

The Ewe People

A STUDY OF THE EWE PEOPLE IN GERMAN TOGO



Jakob Spieth

Berlin 1906

Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen)

Translated by

Emmanuel F. Tsaku, Marcellinus Edoh, Raphael Avornyo &
Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu

Edited by Komla Amoaku



Embassy
of the Federal Republic of Germany
Accra

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By
Jakob Spieth

With 2 Maps and 172 Photographs

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by Jakob Spieth

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Foreword by Ambassador Marius Haas

Since 1981, Germany has been supporting the preservation of cultural heritage across the globe as part of the Federal Foreign Office's Cultural Preservation Programme. Funding is provided for projects to safeguard cultural heritage in developing countries and to preserve Germany's cultural heritage abroad. This programme is primarily designed to help developing countries build a sense of national identity, thus promoting the sort of intercultural dialogue between equal partners that is sought by Germany. It has become a highly effective instrument of Germany's foreign cultural and education policy.

Increasingly, the German Government is expanding this programme to the safeguarding of literature, music and other sources of intellectual heritage. Thus, the translation of *Die Ewe-Stämme* is only one example of the German Foreign Offices' policy to protect immaterial cultural heritage from vanishing forever.

This book, the translation of the groundbreaking work *Die Ewe-Stämme*, is a fine example of German-Ghanaian cultural cooperation in the field of preserving our common cultural heritage. This book is by far the most important still existing documentation on the history, culture and socio-economic organization of the Ewe in present-day Togo and Ghana.

The importance of this book to scholars and the interested public in general, and to the Ewe in particular, is best demonstrated by the central role it still plays in chieftaincy disputes and other legal proceedings among the Ewe in their traditional areas.

Regrettably, this book is not easily accessible, as only a handful of copies exist amongst the Ewe. The fact that the book is mainly written in German constitutes an additional obstacle to its use. This is due to the fact that German is no more in widespread use amongst the Ewe.

Therefore, this translation of *Die Ewe-Stämme* into English and contemporary Ewe might create a revival of interest amongst researchers, enhance the understanding of the traditional Ewe culture and become reading material in schools and universities.

I would like to convey my sincere thanks to the Institute for Music and Development, the Asogli State Council, Sub-Saharan Publishers and the Goethe Institut, all of which were instrumental in making this important translation and publication a reality.

Dr. Marius Haas

*Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany
to the Republic of Ghana (2007-2010)*

Foreword

In 1890, Togo was made a protectorate of Germany after an agreement with England. The aim of this book is to inform the reader about some of the Ewe people of this country. I hope this fundamentally unique happening has drawn these people closer to us not only as Tsarist colonial subjects but also as human beings to whom we owe a lot of obligations. Whatever one may understand by these last points; whether from the religious or cultural point of view, the blessings which this will bring cannot be well appreciated without an exact knowledge of the people concerned. In addition to information about the history, legal structures as well as information about the social and economic lives of the tribes of Ho, *Matse* and *Taviefe*, this book also provides a comprehensive insight into their spiritual lives. Unfortunately, it is exactly this field which has remained an enigma to us Europeans to date. This may be due more to the fact that the African takes a long time to decide to entrust foreigners with his innermost spiritual feelings. The Europeans' inability to achieve mastery of the languages was less to blame.

My missionary work in Eweland extended over two decades during which I was blessed with a lot of opportunities of relating with the people in a very friendly way. Thus I had the chance of hearing a lot and being witness to events, listening to proceedings and experiencing a lot of situations which would in normal circumstances have been withheld from Europeans. My method was to employ my time and energy to record my observations, oral and aural (what I had heard or experienced when and where), immediately after the experience, thereby taking liberal advantage of the help and co-operation of native eye and (ear) witnesses. I owe the best quality pieces of information to special insiders like chiefs, priests and magic-men and women. My native aides and I recorded directly from the mouth of the narrators in their own language. Whatever these people said was faithfully recorded by me or by my native aides in their own language. As the years went by, I was able to discuss these pieces of information with traditionalists and made use of them during my sermons and if once a while, the audience looked on in astonishment and wondered how come the white man got to know that, then certainly one can perceive the reliability of the information

available to me.⁴ Scientific authorities like Professor v. Luschan have always anticipated the publication of a collection in this form. In a letter to me dated 27th July 1903, he wrote: 'Even a cursory glance of your manuscript is enough to convince me that it contains a treasure of almost immeasurable worth and records whose publication is not only of scientific interest, but must also be of the greatest importance for the practical development of the protectorate'.

The larger portion of this book has been written in the local language to which I have tried, amid all sorts of difficulties, to give the most exact translation possible. This effort led to all sorts of difficulties: Should one put emphasis on the perfection of style, then the translation strays too far from the original text, and, if one puts it on the translation of the exact text, one then finds that it falls short of the German style. At the Oriental Seminar in Berlin where the first sheets were read as they came from the press, the general opinion greatly favoured, on the whole, a more exact leaning on the Ewe text. The whole manuscript which was complete and ready for print had, therefore, to be subjected once again to a thorough revision during which a lot more correction could be made. The parts appearing only in German have been authored solely by me. I had to try, even there, not to relate its original form too much to the German, thereby leading to a shift in the original impression. Even now, only the author is aware of the many mistakes and weaknesses with which this book is being presented to the public.

I owe my special thanks to the mission's inspector A.W. Schreiber and the directorate of North German Missionary Society in Bremen for the publication of the book. During his inspection tour in Togo, inspector A.W. Schreiber showed a lot of understanding for my collections and ensured that they were safely transported to Germany. He also supported the printing process by word and deed at all stages. I would like to thank the Colonial Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs most respectfully for the support granted towards the publication of the works. I was very happy when the German Colonial Congress of 1905 unanimously adopted its 9th resolution to make more funds available for the publication of the 'Spieth Collections' on the Ethnology of Togo in addition to its related dictionary by Westermann. I hope this resolution will remain effective, to a large extent, in Berlin. The Consul Vohsen has shown colonial and scientific interest in the publication of the book by taking over the publication as well as the make up.⁵ I hope he would be richly rewarded by the propagation of the book and the better understanding of Togo that this would bring. I would like to extend my warmest gratitude to Mr. Vohsen and Prof. Meinhof who facilitated the whole project, right from the beginning, and to Mr. Westermann, the missionary who, together with the former, proof-read the printed sheet.

I got many of the beautiful photographs through the friendly cooperation of the directorate of the ethnological museum. My special thanks go to Prof. Luschan, who put these rich collections at my total disposal. Some photographs taken by missionaries Hornberger, Burgi Fies and Pfisterer are ornaments of the book and serve as illustrations of the text. The Basel mission, District Magistrate, Dr. Heim and the businessman Kaufmann, also left their photographs to me.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, and my African assistant, Ludwig Adzaklo whom the North German Mission sent to me from Togo, without whose illustrious cooperation this book would not have been completed.

Concerning the structure of the book, one must mention that the short chapters with titles were necessary to facilitate as much comparison of the text as possible. In the historical chapter as well as the chapter on 'Death and Burial', the names of the narrators have been printed in bold print. This also serves as a record of the source of information. To protect the narrators against reproaches by their countrymen, I had to use abbreviations for their names.

The author has taken pains to indicate the source of observations made by other missionaries at the relevant points. The following publications were of advantage to me in the 'introductory chapter':

1. Monthly and quarterly editions of the North German Mission Society papers.
2. Annual reports on the 'Developments of the German Protectorate' and
3. 'Reports by explorers and Scholars'
4. "History of the Gold coast and Asante" by Reindorf as well as the "Ewe Reader" by the missionary Harter and Dauble.

I refer the reader who would like to use the Ewe text to the Dictionary of the Ewe Language by missionary D. Westermann. This book was printed by the same printing press and contains a grammatical synopsis and sufficient guide for correct pronunciation.

Jakob Spieth
Missionary
Tubingen
July, 1906

Afterword

“The Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast present the ordinary characteristics of the uncivilized negro,” wrote the Englishman A.B. Ellis in an important ethnographic work published in 1890, a work cited a few times by Jakob Spieth. We need to read Ellis’s *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*¹ to fully appreciate the true value of Jakob Spieth’s 963-page volume, *The Ewe People: a Study of the Ewe People in German Togo*, originally published in 1906. Ellis’s fundamental opinion about the Ewe-speaking people may sound strange, even shocking, but it was by no means unusual for its times. In his listing of the so-called “ordinary characteristics of the uncivilized negro” (p. 11), Ellis claims, among other things, that somewhere between childhood and adolescence, the negro’s “physical nature masters the intellect, and frequently deadens it” (p.11). To support his assertion, Ellis cites ‘scientific’ evidence from physiology and physical anthropology, where various leading authorities attributed the abrupt end of intellectual development to “the early closing of the sutures of the cranium” of the negro. This scientific observation leads to, or rather flows from, an even bolder declaration:

Like most inhabitants of the tropics, whether black or white, the negroes of the Slave Coast have more spontaneity and less application, more intuition and less reasoning power, than the inhabitants of temperate climates. They can imitate but they cannot invent, or even apply. They constantly fail to grasp and generalize a notion (p.10).

So much for the quality of ‘scientific thought’ of the day, but the point is that this was indeed the popularly held opinion of the period in which both Ellis and Spieth wrote their respective studies on the Ewe people. This fact may explain why the earlier work by Ellis appears to have been generally well-received and has indeed remained popular enough for it to have been reprinted as recently as 1966. Spieth’s work, on the

1 *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa: their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, etc.* Oosterhout NB, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1966.

other hand, has so far remained obscure, though often referred to by various scholars and interested individuals many of whom may never have seen a copy, let alone read it. If it has taken more than a century for Spieth's work to finally become more accessible through translation into English, it is not only because the original publication was in German and Ewe. In choosing to grant the Ewe people their full humanity as members of the human species or family, with their many human attributes intact, Spieth was clearly asking for too much concession from the popular, indeed 'scientifically' established, view of his times, a view, we dare say, that has not entirely disappeared from the popular imagination.

It is a daunting task to write an afterword which captures, with absolute fidelity, the spirit and import of a work which is a compendium of the origins, history, culture, geography, kinship and worldview of the Ewe people, never before accessed in one single document. Jakob Spieth is unique in the sense in which he is atypical of many pre-colonial, colonial, and even post-colonial European anthropologists, ethnographers, philologists and historians who tend to filter Africa through the narrow, insular and often condescending prism of Eurocentric paradigms. Spieth does a good job in divesting his work of wanton prejudice and hasty judgement, recording, transcribing and translating only that which carves a true and authentic picture of the Ewe people across time and space – from his own observations, careful and extended research, intuition and from first hand sources drawn from among the Ewe people themselves. Thus, the authenticity of this document lies in the totality of its conceptualization and compilation; 'eye-witness' and 'ear-witness' interface, and the accounts coalesce into narrative patterns that flow naturally and with credibility, leaving readers to navigate, on their own terms, the many contours and complexions of the text.

Today, time and circumstance may have tempered, or altered, the corpus of material assembled, yet this complex and comprehensive document, almost encyclopaedic in scope, remains a major source of information on the Ewe people. It is an invaluable bridge between the past and the present and opens a depth of insight into phenomena that even Ewe scholars today are ignorant of, or conveniently choose to ignore. Spieth's work does for the Ewe people what Christaller and Rattray have done for the Akans, particularly the Akwapims and the Ashantis, respectively. In doing so, however, Spieth seems to have covered much more ground and with greater attention to detail, allowing the people to speak much more for themselves and often directly to the reader. The familiar posture of the research scholar as the ultimate authority through whose eyes and mind we may best understand those who are the subject of his or her research project, is replaced here by that of the scholar as an ardent seeker of knowledge whose ultimate source and authority resides in the people. With disarming modesty, Spieth repudiates the all too familiar approach in which the people are no more than informants, providing raw data for the benefit of the scholar's authoritative analysis and final judgement:

The sole source is thus the people themselves. But this is only available to those who have mastered the language and known how to win the confidence of the people. However, one is never through with it, but one will have to apply oneself to winning it every single time. If one comes to regard the whole folk as one large living library, with every single person representing one volume therein, in which there

are chapters on God, the world, Man and his history, then one can immediately estimate that research work in Africa requires a lot of patience and may never be completed in the foreseeable future. One will, therefore, have to think modestly about the goals one has actually achieved (p. 58).

Even after over two decades of daily observation and close study, Spieth is unwilling to indulge in the usual presumptions of the typical ethnographer. But this should not lead us to underestimate the insights that he has gained about the Ewe people. His elaborate, 62-page Introduction is filled with countless, often surprising details about the history, geography, socio-political organization, religious and general cultural life of the selected inter-related communities he chose to focus on. What we have here is not a mere catalogue of ethnographic detail. Each detail is presented in such a way that we are made to appreciate its significance and value not only to the scholar, but also to the people themselves. Spieth is on constant guard against hasty interpretations that impose standard notions on various subjects that he deals with. There is much to learn from his careful presentation of such subjects as monogamy vrs polygamy; men, women and children at work on the farm and in the home; marriage and the “bride-price”; religion as a concept; Ewe notions of God and the role of “earthly deities”; the practice of witchcraft; upbringing of children to grow into responsible, hard-working adults; the cultural and intellectual value of language.

The significance Spieth attaches to the role of language in the life of the Ewe people and to his own role as research scholar is so critical that we must isolate it for special attention and comment. He is often on his guard against the use of vocabulary and expressions that come with too much stereotypical baggage, hence his choice of the “Yewe nunnery/monastery” for what others would dismiss as “Yewe cult”. His recommendation to the German colonial authorities and policy makers regarding the Ewe language is priceless:

Such a rich language, which is capable of further enrichment, would be highly suitable as a language of culture, education and trade and the greatest crime that Europe can commit against that tribe would be to suppress their most valuable native inheritance under European languages or even as much as declaim against it. If we want the Ewes to retain their valuable intellectual individuality, then we must seriously ensure that this language remains, and that the up and coming youth of that country develops an insight into the beauty and worth of their mother tongue.

This appreciation for and ingenuous application of his language is progressively lost to him through an over-emphasis on the European languages (p. 41).

Given this unique position on the value of the Ewe language, we can understand why Spieth chose to present this major work in a bilingual text that preserves the testimonies and world view of the Ewe people themselves in their original language. Having been ‘frozen’ in German for more than a century, this work, now translated into English by a consortium of translators, is back to life; the pages are filled with

information primordial and ancient, yet vibrant and exciting as it can possibly be. Some of the gem may have been lost in translation; however, it is to the credit of the translators that they have made conscious attempts to, as much as possible, capture the quintessential ingredients, rhythms and nuances of the Ewe language.

The pedagogic elements of Spieth's work cannot be over-emphasized. The many aetiological tales, etymologies, proverbs, genealogies and kinship networks, rites of passage, among others, make this book a timeless and authoritative reference material which can and has indeed been deployed in the resolution of complex issues relating to Eweland.

Spieth's work also underscores the salience of oral traditions. His heavy reliance on knowledge from within the communities he was studying attests to his faith in folk memory and critical observation, and by extension, folklore and oral history, and strengthens the argument that, indeed, the recording of history, or a credible ethnographic study, is not the preserve of only literate societies, that non-literate societies are equally capable of constructing sensible systems of knowledge, especially about themselves. However, this project brings painfully to the fore, once again, one of the paradoxes of our time – that it often takes foreigners to draw attention to the richness and splendour of our own cultural identity and civilization. We must take special note of Spieth's disappointment with the fact that “of the many hundred native men who have successfully passed through the mission school since 1847, none appears to have the urge to get interested in the historical past, the religious customs and the laws of his people. Men who have Ewe as their mother tongue, who know the popular way of life in the most intimate and personal way, and who furthermore possess a satisfactory amount of European education, should have been able to do great things for science and for their people” (p.58).

We may also remind Spieth that there is a reverse side to this paradox. If his call was to remain unheeded for a long time, it must be because he and his colleague missionaries had succeeded too well in their mission of delivering the early Ewe scholars from their ancestral beliefs, customs, laws and gods and turning their minds unto the ways of The Lord Jesus Christ. A change of mind and heart has been a long time in coming; it has had to wait for a new generation of Ewe scholars, some of whose work is partially represented in the *Titles in the Eweland Series* initiated by the Organization for Research on Eweland (ORE). The following three collections published under the general title of *A Handbook of Eweland* have done a great deal in offering readers the benefits of research on the Ewe by Ewe scholars: *The Ewes of Southeastern Ghana*, edited by Francis Agbodeka (1997), *The Northern Ewes in Ghana* edited by Kodzo Gavua (2000), and *The Ewes of Togo and Benin* edited by Benjamin N. Lawrence (2007).²

The research strategies and scholarly approaches adopted by almost all contributors to the above volumes are, in many essential respects, different from those used by Spieth. Perhaps there is need here for much further work by a dedicated team of scholars, with Ewe scholars playing a key role. Their task is already mapped out for them in the closing paragraphs of Spieth's introduction to his work:

Should the volume in hand be of interest to the Mission, leading to the sourcing of additional funds to make the printing possible, then this first volume would be followed by a second and a third, which would

² All published by Woeli Publishing Services, Accra, Ghana.

give adequate treatment to the other inland and coastal tribes. On the strength of this thoroughly reliable material, a comparison could then be made in which the final results would be put together. By this effort, we have, certainly not a complete all-embracing, but definitely a fairly comprehensive monograph of the Ewe people. (p. 63).

The Ewe People is, no doubt, a monumental work of careful research and dedicated scholarship. But Jacob Spieth tells us, in his usual modesty, that it was only the beginning. For whatever reasons, he was not able to go to work on the second, the third, and the final 'fairly comprehensive monograph of the Ewe people'. That task is waiting, still.

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February 15, 2011

Note of Appreciation

“Die Ewe Stä mme” was first published and had been in circulation for more than one half of a century before I was born. It is now one hundred and three years old. I heard my forebears refer to it constantly with great admiration and passion as a scholarly masterpiece that has provided answers and solutions to some of the most complex issues relative to territorial and/or chieftaincy disputes among those Ewe communities covered in the case studies. Notwithstanding the fact that the study was published in German, with significant portions in Ewe, it has remained the most authoritative treatise on the history, economic, socio-cultural and political structures that existed among the Ewe prior to the era of European colonization and proselytization of our traditional societies.

“Die Ewe Stä mme” had limited circulation with only a handful of copies found here and there. It became the most cherished and sacred possession of the countable individuals or families that owned copies as a result of their direct contact with the German colonial administration.

Given the currency of this comprehensive and monumental piece of work, the importance of the decision by the Government of Germany to translate the entire publication into English cannot be over-emphasized. Finally, “Die Ewe Stä mme” will become accessible to all and sundry and the history of the Ewe as a culturally distinct ethnic group will no longer remain the preserve of a privileged few.

I thank all those who have contributed to this noble and worthy project – the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the German Embassy, the Goethe-Institut Ghana and the Institute for Music and Development, the initiators of the process.

Above all, I thank the Bremen Missionary, Jacob Spieth, whose objective curiosity led to the beginning, completion and publication of the study. It has remained a gold mine of unadulterated data on the Ewe for more than one hundred years and will continue to serve the world of scholarship for the unforeseeable future.

Tɔɔbe Afede XIV
Agbogbomefia of Asɔgli State
Ho

Introduction

I heard about a book called “Eve Steamer” at age ten or so, around 1950 to be precise, for the first time. The elders spoke passionately about it as though the very existence of the entire Eve speaking world depended on it. At that age, I could not imagine why a “Steamer”, especially one that probably navigated our waters under colonial command nearly sixty years before my birth, could be so revered as the most reliable arbiter and symbol of reconciliation in intra-ethnic conflicts. It must have been an extremely powerful “Steamer” indeed, and her cargo must have equally transformed the lives of all those who watched her anchor in Eve waters.

The existence of the “Eve Steamer” became a myth, if not nearly revered as a deity, and the very mention of its name sent shivers from one’s head down to one’s toes, as if a libation was required to appease its spirit for invoking its name in vain.

I discovered at age fifteen that the overwhelming influence of what the elders referred to as the “Eve Steamer”, actually, was what was considered as the most comprehensive documentation of the Eve, covering a rather broad range of subject areas – History, Religion, Economic Life, Social Organization, Political Organization and the Psyche of Ho, which was curiously discussed as an entirely separate entity. I also discovered that the correct title of the study was not the “Eve Steamer”, as the elders pronounced it, but rather *Die Ewe-Stämme*, authored by Jakob Spieth, who was a Bremen Missionary in Togoland during the period of German administration of the colony. Consequently, the edition was published in 1906, in German, 269 pages of which were in Eve, while 105 pages were in both German and Eve. There were a few German-trained scholars still alive, who could read and translate the content into Ewe for others, and, although the Eve chapters were somewhat comprehensive, many readers experienced quite a bit of difficulty in reading the text since they were direct transcriptions of the various dialects rather than the standard Eve.

Die Ewe-Stämme remains the most celebrated and indispensable reference documentation on the Eve, even in its original form. It continues to feature prominently in the settlement of chieftaincy and territorial disputes, conflicts, issues related to succession and ascension to stools. For example, during the protracted dispute in Ho over claims of the Paramountcy, I recollect vividly the heated exchanges between the

legendary, top, erudite doyen of Ghana's Judicial System, the late J.B. Danquah, and F. T. Amorin, each of whom represented the two principal claimants. These exchanges were guided by the perceived reliability and authenticity of relevant content in *Die Ewe-Stämme*. After decades of Commissions of Enquiry hearings, and court proceedings, the final judgement that was handed down was reflective of the exhaustive documentation of observations presented by Spieth in *Die Ewe-Stämme*.

Of course, many, many years have passed since the first print of the *Die Ewe-Stämme*. After nearly one hundred and three years of its existence, one would expect the value of this monumental piece of scholarship to have diminished considerably. The memories of successive generations are unable to sustain the past with any degree of indisputable accuracy. The elders, who were the repositories of our oral traditions, and the traditional institutions with their attendant activities, whose periodic observations constantly mined our memories afresh, have passed on to the underworld or been irreparably weakened by the ferocious onslaught of modernization.

However, the excitement that greeted the decision to give the *Die Ewe-Stämme* a rebirth amply demonstrates the burning, yearning, collective desire of respective Eve communities to retrace their past. Although A.B. Ellis' publication in 1890, on the *Eve – Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, etc.*, predated the *Die Ewe-Stämme*, the latter made some significant inroads in preserving the sanctity of the foundations of community life among the Eve.

As a direct beneficiary of the rebirth of *Die Ewe-Stämme*, the singular honour of serving as the editor of the English translation gives me an enormous scholarly advantage to pontificate on the relevance of the edition in the reconstruction of the historical pillars of our Eve communities. I was only able to withstand the pressures of this project because of the able, unflinching support of my dear wife, Ms. Korkor Amarteifio, who, by the way, initiated the whole idea and persisted in the development of strategies and proposals that ultimately convinced the German Government to support this project as a symbolic acknowledgement of its presence in this part of the African continent. In fact, the entire translation project was coordinated by Korkor Amarteifio, from the drawing board to the finish line. I thank her profusely on behalf of all of us who could not wait for this moment to dawn on us for her selfless commitment.

The impact of the Goethe-Institut Ghana on the citizenry of Ghana has been tremendously diverse over the years. This impact has maintained its peak as a result of visionary and creative leadership. Indeed, this project became a reality after having been thoroughly reviewed and strongly recommended by Madam Eleonore Sylla, Director of the Goethe-Institut Ghana. She was steadfast in her support and liaised effectively with the German Embassy to ensure completion of the project as planned.

In view of her indispensable role in the realization of the dream, the Chiefs and people of Eveland express their deepest gratitude to Madam Eleonore Sylla for this priceless gift. By the same breath, the interest and excitement with which the German Embassy received this project and the generosity of financial support provided for its realization, are unprecedented and highly appreciated. The Eves would like to say, AKPE NA MI.

In all of this, the team of translators ultimately made this edition possible. Dr. Marcellinus Edorh, Dr. Raphael Avornto, Mr. Emmanuel Tsaku and Prof. Mary Esther

Kropp Dakubu certainly transformed what would have otherwise become an archival piece into a living scholarly piece. Thank you for sharing your skills.

Finally, it became necessary to edit the Ewe components of the new English edition to bring it into conformity with modern Ewe language. This decision was to allow easy reading of the text and make it more comprehensible and we say thank you to Mr. Patrick Dikro for the revision of the Ewe text.

The total benefits of this translation project will hopefully provide a better understanding of the Ewe by the Ewe as well as by those who may be curiously eager to expand their knowledge about others. It will certainly fascinate the world of research scholars and students, for it raises a myriad of historical questions and issues that will require further in-depth investigation and study to answer.

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Acknowledgements

The impact of European colonization of Africa has bequeathed to the continent quite a number of diverse relics and legacies. The diaries and documented observations of colonial military officers, government agents and the proselytizing hordes of missionaries continue to provide today's scholarly world with much of the empirical evidence that informs our knowledge and opinions about who we were, the philosophy that guided and nurtured the life-styles of our forebears and the historical paths that led them through the centuries.

The Ewe of Ghana, Togo and Benin have been one of the most documented ethnic groups in West Africa, given their encounters with the German, French and British colonial administrations. In 1906, Jakob Spieth, a German Bremen Missionary, published *Die Ewe-Stämme* after having gone through and overcome some tough, daunting challenges which could have easily made anyone in his position abandon such a goal at the time.

Die Ewe-Stämme has since remained one of the most comprehensive treatises on the history, religion, economic life, traditional social structure, and, indeed, the entire spectrum of everyday life of the Ewe. *Die Ewe-Stämme* was to the Ewe what R.S. Rattray's *Ashanti Law and Constitution* and *Religion and Art in Ashanti* are to the Asante. However, in contrast to the latter, the book had limited circulation and became increasingly rare to the extent that it almost became a deified piece of work and source of classified knowledge. Additionally, *Die Ewe-Stämme* was published in German and old non-standard and colloquial Ewe languages. It was difficult to read, especially as survivors of the German era have almost gone extinct.

Therefore, when, in September 2007, I was approached by Korkor Amarteifio, Associate Director of Institute for Music & Development, to consider the publication of the English edition of *Die Ewe-Stämme*, I felt it was a privilege and an opportunity to accept this offer, for this is a historic contribution to scholarship and knowledge which would stand the test of time.

The translation project underwent some frustrating tests of resolve and determination. First, there were only isolated individuals who owned copies and were apprehensive about parting with them for any length of time.

Secondly, at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2007, I discovered through a Togolese student, Kojo Attipoe, that two copies of *Die Ewe-Stämme* were in the reference collection of the library at the Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main labeled, “LESESAAL AFRIKA ASIEN JUDAICA (3. STOCK) Signatur SA 17/1210; SQ 17/1211.” Of course, there was restriction on circulation, given its rarity.

I would like to acknowledge Dr Harmut Bergenthum of Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, through whose intervention the book was digitized and placed on the internet which the Goethe-Institut Ghana accessed and printed for the commencement of the translation project.

A team of translators and facilitators was constituted, including Dr Marcellinus Etorh as lead translator, Dr P.K. Fordjor, Dr Raphael Avornyo and Mr Emmanuel Tsaku. Professor Komla Amoaku was editor/liaison. Korkor Amarteifio became the project coordinator. Mrs. Eleonore Sylla, Director Goethe-Institut Ghana, became liaison, and Akoss Ofori-Mensah the publisher.

Thirdly, the proposed launch of the book was scheduled to coincide with the September 2009 celebration of the Asogli Annual Yam Festival at which the chiefs from Togo and Benin were expected to join their kindred. The lead translator, Dr Etorh, was involved in a near-fatal accident and had a paralyzing relapse in early 2010. The deadline was consequently missed.

Professor Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana assumed total responsibility for completing the project which encompassed translation, orderly lining up of pages and copyediting of the entire work. I sincerely wish to say thank you to Mary Esther for this timely intervention and to Rev. Dr Edem Tetteh of the Department of Publishing Studies at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, for reading through the work.

Furthermore, I must express my sincere and deep appreciation for the unflinching, unwavering and unconditional support from Dr Bergenthum, Korkor Amarteifio, Eleonore Sylla, Director of Goethe-Institut Ghana and Marion Ochsenfarth of the German Embassy, Accra, for the completion of this project.

I also thank Mr. Patrick Dikro for the translation of the old into modern Ewe and Professor Komla Amoaku for editing the entire English/Ewe translations.

It was a great honour that H.E. Prof. Kofi Awoonor, Chairman of the Council of State, cheerfully agreed to read through the work. However, due to the pressure of work in his office, he only managed to read the first section.; but he recommended the work to his friend , Prof. Kofi Anyidoho. Therefore when I approached him to review the work and write the Afterword, Prof. Anyidoho willingly agreed and shared it with his colleague Dr. Mawuli Adjei. Their comments and suggestions have immensely enriched the work. Thank you very much. Professor Anyidoho and Dr.Adjei.

Finally, I acknowledge the supporting role of the German Embassy in Accra and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany for providing funding to make this project a reality.

Akoss Ofori Mensah
Publisher
December 2010

Introduction

1. The Country

1. Position, Boundaries and Political Affiliation

The Ewe ethnic group settled on the Slave Coast of West Africa three to four centuries ago from the North East and settled between the Mono and the Volta. The Atlantic Ocean washes the southern border of the territory which stretches to about 7° on the western boundary while its eastern boundary reaches to about the 8° Latitude

The eastern neighbour of the Ewes are their tribal relatives who live in Dahome and are only separated from them by the river Mono. The Volta River is the natural western boundary between them, the Dangmes, Gas and Twis. The northern boundaries of the district of Kpando, Alavanyo, Gbidzigbe, Fodome, Dayi, and Kpele form the northern boundary of their settlement. In Kpele, the boundary takes a sharp course northwards leaving out the district of Akposor until Kpesi and Anyana where it reaches the northernmost boundary of the Ewe people.

The two colonial masters, England and Germany, have shared their Eweland property in such a way that England took possession of a small corner - south western bank, left of the Volta River, while Germany took the rest of the whole territory up to the Mono, the river forming the border between them and French Dahomey.

The German colony then adopted its name "Togo" from a tribe of the same name settled on the lagoon beyond Porto Seguo. This tribe was the first to accept the German flag in 1884. The colony had a coastal extent of just 50 km. Togo is bounded on the east by a fairly straight line up to latitude 9°. The western boundary, however, follows a zigzag course behind the English territories in a north western direction until at 6°40' where River Dayi joins the Volta, in such a manner that the river itself belongs to the English Gold Coast. A comparison of the population density figures of other German colonies in Africa shows that Togo is by far the most densely populated colony.

A geographical area of 87.200 sq km. contains about 1,500,000 persons, making 17 people per sq. km. The following table makes this clear:

COUNTRY	AREA (Sq. Km.)	Population	Persons/ Sq. Km.
1. Togo	87,200	1,500,000	17
2. Cameroon	495,600 = (German dominion)	3,500,000	7
3. Southwest Africa	835,100 = (1½ German dominion)	200,000	4
4. East Africa	995,000 = (2 German dominion)	7,000,000	7

Assuming that the treasures of a colony are in its population, then Togo is not only the most prolific, the most fruitful but also the wealthiest German colony in Africa.

We should therefore not regret the work and capital we are investing in Togo.



View of Lome from the sea

I. Geographical conditions

1. structure of the Land

Viewed as a whole, *Eveland* resembles an obtuse angled triangle, with the southern coast as the base line, stretching over westward into the English territory. The obtuse angle in the east is formed between the Mono estuary and the sea coastline, the side lying opposite the angle representing mountain ranges lying south west to north east. This area is divided by the natives into coast (*futa*), plains (*veme*) and mountains (*tome*).

The coast comprises a 10 to 30 mile wide infertile sand bank stretching from the Volta estuary to the mouth of the Mono River and beyond to the east. There are many villages dotted on the whole of this long sand bank.



Keta Lagoon near Woe

Boats are dried on the forked poles

These villages are surrounded by coconut groves which give the villages welcome shade, and lend the coast a beautiful scenery. It is on these sand banks that the market towns of Anecho, Lome and Keta lie.

Inland and immediately behind this sand belt, the land sinks to a valley-like hollow, 100 m to 150 meters wide, on the average. This opens up at three places, like basins, holding the Keta lagoon, the Togo Lagoon and the Anecho Lagoon.

The plains begin with the land forms bordering this hollow, which the natives call *vego* meaning plain terrain. This is how one distinguishes it from *fugo* the sea terrain which is the real coast. The plain stretches about 240 km. inland in the east but in the west, as the mountains approach the coast, the width reduces to only 40 to 45 km until it gradually tapers off on the right side of the Volta estuary in the English area.



Coastal landscape with palm grove

Its (the plains) east-west width is 190–200 km and includes the whole territory between the Volta and the Mono rivers. The land rises gently from the northern banks of the lagoons lying 17 -25 meters above sea level. It again rises in gently up-climbing wave-lines up to 170 m in Ho, 250 m in Kpalime and 220 m in Kpetesi (Pessi). On these plains, vast tall grass areas are interspersed with short but thick bushes and shrubs. Above these, grow isolated knobby trees, baobab and tall fan-palm trees. In the eastern portion of these, are found beautiful oil palm forests in which the natives cultivate their yam, maize as well as banana and plantain. The farther one goes into the interior the livelier nature becomes, especially near the rivers in whose valleys thick deciduous trees grow.

Here, the dull savanna is interspersed with sharply defined groves, forming the so-called gallery forests. The southern parts of the plain are very dry, causing the people living in the area in the dry season to walk for long hours to rivers or marshy locations to fetch water which is often dirty or muddy. They have, therefore, made basin-like holes in their farms to hold water in the rainy season. This water is then collected and stored in large earthen-ware pots which have been smeared with ash and carefully sealed with wet clay to prevent evaporation.

The Volta River breaks through the mountains in the south-west near Akwamu. There, this mountain (Tome) splits into two ranges running parallel northeast wards, up to Avatime as ridges, offering little or no space for settlements.



Savanna region

The ridges unite near Avatime and form the massif of *Kpoeta–Agome* which stretches northwards up to Akposor. This mountain range resembles a gigantic wall cutting right through the whole of Eweland from south-west to north-east and through the plains dividing it into southern and northern plains. The mountains become higher and wider as one goes farther north. They do not have a single or general name. The parts of the mountain and the summits which have local names got these, not from geographical considerations, but from religious interests. Among these are, for example, the 200 m high *Eveto* in the south west, near Awudome, the 800 m high *Gemito* in Avatime and the perhaps 990 m high Baglu in Dayi. The mountain range, with its wooded slopes, charming valleys and streams, is the watershed between the rivers flowing north and those flowing southwards, from whose northern and southern slopes individual streams come roaring and foaming over 100m to 140 meters, down onto the plains below.



Adaklu Mountain

Earlier the mountain ranges were of great importance to the people as reflected in their history, trade and religion. There were only a few passes leading over the ranges, and these were narrow mountain-trails along which pedestrians had to struggle. Trading activities, therefore, flourished more between the Gold Coast and the inhabitants living north of the mountains, since the plains facilitated mutual accessibility. Commercial caravans from the interior found it easier to drive their livestock down to Accra than to the coast of Eweland. Things have changed now since the German government has embarked upon a serious road construction exercise and transformed the passes into passable mountain roads. The historical importance of the mountain ranges becomes clearer partly in the still existing ruins that can be found on the summit of the pointed ridge near Tsito, and partly on the slopes of mount *Gemi* and in the high altitude of Avatime.



Forest landscape with and fan palms

As early as 1869, a large part of the Ewe tribes had to escape and find refuge in the enclosed valley of Gbadzeme in Avatime when they were being pursued by the Asantes. And if the Kpedze man whom they had threatened with death had betrayed the way to them, they would certainly have been there. When the Asantes then attempted to climb the un-forested Gemi Mountain, the Ewes, who were keeping watch from the top of the mountain, rolled rocks and boulders down the mountain to crush them, and they were forced to retreat with heavy losses. The influence of the mountains on religion can be seen from the fact that various mountains, cliffs, rocky slopes and caves are considered as abodes of the terrestrial dieties.

The *Matse* people, for example, perceive the Sasanu Mountains as the head of the earth-snake and that is why the grass there may only be burnt by the priest.

South of this mountain range, on the northern edge of the plain, one finds two huge conical mountains which are called *Konwo*, meaning Childless Mountains. The Adakluto, near the western boundary of Togo, is 550 m high but generally has no trees and no water. Though there is said to be a spring at its summit, it is supposed to dry up during the dry season. There are some few salty streams at the foot of the mountain, but they also dry up during periods of poor rainfall. For the Adaklu people, who live scattered on the plain, this mountain with its steep craggy southward slope is the distinctive landmark of the collective origin and of a lively tribal consciousness.



A local bridge over a flooded river

The Aguto (Agu mountain) which, when seen from afar, is even more impressive than the Adakluto, lies about 50 to 60 km northeast wards. It rises upwards just like the Adakluto, abruptly out of the plain and reaches a height of 980 m. Though it is unwooded, there exist several springs running down the valley onto the plains where they gather strength and unite with bigger streams to form bigger rivers. On its southwestern slopes lie the villages of Kebu, the highest village lying up to 790 m above sea level. Several parts of the mountain are worshiped as *Trɔ*, not to mention that the whole mountain plays an important role in folk-tales.

2. Rivers

Eweland has several running rivers, yet apart from the lower course of the Mono, none of its rivers is navigable. The river Dayi takes its source from an area occupied by Dayi people situated on the northern slope of the above mentioned mountain ranges. A large number of streams join it from its catchment area on the northern plain and it empties into the Volta below latitude 6° 40'. Rivers Tsawoe, Tordzie, Zio and Haho take their source from the southern side of the mountain and from Aguto. All the other rivers flow into the lagoons on the southern edge of the plain except the Tsawoe which joins the Volta. The Tordzie joins the Keta Lagoon, Zio and the Haho feed the Togo Lake. The characteristic impression is created that it is only the major rivers like the Volta that have the strength to break through the coastal sand bank and flow directly into the sea. The low water volume and sluggish flow of the other rivers are perhaps the causes of their inability to break through the sand spit.



**Village on the shore of a lagoon under coconut palms
Nets are hung to dry from the two posts**

The mud deposit widens the sand-bank, separating the sea from the lagoon, and fertilizing it with humus components.

Apart from the lagoons, inland Eweland has no seas nor lakes. The Keta Lagoon is about 40 km long and 14 km wide. It is the largest lagoon of all, but dries up from time to time, permitting the natives to cross it on foot. Salt is won in the bed of this lagoon and is sold far into the interior as an important commodity. The Togo Lagoon comes as near the sea as 600 m behind Porto Seguro. It is 11 km long and 5 km wide, with a depth of 2-2.5 m. It is not salty and never dries up. The Vo Lagoon, the smallest of them, lies behind Aneho and is mainly fed by the Togo Lagoon to which it is linked by an arm, about 100 m wide.

3. Climate

The climate bears the characteristic features typical of regions whose coastlines lie east-west and not north-south. Persistent heat reaching an average temperature of 26.5° at the coast, and 24.2° in Misahohe, which lies 460 m above sea level, is the most severe sign of that tropical area. Anyone who has once moaned over a hot summer day in Germany can easily imagine how enervating the weather must be, when in Ho for example, the day begins with 26 °C and ends with the same temperature while the afternoon heat reaches 31°-33 °C around 2.00 pm. Another peculiar characteristic of the climate is the very often abrupt change in temperature. The weather, before the outbreak of a storm, may be sultry, most oppressive and stiflingly hot, but the temperature during the storm around Ho, for example, can fall to 17°C. Europeans, and natives alike, find this change very irritable. The heat becomes more bearable when the fresh sea breeze sets in the mornings, making the temperature milder.

Our four seasons are not known there. The two seasons which are most distinguishable are the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season occurs generally in the first weeks of April, when the sun is overhead and lasts for 3-4 months. It reaches its maximum in June or July, after which a relatively dry period follows. This begins at the end of July or beginning of August and extends over the month of September. The sun reaches its zenith in the middle of September, thus ushering in the minor rainy season in October which lasts till November. How different the rainfall pattern is, between the coast and inland, can be seen from the fact that in 1902, the plantation in Kpeme on the coast recorded 90 while Agu, in middle Togo counted 122 rainy days. The quantity of rainfall recorded also reflects the same relationship with 532.1 mm on the coast compared with 1305.6 mm rainfall in Agu. The main dry season prevails during our (northern) winter, from December to February. It is then the so-called Harmattan, during which a dry and cold north-eastern wind blows. This wind carries the desert sand along and is accompanied by a dry hazy atmosphere. The sky is hazy and visibility is drastically reduced, so that one can look into the sun, which looks like a pale, red ball, without being blinded at all. The dry wind contracts the skin and makes it crack. Doors and window frames, as well as every wooden tool shrink, the veneering peels from furniture, the covers of books bend up, and hands and lips crack. Very often in the Harmattan, the natives suffer from pneumonia. It is striking that natives who are down with wounds and sores rejoice in the hope that this dry season would bring them healing. It is also usual to undertake circumcisions in the Harmattan.

Since climatic conditions have a proven influence on the religious beliefs of the Ewes, I would like to follow the description of the course of a storm as captured in *Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten* ("Communications from Explorers and Scholars") volume 3, page 23. There, it is written:

"Concerning the tornados, these set in mostly before the inception of the actual rainy season from March to May and end in October. They can, however, also occur at any time, during any season, especially during very hot periods.

A period of great heat is one of the most certain signs of the imminent occurrence of a tornado. Before such a storm breaks out, there is usually an oppressive heat and an uncustomary stillness in the atmosphere. No leaf flutters, and no straw stirs, insects cease to shriek, even the otherwise noisy frogs, grasshoppers and crickets

become silent. The sky which has hitherto been a shining, blinding blue darkens and gets covered with a dirty gray-brown hazy veil. This occurs in the direction of the sky from which the storm will be coming. It develops and thickens into heavy, very threatening cloud masses, often with reddish lining. As this phenomenon progresses further, a uniform gray develops on the horizon and appears to be almost white against the agitated and turbulent black clouds. This gray segment enlarges itself, by contrast-effect, to the dark clouds soaring over it. Gray tattered clouds race ahead, and, presently, the first squalls follow from the direction of the storm. Temperature drops fast, often between 8-10°. Brisk flashes of lightning accompanied and followed by sharp thunder blasts ensue in quick succession; the storm then reaches the observer within a few moments. The dust, the dirt, leaves and little twigs, are carried along by the storm which descends with a powerful violent burst, accompanied by the big rain drops which soon come pouring down. Lightning flashes unceasingly, thunder rumbles, now high and dull, then in sharp cracking bolts, hitting and crushing against the earth.



Landscape with baobab trees

The terror of the phenomenon is heightened by the darkening of the air and the incessant lightning of electrical discharges beyond reckoning. The uproar in which the whole nature finds itself makes the tumult stand out more clearly. But then the storm does not last long; after 10 or 20 minutes, it is over; but the rain holds on often for an hour and the thunder and lightning continue in all corners of the sky for a long time.”

II. Plants and the Animal World

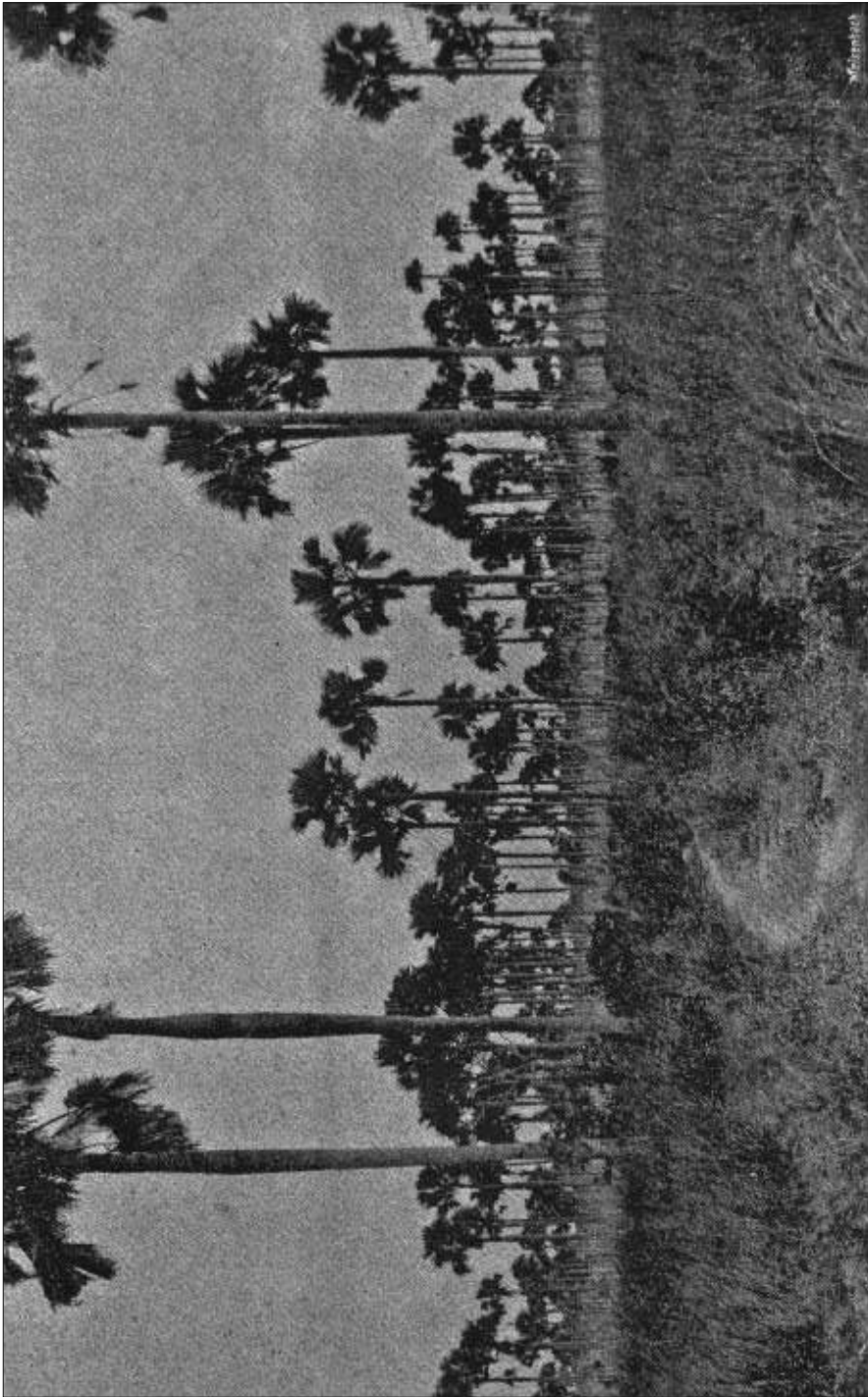
Even more than the geographical conditions, plants and animals have influenced the specific configuration of the spiritual life of the Ewe Negroes.

1. The Vegetation (Flora)

Out of the great variety of the plants there, one must first make mention of some wild-growing plants which are typical of the Ewe landscape.

The baobab tree (*adido*) is only found on the dry plain. The shiny light-grey bark of its stem attains a girth of 10-20 m but has only soft and spongy wood. Its branches, which are thick and poor in foliage for most of the year, stretch out majestically over the grass and bushes growing around the stem. One finds honey of blossoms and flowers at the bottom of its big white calyx, and that is why the natives collect them and suck them out. The fruit shells resemble cocoa pods. They contain a brown flour-like mass in which the seeds are buried. These are also eaten with pleasure due to its sweet-sour taste. The seed stone is also supposed to taste good if roasted. The ash of the fruit is an important component of the local soap-making industry. The natives use the tough bark of the tree to weave ropes. On the coast, every baobab tree has a special name, that is supposed to denote the quality of its fruits. Thus one is called *Avlesikpui* or “the short dance buffoon.” Another is called *Bolo* or “the uncircumcised”. Yet a third is *bekeni* or “the wet one”. With these names, the natives use their own definite conceptions, with the help of which they can identify the particular tree from which the fruit they have eaten was harvested. The vast, colossal girth of the stem becomes, in the religious people’s perception, the picture of the world and of the totality of human wisdom. The stem is surrounded with a fence in many places where the natives make or bring sacrifices to the *trɔwo*, who make the great giant tree their dwelling place.

The fan palms rule a large part of the plain, with their tall stems bulging in the middle and their beautiful crown of palm leaves. It is especially on the driest savanna that one mostly finds its fifteen to twenty giant leaves standing together in a cluster at the top of the stem. Farmers and traders use them to protect themselves from rain and the heat of the sun. Its fruit of more than two fists in size comprise an edible, yellow fibrous mass, covering a large hard stone. Caravans journey through its forest and also monkeys enjoy foraging on it. The inner part of the feminine fan palms is soft, and that is why the stem can be easily dug out and used for several purposes. The people of *Dɔfo* on the Volta aid bees to make their hives in the hollowed-out stems, out of which a most delicious honey is harvested. They are also used as hen coops and people living near rivers use them as boats. The stem of the male palm is split and used as beams, and out of the leaves of both (sexes), many sorts of plaiting and of wicker work artifacts are made. In the olden days, a very intoxicating wine of the fan palm tree was said to be used for trapping monkeys. The natives discovered that after they had destroyed their farms, the monkeys went to drink the palm wine. Farmers, therefore, put small pots of fan palm wine at several spots on their maize farms. The animals came, ate to their satisfaction and went to drink the palm wine. They got so drunk that it was easy to catch them for slaughter. The people perceive the fan palm as a symbol of firmness and strength.



Fan palm trees on the coastal plain

The *odum* tree which Europeans often referred to as the “oak of Africa”, can be found on river banks and in wooded mountain valleys. Its reddish wood is protected against termites. It is beautifully veined and is mainly used for the construction of European houses and for furniture. Following the sacred rites of the forefathers, it was forbidden to burn its wood because the smoke is supposed to have harmful effects. Today, we owe the continued rich presence of this tree to this circumstance.

The wild date-palm grows only on the plain. The fruits can be eaten, when ripe. The stem serves as timber. The inhabitants drink its sweet sticky juice and natives use its leaves for weaving hats. All sorts of virtues of the wild date-palm are mentioned in many proverbs in many places.



Local bridge

A tree trunk lying across the river banks

The tough bark of the raffia palm is usually used for cultic purposes. In *Matse*, if one casts its leaves onto a particular stream, then the misfortunes and tribulations of the person are carried away.

The indigo plant, which grows on the plain and also thrives on the mountains, is of the greatest importance to the Ewes. From its leaves and flowers, the Ewe people derive that indestructible blue dye which, for them, has become the image of eternity. In Agu the expression, *Tso ama me yi ama me*, “from indigo blue to indigo blue” means the same thing as “from eternity to eternity”.

The Ewes know the medicinal value and make use of a great number of plants like *kpomi*, to mention only one. *Kpomi* is a tree with a milk-white juice and elder-like flowers. Its bark, boiled with palm-wine has been successfully used for the treatment of dysentery.

The Ewes have cultivated four different kinds of tuber plants. These are yams, cassava, sweet potatoes and taro (cocoyam, *mankani*), which has a similar taste and is used just as we do with our potato. On religious occasions, it is yams which are used in presenting sacrifices to all of the gods. Of the same importance for this purpose are the corns of which Eweland produces maize, rice and millet. While maize thrives in the whole country, rice is confined to the mountains and their nearest surroundings. In olden days, millet used to be one of the important cereal foods on the coast. It is now only used for cultic purposes, when libation is being poured to the older gods, using millet beer.



1 3
An *adiba* watermelon tree [sic] 1 and 3 *mankani* coco-yam,
(*colocasia antiquorum*)

Eweland has fruits like the mango, which is yellow when ripe, a very sweet and tasty plum-like fruit. The tree is an ever-green and bears fruits two times a year. Hitherto, oranges were grown by the natives only on the coast. In the inland, however, they are grown mainly by Europeans. There are also different types of lemon, guava, sour and sweet; not to mention banana and pineapple which both blacks and whites like very much.

The oil palm is one of the other cultivated plants. It is planted in large areas and is of the greatest importance to the life of the Ewes. They can do so many things with its parts: its roots, stem, juice, fronds, leaves and fruits can all be put to use. One can thus understand why in Ho the bowl in which sacrifices were brought to heaven was kept under an oil palm tree. Its juice and fruits are used as sacrificial objects and its leaves are supposed to have the power of driving away evil.

2. The Animal World (Fauna)

If the vegetation is said to exercise a profound influence on the spiritual organization of the Ewes, then that can be established to a far higher extent for the influence of the fauna. This influence is rich and diverse. There is the buffalo, which grazes in small herds on the grass on wet plains and in the valleys. A real funeral has to be performed for the spirit that resides in it when it is killed. Its horns are supposed to have magical powers and are therefore widely used for magical purposes. In the old days, there used to be many elephants; now, however, they have been driven back into the hinterland and only stray and wander into the unpopulated savanna areas on the Volta and behind the Agu Mountain. The elephant is not only a symbol of power and strength, but also a symbol of good-nature, that made him succumb to Ananse's (the spider) wit. Its tusks are favourite materials for instruments used for African music.



5
6
7

1 2 3 4

African fruits

1. Oranges, above them are pineapples. 2. Bread fruits. 3. Plantains. 4. Pineapples.
5. Mango, Pineapples and Plantain. 6. Coconuts. 7. Bananas and plantains.

The most prominent beast of prey is the leopard which lives in the rock crevices and hollow trees and in thick bushes, high grass or on short trees, lying in wait for its prey. The hunter who killed a leopard had to perform a funeral for it. Special care is taken to wrap the dead animal's head so that its eyes may not stare upwards, for this would prevent the rain from falling. The leopard's hide is often worn by priests and its claws and teeth are used for magic.

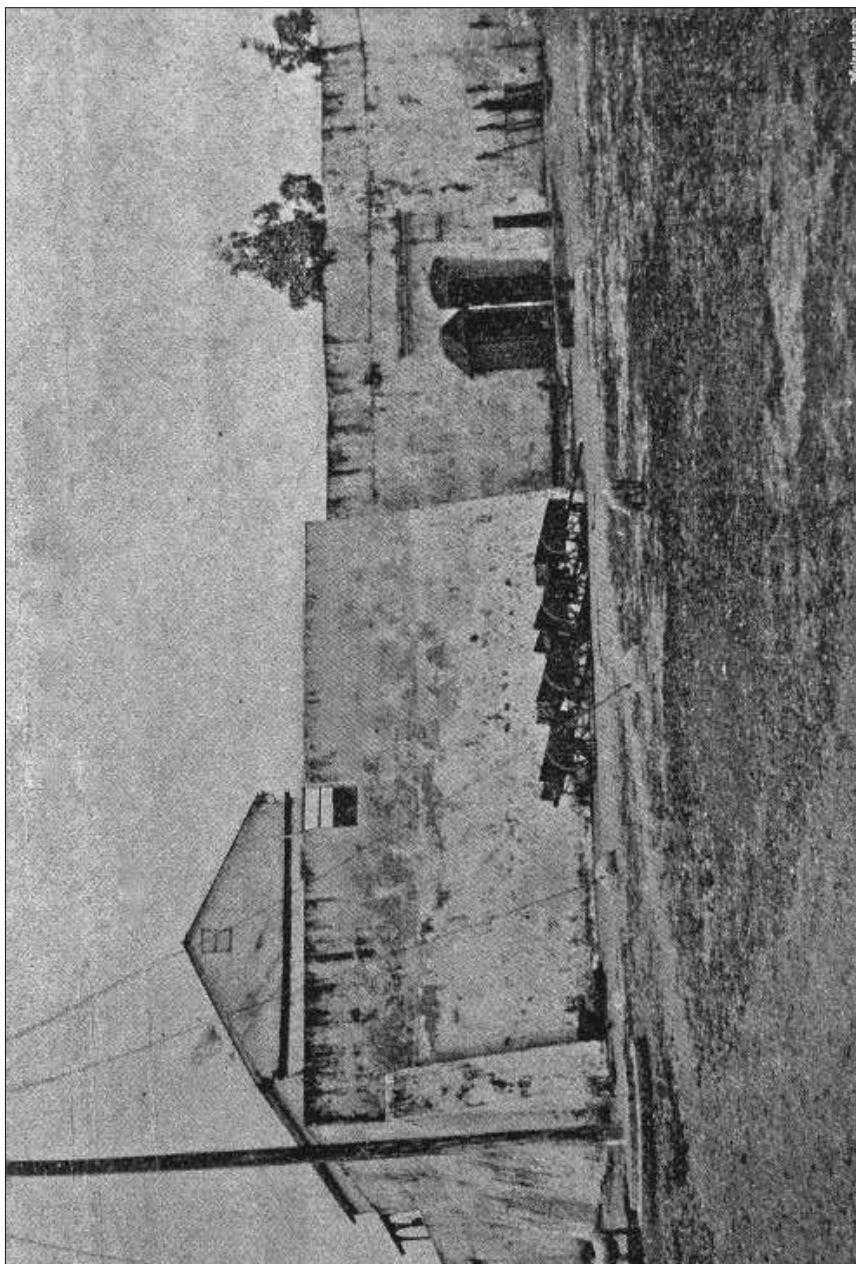
There are several types of antelopes, ranging from the size of a young goat, up to the horse antelope. Its meat and hide are useful to the people and are keenly hunted. To its twisted horns are ascribed strong magical powers. Hunters bring the bones of this animal to the sacrificial altar from time to time, praying for power to kill more animals. The chimpanzee is the most feared animal among the many monkey species. Hunters describe its stature in the most frightful way. When it (the chimp) gets them (the hunters) in its power, it robs them of their intellect, but also reveals to them the best hunting magic. Among the rodents, the porcupine, a cave-dweller (troglodyte) is dedicated to the god Dente.



At the river side

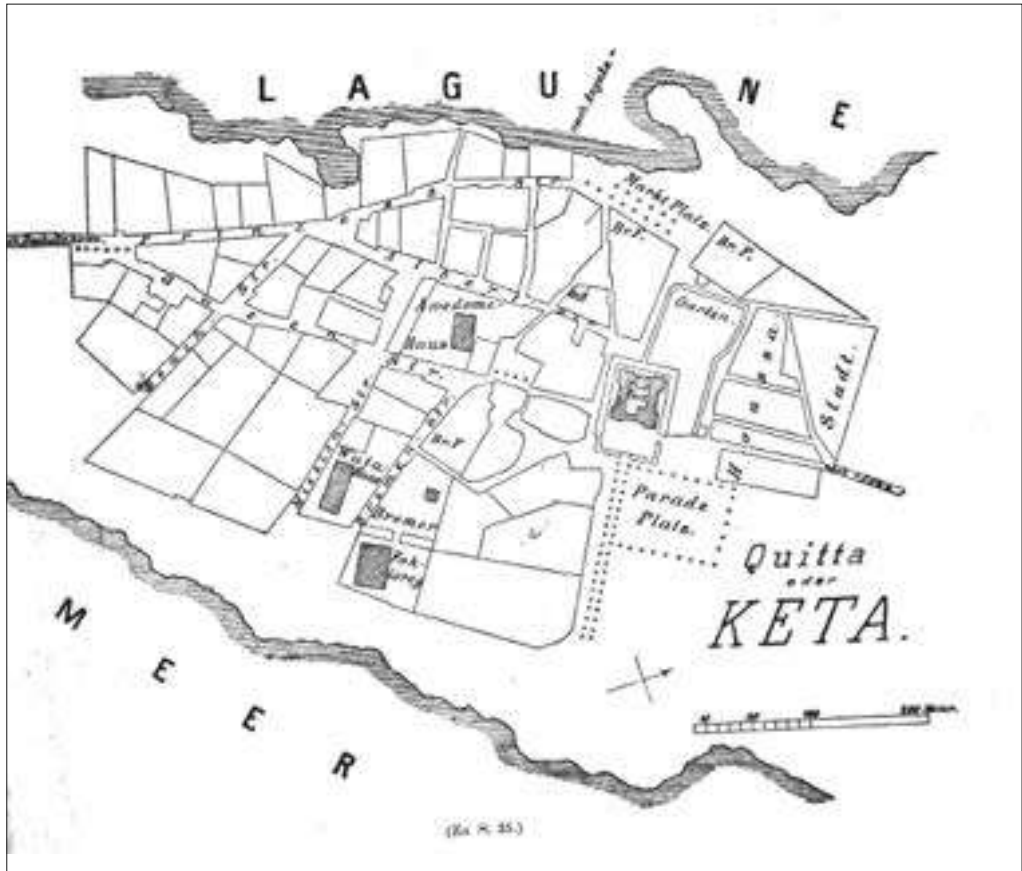
The Ewe's conceptions about the reptile family revolve mainly around the giant snake, the python, which is ardently worshipped on the coast and in *Matse*. When it emerges out of its hide-out, the termite-hill, its soul ascends above the clouds in order to stroll leisurely about with the other powerful spirits "above," and it is when the rainbow appears that its soul descends to earth again.

There is a large number of crocodiles in the rivers and lagoons of Eweland. These have swallowed many a human being or have bitten off his arms and legs. In spite of this, the natives appear to fear their gall more than the live animals. I have seen with my own eyes how natives swam very close to these ugly monsters. The explanation for this lies in their belief that the crocodile only attack people who have some secret offence on their conscience.



The fort built by the Danes in Keta

In the bird-world, the Ewes pay particular attention especially to the eagle, the carrion vulture, the crow, the owl (the cuckoo), and the wild pigeon.



Concerning the eagle, Captain Kling detected that there are three different varieties and claimed that the same young ones develop into these varieties. Thus it is not impossible that the eagle of Eweland may even venture near little babies to carry them away, and the parable in which the eagle carries little children away may not be a total invention at all. The feather of the vulture (bird of bad omen) is often used in witchcraft. The crow enjoys a large degree of security among the Ewes. Nobody will touch its nest, for it is considered to be the sorcerer, the juju-man, among the birds. This belief stems from the incidental discovery of cowries in its nest.

Spieth, Jakob. <i>Ewe People a Study of the Ewe People in German Togo</i>, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wisc/detail.action?docID=3001553>.
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plumage. The wild dove announces that many people have died and that the slave of the gods has given birth to twins. It calls, *ame gedewo yi ketu me*, “many have gone into the interior of the earth”, and *Kosi dzi ve*, “the Kosi has borne twins”.

Among the flying animals, the flying dog was once the god *Sogle*’s watchman but due to its misbehaviour was punished by him and since then, it stretches its feet upwards and its head downwards.

The spider excels all animals of the field in courage and cunning. It outwitted the leopard by borrowing its cloth saturated with honey and the elephant by borrowing its ear to be worn as a funeral cloth, and finally eating them up afterwards. It even succeeded in convincing a chief to lend it money which it never paid back in spite of repeated reminders. By virtue of its magical powers, it succeeded in using a sharp knife to cut off the beak of the pelican and thereby winning back the secured abode of a whole population. The spider is also responsible for the appearance of sores and also of death in the world.

Of interest to the natives, on the subject of termites¹ are their high hills, their artistic nests and the orderly establishment of their colony. The queen which is confined into a clay cell is the mother and queen of the colony and is, therefore, comparable to the chief, on whose existence the growth and wellbeing of the whole population depend. On a journey a few years ago when I decided to examine a termite nest, a man came to me and said, “In our homeland, one does not destroy this hill. It is *Mawu*, God”.

2. The Region and settlement situations

A. Regions

Eweland has about 122 major and minor geographical regions of which 16 are under the English administration. They can be divided into the coast, the plains and the mountain regions.

1. Coastal regions

The most important among the six coastal regions are *Aɲlɔ*, *Be*, *Togo* and *Gɛnyi*.

Aɲlɔ lies in the south-western corner of the Ewe territory and is divided into a southern half and northern half.

With a coast 46 km. long, it stretches from the Volta estuary to *Kedzi*, 6 km east of *Keta*. The capital town of this territory is *Aɲlogã* (big *Aɲlɔ*), on the sand spit west of the southern edge of the lagoon. The most important commercial town of these people is *Keta* (Quittah, Kwitta). The town is the seat of an English official who resides in a fort built by the Danes in 1784.¹ The ownership of this fort went over to the English who bought it in the 19th century. It was only in 1874² that this eastern part of the Volta was

¹ See picture on page 315.

² See picture on page 31.

