts relating to birth, puberty, marriage, and death customs seemed so striking and so suggestive that they led me to wonder whether they might indicate a clue (so far as Ashanti was concerned) to the reasons which underlay those unions which are known to anthropologists as ' cross-cousin marriages '.

I discussed the whole question with my friend Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, and we published under our joint signatures 'a tentative explanation of the reason why, in certain parts of the world, cross-cousin marriages are the normal form of marriage '.2

That paper was only a ' tentative hypothesis ', the basis of which was not direct inquiry into the subject in the field but only certain facts which had indirectly come to light in connexion with inquiries into other subjects.3 Some months after our joint paper was published I returned to Ashanti and immediately set about trying to find evidence less scanty and indirect, which would confirm or negative my hypothesis. This chapter contains the result of further inquiries made on the spot. Even now the results are in an incomplete form, as this volume had to go to press, but I believe that what has been discovered is of sufficient value and interest to warrant its publication. The facts at our disposal when the paper was written may be briefly summarized. (a) Reincarnation was 1 The name by which such marriages are known all over Ashanti is mogya awadie, i. e. 'blood marriages ', a suggestive title in relation to what is noted-later in connexion with the dual organization.

2 Journal of the African Society, 1925, xxiv. 83.

3 I am much indebted to Mrs. Seligman for her clear and able criticism of our paper in Man, 1925, xxv. 70, and for reading through this chapter when in manuscript.

known and generally believed in in Ashanti. (b) Reincarnation of a clansman or clanswoman had to be into the same abusua (matrilineal clan) as that to which he or she belonged in a previous existence. (c) Though the dead could only be reincarnated into the abusua (clan) to which they belonged during a previous reincarnation, the ntoro (male-transmitted or patrilineal element) seemed the all-important matter in naming a child, for, first, only a person of the child's ntoro could name it, and, secondly, it might not be named after any one who had not during life belonged to the same ntoro.

From these facts I made the following tentative inferences. First, that reincarnation must be into the same abusua and ntoro as the person possessed in a previous existence. Secondly, that this combination of abusua and ntoro could be achieved in the most satisfactory way by the marriage of cross-cousins. The fresh evidence which I have collected will show how far I was justified in making these inferences. I propose first to describe further details which I have collected about reincarnation.

Every Ashanti man, and woman (but see below), is thought to possess three distinct souls: (i) Mogya or abusua, a blood or clan soul transmitted by the female only. (2) Ntoro, a maletransmitted soul or spirit.' The ntoro is very often loosely called by the name ' Kra', and is confused with it, or even is considered the same by the uninformed ; but this is not, I think, correct. The Ashanti have a saying 'oba onni sunsum' (a woman has no soul). To my careful inquiries the Ashanti stated that the proverb implies that a woman has no real soul (of this kind) of her own; it is true, they say, that she has ' a small kind' of sunsum which her father gave to

her, but for all practical purposes she is nevertheless soulless, because she cannot transmit any kind of sunsum, but only her blood. (3) Kra. The kra are of seven kinds and are really the gods or spirits of the seven days of the week. A person's kra is derived from the day of the week on which he was born. ' The kra is the stranger,' say the Ashanti, 'for it found the mogya (blood soul) and the ntoro actually in possession of the infant, they having been in the child since conception took place.'

Synonymous terms for the ntoro are non, sunsum, or obosom (god) ; the ntoro, I believe, may be the totemic spirit.

The destination of these souls after death is important. The mogya or abusua, the blood and body soul, which gives persons their. bodily form, becomes on death a saman (ghost, spirit ancestor), retains its bodily form, and goes to live in the spirit world to await a chance of reincarnation through some woman of its own blood (clan). (It seems to be accompanied to the spirit world by the kra, but this is not quite clear.) A woman of a particular clan (blood) only gives rebirth to a ' ghost ' of her clan. Obi nwo obi saman (one does not give birth to some one else's ghost) is a saying which has all the force of a legal axiom. Finally, the reincarnation of an ancestral ghost (saman) is only made possible by the fertilization, as we should say, of the mogya (blood soul) in a clanswoman by the ntoro, passed into the woman by a male during the act of coition. Paternity is therefore definitely recognized.1

The ntoro does not accompany the saman to the spirit world, but is separated from it (see Chapter XIV, p. 155), joins the group ntoro god (obosom) or spirit, and is reincarnated again through any male of the same ntoro, apparently quite independently of the clan or blood-body whose soul it was in a previous incarnation. This reincarnated ntoro soul, however, was, and still is, the important and only real factor in the choice of personal names.

The kra soul apparently accompanies the saman and may quit the body before death (see Chapter XIV, p. 149). Like the ntoro it is separated from the clan at death by a rite which has already been described (p. 16o).

A concrete example may make this clearer. Suppose a woman of the Beretuo clan and the Bosompra ntoro has married a man of the Asona clan and the Bosomtwe ntoro and given birth to a child. That child's clan, or blood, is the same as its mother's, i. e. Beretuo, and it is a reincarnation of a Beretuo ancestor's blood. The child's ntoro, which is the same as its father's,

I It is common in Ashanti for barren women to consult a god, and, as noted elsewhere, barrenness is a ground for divorce. Further inquiries received this reply: ' If your wife cannot bear, you go to a priest and consult a god. The god will look for a wandering saman. The god may tell you that the saman, that is, ghost or blood soul, is already in the woman but that it does not like her husband's kra (ntoro ?). You divorce the woman and she will marry another man and bear children, and you marry another woman who bears you children.'

i.e. Bosomtwe, and is the Bosomtwe totemic spirit (at the present day), may or may not in a previous incarnation have inhabited a Beretuo clansman's or clanswoman's body.1 But the infant's name depends not on the blood reincarnation but on that of the ntoro. There can be no doubt on this point ; I shall return to the question of names later.

The various possible combinations of blood and ntoro will clearly depend on the different forms of marriage, the details of which are of the greatest importance, but they appear to have been hitherto overlooked. Emphasis must be laid on the point that marriages are essentially family affairs, and that the dominant person in the family is the maternal uncle. This may explain why, when we ask an Ashanti what was the proper and most common form of marriage in olden times, we receive conflicting answers. One will say 'wofa 'ba, with my maternal uncle's child', and another ' sewa 'ba, with my father's sister's child'.

The contradiction may be explained by considering the position of the maternal uncle, who in former times had the right to arrange whom his sisters' sons and daughters should marry. 'If my nephew or niece in old times had refused to marry the person I wished, I had the power to drive them out of my house', said an Ashanti uncle, and he continued, ' I would generally make them marry my sons and daughters.'

Apparently, then, we must seek the objects and reasons for this form of marriage not from the point of view of the spouses, or their father's, but from that of the maternal uncle. But he, in arranging the marriages, considers not so much the actual persons concerned, his sisters' sons and daughters, or even his own children, but thinks more of his own interests, and those of his clan, family, and ancestors.

If, then, a maternal uncle had succeeded in marrying his nephews and nieces to his own children, then the nephews and nieces, when asked whom they had married, would rightly reply ' our wofa 'ba, our maternal uncle's child '. Their spouses would equally rightly reply ' our sewa 'ba, our father's sister's

And conversely, the Beretuo blood may not have been animated by a Bosomtwe noro soul during its last incarnation.

child '. In the next generation if the same arrangement were carried out, i. e. brother and sister married sister and brother, all might reply ' our agya wofase, our father's niece or nephew '.

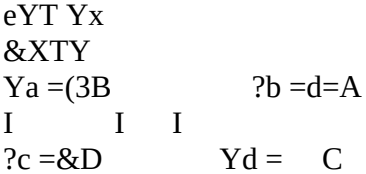
Mrs. Seligman has drawn attention to the importance of the question which form of marriage is more common, maternal uncle's child or father's sister's child. I am at present carrying out a census of many villages which will give statistical evidence on this point. It can be proved that the last five kings of Ashanti all married their maternal uncle's daughters, amongst many other women, and it is legitimate to assume that their predecessors almost certainly did likewise. Of the nine Queen Mothers, i. e. the mothers of future kings, we have direct proof that three out of the nine married their maternal uncle's son, and in some cases, when he died, married also his brother and half-brother in turn. In other cases it is

impossible to find out whom the Queen Mother married, either because it is not known or because she married some commoner.
It seems to be well established that at least for kings and chiefs the marriage with the mother's brother's child is necessary. In every case, however, it becomes clear that stress must be laid on the importance of the maternal uncle. Having established this point, I asked various uncles why in olden times they would have compelled their nephews and nieces to marry their own sons and daughters. About 8o per cent. of the answers took the form, 'It is because of names ', with such variations as ' because of great names , to get back great names , because, if my niece bears a son, I can name him after myself or my ancestors '. The following answers were also noted" ' because we want one of the royal blood (odehye) who will also be an ohene nana ', ' in order that my niece may bear a Kra pa (that is, a " pure incarnation " or " a pure soul ", some one who is of the same abusua (blood) and ntoro as an ancestor), ye pe sa dodo (that we wish beyond all) ', said this informant.2 ' Because it is the best way to get back one of my 1 Nana is the Ashanti word for grandparent, and is also used as a term of respect in referring to dead ancestors (see Ashanti, p. 98). It is also used for the relationship we should call ' grandchild '. I have discovered, however, that in so using it an Ashanti is really addressing the infant not as ' grandchild ' but as 'grandparent' or ancestor.
2 1 had not previously heard the expression kra pa, but I find it is known

abusua (blood), because my niece will not leave my house, and because I can call her son after myself or my brother, which I could not do if she did not marry my son.'
Almost all these replies show that the uncles when questioned thought of the matter with reference to the advantages gained from their nieces (i.e. sister's daughters) marrying their sons. I asked what advantage, if any, was gained by the nephew marrying the daughter. The answers to this question were usually, 'because it will keep my daughters in my house'.
Before examining these replies in detail it is necessary to consider once more the question which was raised in regard to the two types of answers received to the questions about the relationship of spouses. If the maternal uncle and not the father is the dictator in arranging marriages, and if his interests make him anxious to see his nephews and nieces united to his own children, it would seem at first sight that his interests might clash with those of his own children's maternal uncle, who in turn can arrange the marriages of his own nephews and nieces.
The dilemma can be solved in this way. We have already seen that where the parents of the young folks are themselves cross-cousins the man may say, when asked whom he married, ' my father's wofase (niece) '. His wife may give a similar reply. Wherever cross-cousin marriage is the rule, and has been observed for more than one generation, the interests of the two uncles are in such a case identical. This will be the case where marriages of brother and sister with sister and brother are carried out consistently. An uncle, A, said to me, ' It pains me much more if my niece does not marry my son than if my nephew refuses to

marry my daughter'. But the speaker's daughter was his brother-in-law's niece, and it would equally pain his brother-inlaw, B, if his (B's) niece did not marry his (B's) son, who is also A's nephew. Each uncle therefore gains equally, and now gets from the other what he could obtain in no other way than by the marriage now contracted by his niece and nephew. If the marriages in the family were always conducted without 'pain' we should get a pedigree of this sort; A would have among the old people with variations (in the case of one of the blood royal) of odehje Ohen' nana, (one of royal) blood, and ntoro, who is also a king's nana.

married B's sister, as he did, and B would have married A's sister, for only thus could the young folks say they married their father's wofase.



Males and females of the same family have the same letters, the females in small letters, the males in capitals. In the last generation dD and ?c which are repeated are the same persons, shown once in relation to their spouses and once in relation to their parents.

Owing to the introduction of new blood ' spoiling the ntoro ', this perfect form of marriage did not take place in the last few generations of the royal line, and further back the only names handed down to us are those of the kings and their sisters, the Queen Mothers.

The reasons given for making cross-cousin marriages may now be analysed in detail. The majority give as the reason for these marriages the desire ' to bring back certain names '. When the family group was the centre of the social world, the uncle, who was its head, wanted his name to be perpetuated; later the uncle became the chief, and still later the king, and names came more than ever to mean a link with the aristocracy. A clan is therefore not anxious to lose any names, and under present conditions, where the numbers of clans and ntoro are great, family arrangements are necessary to ensure that no loss takes place. Under a dual organization, which, as I shall show later, there is reason to believe once did exist in Ashanti, any classificatory system of marriage into the opposite clan and ntoro would satisfy the necessities of retaining the names.

An uncle, chief, or king, if he compels his niece to marry his son ensures not only that his blood ' comes back' (which it would do whomsoever she married), but also that the offspring of his niece by his son possesses his ntoro spirit, which alone makes it possible for him to name that child after himself or after an ancestor.

This inference is based on evidence of the greatest importance. The Ashanti state definitely, ' If my niece does not marry my son, but marries a man not of my ntou (ntoro), then I cannot call any of her children after myself or my ancestors.' A

person to-day may apparently be a mogya or abusua (blood or clan) reincarnation of a person belonging to a famous or well-known clan ; he may nevertheless bear a name of some nonentity whose ntoro he inherited from his father, and further this name may be that of a person who during a previous life was a member of another clan (blood). Conversely, to-day a person of common blood may bear the name of a king of royal blood, because that person's ntoro soul can be traced from that king in the male line. The reincarnation, then, of the mogya (blood or clan) and that of the ntoro appears sometimes to be quite distinct and separate. The possession of the reincarnated blood-soul alone affects all worldly possessions and material benefits, but the inheritance of the ntoro soul alone entitles the infant to a certain great name. Such names therefore do not now imply that the holder is entitled to hold great offices.1

Every one who has investigated the subject of names in Ashanti must have been struck by the tremendous importance attached to ' great names '. Although it may be argued that this is the result of wealth and power, together with the coming into being of kings and queens and chiefs, in my opinion it dates back to a time when the head of the family considered his own name of as great importance to himself as the name of a king acquired in later times.2

Where there is no dual organization, and there is none at present in Ashanti, unless an uncle compels his niece to marry his son, the uncle's name is lost in any reincarnation of his blood or clan, and he cannot name the child after his ancestors and so obtain what 'we wish more than anything', a kra pa (a pure reincarnation). Certain cases have lately come to my notice where names have been deliberately changed, a person of the royal blood, who was correctly called after some grandfather of common origin, taking later a name of a more famous ancestor in his clan line, to which, of course, he was not entitled by ntoro descent.

2 Me din nyera da (may my name never be lost) is a wish which in Ashanti is almost a prayer. Another saying runs, ' obarimna ope dine na ompe kyere' (a man would rather have a name than long life).

This point can be made clearer by a further example. If we take the actual royal pedigree in the last few generations, which gives examples of both correct and incorrect marriages, the sixth Queen Mother, Ama Sewa, contracted a mdsalliance and married Boakye Yam, of the Bosompra ntoro, thereby introducing new names into the royal line, ' spoiling the ntoro '. Their son was Kwaku Dua I, who had a commoner's name. His sister was the Queen Mother Afua Sapon. She married her maternal uncle's son. Their children were Afua Kobi, the eighth Queen Mother, and Osai Kojo, who was heir apparent, but did not become king. Afua Kobi, like her grandmother, contracted a mesalliance. In this case, however, the husband belonged to the ntoro of most of the kings, Bosommuru. Names would not therefore be affected. In the next generation we get correct marriages. They include two kings, both of the royal blood, Oyoko, and of the Bosummuru ntoro, but owing to their mother's mesalliance they belonged to the Aninie part of the Bosummuru ntoro, which does not appear before among the kings. The Queen Mother of this generation married the son of Kwaku Dua the First, who was the

first king of the Bosompra ntoro. Her children included two kings, Kwaku Dua II and Kwaku Dua III (Agyeman), both of whom bore names which belonged formerly to a king, because they were of the same ntoro as Kwaku Dua I. Thus in four generations we have examples of two different forms of misalliance and also of correct marriages. Owing to Osai Kojo's failure to reach the throne, the toro of the early kings has died out of the royal line, and the last two kings bear the name introduced by the misalliance of their great-grandmother, tempered by the fact that it had already been made illustrious by having been borne by a king three generations back.

In some cases a deliberate subterfuge is indulged in to overcome the difficulty of names. There is a chief K. G., wrongly so named after an ancestor on his mother's side, whose real name is T., that of his paternal grandfather, a commoner.

We may now consider the possible names that the children of a niece may be given, provided that she has married her maternal uncle's son' The first son will generally be called by the name of the man who is the mother's maternal uncle and also the father's father, i. e. that of the infant's grand-

father. The second and third sons will be called after the uncle's brothers ; when these names are exhausted any other sons may be called after the uncle's father's father, and so on. The first girl will be named after the uncle's sister, i. e. the child's grandmother, the next after her sister, and so on. If all the persons after whom a child could be named are exhausted, which may happen in a very large family or where the known ancestors are few, a child may apparently be named after some great personage, or a relation on the abusua side, irrespective of ntoro. A child so named is expected to observe all the ntoro taboos of his or her namesake, and in the old days was liable to be punished for failure to observe such taboos. Such irregular naming, though now not uncommon, is not looked upon with favour, and is still only practised either when all the correct names are exhausted,1 or when women of the royal house have married a commoner.

The economic aspect of these marriages is also one of importance. The head of an Ashanti family is, as I have shown, the maternal uncle. Under his roof will be found his sons, their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. His nephews and unmarried nieces live, while their father is alive, under his roof. As marriage is patrilocal, as soon as the nieces are grown up and married they go to the house of their husband's father. If, then, they marry their uncle's sons it will be to his house that they will go. The nephews will remain in their father's house and will bring their brides there. On the death of their father they will probably go, with their wives and families, to their uncle's house, and so if they married their uncle's daughters the women return to the house in which they were born and brought up. If, on the other hand, the nieces do not marry their uncle's sons or the nephews his daughters, on marriage these women go away, possibly to some distant village, and the family tie is considerably weakened, for there can be little doubt that the question of residence in the uncle's house entails considerably increased control.

Some time ago2 I suggested that the dual organization at I Mma se ntou (children spoil the ntoro) is a well-known saying which means that if there are too many children some will have to be given irregular names.
2 See Journal of African Society, 1925, xxiv. 83.

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 one time probably existed in Ashanti. I have now succeeded in collecting evidence which strongly supports what was at the time only a hypothesis. The evidence may be tabulated as follows. There is a number of Ashanti proverbs, the meaning of which I had previously not understood. The proverbs always group two clans together, e.g. Beretuo and Tana, Oyoko and Dako, Asona and Dwom, and so on. The saying runs, 'The Beretuo and Tana', or any other pair, 'are degraded people; they used to marry each other.' Recently I have for the first time been investigating the clans, and have discovered that in ancient times most and possibly all the clans which exist in Ashanti to-day once had a twin clan, with which it was always coupled. Formerly this second clan was the only one into which the first married, and vice versa. Thus Beretuo and Tana, Oyoko and Dako, and so on, were what would be described elsewhere as moieties. In later times the moiety was the one group into which it was forbidden to marry. I have recently found traces of a similar grouping in the ntoro, the details of which I hope to publish later, when I have studied them more thoroughly.
The Ashanti have a tradition to account for the origin of this form of organization and for its break-up. The former may be an aetiological myth, but the very existence of this story provides evidence of the existence of what it purports to explain. The Ashanti say that every one knows that all communities began with

pairs of men and women who lived isolated in various places and for a long time never married into (because they did not know of) any other group. These groups grew and grew until there were a great many people who belonged to one or other of the two clans, and one or other of the two ntoro. As the people spread they found other groups. At last a famous priest, Komfo Anotche, laid it down that the original two parent clans were really brothers and sisters, and that such people must not or should not marry as they were all one blood. To this day cross-cousin marriages are known in Ashanti as 'blood marriages'.

The result of this priest's action was that in most cases one of the clans has become merged in the other, and the very names only survive in these old sayings which declare that such clansmen were degraded people, for they once intermarried.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGES IN ASHANTI

A further point may be noticed. In Ashanti to-day marriage with a grandchild is forbidden; not so very long ago it was punished by death. I have made renewed inquiries about this, and I am informed that prior to the reign of King Kwaku Dua I such marriages were not unknown, but that he directly legislated against them.1

It will be found that where cross-cousin marriages have taken place a granddaughter will be of the same abusua and ntoro as the grandmother, after whom she might be named, who was the wife of her grandfather. It has already been noted that nana (grandchild) means literally ' grandparent' or ancestor '.

It may be convenient to tabulate the evidence and conclusions which I have drawn from that evidence. It is possible that even now the evidence is incomplete ; the conclusions must therefore necessarily be considered to be tentative.

(a) Evidence is accumulating which tends to prove that the dual organization of the clans (abusua) and of the ntoro once existed in Ashanti.

(b) In the days of such a dual organization those marriages which are now forbidden would still have been illegal; the classificatory system, however, would have produced the correct combination of blood and ntoro which is now obtained by the type of ' perfect marriage' detailed above. Even without a classificatory system, if the laws of exogamy are carried out and there is an endogamous set of two clans and two ntoro, any form of marriage will produce the required result.

(c) Under these circumstances an ancestral ghost could always be certain of a reincarnation as a pure soul (kra pa).

(d) It would therefore have been impossible, at that time, for a ghost to return with a different ntoro soul, or vice versa; that is, a ntoro soul returning, but in a clansman of a different clan from that which the ntoro occupied in a previous existence.

(e) Then, as now, the giving of names depended entirely on the possession of a certain ntoro soul, but the soul would never I Mrs. Seligman (J. R. A. I., 1924, liv. 238 n.) had suggested that the prohibitions between a man and his great-granddaughter may have dated back to the time when marriage with a granddaughter was allowed. I have discussed these prohibitions in Ashanti, p. 39.

 find itself in a ' blood ' body of a clan to which it had been in a previous existence a stranger.

(f) To-day, in those cases where cross-cousin marriages have not been observed, we find a curious anomaly. The blood confers every material and worldly benefit, but does not permit a man to be called by the name of the person whose blood incarnation he is. He may be the blood incarnation of a king, but he may be called by the name of some low-class and disreputable person, who was not even his clansman.

(g) It is now possible to marry into a large number of clans and ntoro. A child may therefore not possess either the blood or the ntoro of any ancestor of either parent, for the number of possible combinations is very large. A woman, however, still (passes on her blood ', that is, gives birth to one of her ancestral ghosts, or at any rate passes on her clan's blood-soul. On the other hand, the ntoro and the name are patrilineal. A man may therefore to-day be compelled to bear a name which previously was possessed by a man of some clan quite different from his own.

(h) The Ashanti recognize this anomaly. They have the expression Kra pa, a pure soul, which means a reincarnation of the same blood and ntoro as the person who formerly bore the name. Where the blood and ntoro are not repeated in combination they call the reincarnation adomefra, 'some one whom love has mixed up ', the child of a love match instead of an arranged marriage. Further, the answers to the questions why such marriages are desired show that these anomalies are both recognized and remedied practically. ' I marry my niece to my son because of names', 'to get back my own name', i.e. into the correct clan.

(i) Without a dual organization the only certain method of producing results which had been produced automatically from time immemorial, was a strict observance of family rights, a kind of dual organization within the family. The results from this would never be as strictly uniform as those of a true dual organization.

(j) I was therefore mistaken in my previous supposition that reincarnation must, and could only, take place into the same blood plus the same ntoro, as it previously possessed. It seems

certain that the iwo can come back independently of any special combination. They clearly could not do so either under a dual organization or a perfect system of cross-cousin marriages, which is not feasible in practice.

I do not claim to have solved the raison d'tre of crosscousin marriages for anywhere but Ashanti, and even with regard to that country I have left the explanation of this custom mainly to the people themselves, whose reasons for observing the custom have been recorded here. I am convinced, however, that in the ntoro patrilineal exogamous division we have a clue which may be followed to advantage elsewhere.1

I I think it just possible that the sororate and the levirate, and indirectly polygamy, may all be involved in the question which has been examined.

XXX

THE BIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CROSSCOUSIN MARRIAGES IN ASHANTI

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BEFORE discussing the biological aspect of the marriage system in Ashanti it may be convenient to review the data which Rattray has collected on the subject. Before Rattray returned to Ashanti, I drew up pedigree forms and requested him to fill in as many as possible, back to and including at least the fifth ancestral generation. On this point he has written to me: 'I can give you a hundred cases of persons alive to-day who have married cross-cousins, or more for that matter. Every elderly man and woman has married a cross-cousin at one time or another. But to get pedigrees back to three or four generations I have so far found almost impossible. There is a law that no one may give another's pedigree. Breaches of this law were punishable by death, and are, I think, still actionable in the native courts. This means you want various persons to complete any one pedigree, and they are seldom to be found available when you want them. Again, many of the people, even of good family, have a slave strain on one side or another, and as soon as you come to this point naturally no true information is available. In old times and up almost to the present, every uncle made his nephews and nieces marry his children. I have also discovered that grandparents were once upon a time allowed to marry their grandchildren.'

In spite of these difficulties, however, Rattray succeeded in obtaining the pedigree of the royal line for ten generations ; he was not, however, able to make it as complete as he had hoped, having up to the present only obtained the direct line. I have used this and the information detailed above in working at the biological problem. The royal pedigree is printed on p. 327. I have also reproduced it in diagram form on p. 335.

In this diagram I have compared the actual royal pedigree

with a hypothetical pedigree (based on one given by Pearl in Modes of Research in Genetics) in which cross.-cousin marriages are always made. The small letters are those of the hypothetical pedigree, the capitals, A, B, C, the actual royal line. In the fifth generation where letters are insufficient I have used numbers, those in italics, I, 2, 3, being those of the royal pedigree. In the paragraphs which follow I have placed after each person's name the letter or number by which they are represented on the diagram. In the pedigree, of course, they appear under their names and not by letters or numbers.

The pedigree is that of the children of Agyeman by his wife Ama Sewa. In the first generation he (A) married some 40 or 5o daughters of his maternal uncles, Kings Kakari and Mensa Bonsu. As an example, in calculating the pedigree I have selected Ama Sewa Adwumamu (B). In the second generation on the male

side, i. e. Agyeman's ancestors, Queen Mother Yaa Kya (D) married twice, both times marrying the sons of King Kwaku Dua I (G) [her maternal great-grandmother's son]. Her first husband was Kwesi Abeyiye, her second Gyanbibi (C). On the female side King Osai Mensa Bonsu (E), besides marrying the wives of his brother King Kofi Kakari, married several of Kwaku Dua I's (G) daughters. In the third generation, Agyeman's side in the male line, King Kwaku Dua I (G), married Kwadu Sompremo (H), daughter of King Osai Bonsu (0). He is also said to have married 2oo of his cross-cousins. In the female line the Queen Mother Afua Kobi (J) married Kofi Nti (I), about whom there is some mystery although he belonged to the correct ntoro. The issue of this marriage included King Osai Mensa Bonsu (E), the male ascendant on the mother's side of the pedigree. Of the names of the other two persons on the mother's side, K and L, I have no information.

In the fourth generation on the male side King Kwaku Dua I's (G) mother, Ama Sewa (N), married Boakye Yam (M) neither of the royal clan Oyoko nor of the Bosommuru ntoro ; 'he spoiled the ntoro ', bringing into the royal family the Bosompra ntoro and the name Dua, a name which was inherited by Agyeman amongst others. King Kwaku Dua I's (G) wife's father was King Osai Bonsu (0) ; of her mother (P) I have no particulars. Kofi Nti's

(I) parentage is unknown. Afua Kobi's (J) mother was Afua Sapon (R), Queen Mother. She married Owusu Gyamadua (Q) the son of her uncle King Osai Kwame (entered on the diagram as ' N's brother '). On the mother's side the male line repeats (Kofi Nti (I) and his wife's (J) parents] and the female line probably includes Afua Sapon's (R) brother, name unknown, who is entered as U, and an unknown woman V. The fifth generation is more complicated. On the father's side (Agyeman's ascendants), Kwadu Yadom (4), who married four times, appears as the mother of Ama Sewa (N) and of King Osai Bonsu (0), by different husbands. Ama Sewa (N) and her husband who have appeared in the fourth generation appear in the fifth as the parents of the Queen Mother Afua Sapon (R). On the female side it would seem, as can be seen from the diagram, that no new

lines are introduced with the possible exceptions of V's ancestors, but as she belongs to the royal clan she must be related in some way to her husband and to the rest of the group. In default of exact information I have, however, in the subsequent calculations treated her and her forbears as strangers. For the sixth and seventh generations little further information is available, and I have therefore not included them in the diagram ; the direct line will be found on the pedigree opposite p. 326. King Osai Kwame (entered on the diagram in the fifth generation as N's brother) was own brother to Ama Sewa (N). Safo Kantaka (3) and Kwadu (4) therefore reappear and probably her parents, and in the seventh generation Owusu Afiriyi and Akua Afiriye, Kwadu's maternal grandparents. The maximum possible number of ascendants in the sixth generation is 26, and in the seventh 48, out of a total possible of 64 and 128 respectively ; the actual number is probably less.

These figures, which treat every person of whose kinship there is not at least presumptive evidence as a stranger, will serve to show how extremely inbred the royal line is. I have not been able to follow up the ascendants any further, but Rattray has collected the names in the direct female line for three generations more back, that is to say, to I7oo. Their names are given on the pedigree.
We have therefore actual evidence for the royal line only, but from the statement made by Rattray, which I have quoted above, it seems at least probable that other families have a not dissimilar pedigree. The royal line contains certainly one and possibly more alien lines ; it is to be presumed that the other lines contain at least a similar and probably a greater proportion of strangers, but all Rattray's notes contain a continual repetition of the statement that unless there was good reason every man made his sister's sons and daughters, i. e. his nephews and nieces, marry his children.
In working out the genetic bearing of these marriages I have followed the methods suggested by Pearl (Modes of Research in Genetics and passim, in American Naturalist). Pearl has suggested two useful coefficients which enable the degree of inbreeding to be stated in a convenient figure. It must, however, be remembered, as Pearl himself has pointed out, that in the coefficients for each generation we are expressing the evidence actually presented up to and including that generation, but are leaving out of count the previous ancestral generations ; thus a glance at the table will show that Agyeman and his wife Ama Sewa had a set of grandparents in common, but in the coefficients this does not appear in the parents' generation because

until we have studied the grandparents' generation we do not possess the evidence to show that his mother and Ama Sewa's father were brother and sister. This point is of great significance in this study because, as Rattray has pointed out, there is presumptive evidence that with very few exceptions cross-cousin marriages were practised at least to the tenth ancestral generation, and in all probability far beyond that. We are compelled for lack of details to consider the earlier generations as if the persons marrying were not inbred, a presumption that is certainly untrue, but as the coefficients were constructed on this basis they are convenient to use here where there are gaps in our knowledge.
g G
cC6' a A6
dD
SJ
bB 9
A,
nN
P
fpT
frR fpT
frR frR fVV

1
3
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7
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9 I0
e E If F? {L
A5
2?
36c 4?Y 76d
4?Y 5S 6Y ? 86S
9 ? io 6 ? ri
N's brother
12
M6 N? ? 8 ?9? ? ro 61 ?" ?Y
N's brother
2
M6 N?
N's brother 12 Y MT N?
?M6 ? N ?'3 6 ? 14
Ashanti royal pedigree compared with hypothetical single cross-cousin pedigree, in which a man always marries his mother's brother's daughter. The husband

always appears above the wife. Hypothetical pedigree in lower-case letters, a, b, c, and Roman figures, i, 2, 3; royal pedigree in CAPITALS and italic figures, 1, 2, 3.

THE BIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF

For convenience I shall use the symbols A1, A2, A3, &c., to express ancestral generations ; thus A1 corresponds to parents, A2 to grandparents, and so on. It may be useful to point out that, if there were no inbreeding, 2 to the power of the subscript corresponds to the number of ancestors in that generation (Pearl's possible number) ; thus, in the grandparents' generation A2 the possible number is 22 = 4, and in the great-grandparents' generation A3 it is 23 = 8.

With the diagram, which I have already discussed, before us it is possible to calculate the degree of inbreeding and kinship rapidly and simply. Starting from any child of Agyeman's from his wife Ama Sewa, Pearl suggests two coefficients: the first (symbolized by Z) expresses the degree of inbreeding, that is, the proportion of actual ancestors to the possible number. Pearl calculates this as a percentage ratio. He takes the number of possible ancestors and subtracts from this the actual number; the first is symbolized by p and the second by q, and expresses this as a percentage ratio of the possible number. We can express this symbolically in the form ioo (p- q)

p

in each generation. In our case, in A, both p and q are 2, and the index will therefore be 0, similarly in A, ; but in A3 the total fiumber of possible ancestors is 23, i.e. 8, but we have only 6, as two, I and J, appear twice; Z2 therefore (Pearl calls the coefficient on the parents' generation Z., for in this generation, except in those plants and animals which are capable of self-fertilization, there must always be two ancestors and p and q must be equal) can be calculated as follows,: p, the possible number 8, less q, the actual number 6, multiplied by ioo and divided by p (8), i. e. ioox(8 6)) which equals 25. It is unnecessary to go into details, but Z, is 37"5 and Z4 53-2. It is difficult -in this case to carry on the coefficient much farther with certainty, but Z, appears to be not less than 59"4 and Z, not less than 62.5.

The significance of these figures will be seen when we compare them With coefficients calculated from theoretical pedigrees in which certain forms of mating are carried out. The closest form of inbreeding is that of a brother and sister by a brother out of a sister ; this gives'Z1 as 50, increasing rapidly till Z6 has a value of 98-4, after which the successive Zs approximate very closely to unity, the greatest possible amount of inbreeding. Double-cousin marriages follow this form exactly but lag a generation behind. The second type of close inbreeding is

exemplified by parent and offspring mating and by a continuous succession of single-cousin marriages, in either of which cases, it is to be noted, one new ancestor is introduced in every genera-

tion, so that the single-cousin coefficient lags a generation behind the parent and offspring.' What exactly happens in single-cousin marriage can be seen in the diagram. The figures, which show the lag better than a diagram, are as follows:

Table shoaing Coefficients of Inbreeding (after Pearl).

Relationship of mates.	Al	A2	A3	A4	A5	A,	A7
f Brother and sister	.	.	o	50	75	87"5	93"7
96"9	98"4						
Double cousin	.	.	.	0	0	50	75
875	937	96"9					
Parent and offspring	.	0	25	50	687	81'2	89.s
937							
Half-brother and half-sistersf	5						
Single cousins	.	.	.	o	0	25	50
68.7	81.2	89"z					
Ashanti royal line	0.			0	25	37.5	56-2
?	?						

Attention should be paid to the lag of one generation between the different grades of the same type of mating.

There can be little doubt that the normal form of marriage in Ashanti is single-cousin marriage. In the royal line, however, and in other lines as well, this strict type is not always carried out. There is every reason to believe that the kings at least all married their crosscousins among other women, but as the Ashanti are matrilineal, only the offspring of the royal ladies belong to the royal line. The Queen Mothers, however, the official heads of the royal clan, are apparently not so strict, for we know of at least one case, Afua Kobi, who married some one of the right clan and ntoro but apparently not of the right relationship. The earlier Ama outside the proper ntoro. It would seem

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Sewa (N) married

as if the Lyciaa princesses, of whom Herodotus tells us, allowed themselves similar privileges. In spite of this licence, however, out of thirteen kings it can be proved that nine belonged to one branch or the other of the Bosommuro ntoro, three belonged to the Bosompra. This line came in with Ama Sewa (N) marrying outside the royal line, as I have already explained. One belonged to the Bos6mtwe.