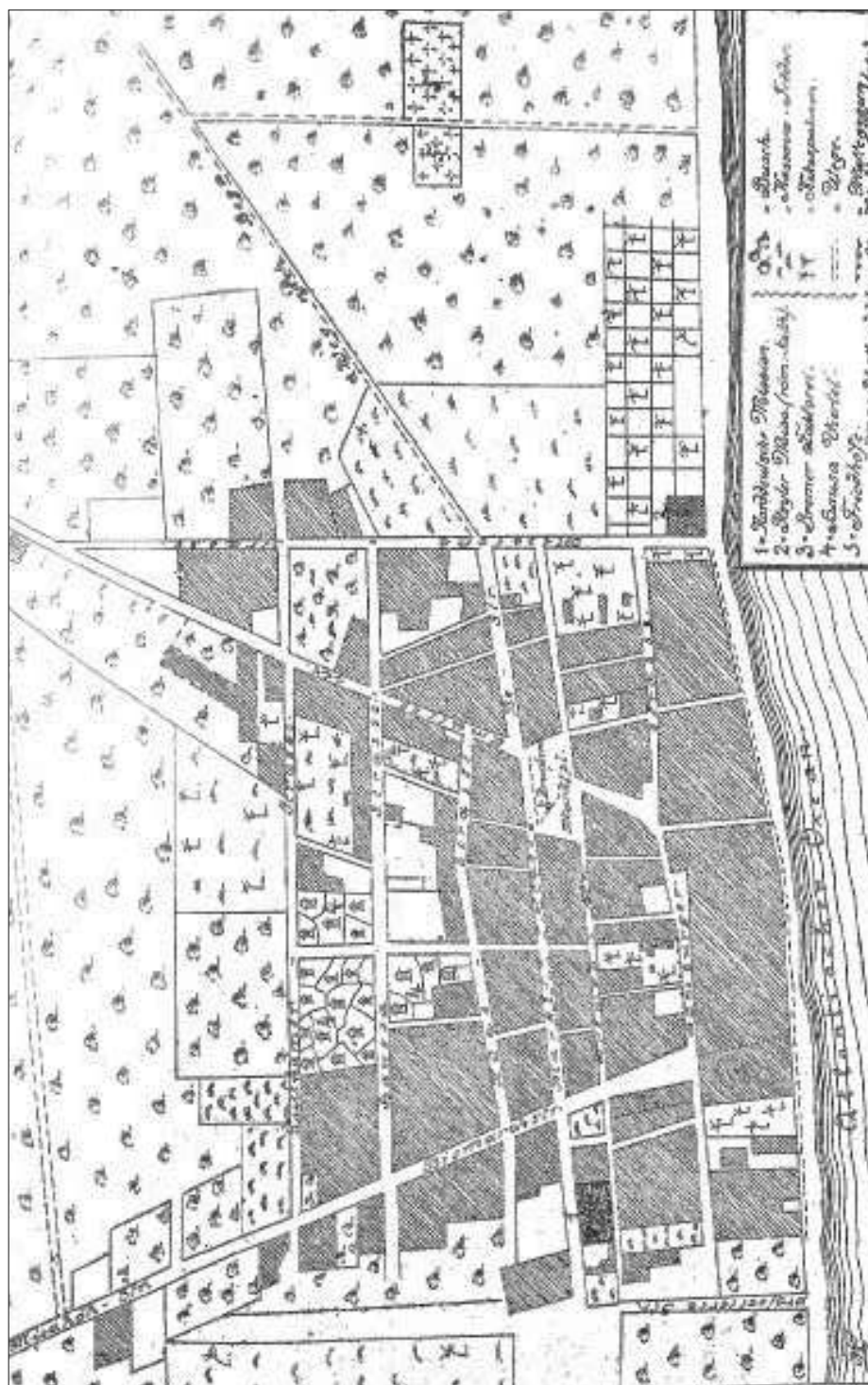
again occupied by the English and annexed to the Gold Coast Colony. On Cape St. Paul, which extends in front of the town, the English have kept and maintained a beacon for several years running.



Lome, Capital of Togo

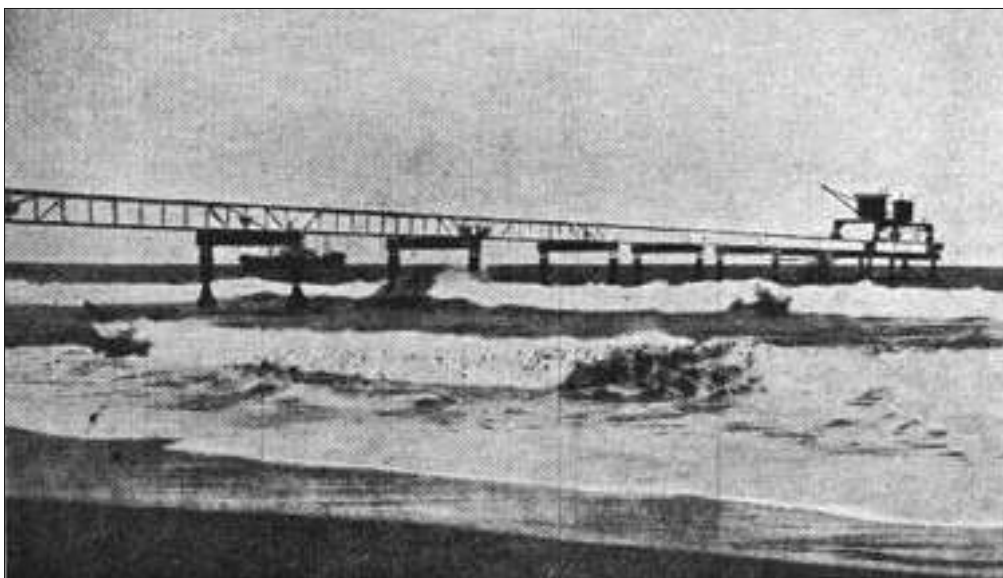
Among the several trading firms which have settled there is the firm Fr. M. Victor and Sons of Bremen. As early as 1857, this firm opened trading stores with the natives and established later at all important coastal places like Lome and Aneho. The Keta-market days, which come on every four days, were keenly patronized mainly by the people living inland because of its fish. The Evangelical North German Mission has been working in Keta since 1853 and a Roman Catholic Mission directed from Lyon since 1890.

The *Be*-Region with its royal town *Begã*, 'Big Be', lies about 35 km. east of Anlo. The most important town here is Lome, a former fishing village which has now become the seat of the German government of Togo. The once little trading post, which was made a German protectorate in 1884, flourished very fast. At present, twelve European and six native trading firms are practicing their trade in Lome. The population of the town as on 1st January, 1905 stood at 5,784 natives and 125 Europeans.



Plan of Lome

In the year 1904, 178 ships docked at the shipping company of Lome, delivering goods amounting to 297,587 register tons. To facilitate the landing of the people and goods the German government built a pier which was formally opened on 27th January, 1904. Everybody agrees on the value of this. If before one had to go through the constantly dangerous surf of Lome, now on the pier one can safely come to the land with dry feet and the dangers of the Lome surf are as if no more in existence. Earlier, 5-6% of goods were lost in the surf, not to mention the greater percentage of damaged goods, thus in 1904, on 172 working days, 8297.4 metric tons and 6602.2 cubic meters were consigned or forwarded, out of which only 8.15 tons or 0.05 % were lost while damages through seawater became totally absent. Up until now, traffic into the hinterland used two broad roads, one of which goes through Kpalime to Kpando and the other through Notsie to Atakpame, and from there onward into the interior.



Lome jetty

The roads branch out in the hinterland, thus facilitating the communication of those living inland with those in the capital. The first railway line in Togo was opened on 18th July, 1905, connecting Lome with the coastal town of Aneho lying about 40 km east, and providing public transport. It carries about 200 natives as passengers daily. An inland rail-line from Lome to Agome-Kpalime, 122 km away, is under construction to link this fertile and thickly populated district of Misahohoe. The section Lome-Noefe was opened on 27th August, 1905 in the presence of a member of the German parliament, who happened to be there on a West African study tour. This railway line is expected to be completed by the end of 1906. The most beautiful buildings in the town are the palace of the Governor, the Roman Catholic Church and the church under construction by the North German or Bremen Mission. These are incidentally the two missions which are working in Lome and its hinterland. In the last few years, to the already extensive educational system of both missions, a government school was added to train the natives for the civil service.

The Togo Region lying east of Be owes its importance mainly to the fact that it was the first region to adopt the German flag after which, in the course of time, the whole German colony became known and called by that name.

Gēnyi, 'the lower Ge,' lies between Togo and the Mono River. The people are immigrants from Accra who left their homeland as a result of disastrous wars with the Akwamus and sought refuge in their present abode. The initial emigrants included the sister of a chief who was forced by his people in 1660 to commit suicide. She left after that with two of her sons and settled in Little Popo. In 1680, under the leadership of King Ashangmo, a large part of the population of Accra followed her.

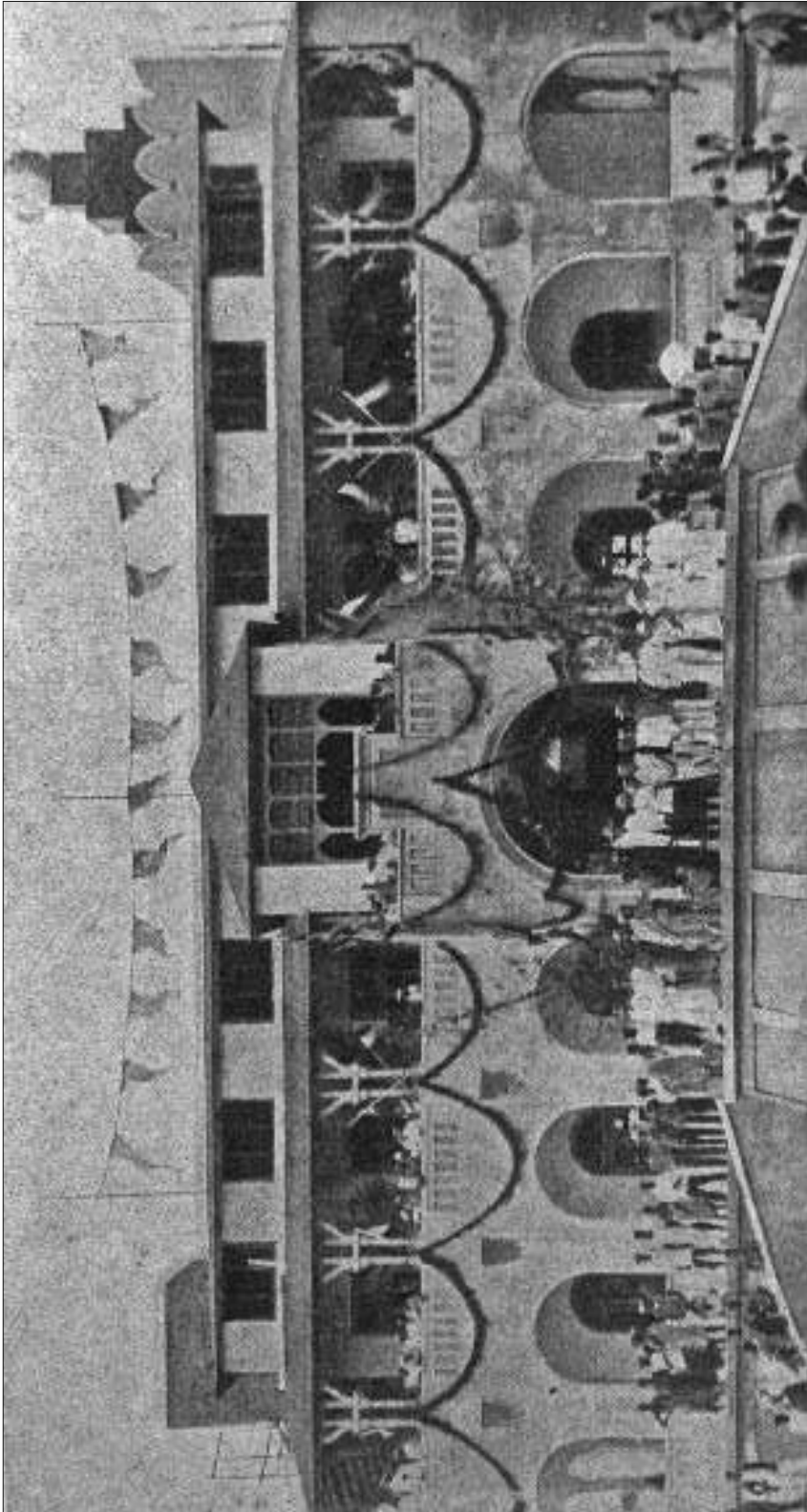


The Nachtigal Hospital in Anecho

After being driven away by the Be people, he left and settled in *Anexo*. Soon after that, they fought and won a splendid war against the king of Dahome and, as a result, he became a close ally of this king. No more migration took place again until 1733 when the third one occurred. The close relationship between these immigrants and Dahome has, without doubt, had a very strong influence on the people and on their language.

Anexo, formerly Little Popo, was for a decade the seat of the German Government and is still the seat of the District Officer, sitting in Sebbe in charge of government affairs beyond the lagoon. Special mention must be made of the hospital built under the directorship of medical officer Dr. Wicke. This hospital was named "The Nachtigal Hospital" after the African researcher, Dr. Nachtigal, who hoisted the German Flag on the coast of Togo in July 1884.

In the immediate neighborhood of the French border lies Aneho, a trading centre of great importance indicated by the fact that 110 ships delivered goods there in the year 1904 alone.



Government Palace in Lome
(festively decorated for inauguration)

2. Regions on the plain

Among the landscapes on the plain, we shall only consider the following for our purpose: the *Adaklu*, *Agotime*, *Notsie* and *Tado*. We shall further touch on the areas lying on the Northern fringes of the plain namely *Abutia*, *Sokode*, *Ho* with *Kpeɲɔ̃* and *Akoeɲe* as well as *Taviefe*, *Matse*, *Tanyigbe*, *Nyive* and *Akrɔ̃fu*.

During their migration, the Adaklu tribe settled around the mountain now bearing the same name. There are eight towns lying at the foot of the mountain and at the summit is supposed to be a little village called *Bludome*. Until the *Taviefe* war in 1888, no foreigner was allowed to climb the mountain because it is their biggest *trɔ̃* and provided a sanctuary for the Adaklu people in times of war. In that year, an English official broke the ban and climbed the mountain as a physical demonstration of the fact that from that time on, any European was allowed to climb it. The land is fertile at the foot of the mountain but gets more and more infertile as one moves away and many fan palms take over the vegetation. The people are mainly farmers and weavers and a few trade. However, agricultural pursuits are being neglected while the people pursue the more prominent activity of palm-wine tapping. The character of the Adaklu people is outer friendliness coupled with inner irresolution which sometimes borders on a cowardly, malicious nature.

Agotime is situated on both banks of Tordzie River and lies east of Adaklu and south of the Agu Mountain. Its name portrays the fact that the landscape is richly covered with fan palms, for the literal meaning of Agortime is, “among the fan palms”. There are seven towns in this region of which two are remarkable, namely, Kpetɔ̃, because it is the chief's town, and Afegame, because it houses the Yeve nunnery. Its inhabitants had wandered in from Dangme, in the neighbourhood of the Krobo Mountain,³ in the middle of the 18th century. They are engaged in farming and rearing of animals, but attach special importance to trading through which they have attained a fair degree of affluence. They have maintained their mother tongue, Dangme, till today, especially in Afegame, but it appears this has given way more and more to the Ewe language, especially in the other towns outside the capital.

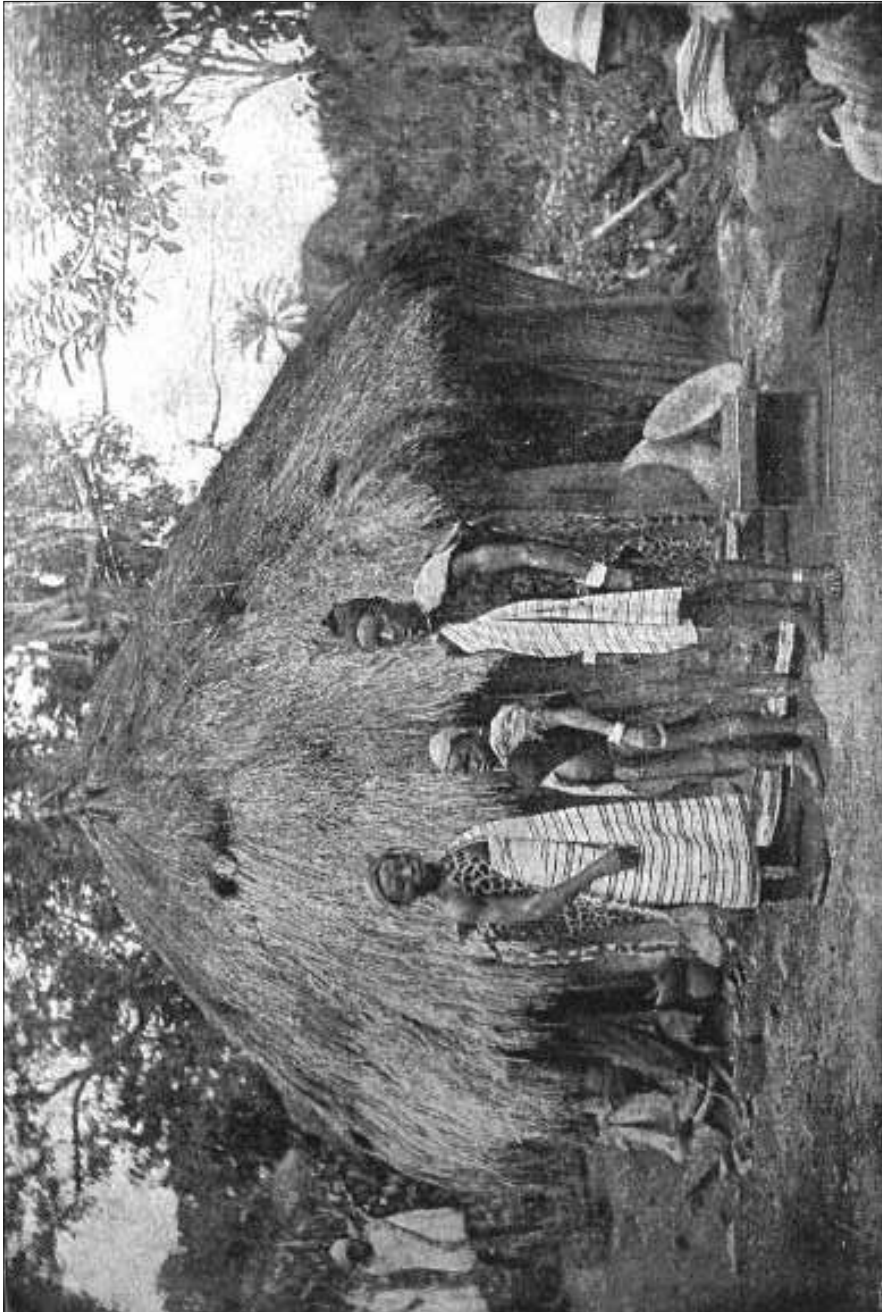
In earlier times, the people of the densely populated region of *Agu* were dwelling on the mountain, where they met with the first missionaries of the North German Mission. The chief's town, Nyɔ̃gbo, for example, lies 880 meters high on the western slope of the mountain. After incessant quarrels with the Kebus, they moved downhill and settled on the plain at the foot of the mountain. Their priests, with whom they were living on bad terms, remained behind and founded their own village, which they called Mawufe -“God's place”. From that location, overlooking the whole region, they exercised governance absolutely encompassing the total lives of the people, which allowed nobody any freedom of movement. The huts of the priests were strikingly small and their most important occupants wore leopard skin.⁴

But ultimately, even they also had to leave their ‘god's place’ in order to live with their tribal companions on the plain. Only a few Kebu villages can be seen on the mountain today. The highest of them lies about 790 above sea level and can boast of about 100 huts. The other four parts of the Agu family live all around the mountain

3 In the middle of the 18th century.

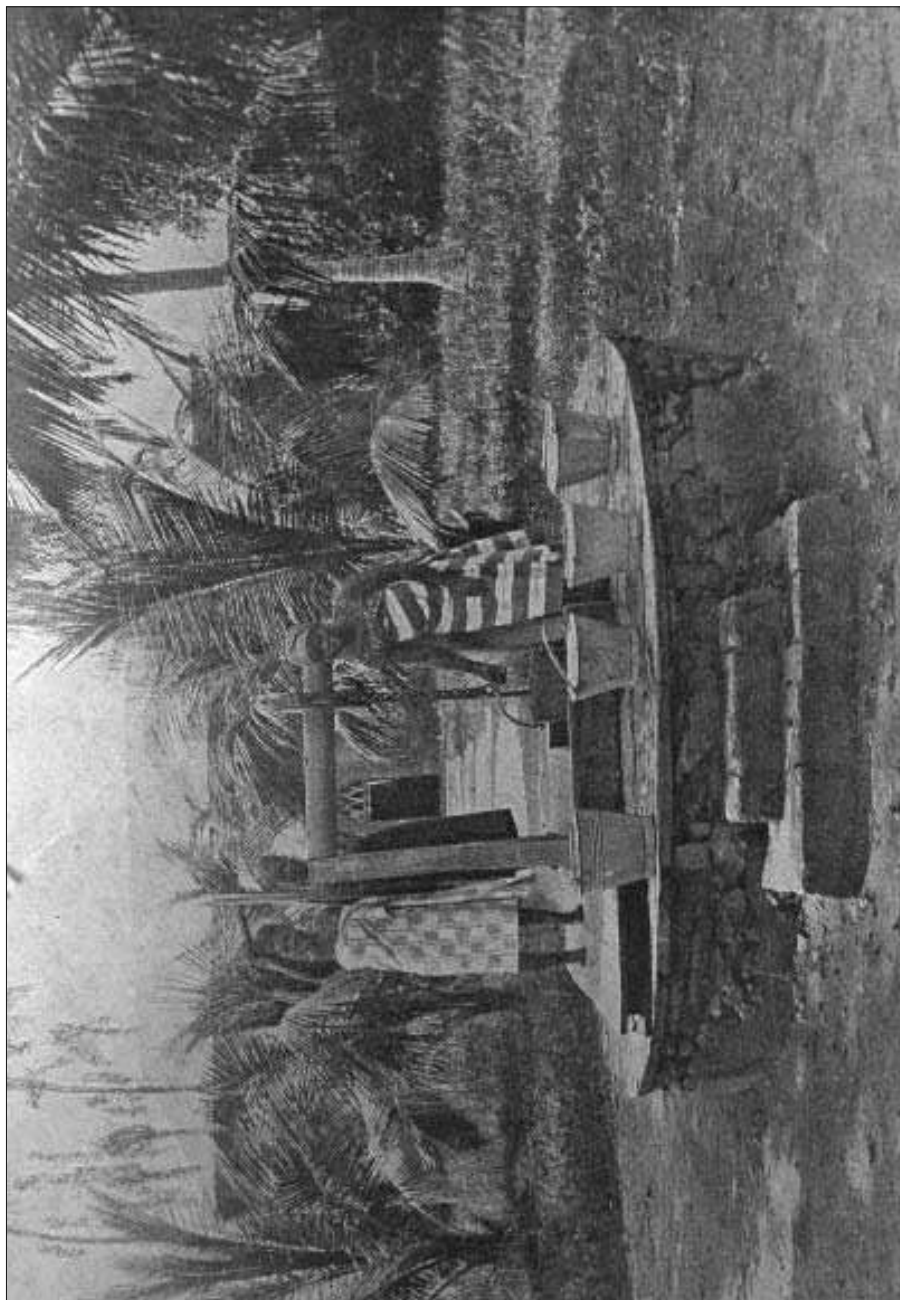
4 See picture on page 42.

on a very fertile land, cultivating all the crops found useful by the Ewes. The main economic activities of the people are agriculture, making of oil and palm wine tapping as well as hunting. A few also do weaving.



Priests on the Agu mountain, dressed in leopard skins [Page 42]

Notsie only comes into consideration here as the cradle of the Ewes, and *Tado* for the western areas, because of its name which has been attributed to several local gods there.



The well at the Mission House in Ho

It is 19.5 m deep. Missionary Holzaepfel had to blast through the rock. In the background the church can be seen.

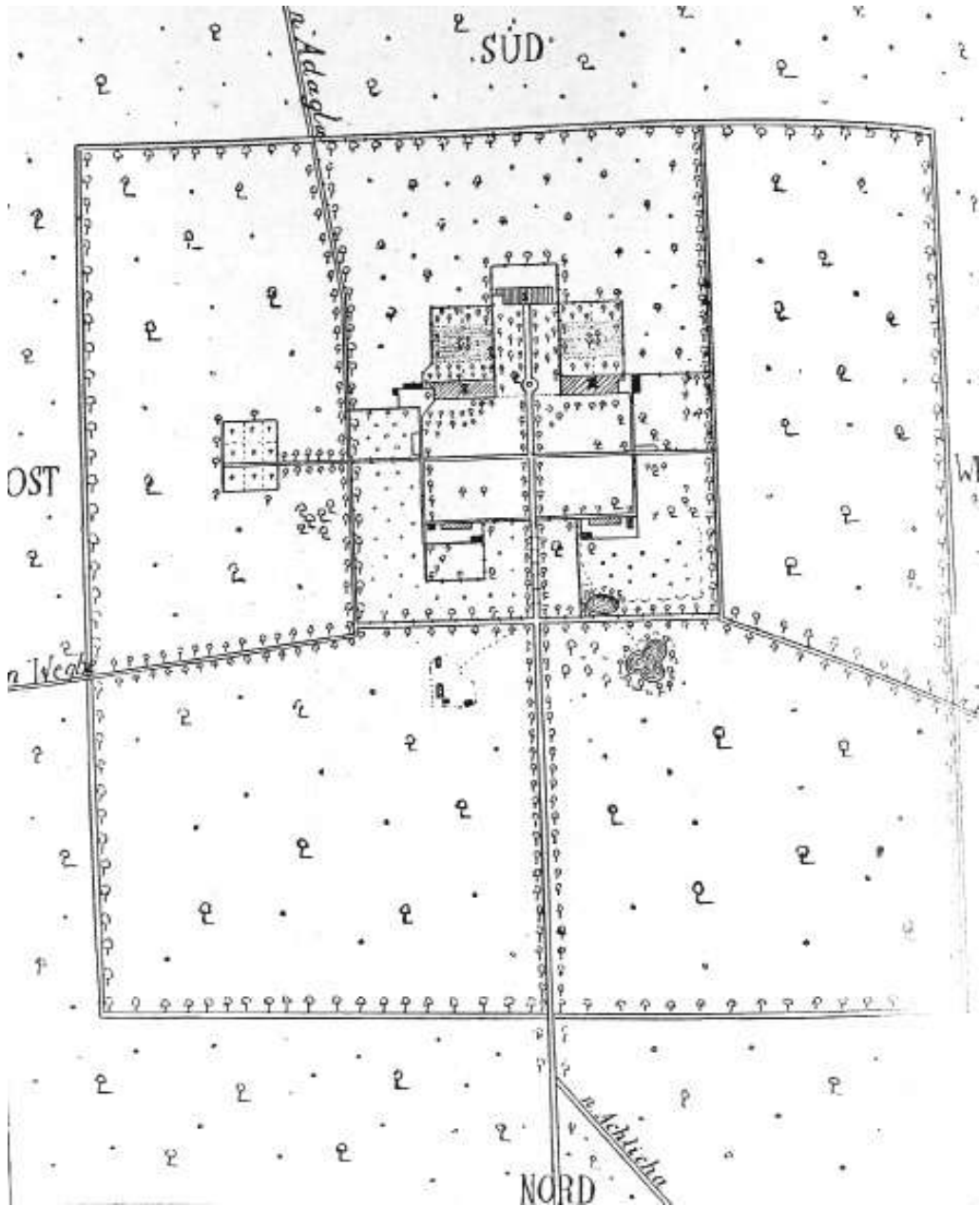
The three towns of *Abutia*: *Toti*, *Agove* and *Kloe* lie on the southern slope of a low mountain range west of *Ho*. The inhabitants had to resort to trading as well as agriculture. Their main commodity is salt which they bring to the market from *Adidome* and *Bator*. Many of these tribesmen also cross over to the *Akan* areas, where they stay over long periods and apply themselves to weaving and some trading.

Sɔkɔɖe is 8km east of *Abutia* and lies on a dry grassy cutting of the *Abutia-Taviefe* Ranges. In the *Asante* war, the tribe succumbed to the trick of the *Asantes* and lost many of their ranks. Thus today, two small towns, *Deme* and *Kpakple*, remain with not more than 200 huts to show. Its citizens indulge in agriculture, weaving and some trading.

Ho comprises four towns: *Vegbe (Dome)*, *Banyakoe*, *Hliha* and *Axɔ̃e*. It lies 8km. east of *Sɔkɔɖe* on a dry grassy terrain at the foot of the *Taviefe* Mountain. *Ho* is, therefore, not the name of a pagan village. The word '*Ho*' means nothing other than a heap of dry grass. At the beginning of the year, farmers on the plain till their fields, each year at a different place (shifting cultivation), where the grass is tall and fresh, denoting fertility. When this grass is cut down, it is called *ho*. When collected and heaped up, it becomes the place for the safe-keeping of the small hoe and cutlass. It is also under this same bush that scorpions and snakes make their hiding place. The one who removes that grass must be aware that he could be bitten by a snake or stung by a scorpion. The people of *Ho* boast concerning this name by saying: "Our enemies may consider us as dry grass; but" adding a warning note, "be careful, for there is a force hidden in us, which will take revenge on anyone who would want to drive us out of our home."

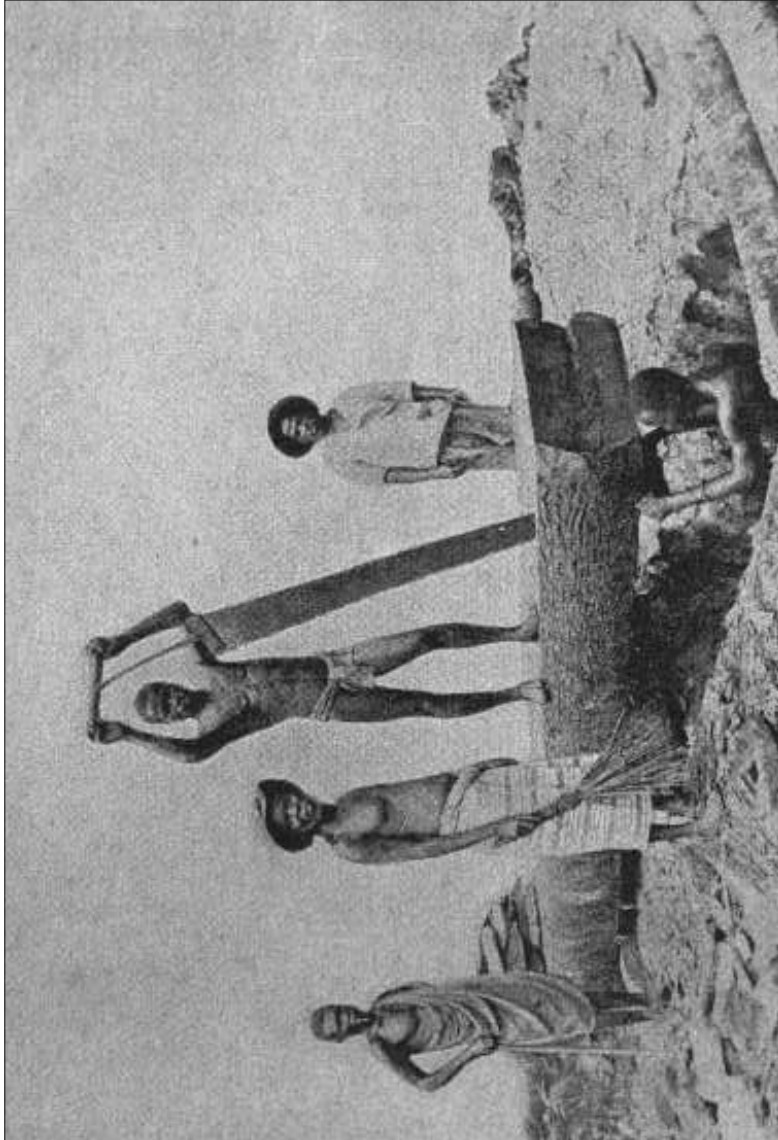
Apart from the mission house, the centre of *Ho* lies in *Dome (Vegbe)*, the royal town, and *Banyakoe*, the market town. There are no thick oil palm groves or beautiful deciduous forests in *Ho*. That is why there is always some difficulty surrounding the supply of firewood to strangers. The people of *Ho* are industrious farmers and weavers, among whom the word "lazy" has become the most insulting adjective with which to describe a man. The tribe comprises three different elements, which have come together to form a tribal whole after centuries of many internal and external fights. The oldest group is *Banyakoe* with *Ahliha*, the two towns which were supposed to have been originally together. The *Axɔ̃e* people came in later times from *Yeviefe*, a neighboring tribe lying eastward from which they had been expelled due to their bad character. The inhabitants of *Vegbe* came in, as the third, to join the group. *Vegbe* means "(those who had to learn) the Ewe language". The same town is called *Dome*, 'in between or among', because these people were allowed to build their dwelling places among the *Ho* people. They hailed from *Krɔ̃ɔ̃*, from where they had migrated into *Eweland* as a result of an unsuccessful war. Strangely, it was rather this newest and foreign tribal addition that wielded power in the land. One of its kings was *Mɔ̃te Kofi*, father of the current king, who is without doubt the most assiduous, and whose influence remains even today in the tribe.

As early as 1859, *Ho* came into contact with the Europeans when the missionaries of the North German Mission commenced their work there by establishing a mission station. Unfortunately, this station was destroyed in 1869/70 by the wild hordes of *Asantes*, and it was only in 1876 that it emerged again out of its ruins. For a long time, this tribe related with antipathy to Christendom and to Christianity. This reserve was linked to the passionate adherence to inherited customs and usages.



Plan of the mission station in Ho

King *Mote Kofi*⁵ had been the main supporter of this attitude. He was able to inspire his people to be happy with what they had inherited from their fathers. His successor, Kumi,⁶ was a weaker character. Though he related negatively to Christianity, yet he lacked the ability to exercise sufficient influence on his tribe and that is why his time of rule witnessed many of his people converting to Christianity. With the acceptance of the gospel, they also slowly opened themselves up to civilization and mastered the craft of wood sawing, joinery and masonry.



Sawyers at work

Lying 4-6 km. north of Ho are the towns of *Kpenpe* and *Akɔviefie* which, together with *Banyakoe*, *Heve* and *Ahliha* originally formed the actual *Ho* tribe.

⁵ See pictures on pages 52, 80, 81.

⁶ See pictures on pages 52, 80, 81.

A little farther northeast wards and lying on the left bank of River Tordzie is the region of *Nyive*, the “Elephant Forest”. *Nyive* had been engaged in a large scale war in 1730 under the leadership of King Foli against Atikpui at Agu and also against the Akwamus. Today *Nyive* is only an unimportant village on the way to Agome-Kpalime.

3 The Mountain Regions

A look at the map reveals that the mountainous regions are the most populated. There are only a few tribes, though, who actually live on the plateau-like expansions of the mountains.



Visitors to the market by boat on the shore of a lagoon

Among them are the Goviefe, Avatime, Logba, Agome, Kuma, Leklebi and Dayi: but even with these tribes, a definite movement down to the plain can clearly be noticed, as in the case of Goviefe, Wordze and the inhabitants of Adaklu and Agu. By far the greater number of the mountain tribes lies on the southward and northward slopes of the mountains or in the fertile valley-plain of rivers Dayi and Tsawoe.

The residents of the mountainous regions are generally hard-working farmers, who make their farms partly on the steep mountain slopes and partly also on the plain. They cultivate yams, rice and maize for staple. There is still a lot of game in the beautiful valleys and hunters are still assured of abundant supply of booty. The residents of some of the mountain regions have lately neglected their agricultural pursuits and have heartily embraced the profitable business of trading.

The regions are *Taviefe*, *Matse*, *Tanyigbe*, *Dodome*, *Klefe* and *Ziavi*.

Both the *Taviefe* and *Matse* regions lie in a narrow valley north-east of Ho, where the residents settled with the express purpose of finding security against enemies. They claim that only the picker, a weaver-bird, could reach them there and that on no account can enemies attack them. Its inhabitants, who were earlier known to be ferocious, now farm but their main devotion is mat-weaving. In addition to that, they work in forges, and others are blacksmiths while others hunt and keep small livestock. In *Matse* especially, mat weaving is booming very much at the expense of farming. There is currently a school at both places.

Dodome lies at the summit of the grass-covered *Abutia-Taviefe* ranges, the highest point of which is the 500 m Labu Mountain. The inhabitants used to be very shy in the years gone by, but it appears they have now distinguished themselves through assiduous farming. Their field work assumes a very tiresome form, in that they make their farms on the plains and therefore have to climb daily down and up the steep mountain slopes to and from their farms. *Tanyigbe* and *Klefe* are the nearest neighbours of the Ho who have built their settlements on the northern slope of the Taviefe Mountain.

B. Situations of Settlements

Looking at the settlement situations, it appears that form and manner are differentiated at the most suitable settlement areas. It is clear to anyone who has had the opportunity to often tour Eweland that most of the settlements are found on the coast, on the southern and northern fringes of the plain, on the river banks and at the foot of the mountains. It is also necessary to mention that the population density of the plain increases from west to east. On the coast between the Volta and the Mono live about fifty larger and smaller tribal families.

Those families which have access to the sea and to the lagoon are good fishermen; they carry their catch in the dry form; they salt, dry or smoke them and transport them for sale in the markets in the hinterland. Advantageous living conditions also existed near rivers, where the land was fertile and the possibility of always getting fresh fish out of the river was very inviting.

About seventeen tribes live in the middle of the plain, spreading from southwest to northeast: these have chosen mountains, for example, Adaklu and Agu, and river-banks exclusively for their habitat. Twenty-eight tribes live on the northern fringe of the plain, eight on the mountain and nineteen on the plain drained by river Dayi.

With regard to the type of settlements, the language recognizes towns (villages⁷), hamlets and farmsteads.⁸ The coast owes its bigger towns to European installations, and mainly to the brisk commercial activities going on there. Within its radius there are populous villages with narrow, irregular lanes which lead to open places on which there is usually a big shady tree or several palm trees. This is where children romp about during the day and the grown-ups play their games in the evenings.

In the coastal areas, where it is difficult to get wood, the people mainly use earth for the construction of the walls of their buildings. The wood-work comprises split fan palm trees and the roofs are thatched, covered with grass and reeds which grow on the banks of the lagoons. The attention of the visitor to the coastal towns is drawn to the

7 Ref picture on page 363, 337.

8 Ref picture on pages 336.

peculiar characteristic mixture of arched and angled configurations of the roofs. The former have steep surfaces and often have their extremes curved towards the ridge. The difference between a woman's and a man's house is conspicuous: a woman's house is always conically tapered while a man's on the contrary, always has an angular roof.

The towns of the northern parts of Eweland differentiate themselves from those of the coastal area in many respects. Houses are usually clustered together along a wide village street, with a big shade tree⁹ in the middle. This is the centre where the villagers have their entertainment, meetings and games. The mode of constructing a wall is as follows: poles are driven into the ground; palm fronds are bound horizontally to these and finally these are covered by throwing mud against them. The form of the roof is exclusively the angular-roof type. The number of huts in a farmstead is determined by the number of women married to the owner.



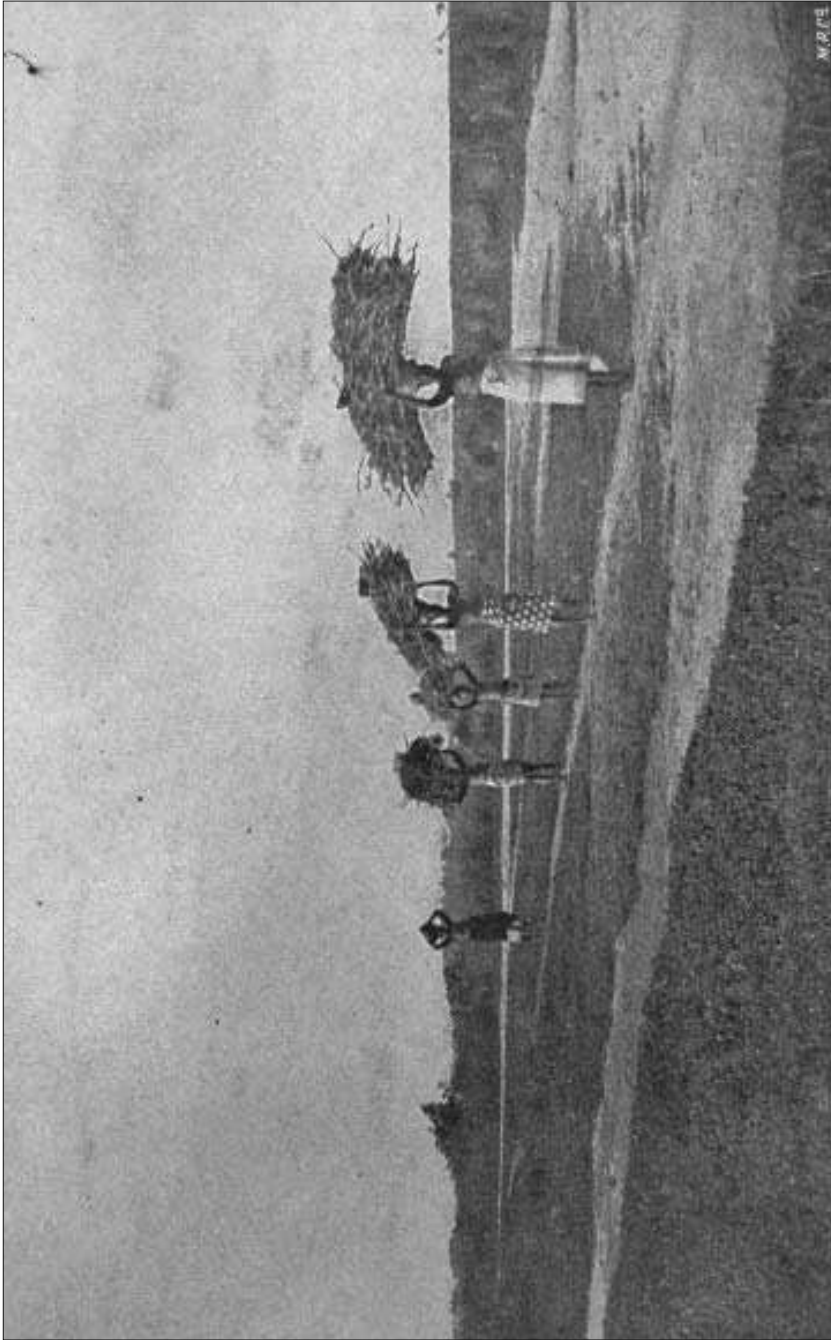
Village on the plains

In the non-Ewe speaking areas of Santrokofi and Akpafu, only rice receptacles or silos are covered with grass while the flat roofs of the houses are rather covered with well compressed earth.¹⁰

Only a few kilometres behind the coastal area, one begins to see the many little hamlets which are linked together by countless criss-crossing footpaths on which a foreigner could easily lose his way.

⁹ Ref picture on page 86 & 87.

¹⁰ Ref picture on page 92.



Women carrying firewood to the market

There, one finds plantation villages comprising three to eight huts containing farmers who cultivate the surrounding farm lands. In earlier times, these hamlets inspired a lot of fear among the people living inland because they could easily lose their way in the network of paths. Should this happen, they would be caught by the inhabitants and would either be sold or released only after payment of a heavy ransom.

In the interior, the farmer normally puts up only one simple house for shelter in the centre of his field. This house is mostly secluded from outside, using oil palm branches stuck together for that purpose. This is where the farmer cooks his simple afternoon meal, where he lies to sleep during the hot afternoons, and sometimes spends the night for days and weeks. Such farmsteads, *Agbletawo*, always remain as long as the surrounding land continues to be cultivated. Apart from these, there are also single farms which owe their existence, not to culture but to misunderstandings which arose in the town.

Very often, some families retreat as a result of venomous quarrels and withdraw to their family land, where they build huts in which they can live in peace.

The way and manner the settlement of the land progressed are in close relation with the above. As the tribes gradually came to adopt their fixed places where they settled, individual family members now and again broke off, be it because of quarrels and war or due to paucity of means of living. The main stock of the Adaklu tribe, for example, which had settled at the bottom of the mountain, progressively spread out to populate a large part of the plain rolling out southwards. Besides this additional population came again and again and from time to time, as demonstrated by the Anechos, Agotimes and Avatimes. In all cases however, for centuries, the history of settlements in Eweland consists of nothing other than arrival, occupation of the land and departure again, with quarrels and wars until a stronger power overcame them.

3. The People

I. The Historical Past

The oldest historical memories of the Ewe people are legendary in nature and deserve attention only as far as the testimonies of the various tribes tally with each other. But even with this assumption, there is still a lot of room for speculation on how and what it actually might have been.

The narratives or accounts agreed on one thing, that the Ewe people are not the original population of where they now reside today, but have immigrated over a long time from the northeast. Most of them claim the Niger bend as their common homeland, where they lived in strongly fortified towns. The narrators attach the place of origin of human beings to the place names Ketu, Ayor and Adadam, which cannot now be checked.

In the beginning, two numerous tribes migrated from their original location, *Ketu*: one group moved southwest and split into two groups; the one moving into the Tado

area, on the Mono and Notsie area between the Hohe and Zio, while the other made its way due west and settled in the region of today's Adele, and called the location Dogbonyigbo. It is no more possible to ascertain how long they sojourned there. The tribes belonging to the Dogbonyigbo group are supposed to have been Anlo, Be and Fon. *Fon* broke away from the group due to the outbreak of quarrels among them. They moved southward and founded Wla in Dahome. The others also started off on their migration and located their brother tribes in Notsie. It appears they lived happily together there for a long time under the rule of a good king.



Coconut grove with a heap of coconuts under it

Throne accession quarrels started when King Asimadi of Tado married a sister of the chief of the Dogbonyigbo called Wenya. The trouble ended with Sri, the son from this marriage, becoming the king of the Dogbonyigbo. This excited the envy of the Notsie king, Agokoli, who progressively worked himself up into a persecution rage. He, for example, had his chiefs who would not comply with his wishes killed. In fact, only one of them escaped the blood bath. He later forced his subjects, bare-footed, to tread clay into which he had thrown thorns. Then there was also the problem of increasing population, which made it difficult for them to live with one another. These factors finally led to a separation which was engineered by cunning and not by an open break. The women had orders to throw all waste water on the thick clay walls surrounding the town, thus rendering them soft enough to be pushed down. At an appointed time, the wall was undermined with a dagger; a chief later held the dagger aloft and prayed: "Almighty God! Open the gate to us, so that we may go!" The others then pushed against the wall with all force until it fell over. Women and children were the first to

move out; the people of Dogbonyigbo followed, moving southward towards the sea, while the others made their way westwards. Of these, one group chose to settle in the mountains and on the Dayi plains while the other chose the northern fringes of the plains, Adaklu and the Volta areas for their settlement.

The following period saw the coastal tribes getting involved in wars with Dahome and Genyi, Ada and Agave which finally led to the construction of the Keta fort by the Danes. The inland tribes, on the other hand, had to support the Akwamu in their slave wars. However, they gradually began to find this situation an unbearable burden. They got rid of it in a victorious war from 1828 to 1833, under the leadership of King Kojo Dei of Peki. The final outcome of that old war included the Asante war of 1869 to 1873, in which the Anlos fought on the side of the Asantes against their own tribal brothers. Even though the outcome of this war was unfavourable to the Ewe, yet it finally resulted in the development of the consciousness of their mutual responsibilities. However, slowly, it led to their ultimate unity. It remained for the European government now to bring peace among the Ewe tribes and to ensure that peaceful development was achieved with the help of the Mission.

II. Culture/Civilization

A. The material civilization

From the information so far given, one can conclude that the Ewes have attained a certain level of culture in agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts, but that they have remained at a certain developmental level. The hoe and the weaver's loom today are exactly as they were a hundred years ago.

1. Agriculture

A decisive advantage or virtue of the Ewe people lies in the fact that agriculture enjoys a lot of respect. This is confirmed by the clean and orderly arrangement of the fields as well as the fact that both men and women are equally involved in the farm work. The men attend to the harder duties like the staking of yams. Every observer will be impressed to see, at the beginning of the year, how men together with their wives and children cultivate the land, plant yams and later together help with the harvesting

It is important to note that no mention is ever made of maize and yams in the primeval history of the Ewes; only beans are mentioned. The name *ayigbe*, for example, by which the Ga people call the Ewe, from the coast to the northern boundary of the Ewe people, is explained by the popular etymology that during their migration from their original home they cultivated bean fields and waited for the harvest.

Meanwhile, the Ga were supposed to have moved farther, but they had mostly settled at the old place. That tallies with the narrative of the Ho people that they had no maize in Notsie and that it was only later that they got it from the Europeans. It is also most probable that yams were discovered in much later times. The yam type *hlo*, for example, can still be found in the forests, where it was discovered during the hard times of the Asante wars. It was only *liha* "corn beer" which was mentioned during the pouring of libation to the oldest gods. The name, corn, perhaps refers to the millet

or rice, which the Adaklu people would have planted long after their migration to the Adaklu Mountain.

2. Animal Husbandry

In the coastal areas, individuals possess large herds of cattle which graze behind the lagoons, some with and others without herdsmen. A little further inland, the farmers only indulge in small livestock breeding: poultry farming is also spread all over the country. The extent to and the success with which the natives are devoted to this occupation is depicted by the scenario in which, in the olden days and even now, still many ships dock in Keta to buy poultry and cows. Strange to say that the oldest stories about sacrifices only mentioned goats and, on the coast, only cows were mentioned. Thus sheep appear to have been either unknown or, at least, not to have been used as sacrificial animal for the earthly gods. It is only in the recent cult ceremonies of the earthly gods that the sheep as a sacrificial animal comes into question. Dogs appear to have been considered among the Ewe tribes as domestic animals from time immemorial. At least it is most often referred to as the animal which found itself in the company of the pre-existent man.

3. Handicraft

As the history of the *Matse* amply demonstrates, handicrafts were spread among the individual families in the olden days. Here, every clan had its own profession: one clan pursued smithery, another hunting and the others were farmers. It appears that mat weaving was a relatively new profession. Thus one can safely conclude that families are differentiated according to the work they do, just as by the incomes they get, what they do and what they earn. The art of forging, which mostly involves the use of fire, owes its existence perhaps to the god Sogle, God's own smith who makes thunder wedges, which he dispatches in lightning, hurtling on to the earth. And also, because weaving must have been known to the Ewes for a very long time, one might argue that it has been introduced by hunters who must have learnt it from heavenly inhabitants.

B. The intellectual culture

1. The Language

Considering the fact that the Ewe people have no writing of their own, and that they can neither read nor write, one would hardly expect that the language would be a cultural object for any individual Ewe. But that this is rather the case is shown by the fact that when once an Anlo speaker, in a public speech, used an expression in the wrong place, the listeners' feeling for the beauty of language was so disturbed that they let him know their indignation. Generally speaking, the speaker is expected to present everything in an efficient and perfect form. To deliver this, therefore, also requires the choice of suitable examples to help him illustrate his thoughts.

In the introduction to his *Dictionary of the Ewe Language*, the missionary Westermann has described the Ewe language in a clear and comprehensive way.



Missionary Schlegel,
1859 Author of the first Ewe Grammar

Attention will be paid here only to the cultural value of the language. In previous years, one could sometimes hear complaints about the poverty of vocabulary and ideas in the Ewe language. Westermann's dictionary, which defines 20,000 Ewe words, is a shining refutation of that accusation, for it shows that the linguistic poverty does not necessarily have to lie in the object but it can lie in the subject. Also, Westermann draws attention to the great richness of the Ewe language in adjectives and adverbs which define every quality or activity in the most exact way, while we must only satisfy ourselves with "very", "extraordinarily", "monstrous", "frightfully". Further, he draws attention to the changes in meaning which result when words are doubled, and points out how the doubled form has a high and a low tone form, one for smaller and the other for bigger items.

With this he gives us an insight into “the rich means, which the language has employed for the presentation of the materially perceptible”. Owing to these distinctive features, the language possesses the ability to give characteristic names to objects which have not been manufactured or created by the natives themselves and which they have never seen before. That happens either by forming a completely new word or through the translation of an idea or a term which, in their opinion, bears similarities to the new object to be named. The Ewe man, for example, uses no shoes, has no spectacles, nor clock, nor cask, has no nails or saw, and yet he has composed or formed fairly good words for these materially perceptible things by putting together the linguistic means at his disposal or through imitation of sounds. He sees “the shield of the foot” in the shoe, “the metal eyes” in the pair of spectacles, the “self-ringing metal” in the clock. For a barrel he sees striking similarity with the gourd *go* and therefore named it wooden gourd.

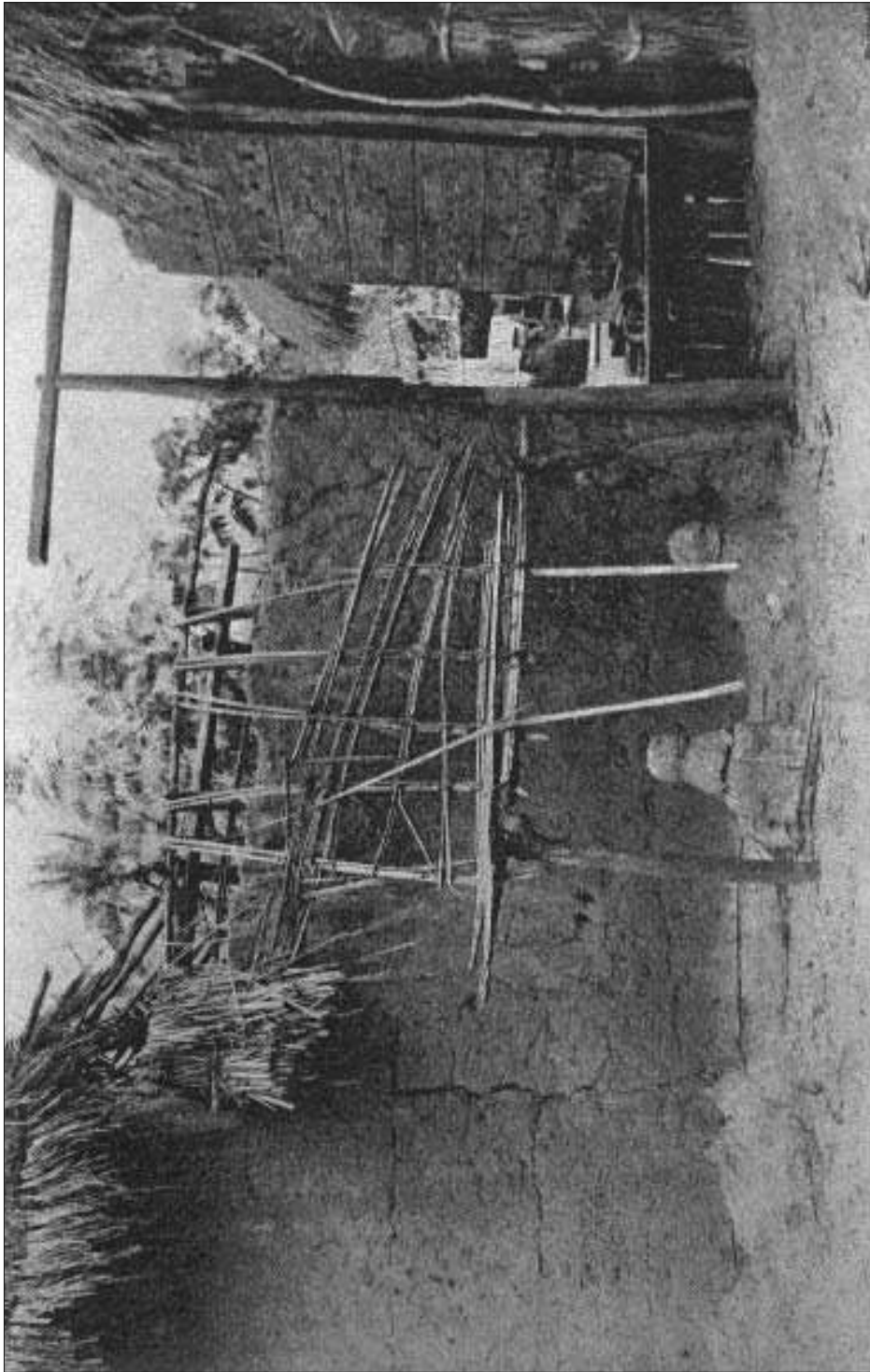
The nail is a metal with flat head and the saw is named by the sound it makes-*lahalaha*. The language is thus enriched accordingly through the influx of the new cultural objects arriving in Eweland in a manner corresponding to the people’s minds. Even with the designation of actions which are still unknown to the Ewes, it follows in a similar way. Only two examples will suffice to illustrate this. It has already been mentioned that the Ewes are illiterate and, as such, could not read nor write and yet they found excellent expressions for both proceedings as soon as the necessity presented itself.

In the hand movement of a writer, they see a movement similar to that of a person hoeing his farm, of one scratching and incising calabashes and, therefore, call it *ɲlɔ agbale*, “scratching paper”. A similar thing happens with the verb, to read. It reminds them of their ‘counting’ *xle nu*, and to read a narrative, *xle nya* for which reason they use *xle agbale* for to read a book or the alphabet. Westermann might have been right in pointing out that this extremely rich fertility of the language breaks down as soon as it comes to expressing something intellectual, but, on the other hand, one also has to point out that the religious and mythological thinking of the Ewes has, by itself, already formed quite a large number of words into which we only have to inject intellectual content in order to make them available for use as vessels for expressing intellectual thought. One can think for example of the terms for *Gboḡbo* “breath” for spirit, *luwɔ* “shadow” for soul, *kekeli* “daylight” etc. It is true, of course, that the religious language has some expressions which are so inseparably bound to the traditional practices that they are rendered unusable.

Such a rich language, which is capable of further enrichment, would be highly suitable as a language of culture, education and trade and the greatest crime that Europe can commit against that tribe would be to suppress their most valuable native inheritance under European languages or even as much as declaim against it. If we want the Ewes to retain their valuable intellectual individuality, then we must seriously ensure that this language remains, and that the up and coming youth of that country develops an insight into the beauty and worth of their mother tongue.

This appreciation for and ingenious application of their language is progressively lost to them through an over-emphasis on the European languages.

Yet the European language fits the less talented Ewe man as badly as the European clothing which is not tailored to fit his body.



Dilapidated Idol hut

2. Art

It is an easily verifiable truth that the Ewes love music. It is, however, not to our taste when we Europeans listen to a local lover of music labour on his stringed instrument; and when the horn blower emits strange sounds from his elephant or antelope horn. But one cannot deny the fact that a certain amount of harmony and rhythm prevails when orchestras are performing. Their music is supposed to be interpreted in the same viewpoint as their drumming, by which they communicate. Music is only speech expressed through musical tones. They often invite music teachers from outside and pay them well to teach music and songs. The Ho people expressly trace their drumming and singing back to the lessons they learned from the Twi people, and, for these, they let the song from the sea be abandoned.

Through time, the Ewes have experimented in the art of painting and in sculpture. As early as 25 years ago, I saw a negro painting on the external wall of a hut in Peki portraying a hunter who had just shot a leopard. The only colours used for this pretty rough picture were black as well as white, red and yellow-ochre. On the outside wall of a *Yeve* monastery on the plain, the ways and doings of the inmates were pictorially depicted.

The picture occupied the whole wall and the individual figures were rough, i.e. were presented raw and the presentation was morally low. Their carved calabashes and cauterized wooden plates, as well as their distinctively decorated pots, manifested a certain sense of form which was tasteful even to the European eye. Old potsherds found on the mountains in ruins of human dwellings had decorations which, though very similar to the present ones, yet go a long way to show that even former generations had a sense for form which is not in any way inferior to the present one.

Plastic Art is mainly in the service of religion and generally has much rougher characteristics. The various big and small idols made of clay or wood are mostly ugly figures; but this does not in any way prove that the artist or sculptor is totally incapable of producing anything better; for these figures conform directly to the concepts of their spiritual occupants.

The emblems (coat of arms) of individual towns and wards, which decorate the umbrellas of their chiefs, are in better taste; we have for example the hen with her chicks, the ibis, the snake and the leopard, all carved in wood.

I saw, in the case of an Agotime chief, the historical presentation of a war, all in wooden figures.

All these go to prove that the cultural sphere has brought forward certain artistic stimuli, which are only waiting for perfection.

It would be regrettable if the currently blooming trade would wipe out or drown all these traces of ideal minds, leaving behind nothing other than plain chasing after quick money or profit.

III. The Family

1. Marriage

All too often when contracting a marriage, the perception arises that the woman is being sold. But this perception is not in accordance with the facts. In every clan, the suitor

is presented with a specific set of demands which he has to satisfy with the parents or with another authority of the girl's family. Chief among these demands is manual labour; this is followed by the payment of a definite amount of money and presents to the bride and to the family of her father and her mother. If all these should only amount to a purchase, then customary requirements which the groom and his family are expected to satisfy would be quite out of the question. In effect, the expression, "He who caters well for his mother will also take good care of his wife", has a deep cultural value.

Moreover, an indecent assault by the groom on a member of the wife's family would not constitute a hindrance to the marriage, if one were considering the marriage as a purchase, but this, in fact, is the case. Endless admonitions, given by discreet non-christian parents to their daughter, who is moving to her husband on the moral seriousness of marriage, are only possible when the basis of the marriage is not only legal but also of a moral nature.

Monogamy is the most original theoretically recognized form of marriage among the Ewes. However, this theory stands opposed to the practice, since chiefs and other wealthy men live polygamous lives. The circumstances that compel a man to take a second or third wife, in addition to the first, are usually traceable to the physical or psychological nature of the first wife, to peculiar conceptions about menstruation, and finally to the wish to have a large number of children. What usually leads a man to take a second wife is the inability of the first wife to help her husband with the farm work due to sickness. The same thing happens, if the first wife is quarrelsome, lazy or a pilferer. She must from now on strive hard to win back the sympathies of her husband through hard work and good conduct, if she does not want to be totally ignored or set aside. The extent to which this can be achieved, however, is shown by what I experienced some years ago in the hut of the Amedzofe chief. Both wives of the old father of the village were looking on as he was engaged in roasting maize at the fireplace. To my question, why one of his wives should not help him with this work, he answered: "If I should give the task to this one, the other would be annoyed with me, and should I request the other, then this one would fume and nag". Another inducement stems from the fact that to the people of the interior, the monthly blood-flow of the woman is an abomination. The wives of some chiefs, priests and juju-men have to restrict themselves solely to their own huts or keep totally out of the compound during their period, and they should strictly abstain from coming into contact with their husband's chair or bed.

These queer opinions do not prevail in the coastal areas and therefore, constitute no basis for the practice of polygamy. However, for all the Ewe tribes, and more so for the coastal ones, the inducement to practice polygamy is the desire to have many children. If a woman gets married and has no child after several years, it gives rise to constant quarrels. It is a daily pain for both parties, when perhaps the younger neighbour is addressed with the proud title of "Kofi's mother" or "Abra's mother", while she herself maintains her usual old appellation.

In the olden days, this was why some husbands bought a slave girl for their wives as a substitute for the child they did not have.

But how do the natives themselves judge polygamous marriages?

Even the conception of the conjugal relationship between heaven (the skies) and

the earth points to monogamy, likewise their perceptions about human beings. In their pre-existent way of being, every man lived with only a single wife, and it is of the greatest importance for the husband on this side of existence that he gets the woman with whom he was already bound in the other life.



Christian family in Eweland

It is assumed that the first woman the man marries is his pre-existent wife. Only she is the lawful, God-given wife; the only woman with whom he can live in peace and harmony. If it should happen that the woman takes a different man and this man also takes a different woman, the man or the woman of the other life continually disturbs the peace of the house and must therefore be pacified through offerings and gifts.

The belief in the spiritual world does not exist in this distinct form on the coast; however, the maternal uncle here is concerned with providing his nephews with his first wife; the marriage of a second and third wife is his own responsibility.

Yet the most devastating opinion of the natives comes to light occasionally in quarrels, in which say, a monogamist calls out to his polygamous neighbour: "I have only one wife and am not a debaucher that hoards many wives at home!" That is also

why a second wife is referred to as *dzidzɔnu*, “a thing of happiness”, and third wife, *ɖɛkakpuinu*, “a thing for the youth”. Usually polygamists are supposed to sink morally and economically lower and deeper. In the interior, one can hear it being said that the whole year’s harvest of a polygamist is devoured by his women and children.



Women preparing a festive meal

2. The Position of the Woman

The position of the woman in public and in domestic life is often considered as degrading. It must be admitted that with the earlier system of warfare and the pledge system, many usages, which are disgraceful to the female sex, are forced on women. One only needs to recall, for example, that in the olden days, recruiting an ally always meant giving him a girl. A girl who was given in pledge or custody for a debt had also got to remain the wife of the creditor till her relatives came to pay back the debt.

However, the submissive position of the husband’s relative to their wives is clearly illustrated in their Reports from Kpeɖɛ, where it says: “With us the men bow to their wives just so they won’t leave them”.