The same coefficient as parent and offspring mating and in the same generation will be obtained if in each generation one half-brother mates with his half-sisters. This important case is considered later, p. 339.

All belong to the same matrilineal clan. It is clear therefore that the royal line is closely inbred both on the male side, as represented by the ntoro, and on the

female side; there is no question of a departure from the succession from mother to daughter.

We have so far been discussing the question of inbreeding by itself. Pearl has also drawn attention to the importance of kinship in consanguineous matings. He bases his figures on the principle that kinship is based on community of ancestry. It may happen that two highly inbred animals, who are of no relationship whatever to one another, may be mated ; the coefficient of inbreeding will then be high, but as the kinship is nil, this figure, unless supplemented by further information, may be misleading. Hence Pearl has devised his coefficient of kinship. Put briefly, this coefficient is obtained by taking the number of ancestors which appear on both the female and the male side and dividing by half the total possible number of ancestors, the figure so obtained being multiplied by a hundred to make it a percentage ratio. A glance at the pedigree facing p. 326 will show that of Agyeman's four grandparents two reappear on his wife's, Ama Sewa's, pedigree. The value of K in this generation is therefore 100 X 2

- 50. It can easily be seen from the same diagram

4

that the hypothetical value in a single-cousin marriage is always 50 from the grandparents' generation onwards. Double first cousins have a kinship coefficient of Ioo from the same generation onwards, because they have the same grandparents on both male and female side. Brother and sister marriages have a value of ioo from the parents' generation backwards, and parent and offspring, and half-brother and half-sister, 50. The latter is of importance for our present purpose. It will be seen that a half" brother has one parent in common with his half-sister, and they haVe each another parent. On the female side therefore half the ancestors appear which appear also on the sire's side, so the coefficient must be 50. As far as I can see from Rattray's pedigree, the degree of kinship between Agyeman and Ama Sewa his wife in the fifth ancestral generation is slightly closer than would be produced in that generation by single-cousin marriages or by a succession of half-brother marriages in the

preceding generation ; in any case it cannot be less. I shall return to this point later.

It is important to consider the genetic bearing of this form of marriage, because it is widely spread in the human race and is not an isolated phenomenon in Ashanti. The conclusions of those who have studied this question stated briefly are that where first-cousin marriages are practised, as indeed in any form of inbreeding, the dominant strain is accentuated, as is also the pure recessive, at the expense of the hybrid element. As inbreeding proceeds the pure homozygous strains will of course occur more and more frequently. Thus inter alia rare recessives appear more frequently in inbred strains than they would in a normal population. Looked at from the point of view of a population like our own, where cousin marriage is the exception, Jacob concludes, ' When the recessive is very rare the likelihood of its possessor being the offspring of first cousins is much greater than the frequency of first cousins would lead us to suspect.'

The methods of physical anthropology have not at present, as far as I am aware, been applied to any large extent to the study of Mendelian phenomena. It is possible, and indeed
probable, that the variation of the ordinary anthropometric measurements might to a certain extent be applied to the problem. From the data collected last year by Rattray, and published as an appendix to Ashanti, I concluded that there was very little evidence of hybridization. I came to this conclusion because there was little evidence of variation. A study of the data given above suggests an alternative explanation, namely that owing to inbreeding the homozygous strains have increased at the expense of the hybrid. Rare recessives should therefore appear. We have evidence of just such a one. I reported that the measurements of one woman were so much smaller than those of any one else that to include her in the averages would have been to falsify the final calculated constants. Smallness is a Mendelian recessive, and the appearance of this little woman in Rattray's series of measurements is, in view of the present evidence, extremely suggestive, although not of course conclusive.

I have already drawn attention to the similarity in effect of half-brother and half-sister marriages and cousin marriages, the

latter lagging one generation behind the former. Now in the practice of stock-breeders the most convenient method of preserving a reasonably pure strain of cattle is to keep one bull in each generation and to breed him with his half-sisters by the same sire. This process is repeated in every generation. Crosscousin marriage, if carried out logically, will have the same effect, but must be carried one generation farther back. It is hardly to be suggested that cross-cousin marriage was invented in order to produce a pure pedigree stock, but such undoubtedly is its effect.

In other ways the marriages of the kings are closely parallel to the mating of our stud animals. Agyeman married, in addition to other wives, some forty or fifty of the daughters of his uncles, Kings Kakari and Mensa Bonsu. King Kwaku Dua I is alleged to have married over 200 of his cross-cousins, i. e. daughters of his four uncles, who were all kings. He is said to have had 500 children, and of these some 200 were from his wives who were his cross-cousins. It is clear that under such conditions, granted that the rate of survival in the royal line was similar to that which occurs among commoners, a fair presumption (although deaths from violence among the males might be greater), as all the population practises cross-cousin marriage, the royal line will become increasingly uniform, but the tendency to split up into a series of slightly dissimilar pure strains will be checked. The preference, quite apart from cross-cousin
marriage, for the mating of certain clans and ntoros which Rattray has mentioned on p. 323 will also tend to increase certain homozygous strains, at the expense of hybrids. The economic position of the royal line will, however, tend to perpetuate their strain more than other strains.

Theoretically we should have a series of pure strains side by side ; these pure strains, however, would only occur where we have what Rattray describes as the '

perfect marriage ' (kra pa), that is, where a man and his wife belong to such clans and ntoros that their children will be of the same clan and ntoro as his father. Rattray informs me that he could easily obtain a very large number of cases of such marriages, which may be interpreted to mean that such ' perfect marriages' are not infrequent. But other marriages do occur. Even granting,

however, the occurrence of such marriages, it is clar that the predominance of cross-cousin marriages, if carried on long enough, will produce the marked preponderance of numbers of homozygous strains which is the principal feature of consanguineous marriages. Except in a big population, if only half the marriages are cross-cousin, eventually the whole population will be inbred.

The important point is that the same form of marriage should be continuously practised, and practised for at least ten generations. For the royal line of Ashanti we know that it has been practised for this period at the least. Ten generations would be sufficient to establish a very great preponderance in numbers of the homozygous strain, even where we had two different stocks. Although theoretically the actual number of strains may be very considerable, in practise heterozygosity must be limited. We are probably justified in presuming that the history of cross-cousin marriage goes back considerably farther. With the outside marriages in the royal line, which we have recorded, there would still be a proportion of the hybrid type, but in a longer succession these would tend to be eliminated.

Historically there are two points to be considered. First, that Rattray tells me that he has evidence that formerly marriage of grandparents and grandchildren took place. This point is of great interest from the social standpoint ; from the genetic standpoint it should be noted that this type of mating is of the same form as single-cousin marriage but one generation behind, just as genetically single-cousin marriage is one generation behind parent and offspring marriage. I lay stress on this point as it provides evidence that the same type of mating has been practised for a very long time, sufficiently long for an evolution from one subtype to another to have taken place.

The other historical point is the evolution of the ntoro. If the royal pedigree is examined it will be seen that the Bosommuru ntoro is apparently not exogamous. Now it is clear that whatever else may happen, marriage within the prohibited degrees, i. e. within the clan or ntoro, does not take place under any conditions. Rattray's recent inquiries have shown that in the case of this and other ntoros an evolution has taken place owing, it is said, to the action of a certain priest. Some of the clans and ntoros, and always those which were linked by blood,

have joined together so that now the very clan or ntoro into which they must not marry was formerly the only one into which they did marry. The result of this merging of two clans or ntoros into one would be to enlarge the inbreeding group;

it would not, however, affect the result sketched above, provided that the system of cross-cousin marriages were carried on for enough generations.

The system of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter needs a brief consideration. If this system has been consistently followed out it will result, as Rattray and I have pointed out, in a man always marrying a woman of a different clan and ntoro from himself, but her clan will be the same as his father's and her ntoro the same as his mother's, the former being inherited in the female line and the latter in the male line. Genetically this is not important except that we may presume the probability of some form of relationship in the male line among people of the same ntoro, and in the female line among people of the same clan. The important point is that the same form of marriage should be carried out for many generations. If that form implies relationship of a close nature between the mates, mathematically on a Mendelian hypothesis complete homozygosity will be reached in a comparatively few generations ; if less close, more generations are required. If the mating is random, the small number of consanguineous marriages will have little effect on the general population.

I have drawn attention to the gradual evolution of the clans and the ntoros. I have also shown that single-cousin marriage is of the same type as parent and offspring and half-brother and half-sister mating. There is, however, one important difference; although ultimately both tend to the same genetic result in a different number of generations, single-cousin marriage allows a larger circle of persons to be included in the pedigree strain. The enlargement of the clans and ntoros has exactly the same effect. If this system were practised in a large group of stock animals it would be possible to increase the number of animals of pure strain very considerably. The ordinary system of mating one bull with his half-sisters is no doubt sufficient for ordinary purposes, but if some form of single-cousin mating were practised it would appear possible to increase the size of the pedigree group. While not suggesting that this was done con-

sciously, it would appear as if the Ashanti had solvcd in a satisfactory way a difficult problem in practical breeding.

It has often been suggested that the effects of inbreeding on man are bad, and that the recessives are all deleterious. This is not so, but it is often very difficult in practice to eliminate a bad strain from a herd. Opinions may differ about the excellence of the strain of the Ashanti kings ; there can, however, be little doubt that they are a thoroughbred strain, more purely bred than many stock animals. Of their physical capabilities there can be little doubt ; of their mental and moral characteristics the readers of this book and Rattray's Ashanti can form an opinion. I have tried to show that, on the evidence collected by Rattray, the royal family forms an excellent example of what biologically can be considered a very pure-bred strain.

Although we are here concerned only with the problem of cross-cousin marriage as far as it concerns Ashanti, it may not be out of place to draw attention to the importance of such a form of marriage in relation to the study of human

evolution. Where the classificatory system of marriage is in vogue, any form of marriage will not necessarily have any biological significance because the physical relationship may or may not coincide with the social or classificatory relationship. The pedigrees which Rattray has collected prove that in Ashanti at least there exists, or existed till the last generation, actual physical single-cousin marriages. If such a type of marriage can be proved to have existed elsewhere where cross-cousin marriages are in vogue, it would appear that herein may lie one of the explanations of the slight differences which appear in the physique of different groups of mankind. If two groups exist side by side, do not intermarry, but each practise within their own group some form of consanguineous marriage, provided that it be physical and not classificatory consanguineity, each will tend to become a pure strain, but according to the laws of chance each of these pure strains will tend to differ to a greater or lesser degree from the other. We shall thus in time tend to get those differences in physique between neighbouring tribes which are often so puzzling to the physical anthropologist. Once the pure strains have become established, so long as outside blood is not introduced into the tribe, this difference will tend to be perpetuated.

XXXI
THE AESTHETIC OF ASHANTI
BY VERNON BLAKE

IT is with a very real feeling of diffidence that I bring myself to write this chapter destined to be enclosed with those of Captain Rattray. Captain Rattray has brought to bear upon the ethnology of Ashanti a rare enthusiasm, a more rare perseverance. One of the results is the volumes of which this is the latest, and which are filled with an enormous mass of information concerning primitive beliefs and customs now rapidly passing away. Another generation and much of this matter will have inevitably disappeared; with it many chances of increasing our understanding of the early development of that thing which should interest us most nearly: the human mind.

The problem of primitive mentality has been treated in a masterly way by Monsieur L. L'vy-Bruhl in his two volumes entitled Les Fonctions mentales dans les soci~ts infrrieures and La Mentalitg primitive;1 and I might add here that M. L6vy Bruhl, not knowing that I was acquainted with Captain Rattray, spoke to me of the latter's Ashanti as a book of the highest value. I reproached M. L'vy-Bruhl with the fact that neither in Les Fonctions mentales . . . nor in La Mentalite primitive did he adequately treat of artistic thought. He replied that he had more than enough to do to analyse primitive mentality in the functions to which he had restricted his attention. I believe that no serious and complete work treating of the aesthetics of ' primitive ' peoples exists. This is a grave lacuna in the literature on the subject, which is increasing so rapidly now that students have fully realized that we are already at the latest hour for recording what unmixed remnants of primitive beliefs and modes of thought still survive, amid the ever-spreading

Both these books are now published in English by Messrs. Allen & Unwin.

civilization of European type. Why this lacuna appears to me to be so serious I will endeavour to make clear.

But before developing my thesis, such as it is, let me say how keenly I feel these theories, these opinions, to be misplaced in this volume of 'pure crude fact ' recorded from the lives of primitive men. Captain Rattray is sure of his position, he deals in indisputable fact, which he has patiently collected. Time cannot destroy the value of the work. Again, he is eminently fitted for writing this book. He lives in Ashanti, he penetrates, with rare sympathy, to meanings and to intentions not, at first glance, in any way evident to the casual observer. His work thus takes up a net and absolute value. On the other hand, though I too have wandered among primitive peoples both of Africa and farther Asia, yet I have not made of ethnology an engrossing study, and I must perforce bring to bear upon it the mediocre capacities of the ' amateur'. Then again, the nature of my remarks makes them a function of epoch. The aesthetic opinions of Plato are not those of to-day. Even if my opinions may be in part acceptable now, who knows to what extent the aesthetics of 1950 may smile at their inefficiency ? I fear that this chapter will rapidly become ' dated ', while those of Captain Rattray remain necessarily unassailed by the passage of time. The greatest objection of all : I have never been among the Ashanti, about whose art I would have the pretension to write. However, the results of recent co-ordinations of primitive ethnology would seem to lessen the importance of this last disqualification. They tend to show, more and more, an unexpected unity which appears to pervade the thoughts and acts of primitive peoples the world over, and back through the regions of past time. I have paid some passing attention to the mentality of the primitive tribes of the Malay Peninsula, and this slight effort enables me to fall rapidly into line with that of a people of West Africa. Les Fonctions mentales . . . is divided into divisions bearing such headings as: Numeration; Magic ; Language, and so on. To develop his thesis, M. L6vy-Bruhl passes unhesitatingly from Laos to West Africa, from West Africa to Mexico ; everywhere the similarity of the phenomena is most marked ; the differences are those of detail; the main characteristics are practically identical, given an equality of rank in the scale of social

development. It is this very fact which should make us hesitate to discard, as being without interest for us, as being so remote as to be wholly detached from us, the mentality of a West African. It would seem probable that our own forefathers dealt in conceptions of much the same type, 'reasoned' in much the same way. We are perhaps in presence of the infancy of our own thought.' The sense of the transitory quality of my opinions, of their merely speculative nature, as compared with the absolute value of Captain Rattray's collected facts, combine to render me more than diffident.

Why then have I accepted his invitation to write upon the subject ? Because I believe that no work as yet exists on the aesthetics of primitive peoples. Some one must ' open the ball ' In the following pages I propose to do this, and nothing more.

I have just said that I believe that no work exists upon the aesthetics of primitive peoples: let me make myself quite understood. A large number of books which describe the various arts of different ' primitives' have been published. It is not of these works that I would speak. I would speak of a careful examination of, on the one hand, the nature of the primitive mentality ; on the other, of the technique of primitive art considered as a transcription of this primitive mentality. I may be wrong ; it is difficult nowadays to be certain that some book does not exist on every subject. I shall be most glad if the publication of these lines leads me to the acquaintance with such a volume. It is not easy to find an author for this type of work. He must unite in himself qualities which are rarely found in association. He must be a skilled ethnologist. He must have such a knowledge of the techniques of plastic art as can really only be achieved by long profession and varied practice. He must be used to accurate philosophical reasoning. He certainly ought to have travelled considerably. These qualities very nearly reciprocally exclude one another for obvious reasons. Faute de grives on se contente de merles, one says in France where I am writing these lines. Forgive me if I take upon me the blackbird's role.

Why am I inclined to think that the examination of the artistic I We must, however, be careful of assuming exact similarity of evolution in every case. Such would seem to be most improbable.

mode of thought of primitive peoples may be fraught with a peculiar interest ? The two main conclusions of M. L'vy-Bruhl which I should find myself much put to to combat effectively are :

(i) Institutions, practices, beliefs of primitive.societies, imply a form of mentality which is 'prelogical' and mystic, and which is directed quite otherwise than is ours.

(2) Collective representations, and the co-ordinations or connexions of these representations which constitute this mentality, are governed by the law of participation; and, so being, are indifferent to the logical law of contradiction. As a result of this government by the law of participation instead of by that of contradiction, the primitive mentality finds no difficulty whatever in accepting such contradictions as the conception of simultaneous existence in two places, metamorphoses due to distant action,unusual generation or generation devoid of cause, and, a thousand other contradictions which are inacceptable to the logically determined mind. Totemism obviously inclines to a belief in the possibility of a woman bearing an animal in place of a human child, or in that of a human being changing himself into the animal with which he is not only in close mystic relation but perhaps with which he is already identical. Many ethnologists commit the error of bringing to bear upon primitive matters the methods of contradictory logical reasoning. Such application is doomed to failure. By so doing we inevitably accord to such primitive mentalities conclusions and mental positions indefinitely removed from those which are really theirs.

By the law of participation is meant that faculty which phenomena, things animate and inanimate, possess of being at the same time themselves and something different. But as soon as such a concise formula is established we realize that it is far from expressing, even approximately, the conditioning of minds capable of such conceptions and beliefs as are reported in the pages of this book. The clear establishment of the principle of contradiction, of the exclusion of one condition by another which all the laws of natural organization teach us to look on as incompatible with the first, are at the basis of all our methods of thought, and, as result, at the base of our conceptions.

Is this quite exact ? In so far as categoric thinking, as ratiocination, in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the term, is concerned, yes. But there remains over a very considerable residue of thought type which is far from being eliminated even from the most highly ' civilized ' levels. Need I say that I refer to religious belief and to art ?
The title of this volume would justify a concise critical examination of the steps which intervene between the type of religious belief which is described in it and those forms of religion to which we are more accustomed. However, it is not to trace such connexion that I have been invited to contribute this small quota of remarks ; indeed I should be wiser to leave such matters to other and to more competent students.
Faith and mysticism are essentials to religion ; their beliefs do not bow to the rulings of logical concatenated thought. Just as the ' prelogical ' mind neither seeks nor avoids statement of contradiction, just as the fact of contradiction leaves it almost completely indifferent, so religious belief remains indifferent to logical contradiction. But we must not confuse antagonism and contradiction. The ' prelogical' mind lives in the midst of ceaseless warfare of opposed forces. The spirit of a salutary plant is stronger than the spirit of a disease ; so the spirit of the plant thrusts out, by its superior force, the spirit of the disease. So in the case of religions we encounter almost without exception the idea of struggle between a good and an evil spirit, or between good and evil spirits. The Greek pantheon, itself subordinate to a single ruling destiny, might be put forward as an exception to this law of predominance of antagonism. Yet even if it be an exception at base, its mythology hastened to introduce the notion of struggle in the endless disputes and ' side-takings ', favouritisms of the individual gods themselves. Perhaps the purer forms of Brahministic belief might also be adduced as an example of ultimate non-antagonism. But here is matter for much careful analytical examination ; it must be left aside.
There remains the second form of non-logical activity which persists among the higher mentalities: Art. And this is the special matter of this chapter.
We may succeed in understanding the phenomena due, in the realm of thought, to a prelogical mentality; we may by

study arrive at an external comprehension of the ' participation ' which plays such a considerable part in the production of these phenomena, but in so far as are concerned those acts and methods of thought which belong to the non-artistic or non-mystically religious sides of existence, it is quite impossible for us to feel ourselves to be even in the very smallest degree in sympathy with the results of such thought mechanism. In the case of art, however, this difficulty disappears, if not entirely, at least in part. Though we remain perplexed when confronted with the idea that a dancer disguised as a bird can at the same time consider himself to be a bird, and to be some remote ancestor, can consider himself not to be playing the part but to be in the narrowest sense of the word all these three contradictory mutually exclusive things, we quite readily bring ourselves to accept the ' beauty' of the works of art which the same mentality has produced.

Are we not then justified in asking ourselves if in the analysis of such works of art we may not. find a method of bridging at least partly the gulf which is hollowed out between the primitive mentality and our own ?

The logical method of thought which Europe has inherited from Greece, and woiild seem to be destined ultimately to furnish the thought form of the future, has not yet by any means attained that end. The thought methods of India, of China, though they can in no way be termed 'primitive', do not belong to the same category. This is not the place to enter into an examination of the divergence of such methods from our logical forms; it will be enough to say that analogy there takes on a much greater importance than it does with us. And perhaps analogy and participation are not so distant one from the other in some of their aspects.

There would seem to be little doubt that logical and categoric thought (in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term) is not the thought type which is the best adapted to"the production of works of art. The sculpture of Greece will at once be put forward to confute this last statement. Undoubtedly the sculpture of the Parthenon is ' perfect ', if, as we are naturally inclined to do, we adopt to judge it the point of view which, however much it may have been modified during the ensuing

centuries, at least in the beginning was identical with that which presided at the construction of the Parthenon and at the carving of its sculpture.

But this is not the only point of -view open to the aesthetic appreciator. Let us adopt another, from which we may quite easily find ourselves saying With Browning that there is something too coldly perfect, something too purposely abstracted on certain postulated lines, something too slightly human which hangs about the Olympian tranquillity of Grecian marble. Browning implores us instead to exclude from our art this worship of ' perfection ' and to replace it by study of the very imperfections themselves of mankind. Reflect again one moment. What are we now asked to do ? Instead of using a magnificent external representation of typified form of the body as the almost unique base of the rhythms which we are to use in our work of art, we are told to portray the personality of the man. We are still told to portray. And portraiture, likeness to the model, continually occurs as

the principal motive force in the arts which spring from the mentality which is produced by logical culture. Why do we object to the idea of the possibility of our occupying at one and the same time two different positions in space ? Because such an idea is contrary to all the laws which a long examination of the ways of the physical universe has enabled us to establish. In other words, such a state of things is not ' like ' nature. We have observed, analysed, and then induced natural laws. To these laws we are slaves, not only when we are dealing with scientific facts, but also when we are producing or appreciating works of art. Of course in the interests of clear exposition I am exaggerating the condition of things. Were what I have just said exactly true, art would necessarily become a kind of scientific photography and would ipso facto cease to be what we know as art. None the less there is a very considerable parcel of truth in what I have just advanced ; and if the idea of imitation is not wholly responsible as a cause of European art it cannot be denied that the line of approach to the aesthetic problem is always strongly influenced by it, unless, it may be, when music is in question.
It is a well-known fact that among the peoples of the Far

East, who constitute the only races which have completed a conscious and applied aesthetic theory, imitation is looked upon as a low and negligible artistic ideal. True, in the plastic arts, once we leave behind arabesque methods of decorative art, we are obliged to deal to a certain degree in the imitation of natural forms. But this imitation is in no way sought for its own sake ; we may almost say that it is tolerated as a necessary evil, without which abstract expression becomes impossible to the plastic arts. It is perhaps not understood often enough to what extent the complex symbolism and the plastically expressive elements of a Chinese or Japanese painting are prized in its native land to the almost complete exclusion of imitative qualities.

Among those singularly aesthetic peoples the inspiring force of art must be sought in the beliefs of Taoism or in those of the Zen Buddhism. Taoism had directed towards an intellectual conditioning every sentimental element of the human being. Buddhism brought to this conditioning an added element of charity, which should envelop the totality of the beings of the universe. In each case the physical reality, the outward appearance, tends to disappear as a superfluous shell which is at best but the manifestation of a universal spirit. If the aspect of this shell is rendered in a painting it is only rendered as being the single means at the artist's disposal by which he may suggest the existence of the inward spirit which governs all appearance. Hence he will only insist on such elements of this appearance as he considers necessary for this suggestion. This is the explanation of the marvellous parsimony of expression of many of the far-eastern masterpieces in monochrome wash.

We are here in presence of an aim in art which is in many ways distinct from ours, yet though our aims are not so distinctly codified, or even perhaps realized with any degree of clarity, the Chinese position with regard to the aesthetic problem is not up to this point so hopelessly differentiated from our own as to be

incomprehensible to us. However, in China the matter does not cease here. We never lose sight of the fact that a work of art is a work of art ; although we talk about 'creating' a work of art, with us it is the work of art which is ' created and nothing more. In China there is a tendency to look upon

the artist as a creator in a much more literal way. Hence the Pygmalion-like stories of dragons taking flight from the paper on which they have just been traced and disappearing among the clouds. If the sense of the Tao has been truly rendered, there is real creation as adequate in this form as in any other. This is a belief that the non-idealistic Occidentals only accept with great difficulty.

I cannot go into a full development here of the Chinese aesthetic creed. This is in a way a pity ; because while on the one side it presents an aspect in no way displeasing to our mind type, on the other it recedes from our comprehension, and though in reality its very perfected and co-ordinated beliefs differ fundamentally from the prelogical tenets of primitive life, yet this confusion, shall I say, which takes place between the work of art and the reality prepares us in a certain way for the view, so completely different from ours, which primitive peoples seem to take of art.

To us a drawing is only a drawing, and (question of decorative arabesque apart) is mainly valuable according to the degree of excellence of representation or of suggestion of natural objects. Whether this drawing be here or there, made on one piece of paper or on another, are matters which leave us completely indifferent. The drawing is self-contained and its qualities are its visible ones. Quite the opposite would seem to be the case when it is question of the angle of approach of a 'primitive' mind to a drawing. Parkinson tells us, speaking of this problem : ' We are here in presence of a difficult enigma. The magazine Mitteilungen looks on the drawings as being drawings of serpents ; and, effectively, one can believe that one can recognize a serpent's head and body: but the Bainings affirm that it is a pig .... The figure which follows could, a la rigueur, pass for a face: but according to the natives it represents a club, although it has not the slightest resemblance to that object! Certainly, no one even in most fantastic mood would ever have hit on this explanation. . . . I was inclined to look on the next three circular figures as being eyes. The natives at once bereft me of that illusion, and added that it is impossible to reproduce eyes. .. .'

The ornaments were explained to me by the Bainings themselves, so there cannot be the least possible doubt concerning the matter that those who execute drawings associate them with a determined idea, although the relation between drawing and idea remains almost always hidden from us, as the drawing offers no kind of resemblance to the object in question. Thus one sees the danger of interpreting the ornaments of a primitive people according to a resemblance which the drawing might bear to an object which we know.

The Bainings see in these traditional drawings a shell, a certain leaf, a human figure, and so on. This representation is so profoundly anchored in their minds that one remarks their stupified expression when one asks them what the drawings mean ; they cannot understand how it can be that every one does not grasp the meaning of the drawings at once.

These remarks are more than enough to indicate that we are here in presence of a symbolism carried to such a degree that it far surpasses anything which we conceive as justifiable in that direction. In many ways the child's mind and the mind of the primitive are allied, though we must be careful not to carry such an analogy too far. To the child at play often the vaguest indication of a line traced on the ground will serve as the, to him, really existing wall of his house. The tunnel three inches high through a sand heap is to him no model of a tunnel, but a real tunnel into which, in imagination, aided by the real introduction of his hand and arm, he really penetrates. But this is only one side of the primitive question. There are others.

In the civilized child we can, even at an early stage, only trace rudimentary remains of the primitive qualities of 'participation '. At times the child certainly ' participates ' if not with the universe in general, at least with his companions. Leon Frapi6 paints for us a momentary picture of the infant play-ground in La Maternelle :

4'... je restai . . . saisie par un spectacle de foule. Dix fois, des poursuivants hurleurs 6taient passes, d6daignes, pres d'un groupe de " moyens " affaire's 'a echanger de bons points; soudain, comme par l'effet d'une onde 6lectrique, tout le groupe se prdcipita, braillant avec les camarades, sans signification, sans

motif ; alors d'autres groupes fr6l's se joignirent, des grands entralinerent leurs petits freres, des causeurs tranquilles sauterent, brusquement emballes, plus eperdus, plus fr~netiques, clamant plus fort que les premiers, et ce fut une nude d'6lment, un haro unanime, un emportement destructeur et oppresseur : panique, assaut, joie brute. Puis brusquement encore et sans cause encore, il y eu baisse et discordance des cris, eparpillement du nombre. Le mal que l'on pourchassait etait-il censement puni ? Ou bien le fleau que l'on fuyait 6tait-il 6vit6 ? Impossible de savoir, c'6tait la foule.'

There is little doubt that such phenomena are attached to the elementary springs of human action. In the civilized child the effects rapidly disappear more or less on account of his environment. He falls into line with the individualism which is the necessary concomitant of antithetical logical rationalism. But in the case of primitive societies the conditions are other. This very participation, being due to one of the earliest mental conditions, is raised to the position of becoming the very soul itself of the mode of thought, it is the controlling and organized motif of judgement and understanding, which only by slow degrees grudgingly yields place to the antithetic position which ultimately becomes our logic of antithesis. That this antithetic position dates almost, if not quite, in its rudimentary forms from the beginning is evident when we consider that even animals realize that the presence of two objects eliminates the possibility of there being only one. This

really constitutes a very elementary form, if not of antithetical reasoning, at least of antithetical perception. It is the first step in the series which will ultimately lead to the amazing erection of our ultimate mathematical and philosophical systems. But the sense of participation would seem to be the first and most rapidly developed at the expense of the antithetic sense destined later on to gain complete precedence, ousting the other almost entirely, save on certain rare occasions of battle or of love.

Even among a people so sensitive to antithesis as the Greeks we still find lingering on such remnants of participation as are disclosed by the beliefs, not only in a certain unity between the carved statue and the god it represents, and of whom it is, in an unexplained way, the abode, but also in the admission of different varieties of the same god whose different personalities

are revealed by the distinguishing place-name attached to the general one of Zeus or Hephaistos. The conception of a Zeus who shall be at once unique and many is obviously incompatible with antithetic reasoning, though it offers no difficulty to the participant 'thinker.

It may be upheld with considerable justification that one aspect of art is necessarily constituted by a type of relation which comports an almost antithetical quality. Light in recunt painting is light on account of its opposition with shade, one tint is valid by contrast with another. I need not extend the list of evident examples ; I have dealt somewhat with this point elsewhere. Perhaps we might be justified in seeing in primitive arts an embryonic use of the antithetic element that, later, we see carried to a much higher and voul degree in the painting of the last half-century, which has seen the conscious introduction of semi-scientific reasoning-concerning complementary colours and the like-carried to an extreme degree. This same tendency to theorize upon technique -has inevitably brought with it a negligence of the signification of the picture ; an allegorical representation of spring has yielded before a problem in placing of red and green, or a geometric equilibrium of planes and masses, destined, so we are told, to suggest the type of 'plastic emotion' engendered in the artist by his perception of underlying constructional facts. These same artistic rationalists of emotion admire the naive wood carvings of West Africa. We may wonder to what exact degree they are justified in so doing.

There would seem to be little doubt, on the contrary, that to primitives ' the really appreciated part of their artistic effort is its representation ; not perhaps quite as we recognize representation, that is, to a considerable degree, by estimating its value according to its degree of photographic 'likeness ', but simply as being a kind of fixation of the idea. An Ashanti stool is not supposed to be like a soul ; it is only an abiding-place for the soul. The designs or ornaments of these stools had primitive meanings, which, as we have seen above, can never, or only rarely, be guessed from any resemblance to natural forms which we might believe that we find. To the most primitive forms of

mentality there is no difficulty in accepting that the same drawing can represent two totally different objects. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen tell us that to the mind of the Central Australian the same drawing, a spiral or a series of concentric circles, can on one 'sacred perch ' represent a gum tree, while on another it represents a frog ! The important point-and the one which according to the Australian should be evident to every one-is not what the drawing looks like, but what the participation, the consecration, the dedication (or whatever term we care to employ) is of the surface on which the drawing is made. If the drawing is executed on any ordinary surface, the draughtsman will tell you that it means nothing, that he has only done it for fun; but the moment the surface is in some way consecrated, the drawing has an immediate and definite signification. We see again how very careful we must be in applying our modes of thought to the appreciation of primitive art.

On page 173 (Ashanti) Captain Rattray tells us that he was told that the ornamentation on the most elaborate temple he had seen in Ashanti had no particular signification. That such decoration never had a signification seems to me-as to Captain Rattray-very improbable. But it must be remembered that the Ashanti offer what may be termed a very high example of primitivism, that they have been for long in contact with more advanced peoples, so it is quite possible that not only has the original signification of such drawings been forgotten, but that, in the forgetfulness of their meaning, the idea alone of the need of making drawings on a temple has survived, and so to-day the builder makes any kind of drawing on the temple. Thus the drawings have, as was told to Captain Rattray, no signification, and we only see in them the elementary efforts of an incapable artist at pictorial representation or childish decoration.

The juxtaposition of the words 'childish' and ' decoration' reminds one of the seeming historic precedence of decoration over representation, or at least of decoration over ' photographic ' representation. It is evidently easier to trace a fairly decorative waving line round the neolithic vase which is now standing in the entrance to my house, than it is to execute a fairly good likeness of a natural object. On the other hand,

it becomes very doubtful which is the higher artistic effort: to produce a satisfactory vase shape, or to draw the wall figures of Monte Bego ' with their infantile and unnatural grotesque. It seems possible that the desire of real likeness to objects is a thing only sought for after considerable rise in the intellectual scale. By ' rise' I mean emancipation from the Lparticipation' state, which obviously renders likeness unnecessary. Given the conditions of ' consecration ', there may even be absolute identity between the spirit of the thing in question and the drawing or carving; for such works of art are naught but rhythmic statements that the object is in question. Captain Rattray tells us that a carver under his direction was twitted by onlookers for having made a mistake in the design of the stool on which a figure of a Queen Mother was seated, the stool not being a woman's stool. I think we should be careful, perhaps, not to confuse this desire of accuracy of

ritualistic detail with accuracy of ' artistic ' detail. And I am inclined to think that, in any form of primitive religious art, the moment that an almost symbolic statement of attributes and so on is made, both artist and public are content ; likeness to life is not considered at all, or to a negligible degree. It is evidently foolish to quarrel with an artist for not having put into his work that which he has never sought to put there, and which his national aesthetic does not demand.
The actual existence of sculpture eliminates the difficulty of point of view and of perspective which we have now come to consider as an inherent necessity of artistic representation in the graphic arts. In the earlier forms of art in Egypt, in Assyria, in China, perspective as we know it is unknown.' May this not be less on account of sufficient intelligence on the part of primitive artists than on account of a lack of desire to reproduce a scene as it appears when looked at from one point of view and in one direction. In reality our convention in this respect is possibly much more absurd than a convention which would demand a kind of composite rendering of many aspects. Indeed, our

I A Guide to the Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps, C. Bicknell, Bordighera, Giuseppe Bessone, i9I3.