I, myself, have been eye-witness in *Have* near *Wɔɖze* and in the *Dzake* village in *Peki*, where all wives in the village, one day, planned together and left their husbands on a pre-determined day. The *Have* wives presented themselves as gifts to the king of *Nyangbo* near *Avatime* and the *Dzake* wives did the same to King *Kwadzo Dei* of *Peki*. The men were castigated in both cases and sentenced to apologize to their wives and accompany them home. It is well known that there existed a real women’s Queen in *Avatime* under whom queen-mothers were assigned.



Queen of Amedzofe
sitting in a Madeira chair

There were certain family affairs which could not be settled by the chiefs without the consent of the female counsellors, in whose absence no decision could be taken.

It must also be mentioned, that the deliberations of the chiefs, which come at the end of an arbitration, were termed: "Going to the old lady", and that the reporter of the verdict introduces his report by saying, "The old woman says...", which shows that the woman occupies a highly respected position in the family and in public life.

3. Children

The father survives in his children and they alone will provide for his respectable burial during which a lot of gun powder will be expended and meat and yams consumed. It is gratifying to note the care with which some tribes bring up their children to

cherish work and thrift. The main weakness of the Ewe children appears to be their lack of respect for others in their daily lives. Many are respectful only when there is an immediate benefit in sight. Nevertheless, a respectful child is loved by all. Even if it is almost always the mothers who complain about the misbehaviour of their children, it is the mothers who receive the attention and care of their sons, more in times of trouble, than ever. During the Asante wars, as a part of the Ewes were fleeing before the approaching Asantes onto the Avatime Mountains, the sons carried their old and sick mothers in emergency hammocks and on the back, climbing up the steep slopes onto the mountains. Another example of sincere love of the son is what occurred during the sudden attack on *Ziavi* (p. 62). If, on the one hand, the sons should occasionally talk harshly about the carelessness of their mothers, then on the other hand, they stress the point that they truly owed their lives to their mothers. It was they who took care of them, fed them and carried them on their back, and any evil could have befallen them in their early childhood if she had not loved them.

IV. Religion

With regard to religion, we must first of all establish the fact that there is no Ewe word for religion. They may well have words like *susuwo* or “concepts, or thoughts” about the divine. They also have expressions for the manifestation of their relationship to the Divine; but the language has no expression corresponding to the concept, “Religion”. The Ewes determine their relationship with the Divine with the word *wɔ* “to make, do”, e.g. *wɔ Mawu*, “doing that which God demands”. This ‘doing’ is, however, conceived as a service, *subɔsubɔ*, which the slave performs for the master, not so much because of the conviction with which the task is performed but just that the demand has been satisfied. This goes to prove that there are two viewpoints for the representation of religion in the mind of the Ewes, namely the religious conceptions and the worship (the cult). Thus since the whole religion of the Ewes in practice centres around gods, witchcraft and ancestral worship, the three main points of their religious ideas are also provided.

A. Religious Concepts

1. The Deities

There are differences between the gods: heavenly deities (*dzimawuwo*), earthly gods or terrestrial deities (*anyigbadzimawuwo*) and personal protective gods (*ɲunuwo*).

a. The Celestial Deities

Among the heavenly gods, the Almighty God stands at the summit in the picture of heaven which the Ewes appear to have mentally composed. While some may view God in the visible heaven (sky), it appears to the deeper thinkers that the clouds, the light and the blue of the sky are only the veil and clothes of God, behind which He Himself lives, invisible. For them, therefore, God is a distant and hidden God. All we know about him is that he initially allowed human beings to relate with him unrestrained,

but that due to the sins of the human beings, he retreated to an infinite distance where, according to the conception of some, he lives in a space surrounded by fire, and to others, he lives in a house situated in a large banana farm. This goes to confirm the idea that they think of God as an individual separate from heaven.



Horse tail whisk.
Symbol of honour of
Chiefs and priests.

Most closely related to the great God is the divine pair, *Sogblē* and *Sodza*. They appear in the form of thunder and lightning. *Sogblē*, also known as *Sotsu*, “the male *So*”, is the eldest son of God. It is he whom God sends to the earth as his messenger, amid electrifying lightning and powerful thunderbolts, to mete out punishment for offences committed. He is also, therefore, called *nugblela* “the destroyer”. *Sodza* or *Sonɔ*, “female *So*”, manifests herself in smaller flashes of lightning and quiet rumbling thunder. It corresponds totally with the feminine nature, *when* *Sodza* intervenes before her enraged spouse, *Sogblē*, on behalf of human beings; that is to say, when he, *Sogblē* vehemently thunders and threatens to destroy the human beings whom God had made, she, *Sodza*, intervenes to admonish him: ‘Stop it, stop it!’ The rest of the activities of both gods also correspond to their masculine and feminine nature. While *Sogblē* rescues soldiers from dangers, *Sodza* watches over the family house that nothing bad befalls them, and while the first makes the young men industrious and hardworking, *Sodza* is the giver of rain, mother of growth and fertility.

This pair of gods is joined by *Sɔwlu*, the god of cowries and servant of God. He is the one who, in the night, changes the beans, corn and the groundnuts preserved in the pots of his favourites, into mere cowry shells. His character leads to his being described as a thief who first steals his gifts before giving them to any one.

b. The Earthly Deities

The second class of gods are the *anyigbadzimawuwo*, earth gods who are much more closely related to humans; these are called in Eweland *trɔwo* and we, unfairly, label them as fetish. They live on mountains, on steep valley-slopes, in gorges and caves, in springs and rivers. Their major task comprises processing the communication between humans and the distant heavenly God. By virtue of their invisible and more spiritual nature, they can traverse the distant spaces between the earth and the heavens instantaneously, but they let their clients pay dearly for the errands they run. They are armed with superhuman powers with which they can cause drought and devastating storms and also illnesses to afflict people. They also punish people with sudden death. Individual persons and towns attribute their lives and wellbeing to the

influence of an earth deity and, therefore, refer to themselves, in a special sense, as his children.

They are divided into local (native) and foreign gods. The group of local (indigenous) gods comprises the oldest, so-called ancestral gods, which they brought along during their immigration from their ancestral seat, *Amedzɔfe*. Their number increased in the course of time as a result of the emergence of such gods that had come into being at their new abodes, as well as those which they had financially acquired from neighbouring tribes. The origin of these foreign gods lies west and east of Eweland, namely the Gold Coast including Asante and Akwapim on the West, and Dahome and Yoruba on the East. The gods *Fofie* and *Dente*, for example originated from the Gold Coast, while *Afa*, “sign interpretation and fortune telling” came from Dahome and Yoruba, as does the secret cult of the *Yeve* which occupies a large part of Eweland. These immigrant gods can be counted among the ancestral gods, whose worship becomes hereditary and the priestly worship passes over from father to son. However, if that does not happen, then they join the large number of wandering gods, which do not remain with the same family after the death of their priest, but rather leap over to another, thus “wandering”.

At the summit of the oldest gods stands the earth, which is worshipped in the whole northern part of Eweland under the name *mia nɔ*, “our mother”. She is the woman, the wife of heaven and together with him, they produce human beings, animals and plants, yes, even the earth gods. She is the great nourisher of every living thing who does not collapse, even when her enemies assault her. Some examples of the later origination and purchase of the earth-gods will be recounted in the following pages.

c. The Personal Protective gods

A third class of gods is the personal protective gods, who have the happiness or misfortune of human beings at their disposal. They are partly domiciled in *Amedzɔfe*, their spiritual home, and partly live with the people themselves. Those belonging to the first class are the mother in the spiritual world, the husband and the wife of the other world, and especially the *gbetsi*, “the bequeathed word”, of which there are good ones and bad ones. The tutelary gods which live with humans are called *aklama*, the ever ready helper and blessings bestower, as well as *dzɔgbe* and *kpegbonɔla*, whose task it is to protect the humans against death.

2. Sorcery and Witchcraft

The belief in the secret power of the wizard is deeply rooted in the men and women of the whole Eweland and they make use of it in the most diverse situations of life and in every emergency. Magic is called *dzo* “fire” and the one who has it is called *dzotɔ* “owner of fire”. The employment or application of this is called *sa* “to bind, tie, attach”, thus using the power of the magic to rivet to a spot, what usually happens externally by tying ropes etc around the object in question. The magic can release the object again and is then withdrawn, because its power has become depleted.

Generally it is necessary to distinguish between private magic and the magic which comes into use in judicial life.

a. Magic in Private Life

As already stated, most pagans pursue or perform magic for themselves and for their family members. This takes the place of the family medicine chest. For this they work wherever possible to acquire magical objects to use against the influence of evil gods, spirits and human beings. While this group restricts itself to the simple house practice, others set out on the professional enterprise of wizardry, by which they purchase for themselves as many magical objects as their pecuniary circumstances would permit. As the doctor is to us here at home, so would the magician be called to a sick person in Eweland. The magician would then determine the causes of the illness after which he would employ the requisite magical objects for the treatment.

There are some in this category of people, as should be expected, who have a large number of magical objects at their disposal, but keep them secret, away from the public. They are the most feared men, because they often work with strong poison, wholly in secret. They are always out for quietly ending the life of anyone whom they dislike. For this purpose they introduce poison into his drink, into his bowls and plates, yes, even into his fireplace where he cooks his foods. They bury powerful magical objects like antelope horns, cowry-shells, used corn cobs and similar things in his door way, in the compound or on the farm of the enemy. The people's anger knows no mercy, when somebody is caught practicing as a secret magician. He would be executed in the most gruesome manner.

b. Magic in Public life

The *aka*, God's judgment, expresses as another side of magic. The translation "God's judgment" does not cover the whole meaning of the word, but covers the sense, which it has in the people's conception. Just as *dzo* or magic power works mainly for the recovery of the sick and the death of unpleasant people, so does *aka* stand up for right or wrong, and is therefore wholly employed in the judicial system. Both forms of magic are impersonal and only come into action at the command of the owner. But when the objects into which the magic was built are too many, then the *aka* restrains itself to a few varieties which are used, far and wide, during litigation. Take, for example, the case in which an *akato* "owner" pours hot oil into the hand of an accused person; the guilty man burns his palm, the one who is not guilty, on the other hand, feels no pain, quietly retains the oil in the hand and rubs himself with it. The secret is easy to guess; instead of simmering oil, only warm oil was poured into his hand. There is another case in which the skin of the man who was to be tried was burnt with glowing iron. The one who does not feel any pain during the process is declared innocent. Even here also, the result verges on deception, made possible by smearing more of a slimy substance on the skin of the one and less on the leg of the other. This slimy substance weakens the effect of the glowing iron.

Like the first variety, this can also be purchased whereby both the seller and the purchaser contract blood brotherhood. A public and ceremonial ordination is then held to conclude the acquisition during which the *aka* is tested in the presence of witnesses. The *aka* possessors are feared among people and have to form a close association in which any one of them, however remote, exchanges information about current activities and methods.



A warrior, armed with magical objects

3. Human Beings

a. Origin

The body of the human being is of earth and was “fashioned” by God, whose main task it still is to form human bodies. God uses the jaw-bone of a dead man and potters’ clay which he kneads and forms for the manufacture of a human body. For the manufacture of his body, the Ewes use the words *me*, “to form” and *wɔ*, “to make”.

The spiritual side of his being, in short his soul, relates differently. It originates from the soul home *Amedzɔfe*, where he “was born” by the mother in the spiritual world, and where it led an independent existence, which bears similarity to this life. When he

becomes one of us, gifted with heart and soul, he will be born into the human world. During the process, a farewell to the other life, in the soul-home, precedes birth into this life. The mother in the spiritual world would give the departing several blessings to take along. He would, on his part, promise when he would be coming back. This promise is called *gbetsi*, the “word left behind” or the “personified promise”.

b. Characteristics

The human being brought along his destiny as well as his complete character from the other world into this life. A good-natured being was already good there, and the one infected with depravity was already bad there. That is why such people excuse their illegal actions with the sentence: “That is my behaviour from the spiritual home after all”. When such people come to explain their faults to people who have come into this world with “good character”, they always put the blame of their misbehaviour on the influence of an evil *gbetsi* from the other life, or also on an evil earthly god.

In view of these conceptions, it is noteworthy that the man does not act only under the influence of the character he has brought along from the other world, but also under the guidance of his heart which resides in this world. The parts of the body are also, therefore, considered as subject to the heart, which wards them off, whenever they are about to do anything bad; “it speaks words”, meaning “something is being said”. Temptation never comes from the heart; it comes from outside the body by the interaction of the eye or the ear with objects. The effects of the evil deed are that: “The heart says something” to the person, “that moves him”, “that disturbs him”, “that frightens him”. This action of the heart after an evil deed causes some people to confess their sins and to render an apology and to ask for forgiveness. It drives some others into death as vividly portrayed in the fable of the *Tsentse* and the bird’s song.

c. The Aim of Life

Death may be the boundary of the earthly life, but not the destruction of its personal existence. A person dies only then, when his own self-determined life-span runs out. After its release from the body, the soul sighs along disturbing his survivors. It knocks at their doors or goes roaming around the village streets as a white figure, throwing stones at the doors and at people who had incurred his enmity in life; but alas, it has to move on and the goal of his journey is the underworld. However, even this is only a transitional stage from where, sooner or later, it has to return to this life again to continue its existence as a human being in its own family or as some other animal. The fable of *Safudu Kwaku* shows, however, that after death, some humans are sent directly by God into the sunrise.

B. Worship

1. The Worship of the Celestial Gods

a. The worship of the “Great God”

It does not tally with the facts in Eweland, when people say that the worship of God has fallen behind the worship of spirits and is fully neglected. Perhaps one can establish a

reduction but not a total neglect. Also, the claim of Ellis, an Englishman, that although considered as the greatest of all gods, they never offer sacrifice directly to him and that they seldom pray to him, is not altogether correct.¹¹ If we understand the heavens to mean the highest God, then we have to note, that there are special heaven-priests, who do both sacrifice as well as offer prayers. When, for example, the heaven-priests in Ho pray to Heaven: “Oh, our Father and our Lord! We offer thanks to you; but behold how dry our land has become! It is so very arid, and we are starving. Please let the rain come today, ensure that it falls today!”, then that is a prayer rendered directly to God. What is more, each year, the priest prayerfully brings for sacrifice to God, a tuber of yam which he had specially planted for this purpose. If we take “Great God” to mean the godly and blessings personified, then the observations of Ellis again fall off the mark, because He is not only worshipped weekly and monthly but also yearly. Like the priest of the Heavens, the priest of the “great God” must also prepare himself through ablutions, dabbing the body with white clay and by putting on white clothes for the service. It is required of him to observe ceremonial cleanliness at least for this ceremony. Only a perfectly white sheep may be offered in sacrifice by the priest, who raises it three times towards heaven before it is slaughtered.

b. The worship of the gods Sodza and Sogle

Anyone who examines the religion of the Ewes for a longer period cannot resist the impression that, in many places, Sodza is considered as the “Great God”, and, though Sogle is his wife, she is also his servant. Whatever the case may be, they also offer prayers and sacrifices to her, comprising yams and white sheep. Furthermore, while worshipping the earth-gods the sacrificial object is held nine times to heaven, the priest offers prayers, first to the god *Sodza*, the mighty mother of growth, offering her this sacrifice, and it is only then that the Earth gods, to whom the sacrifice is intended, are addressed. In addition to this intimate worship, they also mention *Sogle* as the intermediary of the prayers; but they do also pray directly to him, and the sacrifice intended for him may only be a white sheep.

2. The worship of the Earthly gods

The worship of the earthly gods, like that of the heavenly ones, is bound to festival times or to occasions or chance occurrences like war, epidemics and hard times. In earlier times, the whole tribe or the towns concerned, who were the protégés of the god, took part in the sacrificial rituals.

The sacrificial animal, usually a goat, was held aloft with prayers and presented to the God, inviting him to descend and receive his sacrificial animal. They then shoved the animal’s head into a pit filled with water, and while some pressed its mouth and throat closed, the others mistreated it until it died. The rituals ended with a sacrificial meal and benediction from the priest. At the end of the celebration, the worshippers are smeared with mud mixed on the altar of sacrifice.

¹¹ Deserted settlement of the Ho.

3. The worship of the personal tutelary gods

In this case, it is usually a question of the presentation of little clay idols, which are considered as mediums of exchange, meaning that the receiver should take those in replacement for the presenter; wild fruits and fowls are also presented. Since it is not possible to speak about public worship of magic because it does not exist, I'll move to the next chapter.

4. Ancestor worship

This is expressed during funerals, when they are cleansing the chief's stool, when offering prayers to the palm-forest and, lastly, during the sun-worship. Sacrifices are brought to the dead, when the relatives come to invoke the spirit, in order to inquire from him the causes of his death. Water and palm wine are poured on his grave and food and victuals are set for him on the road.

The sheep which has been presented to be sacrificed to the king's stool during the yam festival, is meant for all the predecessors who have ever sat on the throne.

If oil palms should be felled for the tapping of palm wine, then the head of family prays, appealing to all the forefathers, and presents them with a sacrifice of flour. He pleads with them not to be angry when palm trees are being felled. This would ensure that the wine would flow freely and none of them would fall sick.

In the interior, many afflicted persons pray to the rising sun and address themselves to their dead relatives, to whom they protest their woes or request them to come and take them away to where they are, or that they should ensure that those lying sick at home may no longer be a burden on them. Their presents comprise refuse, roasted yams, and roasted maize. All these are laid down in the bush where the tools and other implements of the dead are kept.

4. The Exploration of the Country

In 1847, for the first time, the Ewes came into permanent contact with Europeans. That was when the North German Missionary Society started its missionary work among the Pekis, west of Ho, and between the Volta and Tsawœ rivers. After the starting point of their work on the coast had been transferred to Keta in 1853, six years later, they were ready to found their fourth station among the Ho people.

In addition to their language studies, their construction works, journeys and school work, the missionaries did not ignore the closer study of the people among whom they were living. As early as 1858, the talented missionary, Schlegel, wrote, "A contribution to the history, the world view and religious philosophy of the West African, especially the Ewes" which was published in the *Monatsblatt der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft* (Monthly Bulletin of the North German Missionary Society) No. 93/94. That essay gave evidence, not only of fundamental research, but also of an excellent gift for presentation.



Missionary Hornberger, died 1881
Author of the first map of Eweland

The same author also provided valuable information in his introduction to the *Schlüssel der Ewesprache* (Key to the Ewe Language). The missionary Hornberger, who died in 1881, was the first to research into the interesting history of the Ewe people which was published in the *Quartalblatt der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft* (Quarterly Bulletin of the North German Missionary Society), 1877 No. 82–85. Hornberger undertook extensive journeys and drew the first map of Eweland. Although this map was revised long ago, it was in use for a very long time and shows that Hornberger had correctly grasped the topography of the country.

The very next volume of the same magazine brought an ingeniously well-written essay by the missionary Zuendel, currently a parson in Württemberg, on “The Land and People of the Ewes on the Slave Coast of West Africa”, No. 86–89. Zuendel undertook to prove in that article that his research work covered the whole life of the people. In the *Monatsblatt* (Monthly Bulletin) 1889 No. 9 -12, I published an essay on the Avatime people, and, in a later year, I published another on the Yeve Cult. In his “Contributions to the Colonial Politics and Colonial Economy”, the Missionary Haertter published a very valuable work on the history of the Ewe people, and in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Journal of Ethnology), 1906, numbers 1 and 2, he wrote a similar article on the customs and usages of the Anlos as well as on the fishing and games of the Ewes. In the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Archives of the Study of Religion) Dec. 1904, and in the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin* (Bulletin of the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin), 1906, Westermann gave extremely valuable insight into the concepts of soul, spirit and destiny of the Ewe and Twi peoples and in the sign language of the Ewe people in German Togo.

In May 1902 and March 1906, Missionary Spiess published articles in the *Globus* on the magical charms of the Ewes and the meaning of some town and village names. In the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* (Bulletin of the Seminar for Oriental Languages), VI, VII, and VIII, he published works about the meaning of personal names, and about magic and the gods of the Anlos. The Missionary Fies, currently a teacher in the penal institution in Oslebshausen, wrote several articles about the fetish village of *Afegame* at the *Agu* mountain, yam farming in German Togo, and about the Ho tribe, in *Globus* Volume 80 No. 24, 1901, Volume 84 No. 17, 1903 and volume 87 No. 1 and 5, 1901. In the magazine *Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft* (Contributions to Colonial Politics and Colonial Economy) volume III 1901 and IV, 1903 from the same author came papers on the oil palm and on the visit of the Missions Inspector to Togo.

In the *Deutschen Kolonialzeitung* (German Colonial Newspaper) Vols. 22 1905 and 23, 1906, Teacher Fies sketched “dark pictures of the daily lives of the inhabitants of *Agu*” and gave information and explanations about the age of the Togo Negro. Missionary Bürgi collected 918 proverbs to which he gave explanations and added a good translation. The collection gives a wealth of information about the gift of observation and the intellectual life on the whole of the Ewe people.

The former Missionary Nerz, who died as a priest in Wurttemberg, left behind a voluminous treatise on, “The Religion of the Inhabitants of the Slave Coast”, yet unpublished in the mission archive at Bremen. The work contains very good material and testifies to the great pains he took to compile it.

Since the larger portion of Eweland was put under German Protective rule, various special government officials have made outstanding efforts to delve into the spiritual and intellectual lives of the people. In the *Mitteilungen für Forschungsreisende und Gelehrte* (Bulletin for Explorers and Scholars, published by von H.V. Danckelman, in Volume IV, 1891 and Vol. V 1892, are valuable articles authored by Captain Herold, the former station director of Misahohe. He reports therein about “the political past of the Western part of Togoland”, about the “religious beliefs and customs of the German Ewe negro”, as well as “about their legal practices”.

The following have also appeared in book form: “Togoland, studies by Hugo Zöller on the life and customs of the natives, nature, climate and cultural significance of

the country". In 1887 "The German Togo Territory" by Dr. E. Henrici appeared; in it he made all sorts of observations, but ventured daring combinations and conclusions, including his decision also to see things in the light of European attitudes.

Attention must also be drawn to a new work; *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Togo under the German Flag) by H. Klose, which appeared in 1899 at Dietrich Reimer, Berlin. This is a book in which one can learn many lessons about the country and its peoples.

In 1890 an English official, Ellis, published, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave-coast of West Africa*, a book in which he gives valuable material especially about the people's religion. He, however, generalized rather too much and thus showed that he was only aware of the initial, earlier conceptions of the people. His linguistic information and individual word interpretations created the impression that testified more to dependence than to an independent enquiry into the language and livelihood of the people.

I shall now explain more carefully my own collections, emphasizing the sources as well as the methodology and the output of the research.

1. The Sources

That the Ewes are illiterate and do not have any written sources from ancient times is not surprising. All the same, it is striking that of the many hundred native men who have successfully passed through the mission school since 1847, none appears to have the urge to get interested in the historical past, the religious customs and the laws of his people. Men who have Ewe as mother tongue, who know the popular way of life in the most intimate and personal way, and who furthermore possess a satisfactory amount of European education, should have been able to do great things for science and for their own people. Even if the fact cannot in anyway be denied that some of those have provided valuable contributions to the present digest before us, yet the following fact remains: In the first place, they did not write on their own accord, they only did it under persistent supervision of some employer, and, secondly, they all tired out fast; in short, they had no interest and self-reliance. The sole source is thus the people themselves. But this is only available to those who have mastered the language and know how to win the confidence of the people. However, one is never through with it, but one will have to apply oneself to winning it every single time. If one comes to regard the whole folk as one large living library, with every single person representing one volume therein, in which there are chapters on God, the world, Man and his history, then one can immediately estimate that research work in Africa requires a lot of patience and may never be completed in the foreseeable future. One will, therefore, have to think modestly about the goals one has actually achieved.

In addition to this, it is not only the magnitude of the task but also the quality of the motivation. As here at home, so it is among the Ewes, that there exist considerable differences in their knowledge of their own people. There are people who, though they are well-informed about their own family history, yet their knowledge does not reach beyond the boundaries of their family. On the other hand, there are others who are well initiated in the history of their tribe and also others who are well-versed in the religious matters of their village. That is, however, exactly the reason why, to them, the question, where they got that knowledge from, is pertinent. Some of them have never gone beyond their tribes or beyond the nearest surrounding. Their knowledge is thus probably traceable to the original family and tribal tradition.

There are others, on the other hand, who are well-travelled, who have journeyed through the northern and southern parts of their country as well as the territories of their eastern and western neighbours. Strangely, they often know a lot; but it appears to be true that different foreign elements have combined in their mind to form a uniformly consistent picture. It also lies in the nature of things that their reports combine domestic and foreign components mixed together.

The case of old teachers and Christians is similar. They might know all sorts of reliable things to tell about their tribal history, about economic and social conditions but when it comes to their indigenous religion, their information certainly loses its reliability. First of all, because most of them are anxious to totally forget the old, if possible. A woman begged me, for example, not to question her about those things, because it always filled her with grief when she thought of it.



On a Journey
at a river crossing

For the others, their heathenist and biblical thoughts got mixed unconsciously. This observation was made especially when I enquired for the meaning of God's name, *Mawu*, whereupon some simply referred to the declaration of Jehovah's name: "I am". It would, however, certainly be wrong if one should leave one or the other of these sources unused. One had better take what is offered but the source should be exactly labelled, in order that the information could later be compared with others. In the same way, it would be wrong to assume that one of these sources was better for the coastal and the other, perhaps, better only for the interior. Even today, there are people at the coast who are practically untouched by Europe; on the other hand, there are people in the interior whose knowledge includes many foreign components. The difference is

wholly individual and not zonal. An article should not earn special respect only because it was taken from the interior; on the other hand, one does not need to be skeptical about it just because it originated from the coast. The best evidence of its dependability is the source and the question, whether or not it was written by one proficient in the language. Information collected without having previously asked questions is extraordinarily valuable. Such information is often presented in conversations, in which the natives talk confidentially with the European or also among themselves in the belief that the European would either not understand or would not pay any attention to them. For such an opportunity, it is important that the European never interrupts the flow of speech. And if he cannot totally rely on himself, then he should always have a few natives around who would listen for and with him, so with their help the subsequent record would be as complete as possible.



A woman soothsayer in action

2. Research Methods

Naturally of course every individual organizes his method of research differently. I personally chose the following way: since from the start, my profession brought me into contact with such non-Christians, as had decided to abandon heathenism and to convert to Christianity, I tried to elicit from them information about their religious life.

Even though I have not used what I have heard from them in the bulletin in hand, yet they did have a decisive influence, in so far as it was only then that I learnt what

heathenism is really about in Eweland. I attached great importance to the solution of the problems that came up, because I wanted to know what spiritual atmosphere and inspiration our Christians had under heathenism. It was only after satisfying this basic requirement that some events that happened in the Christian communities could be better understood and correctly handled.

But, even for the heathen-preacher, it is imperative to have a clear picture of the past and present of his audience and a clear look into their religious and cultural lives. I will never forget the noble superiority with which an old chief brought it home to me many years ago that I really understood nothing of their pagan customs. All that contributed to my adoption of the strategy to get names of people in every tribe, such persons, who, according to the judgment of their acquaintances, know a lot about their own people. I made friends with such people, employed them as carriers and hammock bearers, took them along on journeys, and learned the most interesting things from them in the lonesome savannas or at the fire-place in the lodging. Insiders whom I was unable to meet on my official journeys were invited to the station at my own cost, where they were more open because they did not have to fear the watchful eyes of their tribal colleagues. Against this background, the reader will ask where the otherwise busy missionary found the time to write down his pieces of information. In the course of time, many parents, whose sons had come to grief in the school, appealed to me to employ the children. In addition to other jobs, I tasked them to write down that which was narrated by people who had been invited to meet me.

For this purpose, I issued them instructions, compiled by myself in the Ewe language, according to which the formulation of their questions would follow. It certainly appeared even here that many questions just bored the invited interviewees and that it was more beneficial simply to let them narrate and, now and then, throw a question in between. After all, these writers also went to their nearest pagan relatives and acquaintances from where they always returned with new materials. I also owe a lot to the help of a few teachers, among whom especially, Teacher R. Kwami, T. Schlegel, Father Newell, J. Te and S. Anku excelled, by chiming in with my thoughts and by compiling industriously. I myself spent many night hours on journeys and at home as well as holidays collecting and recording. A rich material would be accumulated if this activity would be constantly and evenly continued through decades.

3. The Output of the Collections

A part of the output of this collection is being presented in this book for the attention of the reader. But my research work also extended to individual tribes in the west; *Dafɔ Peki* and *Awudome*, in the North to *Wɔdze*, *Avatime*, *Ve*, *Kpando* and *Gbĩdzigbe*, in the East to *Agu* and a few neighbouring areas, and in the south to *Aɖaklu*, *Hɔɖzo*, *Agɔtime* and *Aɲɔ*. It was not possible to give all these tribes equal treatment, since the sources of information were not equally available. Thus some areas were almost wholly ignored. The letters may perhaps be of special value, like in the way they are used by the *afakalawo* – “Sign readers.” Should the volume in hand be of interest to the Mission, leading to the sourcing of additional funds to make the printing possible, then this first volume would be followed by a second and a third, which would give adequate treatment to the other inland and coastal tribes. On the strength of this thoroughly reliable material, a comparison could then be made in which the final results would

be put together. By this effort, we have, certainly not a complete all-embracing, but definitely a fairly comprehensive monograph of the *Eve* people.

The HO – Tribe

1. HO

Chapter One: History

1. Main Section: The General History

1. The Oldest Traditions of the Ho People

A. The Ancestral Seat

1. Dahome and Aḍaḍam

F.Y.: Notsie is not the ancestral seat of the Ho people, as people usually say. Their homeland must rather be Dahome; this is because all our forefathers talk about Dahome, which goes to prove that their forefathers have lived there. Due to the many wars waged by the Dahomeans, they left that place and settled at another location. This place is called Aḍaḍam. This place lies beyond Atakpame in the direction of the great desert. That is where all Ewes lived in earlier times. A high, thick clay wall was said to be surrounding Aḍaḍam; the wall was so broad that a horseman could easily ride on it.

A.Y.: The Ho do not originate from *Ŋotsie*. Perhaps they came from another place whose name I do not know. It was from there that they came to settle in Notsie.

K.W.: All Ewes, Gas, Twis and Asantes, come from Amedzɔfe. It is not known, exactly where this place was, but it was believed to be situated far beyond Atakpame. It was also called Agboghɔme because it was surrounded by a very strong stone wall, a wall which had only one gate.

M.K.: The Ewes originate from the east, far beyond Notsie.

A. Ak.: The people of Notsie say that there is a great wall between Atakpame and Notsie. That is where all people and nations once lived together, surrounded by a great wall.

2. *Ŋotsie*

K.W.: Our forefathers lived in Notsie before spreading out. On the way from Kpele to Atakpame, one can see the remains of a strong wall, which was constructed with large stones. During their migration, the Ewes were harassed by enemies and that was why they constructed the wall for their safety in a wide semi-circle from the Ewe Mountain and back.

Ta Gbãtɔ: Ɗutinyawo

Akpa Gbãtɔ: Ho Fomeawo Katã Ɗutinya

I. Hoawo Fe Blemanyawo

A. Wofe Hogbefe

1. Dahome Kple Aɖaɖam

F.Y.: Hoawo fe dzɔfe menye Ɗɔtsie abe ale si wogblɔna la ene o. Wofe dzɔfe anye Dahome Kokɔko; elabena mɔafe ame tsitsiwo katã foa nu le Dahome ɲuti, si le fiafiam be, wo tɔgbuitɔgbuiwo nɔ afi ma kpɔ. Dahomeawo fe avawɔwɔ geɖe na be, wovu le afi ma va nɔ tefe aɖe. Woyɔa tefe sia ɲkɔ bena Aɖaɖam. Tefe sia le Atakpame godo ɖo ta gbeɖaɖi lɔfo. Afi ma duwo katã nɔ le tititi. Wogblɔ bena, woɖo gli kɔkɔ titri aɖe (anyigli) fo xlã Aɖaɖam la (menye Ɗɔtie o); gli la keke ale be, woate ɲu ado sɔ le edzi faa.

A.Y.: Hoawo medzɔ tso Ɗɔtsie o, tefe bubu aɖe, si ɲkɔ nyemenya o. Afi ma wotso hafi va nɔ Ɗɔtsie.

KW.: Eveawo keɲ, Gẽawo, Bluawo kple Asateawo tso Amedzɔfe. Womenya afi si tututu tefe sia le o, gake wobuna be, ele Atakpame megbe ke. Woyɔnɛ hã be Agbogbome, le esi woɖo kpegli sesẽ fo xlãe, eye wode agbo ɖeka enu la ɲuti.

M.K.: Eveawo dzɔ tso yedzefe godzi le Ɗɔtsie megbe ke

A. AK.: Ɗɔtsieawo ɖo dze be gligã aɖe le Atakpame kple Ɗɔtsie dome. Afi ma dukɔwo katã nɔ tsã le gliɖoɖo gã aɖe me.

2. Ɗɔtsie

KW.: Mia tɔgbuiwo tso Ɗɔtsie hafi kaka. Ne ame aɖe tso le Kpelẽ yina Atakpame la, akpɔ gli sesẽ aɖe, si woɖo kple kpe gãwo. Le wofe mɔzɔzɔ me la futɔwo nyama wo, eya ta woɖo gli sesẽ ma tso Eveto la fe go ɖeka me yiɖatɔ go bubu me be, woanɔ dedie.

Ad.: Our forefathers came from Notsie beyond Gafe. They left that place as a result of the cruelty of their king.

G. K.: All human beings originate from one place. The name of that place is Notsie, not the Notsie which lies near the Agu Mountain, but the one lying on the coast beyond Badza. Badza was a big strong kingdom. Traveling from Badza, one would first come to Dahome. It was in this area that mankind originated. It was said that when the Notsie king once set out to travel to Amedzofe, it took him three months to reach there.

K. W.: There a mild and kind-hearted king ruled over them and so they were able to live together in peace. Every town had its own war chief. After the death of this mild chief, a cruel king reigned over them. He one day invited all chiefs to his house, ostensibly for a court trial. He then proceeded to have them all killed so that he could do what he pleased without any restriction. He tormented his subjects with many sorts of hard work. Once, for example, he ordered them to mix clay for him with their bare feet. But before the people came to work, he caused cacti and thorns to be thrown into the mud, so that as the men stamped to mix the mud, they got sorely injured and suffered painful lacerations; they had to return home, very angry. At another time, he ordered that a rope be woven for him out of thorns and cacti. That was too much for them; they were fed up with the situation. They, therefore, went to an old chief, who had survived the blood-bath, and put the case before him. This old chief advised them to tell the king, he should give them the model of such a rope according to which they could faithfully weave their own. This angered the king so much that he decided to kill them. The people, therefore, joined forces, and in the night, they pushed the wall down and fled. Immediately outside the wall, they proceeded walking backwards; they advanced a little further before turning their back to the town. The king had them pursued, but when they discovered that their footprints pointed towards the town, they became very confused and returned.

Knbt.: Our forefathers lived within a wall. There they were very much tormented by their ruler. He set them difficult tasks daily. On one occasion, he commanded them to stamp the mud for building him the walls of a house; but before they came to do the work, he had caused all sorts of things, like thorns and cacti to be thrown into the mud. The people could therefore not mix the mud. And the Ho people said: "Should we, *Hoɖemekɔɛ*, continue to remain here, suffering in this way?" There upon they set on the wall, pushed it down, and walking across the rubble they went out. They were followed by the *Akɔviefe* and after them came all the other peoples. That is why all the tribes were thankful to the Ho people for helping them escape from the walls. That is why the people named them *Azɔkli*, which is now pronounced *Asɔgli*. The sword with which the man bored through the wall was brought along by the Ho and is still there today in Banyakoe.

Adyr.: Our ancestors told us, God had built a wall in *Hogbefe* (ancestral home) and all human beings lived in it. Now the people began to pester the Ho and asked themselves: "What shall we do to make sure that the Ho people are totally eradicated?" The king of Hogbe decided that a house should be built for him. As the construction progressed, he directed that sharp objects should be deposited in the earth which was to be trampled by the Ho. An old woman heard this; she, therefore, called one Ho elder, and told him to instruct his children to bind pieces of wooden

Ad.: Mia tɔgbuiwo fe tsofee nye Ɔɔtsie le Gafe megbe. Fia, si ɔu wo dzi la fe ɔutasesẽ na be, wodzo le aƒi ma.

G.K.: Amegbetwo keɔ dzɔ tso aƒi ɔeka. Woyɔ aƒi ma be Ɔɔtsie, ke menye Ɔɔtsie is le Agu gbɔ o; ke boɔ eya le Badza megbe le atsiafu nu. Badze nye fiaɔufe gā seɔu aɔe. Ne ame aɔe tso le Badza la, ake ɔe Dahome ɔuti. Nuto ma me amewo fe dzɔfe le. Nyatoto aɔe gblɔ be: Esi Ɔɔtsiefia tso be yeayi Amedzɔfe la, exɔ ɔleti etɔ hafi ɔo.

KW.: Fia fafa dɔnenyotɔ aɔe ɔu wo dzi, ale be wonɔ anyi le tomedafa me. Du sia du kpɔ ye ɔuto fe asafohene. Le fia dɔnenyotɔ ma fe ku megbe la. Fia seɔuta aɔe va ɔu wo dzi. Gbe ɔeka wòɔ amegāwo katā va efeme bena, yeakpɔ mɔ awɔ yefe lɔlɔnu. Eɔe fu na eteviwo kple dɔwɔwɔ geɔe. Le kpɔɔeɔ me: Egblɔ na wo gbe ɔeka bena, woanya anyi na ye. Hafi ne woava la, ena wolɔ ɔu kple srẽ de anyi la me ale be, esi wole enyān la, woxɔ abi vevie, eye wodzo kple dɔmedzui. Gbe bubu gbe wògbɔ na wo bena, Woatsɔ ɔu kple srẽ agbe ka na ye. Nya la glo wo, eye woyi ɔe amegā xoxo ɔeka, si susɔ la gbɔ haxlẽ nyawo fie. Eɔo aɔaɔu na wo be, woagblɔ ne be, wòatsɔ ka mā tɔgbi ɔe na yewo bena, yewoakpɔe agbe ɔe ɔuti. Nya la ve dɔme ne, eyaɔuti woɔo be, yeawu wo. Nu sia na be, duawo katā bla nu, eye wotu asi gli la hesi le zā me. Esi wodo go teti la, woxɔ gbugbɔ ɔe megbe la hafi trɔ megbe de du la. Fia la na woti wo yome; ke esi wokpɔ be, wofe aƒwo ɔo ta dua dzi la, wofe mo wɔ ya, eye wodzo.

Knbt.: Mia tɔgbuiwo nɔ gli aɔe me. Le aƒi ma la, wo dziɔula ɔea fu na wo ɔuto. Gbe sia gbe eɔoa dɔ sesẽ na wo. Gbe ɔeka wògbɔ na wo bena, woanyā anyi atu xɔe alo aɔo gli na ye. Le dɔwɔfea la, etsɔ ɔu geɔewo fo ɔe anyi la me, ɔuwo kple srẽwo. Ameawo mete ɔu nya anyi la o, eye Hoawo gblɔ bena, yewo Hoɔmekɔeawo aɔo anyi aɔo fu kpem ale mahā? Ale wotu asi gli la fu anyi, eye woxɔ edzi do go. Akoviawo do ɔe wo yome; emegbe du bubuwo katā do go. Esiata dukɔwo katā da akpe na Hoawo be woawo na yewodo go le gli me, eye woyɔ ɔkɔ na wo be Azɔkli, ke woyɔne be Asɔgli. Yi, si le ame la si wòtsɔ kusi gli lae la wotsɔe ɔe asi ve, ele Banyakoe fifi laa

Adyr.: Ametsitsiwo gblɔ na mí be, Mawu ɔo gli ɔe Hogbefe, eye amewo katā le eme. Azɔ ameawo de asi fuɔeɔe me na Hoawo, eye wobia be, ale ke yewoawɔ hafi Hoawo natsrɔ mahā? Le ɔemayi me Hogbefia ɔo be, woawɔ xɔ na ye. Le xɔ la tufe egblɔ be, ne wole anyi la nyā ge la, asɔ nanɔ Hoawo fe anyinyafe. Nyagāɔeɔi aɔe se nya la, eye wòɔ Homegā gblɔ ne be, negblɔ na viawo be, hafi woava anyi la nyafe la, ne woakpa gbɔnu kakewo. Amegā la gblɔe na wo, eye woawo hā wɔe nenema. Azɔ la fia la gaɔo be, du sia du, si gbɔna anyi la nyā ge la, natsɔ deha alɔe (tɔmedeze) ɔeka ava kɔ ɔe anyia dzi

tray under their feet before treading the clay. The chief informed them accordingly and the men followed the advice. Now the ruler ordered that all towns coming to tread the clay should each bring a very big pot of palm wine for softening the clay they were coming to mix. The people did as they were told. The Hos, however, brought their palm wine in smaller pots. They also came to the work place with old pieces of wooden trays tied under their feet. As work progressed, one of them went to the wall, took his dagger and stabbed it. Others came and gave a helping hand until the wall fell, whereupon the people started to move out. When the other tribes noticed that the Ho were no longer present at the work place, they went to the dwellings of the Ho only to find themselves looking outside. They also, therefore, followed the Ho out. The people who first left the city marked their path by sticking branches of the *tredzo* shrub into the earth. This way, all the people found the path they had taken and followed them out.

Kl.: The *Ho*, *Akɔviefɛ Kpɛɛɛ*, and *Sɔkɔdɛ* all originated from *Hogbefe*, *Amedzofe* or *Ŋɔtsie*. The king who ruled over them there was very cruel. Once, he ordered his subjects to construct a high wall around the town. They obeyed and constructed the wall surrounding the whole city. The king then called all the tribes together and said; “I intend to put up a very big storey building, but there is no rope. Go, therefore, and collect sand and weave cords out of it to bind together the wooden members.” He then ordered his subjects to fetch clay, and then commanded them to throw thorns, cacti and other sharp pointed objects into the mud. His children obeyed the command. When the subjects came to the place of work, in the process of treading the clay, very many of them got injured. Because of that all the tribes decided to desert the king.

Bb.: Our forefathers were the most respected in *Hogbe*. They had lived consistently there, engaged in construction of walls. One day, the king ordered the people to add sharp pieces of wood to the mud before kneading it. But one of the grandfathers of *Ho*, called *Atiakpɔɔ*, took a dagger and pierced the wall, saying, “We have sweated building these walls; and must we also allow ourselves to be tormented within them?” Thereupon, the people pushed down the wall and trooped out. All the *Ewe* people, from *Aɲɔ* to the interior, descended from there. Only the inhabitants of *Ahlbefe* at *Aɔaklu* mountain do not come from there; they had been there before the immigration occurred. The dagger with which they stabbed the wall, and the stool they brought from that place, are still there till this very day.

A. Akp.: The king, who was at the head of the people in *Notsie*, was very inhuman. He ordered that they must put thorns and cacti into the mud which was to be trodden for him. And when the *Ho* people heard of this, they said they would never put a single foot into that mud. They, therefore, went to the wall and pushed it down and all the other people followed them. The *Notsie* people say that the dagger which they earlier had is still in the possession of a *Ho* man called *Afedɛ* today.

Awd.: God had built a high wall within which our forefathers lived. All people, the *Akans* and the *Ewes*, lived there together with their chiefs. The chief who was at the head of the *Ho* was called *Aɔɔ*. It was he who dug round the foundation of the wall before the other people came to push it down, and they went out of the walls. The first people to go out were the *Banyakoe*, the second were the *Heve* and the third were the *Axɔ̃*.

hafi anyā. Duawo wɛ nenema. Ke Hoawo ya ku wofe aha la ɔe fe me vɛ. Le anyia nyāfe la, gbɔnu kake sɔŋ le wofe afo, ɔeka le wo dome yi gli la gbɔ, eye wɔtsɔ adekpui kusii. Ame bubuwo hā va kpe ɔe enu ale be, gli la mū; tete ameawo de asi, dodo me. Dukɔ bubuawo kpɔ be, Hoawo vɔ le anyido la me, kasia wobe, yewoade yewo nɔfe la, wode asi xexe kpɔkpɔ me, eye ale woawo hā dze wo yome. Ame siwo tre dodo la, tsɔ ati ɔe, si woyɔna be tredzo la, ta ɔe wo tofe abe dzesifianu ene, va se ɔe esime ameawo katā kpɔ wofe tofe do go keŋ.

KL.: *Hotɔwo, Akɔviefetɔwo, Kpeɔetɔwo, Sɔkɔɔetɔwo wotso Hegbefe, Amedzɔfe alo ɲɔtsie. Eva ve eme bena fia, si le dzi dɔm la le ɲuta sɛm le wo ɲuti. Fia la gblɔ na efe dukɔ la bena, woado gli afo xlā du la. Woado gli la fo xlā du la. Azɔ fia la gayɔ dukɔ la katā, eye wɔgagblɔ na wo bena: mele sā gā ɔe tu ge, ka meli o; eya ɲuti milɔ ke agbi ka, ne miabla xɔ la ta nam. Fia la na ɔeviwo eye wɔgblɔ na wo bena: miyi ne mialɔ ɲuwo kple srɛwo kple ati fe tsyowo akɔ ɔe anyi la me: eye ɔeviawo wɔ nenema. Esime dukɔ la va anyi la nya ge la, wo dome ame gedewo xɔ abi. Eya ɲuti dukɔwo katā ɔo tame bena, yewoadzo le egbɔ.*

Bb.: *Le Hogbe la, mia tɔgbuiwo nye tsitsia. Afi ma wole ɔaasi henɔa gli ɔom. Gbe ɔeka fia la be, woatsɔ asɔ ade anyi me woanyā. Gake Hoawo fe tɔgbui, si woyɔna be Atiakpɔsɔ la, tsɔ adekpui ɔe kusi gli la, eye wɔgblɔ be, yele glime fifia le ye wɔm, hafi wogale fu ɔem na yewo mahā? Ale ameawo tu asi gli la fu anyi, eye wode asi dodo me. Eveduwo katā, tso Anɔ va se ɔe Eveme, afi ma wotso. Negbe Aɔakludu Ahlɔefe koe mele eme o, woawo li hafi ameawo va. Adekpui, si wotsɔ kusi gli lae kple zikpui, si wotsɔ tso afi ma vɛ la, li va se ɔe egbegbe.*

A. Akp.: *Fia, si nɔ ameawo nu le ɲɔtsie la enye ɲɔmitsɔ. Ebe woatsɔ srɛ ade anyi me anyia na ye, eye esi Hoawo see la, wobe, yewofe afo ɔeka made anyi la me o. Le esiata woyi ɔamā gli la, eye dukɔwo katā dze wo yome. ɲɔtsieawo bena, gadekpui, si nɔ yewo si la, le Hoɲutsu ɔe, si woyɔna be Afede la si va se ɔe egbegbe.*

Awd.: *Mawu ɔo gli kɔkɔ ɔe, mīa tɔgbuiwo nɔ eme. Dukɔwo katā: Blu, Eve wonɔ afi ma kple wofe amegāwo. Amegā, si nɔ Hoawo nu lae, nye Asɔ. Eya tsɔ adekpui kusi gli la ɔome fo xlāe, hafi amewo va tu asi gli la mu eye wodo go. Ame gbɔtsɔ siwo ɔi xexe la, wonye Banyakoeawo, eveliae nye Heveawo, eye etɔliae nye Axɔeawo.*

Ad.: God sharpened pieces of wood and threw them into the mud that was to be mixed. This displeased them very much. This being so, the people said; “So should we remain here, only to be harassed in this way?” Thereupon the Ho broke through the wall so that the people, both the Twi and the Ewe, could go out of it. The sword with which they broke through the wall is still there today.

N.: The father of the *Akwiefe*, the *Takla* and the *Ho* people is called *Kakla*. The son of *Kakla* was *Akœ*, whose offspring are the *Akwiefe*. The second son of *Kakla* was *Asɔ*, who fathered *Asɔlaga*, and it was *Asɔlaga* who fathered the *Ho* people. The third son of *Kakla* was *Letsu*, and it was he who gave birth to *Letsuviwo*. One day, *Letsu* called his three sons together and spoke to them, saying: “Lay hands on the wall and push it over!” *Akœ* worked hard at it, but failed. Then came *Asɔ* or *Ho*, and as they were pushing the wall, there came the *Banyakoe* chief, called *Afede*. Raising high his sword, he helped *Asɔ*, and, together, they pushed the wall down

Am. A. Y.: I have heard that in ancient times all men lived together at one place surrounded by a great wall. But as the population grew denser, they started quarrelling among themselves. All the tribes got their individual names from there. As the tribes got mutually fed up with each other and could no more co-exist peacefully, it happened that a chief of the *Ho* one day took a sword, held it up to the sky and then touched the ground. After he had done that three times, he called out: “Oh God, we are in distress. Open the gate for us!” He then gestured with the sword three times over the people and looked out into the open. Immediately his people set on the wall, demolished it, went out and departed.

Kw.: Our forefathers once lived in *Notsie* in peace and would not have left the place had not the place become too small for them. When they were setting off, one group remained behind. They then dispersed, lost to one another, and this led to the outbreak of wars among them. Even today, the *Asantes* do not look upon the *Ewes* as relatives, although they hailed from a common place. All the tribes which once lived in *Notsie* had their own king; however, one great tribal king ruled above all the others. They served this king by working on his farm and by building houses for him.

FY.: In *Notsie*, our forefathers spoke two languages, namely the *Ewe* and the *Twi* languages. It was only after their emigration that they began to speak the many languages which are known among us today. All tribes lived under one king only, serving him and working for him. At that time they were able to go out of the walls to hunt and also to their farms.

G.K.: All the people who once lived in *Notsie* spoke one single language and served the same king. Due to the cruelty of the king, a part of the people was compelled to depart from the group. The larger part of the fugitives took a southern course: the smaller part, however, dispersed in the northern direction.

Kw.: It has been quite a long time since the departure of our forefathers from *Notsie*. It may possibly be ten or more generations ago.

B. The migration of the Ho

Bb.: The tribes that had left *Amedzɔfe* were said initially not to have known where they were to go, for the land was marshy all around. That is why the *Ho*, together

Ad.: Mawu kpa asɔ fo ɔe anyi me wote nyanyam, gake mele enu dzem o. Eya ta duawo be ale yewoanɔ aɔi sia woanɔ nyamanyamam mahã? Tete Hoawo ɔɔ gli la, eye duawo do go le eme. Blu kple Eve sia. Yi si wonɔ gli lae la, li fifia.

N.: Akɔviawo, Taklaawo kple Hoawo fofɔ ɔkɔe nye Kakla. Kakla fe vie nye Akɔe, eyae dzi Akɔviawo. Kakla fe vi bubue nye Asɔ, eyae dzi Asɔlaga, eye Asɔlaga dzi Hoawo. Kakla fe vi etɔliae nye Letsu, eyae dzi Letsuviawo. Kakla yɔ viawo kple etɔ va egbo, eye wɔgbɔ na wo bena: “Mitu asi gli la fu anyi.” Akɔe dze agbagba vu do kpoe. Asɔ alo Ho hã va, esime wɔle asi tum glia la, Banyakoeawo fe amegã, enkɔe nye Afede, kɔ yi alo dzangbe dzi, eye wɔkpe ɔe Asɔ ɔuti womu gli la fu anyi.

Am. A.Y.: Mese be le blema la, amewo katã nɔ tefe ɔeka le gliɔɔɔ gã aɔe me. Esi ameawo va sɔ gbɔ la, wode asi dzɔɔɔ me kple wo nɔewo. Aɔi ma dukɔ ɔe siaa ɔe kpɔ ye ɔuti fe ɔkɔ le. Esi ameawo ti wo nɔewo, eye womagate ɔu anɔ wo nɔewo gbɔ o la, eva eme gbe ɔeka bena, Hoawo fe amegã tɔɔ adekpui do ɔe dzi, gatsɔe tɔ anyi. Esi wɔwɔ esia zi etɔ la, egbo be: “O Mawu, míexaxa ɔuti, vu agbo la na mí.” Azɔ wɔtsɔ adekpui la lili ɔe gli la ɔu zi etɔ, eye wɔkpɔ xexe. Tete efe amewo de asi gli la gbagba me, eye emegbe la wodo go dzo.

Kw.: Wonɔ ɔɔtsie la le ɔutifafa me, eye womadzo hafi o, ɔe menye tefe lae xaxa na wo akpa o. Esi wova dzodzo ge la, akpa ɔeka tsi aɔi ma. Wofe kaka la na be, wobu ɔe wo nɔewo ale be, avawɔɔ va ɔo wo dome. Egbegbe la Asanteawo mebuwa Evawo abe nɔviwo ene o, evɔ wɔnye aɔi ɔeka wodzo tso hafi. Du, siwo keɔ nɔ ɔɔtsie la, ɔe siaa ɔe kpɔ ye ɔuti fe fia, ke dufia gã ɔeka nɔ wo katã nu. Wosubɔa nenem fia la, eye wowɔa dɔ ne abe agbledede kple xɔtutu ene.

F.Y.: Gbe eve mia tɔgbuiwo gbɔ le ɔɔtsie, woawoe nye Eve kple Blu. Le wofe dzodzo megbe hafi wode asi gbe geɔe, siwo le mia dome la gbɔgbɔ me. Duawo katã nɔ fia ɔeka ko te, ame si wosubɔa, eye wowɔa dɔ na. Wotea ɔu doa go le gli la me faa yia adegbe alo agble.

G.K.: Ame siwo katã nɔ ɔɔtsie la gbɔa gbe ɔeka, eye wosubɔa fia ɔeka. Fia la fe ɔutasesẽ le wo ɔuti na be, akpa ɔeka dzo. Dzodzɔlawo fe kpekpeafe to anyigbe gome, eye veɔ aɔewo koe va kaka ɔe dziehe gome le aɔi.

Kw.: Mia tɔgbuiwo fe dzodzo le ɔɔtsie gbɔ metsɔ o. Dewohi anɔ dzidzime 10 alo wu nenema gɔ hãe nye si va yi xoxo.

B. Hoawo fe Mɔɔɔɔ

Bb.: Wogbo bena esime dukɔ la katã do go le gliɔɔɔ la me vɔ keɔ la, womenya aɔi si ke woato o, elebena anyigba la katã le funyãfunyã. Eya ta Hoawo kple Letsuviwo alo

with the Letsuviwo or Kpenje people, dried up the way with bellows. Now the rest of the tribes could continue walking. They wandered long in the western direction towards Accra. Tired at last, they made a stop at a place and remained there to make beans farms. It was because these people were waiting to harvest their beans, that the Accra people call them the *Ayigbe*, “bean people”.

In the course of their migration in the wilderness they had no king, only elders led them. After a long period of wandering, they came to a broad rock, a crag called *asiatɔŋkpe*. There was an old man among them, who stayed behind alone on that rock. All the Ho people left him, leaving behind their stool, their royal sword and the loads they had been carrying on their heads.

When the *Akwamu*, who were also advancing from behind, came to this rock, they asked the old man there, where the Ho were. He replied that they had all gone further. After this, he gave them the royal sword, the stool and their bundles, saying “The day on which you dare to shoot at the Ho, on that day will you become totally mad.” He then made a mark on the rock with his five fingers. The traces of his five fingers are still to be seen on that rock today.

Agb. Y.: After the people had left Notsie, they did not progress directly to any predetermined locality, but wandered long here and there in the wilderness. They usually tarried, remaining long at places where there was water, until other tribes came to molest them, making it necessary for them to move on again. The Ho were the first to migrate, but other tribes, like the *Abutia* and the *Klefe*, hurried to overtake them. The present living place of the *Akwamu* was earlier the living place of the *Abutia*. It is very difficult for a tribe to claim with certainty that they were the first to arrive where they are, for all tribes claim seniority for themselves.

G.K.: When they went away from there, the Ho went ahead of all other tribes. However, they remained for a rather long time in *Hɔdzo*. That is why the other tribes like *Klefe* arrived ahead of them. Other tribes took a direct route and founded their homelands where they liked best, and which they never abandoned. To these belong, for example, the *Adaklu* people. Other tribes, however, wandered for a long time from place to place before finally settling down at one site. When the *Ho* left *Hɔdzo*, they settled first in *Hofedo*; they then again left that place in order to settle where they are living today. Most of the tribes migrated around for a very long time to very many places before finally making a stop at where they are living today. The *Adaklu* people are the only people who do not know any former place of abode.

F.Y.: The reason, why some tribes were unable to remain at one place without making changes, lies mainly in the incessant harassment from their brothers and their dissatisfaction with the old locality. When they came to discover a better place during their hunting expeditions, they simply moved there. During the whole of their migration, they lived in huts made of palm branches and survived on fruits.

Kpenɔɔawo le vu yom ɔe anyigba la dzi hafi wɔfu kenken, eye dukɔ la kpɔ mɔ zɔ edzi. Wole tsatsam vu yina ɔe Gɛ lɔfo, hafi ɔeɔi va te wo ɲuti, eye wotsi afi bena, yewoade ayigble (woasi ayigbe). Le anyigbesisi la ɲuti Gɛawo yɔa wo bena Ayigbeawo.

Yeyiyi, si me wole tsatsam le gbea dzi la, fia mele wo nu o, negbe ame tsitsiwo ko. Esime wogbɔna la, wova ɔo kpe gbadza aɔe dzi, eɲkɔe nye asiatɔkpe. Ame tsitsi aɔe nɔ wo dome, eya ɔeka pɛ tsi nenem kpe sia dzi.

Hoawo katã dzo le egbo hetsɔ wofe kpukpo dzangbe alo yi kple nubabla, si le wo ta la, gblẽ ɔe kpe la dzi, Akɔmuawo hã le azɔli la dzi va kpe sia gbɔ, eye wobia ɲutsu tsitsi la be afi ka Hoawo le mahã? Eɔo eɲu na wo bena, wo katã wodzo. Emegbe la wotsɔ dzangbe la, na Akɔmuawo, eye wogblɔ na wo bena: “Gbe si gbe ke medo dzi va da tu ɔe Hoawo dome la, miafe fedome nagblẽ kenken”. Esi wogblɔ esiawo vɔ etsɔ efe asibide atɔ de dzesi kpe la dzio. Wogblɔ bena asibide a tefe gali va se egbe.

Agb Y: *Esi wodzo le ɲɔtsie la, wometsɔ mɔ ɔeka tẽ o, wofo xlã le gbea dzi etefe didi. Afi si tsi le la, wonɔa afi ma va se ɔe esime du bubu aɔe fe fuɔɔname nana be wogaɔoa ta ɲɔɔgbe. Hoawo nye du, siwo tre dzodzo, gake du bubu va dze le wo ɲuti abe Abutiawo kple Kleviawo ene. Afi si Akɔmuawo le fifi la, Abutiawo nɔfe wonye. Du, si si afedo mele o la, enye Aɔaklu. Esesẽ be woanya du, si tre vava (nye tsitsiɔ) elabena du sia du le tsitsi vlim na eɔokui.*

G.K.: *Esi wodzo la, Hoawo dze ɲɔ na duawo katã. Esi wova ɔo Hɔdzo la, wotsi afi ma, nu sia ɲuti du bubuwo, le kpɔɔenu me Kleviawo va dze le wo ɲu ɔo. Du aɔewo lé mɔ ɔeka tẽ yi ɔatso afe ɔe afi si nyo wo ɲu, eye womegadzo le afi ma kpɔ o. Wo dometɔ ɔekae nye Aɔakluawo. Ke du bubuwo tsa le tefe geɔewo hafi va tsi afi ɔeka. Esi Hoawo tso le Hɔdzo la wova nɔ Hofedo, eye afi ma wotsɔ hafi va afi si wole fifia. Duawo fe geɔewo tsa le tefe vovovowo yeyiyi didi aɔe hafi va tɔ ɔe afi ɔeka. Aɔakluawo ko si afedo mele o.*

F.Y. *Duawo fe afi ɔeka manɔmanɔ fe tsofee nye wo nɔviwo fe fuɔɔname kple tefe xoxo la fe wo ɲu manyomanyo. Ne wole afi aɔe eye woyi adegbe yidakpɔ be, ɲɔɔgbe nyo wu la, ekema wovuna yia afi ma. Le wofe tsatsayiwo katã me la, abayaxɔwo me wonɔna, eye wofe nuɔɔɔwo nye atikutsetsewo.*



March through the Bush. Adaklu Mountain in the background (southern aspect)

C. Establishment of their Homesteads, Kinship and Neighbours

1. Establishment of the Homestead

Agb. Y.: When the Ho arrived with their people, they first lived in Hɔdzo. But they complained that Hɔdzo was too dark for their liking. They would prefer to settle at a higher altitude from where they could see far and wide. Their initial settlement was between the Taviefe Mountain and Akoefe.

KL.: The Ho, Akɔviefe and Kpeɲɔ first settled on a territory of Kɔmedzrale, called *Dzamekpo*. Because they were living so close together, they began to feel hemmed in, and the Taviefe people turned highwaymen and were shooting at them.

N: In earlier times the Ho, the Akɔviefe and the Takla lived together in one place; they were, however, so much harassed by the Taviefe that they followed the advice of an elder and departed from that place.

This elder told them they should spread out a little more so that should one group be attacked by enemies, the others could come to their help.

KL.: An elder citizen called Tɔgbui Letsa advised the Ho saying: “How is it that you are so crowded? Behold, the land on which you can make your farms is not big enough for you. Just spread out a little more so that the Taviefe people would cease harassing you. Akɔe or Akɔviefe should also move a little further on, so also should Letsu or Kpeɲɔ move a little further, and let the Ho people alone settle here; we can then organize for war against the Taviefe, when they come again to kill anyone among us.”



A Journey through the Bush

C. Hoawo fe afetsotso, fome kple afelikawo

1. Afetsotso

Agb. Y: Esi Hoawo kple wofe amewo va la, wova nɔ Hɔdzɔ. Gake wogblɔ be, Hɔdzɔ tsyɔ akpa, yewo la, ɔe yewole didim be yewoanɔ kɔkɔfe anɔ afi sia afi kpɔm. Ale wova afi sia. Wofe nɔfe gbɔtɔ le Taviefeto dome le woawo kple Akɔviawo dome.

KL: Hotɔwo, Akɔviefetɔwo kple Kpeɲɔtɔwo va bɔbɔ nɔ Kɔmedzrale fe anyigba aɔe si woyɔna bena Dzamekpɔ. Wofe afi ɔeka nɔnɔ la na, bena wo xaxa akpa, eye Taviefetɔwo hã va nɔ dati dam wo nɔa wo wum dzro.

N: Tsã la Hoawo, Akɔviawo kple Taklawo nɔ tefe ɔeka, gake eva eme be Taviefetɔwo nɔa fu ɔem na wo, eya ta wovu le afi ma le ame tsitsi aɔe fe aɔaɲuɔɔɔ nu. Egblɔ na wo be, woakaka wo ɔokui me, bena ne futɔwo gbɔna la, bubu nate ɲu akpe ɔe nɔvia ɲu.

KL: Ametsitsi aɔe si ɲkɔ nye Tɔgbui Letsa la, ɔo aɔaɲu na Hoawo bena: ale ke wo miexaxa ale mahã? Mikpɔ ɔa anyigba mesɔ gbɔ na mi o, eye agbledefe hã mesɔ gbɔ na mi o, mi kaka mia ɔokui dome bena Taviefetɔwo nagakpɔ mɔ le mia ɲuti o. Eya ɲuti la Akɔe hã nate yi ɲgɔgbɛ ve, eye Letsu alo Kpeɲɔe hã nayi ɲgɔ ve, eye ne Ho hã nabɔbɔ nɔ afi sia, eye ne Taviawo gava wu mia dometɔ aɔe la, ne miate ɲu adze ava ɔe wo ɲuti. ɲutsu sia fe aɔaɲuɔɔɔ la vivi na wo, eye womã wo ɔokui me.



With gun on the shoulder in the bush

They liked the advice this man gave them so much that they did spread out. When the Ho departed from there, they settled at a place called *Wuflu*. The Banyakoe and *Ahliha* are brothers; they combined to drive the *Klefe* from the mountains on which they were living. The Ahliha people settled down in Sumpi and Kpeve; the Banyakoe on the other hand settled between two streams. The names of the streams are *Alale* and *Ahɔɔ*. A hunter called *Dzaba* went into the bush and as he wandered, with a rifle on his shoulder, he came to the stream *Alale*. The water was flowing very gently (*lalaala*), that is why he named the river *Alale*: He continued his journey and came to a second stream with a lot of *ahɔ* grass.¹ So he named this stream *Ahɔɔ*. All the palm trees growing on the banks of these two streams automatically became the property of *Dzaba*.