2 Traces of perspective are discernible in one of the rare Egyptian landscapes.

perspective convention is nothing but a convention ; it is one of those tacitly accepted and never examined conventions which entirely compose the lives of the unreflecting mass. This point is developed in the Art and Craft of Drawing.1
A drawing by a little boy represents his impression of the interior of a theatre. But he has not ceded in the faintest degree to a desire to establish a perspective scheme. His

drawing describes a theatre, it does not tell us what a theatre looks like. The drawing is a compound of plan and elevation noted as one or the other according to whether he realized the fact which he observed as being a ground-plan fact, such as the curve of the dress-circle, or as an elevation fact, such as the proscenium. The drawing is an accumulation of statements about a series of observations which he made during his sojourn in the theatre.
But if ' photographic' representation is not a universal aim in art, decorative rhythm is. Our little boy had succeeded in organizing his various ' statements ' into a not at all displeasing rhythmic decoration. And that is his drawing's chief claim to artistic value and interest. Its chief claim ? Better say its only claim. Rhythmic relation of parts is the real essential of art. In the case of music we admit pure rhythmic relation as sufficient. Reproduction of natural sounds, of natural arrangements of sound may be said to be almost non-existent. Why in the case of the plastic arts should we so anxiously demand resemblance to natural shapes ? The affair is one of ingrained habit. The more an artist is capable, the more he will attach greater importance to rhythm, of one kind or another, and less importance to ' photographic ' likeness. He will be content with a few amazing brush marks by Ying Yu-chi~n. An Assyrian bas-relief is the account of the victory of a king. The artist did not wish to give us (it never occurred to him that it might be necessary to give us) a photograph of the battle-field taken from an

aeroplane. He simply states facts concerning the battle. But he has this in common both with our little boy and with a Grecian aoidos chanting the Iliad : they all treat their subjects rhythmically. So when an Australian wishes to indicate a frog on a churinga, he makes rhythmic marks on a churinga already dedicated to the I Clarendon Press, 1926.
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frog. The dedication renders likeness to a frog unnecessary. Remains the statement that he calls your attention to the idea : 'frog', which statement he makes rhythmically, as all human beings always have done until the habit of antithetic logic and methodic doubt had warred against superfluous rhythm and elevated to its throne concise and 'accurate' statement of pure crude fact '
The seeming paradox of calling a savage a better artist, a purer artist, than Pheidias might even be upheld. We might say that the savage ideal was further removed from contamination by the inaesthetic desire to copy.
Yet even here we are not consequent with ourselves. In the design of a carpet we at once admit the validity of rhythmic arabesques which are 'like' nothing at all. After all, they are stylizations of I know not what creeper or other natural forms. Yet if the same degree of stylization be carried out on, say, the human figure, we announce ourselves offended. It would really be very difficult to run fairly to ground current and inexpert European belief on this matter. A statuette of the Sasabonsam (see Fig. 19) will have its feet turned both ways. A moment's reflection will show us two things : first, that such a derogation from anatomic possibility is not the artist's ' fault ', he is simply making a statement concerning an already firmly established mythological personage ; secondly, that there is nothing really more absurd about any such anatomical modifications than there is about the classic centaur, only as we have always been accustomed to the centaur we are quite prepared to accept him, especially when he is served up to us with an anatomical torso and an accurate transcription of a horse's body and legs. In reality the position only becomes more absurd proportionally to the ' naturalness ' of the representation. Executed as a mere plastic symbol of a literary figment-the combination of the qualities of strength and fleetness of the horse with certain human qualities-that is as a symbol only bearing the strictest minimum of imitation in order to suggest the idea, such a figure seems to me more acceptable than in its more anatomical (?) conditioning. Our Ashanti artist makes statements concerning the Sasabonsam-that its feet are-turned both ways, and so on-
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and makes this statement rhythmically. From the aesthetical point of view it is only this rhythm which interests us, and, given the mental conditions, we are quite in error if we bring to our estimation of its value any judgement concerning its degree of 'likeness' to the natural rhythms and arrangements of parts of the body. The moment that the rhythms are balanced among themselves, this balance may at

once become the medium of transmission of plastic thought,' it may be aesthetically valid.

The difference between an excellent and a bad drawing is to be measured by the nature, the quality of the mind of the artist of which it is in a way the mirror. The work of the inferior artist, the ' illustrator', the man who, fitted out with a mediocre mind, has learnt to make a ' correct ' drawing, as he might have learnt to make a ' correct ' table, lacks in interest for us very possibly because, having met it many times and oft, that type of mind has no novelty with which to hold our attention. When it comes to ethnological study and its comparative psychology, perhaps even the transcription of the most commonplace example of the type may not be devoid of interest, for it is tremendously removed from our own type. If this be at all true it becomes still more difficult to establish an absolute scheme of artistic excellence. Such estimation will become strictly a question of relation not only among the elements of the work of art, but one of relation between the work of art and the spectator.2 The judgement of the spectator will be considerably influenced by the intellectual interest which he may take in the type of mentality portrayed, by the plastic mode of thought manifested in the work, and he will be tempted to pay insufficient attention to what may be termed the absolute value of the artist's aesthetic outlook. This absolute value is, of course, gauged by reference to a general balancing up of all the aesthetic outlooks; much in the same way as there is a world-wide standard of par exchange, although perhaps the exchange value of no actual currency is exactly at par. To this intellectual appreciation must be brought the necessary emotional modification, that subconscious movement of the spirit without which neither artistic execution nor artistic criticism is valid.

1 See Relation in Art, Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. 83 and 123.

Ibid., pp. 42 et seqq.

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In Relation in Art I have put forward the thesis that there is a 'plastic' form of reasoning which cannot be adequately translated into verbal forms of logic. I will continue to assume in the present case the validity of such an hypothesis.

I have already supposed that there is a coherence of nature in any type of personality; that is, if we find one type of reasoning to be in use in verbal ratiocination, we must expect an analogous type of mental action to govern plastic conceptions. In Europe we reason by means of logical concatenation ; our art is in the main 'logical ' and ' like ' natural physical orderings. In the East and in Africa logical concatenation yields place to apt quotation of some ancient saying or wise saw which appeals to the hearer as a definite and applicable summing up of the situation. That we find a sort of ' plastic' concatenation different from ours among such peoples is only to be expected. What violates a sense of logical sequence does not necessarily violate a sense of imprecisely established analogy; so we should be in no way surprised to encounter in the art of ' primitives' certain disdain of what we consider to be fundamental coordinations of proportion or of volume or of plane. The whole critical difficulty would seem to be enclosed in the

question: Do we consider that a work of art should or should not be inspired by and be a transcription of its author's mental form ? If we accept this view, and if we are inclined to condemn transcriptions of mental forms other than our own, we evidently declare: My own mental form is the only one worthy of a moment's attention. Or, of course, we may say that the work of art has no relation to the mental type of the artist. I must admit that I do not see quite where such a tenet will lead us.

The European art lover will, I think, find little difficulty in admiring some forms of Ashanti art. The textile fabrics, the designs of the stools, the kuduo (Figs. 54, 263) vessels of bronzeif these last be really pure Ashanti products-offer examples of works of art to us seemingly easy of appreciation. It is, however, very possible that we appreciate them for qualities other than those which they contain and which are of greatest value. We probably appreciate them at the measure of their resemblance to our own work. It is not by any means certain that apprecia-

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tion is always accorded to the real excellence of a work of art. I have heard the Elgin marbles admired for their light and shade; which light and shade is only, so to say, a by-product of their fundamental excellences. What should put us on our guard is that we are inclined to smile at certain ' primitive ' renderings of the human shape while we admire other' primitive 'balancings of colour and form. Just as the rhythm of African music is totally different from ours, so is the plastic rhythm too quite different. It may be that we only admire when there is a chance similitude to, a chance coincidence with, our own ideals. This chance coincidence may not really be a coincidence at all any more than there is any relation between the French word lait and the English word ' lay', although there is a considerable similarity between the two phonetic values. My tiresome insistence on this point is owing to the extreme difficulty which the most careful comparative aesthetician experiences in freeing himself from his own point of view. And it is probably the study of just those parts of a ' primitive ' aesthetic scheme which appeal to us the least that will lead to the best understanding of the differences which exist between our mentality and that of the primitive. In a certain way art may be looked on as being the concise expression of a type of mentality, an expression devoid of confusing detail and possibly misunderstood 'explanations' ; in short, a quintessentialized and integral presentation of mind quality.

Should the reader be inclined to think that I am attaching too great an importance to the question of participation when applied to an appreciation of aesthetic values among primitives, let him remember how Captain Rattray was not allowed to photograph the little sister of the ' come and stay child ' (Fig. 33) for ' her sunsum (spirit) was so delicate that she could not run the risk of any being taken away in the portrait '-though this is rather surprising, as it implies subtraction of part of the child's personality; as a rule ' participation ' does not imply subtraction: possibly the child might not be strong enough to resist the journeys and various changes to which its effigy would be submitted. We must also remember that when Captain

Rattray was entrusted with the two mmoatia figures reproduced in Fig. 19 he was asked to see that they were occa-

sionally given monkey-nuts, palm-kernels, and sugar. It is quite evident that the executed work of art becomes the actual residence of the real spirit.

It would seem probable that, according to the 'primitive' idea, likeness to the original would have little or no weight in determining the worth of a drawing or statue, for we can hardly assume that the greater the likeness the more the spirit (either of the living person represented, or of the god or fairy or whatever the figure may represent) would enter into, would participate in the representation. Consequently we are not at all justified in bringing to bear a ' likeness ' criticism on such works. This at once raises the questions : What critical criterium of aesthetic values would really be applied by a ' primitive' to the productions of his own people ? What is his real opinion concerning the successfully imitative pictures or photographs produced by the ' civilized ' man ? It is to be feared that among the Ashanti it is already a little late in the day to undertake such a delicate investigation, for the Ashanti have now been so long familiar with European imitative art. Perhaps Captain Rattray might utilize his sympathetic familiarity with the people to the end of trying to lighten the darkness which for us enshrouds this portion of primitive aesthetic tenet. The position would seem to be this : Primarily there is no need at all to make a drawing or a statue resemble the object intended even in the remotest way, as the same drawing can represent two totally different objects. The only thing needful is that the intention and the consecrating rites should be carried out on the material on which the drawing is made or from which the statue is carved. Then we may suppose that with a rise of civilization and an increased cleverness of workmen some proportion of ' likeness ' is introduced, and the figure ceases to be a mere ornamented block, it begins to possess two legs, two arms, a head, and a body. But to the ' primitive' mind this is quite enough. The idea that imitative approach to likeness to nature should either be possible or even desirable never occurs to our ' primitive ' for a moment. Why should it ? The important part to a mentality which exists in a world permeated with spirits is that the statue or drawing should ' participate ' in the spirit intended, or perhaps one should say that the spirit participates in the statue. But this end is

already attained by the rites. The effectiveness of the rites depends not on the appearance or other quality of the object over which they are performed, but on the accuracy of their execution. Why then strive after likeness ? On account of the tremendous memory of 'primitives', every one knows or remembers to what spirit such and such a place or object is consecrated; hence there is no need of a likeness on the part of the drawing in order to inform the spectator what it is ' meant to be '.

No absolute division can be traced between the ' primitive' 'prelogical' mental conditioning and the conditioning of the minds of more elaborated social groups.

Still it should be possible-and surely it would be interesting-to find out examples which should determine just when the 'participation' idea ceases to be, at least pre-eminent, in aesthetic matters. From the unwillingness displayed concerning the ' come and stay child ' photograph, the idea should as yet be far from dead in Ashanti. Perhaps Captain Rattray will investigate the matter. At the same time we must be cautious in carrying out such investigations. Analogous beliefs concerning the efficacy of pin-sticking into wax figures still exist to a degree greater than is often believed among the less enlightened inhabitants even of western Europe.1

As the skill of the workmen increases we can easily understand that the statement concerning two arms and two legs develops, without any fixed intention on the part of the artist, from its first merely cylindrical state (already far in advance of the Easter Island monoliths) towards indication of knee, elbow, and other ' scientific ', other ' logical ' statements ; and indeed it may be that this plastic manifestation of logical mind conditioning might be found to correspond in its development with the other manifestations of mental ' logicality '. This again is matter for experimental research. It may be that it is possible to construct an ethnological scale of progression on the one hand from early prelogical participant to logico-scientific mind type; and on the other to parallel this progression by an advance from the purely indicative symbolic ornament through the intermediate stage, say, of Byzantine religious representation up to I See the amazing envotftement case, Le curd de Bombon, at present (Jan. 1926) being described in the French journals.

the accurate representation of imitative painting or photography. The first part of this research it is urgent to carry out while we still have with us truly primitive types. The latter parts of the scale can be filled in at leisure, for we have always with us the written records of the modes of thought of the higher forms of mentality.

But when we arrive at the purely imitative condition of painting, we are surprised to find that the result has ceased to possess, in an appreciable degree, aesthetic excellence ; it has become a scientific document. Is this to say that a piece of primitive rhythmic decoration which constitutes the fixation of some-' spirit ' is a finer work of art than a piece of 'photographic' painting? I am rather inclined to say that it is, or rather that it may be. Likeness to appearance is too definite, too simple an aim to lie at the base of aesthetic effort. Indeed, as I have already pointed out in Relation in Art, the more one studies the problem of aesthetic validity the less importance is one inclined to attach to the ' resemblance factor ' and the greater importance one finds oneself attributing to those connected with rhythmic balance, established among tints and shapes which may only have a remote relationship to natural shapes and tints. It seems to me that it is perfectly futile to establish an absolute scale of aesthetic excellence. The correct presentation of the problem is the examination of so many complexes of work of art plus spectator. If there be good and complete coherence of kind within such a complexus as an Ashanti and a piece of Ashanti sculpture, I see no reason why the

aesthetic value of the work should not be classed highly. That there is no sympathy between an Englishman and a piece of such sculpture seems to have, to me, little or nothing to do with the matter. When the Englishman tells us that he does not like such work (he will probably say in reality that it is bad and defective, but I submit that he ought to say simply that he does not like it) he is much rather telling us something about himself, about his own mind conditioning, than about the carving. He is saying: My mind has not got a side like that to it. If, all-modern European that he be, he is additionally an artist, he may be inclined to look rather upon the nature and the excellence of the rhythmic equilibria established than upon

the imitative qualities or defects of the object. In which case his reply is much more likely to be of this type-if as well he be a careful thinker: Many points about this statue I feel to be inharmonious with my own mind form, my own convictions, my own prejudices ; but at the same time I realize that the artist has used types of plastic equilibrium in his work, which, if they are not exactly those which I should have used myself-and how can they be if they are to express a mind form different from my own ?-still they are far from meaningless, and are even interesting and sympathetic to me. Because these rhythmic arrangements disclose a governing mind form which may'even be displeasing to me as an individual, used to certain social conventions and to certain modes of thought, I as an artist must not declare the aesthetic expression, these rhythmic arrangements, bad on account of the nature of the story which they tell or suggest.

The main tendency of recent art has been the abandonment of imitative execution in favour of representing, by means of more or less conventional rhythms, the mind state occasioned in the artist by contemplation of nature. This may be termed a conscious attempt to realize what the ' primitive' possibly does unconsciously. However, it would seem that the extreme separation between natural and imagined shapes in which the most advanced cubists dealt is fundamentally objectionable to the European mind too deeply attached to its logical nature to admit form so arbitrary when it is still question of representable shapes, and not one of mere artificial and decorative arabesque, in which case the ' logical ' sense is not shocked. But in the case of the ' prelogical primitive' this ' shocking' does not take place. It would be very interesting to carry out a series of experiments with a view to finding out which is preferred by an Ashanti: a photograph or a piece of imitative art on the one hand, an Ashanti production on the other ; careful questioning might lead to useful hints. The shocking is in our own case evident from the recent return from cubistical eccentricities to stylis'es but still recognizable shapes, a solution which, from our point of view, would seem to lie in the desirable intermediate position between inaesthetic imitation and exaggerated

stylisation which shocks the logical factors of our personality. The justification of the avowed admiration of the period between, say, 1912 and 1920 for West African sculpture may be found in the fact that neither the 'advanced' European school nor the ' primitive ' attached importance to mere imitation ; hence they found common standing in the treatment of rhythm untrammelled by serious reference to natural shape. In reality the two arts were far apart, for the European only sought-with more or less sincerity-to express rhythmically his own personal emotions before nature and to express them by means of the result of carefully studied ' logical ' analyses ; whereas the 'primitive ' unconsciously expresses his personality in rhythm because he cannot help it, but is really only taken up with the 'participation' aspect of art and does not purposely avoid 'likeness '-it has simply never occurred to him that it might be desirable.

The artist who lives continuously in a ' spiritual ' atmosphere, by which I mean one in which unseen qualities and significations of unseen things take great preponderance over the visible qualities of the world, can hardly be expected to take as much interest in the outward conformation of objects as would a Velasquez. An Ashanti wood-carver produces the deformed dwarf that Velasquez may have taken a certain delight in painting ; but the motives of reproduction are very distinct from each other. Velasquez is filled with a passionate desire to transcribe nature even in her grotesque moments. I am inclined to think that the Ashanti does not even notice that his sculpture is deformed. This again is a point which should be carefully investigated. It will be remarked in the accompanying reproductions (Plates of Sasabonsam, and Figs. 28, 194, and 195) that the practically universal deformity consists in great oversize of the head. The distinguishing part of the human being is his face, on which we read expression. We either make full or half-length portraits of people, or we content ourselves with the single representation of the head. No one ever makes a portrait of the sitter's legs ! though we add them occasionally as further information concerning the rest of the body attached to the head. In many primitive arts this over-

powering of the rest by the head may be noticed : Margaritone of Arezzo may be instanced as an Italian example. Why should it not be so ? The personality is sufficiently indicated by the head alone (we ourselves admit it) ; as the head claims the major part of our attention, the larger portion of volume is attributed to it. When we add arms, legs, and so on we keep them in their proper proportions because of the logico-scientific background and representational tendency of our thought form. But the Ashanti, not at all interested in exact representation of real appearance, contents himself with saying: Here follow arms, legs, and so on to taste. Not quite 'to taste', however, because these addenda must fall in with the rhythm of the whole, so after all they are added to the taste-in the matter of rhythmof the artist; not to that of any one who may come along. As he has derogated from natural proportions, for the sake of insistence, on the importance of the head, the real rhythmic proportions are thrown overboard completely, and for them he substitutes an artificial African rhythm which discloses to us the conditioning of his mind rather than that of natural rhythmic shapes.

I have said that interest centres on the face on account of its expression. So it may do. But to the non-representational artist the reproduction of expression is evidently no more interesting than the reproduction of anything else. Hence in the Akua mma 1 (Figs. 28, 194, and 195) we find a simple decorative arrangement of eyes and nose in a vast circle, while the body only plays the part of support to the symbol of the face, hence of the individual. There is even no thickness to the head. Why should there be ? The possibility of the future child is quite sufficiently evoked without it.' One might say that a headless torso study by Rodin is at the aesthetic antipodes to the Ashanti statuette, Rodin being interested above all in reproducing appearances of parts of nature.

This neglect of the imitative side of art renders it particularly difficult for us to estimate the rhythmic worth of such statuettes. Troubled by their lack of veracity we fail to be able to judge, without prejudice, their value as plastic rhythms, the more so

Figures carried to promote childbirth.

2 If this be the idea; which I doubt.

that the idea type expressed by the rhythm is so very different from our own. When we come to the stools, however, which have no pretence to imitation, we feel ourselves to be less biased judges. It is perhaps worthy of notice that we find the same squat feeling about the stools as we felt about the figures. Is this due to an inherent quality of the Ashanti mind ? Is it due possibly to the habit of making the head more important than the rest in figure work? Is it due to the squatting habit of savage races ? For the moment an insoluble question. We must leave it there. All that we can say is that it creates a special and peculiar sensation, very difficult to define, of a certain complication and lack of sequent thought on the part of the artist. Look through the stools (Figs. 158-87); they seem to be a series of repetitions of the stubby and generally bent legs of the statuettes. We are evidently in presence of a fundamental factor of Ashanti plastic expression.

I cannot prevent myself, every time I look at these stool designs, from immediately remembering certain sides of Chinese art. We seem to be in touch with something-mental power of co-ordination apart-analogous to the curved aesthetic of China. Figures 159, 16o, 164, 165, and indeed the greater number perhaps of the designs, might almost pass for having a Chinese origin. What can this signify, this common use of a ' curved formula', in such marked opposition with the GrecoEuropean straight tendency ? Can we set up as an axiom that the straight line corresponds with the logico-scientific thought and the specially flexed curve, which we find here and in China, with the tendency to people the seen world with unseen things, with the feng-shui JA lJt influences, with the omnipresent spirits of ancestors, with ' participation ' beliefs, with all that so divides the mentalities, in question from ours ? I should be inclined to be wary of such an enticingly simple supposition; yet it may be worth meditating upon. At the same time we should remember how very different from the Chinese is that other curved line companion of the philosophies of the Indian religions.

It would seem certain that the primitive mind has not precisely the same conception of time as we have. We conceive

of time as a kind of continued linear extent which is unlimited both before and after the present moment. But it would appear that to minds not given to abstract reflection discrimination between past, present, and future does not take place with anything like the same precision as with us. For them life is a vague intermingling of the human and the spiritual-past things are still present to-day ; on the future they reflect but little. The scheme of causality, which is to us so evident, is to them almost non-existent. The ' primitive' but rarely seeks the cause of a phenomenon, the cause is always to him evident : the intervention of spirits, whether it be in the matter of cutting his finger or in a wished-for rainfall. The ideas of cause and effect sequence are strictly bound up with those of the sequence of time. The cause and effect sequence has little or no raison d'etre when the cause is spiritual. The confusion which so often occurs in their minds in the case of dreams foretelling the future which is, in a way, already assumed to have happened, is one of the several examples of this vagueness concerning the conception of time sequence. On pp. 122 and 123 of Relation in Art I have mentioned a possible future European position not totally alienated in some ways from this non-causal and non-temporal mind condition of the ' primitives '. It seems to me to be one, ceteris paribits, particularly favourable to the plastic arts. Though I have not employed this particular phrase in that book, the whole point of view adopted points to such a meaning with sufficient clearness.

Discursive and abstract thought, as we generally practise it, depends upon this concatenation of cause and effect. Although the primitive mind is capable of well-conditioned thought of a kind which interests it, and in which close contact is continuously preserved with ' tangible' fact, it is not then astonishing to find that its attention flags as soon as the subject ceases to have a practical interest or as soon as immediate contact with fact ceases. Extended excursions into the regions of continued abstract thought are thus impossible to it. But to the execution of the plastic arts this failing is in no way hostile. In fact one may almost say that the more immediate is the contact between observed fact and artistic generation

the better will that generation be ; though this is advanced without prejudice to the statement made on page 205 of Relation in Art that a studied drawing may be more synthetique, more statuesque, more architectural, than the swift rapture of a moment. Yet in the case of arts possessed of such moderate ambition as that of Ashanti the lack of sustained and coherent reflection as a background to conception and execution is in no way detrimental.

Practically inseparable, the act and thought of the plastic artist are his work. This is of course the explanation of the legendary want of practicality in the ordinary affairs of life displayed so often by artists. An artist's powers are concentrated on the production of his painting; that is the act which interests him. Once the canvas

is completed he has attained his goal, and the matter loses interest for him. Selling the canvas is the affair of the man who makes money getting his aim. Now the artist, while producing, keeps his thought, so to speak, in uninterrupted contact with the tangible object he is producing, and perhaps (when working from nature) with the tangible model. In any case no discursive thought is needed even if he be the most abstract of painters, for all his abstract thinking has been done beforehand, and it is only the ineffaceable traces that such thinking has left upon his generating personality which endure to influence the quality of his work. Thus the defect of the primitive mind, its incapability of following prolonged discursion, is scarcely a defect from the artistic point of view. Indeed, the universal distribution of the artistic sense which we find among prelogical peoples is most certainly due in part to this immediateness of contact between thought and tangible object. The gift of abstract thought, especially of a logico-scientific nature, would seem to be adverse to the realization of plastic art ; in any case it tends to reduce art to imitation. The lack of artistic sensibility found in the ranks of the people in Europe is easily understood when we remember that, thanks to this determining in a direction of reproduction and imitation, art has become to their eyes imitation and nothing more, the abstract side of this ' scientific ' art being far beyond their comprehension. The 'reproduction' ideal, the 'getting it like', being the only artistic factor left to their understanding, naturally

there remains no popular aesthetic tradition within their reach. In the Middle Ages art was much more popularly distributed precisely on account of the more ' mystic ' and less ' logical' state of the mass who had not yet been taught to confound art and photographic production, and to whom the unnatural shape of a Chartres figure was not yet a matter for ridicule, likeness not having yet displaced symbolic suggestion. A figure on Chartres Cathedral may in a way be said to come intermediately between the spiral traced by the Australian on the churinga consecrated to the frog-and so indicating a frog-and the completely representational painting of Velasquez. The Chartres figure is partly ' like', and partly a decorative indication intended to bring to mind some known fact connected with the religion to which the cathedral is consecrated. Rhythm and suggestion are all that a mind as yet primitive and not yet expecting photographic accuracy demands from art, and
curiously enough it is precisely to these fundamental terms that prolonged study of aesthetics tends to bring us back, after having traversed the unprofitable stretch of imitative art.
When he has expressed admiration for the wide distribution of artistic sense in Ashanti, Captain Rattray would hope that the tradition of Ashanti art may be continued under the new circumstances of contact with Europeans. On this point I
remain pessimistic. Supplant the primitive ' participatory' mind type by a logical mentality, you destroy precisely the motive force of the aesthetic success. I very much fear that ' Europeanization' will simply be followed by appalling taste.

Photography and bad European reproductive 'art' will teach the seeming need of likeness ; scientific instruction will do away with symbolism, consecration, spirit abode, and like factors. What will remain of the primal aesthetic incentives ? Taste is not a closed up and definite thing which you may take out of a personality ; it is intimately bound up with the elements and relations of the accomplished work. It does not follow that the grandson of an Ashanti artist of high taste and capacity will after his Europeanization be able to transfer the smallest fragment of that taste to the execution of some Europeanized form of art. On the contrary, he may quite probably simply prove a very bad example in the matter of taste, far down on

a scale of the conditions of which he will pretty certainly have but rudimentary notions. The art of a people is the transcription of its mentality; the taste of that people is thus an integral part of that mentality. What will happen to the taste when you bring important modifications to that mentality ? By modifying, in a similar way, the mentality general in the Middle Ages we have destroyed, in Europe, popular art. I much fear, though I may be wrong, that the artistic history of Ashanti will follow, much more rapidly, the same line of march.

A crude example of what I mean may be afforded by the 'Two Stool ' cotton tissue (Fig. 136, No. 57)-or indeed by any of the cloth designs. What 'sensible ' modern European would for a moment accept such distant intention ? He would at once demand a design 'like' a stool, so inherent in his mental form is the artistic necessity of rendering appearance. The whole side of ' participatory' thought which makes the ' primitive' decorative arrangement of lines into the very object itself, and not into its likeness, is lacking to him, so he is obliged to demand the ' likeness ', and in regular progression with the demand of 'likeness' goes the diminution of need of rhythm. Probably what has saved rhythm to a great extent in music is the impossibility (except to a very restrained degree) of dealing with imitative music. I fear that in one rapid swing Ashanti sense of form and colour rhythm will disappear entirely before a vulgar desire for the lowest forms of imitative art. Let us hope that I am wrong. I should even think it probable that were well-based artistic instruction carried out in Ashanti the results would be simply normal, depending on the personal capacity for art work of each individual, and that hope of a high artistic level on account of former widely distributed ' taste' would be disappointed. As to continuing Ashanti aesthetic traditions, doubtless this could be carried out for a certain time, but having once ceased to be the automatic expression of the nation's mind form the thing would drag out the protracted, infertile existence of an artificiality from which the vivifying element was absent.

But prophecy is difficult. It may be that European aesthetic notions at work in an African mind might produce a worthy result. The experiment would be interesting to make, but in the present immature state of our theoretical aesthetic know-

ledge the professor would be hard to find. At any rate one thing might be done by such observers as Captain Rattray; the artistic tendency of the Europeanized ' primitive ' might be examined carefully, and some hint as to whether or no he is inclined in this case, as in that of 'fire-water ', to grasp what civilization has of the worst. When among primitive peoples myself, I did not pay sufficient attention to this point to pronounce upon it absolutely, but my impressions are those given above.

The more I reflect on the correlation between primitive art and the ' prelogical ' mentality which inspires it, the more I am led to wonder whether it may not possess some shadowy indications of what may possibly await us in the future. If this be so it will but be a renewed example of that pendulum swing which seems so often to govern, and to compensate for, any too definitely marked phenomenal trend. What will be the thought form of the future ? I think that there can be little doubt but that it will be relative in nature. Here I must venture upon delicate and suppositional ground. Let us for a moment consider Einstein's explanation of gravity. It is the first ever put forward. It would seem that far from being an absolute phenomenon (absolute by reference to what? by the by) it would take on dimensions, nay existence even, simply with regard to a frame of reference, while with regard to another reference frame it can even be non-existent or at least have another measure. Surely this, if we reflect, is coming dangerously near to an admission, all akin to that of our ' primitives ', of the possibility of a phenomenon both having and being deprived of existence at one and the same time, of both ' being' and ' not being' simultaneously.

Then again, the very word 'simultaneously' loses its till now accepted significance. Superpose this consideration upon that just advanced and reflect upon the curious mental position which such concepts engender.

Inevitably one asks oneself if there may not be an occult coherence between the interest taken of recent years in ' primitive ' arts-not to speak of the evident effect of their study on modern artistic production-and the relative concepts which

have seen their birth during the same chronological decade. I am yet to be convinced that the Principle of Relativity does not necessarily carry with it the ruin of occidental logic based upon antithesis, upon the impossibility of a thing both ' being ' and ' not being'. It would seem that we must add to this fundamental postulate some modifying phrase which shall make of the absolute statement a relative one, one which shall say: To a given observer placed in certain conditions, and taking into account his own personality alone, at the same moment of time which is attached to those conditions it is impossible that a phenomenon should both occur and not occur. This after all only really amounts to a definition in part of the personality as being a thing which does not conceive of such a possibility in the above conditions.

We thus find ourselves in presence of an onslaught upon the judicial value of the isolated personality, and so arrive at contact, by an unusual route, with the underlying metaphysical difficulty. We, at the present day, seem to be tending towards a diminution of the value of the personal observation by freeing physical

science from the subjective element ; the ' primitives ' diminished the personal value by their tendencies towards 'participation' Certainly the two methods of approach are very different, yet it is not inconceivable that they may lead to a slight similarity of result, all proportions kept of course. An art in close connexion with a scientific past can hardly be conceived as being devoid of representational qualities after so many centuries of examinative observation.

I have written the foregoing words for whatever suggestive value they may possess. To estimate exactly what value they may have it is as yet far too early, for we are still in no way sufficiently enlightened as to the real import of the Principle of Relativity. These thoughts, concerning the future before our mental position, before our art, have at least been suggested to me by my reflections on the nature of ' primitive' art and of 'primitive' mentality and their correlation. It must not be supposed for a moment that I wish to propose any real degree of immediate parentage between the mind type which may result from the extreme efforts of imaginative physical science

and the mind type of the 'Primitive'. A rapid drawing by Rodin may have a certain outward resemblance to the erroneous scribble of a child, yet the two are divided by all the anatomical and other knowledge of the sculptor. At the same time one part of the nature of Rodin's hurried sketch may quite well be analogous to the intention of the naive drawing, and from comparison between the two may arise some new hint or suggestion. The consideration of the philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus may just possibly be of suggestive use to a modern physicist at some particular point in his reflections. This is all I mean. But the possible weakening of the value of the antithetic element in future reasoning must not be too hastily assumed to be identical with the neglect of it in ' prelogical thought.

Captain Rattray has asked me to add to these considerations a few words concerning Ashanti architecture. The task which he sets me is particularly delicate, fo.r I do not see my way towards developing any very positive thesis favourable to that branch of art which is invariably the most elementary of the arts of primitive peoples. It is thankless to fault-find with one's subject. Not that the matter is not one which opens up a highly interesting field of speculative research, and does not at once incite one to a study of possible relationship between co-ordinate and established types of thought, their evolution, and the possible concomitant rise of architectural excellence in each particular case.

Architecture may safely be said to be the most reasoned, most coherently conceived, and most severely restrained of the artistic categories. It demands, for its perfecting, a continued and calm type of concatenated thought which is necessarily at variance with the ' participative' tendency which we find so characteristic of primitive folks. In '-participative ' beliefs distinctions are necessarily overlooked ; and architecture without clear and sharp technical distinction can, so far as we know, only lay claim to inferior praise. This, of course, again supposes that mind type may be reflected in artistic execution.

'Architecture is above all a clear and logical art-or rather, I should say, it is the art which may be made the most clear and logical.' I wrote these lines in Relation in Art ; since then
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that book has been widely criticized. One of the more able criticisms has just appeared in The Hibbert 2Yournal, and in it the reviewer writes: ' The whole chapter on " Plastic Logic " is due to a misconception and to a misuse of terms that is as inexcusable as the confusion of " artistic validity " with " comfortableness ". There can be little doubt that the adjective " logical " has no relevance to art, and that all such phrases as " logically inevitable " when applied to the characteristics of a work of art betray confusion of thought and are empty of significance.' Why do I quote this passage ? For two reasons. First, if its writer is not mistaken, not only the chapter on ' Plastic Logic' is void of meaning and in error, but the whole of Relation in Art and all my other aesthetic writings are also empty of meaning; among these last must be included what I have just written on primitive art. Secondly, though I may be fundamentally in error, I cannot help remarking that not one of my reviewers has grasped my meaning, nor applied every statement in the book to every other, a piece of work which I have myself taken the trouble to do. Hence misunderstanding, especially of the meanings which I attach to terms. Yet in the book itself I call attention to the need of such treatment of the statements made in it. But this is not the place to enter into a polemic with one of my reviewers, and I have not the slightest intention of so doing. The real object of Captain Rattray's book is to attempt to render one type of mind and its acts comprehensible to another type. My reviewer tells us that: There can be little doubt that the adjective " logical " has no relevance to art.' A few lines above I have used this adjective with reference to art anew. On page 129 of Relation in Art I have written: '... . in England where mental effort is divided between emotional width of nature and the purely scientific or mathematical absence of prejudice ; the formal sense being almost entirely lacking. Now the emotional outlook may produce the luxuriance of Shakespeare, the impassioned romance of Byron, the pathos of Dickens, the confused fatalism of Turner, but as a point of departure for the execution of either sculpture or architecture it is deplorable, though it may possibly be less harmful to resulting sculpture than to architecture. This is why J. R. Lowell was able to write: "he (the Anglo-Saxon) has
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M m

made the best working institutions and the ugliest monuments among the children of men ".' This also is why my reviewer, who is English, fails to understand what quality in art I designate by my figurative use of the term Plastic Logic; and by so failing adds to the evidence in favour of my thesis. A favourable criticism by an Englishman of this part of my hypothetical statements would, ipsofacto, either

tend towards disproving their acceptability, or show that the critic was an ethnic exception.