1 A grass with sharp barbs.



Palm trees at the river banks belonging to Dzaba

Hotɔwo vu le wofe nɔfe la eye wova Fuflu. Banyakoetɔwo kple Ahlihawo wonye ame ɖeka, eye woyi ɖanyā Klefetɔwo le to la ηuti. Ahlihawo bɔbɔ nɔ Sumpi kple Kpeve, eye Banyakoetɔwo hã bɔbɔ nɔ tɔsisi eve dome. Tɔsisiawo fe ηkɔwo nye Alale kple Axɔlɔ̃. ηutsu aɖe enkɔe nye Dzaba, eya tɔ tu ɖe abɔ le tsatsam va se ɖe esime wova ke ɖe Alale ηuti, tsi le sisim blewu lalala, eye wotsɔ ηkɔ na tɔ la, yɔe bena Alale. Egayi ɖe efe azɔli dzi eye wogava kpɔ tɔsisi evelia, eya la axɔ̃gbe sɔ̃ɔsɔ̃ le eme, eye wotsɔ ηkɔ na eya hã bena Axɔlɔ̃.

Deti siwo katã le tɔsisiawo kple eve ηuti la zu Dzaba tɔ kenɔ.

Kknbt.: When the Ho moved out of the walled city, they did not proceed directly forward, but tarried, thus, it came about that other tribes overtook them, and hurried forward to take possession of the best living places for themselves. The current settlement of the Ho people had earlier belonged to the Klefe. Because they did not like where they were living, they drove these away from their place. But even up to the present day, the best part of the land belongs to the Klefe.

KL.: The Ho led their grandfather Letsa himself to *Kpeve*, a small village near Klefe. When the grandfather noticed that all the villagers had gone to their farms, leaving only the children back at home, he called all the children to himself and killed them all. He then threw their bodies into a stone mortar and pounded them like one pounds fufu.

F.Y.: The *Klefe* were living here before the arrival of the Ho. However, they were also not the original inhabitants of the land. It just happened that they and the *Akɔviefɛ* just took the lead in settling there before the arrival of the Ho, to put up their homestead near them. The place where the Ho lived together with the *Akɔviefɛ* is still called Hofedo.²

Awd.: The Ho did not seize the land on which they are now living from the *Klefe*. They bought it from them at the cost of two human beings, one man and one woman.

2. Kinship

A.Y.: The Ho people are descended from three maternal families: Ho, *Akɔviefɛ*, and *Takla* with *Kpeɣɛ*.

Kknbt: The man who led the Ho as their head was called *Hoɖɛ*. His paternal brother is *Hoɖemɛkɔɛ*; he is the father of the *Akɔviefɛ*. Ho and *Akɔviefɛ* are, therefore, one family or brothers. This is why it was the *Akɔviefɛ* who first followed the Ho during the exodus out of the walled city.

Ad.: The brothers of the Ho are: *Akɔviefɛ* and *Takla* with *Kpeɣɛ*. They all have the same origin as the Ho. They accompanied the Ho from *Hogbe* and later separated from them. That is why none of these towns ever wage war against the Ho; because the Ho are the senior tribe.

Adyr: *Kpeɣɛ*, *Akɔviefɛ* and Ho together form one tribe. When a person dies in one of the towns, they all remain at home to bury the dead.

Adz: The towns belonging to Ho are *Banyakoe*, *Heve*, *Ahɔɛ* and *Ahliha*. In ancient times, they lived in *Glime*, within the walls. When they migrated from there, they carried four things with them: a royal stool, a dagger and two bundles. When they opened the first bundle, they found a (so-called) water stone, and, in the second, they only found rubbish. That is why the *Ahliha* people serve water and the *Banyakoe* people run the Ho market.

3. The Neighbours

Adyr: The *Taviefɛ*, *Matse* and *Tanyigbe* together with the *Avatime* first came to the Ho and then went on to settle among the mountains. The incessant molestation by the *Matse* people forced the *Avatime* to depart further inland.

² Deserted settlement of the Ho.

Kknbt: Esi amewo do go le glia me la, Hoawo medze mɔ tẽ o, ke boɲu wotsi megbe alo wodo megbe ale be, duawo katã gbɔ wo ɲu va xɔ tefe nyuieawo le wo si hafi wova afi si wole fifia la, Klefeawo fe nɔfe ye, esi wofe nɔfe gbãtɔ mesɔe na wo o ta, wova nyã wo xɔ tefe la le wo si. Va se de fifi la, anyigba la fe nyuiefe gedewo nye Kleviawo tɔ.

KL: Hoawo kplɔ tɔgbui Letsa ɲuto yi Kpeve kɔfe aɖe me le Kleviawo gbɔ. Esi tɔgbui Letsa kpɔ be, kɔfeametɔwo katã dzo yi bofo, ɖeviwo koe susɔ de kɔfea me la, eyɔ ɖevi siawo katã va egbɔ, eye wowu wo katã, emegbe la etsɔ lã de to me, to wo abe fufu ene.

F.Y.: Klefeawo le afi sia hafi Hoawo va, gake womenye anyigba la fe dzɔdzɔmetɔwo o. Woawo kple Akɔviawo koe do ɲɔ na wo va nɔ afi sia hafi Hoawo va tso nɔfe de wo gbɔ. Afi si Hoawo nɔ le Akɔviawo gbɔ la, woyɔne be Hofedo.

Awd.: Anyigba si dzi Hoawo le fifia la, womexɔe le Klefeawo si o, ke boɲu de woflee kple ame eve, ɲutsu ɖeka kple nyɔnu ɖeka.

2. Fome

A.Y.: Hoawo le nɔdzidzi etɔ me: Gbãtɔ nye Hoawo, evelia Akɔviawo eye etɔlia nye Taklaawo kple Kpeɲewo.

Kknbt: Ame si nɔ Hoawo nue nye wofe amegã la, ɲkɔ nye Hoɖe. Efe tɔvi nye Hoɖemekɔe ame si dzi Akɔviawo. Ale Hoawo kple Akɔviawo nye ame ɖekawo alo nɔviwo. Eya ta esi Hoawo do go le gli me la, Akɔviawoe nye ame siwo kplɔ wo ɖo gbã.

Ad: Du siwo nye nɔvi na Hoawo la woe nye: Akɔviefɛ kple Takla alo Kpeɲewo. Duawo katã wotso Hoawo tsofe. Hoawo kplɔ wo tso Hogbe hafi wova kaka. Eya ta du siawo dometɔ aɖeke metsɔ ava de Ho ɲu o; elabena Hoawoe nye wo fofo.

Adyr: Kpeɲewo, Akɔfeawo kple Hoawo la, gbɔta ɖeka wonye. Ne ame ku le duawo dometɔ ɖeka me la, wo katã tsia afe ɖine.

Adz.: Du siwo nye Ho la woawoe nye Banyakoe, Axɔe kple Ahliha. Afi si wonɔ le blema la, woyɔne be Glime. Esi wotso afi ma gbɔna la, wotsɔ nu ene de asi vɛ: fiazikpui, adekpui ɖeka kple nubabla eve. Esi wotu nubablawo kpɔ la, wokpɔ tsikpe le ɖeka me, eyae nye tsi si nu Ahlihawo le. Wokpɔ aɖuɖɔ sɔɲ le evelia me, eyae nye Hosi la.

3. Afelikawo

Adyr: Taviawo, Matseawo kple Tanyigbeawo hekpe de Avatimeawo ɲuti va to Hoawo gbɔ yi ɖatso afe de towo dome. Matseawo fe fuɖename ta Avatimeawo vu yi ɲɔgbɛ.



River Crossing

“Where someone found water, he tended to settle there”

F.Y: All the tribes surrounding us originated from Ho before spreading out. Some of these are *Kpalime* (*Kpalime* = *Kpalimɔ*), *Saviefe*, *Klonu* and *Tove*. The *Axɔ̃e* brought a lot of quarrels by shooting at them with bows and arrows, thereby compelling them to migrate elsewhere. They settled mostly at places where they found water. The *Kpalime* are a part of the family of Ho, whose members often went into the bush to inspect the traps they had set. In the process, they found places which were better than where they were living and settled there. From that time onward, they were called *Kpalimɔawo* (*mɔkpɔlilawo*) out of which the name *Kpalimeawo* evolved.

Awd: *Akɔ̃viefe* is the only tribe which, as brothers of the Ho, did not spill any Ho blood. The other tribes also came together with the Ho from their original home. The *Takla* people are also the brothers of the Ho, but during the reign of King *Adinyira* when the Ho were hard pressed and had to flee to *Nyive*, the *Takla* helped the enemies of the Ho by opening fire on them. The enemies of the Ho were *Nyive*, *Tokokoe*, *Hɔdzo*, *Matse*, *Tanyigbe* and *Taviefe*. That angered the Ho, and on their return, they destooled *Adinyira*, the Dome King, they said because he had misled them into being killed. In his stead they enstooled *Kumi*’s father as their king.



Mono River near Kpedzi

They settled mostly at places where they found water.

F.Y.: *Du siwo katā fo xlā mí la, Ho wodzɔ tso hafi va kaka. Wo dometɔ aɖewoe nye: Kpalime (Kpalime= Kpalimɔ), Saviefe kple Klonu le Tovee gbɔ. Ax̃eawo tso dzrewɔwo kple mo tete kple da nyā wo do ɖe tefe bubuwo. Afi si ame aɖe kpɔ tsi le la, eyi ɖanɔa afi ma. Afi matɔwo nye Hoawo fe akpa ɖeka, si yi mɔ, si wotre la kpɛ ge. Esi wode la, afi ma nyo wo ɲu, eye wotsi anyi. Tso yemayi dzi wode asi wo yɔyɔ me be: Kpalimɔawo (mɔkpɛlilawo), si va zu Kpalimeawo.*

Awd: *Du si nye Hoawo nɔvi eye meko Hovu ɖe anyi o la koe nye Akɔviefɛ; dukɔ bubuawo hã do kple Hoawo tso Hogbefɛ la gake. Taklaawo hã nye Hoawo nɔvi, gake esi nya hiã wo, eye wosi yina ɖe Nyive ɖe Aɖinyrã ti la, Taklaawo kpe ɖe Hoawo fe futɔ ɲuti heda tu ɖe wo me. Hoawo fe futɔ mawoe nye: Nyiveawo, Tokokoewo, Hɔɖzoawo, Matseawo, Tanyigbeawo kple Taviawo. Nu sia ve dɔme na Hoawo; eya ta esi wotrɔ gbɔ la, woɖe Domefia Aɖinyrã ɖe anyi, elabena wogblo bena eya ble yewo wowu. Le eya tefe wotrɔ Kumi fofɔ ɖo woɖe fiaɛ.*

II. Recent History of the Ho People

The Akwamu Wars

The Ho under the yoke of the Akwamu

a) Extortion by the Akwamu

The reason why the Ewes came under the sovereignty of the Akwamu was that, after the Akan and the Ga became enlightened, they started to strive for wealth. Their trading journeys took them to the Ewe, and they extorted money from them. The Ewe fell under the power of the Akwamu as a result of those extortions, and they became their servants. The Ewes suffered very much; for example, they had to pay yearly taxes to Akoto, the King of the Akwamu, although he had earlier plundered them very much. Finally, the King of the Pekis, *Kwadzo Dei*, got fed up with the cruelty of Akoto. He organized allied armies against him and drove him away.

Kkbt: When the Ewes came out of Hogbe and founded their homes, they all came under the servitude of the King of Akwamu. At that time, the King constantly sent messengers to Peki and to Ho to collect taxes, and bring same to him in Akwamu. It happened that one day a citizen of Ho came to Akwamu. The Akwamu King sent him to Howusu³ with the instruction that he should collect taxes for him. Howusu was very enraged by this and said: “Where are his own people, before he dares request so much from me? I will not comply; he should come and arrest me”. The Akwamu King became very furious on hearing this and reacted by sending him salt and stone. He should see and choose one of the two. The Ho King said: “Even he who eats salt must eventually die.” He chose the stone and sent back the salt.⁴ That angered the Akwamu King even more, and he declared war against Ho and Sɔkɔɖe.

b) Military Campaign of the Akwamus against Ho, Sɔkɔɖe and Akɔviefɛ

Kkbt: Many tribes allied themselves with Akoto. These were Gã, Volo, Ðɔfɔ, Amumeawo, Boso, Dzali and Peki with its associated tribes. The Akwamu King sent men from Anlo and Gã to Agotime before leaving his home. He gave these men grains of maize with the directive they should let drop one grain each day⁵. The day, on which they would have only one grain left would be the day on which he was going to open fire on the Ho. These people should then attack the Akɔviefɛ from the opposite side; for he had been told that it was no joke fighting with the Ho and the Akɔviefɛ and if they both waged war against him, he would be destroyed.

At that time an Accra chief whose name was *Kɔte Kwadzo* was passing through Ho, on his way to visit his brother, who was lying sick in *Nyive*. The inhabitants of Akɔviefɛ had news of this and joined forces against him; they said if he wanted to go back home, he would have to fly there. Kɔte Kwadzo heard of this alliance against him. He also, therefore, summoned all the people who were around him together and moved to fight a war against the Akɔviefɛ.

When the Akwamu drew near, they opened fire on the Sɔkɔɖe; these could not hold their ground against the enemy so they retreated to Ho. As soon as the Ho heard the

3 The title of the King of Ho.

4 Salt is the sign of peace and stone is a sign of war.

5 The Akwamu king kept the same number of maize grains and set one aside each day.

II. Hoawo fe megbemegbe – Ȩutinyawo

A. Akɔmuwa

1. Hoawo le Akɔmuawo fe Ȩusẽ te

a. Akɔmuawo fe kasaȨiȨi

Nu si na be, Eveawo ge Ȩe Akɔmuawo fe Ȩusẽ te lae nye be: Esi Ȩkuwuu tre Gẽawo kple Bluawo gbo vava la, wode asi hotsui didi me. Le esia ta wotsa asi va Ueawo gbo, eye woȨi kasa wo. To kasaȨiȨi la me Ueawo va zu Akɔmuawo fe amewo alo subɔlawo. Ueawo kpe fu Ȩutu, ele na wo bena, woadzo nu na Akoto fe sia fe wonye ele kasa Ȩim wo vevie hafi. Mlɛba la, Akoto fe Ȩutasesẽ va glo Kwadzo Dei hã ale be woyɔ aȨom Ȩe enuti eye wosii.

Kkɛbt: Esi Eveawo dzo le Hogbefe va tso afe la, wo katã wosubɔa Akɔmufia. Le yemayi me la, eva eme enuenu be, edɔa ame Ȩona Ȩe Peki kple Ho be, woanɔ nu dzɔm na ye, eye Akɔmufia dɛ Ȩo Ȩe Howusu be nedzo nu Ȩo Ȩe ye. Ame la va gblɛ na Howusu; esi wose nya sia la, edo dɔmedzui, eye wogblo bena: Afi ka yefe amewo le hafi wobia nu geȨe ma tso ye si me mahã? Yemadzo o, neva le ye.

Ame dɔdɔwo va gblo nya la ne, eye dɔme ve Akɔmufia Ȩutu, ale wobla dze kple kpe Ȩo Ȩe be nekpɔ eme, ne woatsɔ. Howusu be, ne woȨu dze hã wokuna, eye wotsɔ kpe gagbugbo dze la Ȩo Ȩe. Esia gave dɔme na Akɔmufia Ȩe edzi wu, eye ale woho awa Ȩe Ho kple SɔkɔȨe Ȩuti.

b. Akɔmuawo fe avatsɔtsɔ Ȩe Ho SɔkɔȨe kple Akɔviawo Ȩu.

Kkɛbt: Dukɔ geȨewo kpe Ȩe Akoto Ȩuti siwo nye: Gẽawo, Voloawo, Dɔfɔawo, Amumeawo, Bosoawo, Dzaliawo hekpe Ȩe Pekiawo kple wo Ȩuti duwo Ȩuti. Hafi ne Akɔmufia natso le afe la, eȨe AȨɔlawo kple Gẽawo Ȩo Ȩe Agɔtime, tso bliku de wosi be, ne woyi la woanɔ bliku la tɔm anɔ dadam Ȩi ȨekaȨeka, gbe si gbe tututu woasusɔ Ȩeka la, gbe ma gbe yeada tu Ȩe Ho, eye woawo ha woava da tu Ȩe Akɔviefɛ elabena yese be, Hoawo kple Akɔviawo menye fefemewo o, eye ne woafɔ fu awɔ awa kple ye la woatsrɔ ye.

Le yeyiyi sia me la, Gẽsafohene aȨe si fe Ȩkɔe ne Kɔte Kwadzo la hã va yi Ȩe Nyive, bena yeakpɔ nɔvia, si le dɔ lɛm la Ȩa. Akɔviefɛtɔwo se eȨkɔ, eye woawo hã wobla Ȩe Ȩutsu la Ȩuti bena, Ȩeko woadzo hafi agava yi afe. Kɔte Kwadzo se nubabla la eye eya hã fo efe ame siwo katã le egbo la nu fu gbɔna Akɔviefɛtɔwo si gẽ.

Esi Akɔmuawo va la, wova da tu Ȩe SɔkɔȨeawo dome. SɔkɔȨeawo mete Ȩu nɔ tsitre Ȩe futɔwo nu o, ale wosi va Ho. Esi Hoawo se tua la, woyi Ȩakpe wo le mɔ ta Ava la sɛ na wo Ȩutu. Wowɔ awa la kalɛtɔe ale be futɔwo mate Ȩu va dua me hafi zã do o. Ȩu ke Ȩdi kanya wotso gadze edzi le susum be Akɔviawo le xɔxɔ ge na yewo. Le yemayi me pɛ tu da Ȩe Akɔviefɛ hã. Ke woawo nya futɔwo.

gun fire, they rushed onto the road to offer their help. The battle was very fierce. They fought heroically so that night fell without the enemy being able to enter the town. They resumed the struggle very early the next day, hoping that the Akoviefe would come to their help, but, that very morning, the Akoviefe were also fired upon. They, however, chased the enemies away.

It was also in that war that *Lèkle* again took his son *Adzi Kwasi* back from the hands of *Akwamu Daku*. Now the Ho were getting tired of fighting; but the Peki king, Kwadzo Dei, said, “By all means I want to see the Ho towns. The Ho were only a small party, and yet the I and the Akwamu have had to fight them for the past three days.”

C. Unsuccessful Resistance by the Ho

When the Ho returned from the battlefield, they rearmed themselves anew for the fight against the Akwamu and the Peki king, Kwadzo Dei. The armies met at the *Akatsa* rivulet, between Lokui and Ho, while the army of Akoviefe locked horns in battle with Kote Kwadzo. The Ho army could, therefore, not go to help the Akoviefe and the Akoviefe army could not go to the help of the Ho either. As the battle became intense, the Akwamu king was at a loss about what to do. The Peki king, therefore, advised him to let him take command of the centre; it was the only way to overcome the Ho army. That was what happened and the Ho forces were driven back till they reached Akoviefe.

The royal mace, which Akwamu Akoto had given to the Ho people, was still with them as they moved into battle. Now that the time had come for the Ho to flee, they stuck this royal mace or spokesman’s staff on a rubbish heap, so that the Akwamu people could take it away. This was the place where the Ho army fought fiercely before leaving their towns. However, before they surrendered the towns to the enemies, every man sharpened pieces of wood, inserted them into the walls of their houses and spread thorns all over their camp-site. That is why the people of Ho were called *Asɔglimeawo*. The Ho fled to *Anyama* with the intention of continuing to *Nyive*.

But since there was no drinking water in Anyama, the king decided that they should rather go to *Hɔdzo*. As they proceeded, the *Akwamu*, *Peki*, *Tokokoe*, *Tanyigbe*, *Abayame (Takra)* as well as the *Hɔdzo* obstructed the way and opened fire on them fiercely from all sides. There was really a furious battle there. Very many Ho lost their lives on this battlefield and some hundred men must have died on that day. The *Dome* people slowly started to become famous from that time onwards.

2. The Ho formed an alliance with the Peki

a. Defection of the Peki King from Akwamu

Kkbt.: Already on the battlefield in Ho, there had been petty quarrels between the Peki king and the Akwamu king. As a result, the Peki king left him and returned home. Many other tribes also followed the Peki king, deserting the army. The quarrel was as follows: The son of the Peki king fell sick on the battlefield and, therefore, had to go back home. Thereupon, the Akwamu king, Akoto, took twelve beautiful corn cobs and sent them to king Kwadzo Dei, with the message that if he did not return to the war front, then he must pay a penalty of 100 *hotu* multiplied by the number of maize grains on those cobs. As a result of this message, Kwadzo Dei joined all the Ewe to form a confederation against the Akwamu king, Akoto.

Le ava la wɔwɔ me la Lākle xɔ via Adzi Kwasi le Akɔmu Dalu si me. Azɔ la tudada te dɛdi Hotɔwo ɲuti. Pekifia Kwadzo Dei gblɔ bena, dɛko yeayi aɖakpɔ Ho dua me ɖa koko, Hotɔwo mesɔ gbo o gake nye kple Akɔmutɔwo mieda tu kpɛ wo ɲekeke etɔ wɔ.

C. Hoawo fe tenɔwɔ dɛ Akɔmuawo nu

Esime Hoawo gbugbo tso asada me va la, wode asi wo dɔkui dzadzra dɔ me, eye esime wodzra wo dɔkui dɔ wɔ keɲ la woawo kple Akɔmuawo kpakple Pekitɔwo fe fia Kwadzo Dei wokpe ava la le Akatsatɔ me le Lokui kple Hotɔwo dome. Akɔviefetɔwo kple Kɔte Kwadzo woawo hã wole tu la dam. Hotɔwo mekpɔ mɔ axɔ na Akɔviawo o, eye Akɔviawo hã mekpɔ mɔ axɔ na Hoawo o. Esi ava la sɛ na Akɔmufia, eye menya ale si woawo o la, Pekifia dɔ aɖaɲu ne bena, yeaxɔ aɖɔfri la, elabena to eya me ko hafi yewoakpɔ Hoawo nu. Eva eme nenema, eye wonya Hoawo woyi ɖatu Akɔviawo.

Akɔmu Koto fe fiatikplɔ, si wɔtɔ na Hotɔwo tsã la, le Hotɔwo si hafi wole tu la dam, eye hafi ne Hotɔwo nasi adzo la, wotsɔ nenem fiatikplɔ sia alo tsiamiti la tu dɛ akɔlikpo alo aɖukpo dzi, bena Akɔmutɔwo nava tsɔe ayi. Tefe sia dzi Hotɔwo gada tu le ɲutɔɲutɔ hafi wodzo. Hafi ne Hotɔwo nagblɛ wofe du la ɖi la, wo dome ɲutsu sia ɲutsu kpa atitɔyowo, eye wotsɔe fo dɛ wofe gliwo me keɲ kple ɲuwo dɛ wofe mlɔfewo keɲkeɲ hafi wodzo. Eyaɲuti wofoa ɲkɔ dɔ na Hotɔwo bena, Asɔglifeawo. Hotɔwo si yi dɛ Anyama heyina dɛ Nyive. Tsi mele Anyana ne woano o, eya ɲuti fia la dɔe bena yeayi Hɔdzɔ. Le mɔ dzi la, Akɔmutɔwo, Pekitɔwo, Tokokoetɔwo, Tanyigbetɔwo, Abayame (Takratɔwo) kple Hɔdzotɔwo va tso mɔ na Hoawo, eye woda tu dɛ wo dome nyamanyama; aɖi ma woawo kple Hotɔwo da tu le ɲutɔɲutɔ Hotɔ gedewo ku alo wotsi ava ɲutɔ, eye ame alafa aɖe ku gbe ma gbe.

Tso yeyiɲi sia dzi Domeawo de asi ɲkɔwɔwɔ me veveve.

2. Hoawo dɔ dzo kple Pekiawo.

a. Akɔmu fia kple Peki fia dome klã

Kknbt.: *Le Hosada me dzre dzɔ dɛ Peki fia kple Akɔmu fia dome, eye Peki fia dzo le egbo yi afe. Esi Peki fia dzo la, dukɔ bubu gedewo hã dzo. Dzre lae nye bena Peki fia fe vi le dɔ lém le ava la me, eye wɔdzo yi dɛ afe. Akɔmu Koto tsɔ bli vavã 12 dɔ dɛ Kwodzo Dei bena, ne megale ava la me va ge o la, ekema ne wɔakle bli vavã la, bliku dɛka hotu alafa, ne wɔaxe na ye. Nya sia ɲuti Kwadzo Dei wɔ dɛka kple veawo katã, eye wɔyɔ aɖom dɛ Akɔmu Koto ɲuti.*

b. The Ho king surrenders to the Peki

Kkbt: While the Akwamu king was still in Ho, the Peki king sent a message to *Wusu*, the King of Ho, informing him that, because he *Dei*, had defected from the Akwamu king's side, he would like to have dealings with him in future. He was invited to come so that they could unite against the Akwamu king. The Ho king, however, sent the messenger back again, an action which resulted in a serious judicial hearing, at the end of which the Ho king declared his readiness to join the Pekis, if the Peki king had actually deserted the Akwamus. He would become his confederate only under that condition. After this, the Peki king, Kwadzo Dei, turned away from the Hos and pitched his camp in Matse. The Ho king then sent messengers to him and surrendered to the Peki king. The king of Ho and the king of Peki then united to fight against Akoto.

When the Akwamu king arrived in Bame on his way back, the Ho pursued him up to Awudome and, as they (the Akwamu) climbed the Peki Mountain, the Ho opened fire on them and many Akwamu fell. They never came again from that time onwards. The king of Ho had called about 116 towns as confederates against the Akwamu and they instituted Peki as their capital. This is how Peki attained supremacy.

c. Flight of the Akwamu king to Waya; Winning New Allies (1828)

News came to the Akwamu king Akoto that Kwadzo Dei had called all the Ewes as well as Howusu for help against him, and that he should quickly flee to Akwamu. Akwamu Akoto replied: "What problem is there between me and Kwadzo Dei, that he should organize allies to help him against me?" After this, Akoto left Ho and proceeded to Nyive to join forces with Kote Kwadzo before returning to Bame. In Bame, he was totally abandoned and when he noticed that nobody was coming to his aid, he fled to Anlo. He passed by the Adaklu Mountain to Waya and finally reached Tɔda. In Tɔda, he sat down and said he would no longer go to Anlo. He would remain in Tɔda. Kwadzo Dei and Howusu could come and kill him if they wished.

The prisoners of war whom king Akoto took from among the Ho were presented as gifts to the Anlo, the Mafi, the Mepe and the Agave.⁶ He then went out of Tɔda back to Waya, where he pitched his camp, waiting for his Anlo allies until they came. When the Anlo arrived in Waya, Akoto's army greeted them in a friendly manner. An Anlo youth said that he did not know king Akoto until that day. It was only that day that he got to know him. They all took their rifles on the shoulder and moved round the camp singing, and thereby giving their thanks to the army of Akoto. The young man, who said he had not known Akoto till then, held his musket in the hand, knelt down with it and acted as if he was going to shoot it. He suddenly died in this position. The Anlo army did not know that he was dead. After this, they moved forward only to realize that he had died on his knees. The Anlo were very enraged about it; they hurriedly took their dead man, left Waya and went home. Akoto started bewailing the departure of the big army he had assembled. He made strong efforts to call them back and the Anlo came a second time. All the allies of Akoto were assembled completely, in order to take side with him in Waya. Even the Adaklu people came to his help. Since Howusu was not expected to hear anything about it, they set out on the campaign in the night. They marched on, past

6 In order to win them as confederates.

b. Ho fia na ta Pekiawo

Kknbt.: Aḡonyɔɔ la nye: Esi Akɔmufia gale Ho ke la, Pekifia ḡo ame ḡe Wusu be yetɔ le Akɔmutɔwo yome azɔ ḡe eti, eya ta neva, ne yewoawɔ ḡeka ḡe eɲuti. Ho fia gbugbo ame la ḡo ḡa, ale be nya la va zu uɔnu gā ɲutɔ. Ke Ho fia va lɔ emegbe be ne etɔ le Bluawo yome keɲkeɲ la, ekema yelɔ ḡe ḡekawɔwɔ la dzi. Esia megbe la Kwadzo Dei gbugbo le Hotɔwo yome va boɔbo ɔ Matse, eye wòbo asaḡa ḡe afi ma. Hotɔwo fe fia ḡo ame ḡo ḡe egbo, eye wòna tae. Azɔ la Ho fia kple Peki fia wowɔ ḡeka.

Le esime Akɔmu fia tɔ yina afe ḡo Bame la, Hoawo ti eyome yiḡafo ḡe Awudomeawo dzi ale be, esime wole Pekito la liam la, woda tu ḡe wo me tsɔ wo ɲutɔ. Tso esia dzi womegava Ho kpɔ o. Le ava la fe keke megbe la, Peki fia yɔ aḡom kple duwo katā, ano 116, eye wotsɔ Peki wo ta. To ale mɔ dzi Peki zu tsitsia.

C. Akɔmufia si yi Waya; avatsɔtsɔ dukɔwo (1828)

Wofi tofi na Akɔmu Koto bena, Kwadzo Dei yɔ aḡom Ueawo katā kple Howusu hā ḡe eɲuti; ḡeko woadzo ayi ḡe Akɔmu. Akɔmu Koto gblɔ bena; “Nya kae le mía kple Kwadzo Dei Dome wòayɔ aḡom ḡe ɲutinye mahā?” Akoto dzo le Ho gbedzi, eye wòyi ḡawɔ ḡeka kple Kɔte Kwadzo le Nyive, eye wògatɔ va Bame. Esime wòle Bame la, mekpɔ ame aḡeke wòkpe ḡe eɲuti o, eye wòsi yina Aɲlɔ. Eva to Aḡakluto la ɲuti va Waya, eye wòva Tɔda. Ebɔbo ɔ Tɔḡa eye wòbena yemegale Aɲlɔ yi ge o, yeano afi sia ne Kwadzo Dei kple Howusu nava tsɔ wu dzro.

Hotɔ siwo Akoto lé le ava me la, ame siawo wòtsɔ le ava tsɔm Aɲlɔawo, Mafiawo, Mefeawo kple Agaveawo eye esime wòkpɔ bena yetɔ ava la egagbugbo tso Tɔda va boɔbo ɔ Waya, ḡo asaḡa ḡi hele Aɲlɔawo lalam va se ḡe esime wova. Esime Aɲlɔtɔwo va Waya la, wode asi gbedodo me na Akoto fe avako la, eye Aɲlɔ ḡekakpui aḡe gblɔ bena, yemenya Akoto o, egbe ko ye hā yeanyē. Wo katā wotsɔ wofe tu la ḡe abɔ hele asaḡa dim le ameawo dome hele akpe dam na avako la. Dekakpui, si kekeake gblɔ bena, yemenya Akoto o la, tsɔ efe tu ḡe asi eye wòdze klo wɔ abe ḡe wòle tu la da ga ene; klodzedze la me ko wòle ku sã, gake Aɲlɔvako la menyae bena eku o; emegbe hafi wòva kpɔ bena, le klodzedzea me wòku le. Aɲlɔtɔwo bí dzi ɲutɔ; kplakplakpla wotsɔ wofe ame kuku la tso Waya, eye woyina afe. Akoto de asi nuxaxa me bena avako gā si yekpɔ la gadzo le ye gbɔ keɲkeɲ mahā? Eye wogade asi wo yɔyɔ me; Aɲlɔtɔwo gava zi evelia. Akoto fe ava si wògatɔ keɲ wo katā wova zi ḡeka kpe ḡe eɲuti le Waya. Aḡaklutɔwo hā kpe ḡe eɲuti. Woho ava la le zā me, bena Howusu naganya o. Woto Aḡaklu, dze gbe to mɔ bubu gblɔ Homɔ ḡi wozɔ gbedzi gbedzi vuɔ va tso Tanyigbe afi sia Akoto gadɔ amewo ḡo ḡe Tokokoetɔwo, Hɔdzotɔwo kple Agɔtimetɔwo, eye woawo hā wova kpe ḡe wo ɲuti, eye wo katā wozɔ va ḡo Matse. Wobɔbo ɔ Matse Begbe, azɔ la wogaho le afi sia va Taviefe. Tso afi sia wova Ziavi. Howusu le wo ɲkɔ sem, eye wòle eḡokui dzram ḡo, esi wòse bena, wova Ziavi la, ewɔ kaba, eye wòyi ḡatso wo le mɔ dzi la Hoawo le eḡabatramha dzim le gbɔgblɔm bena: “Zu aḡava, dzo sia mía la, zu aḡava ḡe mía

the Aɖaklu Mountain in the pathless bush, avoiding the actual Ho road. They went through untrodden bush until they reached Tanyigbe. Here they sent a message to Tokokoe, Hɔɖzo and Agotime, requesting them to help them. And they did come to help. All of them marched to Matse, sat around in Matse Begbe and, from there, they took off for Taviefe. From there they came to Ziavi. Howusu got news of it and, therefore, armed himself against them. When he heard that they had entered Ziavi, he hurriedly moved to intercept them. On the way, the Ho were singing war songs, that said: “We have gone mad! The magic we’ve contracted has made us mad!” When the Akwamu king Akoto heard the song, he said to his brothers: “I can hear a song, and it sounds to me like a song of the Ho people; I am afraid, if these wizards should come up the road to intercept us?” But even before Akoto had finished speaking, the Ho had already opened fire on them. Akoto said; “That is just what I was talking about.” They engaged in a very fierce battle here in which Akovie fled to Saviefe. From Saviefe they came to Anfoevi, and from there to Hlefi.

d. The Battle of Hlefi

A battle ensued between him and Kwadzo Dei in Hlefi. The Ewe had divided themselves into three troops before the battle and remained in this military order from morning to sun down.

While they were standing in this war formation, Dzokoto, an Aɖɔ chief, watched the Ewe warriors closely and was overcome with fear and said: “O! Behold the Ewe! We cannot fight with them: they are superior to us!” Gbadago, another Aɖɔ chief, however, answered Dzokoto: “Let us make an attempt on the Ewe; nothing should go untested. Under all conditions, everything must be put to a test!” Night fell and when the next morning broke, the fight started. There was fiery shooting from morning to evening. The Aɖɔ took many Peki soldiers prisoners of war and many of them also fell in the battle, since they had been at the front. In this battle, King Kwadzo Dei himself was wounded. The shooting exhausted the Akwamu as well as the Ewe. On the following day, at the break of day, heavy fighting continued. They shot and fought. And the Aɖɔ, who had taken war prisoners in the fighting, started leaving. They withdrew with their prisoners of war and went back home, taking their prisoners along.

The Peki king, Kwadzo Dei, gave the command: “Capture the Akwamu Akoto for me!” The fight was so furious that one could no more move a foot without getting a stroke of the sword.

e. Flight of the Akwamu King back Home

During the fight, the Tɔɔɔ fled home. Very many Aɖɔ were injured in the battles. They carried their injured from the battlefield and that tired them out. Thus it happened that the Aɖɔ also fled from the battlefield.

On the evening of that day, the Aɖaklu people reviled Akoto in a song: ‘The bird of prey perched on the silk-cotton tree as if it wanted to fell it, but the silk-cotton tree doesn’t fall. The soldier ant asks the cock whether the night would soon fall. The dark night will definitely fall.’⁷⁷ In the night, when the Aɖaklu people noticed that the whole camp was asleep, they woke each other up and all of them left the camp and fled. The Akwamu king Akoto alone was left behind. He started to lament

7 The fowl eats soldier ants during the day and the soldier ants eat the fowl during the night.

dzi.” Akɔmu Koto se hadzidzi la, eye wògbɔ na avakɔ la bena; “mese hadzidzi ɔ wòwɔ nam abe Hotɔwo fe hadzidzi ene, dzika tso fonye, bayifotɔ siawo ɔ wogbɔna mɔ tso ge na mí mahā?” Akoto mekpɔ ɔ nu le eme o, Hotɔwo da tu ɔ wo me. Akoto gbɔ bena, esia gbɔm mele enye esi. Woa kple Hoawo woda tu le afe ma nɔtɔnɔtɔ, eye Akoto si yi ɔ Saviefe. Wotso le Saviefe va Anfɔeta, eye wogava Hlefi.

d. Avakpekpe le Hlefi.

Le tefe sia woa kple Kwadzo Dei wokpe le Hlefi ne woava kpe ava la ade asi tu dada me la, Ueawo katã dze ava ɔ etɔ me tso nɔdi me va se ɔ ye fe toɔtoɔ me. Esime Ueawo le avadzede dzi la, Anɔwo fe asafohene deka si nɔke nye Dzokoto la, va kpɔ Ueawo fe avadzede la ta dũ, evɔ eye wògbɔ bena: “o mikpɔ Ue ɔa; míate nɔ ada tu kpakple wo o, wosɔ gbɔ akpa” Anɔsafohene deka si nɔke nye Gbadago la ɔ nɔ na Dzokoto bena: “míate Ue akpɔ, naneke meyina matekpɔ o; deko woatee akpɔ hafi woayɔ.” Zã do, eye nɔ ke, azɔ tu la de asi dada me. Woda tu la nɔtɔ tso nɔdi va se ɔ fiẽ me. Anɔtɔwo lé Pekitɔwo nɔtɔnɔtɔ elabena woawo nye ame siwo le avadzede la dzi, eye wotsrɔ wo hã geɔ nɔtɔ. Le tudada sia me la Kwadzo Di nɔtɔ hã xɔ abi, anukware tudada ti Akɔmuawo, eye wòti Ueawo hã nenema. Zã do nɔ ke fifi wole tu gã nɔtɔ da gee nye esi. Woda kakaka, eye Anɔtɔ siwo ke lé amewo le tudada nu la, woawo le dzodzom yina afe kpakple ame léleawo.

Kwadzo Dei gbɔ bena: “míle Akɔmu Koto nam” “Akɔmu Koto hã be: Milé Kwadzo Di nam.” Ava la sesé nɔtɔ, etrɔ, zu afɔmademaɔ zu yitɔ.

e. Akoto fe sisi yi afe

Tɔnuawo si le tu la nu yi afe. Anɔbawo hã xɔ abi geɔ nɔtɔ le avawɔwo la me; wotsɔ wo nɔewo kakaka deɔi te wo nɔ, esia na Anɔbawo hã si le ava la nu.

Fiẽsi la Aɔakluawo va le ha dzim na Akoto hele edzum le hadzidzi la me le gbɔgbɔm bena: “Xe fonu dze ɔ vu dzi sigbe ɔ woamu nene, gake vu la memuna o. Zãnuvɔe bia koklo bena, zã la ava do dzã; zã yibɔ la ava do dzã,” Zãme esi Adakluawo kpɔ bena ameawo katã do alɔ le asaɔa la me la, woɔo asi wo nɔewo dzi ken, eye wosi dzo le zã me kenken. Esusɔ Akoto, eye wòde asi nuxaxa me bena, Kwadzo Dei gbɔna yelé ge kple asi. Akoto ɔo ame ɔo ɔ afe bena woava kpe ye. Eya hã si le zã me va Anum eye wòyi afe.

“Kwadzo Dei is coming to capture me with his bare hands.” Akoto then sent a message home requesting them to come and welcome him. He then fled himself in the night to Anum and from there he went home.

f. The reason for the fall of the Akwamu

∞. The prediction of the Akwamu priests

My mother related the following story to me:⁸ “When King Akoto was about to invade Eweland, he assembled all the *trɔ* priests together and asked them to predict whether or not he would be able to return home from the war he was about to wage. The priests answered him that the outcome of the Ewe war he was going to wage, would be in his favor.

He would be taking war prisoners, robbing homes and sacks of clothes and cowries, and plundering many other objects; but he would have to fly on his way back to his Akwamu home town. Akoto replied to the priests: “I want to wage war, take war prisoners, plunder the houses and bring a lot of booty home; what in the world should block my way back home?” Now, truly, after he had fought the war with the Ewes, he found out that his way back home had been blocked. Kwadzo Dei had called his allies to help him fight against him. He lost his prisoners of war, and he brought nothing home from the houses he had robbed and the other things he had plundered. After the return of Akoto, all the *Trɔ*-priests decided to come together and visit the king. Akoto and all his elders assembled on the street and waited there until the arrival of the priests. My mother told me the names of some of the *trɔwo*. Those were: *Fofie*, *Afram*, *Atsam*, *Mantibi*, *Manti*, *Bunyɔɔmi* and *Bunyɔɔmi Kwadzo*. The priests of these *trɔwo*,⁹ about 50 in number, all did the same thing: they made little girls carry their *trɔwo* on the head. Each of them had a cloth bound around the upper body, around the hips; they had narrow loin cloths, and they were most beautifully adorned. Each of these girls carried on her head a calabash filled with *trɔ* objects. Apart from this, each girl was given a wooden knife to hold. All the girls then went into trance, one after the other.¹⁰ As the girls stood before King Akoto in this condition, they suddenly veered back one step and then touched the King’s nose with their wooden knife, saying:¹¹ “This is what we have earlier told you.” They all repeated these words the whole day till late in the evening. The priests remained with Akoto for six days, and then they went back home.

β. The Sword of the Ho

F W: When all the Ewe were still serving the Akwamu king, the Ho were put at the head of all the armies, for it was they who broke the wall to enable the rest of the people to escape. Whenever they went to war against any tribe, they pointed that sword with which they had pierced the wall in Amedzɔfe, to the sky, and cursed the town into which they were moving. This done, the war never went against them. Now that the Akwamu and Ho had become enemies, they cursed Akwamu in the same way and from that time, truly, the power of the Akwamus diminished.

8 This mother was in Akwamu as a little girl and eye witness to the events.

9 *Trɔwo*, fetishes, earth gods.

10 Jerky movements of the head and body parts is the sign that they were possessed by the *trɔ*.

11 A sign of greatest mockery.

f. Nu si ta Akɔmuawo meɖu dzi o

∞. Trɔ̃siwo fe nukaka na Akoto.

Danye gbɔ nam bena; “Esi me Akoto le tsotso ge ava Deme ava wɔ ava la, eyɔ Akɔmudua me trɔ̃siwo katã va egbɔ bena, woaka nuna ye; ava si yim yele la, yeate ɲu agagbugbɔ ava afe, alo yemate ɲui o mahã? Trɔ̃siawo ɖo ɲu nɛ bena; Demeva si yim wòle la, anyo nɛ, alé ame, atso kevi le xɔ me; aɖe aboyo nu geɖewo, gake la, ɖeko wòadzo hafi agava Akɔmudu la me. Akoto hã ɖo ɲu na trɔ̃siawo bena: “Mawɔ ava alé ame, axɔ xɔmenuwo, aɖe aboyo; ekema ɖee nu ka gɔ̃ ate ɲu axe mɔ nam mahã?” Azɔ esime wòva Deme va wɔ ava la, mɔ xe ɖee. Kwadzo Dii yɔ aɖom ɖe ɲuti, ame léle siwo ke wòlé le ava me la evɔ le esi, keviawo, xɔmenuhawo kple aboyonuawo katã vɔ le esi hafi wova afe.

Esi me wòva afe la, trɔ̃nua, siwo katã le Akɔmudua me bla nu bena yewoava akpɔe ɖa. Akoto kpakple efe ame tsitsiwo katã wofo fu ɖe ablɔ me le trɔ̃siawo lalam. Nɔnye yɔ trɔ̃ aɖewo fe ɲkɔ nam, woawoe nye: Fofie Afram, Atsam, Mantibi, Manti, Bunyɔ̃mi kple Bunyɔ̃mikwadzo. Nenem trɔ̃si siawo katã wowɔ nuwɔwɔ ɖeka. Wo katã anɔ ame 50. Wotsɔ wofe trɔ̃wo ɖo ta na nyɔnuvi suesuewo, eye wotsɔ avɔ bla nyɔnuvi sueawo fe dzime, eye wodo godui lelèle na wo, eye wowɔ leke na wo. Emegbe wotsɔ tre kpe trɔ̃nuawo ɖo ta na wo, eye wotsɔ atihewo ɖe asi na wo ɖekaɖeka, eye nyɔnuvi sue siawo le trɔ̃ fom ɖekaɖeka, ne wova ɖo Akoto gbɔ la, ekema nyɔnuvi, si le trɔ̃ fom la tena ɖe megbe r----- tsɔa atihe si le esi la tua Akoto fe ɲɔti dzi, eye wògbɔna bena: “Esi míele gbɔgbɔm na wò tsã enye esi.” Nenem nya sia ko wo katã wogbɔ tso ɲdi va se ɖe zã do ken. Wobɔbɔ nɔ Akoto gbɔ ɲekeke ade, eye wogadzo yi wofe nɔfewo.

ß. Ale si Hoawo susuna le gligbãyi la fe ɲusɛ ɲuti

F.Y.: Esi me Deawo katã subɔ Akɔmufia la Hoawoe nɔa ɲgɔ ne fia yia afi sia afi, elabena woawoe gbã gli hafi duawo do go. Ne woho ava ɖe du aɖe ɲuti la ekema Hoawo doa gligbãyi la ɖe dzi, eye wofoa fi dea du ma hafi wotsona yi afe. Ne wofoe nenema la, ava megloa wo gbede o. Esi Akɔmuawo kple Hoawo dome gblẽ la, Hoawo fo fi de wo le mɔ ma ke dzi, eye tso ekema dzi la, Akɔmu fe ɲusɛ yi to godo.

As soon as Ho received information that a tribe wanted to wage war against them, the Banyakoe King would grab the sword from Hogbefe,¹² and point it to the east and curse the tribe concerned, saying: “If it was not true that we were the tribe which broke the wall to enable all peoples to go out, then this or that should happen to us and, therefore, cursed be the people who are coming to fight us”. Such an enemy-army returning home after the war always certainly met some sort of misfortune.

y The Magic Cloth of the Ho

Like all other Ewes, the Hos also perform *Busu*,¹³ before going to war. When they are about to start off on the war path, an appointed person must tie a beautiful cloth round his loins. According to them, this great loin cloth is a formidable magic which instils bravery into warriors. The specified person is always taken from Dome town; however, it is the Heve who must march at the front of the army.



King of Ho with Army Captain in War trappings

Kkbt: The Ho are a courageous tribe and the best warriors among the Ewe; they are, therefore, feared and respected by all of them. When anything happens in any town, it is the Ho people who would determine whether it should be considered as serious or ordinary.

12 The original tribal home.

13 Religious ceremonies to drive off calamity.

Ne Hoawo se bena, du aḍe ho ava ḍe wo ḡuti gbɔna la ekema Banyakoefia tsɔa yi ma, si wotsɔ tso Hogbefe la dona ḍe yedzefe, eye wòfoa fi dea du la gblɔna be: “Ne menye míawoe gbā gli la hafɔ dukɔwo katā do go o fɔ! Eya ta aḍi du si gbɔna mía si ge la ḡuti.” Ne du la va wɔ ava vavā trɔ yi afe la, nya vɔ aḍe dzɔna ḍe edzi kokoko.

γ. Hoawo fe dzovɔ gā la

Abe Veduwo katā ene la, Hoawo hā yia busu hafɔ yia ava. Ne wole tsotso ge la, ame tiatia ḍeka tsɔa adzawusi (avɔ gā) doa goe. Godotse gā ma la wobe, dzo sesē wònye, sidea kalē gbɔgbɔ avawɔlawo me. Godoe sia dolawo tsoa Dome godo; gake gbɔta si nɔa ḡge nye Heve.



War drum with enemy skulls

Kknbɔ. *Hoawo nye dukɔ sē ḡkume aḍe kple avawɔla gāto le Vɛawo dome, eya ta wo katā vɔa wo, eye wobua wo. Ne nya aḍe dzɔ le dua aḍe me la, woawoe naa wòsesēna alo bɔbɔna.*

B. The Asante – Wars

1. The Ho in Flight

a. The Asante occupation of the Mission Station in Ho

During the Asante war, the enemies first came to the Hill, i.e. to the Mission Station in Ho. There was a woman on the Hill called *Ŋɔdzoba*. The enemies, coming from the Adaklu road, took her by surprise. The woman then started shouting loudly, saying: “People of Ho, war has come upon us!” King Kofi immediately posted his men to stand sentry on the roads.¹⁴ The Asantes, however, did not approach further, and the Ho went back home. They loosened their powder belts; some started cooking their meals, others were pounding fufu and yet others were busy eating; but *Ŋɔdzoba* was still on the Hill. Suddenly, she again shouted, very loudly: “The Asantes have come! They are on the Hill and marching on the town!” The Ho king immediately stood up and said: “Get up, my children, they have arrived!”



The old Mission Station in Ho
Ho, the war has taken us by surprise!

b. The first battle in Ho

All of us including men who had been fleeing before the Asantes, rose up immediately, went to meet the Asantes, and started shooting from about 4 o'clock in the afternoon until the evening. We abandoned the battle, and retreated in the night to Takla.

¹⁴ The warriors had to hide themselves in the bush along the road.

B. Asanteva

I. Hoawo fe sisifewo

a. Asanteawo le Kpodzi¹⁵

Esime Asanteva va Ho la, eke de Kpodzi gbã. Nyɔnu aɔe si fe ɲkɔe nye ɲɔdzoba la, eyae nye ame si le kpoa dzi. Ava la to Aɔaklumɔ dzi va lili wo, eye nyɔnua de asi ylidodo me sesiẽ le gbɔgbɔm bena: “Hoawo ava lili mi lo!

Enumake fia Kofi na Hotɔwo yiɔɔɔɔ wo fu, gake Asantetɔwo mete ɲu va o, eye Hotɔwo gagbugbo va afeme. Wode wofe agbadzawo ɔi; ame aɔewo ɔo nuɔɔɔ dzo dzi, eye ame aɔewo le fufu tom, eye ame aɔewo le nu dum. ɲɔdzoba ya gale Kpo la dzi ko. Kasia efe yli gaɔi sesiẽ bena, Asantetɔwo va lo, wole Kpo la dzi, eye wogbɔna afe la me. Enumake Howusu tsi tre gbɔ bena: ɔviwo mitso, wodo vɔ keɲkeɲ!



The Old Mission Station in Ho
Ho, The war has taken us by surprise!

b. Avakpekpe le Ho

Du, siwo katã si ava va mia gbɔ la kpakple miawo ɲutɔ miɛsi tre, eye mí kpakple Asantetɔwo miɛkpe ava de asi tudada me aɔ ga ene me tututu va se de ga ade me le fiẽ me. Miɛde asi le ava la ɲuti na wo, eye miɛdzo le zã kema me hesi yi de Takla.

¹⁵ The warriors had to hide themselves in the bush along the road.

The Asantes took the whole of Ho and settled there. King Kofi sent messages to Hɔdzo, Agotime and Yitoe. After we had spent twelve days in Takla, King Kofi said to his army: “I will immediately go and see the wild animal which is sitting on my walls.”¹⁶ We moved off in the course of the afternoon. We marched slowly until we reached the village of Ahliha, lying between Kpeɔpe and Dome, where we spent the night, since the night had set in by then. On the following day — it was the 15th morning — the Ho army assembled in battle-formation. They divided themselves as follows: a hundred men were to go and occupy the road along the mountain, leading to Taviefe. The second division was to go to the Adaklu road to prevent the Asantes from fleeing southwards. The Asantes were not aware that King Kofi was drawing near against them. They, therefore, settled, relaxed and were moving very freely in the Ho towns.



War headdress

There they engaged in ceaseless drumming; a few of them even came to *Tɔsinu*, to tap palm wine. The Ho captured those men, who were working on the palm wine, and only one of them escaped to the Ho township. This man brought news to the Asante that the Ho were approaching. The Asante immediately prepared for war and met us on the road to Agbesia. There was shooting from early morning to evening. The Ho caught some Asante and killed many others. Only about five Ho soldiers fell in the battle, against the many wounded, and those who later died from their injuries. So it happened that the Asantes fled before us, but the Ho did not know of it, because they were all in tall grass.

16 The ruins of the town.

Asanteawo xɔ Hofe la le eme. Fia Kofi ɔ du ɔ Hɔdzotɔwo, Agɔtimetɔwo kple Yitetɔwo. Míafe Takra nɔ nkeke 12 me pe la, fia Kofi gblɔ na avakɔ la bena: Lã si le nye gli dzi la, mayi aɖakpɔe ɔ zi ɔka. Míetso dze mɔ anɔ ga eve me. Míele azɔli la dzi ɔɔɔɔ, va se ɔ esime míeva tsi Ahliha si le Kpenɔetɔwo kple Domeawo dome ɔ; elabena zã do ɔ mí. Ŋu ke, eyae nye nkeke 15 lia fe ŋdi kanyã, Hotɔwo dze ava kenken ɔ Asantetɔwo ŋuti. Avadzedze lae nye esi: Aɖaklumo la bena Asantetɔwo nagakpɔ sisife o. Asantetɔwo menya naneke kura bena, fia Kofi gbɔna o, eye woɔe ŋu ɔi le Hofe la me. Ufofo dzi ko wole, eye wo dome ame aɖewo va Tɔsinu le aha kpam.



War Wig with Ram Horns
as a symbol of strength

Ahakpala siawo la, Hoawo lé wo kple asi, ame ɔka koe si le wo dome yi ɔ Hofe la me. Ame sia gblɔ na Asantetɔwo bena: Hotɔwo gbɔna. Asantetɔwo dzra wo ɔkuiwo ɔ enumake, eye wova kpe mí le Agbesiamɔ nu. Tu la da tso ŋdi va se ɔ fiẽ me. Hotɔwo lé Asantetɔ aɖewo le wuwum ŋutɔŋutɔ. Ame siwo tsi ava le Hoawo dome la, womede 5 o, gake la woxɔ abi geɖe ŋutɔ, emegbe hafi wova ku, gake la, menye le tudada nu o. Sigbe ɔ Asantetɔwo si le mía nu; gake la Hoawo menyae o, elabena wo katã le gbe ɔɔɔ me.

The Asantes retreated to the territory around Sɔkɔɔɛ. We were also short of gunpowder and pellets, so the king ordered: “My children, let us go.” We, therefore, started on the return journey towards Kpeɔɔɛ. Then, when the Asantes noticed that we were retreating to Kpeɔɔɛ, they dispatched 12 men to go after us and shoot at us. The Ho king pitched camp at Hɔɔzo, where he waited hoping that the Asante would come and attack. They never came, but rather pulled further back to Agɔtime.

c. The Battle of Agɔtime

When the Asantes had withdrawn to Agɔtime, King Kofi said: “The Agɔtimes do not know how to fight war successfully, so I want to go to their aid.” The King went and pitched his war camp beside that of the Agɔtimes. The Asantes confronted the Agɔtimes and the Hos. The battle was very fierce; but the Asantes chased us away and captured all the Agɔtime towns. There were two fights there, first in the evening and the second was from morning to evening. On that day, before the Asantes had captured the Agɔtime towns, one Dzakpasu, a renowned Anɔ chief, was shot dead in the war.

d. Unsuccessful Betrayal by the Tove

The Ho army and that of the Agɔtime united and fled to Atikpui. We progressed further to Klonu on the following morning. When some of us were having our meals in Klonu, the Tove and the Klonu conspired to shoot at the Agɔtime. The King told them: “Anyone who might have the impudence to shoot at my people would immediately have me to deal with”. King Kofi then raved like a wild animal, as if he were mad, and said: “I am going to set fire to Klonu under all circumstances.” Thereupon, the Klonu people submitted to him immediately.

On their part, the Tove raved as well and laid in wait on the road, ready to shoot down anyone who might pass by; they did not want to have any enemy warrior around them. The king said to them: “I will catch up with you. I only allowed you to go and prepare for war!” King Kofi then divided his fighting men into three groups. He dispatched the king of Banyakoe, Akpo, to chase after the Tove. “The Tove could be doing what they had intended to do, till he himself came to meet them.” Not long after that, he sent a second force with the task of pursuing Akpo. The third division led by King Kofi himself followed a few hours later. Their hands remained on the cocked rifles.¹⁷ We marched on and on until we got right into the street of the Tove. Not a single shot was fired on the way. When King Kofi was standing on the Tove street, he unsheathed his sword, and, still standing, he swore to all his officers saying “I see the town into which we have just moved;¹⁸ I am determined to burn down the town of anyone who objects to my presence.

The residents of the town came out of their houses onto the streets and stared at us. It was only then that King Kofi sat down at their market place. It then happened that the residents of the towns, themselves, brought us water to satisfy our thirst. Then came Agbada, King of Tove, to the King of Ho, and requested of him: “Stand up, let us go into the house.” But the Ho king would not go. When Agbada and his elders came again, pleading and begging, the Ho king finally agreed to follow with his escorts and

¹⁷ They held the rifles ready to fire.

¹⁸ Those who do not want to receive us.

Asantetɔwo kakã si yi de Sɔkɔdɛgbe dzi. Míawo hã du kple kpe vɔ le mía si. Eya nɔti fia la gblɔ bena, míadzo dɛviwo, eye míegadze Kpeɖemɔ dzi. Esi Asantetɔwo dze sii bena míetɔ yina Kpeɖe la, woɖe ame 12 eye wole tu dam de mía yome. Howusu va bɔ asadɔ de Hodzo hele mɔ kpɔm na Asantetɔwo bena, woava ne yewoagada tu la, Asantetɔwo megate ɔu va o, ke boɔ la wogbugbo yi de Agɔtime.

c. Avakpekpe le Agɔtime

Esi Asantetɔwo gbugbo yi de Agɔtime la, fia Kofi gblɔ bena, Agɔtimetɔwo menya nu nyuie o, eya nɔti mayi axɔ na wo, eye fia hã yi dabo asadɔ de Agɔtimetɔwo gbɔ. Asantetɔwo kpe kple Agɔtimetɔwo kple Howusu; ava la nu sesẽ nɔti le afi ma eye Asantetɔwo nya mí woxɔ Agɔtimefe la woda tu zi eve; gbã go woda tu le fiẽ me, evelia wodae tso ɔdi va se de fiẽ. Gbe ma gbe Anɔsafohene gã dɛka, si fe ɔkɔe nye Dzakpasu la hã tsi ava la me hafi Asantetɔwo xɔ afe la.

d. Nya, siwo dzo le Tovee

Hotɔwo kple Agɔtimetɔwo wɔ dɛka, eye wosi yi de Atikpui. Esi ɔu ke la, míeyi de Klonu. Le Klonu, esime mía dometɔ adewo le nuɖuɖu wɔm la, kasia Toveetɔwo kple Klonutɔwo wɔ dɛka, eye wole didim bena, woada tu de Agɔtimetɔwo dome. Fia la gblɔ na wo bena: Ame si ke ada tu de yefe amewo dome la, ye kpakpli ye woakpe fifi laasi. Fia Kofi nyrã nɔti abe lã woadá ene, eye wòfo edokui si gbe tsukunɔ movito ene, eye wògblɔ bena: “Deko matɔ dzo Klonudula,” enumake Klonutɔwo bɔbɔ nɛ.

Toveeawo hã nyrã, eye woawo hã woyi dade xa de mɔ dzi bena, ne ame adɛ va yina la, ne yewoadae le mɔ dzi, yewomele awawɔla adɛke dim o. Fia la gblɔ na wo bena: de metu mi vɔ keɔ enye esi. Medɛ mɔ na mi, miyi ne míano dzadzram dɔ megbona. Fia Kofi ma efe avakɔ la me de akpa 3 me. Etsɔ Banyakofia Akpo dɔ de Toveeawo yome, bena woakplɔ wo dɔ. Nu si ke Toveeawo le didim, bena woawo la, ne woanɔ ewɔm hafi ne ye nɔti yeava wo gbɔ. Etefe medidi o, etsɔ avadzedze evelia, bena woawo hã nadze Akpo yome. Azɔ aganɔ gafofo adewo megbe la, avadzedze etɔlia kple fia Kofi nɔti wodze wo yome. Tuɖeɖe tsi asi míele edzi vu keke Toveetɔwo fe abɔ me ke; tu adɛke mete ɔu da le mɔ dzi kpɔ, va se de esime fia Kofi nɔti dɔ Toveetɔwo fe abɔ me o. Tsitrenu make fia la de efe yi le aku me, ka atam na efe asafohenewo katã hegbɔ bena: “mekpɔ du, si me mieva fifia dɔ ame si ke melɔa nu o la, dɛko matɔ dzo efe du la fifi laasi”.

Dua metɔwo katã wodo go de abɔ me le wo kpɔm dũ. Azɔ la fia Kofi trɔ bɔbɔ nɔ anyi de wofe asi la me. Eva eme bena dua metɔwo nɔti de asi tsikuku me na mí bena míano. Azɔ Toveeawo fe fia si ɔkɔe nye Agbada la va Howusu gbɔ, eye wòde kuku nɛ bena: “tsi tre, ne míayi de afe me!” Howusu melɔ kura o. Agbada kple efe ame tsitsiwo gadɛ kuku nɛ vu, hafi wòlɔ eye wòtso kple enumewo. Toveeawo, Nɔtsuwo kple nyɔnuwo wova eye wokplɔ ame sɔa ame yi de wofe afewo me. Wobɔbɔ nɔ Tovee Yleti 3 sɔɔ.

attendants. Men and women of Tove came and led us into their houses. We remained for three months in Tove.¹⁹

One day, envoys came from the camp of the Asante to the King and requested that he should capitulate. King Kofi was not at all ready for such a move. The Tove king, Agbada, really tried to talk to him into it, that he should do well to surrender. But he was unwilling. At this juncture, he told Agbada: “Do you see my head? When you see me sleeping in my bedstead, you may cut it off and bring it to the enemies!” A short time after that, sword and staff bearers from the camp of the Asantes and Anlɔs came to king Agbada.

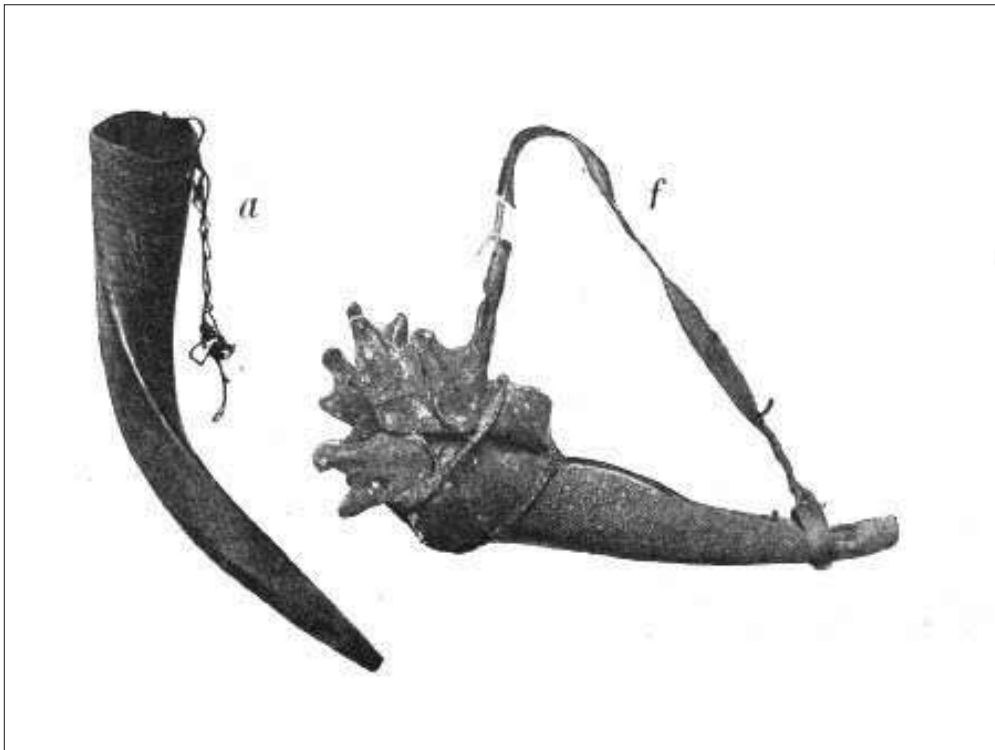


Gunpowder belt with bells,
which is worn by the King's companion

King Kofi himself saw the messengers who had been sent. That angered him very much, and in a moment, he called his fighters together and ordered them to buckle on their gunpowder belts. The king had it proclaimed that every man who was fully armed should come to the market place, so that they could hear the message which these sword and staff bearers had brought from the Asantes and from the Anlɔ. King Agbada also allowed the emissaries to come to the market place. There King Agbada told them: “Tell them now the word which you have brought”. The emissaries answered Agbada: “We have come to request you to entreat the king on our behalf to surrender, and we will deliver the message to Netsui, the Asante chief, and Ahɔlu, the Anlɔ chief”. King Kofi flew into a rage and told Agbada: “Ask them for me, whether or not the house,

¹⁹ Tove – buffalo forest.