English architecture betrays the fact that an English critic would probably deny the existence in art of a quality analogous to rationality. Ashanti architecture also bears upon it the stamp of its ' prelogical ' origin. Could we make the ridiculous supposition of an Ashanti aesthetician, acquainted with, but uninfluenced by European logic, we cannot imagine him doing otherwise than declaring, as my English reviewer, that there is no connexion, no parallelism, no analogy whatever between ratiocination and art. But logic is used and studied in England. Its artistic manifestation, as I have pointed out, consists in a curious compound of emotion and of a certain kind of exact nature-worship, which results in reproductive art. However, in England ready-made convictions and prejudices always take final precedence over categoric ratiocination ; so this latter does not find abstract expression in art, of which the expressive nature is moulded by the quintessentialized character of the nation producing it, and the quintessentializing eliminates all but the ultimate and most determinatedly fixed elements. These only are expressed in the general nature of its art.

Always assuming, rather gratuitously, that my suppositions are not wholly erroneous, we might be inclined to think that the want of the 'logical' quality in the conception of English art would aid Englishmen towards an appreciation of a 'prelogical' art. Unfortunately this is not the case, I think. The effect of the mental logical element on English art is, as we have seen, to direct it towards more or less accurate reproduction, or, in other words, towards the opposite extreme from the primitive ' ideal, which contents itself with rhythm, or, at best, with simple statement of obvious facts such as the right number of legs and so on. On the other hand, a 'rational' art tends towards abstract expression in rhythm, so, although, in one

sense supremely removed from primitivism, it may still find common cause with the prelogical state, precisely in its rhythmic nature. For though expressing very different mental forms, yet the type of ' plastic language ' used is the same, hence simpatico to both..

What can a ' prelogical' and emotionally ' participative' architecture be ? I fear that it cannot attain to what we would term any high degree of excellence. Here again crops up the inevitable problem of scale of comparison. Might not the rational order of the Parthenon be objectionable to a purely emotional mind type ? Here experimental research is particularly difficult. Even among ' civilized' peoples, instruction, prejudice, the need of ' saying the right thing' not only modify the verbally stated opinion, but also modify the real feelings of the individual about the matter. Experimentation must be very indirect, conclusions must be drawn rather from all sorts of collateral observation. To place an Ashanti before the Parthenon and to ask him to express his aesthetic opinion concerning it would be the height of absurdity ; we should obtain any reply rather than one fitted to the resolution of the problem. The way to obtain knowledge concerning the real

preferences of Englishmen in art is not to read the eulogy by an English writer on Grecian architecture, but to walk down a winding road of dwelling-houses in England, because then the Englishman shows you what he wants, what, when left to himself, he produces ; he is no longer talking about what he thinks he ought to admire. In his opinion, in his real opinion, his house is the best solution of the aesthetico-architectural problem. A Frenchman does not agree with him. What, then, constitutes real architectural supremacy ? We fall back on a general aesthetic consensus of opinion. But has this general census ever been made ? has a proper mean been struck between, say, Chinese and European artistic conviction ? I fear that we are sadly in need of sincere oriental criticism of Europe in these matters. There is yet an immense amount of work to be done in comparative co-ordination of aesthetic ideals viewed by a competent and dispassionate judge. Yet really such work should be carried out before we pronounce unhesitatingly on the relative aesthetic value of any art, even though it appear so elementary as the architecture of Ashanti.

Yet, even now, it is perhaps not quite unjustified to class as the higher efforts of architecture its more precise examples and to expect that a ' prelogical ' people should not seek to express itself in terms of an art so definite; and that such a people should pay but little attention to general co-ordinate shape. It is natural that the ' primitive ' should satisfy his desire for rhythm by the addition of arabesque ornament more in keeping with the strange complex confusion of such mind type, than would be the clear ordonnance of volume and dimension in a classic monument, or-to follow a line of mental evolution this time less distinct from the ' prelogical '-than would be the splendid harmony of subtle line and mass in China. Indeed, it is not uninteresting to compare some of the detail of the architectural photographs, which Captain Rattray has sent me, with that of some of the masterpieces of the Middle Kingdom (all relative proportion of course maintained), and then to compare both groups with that of the architecture of Europe. From such comparison results a sense of what may be the plastic correspondents of, on the one hand, the logical type of reasoning, on the other, the type which relies more on analogy and figure as a form of ratiocination.

On the nature of the general lines of Ashanti buildings I do not feel myself at all competent to pronounce. It must be remembered that the Gold Coast has been in contact with Europe for several centuries, and sheer historical knowledge, which I do not possess, would have to be brought to bear on the subject before we could decide which parts of the work were strictly indigenous. Architectural influence extends over extraordinarily wide geographical areas, and pronunciation of originality is often dangerous without first very carefully eliminating the possibility of foreign introduction. In many cases it is impossible to decide ; did some of those curiously Egyptian forms of architecture which we find in the Niger district a few hundred miles north of Ashanti come from Egypt by way of the Darfur, or is their resemblance only due to some common African factor ?

In short, when we eliminate the ornament there remains very little to examine in the architecture of Ashanti. The buildings would seem to possess on the whole that open shed-like aspect

common to those of easy conditions the tropical world over. True, an indefinable something in their proportions would almost undoubtedly fix their origin as African; for example, they are evidently not Malay. The Malay contents himself with the more casual construction of wood and atap leaf, and combines it with I know not what element of greater refinement, orshall we say ?-of more gracile elegance.

But it is time to end such inconclusive remarks. At the same time, warned by my critic, I would once more recall that when I speak of a ' logical ' quality in architecture-or for the matter of fact in any form of art-I am not confusing (at least in my own mind) two ideas, nor am I imagining the existence of a non-existing quality. By metaphoric use of the term ' plastic logic ' (which I was very careful to put into inverted commas in Relation in Art) I am simply calling attention to a systematic quality which exists in some types of plastic artistic thought and is correlated with the tendency towards logical thought in other individuals of the same ethnic group. The difficulty of writing on such subjects is that the reader who is not fitted for abstract perception can quite easily object: ' But it is quite " logical " for the Ashanti builder to support a roof on walls and pillars, and to make it overhang in order to protect the interior from tropical sun and rain.' Need I say that when I call Ashanti architecture ' prelogical ' I am alluding to subtle and abstract qualities of its proportions, and not at all to its practical fitness to circumstances ?

XXXII

WARI

BY G. T. BENNETT, Sc.D., F.R.S.

THlE game of Wari, as played by natives of the Gold Coast, is a game for two players using as apparatus 48 pebbles and a board hollowed out into two parallel rows of six cups. (A dozen patty-pans and four dozen marbles make a convenient substitute.) The plan of the board may be represented by the diagram

A B C D E F

FIG. 278. Plan of the Wari board

where the letters are inserted for convenience of reference in the description of the game now to be given.

The players P and p sit facing each other with the board between them. The six cups ABCDEF are on P's side of the board, and are here named in alphabetical order from his left to his right hand ; and similarly the six cups abcdef are on p's side of the board and are lettered from left to right as seen by him. The large extra cup Z at P's extreme right hand is for holding the pebbles won by P; and the extra cup z at the opposite end is, similarly, used by p to hold the pebbles won by him. When the board is set ready for play each of the twelve cups ABCDEF abcdef

holds 4 pebbles (the cups Z and z being empty). This initial position may be denoted by the numerical scheme 444444 with a similar notation for any sub444444'
sequent position, each number representing the contents of the cup which has the corresponding position. The players P and p then play alternately and observe the following rules.

WARI
Rules of the Game
(i) When P plays he empties any one of the six cups ABCDEF on his own side of the board and deals them round the board cyclically until they are exhausted. In this cyclic sequence the cup F is followed by cup a, and the cup f by cup A. Thus if P opens the game by emptying cup C, he places one of the four pebbles in each of the cups D, E, F, and a, in that order, and leaves the position 444445
440555"
When p plays he empties any one of the cups abcdef and deals round its contents according to the same cycle. Thus, if p plays from the cup e in reply to P's opening from C, he puts one pebble in each of the cups fABC and so leaves the position 504445 The play that has led to this position may be recorded 551555
as Ce. 515556
If P followq with move F the position then becomes 551550 after play CeF.
(ii) P wins pebbles by his dealing when (and only when) the last pebble falls in one of p's cups abcdef and, there falling, makes 2 or 3 pebbles in that cup. He then captures the 2 or the 3 (whichever it is) and places them with his winnings in cup Z. Similarly p captures 2 or 3 pebbles from one of P's cups ABCDEF when the last pebble he deals produces a 2 or a 3 when it falls in the cup. Thus, after play CeF, if p plays d 620556
he captures 2 pebbles from cup C, and the position is (2) 660550 after play CeFd. The captured 2 are shown as placed in cup z.
(iii) Captures by P may consist of any number (up to six) of 2's and 3's, provided only that they are in consecutive cups of p's, and that the last of the series of cups receives the last marble dropped. That is, when P captures a 2 or a 3 from one of p's cups he captures also the contents of the next cup of p's to his (P's) right if that also has become a 2 or 3 ; and so on for as many 2's and 3's as are consecutive. Thus if the position wecre I2172' with P to play, and if he plays cup F, then he captures 2 from f, 3 from e, and 2 from d. The position becomes 000831' Captures by p, similarly, are made from P's cups only, IIII Cr

and consist of 2's and 3's consecutive with the 2 or 3 captured from the last cup. (In the position just given, p's 7 in cup c had threatened to capture 8 pebbles, 2222 from ABCD ; but P's play of F, besides capturing 7 pebbles, has converted p's 7 at c into an 8, and if p then played c after P's F his last pebble would fall in an empty cup at E and he would win nothing.)
(iv) A heavily loaded cup may in the course of play accumulate 12 or more pebbles, and the playing of this cupful will give a deal making more than one complete cycle of the board. For the cup emptied is always to be left empty. The

cycle of cups which receive, by dealing, the contents of the cup emptied are therefore in effect the ii cups remaining after the omission of the one emptied. Thus if P plays the cup F containing 15 pebbles in the position 361IO o he drops the last pebble in 42100 15
cup d, making a 3 in that cup and captures 3322 from dcba respectively.
(v) An exception to P's free choice of any one of his own cups, from which to play its contents, occurs when p's cups are all empty. If P is able to play from a cup which feeds pebbles into p's cups he must do so: he may not play a cup which does not reach p's cups. If, however, no move of P plays pebbles into p's cups, then P captures the whole contents of his own cups. Thus in position P, if it is his turn, must play F
013-'0b
(the 6), for no other cup puts pebbles into p's cups. In position 000000
0300' howcvcr, P has no move which feeds p's cups, and so
P captures the whole contents (6 pebbles) of his own cups. Of the cases in which P is unable to feed p's empty cups, and so takes possession of the entire contents of his own cups, the most extreme occurs wNhen P's cups hold 543210 pebbles. Each of his cups just fails to reach. cup a, and P secures all the 15 pebbles. Similarly for player p. When P's cups are empty p must, if possible, play so as to feed P's cups; and if p cannot do so he captures the whole contents of his own cups.
If p's cups are empty and it is p's own turn to play (p's cups having just been cleared by P), then also P becomes owner of the total contents of his own cups. Thus in position 000021 131400

with P to play: if P plays D (the 4) he captures 5 pebbles, leaves p with empty cups, and becomes owner of the remaining pebbles in his own cups.
Similarly for P, with empty cups after p has just played; the contents of p's cups become p's.1
(vi) When very few pebbles remain in play it may happen that they circulate in a cyclic and periodic chase with no captures possible for either player. Ea.ch player then takes the pebbles which are circulating through his territory. Thus with i in A and i in a and either to play, each player will take I ; or, with i in f, i in E, and i in F and p to play, p will take I and P will take 2. (In this last position, if it were P's turn to play p would, with correct play, win all 3 pebbles.)
Notation. As an alternative to the notation fAedcb w
ABCDEF' wi
numerals occupying the place of the letters, as used above for registering any position that occurs in a game, the equivalent form (ABCDEF, abcdef) may be suggested. Though less pictorial it represents completely the continuous cycle of cups, and is in some ways more convenient. Thus the position after the 4-move opening CeFd (vide illustration of Rule ii) would be represented by (660550, 655026).

In recording a series of moves it may be found more convenient to use six numerals 123456 rather than the twelve letters ABCDEF and abcdef. As the players move alternately no ambiguity occurs in using the same numeral for corresponding cups of the two players. The 4-move opening above written as CeFd would then be written 3564. The notation originally proposed will, however, be retained in the remainder of the present article.

I An exceptional fulfilment of the feeding rule occurs when the feeding is done by the emptying of a heavily loaded cup during the first circuit of the deal, and the enemy cups are totally emptied by captures made on the completion of the deal. (The playing of 17 pebbles in F would be an instance of this.) The opportunity of capturing the entire contents of the enemy cups, of becoming consequently possessed of the contents of his own, and thus summarily ending the game, is sometimes waived by the Ashanti player. He will leave untouched the contents of the cup in which his last pebble falls, so that the enemy may continue play from this cup. He will also, similarly, refrain from play that results in emptying the enemy's only cupful. This avoidance occurs only when such a situation arises early in the game, and is apparently an act of grace or courtesy.

The Tactics of the Game

Some notes may be added on the more elementary tactics of the game. After very little experience of actual play it will be found that the simple items of policy here described form but a small part of the complicated considerations that will dictate the best move. As the player's foresight increases the intricacy of the play will continually develop, and he will find an unlimited field for more advanced analysis.

Threats of Capture. The (ordinary) threat of capture from a cup containing I or 2 pebbles occurs when any one enemy cup contains a number of pebbles equal to the number of steps that separate the cups. Thus the cup B, when containing I or 2 pebbles, is threatened by 2 in f, 3 in e, 4 in d, 5 in c, 6 in b, or 7 in a. In looking for a threat (or arranging to produce one) it is quicker (rather than checking the cups according to their range) to count backwards from the cup to be threatened, noting when the tally agrees with the number of pebbles in the cup arrived at. Counting backwards from cup B the numerals I to 7 correspond to the cups Afedcba respectivcly, and any cup among abcdef threatens B when the numeral of this backward count matches the number of pebbles in the cup. In the exceptional case of a cup containing more than i i pebbles the method described applies after subtraction of ii.

The threats of a player's six cups are most effective when they are aimed at different enemy cups. Concentration on one is usually a waste of force. Hence it is generally a weakness to have cups whose contents have differences equal to their distance apart (the contents diminishing pari passu as the cycle proceeds forward). E. g. if p has 6, 4, and 3 in cups b, d, and e respectively they all threaten cup B.

Defence against Threats. The defence of a single pebble threatened by the opponent may be effected either by moving it into the next cup (leaving the

threatened cup empty) or by playing so as to add one to the threatening cup (which increases its range beyond the cup threatened). Thus if in position 031200 001330 p plays d, so that his cup e threatens to capture 2 from 0o1335
C, P may play C and so empty the cup threatened ; or he may play F so that cup e then overshoots C and reaches D.

The player may also leave the threat undefended and prepare an immediate reprisal, the equivalent of the threat or exceeding it. Thus if he plays D in the position just given, then his cup E threatens to capture 3 from c at his next move ir p plays e. To counter p's play of d there is thus for P the choice of C, F, or D.
The defence of a 2 against threat of capture may be effected, as for i, by moving it on (and so leaving the cup empty) or by playing a pebble into the threatening cup, or by preparing an adequate reprisal. Defence may also be effected by playing a pebble into the threatened cup and so converting the 2 into a safe 3. Thus if in position 031200 p plays d so that e threatens 202335
C, P may play C, which empties the threatened cup, or F which overloads the threatening cup e, or D which threatens a reprisal from E on c, or A which makes C a safe 3.
Against attack from a cup with a load of more than i i the cup threatened with capture contains I or o, and the defence is more restricted. The i must not be moved on (leaving the zero attacked and losing 2 pebbles) but increased by I to a safe 2. The overloading of the threatening cup and the preparation of a reprisal are other alternatives, as for an ordinary threat. For a threat against an empty cup these last two are the only defences available. Thus, for P to play, with the position 14 00000 his only move to save the immediate loss of pebbles I I I000 is B, making a safe 2 in cup C; and if his pebbles were II0000 loss would be inevitable, but could be restricted to 2 by playing A. (If he played B he would lose 8.)
The extra loading (whether by himself or by P) of any cup of p's which attacks cup F at once causes it to have cup a as the point of fall, so that p's ' gun ' fires into its own territory and is harmless to P. Thus position 617Mo3 with P to play, 403812'
allows of move D to annul the attack of cup f on cup F. (The same move simultaneously defends cup E from the attack of cup d.)
In all these methods of countering a threat from one cup to another, care must be taken lest the annulling of the one threat should create fresh ones. It is of no avail to move forward

a threatened I into the next cup if that cup is o and already threatened; nor to move on a 2 or convert it into a 3 if other cups fall under fresh threats in the process. Nor'fs the overloading of a threatening cup of avail if it then attacks a I or 2 in the cup next beyond the threatened cup, nor if other enemy cups are brought

into attack and fresh threats in any way arise. An instance of a choice of evils for P is shown by position 5405oo. He is threatened by a loss of 3 at C if p at his next
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move plays e. If he evades this by emptying the threatened cup C, then p can play f and win 4, 2 from D and 2 from E. If P overloads e by playing F, then p can win 3 at C by playing c. And if P plays A so as to convert C into a safe 3, p can win 2 at B by playing c. Move A gives the smallest loss and appears the best. But it may be remarked as a caveat that the best move is not always the one giving the smallest immediate loss.

Slow-motion in End-Games. Rule (v), prescribing the feeding of the opposite set of empty cups if possible, and the capture of all remaining pebbles by the player unable to do so, exercises a large influence on the end-game when the pebbles left in play are few in number. It becqmes of importance to each player to have as many of the pebbles in his own cups and as few in his opponent's as he can contrive. By keeping his pebbles spread in many cups (rather than being concentrated in few) and by playing the ' smaller cups ' in preference to the ' larger ', he retards the rate of passage of the pebbles through his territory, and may contrive to make the inflow greater than the outflow. A unit cup causes an advance of I unit when played, a 2-cup causes an aggregate advance of 3 units, a 3-cup of 6 units, 4 of I0, &c. As a simple case of this spreading and slow motion,
00000
the position 300000o with P to play, allows of his winning all
four pebbles. The play is FaAbDcCdBeCf. Any other play fails to gain all four pebbles.

A Marching Group. When the board is only scantily filled it is useful to notice that a set of consecutive cups, diminishing by unity, with a unit cup leading and with empty cups ahead, is a configuration that may march unaltered. Thus, with
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in P's cups ABCDEF, if he plays A the new position is 043210; and if p leaves this unaltered and P plays B it becomes 004321. This process may continue round the corner Fa until the configuration is entirely in p's cups abcd.

An important and simple case of this bodily transfer occurs with two cups having i in front of 2 and empty cups ahead. If the 3 pebbles are in P's cups and are played forward until the 2 and i are in E and F, then on playing E the pebbles are left 2 in F and i in a. If b is empty p cannot play cup a without allowing P to make a capture at b from F. This 2-and-I method may on occasion be repeatedly used as a means of taking toll of pebbles that must necessarily be passed round the corner. Of the .3 that are passed 2 are captured. Thus if p's cups are empty and P, in play, has in his cups 011121, he may win 4 of the 6 pebbles by playing EaFaDbCcBdCeDfEaF. The two pebbles remaining in B and a make a perpetually circulating chase and are taken one by each player.

Heavily Loaded Cup. The destructive effect of a heavily loaded cup on a row of nearly empty cups on the opposite side of the board may be sometimes increased by delaying its use until a few moves later than its first opportunity of action.
00000 1
Thus for position 3 - and P to play, the game may conThu fo psiton00321 1I' tinue EaDbEcCdEeDfF, with a gain of io pebbles for P at the last move. If p had had 2 or 3 pebbles in his cups he might have contrived to manoeuvre so that the cup threatened by P always safely contained 2 pebbles, or at least that a 2 occurred in a cup close to p's left of the cup threatened, thus preventing a wholesale sweep by P from cup F.
Openings. If a treatise on the game came to be written it would, in addition to a treatment of the middle-game and endgames, include also an examination of openings. They are very numerous. If P starts he has a choice of 6 cups to play from, and p then has also a 6-fold choice. The number of 2-move openings is therefore 36. At his second move P may find that the cup he emptied has remained empty, in which case he has a choice of 5 cups to play from ; otherwise he has again a 6-fold choice. It will be found that of the 36 2-move openings 26 leave an empty cup for P and io leave P's cups all occupied.

The number of 3-move openings is thus 190 (= 5 X26+6 xio). Of these 190 3-move openings 126 leave p with one cup empty and 64 leave all p's cups occupied. The number of 4-move openings is thus 1,014 (= 5 x126+6 x64). The earliest possible captures occur at the fourth move.
Among all these openings there seems not much to choose between those which begin by emptying cups from the players' left (ABC and abc) and those which empty cups from the right (DEF and def). The ABC openings disadvantageously leave a blank cup that the opponent may at once fill with a unit. The threat of a capture of 2 that ensues has to be countered. The DEF openings, certainly, leave a blank which the opponent finds out of reach for a while; but the player himself is soon forced to play units into his own blanks and finds the enemy range increased meanwhile, and the temporary advantage seems more than nullified. Analysis might reveal strong and weak openings that are not apparent superficially. But it will be found that the player with some experience gains his chief advantage over the novice rather in the handling of the middle and end-games and in the use of heavily loaded cups.
Rules in brief. A concise summary of the Rules (intelligible only after the fuller statement) may be appended finally as useful for separate reference.
Four pebbles at the start in each of the 12 cups.
Each player in turn empties one of his own cups and deals its contents round ' backwards ', leaving his cup empty.
After the deal he wins a final 2 or 3, or a final unbroken sequence of 2's and 3's, from the enemy's side, if they occur.
If the player finds the enemy cups empty he must play to feed if possible ; if no move feeds he gains all the pebbles left.
If the player finds his own cups empty the enemy gains all the pebbles left.

A few final pebbles circulating endlessly are divided as they pass in transit across the two territories, each going to the player who is moving them.
WARI
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XXXIII
SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION
BY R. R. MARETT
WHILE I am greatly flattered by Capt. Rattray's invitation to say something, in the light of the copious evidence that he has collected, about the broader and more essential features of Ashanti religion, let me at the same time protest that he has taken the words out of my mouth, by himself saying all that was needful on the subject, not only with great clearness, but-also, of course, with all that superior authority which goes with a first-hand knowledge of the facts. In what follows, then, I must not be taken as professing to sum up for him, as if the library could provide a juster perspective than is to be obtained in the field. Indeed, were his account of Ashanti religion offered to us as a closed chapter, it would be sheer impertinence on my part to venture to append a foot-note. Seeing, however, that his inquiry into the customs and mental life of Ashanti is still in progress, each year's fresh experience helping to bring him more intimately into touch with the soul of the people, it might well be of some use to him to see how far he has hitherto managed to convey his full meaning to the student at a distance. Thus I would have both him and the reader regard what I here select as points of special interest in Ashanti religion, not as meant by me for leading principles on which any future interpretation must depend, but rather as meant for leading questions such as, in the view of one who judges at second hand, appear to invite further explanation, and, it may even be, further investigation as well.
If anything pertaining to man deserves to be called a complex, a term in these days sadly abused, it is surely the religion of any primitive folk. For our present purpose 'primitive' may be equated with ' pro-theological '. As soon as in a civilized society reflective thought has fairly got to work on the medley of traditional observances constituting religion in the broad sense

392 GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION of the cult of the sacred, the complex resolves itself into a system ; thanks to a process of conscious selection whereby certain elements are exalted at the expense of the rest, this extruded remainder coming to occupy the level of what, in contradistinction to genuine religion, is known as superstition. On the other hand, throughout the previous or pre-theological stage of religious development, the difference between what is and what is not salutary and sound in the way of either practice or belief is perceived rather than conceived ; and in the absence of a defined and communicable criterion much confusion of mind tends to prevail as to the degree or even the kind of value assignable to this or that particular attitude towards the supernormal or occult in its myriad manifestations. A corollary is that the civilized observer, accustomed to measure his thought against the thought of others, will be likely to ignore the felt but none the less real standards determining

the direction of a primitive people's hopes and fears in regard to the unseen, unless somehow he can feel with them-can by sympathy project himself into a variety of religious experience having a scale of values which it apprehends, without fully comprehending.

Those who ignore the existence of such a scale of values in the native consciousness or subconsciousness are wont to charge West Africa as a whole with being given over to what they are pleased to call 'fetishism '. This word, whatever else it may mean, stands for something which, from the standpoint of those who judge, is untrue and bad. As happens with so many other terms which the historical student of religions professes to use in a purely descriptive sense, a prejudice is allowed to colour our view of the facts. Even animism, that convenient expression, tends to imply the attribution of life and personality to things which really have not got them. Or magic, again, always means a mistaken way of trying to realize a purpose. Unless we are very careful, then, anthropological science may find itself tacitly committed to a theory of religion, or at any rate of primitive religion, which brands it as a pathological phenomenon at the start. For this reason a committee of experts who sought to reform anthropological terminology some years ago decided that fetishism, as a peculiarly dyslogistic and question-begging term, had better be suppressed altogether so far as it was used as

GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION 393 a category of general application. Perhaps over-generously, however, they made a concession to those concerned simply with the ethnography of West Africa, allowing them if they chose to speak of fetishes when referring to ' a limited class of magical objects '. It is true that, instead of saying ' magical ', they would have done better to use a non-committal phrase such as ' magico-religious ', or, perhaps, ' ceremonial '. It is true, alsoand Capt. Rattray, if I understand him right, finds fault with them on this score-that they did not undertake to explain how the class in question is to be limited. Even so, it is satisfactory to learn that the people of Ashanti themselves distinguish a well-marked class of ceremonial objects by the special name of suman; and since none of our other equivalents, 'charms,' 'amulets,' ' talismans,' and so forth, are particularly appropriate, here is the very opportunity of using the term ' fetishes ' which the committee of experts had the wit to forecast.

To Capt. Rattray, meanwhile, belongs the honour of having shown how the suman differ, in native eyes, from other objects 'equally endowed with spiritual powers'. I need not repeat his explanation here, but would rather point out that the unfavourable connotation of oir word 'fetish' is no bar to its application to suman, since these are of dubious respectability not merely for the European but also according to the religious consciousness of Ashanti. When Capt. Rattray visited the temple of Tano or Ta Kora 'the greatest of the Ashanti gods upon earth ', he could not but notice ' the total absence of the suman or charms that usually adorn the walls of most Ashanti temples' ; while ' the priests were also devoid of the usual medicine charms so commonly worn by their class'. Thereupon an old priest explained: 'Ta Kora came from 'Nyame, the Sky God, and needs no help from ordinary suman' ; adding significantly, 'Suman spoil the gods, but I cannot stop

most priests using them.' Here a scale of religious values is clearly acknowledged, and we can appreciate the fact all the better because we are likely to be in sympathy with the doctrine involved. The old priest, to be sure, did not go on to show why suman spoil the obosom or ' gods', and it may be doubted whether he was master of the theological language necessary for the purpose. But we may well suppose that the thought at the back of his mind ran
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394 GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION somewhat as follows: that obosom are like persons, while suman are more like things; and that, in so far as one treats persons as if they were things, one depersonalizes and degrades them. Meanwhile, as we might expect, direct questioning on Capt. Rattray's part as to the precise nature of the difference between obosom and suman produced a vague and inconsistent set of replies from informants who in most cases were not improbably brought face to face with the difficulty for the first time. Some of these answers were more ingenious than profound, as when it was pointed out that religion requires both its artillery and its small arms. More instructive is the attempt of another native witness to connect suman with those ' fairies, forest-monsters, and witches' who haunt the penumbra of the religious consciousness of Ashanti. In this association of the two we have a valuable hint of the low status accorded alike to suman and to the fantastic denizens of the world of folklore, as it might almost be termed. Incidentally it may be noted that it is the folklore rather than the genuine religion which the native, treasuring his secrets and ever tending to identify the sacred with the esoteric, is wont to pass on to prying strangers; so that it is not surprising if Sasabonsam, and bogeys of that kind, figure largely in the accounts of uncritical travellers. Finally, of all the native attempts to cope with the problem set by Capt. Rattray, the most striking is the statement that it is of the essence of suman to help their owner personally. As is well known, one school of theorists tries to distinguish the sphere of magic from that of religion by assigning to the former all kinds of anti-social and selfish trafficking with the occult ; while another school makes the difference one of procedure rather than of motive, religion employing a method of conciliation and magic a method of control. It seems to me, after hearing what the natives themselves have to say about it, that the rival theories do not exclude each other, since considerations of motive and of procedure alike help to determine the inferior status of suman. They are suspect partly because they are used to promote private ends, and partly because their influence is purely coercive. No animistic philosophy is equal to the task of explaining how a collection of ingredients derived from the most heterogeneous sources can act as a single personality, but has to content itself with the vague

GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION 395 notion of an occult force. Such a force, as notably in the form of bayi or ' witchcraft ', may be stronger than the obosom themselves. Even so, however, it is of a lower order; because, whether it be alive or not alive, a slave or a mere instrument, at any rate it blindly and irrationally serves such ends as are dictated by the selfishness and spite of man.

I must next try to say something about Nyame, the Supreme Being, whose position, except in so far as it is shared by Asase Ya, the Earth-goddess, is undoubtedly at the head of the Ashanti pantheon. So much controversy has raged over the question of the nature and origin of the peculiar type of ' high ', that is, ethical gods first distinguished by Andrew Lang in The Making of Religion and termed by him ' All-Fathers', that every word of Capt. Rattray's account of Nyame will be canvassed by the critics. Suspecting as I do that Lang's high gods form a very miscellaneous class, I would merely ask the disputants to try Nyame on his own merits, and not to object to the testimony from Ashanti merely on the ground that it does not fit in with what has been reported under the same general heading from other parts of the world, or even from other parts of West Africa. For instance, even if Mohammedan or Christian influences can be held responsible for the rise of a high god elsewhere, the Nyame of Ashanti may well be of indigenous origin; though indigenous is at best a relative term, and there is probably not a single god known to history who is not to some extent a loangod. Again, Nyame seems definitely to be a sky-god in Ashanti to-day; and those who are anxious to dissociate what they deem to have originated as a pure monotheism from ' naturism' of any kind have no right to ignore this fact, though of course they may prove if they can that the association with the sky is secondary. Meanwhile, the outstanding feature that distinguishes Nyame from most of the deities who appear in Lang's list is that he is by no means ' otiose ', that is, reverenced, perhaps, but scarcely worshipped. On the contrary, Capt. Rattray has visited, and could even photograph for our benefit, a temple of Nyame with its special priests, while his altars are in almost every compound. Nyame holds his own as a living god in Ashanti, and there is even evidence that the subordination of the obosom is clearly recognized by the people, his power being

 as it were delegated to these his 'sons'. As for 'fetishism', Capt. Rattray makes short work of the vulgar error which attaches the world 'fetish' to the brass pans forming the ' shrines' or ' altars' either of Nyame or of one of the obosom. We have but to consult the long prayer uttered at the making of such a shrine to realize that it is not the outward symbolism but the inward sense that can alone provide the basis of an intelligent judgement concerning the value of a religious act. The danger of confining attention to externals is well illustrated by the story of the golden stool of Ashanti. When we are seeking to make out what scale of religious values is effectively, however subconsciously, present to give unity to the multifarious beliefs of a primitive people, no greater puzzle occurs than how to determine the relative importance of what is usually classed as ancestor-worship. The subject is unfortunately one which the anthropologist tends to burke, no doubt largely because of the initial difficulty of delimiting a precise field of research. How far can ancestor-worship be distinguished from the general worship of the dead? Are totems to rank as ancestors? Do both sides of the family provide ancestors even where mother-right or father-right prevails in an extreme form ? Are various customs compatible with genuine 'worship', such as not

mentioning the names of the dead, or bidding them to depart once for all to another place ? In the meantime, while these preliminary questions remain unsettled, it is premature to hold, as many do, that, even where ancestors are most distinctly recognized by primitive folk, their so-called worship amounts to no more than a sort of ' tendance'
-that, in fact, it is a matter of kindly sentiment rather than of religious awe. Be this as it may, the present case must be tried on its merits, and Ashanti may or may not be found to be typical in this respect. Now Capt. Rattray is of opinion that ' the predominant influences in the Ashanti religion ' are neither Nyame nor the Earth-goddess nor the obosom, though the latter fill the land, but the samanfo, the spirits of the departed forbears of the clan. Of course, predominance is a word of doubtful import, since it may merely mean that, apart from any question of their relative dignity, the samanfo get in practice a large share of attention-just as, I suppose, the suman also do, though

 admittedly inferior in true worth. Seeing, then, that the samanfo ' are the real land-owners', I dare say that what might be called pragmatic reasons underlie the alleged, tendency to exalt them in the scale of sacred influences. On the other hand, the familial, the legal, and the moral go so closely together at the level of primitive society that it is hard to see from what source, unless it be by association with a strong central government, the gods who personify Nature could derive a stock of moral attributes superior to those of the departed and ' beatified ' heads of families. Nay, even were kingship more completely developed than ever it was in Ashanti, it would not necessarily follow that nature-gods would get the benefit of the notion thus suggested of a divine governance of the universe ; since, as seems to have happened in Uganda, the king's predecessors, not to say ancestors, would quite probably attain by apotheosis to the highest honours of all. To go back to the samanfo, let me add that it would not be fair to connect all the reverence that they command with the cupboard-love principle of making real property more secure, by obtaining their good graces. For the cult of the paternal ntoro, though lacking such support, is none the less of great moment, involving as it does a whole philosophy of heredity and reincarnation, which suggests new lines of investigation to be followed up both in Ashanti and elsewhere with much advantage to science.
Reasons of space forbid that I should go on, as I should like to do, to examine Ashanti religion on its ritual side. I cannot conclude, however, without congratulating Capt. Rattray on having steadily kept in view what I am sure is the only sound working rule in regard to the study of primitive religion, namely, to master the rites before one tries to formulate the beliefs. His thoroughness in this respect deserves all praise. Moreover, by actively participating in their ceremonies, he gained the confidence of the people so that they were moved to communicate the faith that was in them. What, for instance, could be more enlightening than the old high-priest's explanation of the Apo, the Saturnalia during which every one enjoys what Bosman calls ' a perfect lampooning liberty'.

' When a man', said the priest, ' has spoken freely thus, he will feel his sunsum cool and quiet, and the sunsum of the other person against whom he has now

398 GENERAL ASPECTS OF ASHANTI RELIGION openly spoken will be quieted also.' Could any psycho-analytic theory of repressions enable us to put the matter more clearly ? Or, again, what a flood of light is thrown on the nature of an oath by Capt. Rattray's detailed account of a judicial procedure founded on what Dr. Westermarck has taught -us to call 'the conditional curse'. But I must break off, apologizing for having offered a ' first gleaning' of impressions in place of the careful analysis which such first-rate work as Capt. Rattray's deserves.

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