Du tso Asanteawo fe asaɖa me va fia gbɔ bena, wɔana ta. Fia Kofi melɔ kura o. Agbada foe ɖe enu vu bena, ɖeko wɔana ta; gake melɔ o. Egblɔ na Agbada bena: “Éle nye kpɔm mahā? Ne medɔ alɔ le anyimlɔfe nɛkpɔ la, ekema nava tsoe atɔ yi na wo.” Etefe medidi o, Asantetɔwo kple Aɖlawo fe dzangbetsɔlawo kple tsiamititsɔlawo tso asaɖa me va Agbada gbɔ.



War Trumpet

a) an antelope horn, b) a trumpet with jaw-bones

Fia Kofi ɖutɔ hā kpɔ amedɔɔ siwo ke wɔɔ ɖa la, dɔme ve fia Kofi ɖutɔ, eye enumake wɔna woyɔ efe avawɔviwo katā va egbɔ, eye wɔgbɔ na wo bena, woado agbadza me kenken. Eye fia la na wɔde gbefā bena, ame siaa ame nayi ɖe asi la me kple agbadzadodo, bena nya, siwo ke atikplɔtsɔla siawo kple dzangbetsɔla siawo, siwo tso Asanteawo kple Aɖlawo fe asada me tɔ ve la, ne woagblɔe na yewo. Agbada na mɔ dɔla siawo be, woawo hā woava asi la me. Azɔ Agbada gbɔ na wo bena: “Nya siwo ke mietsɔ ve la, migblɔe na wo.” Dɔlawo gbɔ na Agbada bena, ne wɔadɛ kuku na fia la na yewo, bena ne woana ta, ne yewoatɔ yi na Asantetɔwo fe asafohene Netsui kple Aɖlawo fe asafohene Axɔlu. Fia Kofi nyrā ɖutɔ, eye wɔgbɔ na Agbada bena: “Mibia wo nam bena, xɔ si mewɔ ɖe Hogli dzi la gali mahā?” Dɔlawo ɖo eɖu na fia la bena: “Wɔ xɔ la mele tsi tre o, míetɔ dzoe.” Fia Kofi

which I have put up in Ho, is still standing?” The messengers answered the king: “Your house is no more standing, we have burnt it down”. King Kofi retorted: “Good, if you have burnt it down, then the place has long been laid waste; that is why there can no more be any capitulation. There can only be war between you and me.” The king then sighed, ground his teeth and said: “What pains me most is what the Anlo are doing, for they have always come to the Ho market. It was only when I allowed them to come to the Ho market unmolested that they also became human beings; that is why their case pains me most. The Asante, I have never known, neither have I ever seen them; but let me also ask you: I have heard that you have a lot of gold in your country; in our country, all we have is cassava. Have you become so tired of eating your gold that you are now making war because of cassava? Go and ask Aholu, if he expects me to surrender because of the fish and salt;²⁰ I will never, never capitulate to you!” He now also turned his face to king Agbada and spoke to him: “You hypocrite, never worry me anymore after the departure of these emissaries! If you should continue to importune me with court cases, then you must come yourself to cut off my head and give it to these messengers to carry along. From now onwards, do not ever venture to harass me”. There upon the emissaries returned, and we also dispersed and went to our living places.

e. The Battle of Yòkle

Exactly ten days later, King Kofi heard that the Asante were about to come to Tove²¹ to capture him. King Kofi himself fastened his ammunition belts, cried out calling the Ho together and they all assembled. King Kofi told them: “Now I know the behavior of the Tove very well, I know that they are hypocrites; I see and recognize in their eyes that they are incapable of helping us to fight. They are insincere; that is why we have to set off at once and gone to Agome. If any Ho person remains behind in a Tove town and is captured by the Asante without firing a shot, then that is his own disgrace; that is not my concern.” They all then set off with him to Agome. The Agome people were also divided into two camps. One part was neutral and the other part sided with the Asante. When King Kofi found out the situation, he continued his journey on the same day to Kpime. The Asante moved into Tove several hours later. All those who did not pay heed to King Kofi’s advice and remained behind in Tove had to flee into the bush and only rejoined us in Kpime. The Tove received the Asante with joy without firing even a single shot. The Asante remained for a long time with them, and we also remained in Kpime.

The Asante united with the Tove and moved to Yòkle armed for war. Howusu also moved toward them from the direction of Kpime, with the aim of coming to their help. In the course of the afternoon, the Yòkle people, the Agotime and the Kpime took up the fight. And as night set in, we pulled back; and so also did the Asante.

The following morning, we waited long for them but they did not turn up. The Ho king, therefore, sent a few emissaries with the task of shooting into the enemies’ camp to tease them to resume the fight with him. The Ho king sent a large number of warriors on to the road and tasked them to lay ambush for the Asante. The patrols which the Ho king had sent to the camp of the Asante arrived there and fired some shots at them; but

²⁰ The main articles of trade of the Anlo in those days were fish and salt.

²¹ Tove = buffalo forest.

gblɔ na wo bena: “Esi mietɔ dzoe ɲuti la, etefe gblẽ xoxo, eya ɲuti la tanana aɖeke megali o, avawɔwɔ kokoko nye nu si le mía dome,” eye fia la fa hũ, ɖu tse gblɔ bena: “Aɲlɔtɔwo tɔ pɛ koe nye nu si le veyem wu, elabena woawo va Hosi me. Azɔ esime meɖe mɔ na wo bena woava Ho dzro la; woawo hã zu ame, eyaɲuti pɛ woawo tɔ vem ɖo. Asantetɔwo la, nyemenya wo gbedegbede o, nyemekpɔ wo hã kpɔ o, gake la mabia miawo hã se; mese bena, mia de la sika sɔɲsɔɲ li, alo sikaɖuɖu ɖe woti mi mahã? Eye azɔ miele ava wɔm ɖe agbelikutee ta mahã? Miyi ne miagblɔ na Netsui bena, nyemana ta o. Miyi ɖagblɔ ne Axɔlu bena akpa ta alo dze ta, eye mana ta wò ɖo mahã? Nyemana ta mi gbedegbede o.” Azɔ la etɔ ɲkume ɖe Agbada hã gbɔ, eye wògblɔ nɛ bena: “Didritɔ, ne dɔlawo yi la, megaɖe fu aɖeke nam gbedegbede o, ne agaɖe fu nam le ɔɔnudɔdrɔa ɖe me la, ekema wò ɲutɔ nava tɔ yi atso nye ta ade asi me na dɔla siawo, ne woatsɔ ayii. Tso esia yome la megaɖe fu aɖeke nam o,: Esia megbe la ame dɔɔwo dze wofe mɔ dzi. Miawo hã miehẽ yi ɖe mía nɔfewo.

e. Avakpekpe le Yɔkle.

Ŋkeke ewo megbe pɛ la, fia Kofi se bena Asantetɔwo ho ava gbɔna, Tovee elé ge. Fia Kofi ɲutɔ ɖo agbadza me, eye wòdo yli yɔ Hoawo bena, woava eye wo katã va fo fu. Fia Kofi gblɔ na wo bena: “Mekpɔ Toveetɔwo fe nɔɔme kenken, bena wonye didritɔwo, mekpɔ wofe ɲkuwo xadze si wo, bena, womele ava wɔ ge kpakpli mí o; wozu didritɔwo aya ta míaɖo fifi ayi ɖe Agɔme. Ɖeko ne Hovi aɖe tsi Toveedua me, eye Asantetɔwo va lée tumadamada la, enye eya ɲutɔ fe ɲukpe; nye la nyemetsɔ ɖeke le eme o.” Ame siaa ame tso kpakplii woyi ɖe Agɔme. Agɔmetɔwo hã ma ɖe akpa eve; akpa ɖeka le Asantetɔwo dzi, eye akpa keme mede ame aɖeke dzi o. Esime fia Kofi kpɔ wo nenema la, etso me enumake yi ɖe Kpime gbe ma gbe ke. Ame siwo meɖo to fia Kofi fe gbe o, eye wotsi Toveedua me la, aɔ gafofo ene megbe pɛ Asanteawo va Toveedua me, eye wosi ɖo gbe me va mía gbɔ le Kpime. Toveetɔwo xɔ Asanteawo atu tumadamada. Asanteawo bɔbɔ nɔ wo gbɔ vuu eye miawo hã miele Kpime ko.

Asantetɔwo kple Toveetɔwo wowɔ ɖeka eye woho ava vaYɔkle. Howusu hã ho ava tso Kpime va Yɔkle, bena yeaxɔ na wo. Yɔkleawo, Agɔtimeawo kple Kpimetɔwo kpe ava la le yetɔ me. Zã do ɖe mí, eye míegbugbɔ va megbe; Asanteawo hã gbugbɔ ɖe megbe.

Esime ɲu ke la, míelala wo vuu, wo mele vavam kaba o. Howusu ɖe amewo bena, woayi ne woada wo le asaɖa la me; ne woava ne yewoakpee. Howusu tɔ avawɔla geɖewo ɖaɖo mɔ dzi na wo nemem me siawo katã wode xa ɖe mɔ dzi hena Asantetɔwo. Ame siwo ke Howusu ɖe la wova Asanteawo fe asaɖa me, eye woda wo, gake Asantetɔwo mebu wo kura o, ɖeko wodo yli hɔ ɖe tudalawo ta, eye wogagbugbɔ va mía gbɔ le asaɖa la me. Ekema la Howusu na efe amewo dze ava kenken hele klalo le Asanteawo dzɔm. Tudala, siwo

the Asantes paid no attention to them. They only mocked them with loud yelling and the messengers came back to us in our camp. The Ho king then arranged his warriors in total order of battle, and waited combat-ready for the Asante. He also gave a special post to the riflemen whom he had sent to the enemy camp. We waited for a long time for the enemy; then, all of a sudden, they appeared before us. We shot vigorously but they chased us, and, then, we also chased them once more. They then drove us into a big farm, lying on a raised plot of land. We halted there and stood motionless the whole night; we could only look each other in the face. It was exactly in that farm that a chief from Heve, called *Seki*, advised the Heve to follow him, so that they could go around the Asante and shoot at them from behind. As we were on the way to go round the Asante, we arrived in a large corn farm in which King Netsui, the great commander-in-chief of the Asante, sat surrounded by many of his people. The drums were throbbing, the horns were sounding and many other instruments were being blown. The atmosphere was real magic. We shot at them and ran away back into another part of the corn field. There was very beautiful maize on the farm. They pursued us into the maize farm. Now, when they saw the beautiful corn cobs, they harvested them and stuck them into their luggage, and stopped shooting at us. We retreated into the bush, loaded our rifles and shot at them for the second time. Night had set in, and the Asante believed that we were perhaps still in the corn field, so they shot at us. Meanwhile, our brothers and Howusu had left us. That night, three of us totally lost our way. Two Heve people called *Sobo* and *Akpligbi*, as well as a man from Yökle, were in dire distress that night, and it was only by a great effort that we reached Yökle. From there, we then went further to our men in Kuma, where we remained for three months.

2. Dislodging the Asante from Eweland

a. The Ho on the ruins of their town

When Howusu heard that Kwadzo Dei, King of Peki, had gone to Accra, he summoned the Ho and told them: “If I remain in Kuma, then both armies of the Asantes will unite against me and capture me”. Howusu, therefore, set off immediately and went with his people to Kame, one of the Leklebi towns. From there he came to Leklebi Dugè, and then onward to Logba, and then to Dzokpe, Tafi, Nyagbonyigbe, Have, Agate, Kpeve, Bame and Awudome, where he remained for five days. From there he came back to the ruins of Ho.

King Kofi established himself first in the Lolobi country, for he thought, how could one tell whether the Asante would not return again on the common road in order to deceive us? One day, the Ho King called all Ho together and spoke to them: “The Asante will march with the Añlo on the common way to Aqaklu and to Taviefe. They are the people who devastated our land and now they are going to march through it again”. They were requested to assemble early next morning at cock crow, to accompany him to go and intercept them and kill them all. We detailed the Banyakoe to stand sentry on their way.

ke va asaḍa me la, Howusu fia tefe bubu woawo hã. Míede asi mɔkpɔkpɔ me na wo vuu kakaka, zi ḍeka wova do ḍe mía dzi. Míeda tu ḡtuɔ; wonyã mí vuu, eye emegbe la mía wo hã, míaganyã wo. Eyome la woganya mí va agble gã aḍe me le kokɔfe aḍi ma míetɔ ḍe tsitre zã, aḍi maḍemaḍe míele mía nɔewo kpɔm ḡkume kple ḡkume. Aḍi sia tututu míafe Hevesafohene ḍeka si ḡkɔe nye Seki la, ḍo aḍaḡu na Heveviwo bena, midze yonyeme, ne míayi aḍato Asantetɔwo ḡutilã, ne míada tu ḍe wofe megbe. Míedze mɔ dzi le Asantetɔwo ḡuti tom kakaka, míeva ḍo bligble gã la me, aḍi ma Asantesafohene gã, si nye wofe fia Netsui la bɔbɔ nɔ anyi, ame geḍewo fo xlãe; fufɔfo kpɛḍiḍi, aḍo ḍodzadze aḍe fomevi si wokuna kple asi le ḍiḍim, enye dzoeḍe ḡtuɔ.

Míeda tu ḍe wo dome, eye míesi va bligble la me le tefe bubu aḍe; aḍi ma bli la vã ḡtuɔ le agble la me. Woti mía yome va bligble la me esime wokpɔ bli vavãwo la, wode asi wo ḡeḡeme va wofe nutsɔwo me de ge, eye womegale tu dam mí o; ke mía wo la míesi yi ḍe gbe me hele ḍu dom ḍe míafe tuwo me, eye míegada wo zi evelia. Za le dodom, eye Asanteawo susu bena, miegale agble la me mahĩ, eye woawo ha de asi mia dada me. Mía nɔviwo kple Howusu wodzo le mía gbɔ. Eye mí ame etɔ míebu mɔ le za kema me. Hevevi eve, wofe ḡkɔwoe nye: Sobo kple Akpligbi kpakple Yɔklevi ḍeka míenya hia le za me vu, beḍi hafi míeva Yɔkple, emegbe hafi míeva ḍo Kuma le mia tɔwo gbɔ. Míenɔ Kuma yleti etɔ sɔḡ.

2. Asanteawo nyanya le anyigba dzi

a. Hoawo fe tɔtrɔgbɔ

Howusu se bena, Kwadzo Dei dzo yi ḍe Ge eye wòyɔ Hoviwo katã va egbɔ, gblɔ na wo bena, ne metsi Kuma ko la, ekema Asanteawo fe avadzedzeawo kple eve ava kpe ta ado go ḍe ḡutinye, eye woalém. Enumake Howosu kple efe ḍeviawo wodzo, eye wova Kuma. Eyae nye Leklebi duta ḍeka. Azɔ la ega va Leklebi Dugã me. Tso aḍi ma la eva Logba, emegbe la eva Dzɔkpe, Tafi, emegbe wova Nyagbonyigbe, Have; Agate, Kpeve, Bame, Awudome aḍi si wonɔ ḡkeke atɔ, eye emegbe wova Hogli dzi.

Fia Kofi va bɔbɔ nɔ Lolobi elabena esusu bena ame aḍe menya nu o, ava la agava to mɔ ga dzi mahĩ? Gbe ḍeka eyɔ Hoviwo katã, eye wògbɔ na wo bena, Asanteawo kple Aḡɔawo va nɔ mɔ ga dzi tom, eye wonɔ Aḍaklu kple Taviefe yim; woawoe nye ame siwo va gble anyigba la tso, hafi wogale eme tom mahĩ? Eya ḡuti ne koklo ku atɔ la, ne woava aḍo fu kpe ḍe ye ḡuti, ne yewoayi aḍatsowo le mɔ dzi awu wo katã.



Road leading to the Mission House

The Dome, Ahõe and the Heve also stood sentry, up to the road leading to the mission house. We must have waited a few hours for them, and then suddenly we saw the Aɲlɔ coming together with the Asante from Tome. We heard their conversation and saw the cut-off heads they were carrying – in fact, we were very happy we had them now at last, and we were going to kill them all!

When the Banyakoe soldiers noticed that the Aɲlɔ were marching in the lead, and that they would soon arrive in the centre of the Dome and Ahõe people, they started to pretend they were quarrelling, and shouted loudly, thereby giving the Aɲlɔ a sign. The Aɲlɔ and the Asante returned immediately and fled to Taviefe. The Aɲlɔ had many friends among the Banyakoe, to whom they had been giving brandy, fish and tobacco during the war; and that was why they gave them the warning sign.

We waited for them for a long time, but in vain. They never returned. Then said the Ho King: “My children, come out, let us go! I have heard some yelling from the side of the Banyakoe, no rifle shots but only empty shouts have I heard”.

The Ho King then asked the Banyakoe about the hullabaloo that they had just heard from their side. The Banyakoe answered: “Some of us have been quarrelling”. He then questioned them further: “And the Aɲlɔ, where are they?” They replied; “They have fled”. The Ho King told them in anger: “I know very well that you have friends among them, who often bring you fish, brandy and salt. That is why you warned them off.” At this juncture, we left the Banyakoe and went back to Lolobi, where we were lodging.



Road leading to the Mission House

Míena Banyakoeawo fo xa ɖe wofe mɔ nu. Domeawo kple Axɔetɔwo kpakple Hevetɔwo de xa ɖase ɖe yevuawo fe mɔ nu ke. Míebɔɔ ɔ anyi tso ga enyi me va se ɖe ga asieke me fe afã me pɛ la, míekpɔ Aɲɔtɔwo kple Asanteawo tso Tome gbɔna míese wofe nuwɔwɔ, eye míekpɔ wofe tanutsɔwo hã ken, anukware miekpɔ dzidzɔ ɲutɔ, eye míegblɔ bena; “míafe asi tu wo egbe, míawu wo dome ame siaa ame”

Esi Banyakoeawo kpɔ bena, Aɲɔtɔwo le ɲgɔgbɛ gbɔna esusɔ vɛ woaɖo Domeawo kple Axɔeawo titiana la, woawo ɖeɖe wode asi anyrãdzre wɔwɔ me, eye wole ɣli dom sesie, ale wɔ, eye wode agu na Aɲɔtɔwo; eye Aɲɔtɔwo kple Asantɔtɔwo gbugbɔ gasi yi ɖe Taviefe. Aɲɔtɔwo fe xɔlɔwo geɖe le Banyakoetɔwo dome, wonɔ aha kple akpa kple atama ɖom ɖe wo le ava la me; esia ɲuti wode agu na wo. Míekpɔ mɔ na wo vu ɖo kpui, womegale vavam o. Azɔ Howusu gblɔ bena, ɖeviwo mido go va lo! Mese ɣli le Banyakoewo gbɔ, menye tu ɲkɔ mese o, ke ylidodo sɔɲ ɖeɖe ko mese.

Howusu bia Banyakoeawo bena “Nu ka ylidodoe ɖi le mia gbɔ fifia mahã? Banyakoewo ɖo ɛɲu na Howusu bena; “Mía dometɔ aɖewo le dzre wɔm” Egabia wo bena; “Aɲɔtɔ siwo ɲkɔ mese la, afi ka wole mahã? Wogaɖo ɛɲu nɛ bena; “Wosi dzo” Howusu gblɔ na wo le dɔmedzui me bena; “Menye kronkron bena, míafe xɔlɔwo sɔɲsɔɲ le wo dome, ame siwo nɔ akpa kple aha kpakple dze ɖom ɖe mi, eya ɲuti ta mede gu na wo ɖo?. Míegadzo le Banyakoewo gbɔ gava Lolobi le míafe nɔfe la.

b. The Asante in Sɔkɔɖe and their Withdrawal

Some Ho citizens had been living in Sɔkɔɖe. One day, the king of Ho heard that the Asante were returning from their campaign and had reached the Wusuta and the Aɲɖe area, with the intention of pursuing us. They (the Asante) had sent messages to Sɔkɔɖe that they were on their way back, not to fight them, but they were coming as brothers. They were coming with happiness, just to be with them a little before returning home. The Sɔkɔɖe were totally in agreement with that and told the Asante that they were happy with the arrangement and would definitely grant their approval for it. They said: “Your name is Asante Kotoko, and we also call ourselves Asante Kotoko. You are free to come to us; nothing should prevent you, for you are really our brothers!” When the individual Ho citizens who had been living in Sɔkɔɖe heard this, that the Sɔkɔɖe had welcomed the Asante, they left Sɔkɔɖe in the night and went to Ho. The Asante arrived and the Sɔkɔɖe received them in a friendly manner; they were all living together like friends; we were in Ho and heard the noise there. The Sɔkɔɖe also, then, sent messengers to the Ho King telling him he should just surrender to them; The war was over and it would not be long before the Asante left for their country. *Howusu* answered the Sɔkɔɖe: “The Asante are deceiving you”. He continued by telling the Sɔkɔɖe: “Go and tell the Asante, that because they have come initially to fight us, there can only be war between us. I will never, never capitulate; even if they should sit down with you a hundred years in Sɔkɔɖe, I will not capitulate”. Since we heard that the Asante intended once again to come to Ho, we moved camp from Lolobi and settled in Takla. We remained in Takla for a very long time.

Suddenly, one day, early at dawn, some Sɔkɔɖe people came to us. King Kofi asked them: “What has happened, that you call upon me so early in the morning?” The Sɔkɔɖe answered *Howusu*: “It is not going well with us. The Asante suddenly attacked us, robbed us of all our possessions, made prisoners of the men, the women and the children. They laid hands on even the elders of the town, tied up their hands, led them all into the street; they then threw them into the air, so that they fell down to the ground and died.” The Ho King then answered: “Did I not tell you earlier that you should not join with the Asante? I have told you that they would double-cross you. You answered me: ‘The war is over; they are our brothers, so we only want to make friends with them’. Now you have seen what they have done to you. Your eyes are now wide open.”

We later heard that the Asante had made a detour round us, moving towards the Agu area. On the journey, all three military wings of the Asante came together and marched into the Agu valley. All the towns, however, united against them and chased them out. They had thought that they still had friends. They fled from that place to *Sia*, where they were shot at. Those of them, who also fled to the towns of *Gbalavee*, *Wome*, *Nyive*, *Tokokoe* and *Adidome*, were also shot at. When they arrived in *Lume*, all the inhabitants united against them. The townsmen took hold of their rifles, the women took their hatchets, clubs, machetes, and started killing the Asante. Those Asante who fled into houses to find hiding places were killed like birds. The remaining survivors fled to Wusuta.

b. Asanteawo le Sɔkɔdɛwɔ kple wofe nyanya

Hotɔ adɛwɔ le Sɔkɔdɛwɔ dome, Kasia Howusu se bena, Asantɛwɔwɔ gagbugbɔ tso wofe nɔfe la gati mia yome gbɔna, eye wova bɔbɔ ɔ Usuta kple Aɲfɔɛnutowɔ me, eye woɔ du ɔ Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ bena, yewo gagbugbɔ gbɔna ɔ wo gbɔ; gake la meganye avawɔwɔ ɲuti yewo gbɔna ɔ o, nɔviwo yewonye eya ta yewotsɔ dzidzɔ gbɔna wo gbɔ ɔ ge vɛ ko, hafi ne yewoayi afe. Sɔkɔdɛawo lɔ ɔ edzi na wo bobobo, eye wogblɔ na Asantɛwɔwɔ bena, yewolɔ ɔ edzi na wo bobobo; miawo hã mia ɲkɔɛ nye Asantekɔtɔkɔwɔ, eye woyɔ miawo hã bena Asantekɔtɔkɔwɔ, mia nɔviwo mienye baa, miva mia gbɔ fa. Azɔ Hotɔ dɛkadɛka siwo le wo dome la, esime wose bena Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ lɔ Asanteawo fe nyawo dzi la, wo katã wodzo le wo gbɔ le zã me keɲkeɲ va Ho. Asanteawo va, eye Sɔkɔdɛawo xɔ wo atu, eye wo kpakple wo woli basa, miawo ha miele Ho.

Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ ɲutɔ ɔ adanɲu, eye wodɔ amewo ɔ ɔ Howusu gbɔ, eye wova gblɔ ne bena neva na ta yewo dzro; avawɔwɔ adɛke megali o; esusu vɛ ko miadzo ayi afe. Howusu ɔ ɔ enɲu na Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ bena, Asanteawo ɔ wole wo blem. Eye nya, si wogagblɔ na Sɔkɔdɛawo nye bena, “Miyi ne miagblɔ na Asanteawo bena, esi wole gbagbiagbã, eye mia kple wo mieda tu la, tu kokolo da ge miala, nyemana ta mi akpɔ gbedegbede o, nenye fe akpe wobɔbɔ ɔ mi Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ dome hã la, nyemate ɲu ana ta akpɔ o”. Miese bena Asanteawo gagbɔna Ho, eya ɲuti miɛgadzo le Lolobi heyi dɔbɔbɔ ɔ Takra. Mienɔ Takra etefe didi ɲutɔ.

Gbe dɛka kasia Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ va mia gbɔ le fɔɲli me. Eye fia Kofi bia wo bena “Nya ka dzɔ miɛgava yɔm le fɔɲli dome ale? Sɔkɔdɛwɔwɔ ɔ ɔ enɲuti na Howusu bena: “menyo na mi o tɔ; Asantɛwɔwɔ de zi mia dome, woha miafe ɲutinuawo keɲkeɲ, eye wolé ɲutsuwo, nyɔnuwo kple dɛviwo keɲkeɲ, eye ame tsitsi, siwo ke le dua me la wolé wo eye wobla wofe asiwo kple eve, eye wokplɔ wo katã va ablɔ me va do wo ɔ dzi me, eye wova dze anyigba kakaka eye wo katã woku.” Howusu gblɔ na wo bena ɔ nyemegblɔɛ na mi tsa bena; “Migawɔ dɛka kple Asanteawo o mahã? Megblɔɛ na mi bena, ɔ wole mia blem; miawo miɛgblɔ nam bena, avawɔwɔ evɔ, nɔviwo yewonye, eya ta yewoawɔ nɔvi ko.

Azɔ la nu si wokpɔ wɔ mi enye si; miafe ɲku me ɔ azɔ”

Miegase bena, Asanteawo to mia ɲuti yina Agu lɔfo. Le mɔzɔzɔ sia me la, Asantɛwɔwɔ fe avadzedze etɔawo katã va do go, eye wo katã woyi ɔ Agufe la me. Duawo katã wova fo fu ɔ wo ɲuti, eye wonyã wo. Wosusu bena xɔlɔwɔ gale yewo mahĩ; wole sisim, eye wova tefe Sia, tu dɔ ɔ wo ɲuti, eye ame siwo ke to Gbalavee, Wɔme, Nyive, Tokokoe, Aditome la, tu dɔ ɔ wo ɲuti. Esime wova Lume la Lumetɔwɔ hã bla nu ɔ wo ɲuti, ɲutsu, siwo katã le dua me la wotsɔ tu, eye nyɔnuwo hã tso fiawo kple kpowo, kɔntewo, eye wode asi Asanteawo wuwu me. Asantɛwɔ, siwo si yi ɔ xɔwo me la, wode asi wo wuwu me sigbe xeviwo ene. Ame siwo ke susɔ la woawo si yi ɔ Usuta.

3. The new Settlement of the Hos and their Return Home

a. Their Sojourn in Agotime

When we got news that the Asante were intending to come to us in Takla, we fled onwards to Agotime. After the Ho King had heard that the Asante had withdrawn to Wusuta, he sent men to Ho to survey the ruins. When the couriers returned, they said to the Ho king: “There is no more food in the ruins of Ho. Yams, maize, cassava, plantain; nothing is available for us to eat there”. The King then counseled his battalion: “Let us remain here in Agotime so that we plant maize, later fill our sacks, pockets and bags before returning to the ruins of Ho.” The whole battalion liked the king’s advice and gave their joyous consent.

The reason why the king gave this advice was as follows: The Agotime pestered the Ho army very much by taking many cowries²² from them, arresting the indebted ones and selling them off. If any of the children from amongst us should go to the farm or garden of an Agotime man, to pluck watermelon, the Agotime people would puff out a big case of it and hold lengthy court sittings on it. If the family of the accused child happened to be poor, then the Agotime would by all means sell the child. However, should the family of the child be rich, then it had to pay a fine of six bags of cowries or sixty *hotu* cowries. It was only then that the case of the watermelons would end. Another scenario was, if a Ho person went to the previous year’s farm of an Agotime person in order to pick some pepper, and was apprehended by the owner, he would not interrogate the victim, he would just arrest the Ho person concerned and sell him off to *Some*. A few others were also arrested without cause and were sold. When the Ho King went into the case, the Agotime answered him: “A bird of prey swooped down and carried him away.” We never collected food from their farms, when we were earlier fleeing in war.

But when the Asante arrived, they started harvesting foodstuffs from their farms, so we also started, occasionally, taking crops from their old farms. They watched us very closely, but said nothing, because we did not go into their new farms. However, the Agotimes were taking exact notice of everything we did and as soon as they saw that the Asante had left, and we still remained with them, they raised the matter against us in court. We had to pay a fine of 86 *hotu* and 30 *hoka*.²³ Thus, we were exposed to incessant molestation, until the maize we planted was dry for harvest. The corn was then husked, and put into six, seven or eight sacks according to the size of the farm. We assembled the whole of our harvest together and carried it to Takla.

One day, the King of Ho gave orders to his army and said: “In exactly six days, we are going to break camp and set off for the ruins of Ho”. Any man who has given his child in bondage for a loan should therefore borrow money from a Ho man in order to buy him back and retrieve him from bondage. He would see to it that no Ho citizen remained in Agotime. Any Ho man who borrowed six *hotu* from an Agotime man would have to pay back twelve *hotu* to the lender. One Agotime man said: “Nobody will come forward to claim the children back from bondage.” We ourselves, they said, had given the children to them in loan-bondage. They would not release the children, since we

²² Shell money.

²³ One *hotu* was then 50 pfennig; one *hoka* was then 2 pfennig.

3. Hoawo le avasigbe me kple tɔtrɔ va afe

a. Agɔtimenɔnɔ

Miegase bena, Asateawo gbɔna míawo hã mía gbɔ le Takra, eya ta míesi yi ɔ Agɔtime. Esi Howusu se bena, Asanteawo dzo yi ɔ Usuta la, edo amewo ɔa, bena woava kpɔ Hogli dzi ɔa. Esi me dɔlawo gagbugbɔ va la wova gbɔ na Howusu bena: “Nu sia nu si ke nye nuɖuɖu, te, bli, agbeli, ablado, aɔke megale Hogli dzi míagbugbɔ ayi aɔaɔu o”. Fia nuto ɔo aɔaɔu na efe avako la bena; “Mína mía bɔbɔ nɔ anyi ɔ Agɔtime afe sia, ne míade agble (bligble) ne miatsɔ ade golo, kevi kple akpanyawo me tantan atso ava Hogli dzi”. Fia fe aɔaɔuɔɔo la vivi na efe avako blibo la katã eye wolɔ ɔ edzi ne bobobo.

Nu si nuti Howusu ɔo ale aɔaɔu siawoe nye bena, Agɔtimetɔwo le fu dem na efe avako la nuto le hotsui gedɛ xom le wosi me, eye wole wo lém le vevlem hã. Eva eme bena ne Hotɔwo fe vi aɔe tso le mia dome yi ɔ Agɔtimetɔ aɔe fe agble me alo abɔ me alo kpɔ nu eye wokpɔ aɔiba le afe ma, eye wogbe ɔe la, Agɔtimetɔwo tsɔne wɔa nya gã nuto, wodrɔna vu; ne ɔevi la fe fomeawo metri ako le hotsui gome o la, ekema ɔeko Agɔtimetɔ la atso ɔevi afle kokoko, gake ne ɔevi la fe fomeawo tri ako le hotsui gome la woxea fe kevi ade alo hotu 60 ɔe eta hafi nenem aɔibanya sia nu tsona. Dewo ne Hovia aɔe yi ɔ Agɔtimetɔwo fe flu xoxo aɔe me, eye wogbe atadi le eme, ne flunlɔla kpɔe alo nenye be wose efe nko la, mele eta bia ge ase o; enumake wotalé Hovi la afle na Sometɔwo. Woléa ame aɔewo ha dzodzro flena. Ne Howusu bia eta se la, Agɔtimetɔwo ɔoa enu ne bena: “Avako alo Sakui etso dzi me va foe” Gbagbiagba esime miesi ava yi la, miawo mietsɔa afu o, gake esime Asanteawo va la woawo de asi afutsɔtsɔ me; azɔ la eva va eme bena, miawo hã miede asi afu la tsɔtsɔ me le ye aɔewo yi le wofe flu xoxowo me. Woawo nuto kpɔa mi dũu, womegblɔa nya aɔeke o, elabena míawo hã míeyina ɔe wofe agble yeyewo me o. Sigbe ɔe Agɔtimetɔwo le dzesi dem mí keɔkeɔ. Esi me wokpɔ bena Asanteawo dzo, eye míegale wo gbɔ ko la wotso nenem afunyingi sia wɔ nya na mí, eye woxɔ hotu blanyi kple hotu ade hoka blaato le mia si.

Ale fuɔɔe la wole edzi kokoko va se ɔe esime míafe bliɔɔɔ la fu. Woklẽ bli la de golo enyi alo ade, adre kple akpanyawo me tantan; ale si nete nu nlo anyigba la aklẽ nenema kea de nuawo me. Wofɔ nenem bli siawo keɔ va da ɔe Takra.

Azɔ Howusu de se na efe avako la bena nkeke adeagbe tututu la, yewoadzo ayi Hogli dzi; eya ta ame sia ame si ke tso via ɔo wɔba me la, neyi ɔe Hotɔ ɔe sia ɔe gbɔ ne woado ga alo hotsui ayi aɔako ɔevawo, hafi ne yewoadzo. Hovi aɔeke matsi Agɔtime le yefe nkume o. Nenye ɔe nedo hotsui hotu ade le Agɔtimetɔ nutsu alo nyɔnu si la, ne eva ena ge la, axɔ hotu wuieve le asiwo. Agɔtime nutsu aɔewo hã gblɔna bena “Ame aɔeke mele ɔevawo xɔ ge o, nyae hiã mi, eye mia nutowo mietsɔ wo va ɔo awɔba na mí”, eya ta yewo maɔe asi le ɔevawo nuti o, ɔe yewofle wo. Ale wɔ wova zua nya wodrɔna kakaka eye woxɔ hotu 636 ɔe tefe.

had sold them out to them ourselves. This led to a long court hearing and they got 636 *hotu* from us. They took six *hotu* as interest on any six they lent to us.

b. Settlements in Yanyame and Agɔtɔme

When the six days finally elapsed, Howusu and his military battalion set off for Takla. There, Howusu elected some intelligent men, whom he sent to the ruins of Ho, with the task of looking for a suitable location on which they could make their new settlement. The men came and did find a suitable place which they called Yanyame. The Ho spread out there, putting up small villages. The Asante remained in our country for three years before they finally left. We finally settled in Yanyame during the fourth year.²⁴

About a year later (1873), the Ho King came to the conclusion that they would no more enjoy the respect of the other tribes if they continued to settle in *Yanyame*, living in several little villages. The other tribes would make fun of them. He suddenly swore an oath and said, henceforth no one should live in little villages; everyone must move to Agɔtɔme. Anyone who did otherwise would be breaking the Ho Oath of the Night²⁵ and must pay the penalty reserved for such people, namely 80 *hotu*, six crates of brandy and two sheep. When the people heard the oath of Howusu, no one among them dared any more to live in the small villages. They all moved to Agɔtɔme. The Banyakoe and the Ahliha made their settlements in Atsiave, where they pursued trading. The Axɔe, the Heve and the Dome settled in Agɔtɔme.

Whenever anybody fell sick or died during their sojourn there, the priests would fall into a trance and say: “We shall all fall dead if we do not migrate back to our old town.” The Ho King himself believed that they would never be able to move back to the ruins of the old town until a human being, taken from one of the surrounding tribes which had made friends with the Asantes, was sacrificed over the ruins. These words came daily from the mouth of Howusu. When the tribes of Aɔaklu, *Tokokoe*, *Matse* and *Taviefe*, who had earlier made friends with the Asante, got news of the intention, they were overcome with fear. Therefore, when any person from one of those tribes came to Ho, he bound a kind of grass (*kakle*) round his head, just like one binds on a head scarf. In addition to that, they each carried three scorched sticks of a certain tree (lo) on the head anytime they entered the town and laid these down as a sign of surrender. People who saw them doing this used to mock them and shouted cat-calls at them. When Howusu saw this, he was so filled with compassion that he declared that he would no more kill anybody on his walls.

²⁴ that was in 1872.

²⁵ The Night of Terror on which the Asante came to Ho is an Oath of the Ho.

b. Wofe Yanyame kple Agɔtɔme vava

Ŋkeke ade la va ɔ, eye Howusu kple efe avakɔ ho va Takra. Azɔ eva ve eme bena, Howusu ɔ ame siwo ke nya nu la ɔ ɔ Hogli dzi, bena woayi aɔatsa ŋku akpɔ afi si ke yewoava bɔbɔ nɔ. Azɔ ŋkutsalawo va kpɔ tefe aɔ si woyɔna bena Yanyame, afi sia Hotɔwo katã wova ɔ, eye wowo kɔfekɔfe. Esime Asantetɔwo va la, wonɔ miafe anyigba dzi xɔ fe etɔ hafi dzo eye le fe enelia me la mieva bɔbɔ nɔ Yanyame (1872)

Anɔ fe ɔka megbe la (1873) Howusu va bu tame bena, ne yewo bɔbɔ nɔ Yanyame le kɔfekɔfe la, bubu mava nɔ yewo ŋuti o; dukɔ bubuwo ava ɔ fewu le yewo ŋuti. Zi ɔka Howusu na woka atam da ɔ Hoviwo katã dzi gblɔ bena, ame aɔke naganɔ kɔfe me o, ame siaa ame nava fo fu ɔ Agɔtɔme. Ame si ke gbe, eye wotu atam sia la, ekema etu Ho fe fiẽ, woaxɔ atamnuawo le esime kokoko. Atamnuawo nye hotu 80, ahaɔaka 6 kple atẽ 2. Esime ame siaa ame se Howusu fe atamkaka la, wo dome ame aɔke metsi kɔfeawo me o; wo katã wova Agɔtɔme keŋkeŋ. Banyakoeawo kple Ahlihawo bɔbɔ nɔ Atsiave, eye wonɔ asi flem le wo gbɔ. Axɔtɔwo, Hevetɔwo kple Domeawo bɔbɔ nɔ Agɔtɔme.

Le anyinɔɔ sia me pɛ la, ne ame aɔ le ɔ lɛm alo woku la, ebena trɔsiwo glina gblɔna bena, ne mietu yi ɔ gli xoxoa dzi o la, miaku avɔ keŋkeŋ. Howusu ŋutɔ susuna bena, yemate ŋu ava gli xoxoa dzi haɔ o, va se ɔ esime ke yeakpɔ dukɔ siwo ke fo xlã ye, eye wowo ɔka alo dze xɔlɔ Asantetɔwo la, dome ame aɔ awu ɔ gli la dzi hafi. Nya siawo nɔa dodom le Howusu fe nu me gbe sia gbe eya ŋuti dukɔ siwo fo xlã mi, eye wonye Asanteawo fe xɔlɔwo tsã, siwo fe ŋkɔwo nye Aɔaklu, Tokokoe, Matse kple Teviefefe, esi wose Howusu fe nyawo la, wole wɔvɔm. Eye wovana, ne wogbɔna la, wotɔa kaklẽwo blana ɔ ta sigbe ale si wobla taku ɔ ta ene, eye wotsɔ afi aɔ si woyɔna be lɔ la fe dzofi etɔ ɔ ta, eye wova dona ɔ dua me bena, yewoana ta. Ne amewo kpɔ wo la, wonɔa wo kom, eye wonɔa yli dom ɔ wo ta ho. Ne Howusu kpɔ esia la, ewɔa nublanui ne geɔ eye egagblɔ bena, yemegale ame aɔke wu ge ɔ gli la dzi o.



King Kofi of Ho with his Senior Wife. †1884
The stick (*adufeti*) in the wife's mouth is used for cleaning the teeth

c. Founding of the Current Towns

The Axõe town was only established in 1885 to 1886. This was occasioned by a quarrel which had broken out between Dome and Axõe in which an Axõe man was killed. Five years later, in 1890, the Dome people also left Agõtome and settled at their present location.

C. The Fratricidal Wars of the Ho

1. The Sòkòdè War

Kkbt: There developed an incident between the Sòkòdè and the Ho. It was a very serious matter, so serious that it led to a fratricidal war. A rich man from Dome, whose name was *Blisam*, gave assurance that he would supply the gun powder with which they could fight a war with Sòkòdè. Dome people were very brave, and when the Sòkòdè people moved to attack them for the second time, they defeated them and chased them back home.

The cause of the quarrel was as follows: A renowned chief of Banyakoe had died. Sòkòdè people also came to his burial. As the funeral ceremonies progressed, the Banyakoe and the Sòkòdè started mocking and making fun of one another. Each made an allegation which the other denied. (*Animabe dīdī*). One said this, the other said that. This time, it developed into a quarrel and finally, war between the two sides.

Because the Sòkòdè were superior to the Ho in number, Blisam sent presents to Matse and appealed to them as their confederates. The Ho and Matse held the Sòkòdè people between them and very many Sòkòdè were killed. That was when the Sòkòdè king Kwaku was defeated. In spite of that, the war did not end early. Blisam died later, and it was *Adinyira* who took up the matter and ended the war. They reunited with the Sòkòdè and lived together in brotherliness as in former times.

2. The First Taviefe War

a. Cause of the War

A woman from Ho went to *Matse*, where she was living with a man as his wife, against the law. The former husband of the woman followed her to Matse and said to her: “Let’s go home now!” The woman did not want to go and stubbornly declined. The man went back home alone. And on the way back, between Matse and Taviefe, the Taviefe people attacked and killed him. When Howusu heard that the Taviefes had killed a Ho man again, he was very enraged. As a result of this, he sent messengers to Tutu Yawo or Kwadzo Dei, King of Peki, telling him that he, Tutu, was his father and would certainly not hesitate to listen to him. Meanwhile, Howusu also heard of the presence of a Taviefe man in the Aḍaklu market. He prevailed upon the Aḍaklu people to bring him bound to him. The Ho King killed him in restitution for the dead Ho man. After this man had been killed, the Ho King established peace with Kwadzo Dei.

b. Treason in Ziavi

The King of Peki, Kwadzo Dei, came to Ziavi, and from there he invited Gbõtsu, a famous chief of Taviefe, with friendly words to come and help him establish unity. However, Gbõtsu, a very reasonable man, did not agree to go to Kwadzo Dei, for in the Asante war, the Taviefe had killed many Peki, Dzigbe and Ho people; that was why Gbõtsu was afraid of going to Kwadzo Dei. But he lured him persistently with sweet words and gifts, as if he were his friend. Then said Gbõtsu to the messengers of the Peki King: “There is at present still too much green grass on the way; when it gets a little drier, I shall come”. When the messengers brought the reply to Kwadzo Dei, the king

C. Hoawo fe afevawo

1. Sɔkɔdɛva

Kknbt: Nya aɖe dzɔ ɖe Hoawo kple Sɔkɔdɛawo dome. Nya la nu va sɛ ɲutu, eye wotrɔ zu afeva ɖe wo dome. Domeɲutsu kesinɔtɔ ɖeka si fe ɲkɔe nye Blisam la, fu asi akɔ na ɖula be, yewoawo ava kpɛli wo. Domeawo se ɲkume ɲutu, eye esi Sɔkɔdɛawo va zi eve la, wosi wo nya wo.

Dzre la va ve eme ale; Ame tsitsi ɲkɔtɔɲu aɖe ku le Banyakoe, eye Sɔkɔdɛtɔwo hã va efe kutefe; esime wode asi kunu la wɔwɔ me la, Banyakoeawo kple Sɔkɔdɛawo de asi fewuɖuɖu me le wo nɔewo ɲuti; eye wole aminabe dim, egɔmee nye xɔlɔ gblɔ ale, ame bubu hã gblɔ ale ɖe wo nɔewo ɲuti; eya tsɔ ava va de wo dome.

Sɔkɔdɛtɔwo sɔ gbɔ wu Hotɔwu eya ɲuti Blisam yi ɖatsɔ ava Matseawo, eye woyi ɖato Sɔkɔdɛawo megbe, eye ale Hotɔwo kple Matsetɔwo tsɔ Sɔkɔdɛtɔwo ɖe titina, eye Blisam wu Sɔkɔdɛtɔwo ɲutɔɲutu, eye woɖu Sɔkɔdɛfia Kwaku dzi le yemayi me. Gake la avawɔwɔ la melɔ dzudzɔ kaba o. Blisam va ku, eye Aɖinyra va wu ava la nu kenken, eye woawo kple Sɔkɔdɛtɔwo wowɔ ɖeka gazu nɔviwo sigbe tsã ene.

2. Taviefeva Gbãtɔ

a. Nu si he ava la ve

Honyɔnu aɖe yi ɖe Matse ɖaɖe ɲutsu alo le ahasi wɔm le afi ma. Eva eme bena srɔɲutsu la dze eyome yi egbɔ le Matsedu la me, eye wogblɔ nɛ bena: “Miyi afe” Nyɔnua melɔ o egbe kenken, eye srɔɲutsu la gagbugbɔ gbɔna va afe. Esi woɖo Matseawo kple Taviawo dome la, Taviefetɔwo wui. Howusu se nya la bena, Taviawo gawu Hovi ɖeka, dome vee ɲutu. Le nu sia wɔwɔ ɲuti la, Howusu dɔ ame ɖo ɖe Tutu Yawo alo Kwadzo Dei bena, eyae nye ye fofo, magbe esese o. Howusu hã se Taviefe ɲutsua aɖe ɲkɔ le Aɖaklusi me Ena Aɖaklutɔwo ble ve nɛ, eye Howusu wui ɖe Hovi si wowu la tefe. Ame la wuwu megbe la, Howusu kple Kwadzo Dei wobla nu ɖeka.

b. Taviawo beble va Ziavi

Kwadzo Dei va bɔbɔ nɔ Ziavi, eye eya hã de asi Taviefesafohene ɖeka, si ɲkɔ nye Gbɔtsu la beble me, le eyɔɔ dzi bena, woava yewoanɔ ɖeka. Gbɔtsu hã le nu nyam ɲutu, mele lɔlɔm kura, be yeava Kwadzo Dei gbɔ o, elabena le Asanteva me la Taviefetɔwo wu Pekitɔwo kple Dzigbemetɔwo kple Hotɔwo geɖe, eya ɲuti Gbɔtsu gblɔ na Kwadzo Dei fe dɔlawo bena, gbe mumu geɖe le mu dzi akpa, ne gbe la ka fu vie ko la, yeava. Dɔlawo gatsɔ nya la va na Kwadzo Dei, enumake etsɔ avɔkpo ɖeka ɖo ɖee, bena woatsɔ atɔ awu nɛ woalɔ dzadza ava ye gbɔ. Esime Gbɔtsu kpɔ avɔ si Kwadzo Dei ɖo ɖee la, egblɔ bena: “Enyo, mayi, ne ku le afi ma nam hã la, ɖeko mayi, elabana ɲutsu menye, nye yɔɔ la esɔ gbɔ.” Eye Gbɔtsu dzra

immediately took and sent him a bundle of cloth with the message that he should sew himself clothes out of it to mop up the dew from the green grass on his way.²⁶ When Gbõtsu now saw the cloth which Kwadzo Dei had sent him, he said: “Good, I will go, even if I should go and die there; for I am a man, and the invitation has been pending long enough”. Gbõtsu armed himself for the journey and set off to Ziavi with sixty of his people. When he arrived there, they all went to an open field in the morning, to perform the magical ceremonies to commemorate the unity. Thereupon Kwadzo Dei secretly sent a few men back to town. They were detailed to go to the Taviefe people’s quarters, and there they should take the Taviefe men’s rifles, lean them upright against the wall of the houses and pour water into them. This they did, and then fled back into the bush, launched an attack on the Taviefe and killed thirty men. The rest fled into the bush where they were pursued and killed off like fowls. One single man escaped the massacre and came back home. The Taviefe also killed one of us. It went like this; a Peki man laid his rifle on the ground and was beheading a Taviefe man. Another Taviefe man came suddenly upon him, took up the rifle, and with it, he shot the Peki man down. The Peki, immediately upon seeing this, pushed this Taviefe man to the ground and cut off his head.

c. Unsuccessful attack on Taviefe

After this, Kwadzo Dei sent messengers to Howusu to tell him that the time was ripe; he should come over to him. Howusu set out immediately with all his people to meet Kwadzo Dei in Ziavi. They were both very happy with each other. They agreed that they should immediately go to Taviefe, overwhelm them and burn down their houses. We only stayed a few days in Ziavi and then marched on to Taviefe, which was to be destroyed. However, our kings had not sufficiently prepared for this fight. They had neither powder nor pellets, and after we had fired only one round of shots, we had no more powder in our belts. The Taviefe chased us away; we could not stand against them, nor burn down their towns; we had to flee from them.

26 The very narrow paths go through high grass; the early morning traveller therefore mops up the dew.

edokui dɔ, eye wotso kple efe amewo woanɔ 60, nyɔnuwo kple deviwo kpe dɛ wo ɲuti, eye wova Ziavi la. Esime wova, eye ɲu va ke la, wo katã woyi dzonyife le mɔ dzi. Le dzo la nyife la, Kwadzo Di dɛ amewo, eye woyi dɛ Taviefetɔwo fe dzefe la, eye wotsɔ wofe tu, siwo wotsɔ vɛ la tu tsitre dɛ gli ɲu ken, eye wokɔ tsi dɛ wo me. Azɔ la, wogbugbɔ va, eye wova de zi wo me, eye wowu ame 30, ame mamleawo si dɔ gbe, eye woti wo yome le wo dam sigbe xeviwo ene. Taviefetɔ dɛka koe susɔ yi dɛ afe. Taviefetɔwo hã wu ame dɛka le mia dome. Pekiɲutsu dɛka tsɔ efe tu da dɛ anyigba, eye wole Taviefetɔwo dɛka fe ta tsom, kasia Taviefetɔwo dɛka fu du sesĩ va tsɔ tu la le egbɔ, eye woda tu la fo ɲutsu la xlã dɛ anyi, enumake wofo Taviefetɔwo la fu anyi, eye wotso ta le enu.

c. Peki kple Ho tsɔ ava yi Taviefe

Kwadzo Dei dɔ ame dɛ Howusu gbɔ bena, nya la dɔ edzi azɔ, ne woava kabakaba. Howusu ho kple efe duwo katã va Kwadzo Di gbɔ le Ziavi la. Wo ame eve la katã wokpɔ dzidzɔ ɲuto le wo nɔewo ɲuti. Woɔ aɖaɲu bena, yewoayi Taviefe zi dɛka ne yewoasi wo atɔ dzo du la. Mienɔ Ziavi ɲekeke vɛ aɖewo ko, eye mieho ava yina Taviawo si ge. Míafe fiawo medzra wo dokui do kura o, du kple kpe mele wo si o, míeda tu zi dɛkadɛka ko du vɔ le míafe agbadzawo me, eye Taviefetɔwo nya mí miesi, míegate ɲu nɔ tsitre dɛ wo nu tɔ dzo wofe du la o.

The Second Taviefe War 1888

A. Previous History

1. The Friendship with Asante

When the Asante overwhelmed the whole of the western part of Eweland in 1869, many thought it wise to present themselves as friends and allies, even before they were requested. This alliance yielded very bitter fruits for all, without exception. Among these allies were the Taviefe. They opened the gates for the advancing Asante enemies as if they were welcoming a good friend. It may be true that they experienced nothing less than friendship from the Asante. It must not have sounded particularly friendly, when the Asante, lounging about in their towns, called to them: “Say, you consider yourselves as our friends and our allies? Do you understand our language?” To which they always got a melancholic “No” in reply. And when they were asked by the Asantes, “Do you understand the Ho and the Peki, when they speak?” they had to reply with a “Yes”. “And so you are not Asante but Krepi. And we have come here to fight you people! One can, therefore, not talk about alliance and friendship between us and you.” That was the unequivocal answer from the Asante. These blind inhabitants of the valley appear indeed to have totally misunderstood this lesson; for they claimed the Asante were only joking with them. They would yet have to wake up fully to the bitter seriousness of this mockery of them by a superior enemy.

One day, the drums sounded, whereupon the inhabitants of Taviefe assembled on the street. A respectable officer of the Asante started his speech by asking the people assembled, why they were so ill clad? “Now,” he continued, “you have no cause to mourn, you should be happy! Don’t you know that your big friends are in your midst?” After this speech every one went home happy. They put on their most beautiful clothes and those who could, paraded about in sandals. The rejoicing might have lasted a week, and then the usual drums resounded in their ears. When they gathered together on the street, the same officer addressed them once again, now with a serious tone: “For a few days now I see you prancing daily in festival attire. You are not concerned about the fact that the great military commander, Netsui, is involved in a serious war? You are not friends, but enemies of the Asante!” Apart from the goal which he attained by this move, that is, to discover those who were the richest, he brought those whose unfriendly sentiments had become apparent through the wearing of beautiful clothes during war times to trial, and imposed heavy monetary sentences on them. But, as if this was not enough, one day, their dubious protectors requested from them: “So now, friends, let us now go and see our homeland; accompany us to Asante!” A whole number of young men and women were forced to set out on the journey; they bid farewell to their relatives, never to be seen again. Were it not for the intercession of the Anlo, all of them, big and small, would have been led to Kumasi.

2. Cruelty to Ewe Fugitives

During the war, the Taviefe people related more roughly with the Ewes than the enemy themselves would have done. Poor fugitives who had lost their way or who had been compelled by circumstances to seek asylum in Taviefe towns were taught through the

choicest methods of torture that they had fallen into the hands of brutish enemies. A rich man called Gbõtsu distinguished himself especially in this passion for persecution. By virtue of his riches, this man managed to become the most important man in Taviefe. The traditionally elected chief sank to become a shadow king and had to look on and suffer, while Gbõtsu became the most authoritative personality of the tribe. The story is told about this monster, that he had cast fugitive women and their children into trenches and had them pounded with fufu pestles, like palm kernels.

3. The sudden attack on Ziavi

In 1886, rumour spread fast: “The Taviefe people want to murder their king”. A few days later, a delegation arrived from there to the elders of Ho with the request for asylum in their midst. King Dogbe of Taviefe was the one who had sent these men. His tribesmen had blamed him for betraying Gbõtsu at one time, out of personal hatred, and for surrendering him to Kwadzo Dei. On several occasions, the chief had to undergo a spiritual water test in which he was always found guilty. The verdict at the end of the long trial, which the Taviefe people held among themselves, was that Dogbe, their king, was a traitor and must die. Certain people clamoured for his death. Alone, his nearest relatives and village companions resisted the handing over of the chief. They would prefer to leave their homeland than to commit an assassination. From that time, Dogbe lived with his family in a village between Ho and Akoviefe, where they felt at home under the protection of traditional hospitality.

Only a few weeks before the outbreak of the Taviefe war, the part of the tribe which had remained behind, by far the larger part, again elected a new king. Before the new king could be presented to the people, the drums had to be smeared with human blood and adorned with enemy skulls. In order to procure both items, it was decided to launch an attack on nearby Ziavi Lume.

In the morning of 27th March, between three and four o'clock, the inhabitants of Ziavi Lume heard that there was shooting in the mountains and also just outside the town. Before they knew it, they were surrounded by enemies, who forcibly burst into their town, butchered them and took some of them prisoners. In one house, four people were killed on the spot. One could still see the blood which had meanwhile dried up on the following day under the smoldering rubble of that house. The enemies shot into the lanes and broke into the huts. Roused from his sleep, the chief Sui would reach for his sword; in that same moment, he was stricken to the floor. He fainted and fell to the ground with several ghastly wounds on his back. A young man was preparing his guns, but before anything, he wanted to check on his old mother, only to find her lying in her own blood, her shoulder wounded! He hurriedly brought her to the side and had to look after the woman and child. Then, just as he was in the process of saving his father, a bullet hit him and his left arm failed him; he was crushed! At the same time, the enemies set part of the town on fire, robbed, shot and slashed. Among the flaming roofs and flowing human blood, they captured and took away sheep, goats and five people as victory trophies to Taviefe, their homeland.

This alarming news struck the minds and feelings of the people like a bolt from the blue; while the women stood on the streets of Ho with saddened faces, the men grasped their rifles in hasty agitation, and hurried to Ziavi under the leadership of their elders.



Drum, with enemy skulls around it - (*fugā*)

The purpose of this first movement was only to demonstrate their sympathy for their afflicted brothers and their readiness to protect them against fresh attacks, when necessary.

B. The course of the War

1. The Marching off of the Pekis and their Allies

As soon as news about the Taviefe attack reached Peki, and the ears of King Kwadzo Dei, he dispatched messengers to inform the English District Commissioner in *Akuse* upon whose directives the king had to wait. The burning impatience of the king, however, would not enable him to wait for the return of the messengers; he left Peki as early as the 28th of March, and arrived in *Akrɔfu* on the following day. Here he set up his temporary quarters with his bodyguards. The hasty departure from Peki, as well as his behaviour against friendly-minded neighbours, attracted vile gossip as well as silent enemies. In order to achieve a concerted action, he had expected his sub-chiefs from Peki, Anum and Kpɔso to arrive to enable him lay his ideas and plans before them for discussion and the issuance of the necessary directives before setting off for the war. Driven by the lust for war, and confident of his power and strength, the king left Peki without having given sufficient information to the appropriate personalities. When the king later sent messengers again from *Akrɔfu* to Anum, the Anum chief did promise that he would come but just kept him waiting, since his people would first like to cultivate their farms. He was said to have remarked: "When the King of Peki received gifts from the English man, he never shared with us; but when he is armed, and ready to fight against enemies, it is always then, that the Anum king is invited to take part in it."

On the 1st of April, the Peki King left *Akrɔfu* and marched further to Ziavi. There, the war strategy was fully planned in the presence of the allied chiefs. The armies were to assemble, and, from that point, march to their posts under the command of the generals assigned to them.

From the 16th to 27th of April, fresh parties trooped daily into Ziavi from the far and nearby tribes, amidst dreadful roll of drums, trumpet-sounds and war songs. The atmosphere was very lively in Ziavi itself. Every new group, which arrived, moved slowly onto a large open place; they moved in a circular formation, so that they could call out their usual greetings of obeisance to the chiefs who were sitting under huge colorful umbrellas. The whole period of their greetings was accompanied by the ear-splitting sound of the drums. About 2,000 – 2,500 fighters must have assembled in Ziavi in those ten days.

Apart from most of the Christians, all the warriors carried along in addition to their guns, two or three more knives and some ropes. The ropes were meant for binding war prisoners. If they were asked: "What do you want to do with the rope?" they always answered in chorus, "With it, we will bind our prisoners' hands behind". This referred mainly to the women. The men should be dispatched.

Among the larger war multitude in Ziavi, there ruled an indescribable lust for battle, and the king of Peki had ceremoniously sworn not to return to Peki for a period of three years, if he had not first victoriously stormed the towns of Taviefe. Their eyes sparkled when they thought of the war trophies, comprising skulls, jaws of slaughtered soldiers, and riches plundered from the enemy.

2. The Abortive Intervention by the English

In the evening of the 18th of April, two English government officials, Dalrymple and Bennett, moved into Ziavi accompanied by about 60 Hausa soldiers. Dalrymple, a military officer, was the authorized representative of the Governor in Accra; Bennett, his companion was the civilian official in Akuse.

Dalrymple had received instructions from the Governor, above all, to send back home the army which had been assembled by Kwadzo Dei, and in one way or the other, bring the ringleaders in the Taviefe incident as prisoners to Accra. At any rate, those were two tasks, the performance of which one could hardly expect would be successful without bloodshed. A great number of fighters, perhaps 2,000 – 3,000 strong men, yearning and clamouring for bloodshed and a king who had sworn the highest oath, that he would not return to his home without having achieved his objectives, to be so simply disarmed by the authority and intellectual superiority of an European, so that they should agree on a withdrawal, even before the battle had started! No wonder, the king of Peki from the beginning resolutely kicked against it, saying: “I will act as a king and as a man, and as my colleague chiefs consider to be correct”!



Enemy skull, out of which people condemned to death must drink. Chiefs also drink from it sometimes.



Jaw-bone for the decoration of the battle trumpet

On 23rd of April, Dalrymple wrote: “The king has publicly disobeyed me, he does not want to discharge his army; I am afraid, there can be a fight at any moment, since I don’t want to allow him to attack the Taviefe. The amount of blood that would be spilled, if the Taviefe King should attack, and the responsibility that would be laid on my shoulders, are a very painful headache for me.” On the 27th of April, however, the Peki king’s troops retired back home.

On Tuesday, May 8th, the two Europeans advanced with their soldiers to Taviefe, where as a result of a preceding notification, they were received and treated in a friendly manner. The instruction of the Governor was that the ringleaders involved in the attack on Ziavi were to be taken as prisoners. Dalrymple tried a trick here, which totally failed. Before the negotiations began, he sent the young men away saying, they could freely go and see to their farm work.

The suspicion of the people had already been roused by this, thus the next suggestion, namely, that the elders should accompany him to Peki after laying down their arms,

made them even more suspicious; for one must remember that it was Kwadzo Dei, King of Peki, who had employed tricks leading to the slaughter of not less than forty of their men. When he saw that they were resisting his proposal, he ordered his soldiers, according to Bennett's reports, to position themselves at suitable places, and declared that the chiefs present were his prisoners in the name of the Governor. After that, he sent Bennett, his companion, ahead, adding that he would follow in a few minutes.



Mission Station in Ho

The prisoners appeared to have calmly accepted their fate, but quietly made signs according to which the young men hurried ahead into the bush, with the intention of waylaying the European to shoot and kill him on the way. Dalrymple was walking ahead of the prisoners. When they had arrived in the bush outside the town, one of these waylayers sprang onto the road to block his progress, and before he could be aware of it, an enemy bullet had flattened him. The bullet caught him in the middle of the chest and put an abrupt end to his young life. Not long after that, two wounded black soldiers were brought to our station in Ho, dripping with blood, and a few minutes later, the corpse of the worthy Scot was also brought in a hammock to the Mission House. He was buried on Saturday, 12th May in our church yard.

3. Premature assurance of Victory and a Fresh defeat of the Allies

On 25th May, one Mr. E. Akers arrived with 150 Hausa soldiers and about 70 cannon carriers in the station in Ho. He marched onward during the following days toward Taviefe. In the night of Monday, 28th May, he quietly continued his march to Taviefe, which he entered the next morning at 8 o'clock, to meet the deserted huts of the Taviefe. There was no confrontation, no fight. Every Taviefe person had run away and the difficulty now was how to find a fitting way of punishing those people.

King Kwadzo Dei and Howusu had also followed him there with their people. But no one heard anything about a battle. On the contrary, he moved once again from Taviefe on 2nd June and wrote: Taviefe was now secure, he would let his people set off immediately for Akim. He, however, left behind ammunition and cannons in the hands of the 50 Hausa soldiers with the Peki king and the rest of the Ho team.

While still tarrying in Taviefe, some Peki made a reconnaissance survey of the encampment of the Taviefe people, which appeared to be located at a different place each day. They were, however, taken by surprise and some were brought back home wounded. The Peki were enraged about this, trooped out and fired point blank into the bush for three hours, without having even seen a Taviefe man. When Mr. Akers had already departed, some Peki who were strolling leisurely along from Matse to Taviefe without suspecting any danger, were held up by the Taviefe. Those wounded were brought bleeding to the station in Ho. As a result, the anger and the thirst for revenge were rekindled in the Peki King, and he attacked Taviefe on 6th June, but he was not only beaten, but also totally driven out of Taviefe. King Kwadzo Dei now came to Ho with his men, where he told them: Peki, Nyangbo, Avatime, Ve, Tafi, Nyive, Sòkòdè, Abutia and several others had been involved in the fight against Taviefe. They had declared together about 100 deaths. Ho and Anum had obviously forsaken them; for none of their people was dead or wounded. They were almost going to win the war, only a little more effort was needed! Unfortunately, they ran out of gun-powder, and they had now come for a fresh stock of gun powder, but they would defeat Taviefe at all costs.

C. Conclusion of Peace

On 18th June, Mr. Akers, who had meanwhile returned, had already taken the encampment of Taviefe and captured some booty, including twelve kegs of gun-powder. The Taviefe lost eleven men. What later happened in the theatre of war was really not actually war, but a general rout.

Many years earlier, a missionary had once told Noa Yawo in Kpenje that in Europe, during wars, one used the white flag to signal for negotiations. He had told one of his relatives in Taviefe about it. When the people were chased through the bush with many of them falling dead, during the war, they had a strong desire to negotiate for peace, but did not know how to go about it. In this predicament, the idea of the white flag occurred to this relative, and they tried it. Twelve ventured forward out of the thicket.

They were brought by the Ho into the camp, where they were received warmly, given some brandy and tobacco, and then sent back to their people in the bush in order to call them out, and to assure them that no harm would come to them. The following days saw them coming out, one group after another. Two of the chief ringleaders were bound in the bush by their own people and were brought into the encampment together with those who were guilty of the whole misfortune. Furthermore, one woman appeared to have been guilty of the whole affair. She had converted her money into gun powder and had instigated and armed the people in Ziavi to carry out those atrocities. About seven to eight hundred people had emerged out of the bush by 2nd July and had found shelter and protection, and could do as they wished.



Hausa Soldiers in German Service

Kwadzo Dei had wreaked havoc in Taviefe after the departure of Mr. Akers. How beautiful had the fruitful Taviefe valley, with its coconut trees, been previously! Now, however, one would look for them in vain. Only here and there one would chance upon a stump, projecting high above the rubble of houses demolished by gun fire. He had also caused the same havoc in the plantations and among the magnificent oil palms, and cut down trees, destroying the popular mango trees which used to bloom so beautifully. Now, however, he had to take up a task, which made him and his people very angry, namely the construction of a four-foot broad road from Taviefe to Ziavi, a task to which he always had to be driven even in his own homeland.

A meeting for conclusion of peace at which about 4,000 men were expected to attend was fixed for Tuesday, 3rd July. First of all, Mr. Akers introduced the new king whom he himself had installed. A young man, about 30 years of age, in dirty war raiment, stepped into the circle, accompanied by five old men who had been assigned to him as advisors. The circle was formed partly by Hausa soldiers and partly by the tribes concerned and curious onlookers. Hereupon, all tribal heads present had to sign a document in which they promised that in future they would always open the roads and keep them free. Afterward, they all swore the Oath of Faithfulness, after which they received the English flag. Mr. Akers, at this juncture, read out their fine. They were to pay £300 sterling; £150 of this was to be paid in three months and the rest in six months.



Hausa Soldiers in English Service

In a speech, he ordered that Matse and Taviefe must put up a teacher's residence and a school building. Twelve dozen bottles of brandy were then shared among those present, to be drunk to the health of the Queen. The military band, comprising a number of Hausa boys, played the first part of "God save the Queen", after which the usual 21 Gun-Salute was delivered by two cannons. With that, the celebration had ended and every person was allowed to go home.

2. Main Section: The History of the Ho Towns

I. Banyakoe and Ahliha

1. Their Age

Kkbt: Banyakoe is the oldest of the Ho towns, and that was the earlier seat of the Paramount Chief. Heve and Ahliha also used to be paramountcies. Ahliha was founded by Afede, the brother of King (Afede) of Banyakoe; that was why it happened that the Banyakoes and the Ahlihas were part-takers in the meat or palm-wine, which was presented to the whole town. Meat and palm wine were shared in a manner that Banyakoe got one and Ahliha received the other portion. That goes to prove that both towns had earlier been one.

2. Their Separation

Awd: In a fierce war between the Akwamus and the Sɔkɔɔɔs, the Hos killed very many Akwamus. This angered them so much that they retaliated by introducing the chicken pox into the land of Hos. (Biological Warfare). This made the people to spread out and build their hamlets at isolated locations in the bushes. One of these hamlets came to be Ahliha. The Banyakoe and Ahliha people had, however, not been broken apart, since they had earlier lived together at one place.

KK: Ahliha and Banyakoe were one single town in earlier times. But because they were always quarreling with one another, the Ahliha people said among themselves: “Come, let us go and settle on the banks of the Ahliha stream”. They departed from their brothers immediately and have since been called: “those living along the Ahliha²⁷ River²⁸”.

3. Families of Banyakoe

1. *Muviawo,*
2. *Agbenyonuxeeviwo,*
3. *Hɔluviawo,*
4. *Bakeviwo*
5. *Kplovivo.*

4. Kings of Banyakoe

Awd: The kings of Banyakoe are the following:

1. *Afede;* he is the one who reached out with the sword, when the wall was broken.
2. *Atiakpɔsɔ.*
3. *Agbenyoxi.*
4. *Afede (he is the son of Yuxee, also known as Korwu),*

27 Ahliha is also the name of the ferruginous concretion.

28 It follows that they used to have a different name.

Akpa gã evelia: Ho dutawo ntunya

I. Banyakoe kple Ahliha.

1. Wofe tsitsime.

Kknbt.: Banyakoe nye tsitsi le Ho, eye afi ma fia gã nɔ tsã. Heve kple Ahliha hã wonye tatɔwo. Ahliha gɔ la Afede nɔvi dekae tsoe, eya ta Banyakoeawo kple Ahlihaawo xɔa nu deka. (eyae nye, ne wole dula aɖe, lã alo aha ma ge la, wolɔa akpa deka na Banyakoeawo kple Ahlihaawo) Esia fia bena gbɔta deka wonye tsã.

2. Wofe mamã

Afd.: Le ava sesẽ aɖe wɔwɔ kple Akɔmuawo kple Sɔkɔdeawo me la, eva eme be, Hoawo wu Akɔmuawo ntɔ, ale be, wozu veve na wo, eye wotsɔ sakpate va fu anyigba la dzi. Dɔvɔ sia kaka ameawo, eye wotso kɔfewo na wo dokui. Wo dometɔ deka nye Ahliha. Eya ta Ahlihaawo kple Banyakoeawo memãna o, elabena afi deka wonɔ tsã

K.K.: Ahliha kple Banyakoe wonye gbɔta deka tsa. Ke esi wode asi dzrewɔwɔ me enu enu ntɔ la, Ahlihaawo gblɔ na wo nɔewo be: “Miva, ne miayi aɖanɔ Ahliha (tɔsisi) ntɔ le afi ma.” Enumake wodzo le wo nɔviwo gbɔ, eye tso ekema dzi wode asi wo kɔyɔ me be: (Ahliha - ntɔnɔlawo = Ahlihaawo)

3. Banyakoeawo fe towo nye:

1. Muviwo,
2. Agbenyɔnuxeeviwo,
3. Xɔluviwo,
4. Bakeviwo,
5. Kplovivo.

4. Banyakoefiawo

Afd.: Banyakoefiawo nye:

1. Afede (eyae kɔ dzangbe dzi hafi wogbã gli la.),
2. Atiakpɔsɔ,
3. Agbenyoxi,
4. Afede (eyae nye ntuxee fe vi si woyɔna hã be, Kɔwu).

5. *Afede Korwu*,
6. *Nkudze*,
7. *Adi (Kuampa, Kuapa)*,
8. *Koko*,
9. *Akpo*; during whose reign the Asante war occurred.
10. *Afede*, who is still on the stool.

After the Banyakoes had established their town, they installed the man called Agbenyoxe as king. The grandfather of this man was said to have held the sword high before the wall was broken. Agbenyoxe had been the most powerful among all the Banyakoe Chiefs. The name Afede was his grandfather's name, which he retains as his title till today.

5. The Families of Ahliha are:

1. *Gbadzeviwo*;
2. *Yebuteviwo*;
3. *Aduveeviwo*.

I. The Domes or Wegbes

1. The Origin of the Dome People

The Dome people originated from Sē, a town in Krobo. War broke out between the Gε and the Sēs. The Ges defeated the Sēs and drove them out of their country toward Eweland. Seven of the fugitives lost their way and strayed away from their people. They continued their wandering and came to Ho. A Have man, who had gone hunting, suddenly heard voices and, when he looked around, he noticed seven men. He asked them where they were coming from, and they answered that they came from Ada and were looking for the Hos. The hunter brought them all to Ho, where they were received with open arms. They were allocated living quarters and they learned the Ewe language; for these reasons they did not feel compelled to go further. The seven men were all rich, and because they had settled among the Ho people, they were named “Domes”, meaning: “Those living among us”. Meanwhile, they multiplied fast, and their town soon expanded and grew even larger than it is today. Since they only had to learn the Ewe language from the Hos, they were also called Wegbes. The Hos themselves called them the Domes, and this name has remained till today.

2. Dome Acquires Sovereignty

The reason why royal supremacy transcended to Dome is as follows: In those days, the Akwamus were continuously fighting wars with Ho. When the Hos were setting off for war, it was the Dome people who furnished them with bullets and gunpowder for the battle; since they were very rich. When war then broke out between the Akwamus and Sɔkɔɖe, King Agbenɔxi got himself involved in the affair and asked the Akwamus

5. Afede Kɔwu,
6. Ɗkudze,
7. Adi (Kuampa, Kuapa),
8. Koto,
9. Akpo (eɲoli Asanteva va),
10. Afede (si le zia dzi fifia).

Eva eme bena, esime Banyakoetɔwo tso afe vɔ keɲ la, wotsɔ ɲutsu, si woyɔna be Agbenyoxi la ɔo fiaɛ. Wogblɔ bena ɲutsu sia fe tɔgbui Afede do yi alo dzangbe ɔe dzi, hafi wogbã gli la le Amedzɔfe. Banyakoefia Agbenyoxi nye fia gã le wo katã dome. Ɗkɔ Afede la nye tɔgbui ɲkɔ si le wo si va se ɔe egbegbe. “Afede” enye Banyahoefiawo ɲkɔ.

5. Ahlihaawo fe towo nye:

1. Gbadzeviwo,
2. Yebuteviwo,
3. Aduveeviwo.

II Domeawo (Uegbeawo)

1. Wofe tsofe

Dometɔwo tso Aklɔɔɔ fu du ɔeka si woyɔna be Sē la me. Eva ve eme bena, ava aɔe dzɔ ɔe Gētɔwo kple Sētɔwo dome, eye Gētɔwo si wo, nya wo tso wofe anyigba dzi ɔo ta Ueme. Wo dome ame adre wotre mɔ, eye wobu le wo tɔwo dome; wole azoli dzi va ke ɔe Hotɔwo ɲuti. Eva eme be Hevetɔ aɔewo yi adegbe. Wose nufɔfo aɔe le afi ma, eye esi wonye kɔ la, wokpɔ ame 7. Wobia wo bena afi ka wotso? Woɔo eɲu be, yewotso Adã hele Hoawo yome tim. Wokplɔ wo va Hoawo gbɔ, eye woxɔ wo alɔ eve, be woanɔ yewo gbɔ, yewoana tefe wo, afia Uegbe wo; eya ta womegayi afi aɔeke o. Ɗutsu adre siawo la hotsuitɔwo sɔɲ wonye. Wobɔɔ nɔ Hotɔwo dome, eya ta woyɔna wo bena Domeawo. Wodzi ɲutɔ, eye wofe du la lolo wu ale si wole fifia. Esi wonye womese Uegbe o, eye Hoawoe fia wo la, eya ta woyɔna wo hã bena Uegbeawo. Hotɔwo ɲutɔ yɔa wo bena Domeawo; ɲkɔ sia tsi wo si va se ɔe egbegbe.

2. Domeawo xɔ aɔɔtri kple fiaɔɔɔ

Nu si ɲuti fiaɔɔɔ la va yi ɔe Dome lae nye be : Le yemayi me la, Akɔmuawo nɔa ava wɔm kple Hoawo edziedzi. Godo ne Hoawo le ava ho ge la, Dome wokpɔa kpe kple ɔu tsonɛ; elabena afi ma hotsuitɔ gãwo le. Eva eme bena, avanya aɔe dzɔ ɔe Sɔkɔɔetɔwo kpakple Akɔmutɔwo dome. Agbenyoxi hã de nu eme bia Akɔmuawo bena, nu ka ɲuti wova nɔa fu ɔem na ye nɔvi Sɔkɔɔetɔwo mahã? Akɔmutɔwo va si Hotɔwo hã hekpeɔe Sɔkɔɔetɔwo ɲuti.

why they were molesting the Sɔkɔɖes, his brothers? The Akwamus, therefore, waged the war, not only against Sɔkɔɖe, but also against Ho, and having beaten them both, they imposed a fine on the Hos which they had to pay. From that time onwards the Hos had to pay taxes to the Akwamus. After continuously paying these taxes for a very long period, the Akwamus said to the Hos: “You must now bring us the King’s own son in payment for the tax.” Although the Banyakoe king had many sons, he declined and said: “I do not have a single son of my own to offer for the service of the Akwamus.” The chief of Ahoe and Heve, Bolo, also totally turned down the demand.

It was then that Agbenɔxi told Lākle, the king of Dome, that he had no strength left in his breast; he was, therefore, surrendering his official position of honour as well as his royal sovereignty to him, if he would take over the fight with the Akwamus. The Heves also said to the Domes: “You should take over the royal sovereignty, so that if anything happens you could come in and fight for us. We can no more offer effective leadership, and that is why we want you to become our head.” The Domes agreed to this and the royal sovereignty became theirs.

On that same day, Lākle took his own son, Adzi Kwasi, and handed him over to Daku (Darko), the then Akwamu King, to be led to the war encampment in Gblolo. Gblolo is a big hill in the neighborhood of the Lolobi hill. He told Akwamu Darko: “Take good care of the child; for he is not an Akwamu but a citizen of Ho!” The Banyakoe King Agbenɔxi was very happy with it. The Dome people now informed him that they were making up their mind to set up a royal stool. He confirmed his agreement to this and said he had not known that he had in them such fearless people around himself. “Moreover, I have decided to transfer to you the privilege of eating the fat morsel of meat which has hitherto been our slave”. With this he handed over the chieftainship to them and raised Dome to the rank of Supreme Commander of the Army. Should a war now break out, it is the Dome king and not the Banyakoe king who would be sent. But if any other problem should arise, it would have to be settled in Banyakoe and in Dome. When the old people of Banyakoe had died off, however, the Domes, realizing that there were no more rich people available, stopped taking their cases to Banyakoe.

3. The Chief’s Stool in Dome

Dome speedily acquired a royal throne. This they got from Heve, since at that time, Heve also became a royal town. Unfortunately, the one who was to occupy the throne was on his death bed. It was his brother-in-law who looked after him during the whole period of his sickness until his death. When he died, his wife gave the stool to her son who lived in Dome.

One day, the people were called together and told that from that time onwards they had nothing more to do with the king’s stool, but that, it had become the responsibility of the Dome people. However, before they performed the ceremonies related to the institution of a throne, they asked Afede for permission. This stool helped to create a bond between Ahoe and Dome as well as between Ahliha and Banyakoe. Since then, at all important ceremonies, it is the Heves in Dome who sit in front of the king’s stool.

The second Dome king, Adzi Kwasi, had always wanted to make a public appearance, i.e. to celebrate a festival, because he was rich. He, therefore, asked for a stool to be purchased for him in Peki. He wanted to consecrate it as a royal throne, before

Akɔmutɔwo bla asi na Hotɔwo, bena woaxe na yewo. Tso esia dzi Hotɔwo de asi nudzɔdzɔ me na Akɔmutɔwo. Wodzɔ nu la kakaka, azɔ la, Akɔmutɔwo gblɔ na Hotɔwo bena, azɔ la mitsɔ fia ɲuto fe vidzidzi dɛka, ne miadzɔ nam. Banyakoeɲiaɛ nye ɲutsu si dzi vi gedɛ ɲuto. Eye wogblɔ be, vidzidzi aɔke mele asinye ne matsɔ na Akɔmutɔwo ne wɔasubu wo o. Eye Agbenyoxi gbe kenken. Axɔɛ kple Hevetɔwo fe amegã, si woyɔna be Bolo hã gbe kenken.

Agbenyoxi gblɔ na Lãkle sie nye Dometɔwo fe fia bena, akɔta megale ye si o, eya ta yetɔ yefe aɔtri kple fiaɔɔɔ de esime, eya kple Akɔmutɔwo nawɔ ava la. Heveawo hã gblɔ na Domeawo bena: “Miawo mixɔ fiaɔɔɔ la, be ne nya aɔɛ dzɔ la, miata ɲu afu asi ako avli mia ta. Miawo la wɔwɔ aɔke megale mia ɲuti o; eya ta mĩlɔ be, mianye tana mi.” Domeawo lɔ, eye ale fiaɔɔɔ la ge ɛ wo si me.

Tso ekema (ɲekeke ma) dzi Lãkle tɔ eya ɲuto fe vidzidzi Adzi Kwasi yi ɔana Akɔmutɔwo fe fia Akɔmu Daku le asaɔa la me le Gblolo. Gbloloe nye kpo gã aɔɛ le Lolobikpo gbɔ lɔfo. Eye wogblɔ na Akɔmu Daku bena, kpo ɔvi sia dzi nyuie, Hovi wɔnye, eya la, menye Akɔmuvi wɔnye o. Nu sia dzɔ dzi na Banyakoeɲia Agbenyoxi ɲuto, eya ta esi Domeawo biaɛ be yewo aɔɔ zikpui la, etɔ edzi na wo hegblɔ be yemenyae be woanye vi sɛ ɲkumewo nenema anɔ ye ɲu o. Hekpe ɛ esia ɲuti la, matsɔ wofe tsitsitɔ wɔ la Banyakoeɲia medena o, ke boɲ Domeɲia woɔɔna ɔa. Gake ne nya aɔɛ dzɔ la, ele be woayi Banyakoe aɔaɔɔɔ. Esi ame tsitsiwo vɔ le Banyakoe, eye Domeawo kpo bena kesinɔtɔ bubutɔ aɔke megali o la, wodzudzɔ afi ma dede.

3. Domeawo fe fiazikpui ɲutinya

Domeawo va kpo zikpui mlɛba, nenem zikpui ma tso Heve; elabena le yemayi me Heve ha nye fiadu. Eva eme be, ame si nye zikpuia dzinɔla le Heve la va lé kudo. Le efe ɔlɛlela me la, efe srɔnyi si tso Dome la, kpo edzi ɲuto va se ɛ esime wɔku. Le efe ku megbe la, srɔ tɔ zikpui la na via, siwo le Dome. Eyae nye woyɔ ameawo fofu, eye wogblɔ na wo be, tso egbe la yewo megale zikpui ɲudo wɔ ge o, ke boɲ Domeawo si nuwɔwɔ la yi ɔo. Ke hafi Domeawo nawɔ ɛɲu ɔo la, wobia Afede. Le zikpui sia ta Banyakoeawo tɔ Axɔɛ kple Dome wɔ dɛka, abe ale si Ahliha kple Banyakoe le ene. Esiata ne finya aɔɛ dzɔ la Heveawo nɔa zikpui la ɲgo le Dome.

Domeɲia evelia Adzi Kwasi le didim bena, yeaɔɛ ye ɔkui ɛ go afia; elabena ekpo hotsui. Edɔ ame ɔo ɛ Peki bena, woafle kpukpo alo zikpui ave na ye, ne yewoatsɔ awɔ fiazikpui, hafi ne yewoate ɲu aɔɛ yewo ɔkui ɛ go afia. Esime woyi ɔafle kpukpo la gbɔna la, wova ɔo Sɔkɔɔɛ, eye wole afi ma, elabena Sɔkɔɔɛɲia Kwaku hã le efe zikpui la he ge ɛ go le ɛɲu ɔo wɔ ge. Amedɔɔwɔ ɔo ame ɔo ɛ Adzi Kwasi be, wɔava ka nya, siwo wose la ta nɛ. Adzi Kwasi hã gadɔ ame bubuwo kpe ɛ ɔɔlawo ɲuti bena, wɔabɔɔwɔ nɔ Sɔkɔɔɛ, va

presenting himself openly to the people. When the messengers, who had bought him the stool, arrived in Sɔkɔɖe, it happened that the Sɔkɔɖe King, Kwaku, was also in the process of publicly consecrating his throne. The messengers, therefore, sent men to Ho, to inform King Adzi Kwasi about what they had heard. King Adzi Kwasi now sent messengers, accompanied by these men back to *Sokode* to tell his people who were waiting there, that they should only remain there long enough for the completion of the stool festival.

They should watch exactly how the ceremony was performed, and inform him accordingly. When his emissaries returned, they gave a vivid account of everything they had seen there, and how everything was done. The Sɔkɔɖe people now became the Dome people's brothers-in-law.²⁹

Adzi Kwasi and all other Dome chiefs carried the Stool and treated it exactly the way Chief Kwaku had done in Sɔkɔɖe. They all walked to the river and there they washed the stool and then washed themselves thoroughly. They slaughtered a sheep on the stool to usher in the festivities. The king provided a lot of brandy, which they drank. On the day that the king found suitable, the king bought a lot of brandy and called the chiefs of Dome and also those from Ahoe to his court and told them: "This is the brandy for the stool; you may drink and be merry!" The chiefs then drank with gladness. The youth were also then called in to put up performances in honor of the stool.



King's Stool with antelope horn, supposed to have special magical powers

When anything serious occurs, when a war breaks out, for example, then the Domes first provide gunpowder and flint, before the Banyakoes come in to contribute their part.

The king's stool is a small effigy; chiefs do not sit on it. It is totally wrapped up with magic cords and then enveloped in sheep-skin. When the time comes again to show it to the public, it is carried to the riverside where it is carefully washed clean, after which it is again wrapped up with magic cords. A sheep is then slaughtered and the blood is smeared on the whole stool. This done, it is carefully **sheathed** in sheep skin

²⁹ Blood relationships serve for measuring how one tribe relates to the other.

se ɖe esime woawɔ kpukpo la ɲu dɔ keɲ, ale si woawɔe lae, wɔakpɔe, ne wɔava ka eta na ye hã. Efe amedɔɔwo va eye wogblɔ ale si wowɔ kple nu siwo wokpɔ la fiãe. Sɔkɔɖetɔwo nye Domeawo fe srɔnyi.

Adzi Kwasi kple Domefiawo katã wotsɔ kpukpo la, eye woawo hã wowɔe sigbe ale si Sɔkɔɖefia Kwaku wɔe pɛpɛe ene. Wo katã woyi ɖe tɔme; wole tsi na kpukpo la. Fia la dze aha wono kakaka. Gbe si gbe ke wɔdze fia la ɲu ko la, ekema edzea aha geɖe, eye woyɔa Dome ame tsitsiwo katã kpakple Axɔe ame tsitsiwo katã va kpea ta, eye wɔgbɔna na wo bena, kpukpo fe ahae nye esi, minoe ne miadi kɔ. Ame tsitsiawo none kple dzidzɔ emegbe le woyɔa ɖekakpui vane, bena wɔafe na zikpui la.



Stool with Cowries

Esia yome la, ne nya aɖe le dzɔdzɔm sigbe avanya aɖe ene la, ekema Domeawo nye ame siwo ke na ɖu kple kpe gbagbiãgba hafi Banyakoeawo va nana.

Fiazikpui le sue; fiawo meɔɔɔ nɔa edzi o. Wotsɔa dzoka tsina ɖe ɲuti katã eye wotsɔa alɛgbalɛ blana ɖe ɲuti keɲ. Emegbe la yeyiɣi siwo ke woahɛe ɖe go afia la, ekema wotsɔne yia tɔme kplɔa ɲuti keɲ, eye wogagbugbɔa dzoha tsina ɖe ɲuti keɲ, gatsɔa alɛgbalɛ blana ɖe ɲuti nyuie, eye wowua alɛ gatsɔa efe vu la sisina ɖe ɲuti afi sia afi, eye wotsɔa zikpui la gaɖoa enɔfe afi si wɔle tsã. Alɛ si ke wowu la, fia la wotsɔ na eya ɖana, eye wobaka alo

and brought back to its previous resting place. The meat of the sheep donated by the chief is thoroughly mixed with corn flour and cooked, and every participant eats of it.

After this the chief buys a lot of brandy for the town's men. They drink this and make merry and perform plays in honour of the stool.

4 Separation of the Domes

A quarrel broke out between the Dome and the Banyakoe people. This is how the quarrel started: A man from Dome called Adode accompanied by his dog, paid a visit to the Banyakoe chief Afedekɔ. Afedekɔ said nothing, but took a stick and hit the dog with it. Adode asked him: "I have no child to accompany me, don't you know, that this dog is my companion, my child? Why then do you hit it?" This developed into a quarrel between the two of them during which Adode took a dagger and stabbed Afedekɔ, killing him instantly. The Banyakoes could not pursue the matter, because Adode was a distinguished rich man; they were at a loss as to how to manage the whole situation: to institute a blood feud or to sell off the victim. Adode, however, left the town and settled in Atigbe. There he married many women, who bore him many children. He became a very rich man and bought seven trumpets for the use of the chiefs of Dome. That is why the Dome people claim that they also come from Atigbe.

Another story runs thus: Adode, a man from Dome, had a friend in Banyakoe called Afedekɔ; both always ate together. Whenever Adode visited Afedekɔ in Banyakoe, he went with his dog. The dog, therefore, grew used to the journey to Banyakoe. One day, the dog went ahead of his master. When the dog arrived, Afedekɔ was having his meals. The dog wagged its tail around Afedekɔ, showing that it wanted to have a morsel from him. Instead of giving it something to eat, he hit it on the muzzle. At that exact moment Adode arrived, and immediately the two started to exchange hefty blows. Adode was, however, stronger than Afedekɔ, and he suffocated the latter. The Banyakoes demanded a blood feud; they arrested Adode and sold him off to Atigbe. As a result of this, Dome passed a law forbidding any person to keep dogs in their town.

5. The Dome Kings

The names of the kings of Dome are as follows:

1. *Lākle*;
2. *Adzi Kwasi*;
3. *Blisan (Akpablisam)*;
4. *Adinyrā (1801 – 1845?)*;
5. *Ameko or Wusu*, was the father of Kumi (1845 – 52);
6. *Motey Kofi*, died in March or April 1884 (1852 – 1884);
7. *Kumi* (March 1886 to October 1898); and
8. *Degbadzor* installed (1898, still on the stool).

blune kpakple wɔ keŋ, eye ame siaa ame si le afi ma la ɖune. Eyome la fia la ɣuto dzea aha geɖe ɣuto na efe duametɔwo wonona. Ekema wofena na kpukpo la.

4. Domeawo fe mama

Avadzre aɖe va dzɔ ɖe Banyakoewo kple Domeawo dome. Dzre la fe dzɔdzɔe nye si: Domeɣutsu aɖe si woyɔna be Adode la kplɔ avu yi ɖe Banyakoefia Afedekɔ feme le egbo. Afedekɔ megblo nya aɖeke o, ɖeko wotsɔ ati fo avu la enumake. Adode biae bena, vidzidzi aɖeke mele ye yome o, alo manyae bena avu lae nye yevi o mahã? Nu ka ɣuti wofoe mahã?. Eva trɔ zu dzre ɖe wo kpakple eve la dome; kasia Adode tsɔ adekpui fo ɖe Afedekɔ, eye wowui enumake. Adode nye bubume kple hotsuitɔ gã, eya ɣuti Banyakoetɔwo mete ɣu bia nya aɖeke o, eye womenya ale ke gɔ woawɔ abia hlɔ alo alée afle o. Adode ɣuto koe dzo le wogbo, eye wovu yi ɖe Atigbe. Afi ma wòkpɔ nyɔnu geɖewo le, eye wodzi vi geɖewo nɛ. Egakpɔ hotsui hã ɣuto, eye wofle akɔfe adre ɖo ɖe Domefia, bena woate ɣu awɔ fia na wo ɖokui. Ale wɔ fome eve va ɖo Domeawo si; ɖeka le Atigbe, eye evalia le Ho. Le esiata Domeawo gblɔna bena; Atigbe medzɔ tso.

Xɔlɔ aɖe le Domeɣutsu Adode si le Banyakoe, si ɣkɔ nye Afedekɔ. Wo kpakple eve la katã woqua nu le wo nɛewo gbo faa. Ne Adode yina ɖe Afedekɔ gbo le Banyakoe la ekplɔ efe avu ɖe asi ɖaa. Ale Banyakoe dede ma avu la. Gbe ɖeka la avua dze ɣgɔ na efe afetɔ yi ɖe Banyakoe. Afedekɔ le nu ɖum, hafi avu la va, eye esi wòva la, ele xlã fomii hele asike nyem, le fiam be ele nane dim tso egbo. Ɖe esi wòana nue tefe la, efo nugbo nɛ boɣ. R....³⁰) Adode do ɖe edzi enumake wokple eve wode asi kɔ dada me. Adode tɔ wu etɔ eye wofo nu dee woku. Banyakoewo bia hlɔ, eye wole Adode fle ɖe Atigbe. Nuwɔwɔ sia ɣuti Domeawo de se be, ame aɖeke naganyi avu le yewofe gbo me o.

5. Domefiawo

Domefiawoe nye:

1. Lãkle,
2. Adzi Kwasi,
3. Blisam (Akpalisam),
4. Aɖinyrã (1800-1845?),
5. Ameko alo Wusu (Kumi fofo, 1845-1852?),
6. Mɔte Kofi (1852-1884),
7. Kumi (Ɖegbadzɔ fofo; woɖoe 1886-1898-Oktober,
8. Ɖegbadzɔ; wo 1898.

30 A flight ensued.

In short, after the death of Agbenoyi, chief of Banyakoe, Lakle, the Dome king, also died, and was succeeded by his son, Adzi Kwasi. Adzi Kwasi fathered Adinyira. When Adzi Kwasi died, he was succeeded by Blisam. Blisam, however, did not enjoy any royal respect, for he owed his position to his wealth. When Adzi Kwasi died, for example, Adinyira was not old enough to be able to assume the governance, and that was why the elders gave the chieftaincy to Blisam.

The Akwamus waged two wars against Ho during the reign of Adinyira. Adinyira's mother hailed from *Hodz*o, therefore, when Akwamu Akoto first invaded Ho, Adinyira decided to go ahead of them to *Nyive* to pave the way for the Ho people, so that they could safely flee to *Nyive*. Adinyira had accordingly given a woman to the *Nyives* and one also to the *Atsaves*, near the *Torves*.



King Kofi of Ho, + 1884

These, therefore, joined forces against the Akwamus. Adinyira then returned from *Nyive* to Ho, to fight against Akwamu Akoto. The Hos, however, spoke against him and said: "It was Adinyira who had earlier led us into war; now that he has come back, it would be good if we took the kingship from him and gave it to Ameko or Wusu, his servant!" The Dome people were, however, not in favour of this. They insisted that Adinyira was their chief and their head that they would not be able to desert. From then onwards, whenever there was a court sitting, Ameko or Wusu functioned as the

Kpuie le Aḍinyrā fe ku meḡbe la, Domefia Lākle hā ku, eye evia Adzi Kwasi nɔ etefe. Adzi Kwasi dzi Aḍinyrā. Adzi Kwasi va ku, eye Blisam va nɔ etefe; gake womebua Blisam abe fia ene o, hotsui koe le esi dzro. Yeyiyi si me Adzi Kwasi ku la, Aḍinyrā metsi na fiaḍuḍu o, eya ḡuti ame tsitsiwo tɔɔe de Blisam si me.

Le Aḍinyrā fe fiaḍuḍu me la, zi eve Akɔmutɔwo va wɔ ava kple Hotɔwo. Aḍinyrā nɔ alo dada tso Hɔdzɔ; eya ta esime Akɔmu Koto va ḡbagbiāḡba la, eḡblɔ bena, yeana ḡḡḡḡbe aḍe mɔ na Hotɔwo, ne woate ḡu asi ava yi ḍe Nyive dedie. Aḍinyrā tɔ nɔnu ḍeka na Nyivetɔwo, eye wɔḡatsɔ ḍeka hā na Atsiavetɔwo (ele Toveetɔwo ḡbɔ), eye wo kpakple wo bla nu ḍe Akɔmu Koto ḡuti. Yeyiyi sia ke la, Aḍinyrā ḡbugbɔ tso Nyive va Ho, ne woa kple Akɔmu Koto woawɔ ava la, Hotɔwo ḡblɔ ḍe eḡuti bena: Aḍinyrā kplɔ mi tsa yi ḍaḍv ava me, eya ḡuti la, esi wogbugbɔ va la, miexɔ fia le esi tɔ na efe subɔla, Ameko alo Wusu. Gake la, Domeawo melɔ o. Wogblɔ bena Aḍinyrāe nye ametsitsi le yewo nu; yewomate ḡu aḡblēe ḍi o. Eya ḡuti ne vɔnudrɔnya aḍe va la, Aḍinyrāe nye ame si bɔbɔ nɔ anyi, hafi Ameko alo Wusu drɔ vɔnu la.



King Kumi of Ho, died October 1898

Eye wo ame eve la katā wokpena ḍe wo nɔewo ḡuti le nu sia nu me. Esime Aḍinyrā le fia ḍum la, Ameko alo Wusu subɔne; Wusue nye ame si wɔa fianuwo ne. Aḍinyrāe nye fia si tsi ḡutɔ. Hotɔwo megabune o, neḡbe Ameko alo Wusu ko wobuna, eya ḡuti Aḍinyrā fia amatsi ḍe nu me, eye woku.

judge, but it was Adinyira who sat on the stool. These two individuals helped one another in all respects. Ameko or Wusu served Adinyira, during his reign.

Wusu attended to all of his royal matters. Adinyira grew very old, but because the Hos stopped giving him the due respect and only honored Ameko or Wusu, he dropped some concoction into the mouth and died.

Ameko or Wusu then came to power. His name by birth was Kpawo Ameko. Very soon after he had acceded to the throne, Kwadzo Dei engaged him and all Eweland to help him fight the war against the Akwamus. When they finished fighting this war, he returned to *Sokode*, from where he was carried in a palanquin back to Ho.

It now happened that the Ahoes and the Heves created a drum they called Gogodzie. They fixed a day on which the drum would be inaugurated. They, therefore, invited all their brothers living in the neighbouring towns and villages for the celebration. The chiefs of Ahoe planned together and also invited King Kpawo Ameko to come and take part in the drum festival. It would be a very special honour to them if he came. The king was brought in a palanquin to Ahoe where the people received him with great joy. When one of his wives called Avala, saw how people were jubilating around the chief, she felt induced to openly bestow her special honours on her husband until he came down to sit by the drum. When all the people took their seats, the king himself climbed out of the palanquin and began to dance. His wife, Avala untied her scarf from her head, grasped a horse-tail whisk and waved both towards the king, thereby singing her husband's praises: "Where is the man, who is as handsome as Atsem Wusu? Truly, he is the hero of Ho, The Undaunted!" The Ho king then got a name, as this became the appellation of all Ho kings till today.

The sixth king was Motey Kofi, who reigned after Ameko or Wusu. He was the man who fought the Asante war. When Motey Kofi returned from the war, he settled down in Agotime, and lived there only for a short period and died (+1884³¹).

Kumi succeeded him. The warring whites came during the reign of Kumi and destroyed Taviefe, and peace reigned until now. After Taviefe had been disciplined, they amalgamated with the Hos. After the death of King Kofi, the Hos searched for a man who could reign after him, since the Dome government stemmed from three families. The first were the children of Adinyira, the second were the children of Blisam and third were the children of Wusu. So it happened that the rightful heirs were quarrelling among themselves. The Ho community, after a long consideration, installed Kumi as king, for he was the last son of Wusu or Ameko.

6. The Offspring of Dome-Kings

1. *Lakle* children are:

(wife: *Lagebodi*)

1. *Adzi*;

2. *Kpao*,

3. *Dikro*,

4. *Adzocom*.

31 He did live for 11 years.

Azo fiaɖuɖu la va ɖo Ameko alo Wusu gbɔ. Efe dzidzi ɲkɔe nye Kpao Ameko. Esime wobɔɔ nɔ fiazikpui la dzi la, medidi kura o, Kwadzo Di va tsɔe kple efe katã woyi ɖawo ava kple Akɔmuawo, eye esime wowu ava la nu vɔ la, egbugbɔ va ɖo Sɔkɔɖe, le afi ma hafi wokpɔ mɔ ɖo apaka me va Hofe me.

Azo eva eme bena, Axɔetɔwo kple Hevetɔwo le vu aɖe wɔm, woyɔ vu la fe ɲkɔ bena gogoodzɛ. Woɖo ɲkeke aɖe bena, woadɛe ɖe go afia, eye woɖo du ɖe wo nɔvi siwo katã le dutawo kple kɔfewo me keɲ bena, wo katã nava kpe ta.

Axɔetɔwo fe ametsitsiwo katã bla nu, ye woyɔ fia Kpao Ameko hã va vu la wɔfe, ne woava do vivi ɖe ɲuti na yewo. Wotsɔ fia la ɖe apaka me gbɔna; amewo le dzidzɔ dom ɖe ɲuti ɲuto, eye srɔawo dometɔ ɖeka si ɲkɔe nye Afala la kpɔ ale si amewo le vivi dom ɖe ɲuti, va se ɖe esi me fia la bɔɔ nɔ vu la gbɔ. Esime wova bɔɔ nɔ anyi keɲ la, fia la ɲuto do go le apaka la me de asi yedɖu me. Afala ɖe taku, si wobla tae la kple sɔ fe asike, si le esi la de asi nyenye me le edam ɖe dzi, eye wode asi ɲkɔ dada me ɖe srɔɲutsu la dzi hele ekafum le gbɔgbɔ bena, “Ame kae nye esi dze ɖeka ale, sigbe Atsem Wusu ene; anukware Hoawo fe kalɛtɔ ɲkumevevedola” Nenem ɲkɔfofodo sia trɔ zu ɲkɔ na fia la; eyae nye ɲkɔ hena Ho Fiawo kata va se ɖe egbegbe.

Dufia adeliae nye Mɔte Kofi:- le Ameko alo Wusu yome la Mɔte Kofi va ɖu fia. Eyae nye ɲutsu, si wɔ Asanteva. Esime Mɔte Kofi trɔ tso ava la va bɔɔ nɔ Agɔtɔme, eye wonɔ anyi vɛe ko, emegbe la eku le1884 me

Kumi va nɔ eyome. Le Kumi fe dziɖɖu me la, avawɔyevieawo va si Taviefe keɲ, eye ɖoɖoe zi va se ɖe fifi, eye emegbe wowɔ ɖeka kple Hotɔwo. Esime fia Kofi ku la, Hosafɔheawo katã wole ame si ke agaɖu fia ɖe etefe la dim, elabena fiaɖuɖu la dzoti etɔ nu wole le Domeawo dome. Dzoti gbatɔe nye Aɖinyrãviwo, eveliae nye Blisamviwo, dzoti etɔlie nye Wusuviwo. Fiaɖuɖu la va trɔ zu vivli na fiatɔwo ɖeɖe. Eya ɲuti Ho asafo la kpɔe dũu tsɔe na Kumi; elabena eyae nye Wusu alo Ameko fe vi mamletɔ.

6. Domefiawo fe dzidzimeviwo

1. Laklɛviwo nye:

Srɔ: Legebodɔ,

1. Adzi,
2. Kpao,
3. Dikro,
4. Adzɔwɔm

II. Children of Adzi are:

1. *Adinyira*
2. *Adzimazu*
3. *Adzi Yawoe*
4. *Adzi Kofi*
5. *Adzimetefe*
6. *Adziqake*
7. *Adzi Kwasi*
8. *Adzinkude*

III, Children of Kpao are:

1. *Blisam* (sister's son of Adzi)
2. *Kpaomekoe* (his sovereign name was Wusu)
3. *Kpao Kwasi*
4. *Amekotse*
5. *Afadi*.

IV. Children of Adinyira are:

1. *Komla Kuma*
2. *Dake*

V. Children of Kpaomeko:

1. *Komla*
2. *Komla Kuma*
3. *Wusu Kofi*
4. *Wusu Yawo*
5. *Wusu Tsa*
6. *Gbonye*
7. *Nkutsia*
8. *Klodzi*
9. *Yonu*
10. *Kumi*

VI. Children of Blisam:

1. *Blisam Motey* (whose son, Kofi reigned as king)
2. *Blisam Dzade*,
3. *Blisam Basa*,
4. *Blisam Dede*,
5. *Blisam Komla*,
6. *Blisam Tsratse*,
7. *Blisam Hudi*,
8. *Blisam Amega Kwasi*,
- 9 *Blisam Kuwonu*,
10. *Blisam Mekpa*.

VII. Children of Motey Kofi³²:

1. *Degbadzɔ*,
2. *Yawo*,
3. *Gidigago*,
4. *Agbadewodzi*.

VIII. Children of *Kumi*: Childless.

IX.Children of Degbadzɔ?

32 Motey Kofi also had many daughters. Their names were omitted, because they did not matter as far as the story teller was concerned..

II. Adziviwo nye,

1. Aḍinyrã,
2. Adzimazu,
3. Adzi Yawoe,
4. Adzi Kofi,
5. Adzimetofe,
6. Adziḍake,
7. Adzi Kwasi,
8. Adziṅkuḍe.

III. Kpaoviwo nye

1. Blisam (Adzi nɔvinyɔvi fe vi),
2. Kpaomekoe (Efe fiaṅkɔe nye Wusu),
3. Kpao Kwasi,
4. Amekotse,
5. Afaḍi.

IV. Aḍinyrãviwo nye:

1. Kɔmla Kuma,
2. Ḍake.

V. Kpaomekoviwo nye:

1. Kɔmla,
2. Kɔmlɔ Kuma,
3. Wusu Kofi,
4. Wusu Yawo,
5. Gbonye,
6. Wusu Tsã,
7. Iṅkutsia,
8. Klodzi,
9. Yɔnu,
10. Kumi.

VI. Blisamviwo nye

1. Blisam Mɔte (Eviae nye Kofi, si ḍu fia),
2. Blisam Dzade,
3. Blisam Basa,
4. Blisam Dede,
5. Blisam Kɔmla,
6. Blisam Tsratse,
7. Blisam Uudi,
8. Blisam Amegã Kwasi,
9. Blisam Kuwɔnu,
10. Blisam Mekpa.

VII. Mɔte Kofi viwo nye:

1. Degbadzɔ,
2. Yao,
3. Gidigago,
4. Agbaḍewodzi.

III. Ahɔe and Heve

1. Ahoe

The Ahɔe's hailed from Yeviefe, lying between Nyive and Kpadafe. A family in Yeviefe is still called Ahɔeyeviefeawo today. Members of this family used to be dishonest and loved doing evil things. When they saw that one of their brothers had got married and was in the process of bringing the bride home, the Ahɔe youth would make bows and arrows, put them aside and engage in playing until evening. In the evening, when they noticed that the bride was proceeding to the house of the bridegroom, they way-laid her and shot at her till she died. Because of this abduction which they incessantly pursued, the Yeviefe people, from then on, stopped leading their brides home in the evening, but only did so in the afternoons. Once it happened that a very young man married a beautiful girl and gave her all the gifts and ornaments required. When the woman had prepared herself and was moving to her husband's home, the Ahɔe youth rallied round, hid themselves again on the road and shot the woman with an arrow. She died soon after reaching the husband's house. That was why the Ahɔes were expelled from Yeviefe.

The Ahɔes have no stool; their elders, however, take part in all chieftainship deliberations. They do appoint a man as their head, just to lend respect to their position. The first person, from among them, to be given the honour of chieftaincy was called *Ahloto* or *Dam*. He was a very old man who had also come from Hogbe. Anytime the Hos assembled anywhere for a feast, it was the Ahɔes who got the lower jaw of the animal slaughtered³³ for the festival.



Street of Ahɔe

33 His political rank is therefore denoted.

III. Axõe kple Heve

1. Axõe

Axõetɔwo tso Yeviefe, si le Nyive kple Kpadavetɔwo dome. Woyɔa Yeviefeɖu la fe to ɖeka hã be Axõeyeviefeawo. Nenem to sia me tɔwo nye ame siwo ke wɔa didri vevie, eye wolɔ̃a nu vɔ̃ wɔwɔ. Ne wokɔ bena, wo nɔvi aɖe di nyɔnu, eye wole nyɔnu la kplɔ ge ava afe me la, ekema Axõedekakpuiwo wɔa da kple aɖutɔ ɖe asi, eye wonɔa fefem va se ɖe fiẽ me. Azɔ ne wokɔ bena, nyɔnu la gbɔna sr̃ɔ̃ɔtsu la fe me la, ekema woylaa wo ɖokui ɖe mɔ dzi ken, eye wotea da nyɔnu la wokuna. Le esia wɔwɔ edziedzi nɔti la, Yeviefetɔwo megakplɔa nyɔnuwo le fiẽ me o, negbe le nɔ me ko. Ega va eme bena ɖekakpui aɖe di nyɔnuvi dzetugbe aɖe eye wowɔ nutatawo kple nudodowo katã ne ken. Esi nyɔnu la dzra edokui ɖo hele nɔtsuvi la fe afe me yi ge la, Axõe ɖekakpuiwo gava yla wo ɖokui ɖe mɔ dzi, eye wote nyɔnu la kpe ada. Eso woyi sr̃ɔ̃a fe me etefe medidi o la, eku le esia nɔti wonyã wo tso Yeviefe.

Axõeawo la fiazikpui mele wo si o; gake wonye ame siwo ɖu tsitsi. Wotsɔ ame ɖo wo ɖokui nu abe fia ene hena bubudede wofe tsitsi. Ame si nɔ agbe ɖu tsitsi la, woyɔ be Ahlɔ̃fo alo Dam. Enye amegãɖeɖi xoxo aɖe, si ha Hogbefe. Nenyɛ be Hoawo kpe ɖe afi aɖe la, woawoe qua glã le lãwuwu me.



A Street in Ahliha

The Chairmen of the Parish Council, the Head of the local board of Ahɔe were as follows:

1. Bolo	4. Bansa
2. Notsiedekpui	5. Boboloe
3. Tsatsu Dogbe	

All chairmen of the local parish belonged to the king's company in Dome.

The Ahɔes do not name their families after their ancestors but after the names of the sons which their ancestors had had. The Ahɔes can count six forefathers. These were:

1. Kokloye	4. Dogbe
2. Woe	5. Kɔwu
3. Siedu	6. Adase

Apart from Adase, no wing of a family could be named after the family head.

The six families of Ahɔe are as follows:

Family	Children	Elders in 1894
1. Gbloloviwo	?	1. Bɔbɔloe, 2. Tata Kwasi, 3. Foli Kofi
2. Kasaviwo	?	1. Agbeti Yawo,, 2. Tsubui 3. Boni Kwasi
3. Adaseviwo	1. Te, 2. Klikpo, 3. Siedu, 4. Nfowo, 5. Adase Yawo, 6. Adase Kofi, 7. Adasigbe, 8. Adase Kwasi, 9. Amelogbe; 10. Akotsu, 11. Nkutsia, 12. Aku, 13. Akorli, 14. Ametsu, 15. Woe	1. Gbevodi, 2. Dzade, 3. Legbe 4. Kudogo
4. Dzaɖze	?	1. Klu Kwadzo, 2. Do Kwadzo, 3. Adali, 4. Kwasi, 5. Buampe
5. Tugaviwo	?	1. Amegboe Yawo, 2. Gade Nku, 3. Sesru, 4. Yawo Kwasi, 5. Dza Kwadzo
6. Dzagbadzaviwo	?	1. Adala, 2. Awasa Klu, 3. Gadzriku, 4. Adala Kwaku

Ax̄esafohenewo nye

1. Bolo	4. Bansa
2. Ɔɔtsiedekpui	5. Bɔbɔbe
3. Tsatsu Dogbe	

Asafohene siawo katã wonye Domefiawo ɣutɔ nɔlawo.

Ax̄eawo meɣɔa to le wo tɔgbuiwo fe ɣkɔ nu o, ke wo tɔgbuiwo dometɔ ɔɔka, si dzi vi geɔɔ la fe viwo fe ɣkɔwo nu woyɔne ɔɔ

Tɔgbui adee le Ax̄eawo si, woawoe nye:

1. Kokloye	4. Dogbe
2. Woe	5. Kɔwu
3. Sieɔu	6. Aɔase.

Gake womeɣɔa wo dometɔ aɔɔke fe ɣkɔ ɔɔ toawo ɣu o, negbe Aɔase ko.

Ax̄e fe to adeawo nye:

Toawo	Ɖeviwo	Amegãwo tso fe 1894 dzi
1. Gbloloviwo	?	1. Bɔbɔbe 2. Tata Kwasi 3. Foli Kofi
2. Kasaviwo	?	1. Agbeti Yawo 2. Tsubii 3. Boni Kwasi
3. Aɔaseviwo	1. Te 2. Klikpo 3. Sieɔu 4. Ɔɣɔwo 5. Aɔase Yawo 6. Aɔase Kofi 7. Adasigbe 8. Aɔase Kwasi 9. Amelɔgbe 10. Akɔtsu 11. Ɔkutsia 12. Aku 13. Akɔli 14. Ametsu 15. Woe	1. Gbevɔɔi 2. Dzaɔɔ 3. Legble 4. Kuɔɔgo
4. Dzakeɣeviwo	?	1. Klu Kwadzo 2. Do Kwadzo 3. Adali 4. Kwasi 5. Buampe
5. Tugãviwo	?	1. Amegbɔe 2. Gade ɣku 3. Sesru 4. Yawo Kwasi 5. Dza Kwadzo
6. Dzagbadzaviwo	?	1. Adalã 2. Afasa Klu 3. Gadriku 4. Adalã Kwaku

2. Heve

The five families of *Heve* are:

Family	Elders (in 1894)
1. Anikpiviwo	1. Amehodo; 2. Dza Kwasi;
2. Akloloviwo	1. Hene; 2. Keleve Yawo; 3. Ananiviw Kwami; 4. Taku
3. Dekotsuviwo	1. Akplo Kwasi; 2. Tenke; 3. Dzo Kwadzoe
4. Nkutoviwo	1. Amedogbe Nkui; 2. Tuta Komla; 3. Afesi; 4. Afenu Komla
5. Amevorviwo	1. Tsa Kwami 2. Hotsu Komla; 3. Dam Klu; 4. Yawo Kofi, 5. Komla Kuma; 6. Kwadzo Bequ

IV. Internal Clan Quarrels

After their return from Agotime, the Dome and Ahoe people lived in one town, Agotime, from 1873 till 1885. In the last-mentioned year, the young men of the town started quarrelling during an evening playing session. During the quarrel, an Ahoe man got fatally wounded when he was hit by a flying stone. As a result, the Ahoes gave free vent to their anger and harassed the Dome people very much. After protracted and expensive court trials, during which chiefs of neighbouring tribes, heads of clans and villages were present as good counsellors, the case ended with the Dome side being punished. The Ahoes also moved away and founded their own town at the present location. The town was laid out and built up from 1885 to 1886.

The Domes remained for five more years in Agotime. They moved in 1890, following the others and founded their town near the pre-war location of their former town. (See the details of this under: Founding of Towns.

2. Heveawo fe towo

Heveawo fe to atšawo nye:

Towo

1. Anikpiviwo
2. Akloloviwo
3. Dekotsuviwo
4. Įkutoviwo
5. Amevoviwo

Amegāwo

1. Amehodo 2. Dza Kwasi
1. Heve 2. Keleve Yawo 3. Ananivi Kwami 4. Taku
1. Akplɔ Kwasi 2. Tenku 3. Dzo Kwadzoe
1. Amedogbe Įkui 2. Tuta Kɔmla 3. Afesi
4. Afenu Kɔmla
1. Tsa Kwami 2. Hotsu Kɔmla 3. Dam Klu
4. Yawo Kofi 5. Kɔmla Kuma 6. Kwadzo Baɖu

3. Main Chapter Three: Narratives about the Culture of Ho

1. The Indigenous Culture

F.Y.: The people of the towns existed earlier in great ignorance. They knew nothing about clothes. They wore hides of animals. When a goat was slaughtered, they pulled its skin from the shank downwards, cut it up to where the two thighs meet, just like that of a pair of shorts; they then push their legs through it. At that time, money was unknown; instead, commodities were exchanged. One who had corn, got beans from another in exchange for it. They used to steal from each other, and to sell to one another. If someone had no food, he could sell off his brother and with the money, get what he needed. They had not yet known the gun. Their weapons of war were the bow and arrow, the spear and the cord. When they went to battle, they carried a long rope along, on both ends of which a stone was tied. When enemies approached, they threw the rope among them and if one of them was entangled, he was pulled in.

Metal work was known; they forged spears for themselves and fixed these at the tip of long shafts. They mined iron ore themselves from the earth, so it happened that farmers often came across slag from former metalwork shops while digging in their farms. Their farm products were millet, maize, beans and groundnuts. Farming was in those days a job only for men, because one had to squat while working the field. Hunters provided meat. When hunting, wide areas were fenced, into which animals would be driven and then killed.

When they were in Notsie, they had judges, in addition to the chief. The continuous blackmailing and extortion by these people frequently brought them into wars. All the wars fought there were fought among themselves and not against foreign people.

Their houses had pointed roofs just like those of the Anlos and as the Avenors still make it today. During their migration, they built their huts with palm fronds.

K.W: Their most important work was agriculture. Their agricultural crops were different types of millet: called “*Lu*” and “*Fo*”, red maize, groundnuts and beans. They had round houses with pointed roofs. The houses were roofed with hay. Their clothes and mats were made of barks and broad leaves. Guns, swords and knives were unknown in ancient times. Their arms for war were the bow and the arrow. I think they used sharp stones in the place of knives.

G.K.K.: Our forefathers knew many different types of professions, for example, agriculture, weaving, metalwork, mat-weaving and pottery. The stones, with holes through them and which can still be found today, served as their bobbin rings. Our ancestors did not roof their houses with thatch, but smeared mud on the roof. They slowly departed from that way of building, though this type of building can still be seen today in several places.

Y. M. KW: The stones with holes through them, *Kpeɖɖe*, are now used in many towns for driving evil spirits away (*Busuyiyi*).

N.K.: The most important work of our forefathers was agriculture. In those days, people did not make such big farms, as they used to do in the days gone by. Children used to help their parents with the farm work, and gave them more respect than they do today. A youth would not travel to another town without his father’s permission.

Akpagā etōlia: Hoawo fe blemanuwōnawo

I. Detowo

F.Y.: Duawo nɔ nu manyamanya gā me. Womenya naneke le avɔtata ɲuti o; lāgbalē wotana. Ne wowu gbɔ la, ekema wotrea agbalē la le efe atawo kple eve ɲuti. Emegbe la wosea lāgbalē la de atawo kple eve fe godofe, eye wofoa ata de eme abe atawui ene. Womewo ga ɲuti do o, ke boɲ woadɔa li nu le wo nɔewo dome. Ame si si bli le la, etsɔe axɔ ayi le nɔvia gbɔ. Wodo adzo wo nɔewo flena. Ne nuɖuɖu mele ame ade si o la, ate ɲu alé nɔvi ade afle faa atso axɔ nu si dim wòle. Womewo tu ɲu do le afi ma o. Wofe avawɔnuwo nye: da, akplɔ kple ka. Newo le ava yi ge la, wotsoa ka legbe ade eye wotsia kpe de efe nuwo kple eve. Ne wokpo futɔwo gbɔna la, wodaa ka la dona de wo dome, eye ne eku ame ade la, wohene vaa wo ɖokui gbɔe.

Woawo ɲuto tua nu; wotua akplɔ na wo ɖokui, eye wotɔne de kete legbe ade nu wokua ga tso tome tua nui, eya ta eva eme be agbledelawo kena de yɔɔɔmenuwo ɲuti le anyigbakuku me. Wofe agblemenuwo nye: wɔ, bli, ayi kple azi. Agbledede nye ɲutsuwo dede fe do tsā, elabena akɔ wotsyɔna hafi ɲla nu. Wokpoa wofe lā toa adedada me. Ne woyi adegbe la, ekema wotɔa kpo godo, eye wonyāa lāwo trana de eme wuna.

Esime wonɔ ɲɔtsie la, wɔnudrɔlawo kple asafohenewo nɔ wo nu kpe de fia la ɲuti. Nenem ame siawo fe kasadiqi hea ava va dukɔ kple dukɔ dome edziedzi. Ava, siwo katā wowo le afi ma la, woawo dede dome wowo wo le, eye menye woawo kple ame bubu adeke o.

Wofe xɔwo nye xɔ tame tsutsuie, siwo fomevi Aɲɔlawo kple Avenɔawo gatuna va se de egbegbe. Le wofe tsatsayiwo me la, wonɔa fɔxɔwo me.

Kw.: Wofe dɔɔɔɔwɔ gātɔe nye agbledede. Agblemenuwo nye: lu, wɔ, bli, dzē azi kple ayi. Wofe xɔwo le nogo, eye wo tame ɔ. Gbe wolɔna wɔa xɔe. Wofe nutatawo kple numlɔdziwo nye atitsrokpa alo angba kekewo. Womenya naneke le tu, yi kple he ɲuti o. Wofe avawɔnuwo nye da. Mebuna bena le he tefe la, wowɔa kpe ɖadewo ɲuti do.

G.K.K.: Mía tɔgbuiwo nya dɔɔɔwɔ bubu fomeviwo, abe agbledede, avɔlɔlɔ kple zememe ene. Kpe ɲɔɲɔ, siwo miekpɔna egbegbe la, keke nu wotɔa wo ɖo. Blematɔwo metsɔa be gbā xɔ o; ke boɲ wotrea wo kple anyi. Blewublewu wova de asi le xɔ ma tɔgbuiwo ɲuti, gake wo fomeviwo gali va se de fifi

Y. M.Kw.: Kpe ɲɔɲɔewo nye busuyinu na du gedewo va se de fifi.

N.K.: Mía tɔgbuiwo fe dɔɔɔwɔ vevietɔe nye agbledede. Womegadea tsātɔwo fe agble gāwo le míafe ɲekewo me o. Tsā la deiviwo kpɛna de wofe dzilawo ɲuti le dɔɔwɔ me, eye wobua wo sã wu fifi. Dekakpui mekpɔ mɔ ade du adeke me, ne menye fofoa fe lɔlɔnu o. Ne

When he came back home from work in the evening, he was not permitted to go anywhere. They had strict rules governing their behaviour towards the women. That was also why they lived long. The world was cooler, calmer than it is now. Our forefathers also wove clothes; they only could not pursue the art as finely as it is done today. A man, named Blisamded, introduced forging to Ho. He learnt it from the Taviefes. He had a lot of difficulty in the beginning, for he had no bellow to start with for blowing up the fire. Slowly, he managed to master the craft.



Akpafu

Town with Flat Roofs

M. K.: Their architectural style was just like we see today in Lolobi and Santrokofi. The houses were not big. Their roofs were flat, with clay spread over it. They were not living in total ignorance. Several types of employment were known to them, like farming, hunting, pottery, weaving and the art of metal work. They smelted iron themselves and forged it. Fire was, therefore, well known. When they wanted to light fire, they took the husk of the palm tree and mixed it with the juice of the fruit of the wu-tree. This was allowed to dry in the sun. When it was properly dry, it was put on a stone. They hit on it with an iron rod, and when the fire sparks fell on it, it ignited into fire.

Their farm tools were the *Amla*, which is still used in Akpafu today. This implement is used instead of the cutlass and the hoe.

Their armaments for war were the bow and the arrow; the crops of their farms are those that we still have today: beans, groundnuts and maize. Those were their most important foodstuffs. They discovered cassava (*manioc*) in the bush only after a long period. Though they noticed that it was edible, yet, they feared eating it, so they first boiled it for their dogs. When they saw that they did not die eating it, the people also started eating it themselves.

egbo tso agble la, mɔ mele esi be, woade afi aḍeke le fieme o. Se sesẽ le wo si, be woalẽ be na wo ɔkui le nyɔnuwo gome. Ne sia na be, wole ɲu nɔa agbe etefe didina, eye anyigba dzi fa wu ale si wole fifia. Avɔlɔlɔ hã nye mia tɔgbuiwo fe dɔ; ke womenya aḍaɲu le elɔlɔ me abe fifi ene o. Ame si tso nututuya Ho enye Blisam Dede. Eya yi ɔasrẽ le Taviawo gbɔ. Gɔmedzedzea me ekpe fu geḍe, elabena vu meli woatsɔ ayo dzo la o, to veveve hafi wova dze aḍaɲu ɔe eɲuti.



Anyako
with pointed Roofs

M.K.: Wofe xɔwo le abe ale si miakpɔ egbegbe le Lolobi kple Sandrokofi ene xɔwo melolo o. Wofe tame le gbadza, eye wotrea wo kple anyi. Womenɔ afi ma le nu manyamanya me o. Wonya dɔ bubu fomeviwo: agbledede, adedada, zememe, avɔlɔlɔ kple nututu. Woawo ɲutsɔ loloa wofe ga tua nui. Wonya ale si woado dzo hãe. Ne wole dzo do ge la, woflɔa deɖu eye wobluɛ kple vutsetsemetsi. Emegbe wotsɔɛ siana keɲ, va se ɔe esime wofuna. Ne efu la, wotsɔa ga xlana ɔe kpe, eye ne eɔe dzoxi daɔe edzi la, elena zua dzo

Wofe dɔwɔnue nye amla, si fomevi wogatuna le Akpafu egbegbe. Wowɔa eɲuti dɔ le klante kple agblenu tefe.

Wofe avawɔnuwo nye: da kple aɲtrɔ. Wofe agblemenuwo nye esiwo le mia si fifia. Wogblo bena, ayi, azi kple kpeliɛ nye wofe nuɖuɖu gbɔtɔwo. Esi wole woawo ɖum vu la, wova kpɔ agbeli le gbeme. Wodze sii bena, enye nuɖuɖu; gake wowɔ le eɲuti gbã, eya ta woɔae na avuwo gbã. Esi woɖui womeku o la, eya ta amewo hã de asi eɖuɖu me. Le gɔmedzedzea me la, ne wole agbeli ɖum la, womekpɔ mɔ aɖu ka, si le eme o, wobena, ne woɖui la, woaku; ke emegbe la wokpɔ bena, woate ɲu aɖui faa. Abladzo kple te hã wonye

To begin with, they did not eat the fibrous tissue found in the middle of the root, for fear they might die eating it. Afterwards, they ate even that. They discovered yams (*Dioscora*) and plantain in the bush. The Ewe people have learned mat-weaving by themselves. In the olden days, however, they slept on barks of trees. Houses were built in those days exactly like we do today. Their farm crops were yams, cassava, beans and groundnuts.



- 4 3 2 1
1. The current king of Ho, supported by two women;
 2. On his right is his brother Gbadewodzi with war trumpet;
 3. On this man's right – a dancing magician;
 4. An Otsyonfo.

A.Y.: Our forefathers were quite uncivilized: they went about in the bush totally without clothes. The Ewes knew the art of forging well before the Europeans came to them. Two towns, Akpafu and Lolobi were mining iron ore from the earth and were smelting it into working tools. Weaving and pottery were also not learnt from the Europeans.

II. Foreign Cultures

F.Y.: The Ewes had learned the external splendor of chieftaincy from the Asantes, and the Asantes got it from the Denkyiras. They (the Ewes) had no maize when they were in Notsie; it was brought to them by the Europeans.

A.Y.: A European came to Osu one day with the intention of gathering the Gas around himself. The Gas, however, fled into the bush. He, therefore, offered them bread and brandy in order to outwit them. When they had got drunk, he got hold of them and gave them a hair cut, because their hair had grown so long, it flowed down

nu siwo wofɔ le gbeme. Eveawo nya abalɔlɔ hã tso woawo ɲutɔ ɖokui si, gake le blema la atitsrokpa dzi wodɔna. Xɔ, si wotuna le miafe ɲkekewo me la, eya ke wotuna le afi ma hã. Wofe agblemenuwo nye: te, agbeli, ayi kple azi.



1 2 3 4 5

1. King's Palanquin;
2. 4 Boys sitting in front of the chief, holding horse-tail whisks;
3. The King Degbadzor; 5. Adala, the speaker and an Earth-priest.

A.Y.: Vovototo gã aɖeke menɔ mia tɔgbiwo kple lãwo dome o. Wole amama keɲ henɔa tsatsam le gbe me. Womeɖaa nu o, elabena dzo menɔ wosi o. Hafi ne yevuawo nava la, Eveawo nya tututu. Du eve aɖewo, siwo woyɔna be, Akpafu kple Lolobi la kua ga tsoa tome, si wotsɔa tua nuwoe. Avɔlɔlɔ kple zememe hã metso yevuawo gbɔ o.

II Dzrotɔwo

F.Y.: Eveawo kpɔ fiawɔwɔ le Asanteawo gbɔ, eye Asanteawo hã kpɔe tso Dentsra. Bli menɔ wo si le ɲɔtsie o, yevuawo tsɔe vɛ na wo.

A.Y.: Gbe ɖeka yevu aɖe va Osu, eye wodi be, yeafo Gẽawo nu fu ɖe eɖokui ɲuti, ke wosi ɖo gbe. Eya ta wotsɔ abolo ble wo nu, eye wona aha wo wono. Esi woku aha la, eyi ɖalɛ wo, ko ta na wo, ko ta na wo, elebena wofe taɖawo wɔ va tsyɔ mo na wo. Emegbe wotsɔ tu, yi, hɛ kple agblenu na wo, eye wofia wo ɲuti dɔwɔwɔ wo. Tete woe asi agbledede kple xɔtutu me eye woxɔ bli tso yevua gbɔ fa. Tso ekema dzi la wode asi nunyanya me. Esi

to cover their face. He then gave them guns, swords, knives and hoes, and taught them how to use them. They started to cultivate the land and to put up houses. They got maize from the Europeans for that purpose. They started becoming intelligent from that time on. When the eyes of the Gas were now a little opened, they came to the Ewes, their brothers and taught them also. That is why the Ga people claim they are greater than the Ewes.

The Ewes learnt drumming and singing from the Twis. A story runs as follows: There was a town on the beach in the Fanti area. One day, the sea started to drum in accompaniment to the various songs which the people were singing. The inhabitants of the town were very glad and immediately made a drum and also began to drum. Together, they sang the songs which they had heard from the sea. That is why many Twi songs are sung among us. The pomp and pageantry around chiefs were also copied from the Twis, because the Ewes used to serve the King of Akwamu.

wofe ηku vu vie la, wova wo nɔvi Ueawo gbɔ, eye wofia nu wo. Le esia ta Gẽeawo gblɔna be yewoe nye “gãwo” na Ueawo.

Uufofo kple hadzidzi la, Ueawo srẽ wo tso Bluawo gbɔ. Wotoa nya bena: Du aɖe le fu nu le Fanti nutowo me. Gbe ɖeka fu la de asi vufofo me hele ha bubu fomeviwo dzim ɖe eɲuti. Dua metɔwo kpɔ dzidzɔ nɔ, eye wokpa vu enumake de asi fofo me eye wodzi ha, siwo wose tso fu la me. Afi ma wɔtso be wɔdzia ha geɖe ɖe Blugbe me le míawo hã dome. Fiawɔwɔ hã woawo gbɔea wokpɔe le elabena Ueawo subɔ Akɔmufia tsã.

Chapter 2: Constitution, Law and Judicial System

I. The Constitution.

A. The Kingship

Although the position of the chief is paternally as well as maternally inheritable, yet the new heir, the highest chieftain, will still have to be specially chosen. The aspirant to the throne would try to win the consent i.e. the vote of the chiefs and other influential personalities, by presenting them with all sorts of gifts comprising brandy and other desirable objects. He tries to bow to these people and quietly convince them that it is now his turn to assume the regency. There are often several eligible candidates; but the decisive factor is not only the gifts, but also the character of the pretender which carries a lot of weight. The one who has won the favour of the people by virtue of some outstanding characteristics has the greatest chances.

1. The Selection

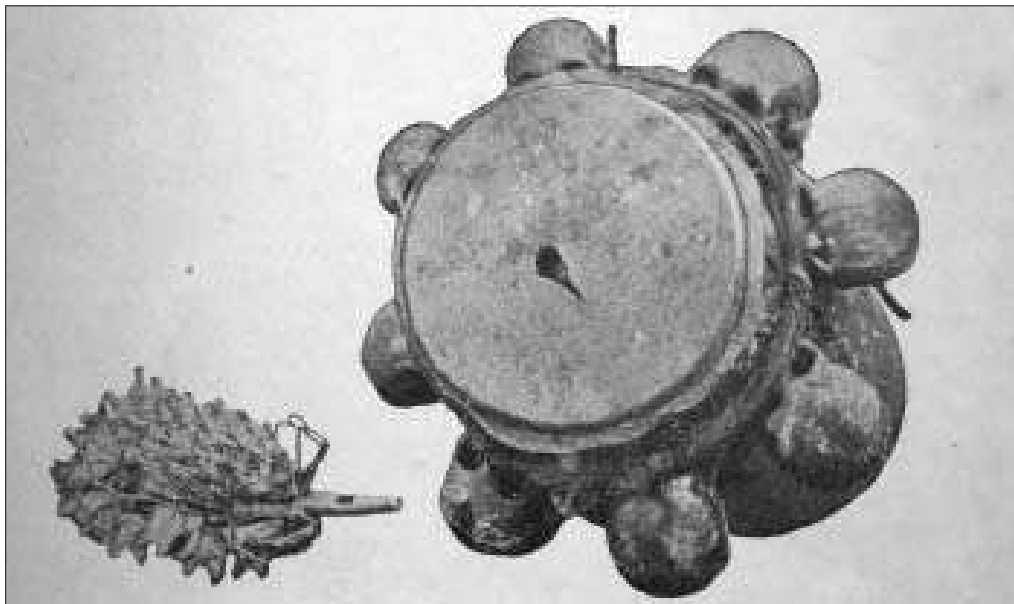
The actual selection is undertaken first in the circle of chiefs and later by the public, People's Assembly, in a ceremonious manner. The chosen one is put under an oath to the gods and then initiated into office. An eye witness, Missionary Oswald, who attended the election and enstoolment of the then King Kumi in the year 1886, reports about it thus:

After the death of the old King Kofi of Ho in 1884, the question of the choice of his successor arose. Considering the lineal descent, Adompre, an already very old chief, should have been his successor. However, because of his advanced age, he renounced the throne in favor of a young man. The old King Kofi must have already indicated his preference for Kumi as his successor, but still in addition to this, the agreement of the whole tribe was needed. In January, 1886, the Domes quietly looked around for a king. The elders of the town went to Kumi, who had been named by Kofi. There they slaughtered a ram and sprinkled the blood of the animal on the feet of the heir apparent. By this action, election as a successor was completely endorsed by the chiefs. On this score, they went into the surrounding villages and informed the inhabitants that they had now decided to elect a king. Apart from the inhabitants of the Ahoe ward, all the localities were in agreement with this idea, as well as with the choice made. The

public selection of the new king took place in Dome on 14th January 1886. Strangely, all inhabitants of the ward of Ahœ left for their farms on that day, according to the orders of their chiefs. With the exception of a few drums, one could not see any festival decoration in the Dome quarters. Among those drums one could see a 1 – 1½m high war-drum, decorated with eight enemy Asante skulls.

These people of high command ate their breakfast comprising smoked fish, fufu and pepper soup in the farmstead of Komla, the Dente-priest. The bowl of fufu was placed on the ground and the men sat in a circle around it. The white guests present were also provided with yams and water. They later got some palm wine which they drank from a calabash, out of which about twenty other people had already drunk.

The hut of the person nominated to ascend to the throne (throne nominee's hut) was very small. After our lunch, a royal messenger came to inform us that the celebration was now beginning. Meanwhile, on the village street, the various participants had taken their places according to their status. The Hos were there with their representatives, King Afede and his elders, as well as the representatives of the surrounding localities. Finally, we the Europeans also sat on the chairs made ready for us. The old chief-captain Adompri of Dome presided over the proceedings. His apparel was a colorful cap and a violet velvet festive garb, whose long train was carried by three naked boys. When he took his seat, the boys sat down on the ground before his feet.



War drum and war trumpet in Ho

A man sitting on a local stool held a large colourful umbrella over him. Behind *Adompre* stood a second man with the war trumpet. This consists of a short elephant tusk, with a blowing hole cut at the tip. The horn itself is decorated with about twenty upper and lower jaws of fallen enemies; it has a shrill, disagreeable tone. In various speeches the reason and goal of the day's meeting was communicated. After each speech an orchestra of eight players blew their horns, while others beat their drums rhythmically.



King Degbadzo of Ho with his insignia

1. Spokesman's staff and sword. 2 and 3. Umbrella, king and stool with cushion and bell. 4 and 5. Drum with war trumpet on it. 6. Carrying basket. 7. Drum decorated with horse tails.

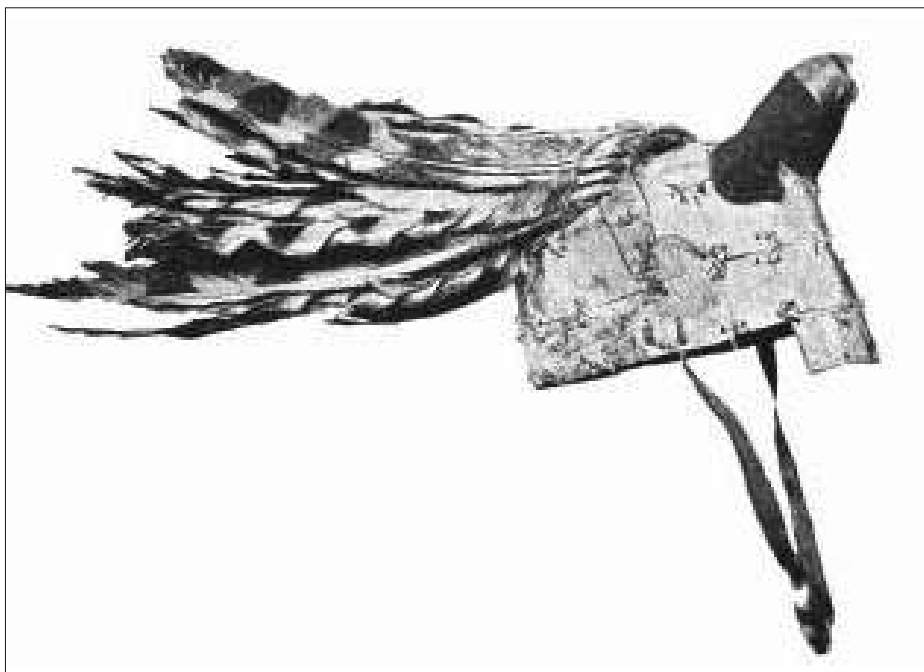
The drums serve them at the same time as stools. The people were asked whether they wanted a king, and whether they agreed to the choice of *Kumi*. After the question was answered with a unanimous "yes", the people demanded that the proposed king should now be produced, so that they could see him. However Chief *Afede* replied that first five rams and two kegs of brandy should be brought. When the things desired were provided, *Afede* and his chiefs held the animals by the legs; but the newly selected king was not produced.

2. Installation of the King

The installation of the king took place on 8th March, 1886. To invite us to the occasion, they brought gifts of yams, palm wine and a cock, and appealed to us to order for them three top hats from Europe.

The actual installation of the king was not done in public, but only in the presence of the chiefs and a few men chosen from the people. Their number must run up to about twenty persons. The major characters were the new King Kumi, the Dente-priest, Komla, and an old emaciated woman, who functioned there as priestess.

Kumi is a slender good natured man whose appearance betrays a lack of energy. His garments consist of a red loin cloth and of a big piece of white cloth, thrown over his left shoulder, as is customarily done in the country. His head, the right shoulder, as well as feet and hands were unclothed.



Battle-hat with horns of a ram

The ordinary people are not allowed to be present at the actual installation ceremony, because they are not to see the throne and a part of the rest of the insignia. These consist of a big native stool on which lies a leather cushion. The king sits on this stool when cases are being tried in court. Another part of this insignia is a small native stool which is totally smeared with blood, dirty-black in color, and which is usually wrapped in a white cloth. This is the real stool. Finally, belonging to it are several cow and horsetails, and a palanquin on which laid three or four swords, the umbrella of the departed king, his battle-hat and several other objects. The battle-hat is made with a ram's head and adorned with long feathers. These objects are carefully stored in a hut.

Before they are touched or carried outside, the men would have to undergo a purification, which proceeds as follows:

The Dente priest, Komla, brought out a brass bowl in which consecrated leaves were laid and upon which water was poured. The bowl was held by Komla and the old woman, by the newly installed king, Kumi, and another man; while these four persons held the bowl in the air, the priest called out the spirit of the dead king and requested him to transfer all his power onto Kumi and thereby reinforcing the power

of the Ho tribe. Hereupon, the four people washed their hands, face and chest with the consecrated water, and the priest Komla brought the insignia out of the room into the courtyard. Kumi then had to kneel before the stool, after which the priest laid a ram, which had been consecrated for the occasion, on his shoulders. He then prayed to the gods, and the king, still kneeling, had to repeat some things after him. After the prayer and swearing of oath, the ram was removed from the shoulders of the king and laid before the throne. After this, six men raised the animal high and swung it several times upwards. While this was going on, the priest prayed loudly to the gods. When he had finished his prayer, he washed his hands, face and chest with the sanctified water, drank of it and, with it, sprinkled every thing, from the throne down to the cow-tail. The ram, which these men had been holding up high all this time, was killed in this position. A man cut off its head with a knife. The blood flowing out was caught in a bowl. One half of it was mixed with soot, and the other was used for soup. After removing the hide, a part of the meat was given to the attendants. King Kumi received two parts, namely the breast and the head. The meat and the entrails were boiled, and while some men were busy preparing the meat dish, the priest and his helpers painted the insignia with the black paste which they got from mixing the blood with soot. They proceeded to lay green branches right across the entrance as a barrier to prevent evil spirits from entering. The priest laid down sacrifices near these branches: yams, flour and the dung from the ram's intestines. He then prayed to the spirits and said, among other things, that when they come, they were to be satisfied with the food presented there, and should then go back.

The main attraction of the end of the ceremony was the feast during which they enjoyed the taste of the ram's meat. After the meal, the priest, Komla, totally smeared himself with white clay and danced, almost naked, the whole night through.

3. The Position of The King

The status of the king already emerges from his nomination and installation. He is no unrestrained autocrat, but can only rule in consonance with the other chiefs. The king, the first chief Afede of Banyakoe and that of Ahœ, form the core of the administrative authorities, whose members are called "Fathers of the Town", or "Owners of the Town" (*Dutwo*) Assigned to them is a linguist. Lastly, he has some alternative men who are ready to stand in for him if something should prevent him from taking part in a sitting. This assembly now has an advisory board consisting of the prime heads of big families. These are addressed as *Afetwo*, "Gentlemen", or better still "Counsellors" or "Senators." Standing face to face with this corporate entity are the Community Representatives, called *Asafo*. To this group belongs the *Asafofia*, the "communal chief,"³⁴ and his linguist. All the youth of the village are under his command. He has to provide gunpowder and shot during wars, and as long as he continues to face the enemy, no warrior is allowed to fall back. In peaceful times, he is the intermediary between the chiefs and the village youth while, on the other hand, he has to represent this group vis-à-vis the chiefs. The youth group has the right to raise an objection to chieftaincy decisions. When they disapprove of the decisions and laws of the chiefs, they first discuss it with their foreman, the *Asafofia*. It then becomes his responsibility

34 Communal chief = foreman, chairman.

to bring the opinion of the group before the *Hofeawo*, i.e. the general body of judges. This body then subjects its decisions to revision, if possible, taking into consideration the wishes of the people. The power of the *Sohewo* or the youth-group goes so far, that they are able to cause the destoolment of a chief. For this to be possible, however, they will have to get the larger part of the chieftaincy on their side. This special privilege, however, may only be invoked under the most extreme emergency, through legal and traditional processes; for example, when a chief or a king makes himself guilty through his actions in such a way that the image and pride of the tribe could be tarnished. The chief has to win the confidence of the chieftaincy and of the people through wise, intelligent speech and action always. If he succeeds in doing this, the confidence of the tribe will facilitate his work, and make his work easier. If he fails, then he comes against obstacles everywhere.

When a chief is intelligent, people say: *Mawu ena fiaɖuɖue*, “It is God who has given him the governance: or “*Mawu ena Fiae*, “It is God who has made him king”. The character of such a chief is described with the word “*fa*” i.e. “cold, meaning peace-loving”. A good chief is the one who is friendly, greets his subjects saying: “*Togbui, anɔsesie; anɔ agbe, manɔ ɖe ɲuwo*”, meaning: Grandfather, I wish you good health; may you remain alive, so that I can lean on you.

When a subject comes into his courtyard, he readily offers him a calabash of palm wine. The one who visits him, even if he should be a child, should notice that he has made the chief happy with his visit. If the chief has nothing to offer the visitor, he excuses himself and says: “I am sorry, I don’t have anything to offer you at the moment; but: (turning to the people standing by) you, give him some cowry shells to enable him buy some bread!”

A good king must be able to hear things as if he has not heard about them. “*Ele nyawo sem abe ɖe mele esem o ene*”. He does not make a fuss when he hears anything about anyone; he rather calls his advisors for discussions. If what they have heard tallies with what the chief has heard, then he makes arrangements to put the matter in order. If someone is found guilty by the judges, the verdict is not pronounced off hand, but the convicted person is first convinced of his complicity, thereby ‘*taking the pain out of the painful and the sharpness out of the thorn*’.

The convicted person is himself happy, and allows his punishment to serve as a warning against any future deviant behaviour.

A good king must also be a hardworking farmer so that, through hard work, he can be a good example to his subjects. Like everybody else, he does not only go to farm, but also weaves clothes at home. He warns his subjects to be wary of all their enemies and not to make themselves guilty of any wrong doing, because he would not be able to help them if they should fall into trouble. The subjects of a good king do get rich and when they make a show of their splendor, the praise goes to the king of the Hos and not to the Ho people.

As he does when making judicial utterances, he also appeals to God with regard to his governmental principles by saying: “*Mawu megbɔe nam sigbe o*,” “God has not told me so,” or “That is not what God has told me”.

About a bad king, the people say in vernacular: *Efe fiaɖuɖu etso anyigba*, “His government is of the earth.”

4. The Body-Servants of the King

Every fairly important king in Eweland has a number of servants, called *tsyorifowo*. The old King Kofi of Dome (Wegbe) is believed to have had not less than 24 servants. Their tasks are manifold. While some of them have to be around the king daily, serving him, others are his ushers, authorized representatives and his carriers. If the king wants to appear in royal dignity among his people on festive occasions, he must, himself, be carried by his servants in a 2 meter-long basket, *apaka*. There are always four men carrying the *apaka*, while all the others walk ahead driving the people out of the way. Their mark of distinction is *atam*, a belt of thick animal skin woven in spiral form, which they freely make use of, if need be. They are permitted to kill and feast on goats and sheep which may come their way in the course of duty – with impunity. They are also in the nearest proximity of the chief on most other occasions, carrying him on the shoulders and supporting his back during long sittings. When anybody swears an oath of the king, then all those concerned, the oath-swearer, as well as the person on whom the oath was sworn, would be brought by these servants to the court of the king for trial. He who resists their summons can be whipped with the *atam* or be bound and thrown into a room, where he is left to think over his fate. If any one disobeys their summons or lies to them, they may also swear the highest oath on him, resulting, of course, in heavy fines. They do not usually go so far with relatives of the king's servants, since the resulting punishment would affect them also.

These servants are not paid; on the other hand, they are allowed to indemnify themselves by keeping for themselves most of the fines levied on the guilty parties. For example, if a person was charged 60 to 100 hotu and a ram, it is the *tsyorfo* who are to pursue and collect this fine. Of the whole of this amount, the king himself would receive, at most 10 to 20 hotu,³⁵ and has to be satisfied with as little as 4.50 sometimes.

The rest is retained by these servants for their own use. The king always retains the ram for himself. Thus, the above is the reason why in earlier times the general populace considered this class of people as a real nuisance. They make themselves guilty of all sorts of blackmail, and ensured that people were given the highest possible sentences.

35 Used to be equivalent to the same amount in Marks.



1. A box containing horns and elephant tusks - 2. Dente priest, Komla - 3. Commander in chief in apparel of war paraphernalia - 4. King Kumi - 5. Horn blower - 6. The royal sword - 7 - 9; 10 -14 boys with horse-tails

In addition to this engagement, they also go about their farm work. The work on these farms, however, has always been in a sorry state. The people knew them to be people with aversion to work, who always demanded more, but never possessed anything.

If the king earmarks someone for the *tsyorifo*, he calls the person to himself and tells him: “I think you should be incorporated into my group of servants.” Those are always men who are seen in the community to be intelligent, and, at the same time, fearless and hard. The new entrant assumes the honour bestowed upon him, and as an external sign of his new order, he has his hair cut accordingly – that is, leaving only a small round portion of hair on the back of the head. He gets a calabash of palm wine from the king, and, with this, he is properly installed in the service of the king. Any one, who dare make any comment whatsoever against this, will be seriously punished by the king.

Another way of acquiring valets for the king is one in which indebted men surrender themselves to the king. In this case, however, they are compelled to renounce their freedom.

5. Royal Burial

When the Ho king dies, he will not be buried in his hut, but rather at a secret place, so that nobody knows his place of burial, not even his successor or his nearest elders. It is only the body servants who know where he is buried.

As soon as the king closes his eyes, the body servants quietly go out into the bush. To start with, the death of the king is kept secret, and it does not occur to anyone that they are going into the bush for a special purpose. This secrecy is enhanced by the fact that they go into the bush in the night, taking wide detours, looking for an appropriate location for the king's grave. Having found the location, they make the grave immediately. This done, they again take new, circuitous paths back home in order to mislead the people into believing that they were coming from the one or the other neighbouring village. At the same time, in the deceased's hut, a grave would be dug amidst a lot of noise and commotion. This only happened for the benefit of the foreigners present, in order to mislead them into believing that the king was going to be buried in the house. In the evening of the next day, all foreigners would be driven out of the town. The body guards of the king then carried his corpse in the quiet, into the bush, to the actual burial place. Only one single daughter of the king was allowed to see where her father was buried.

The reason for the secret burial lies in their fear of enemies. If the place of burial were known to them, they would come and exhume the body, cut off the head and later go about boasting that they had slain him in battle. There cannot be a greater humiliation of the chief than this. This is the reason why even his nearest relatives and his successor are not allowed to know his place of burial. If they knew, any of these people, when taken prisoners in any war, could be forced to show the grave of the king if this was done, it would bring a great ignominy to the father. When a girl is caught in a war, every one knows that she would never be allowed to return to her homeland again. Such a prisoner of war is either killed off or sold into slavery.

B. LAWS

1. Explanation of the Word “Se,” Law

Linguistically, “Se”, the law, is the boundary of a recognizable object, beyond which that object does not continue to exist. “*Anyigba fe sefe*” is the boundary of the earth, beyond which there is no continuation. Death is the “boundary of life”, “*agbe la fe sefe*”. A person seeing off a friend outside the village, on reaching a particular point says: *Mese de afi*, “Here is where I end it”. The law, therefore, is a fixed boundary for action and the freedom of movement by the individual as well as by the whole. It is the norm through which human life is regulated and is directed into very definite channels, which cannot be abandoned by the individual without causing a total disturbance of the whole. The law is the sworn will of the whole tribe, which has been promulgated by the authorities, and the disregard or violation of which attracts the punishment of the perpetrator.

2. Origin of the Laws

When laws are to be made, the chiefs first discuss the matter among themselves and settle on something definite. They then summon the youth (*sɔhɛawo*) and put the decisions before them. The team of young men also subjects the affair again to careful discussion among themselves, and again together with the chiefs. It is only when there is agreement between the two bodies that the resolutions become law and may then be invoked among the populace.

Strangely, there are some laws, which have not been made by the chiefs, and for the breach of which no threat of penalty has been proclaimed – and, yet, are known by everybody. It is the breach of these very laws, more than any other, that attracts the harshest punishments. Thus in Ho, for example, nobody has ever made a law prohibiting murder or suicide. The law has never been promulgated forbidding stealing, and yet everybody says that one should not steal. In fact, stealing is one of the most serious crimes in Ho. That is how it was, at least, in ancient times. That is exactly the case with adultery. The chiefs had never sat together to consider and discuss with one another whether adultery should be permitted or not. And yet they sat together to determine how high the fine to be imposed on those who committed adultery should be. Therefore, there are laws which have been written in everybody’s heart.

3. The Content of the Laws

Laws are usually supposed to protect the general welfare of a town or a tribe. Only a few test cases will be discussed here, out of the colourful variety of these. It was announced, for example, in time gone by, that it was not allowed to make slaves work in the Ho market, or that nobody should burn the grass on the farm on market days, because that would result in holding back the rain. Further, it was not allowed to wash dirty linen, especially women’s underwear at the riverside. It was proclaimed in earlier times, that a sacrifice had to be made to a certain particular earth-god on Sunday or that, for the period of three days, nobody should be allowed to do any work with an axe, a hoe or with a cutlass or machete. In the house, there are laws intended to hold

in check the evil tongue of women, or which strictly forbid the use of knives during quarrels; then further, there are laws regulating the work of the youth team for the chief or for any of the elders.

4. Promulgation of the Law

The proclamation (*Kpododo*) takes place in such a way that each chief is tasked to have the contracted law published in his town. The announcement is usually made in the evening or early in the morning, as long as the people are still at home. The town crier holds a metal or just a piece of wood in the hand on which he beats a few times, with a bar. He then greets the village people first, by saying: “Good evening, good evening! Please pay attention! The chiefs say that this and that are not good and should hence forth not happen.” Then follows the actual law, in addition to which the town crier says: “If anybody does that again, then he has broken the oath of the Hos and will have to pay the statutory penalty”!

5. The Violation of the Law

There are very many characteristic expressions for the infraction of the law, for example; *da le se dzi*, “to violate the law”, *nini* “slip”, *da vo* and *to vo*. The word “*da*” is used, when someone uses a wrong word or calls a wrong name, meaning: to make a mistake. The form “*da le se dzi*” is based on the supposition that one is standing on the ground of the law and makes it the basis of his life and actions. It is his obligation to remain on this ground. Anybody then who does not direct his attention on the directives of the law, “steps beside them” and this is the process labelled “*da*”. “*Da*” is also always bound with the concept of the swift and hurried, maybe, caused by the fear accompanying the doer in the process or the thought that one must get over it very fast, to avoid being discovered by anybody. The unforeseen is ultimately implied. The word “*nini*” “slip” is based on the conception that every individual person is a wanderer and the law is the path on which he walks. He, who then slips and falls as a result, has not done so intentionally; it is a sudden unintentional occurrence. Another formula characterizes the transgression of the law as “an offence in the sight of the king”: *da le fia fe nkume*. A child, who also follows the orders of the father, walks before the eyes of his father, even when he lives far from his father. Disregard of the father’s words is an offence before “the father’s eyes.”

One living far away, but still an important part of the clan, sets his eyes, even from the distance, on the countenance or the commands of the king. The one who violates these commands commits an offence “in the face of the king”. Now, however, since the law owes its origin not only to the chief but also to the male members of the tribe, hence the expression: *da le dua fe nkume*, “to commit an offence before the eyes of the town,” is used. A further expression for it is: *da le gbe dzi*, “to transgress the voice, i.e. the law of the king”.

A town in which the laws cease to be effective is referred to as: *du tsi nuvo*, i.e. the town remains open, is unbridled and without discipline. A child, who finds himself restricted in his father’s house because of his principles,/who cannot live in his father’s house because of his fatherly laws, may leave the house and become his own master

/elsewhere/abroad. The foreign land is for such a son, a *vovofe*, or a place where his father's commands regarding his actions and movements are no more binding upon him, where he can therefore lead a licentious and an unbridled life.

The one, who transgresses the laws, earns/deserves punishment, for he has broken the king's oath. Some laws have been ceremoniously sworn to by all, who contributed to their promulgation. This is done in such a way that everybody swears on the outstretched sword of the king.

C. People's Assemblies

People's Assemblies are convened by the king now and then under serious circumstances. On the occasion of serious happenings which threaten the security of the tribe, the population is summoned into the village street or the chief's courtyard. Town-criers go through the towns, beat their gong, deliver the usual greetings and exclaim: "A word has come out of the king's house. That is why everybody, big or small (*kpevi-okliko*), should assemble in the king's courtyard or on the street". If the presence of the population should be required during the day, then the drum is employed to call them home from the fields.

II. The Legal System

A. Conditions of Ownership

1. Purchase of Slaves

Until 1890, the purchase of a slave was put to effect in the following ways: After the end of the purchase, the seller shared the 15 *hoka* cowry shells = 30 pfennig into two parts, so that he himself retained 12½ and the buyer received 2½ *hoka*. Both parties then bought a bottle of brandy, which they drank together in the presence of witnesses. Cowry shells and mutual drink are proof of the conclusion of a legal business transaction. At this juncture, the seller takes the slave by the hand and surrenders him to his new master with the words: "If he runs away, he runs away from you; if he gets lost; then he is lost to you; if he dies, then he dies for you, and if he lives, he lives for you." Upon arrival at home with his slave, his master gives him a magic portion to drink and tells him, if he should escape, this magic potion will kill him. Should the seller want to have his man back, then he would have to give two persons in restitution for the one.

In earlier years, a handsome and healthy slave cost 112 *hotu*, then equivalent of 112 marks. A less handsome man would cost 50 – 80 *hotu*. Today (i.e. in the year 1890) a handsome slave costs up to 200 or more *hotu*.

2. Immovable Property

a. Land Acquisition

With land acquisition, one has to differentiate exactly between earlier times and the present. The ancients encamped here and there in the bush and constructed their huts.

The land on which he had built his hut, he called his property, and planted boundary trees all around it. Later the father would tell his son, how he had come to own the land, and showed him the boundaries thereof. Another form of acquiring land was supposed to proceed as follows: A hunter, on his wanderings through an area, built small huts for himself. The land which the hunter was the first to tread on, he now considered as his property. He would later live there with his family and install boundaries to prevent encroachment by other men.

b. The Value of Land

The value of land consists of the possibility that the farmer can make his farm and plant oil palm on it. The owner readily allows other families, who do not have their own land, to make their farms on his land. They do not need to pay any lease or rent. On the other hand, the land owner requires from them that they should place palm kernels here and there in the soil on their farms, so that they would grow to become his oil palm plantation. Moreover, such foreign settlers are obliged to observe exactly all the customary practices connected with the land. For example, one should not work on this land on Friday and on that land on Tuesday or on Wednesday. The earth is supposed to be resting on those days and should not be injured with the hoe.

c. Land Ownership

Every tribe has its own land. The landed property of a tribe is exactly demarcated against those of the neighbouring tribes. Every town belonging to a tribe has a legal portion of it. The land belonging to one village is also demarcated against that which belongs to another village. The delimitation is accomplished, in that a certain particular recognisable, easy-growing plant is grown everywhere, to serve as a boundary post. The name of the plant is *homie*. On the road from Ho to Kpeɖɖe, as well as between every neighbouring town of Ho, one could earlier see, on the boundaries, on both sides of the path, two fairly high heaps of earth which not only separated field and path, but also demarcated the amount of work each town had to do on the road.

The land belonging to a town is divided among the families of which the town is composed. The land belonging to the family is under the administration of the head of family. Therefore, he is obliged to help the male members of the family, whenever they are in trouble. When, for example, one of them becomes indebted, he is allowed to tap palm wine and pay the debt from its sale. Every member of the family has the right to make his farm on the land. This family land is properly demarcated from the land of the neighbours. The wealth of a family head or the family consists, among others, of the size of the land they own. A big family, rich in numbers, will put its land to a more comprehensive and faster use than does a family which is poor in numbers. A small family with a lot of land in its possession perhaps has more land than is needed for feeding its members. This situation arises if this family used to be populous in earlier times and had, through cultivation, acquired more land. The family is now small and does not need the whole land, yet it insists on the validity of its title of ownership.

The rights of the individual family members to the family land are also exactly regularised. Assuming the family of Xati (*Xativiwo*) comprises ten different family fathers, and they own a family land of about 300 to 600 acres, each member who calls

himself Xativi makes his farm on this land. The large size of the land enables the farmer to pursue the inherited shifting cultivation. According to this system, each year, the farm is made at a different site, where the soil is still fertile. In addition to the usual, normal cultivation of the land, individual industrious family members plant palm trees on small portions, more or less, of the family land. The portion of land acquired in this manner becomes their personal property, but in such a way that other members of the family may still make their farms on these plots, and further that they also have a right to hold the rest of the land still available in usufruct. And as a result of this, an individual member of the family may have a family land but which is not his personal property. The children make their farms in the immediate neighbourhood of their father's property, thereby extending their personal right to the property, especially if they plant oil palms. A family land on which all owners are equally hardworking and ambitious will progressively be wholly covered with oil palms and, with that, the land has been shared among the individual members of the family.

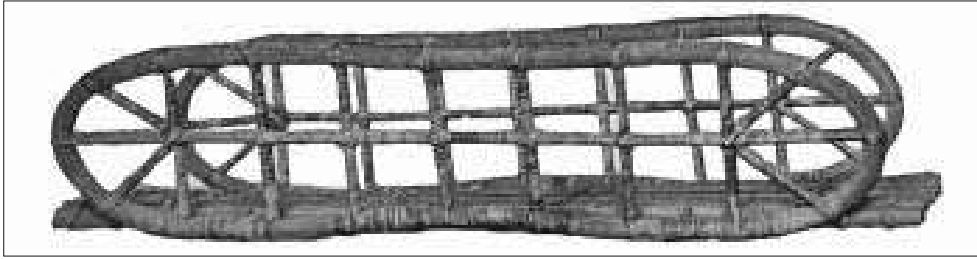
d. Transfer of Land Ownership

The transfer of landed property occurs either by inheritance or by purchase. The landed property inherited from the fathers is called *tɔgbuɪnu* or *mamanu*; *tɔgbuɪnu* when it is from the male line, and *mamanu* when it comes from the maternal line. The inherited land, whether coming from the father's side or the mother's side, goes to the possession of the brother, when the immediate past owner dies. In the absence of such a brother, it passes on to his eldest son; however, it always remains a property of the family. The names of all past owners are mentioned during the transfer of the plot.

It is impossible to sell the whole family land, because the family would thereby be robbing itself of the basis of its livelihood. It is only during special emergencies, through which the whole family might land in debt, that the land may be sold with the consent of all members concerned. That happens, however, only in cases of the most extreme expedience. Earlier the indebted man in such a case would rather be sold out or mortgaged. A family which has no land is poor and dependent on other property owning families. It may well happen, however, that isolated plots would be sold by the current owner with the consent of the family. These plots become the property of the buyers, but will be bought back by the family as soon as a good opportunity arises. The plot released for sale goes into the possession of the one who gives the money, be it a man or a woman. A plot acquired by purchase always devolves upon the purchaser's eldest son and after him, in the general sequence; it falls first to his brothers and after them to his eldest son.

If a person buys a plot which has been planted with oil palms, the new owner pays the amount agreed upon. The seller must then bring 25 *hoka* to be shared between the seller and the buyer. In addition, one *hoka* cowry shells³⁶ will be tied to a string, these shells would be divided into two groups, and the string cut into two halves. The tearing of the string symbolises the consolidation of the purchase. Each party binds his half-string with the shells, to the inner foot of his stool or if he is a trader, to the framework of his palanquin. That is supposed to be the receipt of a legally concluded purchase.

36 1 hoka has 35 shells.



A local palanquin *tsikpo*

The purchaser and the seller now go together with their witnesses to the newly acquired land and fire three shots. With this, the purchase is publicly and legally confirmed. If misunderstandings should arise in future, the judges first ask, whether the statutory three shots had been fired at the site? If that can be proved, then the proprietary right is secured.

Anybody living in a foreign tribe can make a farm there, without having to buy the land. He secures himself something like a lease, the right of usufruct by giving gifts and the like, without thereby acquiring a title of ownership. He may plant palm trees on it and even sell them; but the land remains the property of the owner, who is always free to enter his landed property and who may farm beside or with his lessee.

e. Land Disputes

There have always been land disputes. Whenever two people quarrel over land or over the boundary of a plot, they must do so in the presence of chiefs as follows: Each party must enumerate all past owners and show the boundaries of the land to a commission appointed by the chief; comprising two experts. If this or the other man is not able to do so, then the case goes against him. If he does not do it well enough, then the commission may file an objection. Uncertainties concerning boundaries are always settled by families, often in court. Owners who have already lost their father or uncle are often no more in the position of naming the former owners and of showing the boundaries. They often, therefore, take a small part of the family property, leaving the disputed rest to others.

During disputes, in many cases, the following approaches are also adopted for the clarification of possessory right. Mr. A. disputes Mr. B.'s right to his land by felling one or several palm trees on that plot. Mr. B. goes to the land and raises a few mounds there. He then goes to the chiefs, who proceed to the land in question with Mr. A. and his witnesses. Once there, Mr. B. proceeds to stand before the mounds and calls out the names of all his forefathers, who had had the forest before him. In the process, whole family registers are invoked. He then says: "All these have died, and only I, their child, am still alive". At this, the chiefs ask him to throw sand. He takes a little bit, throws it against the other party and says: "May this earth kill you!" Since the people strongly believe that in many cases the death of the person involved follows soon after that, Mr. A. does not allow the case to come so far, if he is not absolutely sure of his claims. He rather distances himself from it much earlier amidst mockery and ridicule from the others. He is later reprimanded by the chiefs. If, on the other hand, Mr. A. is very sure of himself, then he allows the throwing of sand, and he also throws against Mr. B. The

chiefs then wait to see which of the two parties would die first, in order to be able to determine whose property the land is.

Legal claims on land are also brought up in the following way. If a person starts to put up a building on a plot of land without having sought permission from the owner, the latter raises little mounds all around the plot in question. With this he has put a stop to the action of the man who wanted to seize the property without asking for it. The owner is thereby telling him: “You have no business here; the land belongs to me and I prohibit you from setting foot on it again”. It is not allowed ever to destroy these mounds, for they are under special protection. Anyone who dares to break them will be afflicted by dropsy.

On the 16th of August 1885, an envoy came to chief Adompre and enquired from him whether he had sent anyone to the parcel of land on which he intended to locate Dome town? The chief replied that he had not sent anybody in the past three days. The man then narrated the story: The youth of a certain town had gone to the site the day before, and had planted palm fronds all around the area. Knots were made on the topmost leaves of each palm frond. That was the official sign, warning them that they were laying claim to the land and would not allow the Dome people to build their town there, not before the existing quarrel between both towns was settled.

The following example will well illustrate how land purchase proceeded in the olden days, and the resulting legal implications. The old king *Kpawomekoe* of Dome was hard pressed for money, while performing the sacrificial rites for his throne, and therefore sent beads to T.K, a rich man in Heve, imploring him to give him 2 *hotu* cowry shells (2 marks), taking the beads as security. T.K. sent back the beads as well as the cowry shells requested, with the message, that he was willing to give him the cowries even without security. Later when the king was again in financial difficulty, he requested one *hotu* and 10 *hoka* (60 pfennig, at present value), which the rich man most willingly gave. Very pleased with the situation, the king suggested to him, he should give him an additional sum of 4 *hotu*, for which he would cede his oil palm forest, *Amaɣuvi* to him. T.K. accepted the offer, and took over the plantation as his property, for 7 *hotu* and 10 *hoka*, currently amounting to 3 marks 60 pfg.

From then on, the new owner T.K. started tapping palm wine on the land without any protest by anybody. After his death, his elder brother, D.K., became the guardian of his son, who was still a minor. The little son Dz. K. also came to live with his uncle, D.K., who had also taken over the management of his deceased brother’s palm forest. When the little Dz. K. grew up, his uncle bought him a gun, and also returned his father’s inheritance, the palm forest to him. D.K. died during the Asante wars and the young Dz. K. continued to tap palmwine on the land without any objection from any quarters. One day, however, on his way to his property, he was very surprised to find palm leaves which had been tied into knots lying on his path. This is the *blikpo* sign, meaning that someone is laying claim to his palm forest. Dz. K. immediately went to the then King, Kofi, and reported that someone had laid a *blikpo* on his palms, they should find the man and ask him why he had done that. King Kofi, a chief from Heve, as well as the two sons of *Kpawomekoe*, *Wusu Kofi* and *Kumi*, were all present at the deliberations.

During the deliberation, the accused, W.K., attempted to prove his legal claim on the property thus: During the war, *Wusu Kofi*, son of *Kpawomekoe*, had borrowed 12

hotu cowry shells from W.K, for which he sold him the palm plantation *Amanjuvi*, which his father Kpawomekoe had earlier already sold to D.K. of Heve. But Wusu Kofi had deducted 4 out of 12 *hotu* for the purpose of buying back his palm plantation from D.K. He gave the cowry shells to a chief of Heve, who took them, saying he should just put them down, he, the chief would let the owner of the land, Dz. K., have them later. The latter however, had never heard anything about it. In the arbitration, judgment was given for Dz. K. and Wusu Kofi was found guilty and had to pay back the 12 *hotu* cowries to W.K. On the other hand, Dz. K. should give back to W.K., something from the proceeds of his palm wine. Dz. K. complied with this judgement and, as a result, W.K. concluded that this was a permanent arrangement. He, therefore, made valid his purported right to the land.

3. Movable properties

a. What They Consist of

Anybody who has 8 to 10 sheep is referred to as a rich man. Even if he has only five sheep, a person is rich, especially if he also has some goats, chicken and pigs.³⁷ When he lends 40 marks to somebody, this person becomes his pledge; if he lends another about 100 marks, this person also becomes his pledge as well. Such a man is rich. He buys guns and gun powder for his children and pawns. His bowls are full of cowry-shells. He lives in a spacious house, and has plantations of yams, maize and cassava. Anyone who can do all that is a rich man. This type of rich person buys slaves and marries many wives. When a festival is being celebrated, and he wants to show off, he distributes beautiful clothes among his children, cooks a good meal and makes available a lot of palm wine for people to drink. The family members of a rich man are not counted among his riches. Only the relatives or family members of a poor man are counted as his wealth; for when he finds himself in any difficulty, he can mortgage any of those. In days gone by, a rich man would buy himself *sui*, red beads, *adzagba*, costly yellow beads, *gbloti*, blue beads, and very long silver or gold chains. These days these things are not so much valued.

The wealth of women comprises goats, sheep and fowls. A woman who holds other women in pledge for money borrowed, who buys guns for her brothers, who has a lot of *avadze* on her farm and red, blue and yellow beads as well as gunpowder and clothes at home, such a woman is called rich. There are people who have a lot of such riches, but who do not have any land or any oil palm plantation. Others possess no such riches, but possess much land and big oil palm plantations.

b. The Mode of Acquisition

Some people get rich through farming, others through trading, through weaving and mat-making, or by rearing animals. One thing that leads to an increase in wealth is the possession of pawns (mortgaged persons), who have to work for their masters. They also have to weave for their masters, work on the farms and do all sorts of work. I know a man whose name is Dzaɖe Kɔmla. This man got rich only through farming. One

37 The chiefs of Ho had banned pig farming in the 90s.

3. Kesinɔnuwo

a. Nu siwo nye kesinɔnuawo

Ne alē 10 alo 8 le ame aɖe si la, ekema woyɔnɛ bena, enye kesinɔtɔ; ɖewo ne ede atɔ pɛ ko la. Hekpe ɖe esia ɲu la, gbɔwo, koklowo kple hawo hã le esi. Ne ame aɖe nyi fe 40 M, eye woxo ame bubuwo hã, siwo nyi fe abe 100 M kple bubuwo ene. Ne efle tu na eviawo eye wogaflee na awɔbaviawo hã, eye wogafle ɖugo hã kpe ɖe eɲu na wo. Hekpe ɖe nufefle siawo ɲu la, hotsui le zewo me nɛ. Efe afe si me wole hã lolo, eye tegble gãwo, bligblewo kple agbeligblewo le esi. Ame si te ɲu wɔ nu siawo katã la, eya woyɔna be kesinɔtɔ. Kesinɔtɔ siawo tɔgbui flea amewo, eye woɖea srɔ geɖewo. Ne ɲkeke nyuie gã aɖe ɖo dzi eye wole didim be yeaɖe ye ɖokui ɖe go afia la, ekema ema avɔ na viawo katã, eye woɖua nu, noa aha geɖe. Womeyɔa kesinɔtɔ fe amewo be wonye efe kesinɔnuwo o, ke boɲ hiãtɔ fe amewo, alo efomeawo woyɔna be wonye efe kesinɔtɔ; elabena ne hiã tui la, ekema ale wo dometo ɖeka aɖo awɔba. Tsã la, ɲutsu kesinɔtɔwo dia sui, adzagba, gbloti, dzetɛ kple kɔɔkɔɔ; gake azɔ la womegale wo dim gobi o.

Nyɔnuwo fe kesinɔtɔwo nye, gbɔ, alē kple koklo. Nyɔnu, si ke ate ɲu axɔ nɔvia nyɔnu bubu awɔba, eye wɔɖe ɲu afle tu na ɲutsu la, eya nye kesinɔtɔ. Hekpe ɖe esia ɲu la, avadzɛbofo le esi kpi, sui, gbloti adzagba, ɖu kple avɔwo le esi kpi, gake devewo kple anyigbawo mele wo si o, ame bubuwo li siwo si nu siawo mele o, gake devewo kple anyigbawo le wo si fũu.

b. Nu siwo hea kesinɔnuwo vɛ

Ame aɖewo kpɔa hotsui toa agbledede me eye ame aɖewo to asitsatsa me ɖewo to avɔɔlɔ alo abalɔlɔ me alo to lã geɖe nyinyi me. Nu si nana be kesinɔnuawo gadzina ɖe edzi lae nye, ne ame la xɔ awɔba la, awɔbamemawo wɔa ɖɔ nɛ. ɖɔ siawo fe ɖewoe nye: wolɔa avɔ, ka agble eye wogawɔa ɖɔ fomevi geɖewo. Menya ame aɖe si fe ɲkɔe nye Dzade Kɔmla, ame sia la agbledede me sɔɲ ko woto hafi kpɔ ho. Domenyinyi mena wozua kesinɔtɔ o, negbe ave si wotsɔ nyi dome la, eya ko nana wozua kesinɔtɔ. Ahakpakpa hã hea hotsui vɛ na ame;

does not get rich through the inheritance of movable properties. One also gets wealth by tapping palm wine, for with the money earned from that work, one can buy goods like European yarn, brandy and gunpowder which can then be retailed. Gentleness and kind-heartedness towards people contribute towards the growth of wealth, as has been demonstrated by Dzade's example. His riches increased in such a way that he was able to get new pawns every year. He got one such pawn not long ago³⁸ for 100 marks. His farms became bigger and bigger. The reason for this is that this man was a peace-loving man, who demonstrated his kindness to everybody. When the crops in his fields are ripe, he causes a public announcement to be made, inviting all, rich or poor, with or without money to come and buy; all are invited. Those who have no money could pay him later, when they have the money. This is why this man enjoys such a great prestige. There are some rich men who do not enjoy any prestige; because they are stingy. When someone appeals to them for a favour, they usually say they do not have it. If such a man likes the wife of another man, he goes ahead to sleep with her because he knows he has the money to pay the fine. When they are drunk, they often go about insulting people. They treat their pawns badly. When they lend monies to their paternal brothers, they demand a refund with full interest. Such a man, when drunk, insults and beats his wife. The people of the town in which there exists such a person come together and plan to do something bad to him. The people also say that they would never want to become his pawns. If such a person has anything to sell, he demands a very high price for it, as in the case of Mr. M.K. We have very many rich men of this kind in the towns A. and H. Rich and charitable people respect the poor and greet them in a friendly manner. When a poor man needs something, he gives it to him happily. He does not molest his pawned servants nor harass his wives. He sells his goods at moderate prices; and when somebody does not have the money, he lends it to him. The whole town looks upon these people with reverence.

c. How They Inherit

When a rich man dies, the maternal nephew comes to carry the movable properties of the deceased home. Only the rifle and the stool do not belong to him. These belong to his paternal brother. If the deceased, at the time of his death, does not have any grown-up child, then his clothes are handed over to his elder paternal brother, to be kept and later surrendered to the children when they are grown. If the deceased had a forest, which has been given to him in pledge for a debt, then this belongs to his elder paternal brother. However, the deceased's maternal brother also has a claim to this mortgaged forest. These two may hold the forest in usufruct till the son of the deceased is old enough. When he grows up he has the right to take the forest from them. If the forest is not a pledged one, but a *togbuinu*, an inherited forest, then the maternal uncle can never take it in usufruct. Instead it is the eldest paternal brother of the deceased who takes it, since the deceased had also inherited it from his forefathers. This is how the ownership of the forest circulates, from hand to hand, among the male children of the forefathers. This shows that there is a difference between *togbuinu*, paternal inheritance, and *nyuruinu*, maternal inheritance.

38 About 1890.

ekema wotsɔa ahaho la flea nuwoe nɔa dzadram abe deti, aha kple ɖu ene. Nu si nana be, kesinɔnuwo le edzi yim nɛ ɲuto elabena, fe sia fe exɔa awɔba kokoko. Nyitsɔ hã egaxɔ awɔba M 100. Efe agble si dem wòle la, le edzi yim nɛ ɲuto. Nu si ɲutie lae nye be, nenem ɲutsu sia nye ame fafa, eye ame gedewo ɖi ɖase le ɲɔ be, enye dɔmenyoto hã. Ne ede agble eye nukuwawo nyo la, ekema edea gbefã bena, woava flee; hotsui le ame aɖe si alo hotsui mele esi o, ame la neva faa. Gbe si gbe wokpɔ hotsui la, ne woava xe na ye; eya ta ameawo bua ɲutsu sia vevie ɲuto. Ke womebua kesinɔtɔ aɖewo o, elabena wowɔa dɔmevevee le amewo ɲu. Ne amewo bia nane tso wo gbɔ la, ekema wogblɔna bena meli o. Ne ekpɔ nɔvia srɔ hã ekema ayɔ, elabena egblɔ bena ga le ye si fiu, ne wobla hã yeana. Ne emu aha la, ekema enɔa ameawo dzum ne exɔ ame aɖe awɔba la ekema enɔa fu dem nɛ. Nenye be edo ho na tɔvi aɖe la enɔa deme dim kokoko. Ne srɔ le esi la anɔ ewom anɔ edzum ne emu aha. Ne ame sia tɔgbui le du aɖe me la, ekema amewo kana ɖe ɲɔ be yewoawo nu vevie. Eye ame aɖewo gblɔna bena, yewomanɔ awɔba me le egbo akpɔ gbegbede o. Ne nu dzadzra aɖe le esi la, ekem axɔ asi ɲuto abe ɲutsu aɖe si woyɔna be M. K. ene. Nenem mesia fomeviwo sɔ gbɔ le kesinɔtɔwo dome ɲuto, vevietɔ le Akpleh. Kesinɔtɔ dɔmenyotɔwo ame siwo nye mia fowo eye wodoa gbe na wo nyuie, ne nane hiãe la, enane kple dzidzɔ. Ne ame aɖe le awɔba me le egbo la, medea fu nɛ o, eye medea tu fu na srɔ na srɔwo hã o. Edzra nuwo kple asi bɔbɔe, ne ga mele ame aɖe si o la ekema edone na fãa. Nenem me siawo dzi du blibo la katã tsɔa wofe bubu trɔna ɖo.

C. Kesinɔnuwo fe domenyinyi

Ne kesinɔtɔ aɖe ku la, ekema ame si ke yɔa nyruie nɛ la, eya ava ɔ nuawo ayi afe mee. Tu kple zikpui ko menye etɔ o, ke boɲ enye tɔvia tɔ. Ne vi le esi si metsi haɖe o la, ekema wotsɔa anɔ na tɔvia tsitsitɔ, bena wɔadzra ɖo nɛ, ne ɖevi la va tsi la ne wɔaxɔ. Ne awɔbave le esi la, enye tɔvi tsitsitɔ tɔ kple amekuku la fe nyruie tɔ, eye wo ame eve la woanɔ ave la ɲu dɔ wom va se ɖe esime amekukua fe vi natsi. Ne ɖevi la tsi la, ekema ekpɔ mɔ axɔe le wo si. Ke ne menye awɔba wonye o, ke boɲ tɔgbuivee la, ekema nyruie maxɔe o, ke boɲ ame kuku la fe tɔvi tsitsitɔ axɔe, elabena ame kuku la hã dome wɔnyi kplii tso tɔgbuiawo gbɔ; le esia ta ele be, ave la nanɔ tsatsam le tɔgbuiɔviawo dzi. Le esia me miele ekpɔ be, domenyinyi ma ɖe eve: tɔgbuiwu kple nyruinu.

Nyɔnu kesinɔtɔ fe nu siwo le esi la wonye nɔvia kple nɔa tɔ. Ke ne vi le esi la, ekema wonye via tɔ, eye nɔvia kple nɔa woaxɔ ɖe le eme ko. Mamanue nye efe mamayɔviwo tɔ; ke via hã xɔa ɖe, eye ɖe hã nyea nɔvia tɔ. Ne deve le esi la enye nɔvia tɔ, ke ne nɔvi mele esi o la, ekema nuawo nye via tɔ, eye eya ɖeka ko akpɔ ɲusɛ ɖe wo dzi.

The estates of a rich woman are inherited by her maternal sister and her mother. If the deceased has a daughter, this daughter would get the major part, while the sister and mother only receive a small portion. If the deceased had got any *mamènu*, inherited property from the grandmother, this can only be inherited by her daughter or female grandchildren. Her daughter and the sister of the deceased receive a small part of it. The oil palm plantation of the deceased, if she had one, goes to her maternal sister after her death. If she has no sister, the ownership devolves to her daughter. She is the only one who has absolute power over the forest.

B. Some Aspects of Marriage Law

1. The Right of the Husband over His Wife

The matrimonial rights of a husband to his wife do not lapse if he neglects or totally leaves his wife who has been sick for a long period. He can again lay claim to her after her recovery; he should only have to make good all the expenses she incurred as a result of her sickness before making the move. If the woman should marry another man, who does not belong to the family of her current husband, this man will be pursued and punished for adultery. It happened that in a neighbouring town, a juju-man married a patient he had healed. This led to his being bitterly persecuted by her real husband. On the other hand, she is permitted to marry a near relative of her current husband; in which case she remains inside the family, which insists on its legitimate claim to the woman. There are also cases in which the husband decides to forego the wife whom he had ignored as result of sickness, fearing that she might not eventually recover but would only remain a burden on him through a long illness. If she, however, recovers, contrary to expectations, he can no more lay any claim on her.

2. Adultery in relation to Larceny

Stealing is forbidden, and good parents impress upon their children very early; *Megafifio*, “thou shall not steal”. It is a very dirty act to steal one’s neighbour’s property and stealing is, therefore, punishable. Earlier, when a thief was caught, he was made to walk through all the towns of the tribe announcing publicly and in the presence of all and sundry that he was a thief. Later his personal name may often be called together with the stolen objects. If the hen-thief, for example, is called Kwasi, people begin to call him, *Koklo Kwasi* i.e. Hen Kwasi. The concept of “stealing” is, however, a very elastic one. Knocking down fruits daily from the trees of a European, for example, does not constitute stealing. One has also not stolen, if one goes quietly in the night to the palm wine tapping place to drink the wine collected in the pot under the palm tree. If every day a boy secretly takes some meat from his father’s meat basket, that does not amount to stealing. Stealing is if this boy empties the neighbour’s meat basket.

In the case of adultery, the property of the neighbour may well be what comes into question, but in this case the offence occurs with the consent of the other person involved. What is more, the adulterer does not rob a fellow creature of anything material, he rather contributes something to the husband of the woman. That is why it may also happen that a mother would comfort her guilty son, saying he should calm

down, that, after all, he has not stolen anything; what he has done could be repaired with a couple of *hotu* cowry shells.

C. System of Inheritance

It is not only the children who inherit from their father. His paternal as well as maternal brothers also have hereditary titles to his properties. For that reason, the man's children would remove all valuable properties of their father out of their father's house as soon as they noticed that he would soon pass away. The brothers of the deceased also try in the last moments of their dying brother to secure as much as possible of his movable properties. The laws of inheritance generally are as follows:

1. Hereditary Entitlement of the Maternal Uncle

It is only the maternal uncle who has hereditary title. Every property in the room belongs to him. When the *tsiteŋŋlb* "mat-rolling" at the end of the funeral is completed, a day will be fixed for a meeting of all family members in the house of the deceased for the purpose of sharing his properties. This usually comprises gunpowder, guns, dresses, cowry-shells and silver coins as well as all sorts of gadgets.

2. Hereditary Entitlement of the Paternal Uncle

The paternal brother of the deceased has the key to the house of the deceased in his possession, and he alone has the right to open it. With the key in his hand, he points to the West and to the East before opening the door. He alone brings the trunks and boxes out of the hut and places them before the beneficiaries assembled. They then request him to open the trunks, or if there is no such thing, put his hands into the sack of clothes. He lays the first dress that he grasps at his feet, signifying that it belongs to him. Apart from this cloth, he also gets a chair, a gun and the cartridge bag of the deceased as a sign of his brotherly obligations. This is because it is the paternal brother's duty to go before his brother in dangerous situations, with the gun in hand and to speak for him during difficult court trials, that is, "to sit on the stool". After selecting his portion, all the better goods remaining are put aside for the maternal brother. The rest of the inheritance will now be shared among the adult children of the deceased. Of the cowry shells still remaining, the people present receive 5 – 10 *hoka*, amounting to 5 – 10 pfennig, an insignificant gift.

The farm produce of the deceased has already been used for feeding the visitors who attended his burial. If the relatives want to visit the deceased's farm, then the paternal brother of the other siblings must go ahead of them carrying his gun. He "opens the way to the farm" by firing two shots of the gun. They enter the farm shouting while beating their mouths repeatedly. The noise of shooting and shouting is supposed to drive away the ghost of the deceased; if this is not done, the deceased would be angered. Sheep, fowls etc. are consumed as well during the funeral.

3. Hereditary Entitlement of Wives

The wife or the wives of the deceased have no hereditary entitlement, since they are themselves inheritable objects. Paternal brothers of the deceased inherit them together with their children who are still under age. If, however, the sons are grown up, they would build on their father's ruins. If their mother's part of the family forcefully prevents them from doing this, one or the other of them would have to die,³⁹ leading to serious court cases, in which the family would be charged high fines. It is only the son who continues the family; the women have no name. Matrilineal inheritance would result in sending the children to another town. She only gets as much from her husband's farm as she can subsist on during the time of mourning. If her husband should die during the actual yam harvest, she gets four rows of yam. He who gets the wife also gets her still under-aged children, but has to do without any further inheritance since the deceased would otherwise take revenge.

If the deceased had an inherited land, a *tɔgbuɪnu*, this would become the paternal brother's possession. His younger brother gets it after his death, and, after this, it goes over to the son of the brother who first died. Plots of land bought by the deceased are inherited by his sons; the girls have no hereditary title. If the sons are still minors by the time of their father's death, the mother takes over the administration of the land, in trust, for her children. After them, ownership is handed down according to the generally accepted rules of inheritance as inherited land, *tɔgbuɪnyigba*. When later the children want to step on their patrilineal inheritance as inherited land, they request that "the way to their father's plot should be opened" for them. This is done by the paternal uncle, firing a shot on the plot to formally hand over the plot to them.

4. Hereditary Entitlement of Children

When children come off badly during the accession to the inheritance of their father, then it is usually one child being preferred by him above the other siblings in the distribution of the paternal resources. For if a man, for example, has several well-behaved sons, who have made him happy by being of good character and respectful, he buries small or large amounts of money for them outside in the bush near trees. In earlier times, because of the many wars, one could not keep the cowry-shells in the huts; one, therefore, dug and buried them under a tree in the bush. The trees served as sign posts. Very early, one morning, the old man summoned the respectful son with the words: "Come, let's go together to the latrine", or "Come, accompany me to the farm". Upon arrival there, the father would point to a particular tree, give a description of the tree and then even refer him to the other trees standing in its neighbourhood; he would even count for his attention, the number of steps from a particular spot and say to him: "When I'm no more alive, and if you are in any kind of difficulty and you want to marry or to buy a gun, then just approach this tree, and five steps from it, ask him and you'll get something, that is, I've kept money there for you." In this way he shows him several such trees, under which often 10-100 *hotu* lie buried. The son may never disclose the secret to anybody. But if it does happen, then the father comes in the night, carries the treasure away to be buried at another location where no one would find it again. If the son, however, keeps the secret to himself, then it often happened that after the death of

³⁹ The deceased would take revenge on them.

their father, his elder brothers came to claim and said: “You have been obedient to our father, and were his darling; he must definitely have shown you something before his death”. If the boy was still young, he often allowed himself to be moved and confessed the fact. They would then buy him a gun and find him a wife, but took the money for themselves. But those who kept the secret from the others would get help from that source in times of trouble which the others would not have.

If a son had served as pawn for his father’s debt, then after the death of this father his palm forest would belong to him, for if he had not been pawned the palm forest would have had to be sold.

An oil palm forest never dies out completely and for that matter it is a very valuable heritage. When the owner of the oil palm plantation died, the ownership then goes into the possession of the one who becomes the eldest in the family after him. This type of forest is called “alm forest of the forefathers”. If, on the other hand, the deceased had bought the forest himself, then it is referred to as *to deve* “father’s palm plantation” and it becomes the son’s property after his death.

5. Hereditary Entitlement of Slaves

At the death of their current owners, slaves are usually handed down to the owner’s eldest son. Both the son and the slaves consider and refer to one another as brothers. Yet there is always a certain humiliation about the slave, *kluvi*. He is referred to as a *ɲdɔvi amesi wodzi kple aɖu*, meaning “a daylight child born already with teeth”. The slave is a daylight child because he had been bought at the market during the day, as opposed to the person born at home as a free-born citizen. Though he may be called “child”, yet he is one such that already had teeth before assuming his position as a child. The slaves themselves find these names very insulting. They may sue the insulter who will be invariably punished by the chiefs. If the insulted slave runs away, the insulter is considered as the one who drove him away and has to pay back the value of the slave. A common retort of a slave to his insulter is, “If I am a slave, then show me the way home”.

The slave also receives something small from the movable properties on the death of his master. The slave builds his house on the ruins of his master near the children.

III. The Judicial System

A. The Oath

1. The Essence and Types of Oath

There are two different ways of bringing an action against a person, namely, by swearing an oath and by lodging a complaint.

The historical importance and the substance of the oath are closely linked together. If the whole tribe or its king was afflicted by a disastrous calamity, then the occasion or the day on which the disaster occurred became an oath. The name of this day or of the occasion may hence forth not be mentioned again and are with immediate effect withdrawn from ordinary use. Anyone who calls the Evening of the Ho automatically

swears their oath. The formula runs; *meka Hoawo fie*; meaning “I swear by the Evening of the Ho”.

The purpose of the oath is threefold: the swearer protests his honesty, obliges the chiefs to investigate his concern and inflicts sensible injury on the offender.

In addition to the tribal oath, we also have the royal oath, the personal oath and the purely religious oaths. The essence of the personal oath (private oath) coincides with that of the tribal oath. The private individual also had serious occasions in his own life or in the life of his father which is not mentioned in daily usage, and has become an oath. In some cases, the oath cannot even be formulated. Anyone who reminds him of the sum-total of his woes or of that of his parents has sworn his oath. Anyone who does that without cause has insulted him. The religious oath consists in that the name of a god should not be mentioned in vain.⁴⁰

2. Forms of Oath

In addition to the earlier mentioned oath of the “Evening of the Ho”, mention should also be made of the oath of the King, of the throne of the King and that of his feet. The oath of the king’s stool says: *meka fia fe kpukpo*, meaning: “I swear by the throne of the king, that I’ve not done this or that”. The oath swearer is thereby reminding the chief of all the grievous experiences of all chiefs who had ever sat on the stool. He is thereby putting his concern before them and the current chief for immediate settlement. The oath on the chief’s foot says: *meka fia fe afɔ*, meaning: “I swear by the foot of the chief”, that I have not done this or that. The one taking the oath is thereby putting himself under the foot of the chief, saying, he himself will not be able to settle the matter pending, he is, therefore, surrendering it to the chief. The oath of the chief is one in which the oath swearer strikes the earth with his palm and says: *meka anyigba na wò*, meaning: “I swear by the earth”. The idea underlying this formula is: The chief should die if he does not help the oath swearer attain his right. After swearing this most serious oath, the chief causes his servants in town to slaughter two or three sheep. The chiefs come together to feast on the meat. Palm wine and brandy are shared freely. The guilty party will have to foot the bill for the occasion.

The personal oaths says: *meka wò ame*, meaning, “I swear by you, the individual person, that I should die, if I take anything from you”. The oath swearer thereby solemnly protests his innocence and says that he has told the truth and does not need to fear anything. Another formula is: *meka nusi ke wɔ wò asibide be wòtrɔ zu ale*, meaning, “I swear by that which has deformed your fingers”. The oath swearer is hereby reminding the one concerned of a wound or perhaps of a deformity of his fingers and transfers to him the burden of making the swearer’s problem his own to investigate it and to settle the matter in his favour.

A third formula runs: “*Meka wò hièwo bena, ne metegɔ bia nusi ke Kofi wɔm ta se a la, ekemè wòtu*,” meaning: “I swear by all your miseries, that if you don’t go into what Kofi has done to me, then you’ve broken the oath”. If the oath taker is exonerated at the end of the trial that follows, then the saying runs: *ede nu ñunye*, meaning: “you have wrongly accused me”. The guilty party then has to pay a definite fine, determined by the chiefs, to the acquitted person and in addition to this he must bear all the costs.

40 See Religion.

3. External Circumstances of Oath-Swearing

The external proceedings of a personal oath are sometimes very complicated. The following scenario may not be applicable to all cases, but will definitely show the extent to which natives go to prove their innocence on the one hand, and to have their opponent punished on the other hand.

A suspects B of having stolen his cloth; therefore, he sends to inform B: "I've lost my cloth, and want to ask whether you have seen it." If B denies having seen it and A remains suspicious, he sends to him a second time saying: "I've looked for my cloth for a long time, and I know for sure, that you have it". B now feels offended and goes early the next morning to a respectable man, let us call him C, and lays the matter before him. If C believes that A is right, he tells him: "If that is the case, then you can go ahead to swear without hesitation". B answers hereupon: "I swear by all miseries which have ever befallen you, that A has wrongly accused me of theft". Hereupon C sends for the brothers of B and informs them that B had sworn an oath to him, so he is requesting them to demand 200 *hotu* from A as conciliation money. B then narrates the whole story again and after listening to it they go home. C gets a sheep and six bottles of brandy or a few big gourds of palm wine from B. He sends A one fore-leg of the sheep with a bottle of brandy, to tell him that B had sworn an oath on him, he is, therefore, sending to bring him a portion of the animal, which he had slaughtered and some of the brandy which he had drunk; he should give some of the drink to his family members also. It is now A's turn to discuss the matter, in all its details, with his family members, and if they are convinced that the case would not end in his favour, then they beg C, the *tamtɔ*, to show consideration for them and not to spend too much at their cost. He would also be advised to think of the other point of view that if he spent too much, he might, under some circumstances, end up paying the costs himself. If the judiciary gives a verdict in B's favour, then A must pay all costs as well as the rest of the legal fees and money for B's atonement.

B. The Complaint and Court Procedures

If A has a complaint against B, he goes to the king with the usual complainant's fees and a few bottles of brandy and narrates what B has done against him. The king listens to the complaint, with his spokesman in attendance, and sends to inform B that an action has been brought against him, and he should therefore appear in his court the next day or the next market day. If the judge and the two parties appear on the appointed day, the spokesman opens the hearing with the question, whether all parties are present. If the answer is "yes", he requests the plaintiff to state his case.

After A has finished pleading his case, the accused may now defend himself. The witnesses of the plaintiff and of the accused are now heard, often amid stormy arguments and altercations. Finally, the judges excuse themselves, in order to discuss and agree on a verdict. This discussion is named "counsel" or also "going to the Old Woman". On their return from the old lady, the spokesman pronounces the judgement, which he usually introduces with the sentence: "The Old Woman says..." For an external sign of his innocence, the right arm of the one who is not guilty is smeared with white clay. The one convicted is required 1. to pay the complainant's fees; 2. to settle the court's costs; and 3. very often also to pay a special expiatory sum to the offended party.

How the fine is measured nowadays is different from what used to be done formerly. Cowry shells had high value in earlier times, but the value went down with time, and only German coins are accepted in the German territory. In those days, when a person was sentenced, a penalty of 60 *hoka*, today 60 pfennig, was already a high amount, and it often took the victim a long time to pay such a debt burden. If a man was charged 12 *hotu*, today 6 marks, this would mean his ruin; for 12 *hotu* was a downright prohibitive amount. Today, however, a man would not elicit such a high punishment as in previous years when someone was punished for 60 *hoka*.

The portion of the court charges which comes to the chiefs is determined by status, and age of the individuals. After a fairly big court trial, an elderly chief would receive 1 – 3 marks, whilst a younger one would have to be satisfied with 5 – 10 pfennigs. This disproportion, of course, often gives rise to frequent cases of dissatisfaction; for the younger chief feels that he has also had to forgo his work like the older chief.

C: Copies of court hearings

1. An Embezzlement

a. The Causative Factors

After the Taviefe war, Dente Komla and A, accompanied by other men went to Tokokoe, Nyive, Yeviefe, Kpedze, Kpadafe, Gbalave, Tovee, Kpalime and Agu where they presented themselves as envoys of Howusu, of King Afede as well as their chiefs. They said the chiefs had run into many debts as a result of the war, and they were now being sent round to collect relief items from these kings. They gave orders, in the name of King Kwadzo Dei of Peki, that all kings should contribute towards the payment of the war debt. The kings replied that it was right to do so, and that they would pay their due. They gave a total of forty powder kegs; some gave four, others three and a few others gave two. They supplied, in all, forty kegs of gunpower, thirty-five sheep and an uncountable amount of cowries. Some brought mats and cloths. The king of Yeviefe gave a large red cloth and a silk loin cloth to Dente Komla, to be presented to the king of Ho as a sign of gratitude for the part he had played in the war. For three months these people tarried in the area. Dente Komla prevailed upon the people of Yeviefe and Nyive to carry their own contributions themselves to Akoviefe and Kpenɔɔ, into the house of Kowu, where they had piled up the cowry shells in a room. After that, they carried them all to Ho. The kings and the chiefs, for whom these were intended, saw none of them. Neither Howusu nor Kwadzo Dei ever set their eyes on the gifts.⁴¹

Not long after that, some Ho traders went into that area to sell their wares. The people of the area insulted the Ho people, saying: “You are extortionists. We have all been involved in the Taviefe war, and some of us had even fallen. Howusu and Kwadzo Dei have now sent Dente Komla to organize collections from us to be sent to them; but what have you done? You have retained the contributions for your own consumption! What do you now want in our homeland, walking up and down? Clear off and go home!” In this way they, their brothers, bore ill-will against the king of Ho, the chiefs, the communities as well as against the warriors of Ho.

41 Kwadzo Dei the title of the king of Peki.

C. Ale si Hoawo drõa vɔnui

1. Aɖitiɖinya aɖe dɔdrõ

a. Nya, si he nya le ve

Le Taviefeva megbe la, Dente Kɔmla kple Atsukpui kple ame bubu, siwo kpe ɖe wo ŋu la, woyi Tokoe, Nyive, Yeviefe, Kpedze, Kpadafe, Gbalave, Tovee, Kpime kple Agu, eye wodzo nu le fiawo si be, Wusu kple Afede kple wofe amegãwo dɔ yewo ɖa, elabena yewonyi fe le awawɔwɔ me wosɔgbɔ akpa. Eya ta ele na fiawo keɖe be, woadzo nu na wo, ne woaxe awafe la le Kwadzo Dei fe gbe dzi (ɲkɔ me). Tete fia siawo gblɔ bena; o, agbayie, yewoadzo nu la! Eye wodzo du 40; ame aɖewo na 4, ɖewo na 3 kple 4 kple alẽ 35 kple hotsui si womexlẽ o. Dewo na aba alo tsetse, ame aɖewo na avɔ. Yeviefefia tsɔ kadzẽvɔ ga aɖe kple sedagodoe de asi na Dente Kɔmla, be woatsɔ ve na Howusu be, ɖe yetɔ wo le awaɖese dom nɛ. Wonɔ Venua me yleti etɔ. Dente Kɔmla na Yeviefe kple Nyivetɔwo fɔ nuawo va Akɔviefe kple Kpeɖe, da ɖe Kɔwu fe xɔ me. Hotsuiwo la wolɔ wo ɖe xɔ me tsowlowo. Emegbe nu siawo katã wova Ho – Hofiawo kple wo amegawo mekpɔ nu sia nu o. Howusu ɖakpɔ wo o, Kwadzo Di mekpɔ wo o.

Esia megbe Hovi aɖewo yi afi ma nutowo me asi tsa ge, eye afi matɔwo dzu Hoviwo bena: “Kasadiawo wonye. Amewo katã wowɔ Taviefeva, eye ame aɖewo tsi; ke Howusu kple Kwadzo Dei wodɔ Dente Kɔmla ɖa wova dzɔ nu le wo si pete, kɔ yi na wo woɖa ɖu. Azɔ nu ka dim wole, le yewo de le tsatsam le yiyim mahã? Ne wodzo, ne woayi afe” Ale Hofiawo kple wofe amegãwo kple asafowo keɖe, sɔhewo kple Hotɔwo pete xɔ fu le wo nɔviawo gbɔe nye esi.

b. Fixing a Date for the Hearing

When the Ho heard of this collection, Afede and the elders went to enquire about it from Howusu, who did not make any appreciable effort to solve the problem. They therefore took offence, dispersed in anger and went home. From then on, nothing was said about the matter again. They thought they would inform the Peki king Kwadzo Dei about the case when he next came to Ho.

However, the Ho people realized that they were no longer under the sovereignty of Kwadzo Dei and that they did not have to wait for his commands anymore. They decided to investigate the case themselves. They came to an agreement that the local authorities and the young men should request Afede and Howusu to show them the donations which Dente Komla had collected on their behalf from among their brothers. They assured Afede that they would not have anything to do with the king till they had themselves seen the articles in question.



The Ostracized Priest Dente Komla in Ho

In the fourth night, they sent to inform the king and his people, that they had an important matter to discuss with him. Every citizen of Ho, big or small, should assemble and listen to them. The king should, please, have *Ahliha*, *Axɔe* and *Banyakoe* properly informed that no one should go to work on his farm. Anyone who still went would be punished. It was, however, permitted to fetch foodstuffs from the farm. The king said that he was willing to have the announcement made; they should only first tell him, what the problem was. The men refused to answer and said they would be hearing from the mouth of the elders the next morning. He asked again, one more time; but they told him nothing. Immediately after that, they sent to inform Klee Yawo,⁴² who said, 'We cannot divulge to you what the community has decided to keep secret'.

He would hear it in the next morning from the mouth of other people, free of charge. The king agreed to it and went on to declare that he would come the following morning.

42 Chief of Ahliha.

b. Nyazã dodo di

Nudzɔdzɔ sia la, Hoawo se eŋkɔ, Afede kple ame tsitsiwo bia Howusu se; ke Howusu meɖe ɖo gblɔ na wo nyuie o, eya ta wɔzu dziku na wo woka hlẽ. Tso ekema dzi la, womegagblɔ nya aɖeke o. Wosusu be gbe si gbe ke Kwadzo Dei ava Ho la, yewoaɖe nya la ɖe go le efe ŋkume.

Azɔ Hotɔwo kpɔ be, womegale Kwadzo Di te o, eye Kwadzo Dei fe nya aɖeke meganye wo tɔ o. Eya ta Afede kple Bɔbɔbe kple ametsitsiwo gadzro nya sia me kpɔ. Eye wobla be, asafowo, sɔhewo nabia Afede kple Howusu be nu siwo ke wodo Dente Kɔmla wo ɖadzɔ le wo nɔviawo si la, ne wotsɔ wo ve ne yewoakpɔ. Le esia me woka ɖe dzi na Afede be yewoakpɔ nu siawo hafi yewoawo ɖeka kple wofe fia.

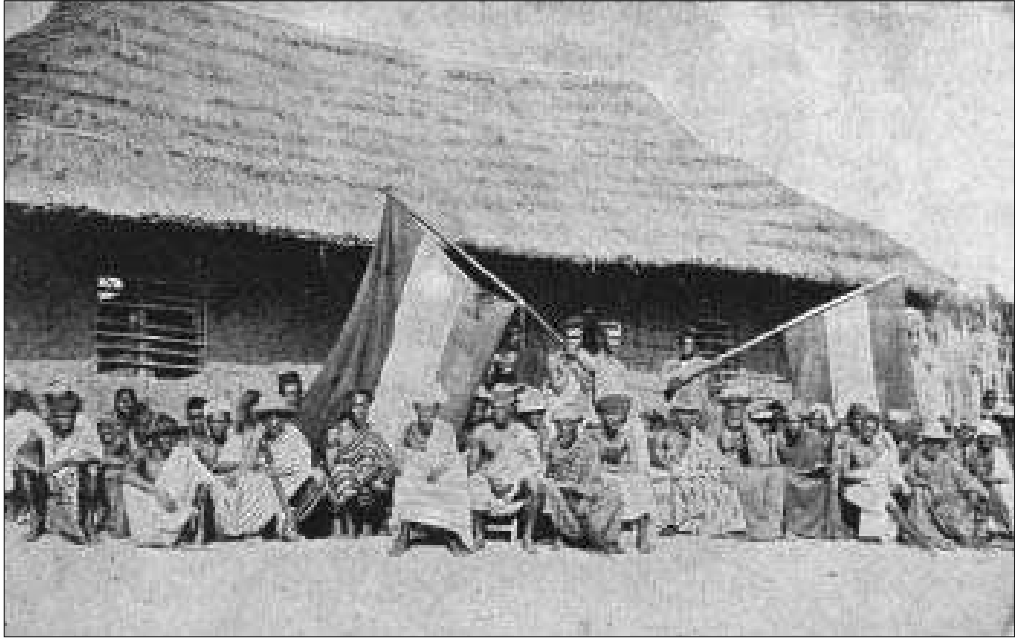


A heathen magician

Zã enelia woklã fia kple efe asafowo be, nya aɖe le wo si, be Ho Kpedevi kliko naɖi anyi, ne woase. Eya ta woado ga le fiagbɔ me, Ahliha, Axɔe kple Banyakoe be ame siaa ame megayi bofo o, ne ame aɖe ayi afi aɖe la, woanyii; negbe nuɖuɖu ko woatsɔ. Eye fia la be, ne woɖo afe ga la yeaɖoe gahe nya si tututue nye nya la la, woaka eta na ye. Dɔlawo be ɖabi, ne ŋua ke ko asee le tsitsiawo nu. Egabia wo ke womete ŋu tsi ɖeke me ne o, sɛ wodo ame ɖo ɖe Kle Yawo gbɔ. Kle Yawo be: Nya, si yewo asafoawo kple sɔhewo yewobla la, yemate ŋu aɖe wo ɖome ɖe go o. Ne ŋua ke ko, asee xoxo. Fia la gadi nya la le ame bubu nu be yease, gake mesee o. Eye wolɔ be, ne ŋu la ke ko, yeava.

c. The Judicial Hearings

The following morning, the Ho, Kpeɲɛ, Akoefe, Takla, Hɔɔzo and Aɔaklu people all assembled in the village of Ahliha. They then dispatched six sword-bearers and one staff bearer to the king to inform him that they had all assembled and were waiting for the arrival of the king and his entourage. Initially, the king did not want to come. The messengers went for the second time; when they went the third time, the king told them he would be coming, but who was the person requesting his presence.⁴³



1 2 3 4

A Public Meeting

with the Kings of 1. Akɔviefe, 2. Matse, 3. Sɔkɔɔɛ, 4. Kpeɲɛ

They then told him that they had been sent by Afede and Bɔbɔɔɛ.⁴⁴ The king then said: “Should I refuse to go, when my brothers call for me? They always come, when I send for them. Go and tell them that I am on my way!” The king called for his palanquin, his big drums and for the horns, and summoned his retinue who would be bringing him to Ahliha in his palanquin. Slowly and ceremoniously, they proceeded, arriving on the street in Ahliha, where Afede himself, the chiefs and the rest of the people were already assembled. With a wave of the hand, they greeted those assembled saying: *Miya lo, miya lo!* “We greet you; our greetings to you!”⁴⁵ They then went to take their place. After this the Banyakoe King Afede rose with his elders and all sword-bearers, and also went

43 The king rightly suspected that there was a ringleader behind the organization of the assembly. That is why he declared his readiness to pay anything for the man to mention his name.

44 Chiefs of Banyakoe and Axɔɛ.

45 The person who has just arrived greets everyone of those present in this way.

c. Takpekpe kple vɔnu la dɔdrɔwo,

Hoawo, Kpeɖeawo, Akɔviefawo, Taklaawo, Hɔdzoawo kple Aɖakluawo va kpe ta esime ɲu ke, ɖe Ahliha. Wodɔ dzangbetɔwo ame ade kple atikplɔtɔ ɖeka ɖo ɖe fia gbɔ, be wokpe ta vɔ, fia neva kple ejumewo pete. Fia la



Public Meeting

Melɔ o, dɔlawo va zi eve, etɔlia fia gbɔ be, yeava, ame si le eyɔm tututu, be woava la, ame la nafu asi akɔ, ne ebia hotu akpe yeana. Afede kple Bɔbɔbe woyɔ wofe ɲkɔwo woyi ɖatsi na fia la. Fia la gbɔ be: Nu ka ɲuti ye nɔviwo ayo ye, yeagbe yihi mahã? Ye hã yeyɔ wo wovana. Mihi ɖatsi na wo bena, nye la megbɔna fifia. Fia la na be, wotsɔ efe apaka ɖe go kple efe vu gãwo kple kpẽwo, eye woyɔ ejutimewo katã kpe ɖe ejuti, wotsɔ ye ɲuto ɖe apaka me. Wozɔ ɖɔɖɔɖɔ va Ahlihabɔ me, ahi si Afede kple amegãwo kple asafoawo ɖi anyi ɖo. Wodɔ hiã ɖakpe, alo do gbe na ameawo be: miya lo, miya lo! Eye wogatrɔ yi ɖe wo nɔfe. Afede kple amegawo kple dzangbetɔwo kura yi ɖada akpe nɛ. Asafoawo kple sɔhewo hã woyi ɖada akpe nɛ kple efe ameawo katã.

Azɔ fia la ɖe efe tsiami ɖeka, si woyɔna be Kwadzo be nebia ame tsitsiawo, asafoawo kple sɔhewo be: Nya kae dzɔ, eye woyɔ ye ɖo mahã? Yee nye si, yedovɔ nya la neva yease. Efe tsiami la do nya la ɖe ame tsitsiawo kple asafoawo gbɔ. Woawo hã wodo ɖɔfe nɛ. Emegbe wodɔ wofe tsiami Adalã kple dzangbetɔwo ɖe fia gbɔ. Woyɔ Kwadzo be, nese, ne woado ame tsitsiawo kple yewo tɔ gbɔ. Woyɔ Dake be, nese nya la, ne woado asafoawo kple sɔhewo gbɔ. Egbe Hoawo keɲ va kpe ta: Asanteva va si mí, eye míenya hiã kakaka, eye mía

to greet the King. They were followed by the community and teams and with all their peoples; they went to give him their greetings.

The king instructed his linguist Kwadzo to ask the elders, the community representatives and the youth group, why they had called him. Now that he had arrived, they should bring every matter to his attention, and he was ready to listen. His spokesman delivered his message to the chiefs and to the rest of the people assembled. They also greeted back and listened to him. They then sent forth their spokesman and the sword bearers to stand before the king. They called Kwadzo⁴⁶ and said that he should listen and deliver their words to the elders and to their people. They also called out to Dake⁴⁷ and told him, he should inform his people: “All the people of Ho have assembled here today. The Asante had once driven us out of our homes; we had suffered great privation, but our king has led us back. We have returned to the ruins of Ho and we have retaliated against all the towns which treated us badly. We then had peace. The English Commissioner came to us here in Ho and asked about the tribes which were our enemies. We told him that all was not going well between us and Taviefe; he then exhorted us very well. Later, the Taviefes admitted guilt of the horror. The hue and cry came before the Ho King, that the Taviefe had killed a Ziavi man in the night. Howusu and the Chief Afede set off. The Ho King beckoned Kwadzo Dei, and Kwadzo Dei also beckoned to the English Commissioner and he came. The Taviefe however, killed him.⁴⁸ When his other brother then came, we did to the Taviefe what they deserved before we returned. The Commissioner went back home and so did Kwadzo Dei. Later, we heard that King Afede and our chief, Wusu, had sent Dente Kɔmla to our brothers in Eweland, to make collections for Afede and Wusu. When later other Ho people also went there, they were scolded by the kings and the people of those towns. We, the elders of Ho, therefore, demand to see the things that have been collected for Afede and Wusu, so that we may start discussions on them. That is why we have assembled here, and that is why we have called the king.” The hearing is now under way.

First, it was Afede, who stood up and set himself in the centre of the circle of the people present; he also talked about the various wars up to the latest one they had fought with Taviefe. He affirmed that he had never tasked anybody to go on a mission to collect, and that he had not seen any of the articles supposed to have been collected. “If I have seen anything and deny it, then I swear the Oath of the Ho: the three great oaths and The Evening of the Ho”. Upon this the drums and the horns sounded together.

The linguist Adalɛ now rose and with him ten sword-bearers. He addressed Kwadzo and said: “You have heard the voice of the king. Pass it on to the assembly and may the others add their evidence for our attention. At this juncture, a chief from Dome named Dzado stood up before the people and said: “Have you called us here because of this affair? Let’s put this matter aside, for the time being! I have something else to say, which you should hear, before we discuss this case”. He turned to the Ho and spoke: “The people of Ho, do you hear? I see that we don’t enjoy any respect before you. The war had driven us all away, and on our return we went on to the Hill and settled in Agɔtɔme. The Banyakoe rebuilt first on their ruins. After them the Axɔe rebuilt their ruins and much later we Dome also came back to our former town. People always said:

46 The king’s spokesman (linguist).

47 Headman in Ahliha.

48 Commissioner Akers.

megã kplɔ mí gbɔe. Míeva Hogli dzi, eye du siwo wɔ vɔ̃ ɔe mía ɲuti la, míedɔe etefe na wo. Eye míeli kpo. Englismlaɔ aɔe va do ɔe Ho, eye wòbia be: Du kawoe nye miafe futɔwo mahã? Eye míegblɔ nɛ bena, míawo kple Taviawo dome mebina nyuie o, eye nuxɔxlɔ aɔe li wòxlɔ mi. Emegbe la Taviawo va wɔ dovo aɔe. Ylia ɔi va tu amegã Howusu be, Ziavitɔwo nye kem Taviawo va wu le zã pete. Amegã Howusu ho, amegã Afede ho. Howusu mia asi Kwadzo Dei, Kwadzo Dei hã mia asi amlaɔ, eye amlaɔ va. Nya ma me Taviawo wu amlaɔ la. Nɔvia evelia hã va, ale si ke miaɔ Taviawoe, eye míetsɔ wo ɔo. Míekplɔ, amlaɔ yi afe, Kwadzo Dei hã yi afe. Emegbe míese be, fia Afede kple mía amegã Wusu ɔo Dente Kɔmla ɔa ɔe mia nɔvi, siwo le Uedome la gbɔ, eye wòdzɔ nu na Afede kple Wusu, eye esi yewo viwo yi ɔe Uedome la afi matɔwo fe fia wo nɔa ɔeviawo fe mo kam. Eya ta nu siwo ke wòdzɔ na Afede kple Wusu la, mí Homegãwo kple asafoawo miele wawo dim, be míakpɔ, eye ne nya aɔe le ɲu la ne miagblɔ. Nya sia ta míekpe ta ɔo, eye eya ta mieyɔ fia ɔo. Uɔnudɔdrɔ dzɔ kenɔ.

Gbã Afede va tsi tre ɔe du tofo, eye eya hã gafɔ nu le avawɔnyawo ɲuti va se ɔe Taviefe tɔ dzi. Egblɔ be yemedɔ ame aɔeke ɔe afi aɔeke o, eye yemekpɔ nu sia nu o, nyatefe ne mekpɔ nane, be nyemekpɔ o la, ekema mekpɔ Hoawo fe ɲtakeseawo kple etɔ, eye mekpɔ Hoawo fe fiẽ, esia megbe la vuwo kple kpẽwo ɔi ha ɔeka nu va yi.

Tsiami Adalã tsi tre kple dzangbetɔ ewo la, yɔ Kwadzo ɔa bena, nesee wòdaɔo mia tɔ gbɔ. Gbe lae nye si nɔvia fo nɛfo etɔ fu dzi ne yewoase. Tete la asafoa fe amegã ɔeka, si woyɔna be Dzado la tsi tre ɔe duawo fe ɲkume gblɔ be: Nya sia ta woyɔ yewo ɔo mahã? Nya sia nenɔ anyi gbɔ, nya aɔe le ye si ne yeato ne woase, hafi ne yewoafɔ nu le nya sia ɲuti. Eye wogblɔ bena: Hoawo miele esem mahã? Mekpɔ bena miebua mi kura le mia dome o. Ava si mí katã, eye míegagbɔ, míeva le kpo dzi eye míeva Agɔtɔme. Banyakoetɔwo le ɲgɔgbɛ va wofe gli dzi, emegbe mía nɔvi Axɔetɔwo hã va le wofe gli dzi. Emegbe mí Domeawo hã míeva míafe gbɔ xo me. Wole gbɔgbɔm bena, fia neva, fia neva afe, gake la nu me ko miele egblɔm le, mia dome ame aɔeke meva kplɔ fia la o. Esia me míedze sii le be, mílɔa fia o, eye miebua fia hã o. Nu ka ɲuti miedɔ kpo yɔ mí Domeawo be: “Agɔtɔmetɔwo mahã? ɲkɔ sia la bubuɲkɔe loo alo vlodoameɲkɔe mahã? Mía viwo ayo ɲkɔ dovo na Ahlihawo na Banyakoeawo, na Axɔeawo mialɔ mahã? Eya ta ame aɔeke megayɔ ɲkɔ sia na mí gbɛɔe o, míegale Agɔtɔme o, azɔ míete ɔe mia ɲuti”

“The king should come back! The king should come back! But those were only empty words; none of you went to meet the king with the aim of bringing him back. We could see from this, that you neither loved nor respected your king. Why do you refer to us as *Agõtome*, when you were summoning us to this meeting? Is this name one of respect or of insult? Would you be happy if our children gave insulting names to the *Ahliha*, the Banyakoe and to the Axõe? Would you like that? That’s why henceforth no one should call us by this name again; we’re no more in *Agõtome*, we are now here with you!”

Kle Yawo, a community elder, answered him: “I was not happy with the name by which the town crier referred to our brothers in the evening of yesterday during the announcement. I immediately reprimanded him for this and prohibited him from repeating that ever. The Dome are right. Let us, however, return to the case in hand and settle it.” A man from the King’s retinue called Wuđi Kwadzo said: “We are not here to be given abusive names, for we’re your brothers and we live together. Or isn’t it so, that if someone leaves his hamlet, in order to live in town, he is not called by the name of the village he had lived in, in conjunction with his own name? Every town has been founded by somebody. We, therefore, give the town the name of the man who founded it. I refuse to tolerate that someone is called by the name of a hamlet. The town crier has done wrong.” Our Chief Dompri also said: “We would not be happy if we were called by an insulting name. Would he then have been happy if our children insulted him back? Abusive names lead to petty quarrels! We demand that you seriously forbid your children from using them.”

Kle Yawo then rose up to the defence of his son saying: “The young man concerned in this case is my own son. I myself made him the town crier, however, for *Ahliha* only. The Banyakoe, the Axõe and the Dome have their own town criers; henceforth my son will no more announce anything in any other town. If your son does something which you don’t like and for which you’ve punished him, should anybody again raise a finger against him? You are only trying to make the trial complicated. Let’s leave that case and come back to the real case”. Hereupon, the drums rumbled and the trumpets sounded.

Another chief remarked that with the end of the case of calling people by abusive names, all other abusive names, like *Agõtome* and *Ađame*, should be abolished.

Adalè now rose, and with him the ten sword-bearers. He turned to the King and spoke: “Listen for the attention of the elders, and of our father! His brother has just spoken about a certain incident; he should also speak, and tell us his version. We are all ears!”

King Kumi now rose from his seat and took a couple of steps forward. He was surrounded by his chiefs and the local representatives. He requested permission from Adala to speak, and Adala replied: “Speak; nothing should prevent you!” He then spoke; “I am the last born of the king; the youngest and only remaining child now living amongst the Ho people. My brothers, local representatives, and all you young men, listen attentively! At home and in war, I followed my father. I then went into trade but had no luck there. I could not even bring one or two men home.⁴⁹ After the death of my father, the people of Ho installed me on his throne.

I have always had difficulties; my properties got depleted and I have no child. In spite of these, I was ready to take over the throne of my father and of my brothers. The

49 He did not get any profit from trade that could enable him to buy one or two slaves.

Kle Yawo asafomegã dɛka dɔ ɛɲu nɛ be, ŋkɔ ma dɛvia yɔ ɛtsɔ fiẽ dɛ gbe fae la, menyo ye ɲu o. Yeka ŋkumenɛ eye yegbe nɛ ɛtsɔ ke, magawɔɛ gbedegbede o, wo tɔ dzɔ lo! Azo ne miakpɔ miafe nya gbɔ ne miagblɔ. Fianjutime dɛka woyɔna be Uudɔ Kwadzo gblɔ bena, mieli bena, woayɔ ŋkɔ dovo na mi o, elabena mia nɔviwo mienye, eye miedɔ kpe mi. Ne ame aɖe le kɔfe me afia dɛ, eye wogadzo va du me la, menye dua ŋkɔ woyɔna nɛ o mahã? Du sia du, si wotsona la, ame ye tsonɛ. Eya ta ame si tso du la eya fe ŋkɔ woyɔna na du la womeyɔa kɔfe ŋkɔ na ame o; megbe lo! Dɛvi la da vo, eye miafe amegã Dɔmpre hã dɔ be ne ame aɖe yɔ ŋkɔ vlo na wò, ẽ miawo hã viwo le mia si, ne woayɔɛ na miawo hã dɛ anyo mia ɲu mahã? Ŋkɔ vlo yɔyɔ dɛ wotsɔa dzre vɛ lo! Eya ta mixlɔ nu mia viwo nyuie.

Kle Yawo tsi tre gblɔ be, dɛvi, si wɔ nua, ye ɲutɔ ye vie, ye ɲutɔɛ dɔe gaɖola, gake nye du Ahliha ta meɖoe dɔ. Banyakoe gadola li, Axɛ gadola li, miafe Dome hã gadola li, eya ta tɔnye la magayi dɛ gbɔ bubu me aɖado ga o. Hafi ne viwò wɔ nu manyomanyo, eye menyo wò tɔa ɲu o, eye negbe nɛ, eye néfoe xoxo, dɛ ame bubu agatsi tre dɛ viwò la ɲuti mahã? Nya si ta wokpe mi vɛ la, nya la fe afɔ miebe yewoablu, midɛ nu le esia me, ne miakpɔ nya la gbɔ agblɔ. Tete la vuawo kple kpɛawo gaɖi zi dɛka.

Ame tsitsi dɛka gagblɔ bena, ne yewo wu ŋkɔ dovo nya nu la, ekema yewoatsrɔ ŋkɔ dovoawo katã abe Agɔtɔme kple Aɖame ene.

Adalã gatso kple dzangbetɔ ewoawo dɛ fia fe ŋkume be, see, neɖo tsitsiawo gbɔ, ne wòado mia tɔ gbɔ. Nua nye si nɔvia fo, ye hã neva fo ɛtɔ fu dzi ne yewoase.

Fia Kumi tsi tre le ɛnɔfe yi dɛ ŋgɔgbe vie. Efe amegãwo kple asafohliwo tsi tre dɛ ɛɲuti, eye fia la ɲutɔ yɔ Adalã dɔ be mafo nu dzro mahã? Adalã dɔ ɛɲu nɛ bena: Fo nu faa. Egblo be ye dɛka pɛɛ nye fia fe dɔmlɔɛ si susɔ dɛ Hoawo dome. Ye nɔviwo neseɛ yefe asafowoo neseɛ, yefe sɔhewo neseɛ. Nyatefe yenɔ ye tɔ yome le afe me kple avagbe me hã eye metsa asi, asi hã menyo nam o. Nyemekpɔ ame dɛka lo alo eve le eme o. Azo tɔnye megali o, eye Hoawo tsom dɔ tɔnye fe kpukpo dzi. Mele fu dzi, fu wɔm geɖe, eye nuwo va vɔ le asinye, vi hã mele asinye o; gake nyemegbe tɔnye fe kpukpo alo nɔvinyewo o. Kpukpo la tɔnyee vavã, eye mele edzi. Nye ŋkume, eye Englismlaɖo va xɔ mi Eveawo katã dɛ agbe, Eveawo katã tɔɛ nye Kwadzo Di. Taviawo koe va da vo aɖe wu Ziavitɔwo. Yli dɔ tso Ziavi va tu nye Wusu, eye metu nɔvinye Afede be, netso ne matso. Mía kple eve míeyi Ziavi, emegbe Sɔkɔdɛ

throne, on which I now sit, legally belongs to me. I have seen it happen how the English people came to rescue all of us Ewes from the hands of the enemy. The father⁵⁰ of the Ewes is Kwadzo Dei. The Taviefe people have done wrong by killing the Ziavi. There came an outcry from Ziavi reaching me, the King of Ho. I went at once to my brother the King of Banyakoe, Afede, and requested him to accompany me. We went together to Ziavi. Kwaku, the King of Sɔkɔɔ, as well as the kings of Abutia and Awudome also followed after us. We were eye-witnesses to the atrocity committed by the Teviefe people. I, Kumi, immediately sent the mace-bearer to Peki, inviting Kwadzo Dei. He, however, only sent his chiefs, initially. When I sent for him the second time, he came himself, settled for a brief period in Akrofu and moved onward to Ziavi. Kwadzo Dei sent a messenger to the English Commissioner in Accra.

After that Kwadzo Dei organized a meeting attended by me, the Ho King, Kwaku, King of Sɔkɔɔ and Kwadzo, King of Abutia as well as the Kings of Awudome and Wudome. The King had consultation with us alone, on our arrival. He told me: "According to what the Taviefe had done, they were calling for war, and war will we wage." He, therefore, demanded from me, Howusu, to lend him forty kegs of gun powder for the war effort. He would refund this debt to me with that which he would take as booty from the war. I countered that, though that was good, he should also put it before the Kings of Sɔkɔɔ, Abutia and Awudome who were also there. I would be willing to make up the difference after their contribution.

However, Kwadzo Dei retorted that he wanted to depend only on me. I immediately sent to Ho for thirty kegs of powder to satisfy Kwadzo Dei's request. When the Commissioner arrived, he sent us all out of the camp back home; he himself went alone to Taviefe and there, he was killed. A second came, and we accompanied him to Taviefe, and we defeated the Taviefe; they surrendered to me and I enabled them to surrender to Kwadzo Dei and the Commissioner. Kwadzo Dei and I took war booty, which the Commissioner took from us. After this, Kwadzo Dei called all the kings together and declared: "The war is over again. All the war booty we made was taken away from us by the Commissioner. I, Kwadzo Dei, the King may have incurred a lot of debts, but I don't know how I am going to pay them back. The Governor has sent me £25 sterling, out of which the Commissioner deducted £10, leaving me with only £15, plus the war debt to choke me. I am, therefore, begging you, kings of the territory, to help pay back my war debts!" He requested 200 *hotu* from the Ziavi, 200 from the Klefe, 100 from the Matse and 200 from the Tanyigbe. The Matse said they had already contributed eight kegs of gun-powder, and moreover their king had died fighting in the war, so they could not contribute anything more.

I, the King of Ho, hereupon, asked Kwadzo Dei; 'How should I now pay back the thirty kegs powder and the fifteen sheep which I myself had to borrow, before lending it to him?' He replied that I should go home and send to all kings in the territory up to the Agu Mountains soliciting taxes from them to enable me to pay my debts. When we returned, I sent *Dente Komla*, who spent a very long time there on the mission. Finally, he returned with a little bundle of money with which I paid some of my debts; and I now have twelve powder kegs remaining to be paid for, namely four kegs to Akɔviefe, four to Kpeɔɔ and four to some other people. I have not received anything, and I'm not hiding anything from the people of Ho. I used what I got to pay our debts. I have

50 Commander.

fia Kwaku va, Abutia Fia Kwadzo kple Awudomefiawo va. Míekpɔ nu siwo Taviawo va wo tefe, menyo o. Nye Kumi meɔ atikplɔ ɔ Kwadzo Di be, neva. Gbã edo efe asafohenewo ɔa eye wova evelia ye ɲuto ho va nɔ Akɔfu, emegbe wòho va nɔ Ziavi. Kwadzo Dei hã gadɔ ame ɔo ɔ Amlaɔ le Gẽ. Emegbe Kwadzo Di yɔ nye Wusu, Sɔkɔɔfia Kwaku kple Abutiafia Kwadzo hekpe ɔ Awudome kple Wuɔomefiawo ɲu. Míeyi egbo, eye wòkplɔ míawo ɔɔɔ yi ɔ gbe me. Eto nam be: Nu si Taviawo wɔ la wobia ava, ava kokoko wɔ ge míala. Eya ta yedze nye Wusu Kɔme, be madi ɔuti blaene ado na ye. Kwadzo Dei ne yeawɔ ava lae. Emegbe nu si yeakpɔ le ava la me la, ne yeatsɔ axe fe lae. Mebe neɔo afe! Sɔkɔɔfia nye kem, Abutiafia nye kem, Awudomefia nye kem. Netsɔ nya sia da asi na wo, eye nu si ke susɔ la, nye mana Kwadzo Dei gblɔ be: ɔabi, wò Wusu fe ɲkume metu nya siae. Mebe, enyo, eye meɔo ame ɔo ɔ afe woɔo ɔuti bleatɔ ɔem metsɔ na Kwadzo Dei. Míele ava la dzi, hafi amlaɔ va ka mí katã le asaɔa la me; emegbe amlaɔ va yi Taviawo gbo eye Taviawo hewu. Evelia va, eye míekpe ɔ enuti hesi Taviawo. Wova na tam, eye mekpe ɔ wo ɲuti tsɔ ta la ɔana Kwadzo Di kple amlaɔ. Kwadzo Dei gayɔ mi Evefiawo katã fo fu, eye wogblɔ be ava míewɔ vɔ; míede aboyo, ke amlaɔ xɔe, azɔ nye Kwadzo Dei menyi fe geɔe ɲuto le ava me, eye nyemenya nu si mawɔ axe avafe sia o. Gɔvina ɔo pɔɲu 25 ɔem, ke amlaɔ ɔ 10 le eme, eye wotsɔ pɔɲu 15 ko nam, eye avafe la bɔm. Eya ta meɔe kuku na mi tomeɔfiawo pete be, miakpe ɔ ɲutinye, be maxe avafe sia. Gbã abe Ziavi nana hotsui hotu 200, Klefetswo hotu 200, Matsetswo hotu 100, Tanyigbetswo hotu 200. Matsetswo gblɔ bena yewona ɔugo enyi xoxo, eye yowofe fia hã dɔ ɔ ɔ ava la me, eya ta yewomagate ɲu ana naneke o.

Nye Wusu mebia Kwadzo Dei be, ɔuti 30, si medo ne kple alẽ wuiatɔ si me do ne la, ame bubuwo si nye hã medoe le, ale ke mawɔ axe fe la na fetɔwo mahã? Egblɔ nam be mayi afe, ne maɔo du ɔ tomeɔfiawo gbo kaka yiɔase ɔ Agu ne madzɔ nu le wo si, ne matsɔ xe fe lae. Esime míegbo la, meɔo Dente Kɔmla, eye wonɔ eme kaka va gbo kple angbabable sue aɔe, eye metsɔ xe fea ɔewo, eye fe la gasusɔ ɔuti 12 ɔ ɲutinye fifi, si nyemexe haɔe o. Akɔfetswo ɔuti ene, Kpeɲetswo tɔ ɔuti ene, ame aɔewo hã tɔ ɔuti 4 le ɲutinye. Womedzɔ naneke nam metsɔ ɔu te Hoawo o lo! Fe xem mele, nyemexe fe la vɔ haɔe o. Eya ta Afede na woɔo ga ɔ tanye, eye nyruienye Bobi hã le eme wobla nu ɔ ɲutinye, be wodzɔ nu meɔu, Hoawo neva biam, ne woaxɔe le asinye na ye. Zi evee nye si Afede yɔ Hoawo wokpe

not even fully paid those debts. That is why my King Afede and his uncle Bobi have conspired against me, inviting me for a public hearing. They instigated the Ho, to investigate me and take the money back from me. This is the second time that King Afede has assembled the Ho against me. How many kegs of gun-powder, how much money and how many sheep has he himself given to Kwadzo Dei during the war?”

Afede then rose up and said to Wusu: “King Kwadzo Dei has requested gun-powder from both of us. Deku and Amõnu are my witnesses, that I myself, with the help of my carriers, one of whom was Dente Kõmla, carried the powder to him. If a request is made for something from two men, and one of them satisfies it, does it not follow that both of them have provided it? When the Commissioner left us alone and we were defeated as a result, Kwadzo Dei demanded ten sacks of cowry shells,⁵¹ and I promised I would be able to give him five sacks. The next morning, we heard a new din of war. We marched back to Taviefe and I could not keep the promise I made to the King. If *Dente Kõmla* has collected in my name and in the name of the King of Ho, then I only want to emphasize that I have not seen any of the things collected. That is the very reason why I have caused the people of Ho to enquire about it.” Afede took his seat.

Dake, the linguist of the community, now rose up, greeted all present and spoke: “Lend me your ears! We don’t have to quarrel at all during our meeting today. If we only proceed with the discussions one after another, we shall surely find who is at fault, and we will know how to settle the case.” He continued: “If you throw a stone into a flight of little birds, you usually don’t hit any. If, however, you aim at one of them, you would certainly hit one. If you should hit a second, then that would be a matter of chance.” He sat down, and Afede rose once again, greeted the king and said: “We are being charged, the Ho King and I, for consuming what has been collected; but I, Afede, have received nothing at all. It was *Dente Kõmla* who embarked on the collections; the one to whom he gave the items, therefore, should step forward and show them to us.”

The accused, *Dente Kõmla*, stood up and said; “Yes, have the Ho people assembled here because of me? So, it is because of me that the Ho, and the sword-bearers have come out with swords amid drumming, in order to kill me? My death will only be a credit to me. Even the white men here, have been invited to witness the occasion. Our forefathers have once decided, there should be no court sittings here in Ahliha. It is only in matters of war or of an execution that the case has to be tried in Ahliha. I have noticed today that, that is the truth. If someone goes on a business trip for his father, and returns with goods, does the content of the luggage not belong to the father? The king, my paternal uncle, sent me and I went. The little money I got there, I gave to the king on my return. You have not sent me anywhere and I am not compelled to account to you people in any way.”

Adalè asked the king if he had received any money from the chief. The king answered, yes, and explained that he had paid debts with it, but was left with twelve kegs of gun-powder to pay. Turning to *Dente Kõmla* he said: “You have cheated the king and deceived all of us Ho people. We know that you have taken a lot of money from the chiefs and we are demanding this from you today.”

Adza Kwasi stood up, greeted all those present and spoke to them in parables: “Just listen to the story of a man and the forest devil. A man went into the bush with his gun, hoping to shoot a bird to enrich his soup. On the way he met a forest devil, who had

51 One sack of cowries contains 10 *hotu*.

ta ɖe ɣutinye. Esime Kwadzo Dei le nu la biam le ye si la, ɖuti nemie alo ho nenie eya hã na alo alẽ nenie eya hã na le ava me mahã?

Afede hã tsi tre bia Wusu bena, neɖo afe, esime Kwadzo Dei bia ɖu lae la, yewo ame eve lae wobla. Deku kple Amɔnu wonye yefe ɖasefowo, nye kple nye ɖɔla ha kpe ɖe Dente Kɔmla ɲu miawoe fɔ ɖu la ve. Egbe ɖee ne wobla nu ame eve, ame ɖeka kpɔe na la, menyemí me evee nae o mahã? Esime yevua gblẽ yewo ɖi eye ava gblẽ yewo la, Kwadzo Dei bia kevi ewom, eye mebe míana kevi atɔe. Eye ɲu ke, eye avazi gafo ɖe mí dome, eye nyemete ɲu ne o, eye wogayi ɖe Taviefe. Egbe la, woyɔ ye Afede ɲkɔ, yɔ Wusu ɲkɔ dzɔ nui, eye yewomekpɔ nudzɔdzɔ aɖeke o. Eya ta ye be, Hoawo neva bia ta se lo! Emegbe wòyi ɖabɔɔ nɔ anyi.

Asafoawo fe tsiami Dake tsi tre do gbe na duawo keɲ bena, wole esem mahã? Kpekpe, si yewova kpe fifi la, dzre aɖeke mele eme o. Ɖe míele nyawo ɖe ge le me ɖekaɖeka, ne afi si dzi wodze ne yewoanya, ale si yewoawɔe. Edo lo hã be Ayrɔewo sɔ gbɔ fu le ha me, gake ne etsɔ kpe da ɖe wo dome, mele ɖeke fo ge o, eye ne edzidze ɖeka tututu la afoe eye ne egafo ɖeka kpe ɖe eɲuti hã anyae. Emegbe wodzo bɔbɔ nɔ anyi, eye Afede gatsi tre. Edo gbe na fia to ne bena: Nya, si woɖo ɖe yewo ɲuti lae nye be: Wobe, wodzo nu va na yewo, eye yewo ɖu, ye Afede yemekpɔ naneke o, ɖe yewoxae. Dente Kɔmla yi ɖadzɔ nua, ne woade nuawo ɖe go ne yewoakpɔ.

Dente Kɔmla hã tsi tre be ẽ, nye ta Hoawo va kpe ta ɖo le afii mahã? Nye tae eye Hoawo do go kple dzangbetɔwo, sikayiwo kple vuwo, bene yewoawum mahã? Yefe ku la, ɖeko wozu kafukafu na ye, yevuawo hã va, nyatefe mí tɔwo gblɔ gbede be, womedrɔa vɔnu le Ahliha o, eye ne ekpɔ be wodrɔ vɔnu le Ahliha la, ekema avawɔnyae alo amewunya aɖee wole ɖɔdrɔm. Egbe ko yedze sii enye esi. Nyatefee, ne tɔwò ɖo ɖo wo, eye neyi ɖe afi aɖe gbɔ la, agba, si nedo gbɔe la, menyemametɔe wotone na o mahã? Ye tɔɖie nye fia la, edo ye ɖo ɖe ɖo gbe, yede yedatsa; angba sue, si wobla de ye si la, yegbɔ, yetɔe na fia la. Wo dometɔ aɖeke medɔ ye ɖe afia aɖeke o, ne yeabu akɔnta afia ame aɖeke o.

Adalã tɔɔ fia la bia be, angba babla la ɖee ekpɔe mahã? Fia la be, nyatefe etsɔ angba babla vi aɖewo va na ye, yetɔ xe fe aɖewoe wosusɔ ɖugo wuieve fe fe ɖe ɣutinye si nyemexe haɖe o. Wogabia Dente Kɔmla be, ele didri wɔm le fia ɲuti, eye nele mí tafam. Nu siwo nedzɔ tso nua me la, nuawo sɔ gbɔ míele nuawo dim le asiwo egbe.

never had his hair cut since he was born. When he met the hunter he greeted him with “Friend!” The man also replied with the same word; “Friend!” The forest devil told the man: “I have some work for you; shave off the hair from my head!” The man answered: “Sorry I’m not carrying any knife along.” The forest devil then drove his hand through the hair, brought out a knife and gave it to the man. The man answered: “The knife is blunt, it can’t cut.” The devil then drove his fingers through the hair again and brought out a whetstone to the man. The man replied that he had no water for the sharpening process. For the third time, the forest devil sought through his hair and brought out a tin of water. The man sharpened the knife very well, poured some of the water on the forest devil’s head and shaved him clean. Thereupon the forest devil got very angry with the man and said: “In our country, one never cuts the hair, and look, you have shaved off every hair from my head!” He requested him to fix every single hair back on his head. The man assured him: “Every hair will spontaneously grow back again; no one replants shaven hair back on the scalp.” The forest devil was adamant. He insisted his hairs must be completely re-planted on his head; he would otherwise do what he pleased with the hunter. At this juncture, the man fled, and was hotly chased by the forest devil. The man ran as fast as he could and came to a farmer who was in the process of preparing a place at the side of the road for the construction of a barn for his yams, and had just dug a row of holes for the building posts. The man pleaded with him: “Please save me!” The farmer asked him: “What kind of animal is pursuing you? Just sit down here, and I will see about the animal that is chasing you.” A few moments later, the forest devil stormed in. The farmer asked what the problem was. The forest devil replied: “In our homeland, one doesn’t cut his hair. This man here caught me and shaved off my hair. And so I told him to replace my hair in its place on my head, and this is not negotiable!” The farmer considered this for some time and said to the forest devil: “Just pick up your foot-prints from every where you’ve stepped!” The forest devil bent down in order to scoop out his footsteps; while doing so, he left new marks beside the old ones. He picked those also up. But then, he left new ones near even those that he had just picked up. The farmer told him to pick up even the latest print. In this way the farmer followed after the forest devil, so long that the latter became tired of the footsteps-picking exercise and fled into the bush. The farmer then came to the man and said: “Go back home now, I have chased him away from you.” That is exactly the situation that has developed among us. Do you want to remove the good yams⁵² from the fire, throw them away and in their stead, throw bad yams into it? Reflect on this very well, before coming to a conclusion!”

A man from the king’s retinue, Wuđi Kwadzo, provided a comparison: “If, after eating a good pepper dish, you belch with satisfaction, then you have to remember the one who prepared it for you.”

52 Good yam is: “good word”, bad yam is “quarrel”.

Adza Kwasi hã tsi tre do gbe na duawo keŋ, do lo na wo be: mise afemedela kple gbemedela ɲu nya. Afemedela tsɔ tu ɖi tsa yi gbe me, be yeadi xevi aɖe afo ava fo detsii aɖu. Gbemedela va do goe. Esi wodzi gbemedela kpa la, melũ ta kpɔ o. Esi wokpɔ afemedela la, egblɔ nɛ bena, xɔ Eye afemedela hã yɔe be, xɔ. Gbemedela gblɔ na afemedela bena, do si ko mebe nawɔ nam enye taɖo si le tonye la, nalui nam keŋkeŋ, eye afemedela be yemetsɔ hɛ ɖe asi o. Gbemedela ɲutsɔ fo asi ɖe efe ɖa me ɖe hɛ de asi na afemedela. Afemedela be hɛa mele ɖaɖam o, egafo asi ɖe ɖa la me tsɔ hɛnyrekpe nɛ. Afemedela be, egasusɔ tsi, eye wogafo asi ɖe ɖa la me ɖe tsi kple akui tsɔ de asi nɛ. Afemedela tsɔ hɛ la nyre keŋ woɖa, eye wòtsɔ tsi la de ta na gbemedela la, eye wòtsɔ ta la flɔ nɛ keŋ. Tete la gbemedela la bi dzi ɖe akɔ na afemedela la be, yewo de yewo melũa ta gbɛɖegbɛɖe o, eye eya lũ yefe ɖatã le yefe ta mahã? Netsɔ ɖa la ɖo etefe na ye kpoo. Afemedela la be, womelua ɖa tso gatsɔna ɖoa etefe o, bubue gatona. Gbemedela la be, ɖabi, ɖabi, netsɔe ɖo etefe na ye kokoko. Nemenye nenem o la, nu si ke nyo ye ɲu la, yele ewɔ ge fifia. Afemedela la si le egbo eye woɖee ɖe nu. Afemedela le du dzi kaka yi ɖado ɖe ɲutsu agbletsɔ aɖe dzi. ɲutsu la dzra texɔ tefe ɖo lebe vu kaka heyi, eye wòle ati dowo ɖem ɖe gbea nu le akasa nu akasa nu. Afemedela gblɔ nɛ be, xɔ nam eye wobiae bena, lã ka le nyãwom? Va bɔbɔ nɔ afi, ne makpɔ lã si le nyãwom ɖa. De wobɔbɔ nɔ anyi ve tete ko la gbemedela do. Agbletsɔ biae be, nya kae dzɔ? Eye wogblɔ nɛ bena, womelũa ta le mia de o, eye ɲutsu sia lem tsɔ ta lũ nam, eye megblɔ nɛ be, netsɔ nye ɖa ɖo tefe nam ne woale ɖe ta ɲuti nam kpoo. Agbletsɔ kpɔ nya la me dũ, eye wògblɔ na gbemedela la be: Tefe, si neɖo afɔe le nye texɔ tufe la, lɔe ɖa. Gbemedela bɔbɔ le elɔm kasia egaɖo afɔ afi bubu, eye wòbe lɔ eya hã ɖa, kasia wògaɖoe afi bubu, wòbe lɔ eya hã ɖa, nenem agbletsɔ la le eyome vu ke elɔlɔ tii, eye gbemedela la dzo ɖo gbe vavla. Agbletsɔ la trɔ va afemedela la gbɔ, eye wògblɔ nɛ bena, menyae na wò azɔ heyi afeme. Eyae nye miafe nya si dzɔ. De miade te nyuie dzo me aɖe eya afu gbe atsɔ avadze ade eme mahã? Gbɛɖe mele me nenema o. Eya ta mikpɔ nya me nyuie ne miagblɔ.

Fia ɲutime ɖeka, si woyɔna be Uuɖi Kwadzo do lo be: Ne ame aɖe tu atadi na wò néqui wòvivi nu wò néle sui fam la, nàɖo ɲku wo ataditula dzi

d. The Judgment

After this, the elders and youth leaders informed King Afede that they were withdrawing to have the usual deliberations *in camera*. They went and soon afterwards, they returned and presented their verdict: King Afede was not guilty. The guilty one was Dente Kɔmla. They spoke to him: “You are holding in hiding, all that you collected from our brothers living in the territory between these mountains. Neither King Afede nor Howusu nor the elders of Ho has seen any of it. Bring out the money immediately from its hiding place!” Dente Kɔmla as well as the community chiefs around the Ho chief was very angry about this. Dente Kɔmla said: “When somebody sends you somewhere, and you come back, you give what you’ve brought back to the one who sent you. The King is my younger paternal uncle; for that reason I gave him what I brought back” King Afede said: “I have not received anything, and had he given the money to his brother, the Ho king, he would have at least shown it to me. You still have everything in your possession!” Dente Kɔmla retorted: “How much has Afede spent, to make him want to take possession of the war collections for his own use? Whom have you sent out, and from whom are you now requesting the presentation of accounts? I have nothing, but I, Dente Kɔmla, want to ask: “What do the Ewe have?” One from among them also shouted to the chiefs: “If you want to take possession of the collection, then you should also take over the debts which the king is paying, and of which twelve kegs of gun powder are remaining to be paid for. Afede and the Ho chiefs should take over this debt and pay it.” Thereupon, a quarrel ensued among them. Others told Dente Kɔmla, he was a poor man, who had no property, and who was only serving the Dente god and was guilty of indulging in base acts with women. One day, Dente Kɔmla told all chiefs and kings of Ho: “If a citizen of the town of Dome lives in a little house, he thinks this house is a more beautiful one than that in which the white man lives.” These words of Dente Kɔmla angered King Afede and his elders, because he did not show respect for the king and his chiefs. The chiefs ordered him to bring the money. He answered he had nothing of theirs in his possession; they should tell him the names of the towns from which he was supposed to have collected relief items. A community chief called Amɔnu then told him: “You have been to eleven towns, and collected a loin cloth, cowry shells, mats and other objects which I’ve not yet mentioned. You’ve retained all for yourself and have not given any of them to the king.”

It now became dark and the proceedings had not yet ended. The chiefs ordered that nobody should go anywhere the following morning. Those, who had no foodstuffs at home, however, could rush to fetch some, and make sure they returned early. After this, all dispersed and went to their homes.

The following morning, King Afede together with his chiefs, his elders and youth group assembled anew in Ahliha. They first sent four men, staff and sword bearers to the king and to his elders. When the envoys arrived there, they met the royal bodyguards drumming, drinking brandy and gin, and many townsmen were drunk. They would not allow the messengers to see the king. They were heckled, pushed back, insulted and some even wanted to break their swords. The king finally came himself to the messengers; he gently and slowly led them outside the town and said: “Go and tell my brothers: I beg their pardon, but my children⁵³ are all drunk; and if I should come with them in that condition, they would only come to wreak havoc”. He was therefore

53 My people.

d. Afiatsotso kple fɔbubu

Esia megbe la, ame tsitsiwo kple asafomegāwo klā fia Afede be, ne yewoayi ɖaɖu me. Emegbe ve la wogbo tso dalia me, eye wotso afia na Afede be, etɔ dzɔ, eye wobu fɔ Dente Kɔmla gblɔ nɛ be nu siwo katā wodzɔ le yewo nɔvi tometɔwo si hetsɔ yla la fia Afede mekpɔe o. Wusu mekpɔe o. Hometsitsiwo mekpɔe o, afi si woda nuawo ɔ la natsɔe ve fififi, ne gbe aɖe le yewo si la ne yewoagblɔe nɛ. Esia zu dɔmedzui na Dente Kɔmla kple fianjuti safohenewo. Dente Kɔmla gblɔ be ne ame aɖe dɔ wo ɔ ɔ afi aɖe ne egbo la nubabla, si netsɔ ve la wotsɔne na ame si dɔ wo. Tɔɖinyee nye fiā, eya ta angba babla la metsɔe nɛ lo. Afede gblɔ be, yemekpɔ nubabla aɖeke o, ɔ wònye ɔ wòtsɔ nubabla na ye nɔvi la, ne etsɔe fia ye. Ye nɔvi mekpɔ naneke o, Hometsitsiwo hā mekpɔ naneke o. Nuawo katā le asiwò Dente Kɔmla be ho nenie Afede gblɔ le ava la me, eye wole ava me nu dim ne woaɖu mahā? Ame ka woɔ ɔ afi aɖe, eye wole nuwo biam le esi mahā? Naneke mele asi o. Nye Dente Kɔmla gblɔ be, nu ka le Ue si? Ame ɖeka hā bia amegāwo be newole nudzɔdzɔ dim, bene woaxɔ la fe, si ke fia le xexem, eye mexee vɔ o, wosusɔ duti wuieve la fede kple Hometsitsiwo nexɔe xe. Nya sia zu dzrewɔwo ɔ wo dome. Ame aɖewo hā bia Dente Kɔmla be, eya hā ahetɔ wònye nu sia nu mele esi o. Dente subɔla ko wònye kple dovowɔla kple nyɔnuwo. Tsā Dente Kɔmla gblɔ nya aɖe ɔ Axɔfiawo kple ame tsitsiwo ɖu be: Ne wokpɔ Domevi wòle xɔ sue aɖe me la, ne woanyae bena, aba me wole wu yevuawo fe xɔ. Nya siawo ku dzi na Afede kple efe amegāwo be, Dente Kɔmla mebu Afede kple Hometsitsiwo kura o. Ametsitsiawo bia bena, netsɔ nuawo ve. Eɔ ɖu na wo bena, wofe naneke mele ye si o, du kawo me yedzɔ nuawo le mahā? Asafohene ɖeka woyɔna be, Amɔnu gblɔ nɛ be: “Woe de duta wuiɖeke me, woexɔ nudzɔdzɔ ɖugo blaene, woexɔ alē blaetɔ vɔ atɔ kple fia fe Kadzeɔ tata kple godui hotsui kple aba kple nu aɖewo nyemebui haɖe o. edze go ɔ edzi, tee fia eye mena nanekee o.”

Esia megbe la zā le dodom ɔ wo dome, eye womekpɔ ɔ ta na nya la haɖe o. Ke ame tsitsiwo be, etsɔ ɖdi ame siaa ame nagayi afi aɖeke o. Ne nuɖuɖu mele ame aɖe si o, neyi bofo wòatsɔe agbo kaba lo! Eye ameawo katā woka yi ɔ wofe xɔwo nu.

ɖu ke ɖdi anɔ ga asieke kple ga ewo me, Afede kple efe amegāwo kpakple asafoawo kple sɔhewo kpe ta ɔ Ahliha. Woɖe atikplɔtɔ kple dzangbetɔ ene ɔ ɔ fia kple efe amegāwo gbo. Dɔlawo be, yewoade, kasia fianjutimewo le vugā fom eye wole yevuha kple dzini nom, eye ame geɖewo trɔ zu ahamulawo le dua me. Womelɔ bena, dɔlawo nakpɔ fia fe ɖkume o. Wole asi tum wo, le dɔlawo dzum, ame aɖewo le didim be, woaxɔ wofe dzangbeawo aje. Fia la ɖutɔ dɔ go va dɔlawo gbo, eye wokplɔ wo ɔɔɔɔ do go le dua me, eye wogblɔ na wo bena, miyi ɔagblɔ na nɔvinyewo be: Tafatsee, vinyewo katā mu aha, eye ne meva kpli wo fifia la, woawɔ nu nyamanyama manyo o. Eya ta yeɖe kuku na Afede kple ame tsitsiwo be, woagblɔ nya la ɔ na etsɔ, ne yeava ne woɔ to na nya la.

pleading with King *Afede* and the chiefs to postpone the sitting to the next morning; he would then make himself available for the settlement of the case.

When the messengers returned, they related to the king, *Afede*, and his chiefs and to the whole community, how the bodyguards of the kings had raged and quarrelled with them, how they were drunk with brandy and how the king had accompanied them out of the town. This annoyed King *Afede*, his chiefs and the whole community very much. *Bɔ̀bɔ̀lɔ̀*, king of *Axɔ̀*, then rose and said: “This is how our brothers, the Dome people, have behaved towards us; but it doesn’t matter. The cases which we discussed together and considered yesterday shall be tried and completed today. We cannot allow another day to break without settling this case.” All the chiefs, the youth and the community were in agreement with him. *Afede* then asked the chiefs what their opinions were; they should speak out in order to help solve the problem promptly. *Afede* and his chiefs thus withdrew into counsel. When they returned, they talked to the community and the youth. They told them that they had decided to ban *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla* from the community, and that they would “shoot for him into the sun.” He should distance himself completely from the king; they had already chosen a man to replace him. This man’s name was *Dza Kwasi*. At that moment, *Dza Kwasi* came himself with two men, whom *Howusu* had sent to *Afede* and his chiefs. He had them informed that the chief begged to be excused; all his children were so very drunk, that they would not be able to accompany the king to the function. Even if they should come, they would only cause mischief. That was why they would like the case to be postponed to the next day, when the case would then be properly settled. If he had not sent his messengers to tell you that, it would have given the impression that he did not have respect for you. The linguist of the chief, *Adalè*, then rose, and asked *Kwadzo*, the king’s messenger, whether he had been sent by his father.⁵⁴ He answered with a yes. *Adalè* said: “Have you not been here to inform King *Afede*, what happened to you at the king’s court? Who stood against you there? Who pushed you back and who insulted you? You have seen yourself how the king’s children manhandled me, *Adalè*, in the king’s town. If I had not been an elder, I would have done something bad. Today, however, we are going to shoot into the sun for *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla*. He is no more permitted to function among us; but you *Dza Kwasi*, you should, in the name of the *Afede*, his chiefs and of his community and the whole of his retinue, stay by the side of the king, by day and by night. Take the seat reserved for *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla*. Tell our father: whether he comes or not, today we shall shoot into the sun for *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla*. They may continue drumming and drinking their brandy”. Thereupon the messengers departed and nobody else from Dome came to the proceedings.

e. The ‘shot into the sun’ for *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla*

The community assembled and its council sent their spokesman, *Gble Kwadzo* to ask the chiefs what they had decided to do, since they wanted to get over it quickly. Chief *Bɔ̀bɔ̀lɔ̀* replied: “We are going to shoot for *Ɖente Kɔ̀mla* into the sun. The community should therefore select four young men with guns.” The four youths stepped forward at once with their guns, posting themselves around their chief. Chief *Bɔ̀bɔ̀lɔ̀* and *Afede* gave each boy two tins of gun powder to load their guns. And as they waited

54 The King.

Dɔlawo gbɔ, wova to nya la na Afede kple efe ame tsitsiwo kpakple efe asafowo; ale si fianjutimewo nyra kple adã kple nyaléle de wo nɔti kpakple ale si wole aha nomii, ale si fia nɔto xɔ wo kplɔ woɔo ɔa. Nu sia ve Afede kple efe amegãwo kple asafowo pete nɔto. Axɔɛfia Bɔbɔlɔe tsi tre gblɔ bena ale yewo nɔvi Domeawo wɔe nye si; gake mewo naneke o, nya si ke yewofo de anyi etsɔ la, egbea yewoawu enu, aɔo ta ne kokoko. Iɔu magake de edzi o. Nenema ame tsitsiwo kple sɔhewo kple asafowo fe gbe zu deka. Asafowo bia Afede kple efe amegãwo ale si ke amegãwo le susm le nya la nɔti la, ne woagblɔe ne yewo, ne yewoawɔe kaba. Afede kple amegãwo yi ɔɔnu me Wogbo eye wogblɔ na asafowo kple sɔhewo be: Dente Kɔmla deka la, yewoadee da, eye yewoafɔ tui le ye me. Eya nate ɔa le fia nɔti kenken, yewotia ame de anyi xoxo, enɔɔ nye Dza Kwasi, be wɔnɔ etefe. Tete Dza Kwasi la nɔto kple ame eve fia ɔo ɔo de Afede kple amegawo gbɔ, be woagblɔ na wo be, taflatse ye viwo kura mu aha, eya ta yemate nɔu ava kpakple wo o. Yele vɔvɔm be woava wo nu vlo. Eya ta nya la nenɔ anyi, etsɔ yewoagblɔ aɔo ta ne ken. Ne ye nɔto fe ame dɔdɔwo meva gblɔe o la, ekem awɔ abe de yemebu mi o ene. Amegãwo fe tsiami Adalã tsi tre, eye wɔbia fia fe ɔla Kwadzo be yewo tɔe ɔe ɔa mahã? Ebe ɛ, Esi wɔva afi sia de, gbe si fia de asi la mégbɔe na yewofe amegã Afede o mahã? Ame kae tsi tre de enu le nɔi ɔomii le asi tumii, le nɔi ɔomii le edzum mahã? Egagblɔ be, wo nɔto ekpɔ ale si fiaviwo wɔ nye Adalã le fiagbɔ me. De nyemenye ame tsitsi o la, ne mewo dovo. Eye woto ne be, egbe yewole tu fo ge ye me na Dente Kɔmla. Eya maganɔ mia dome gbedegbede o, eye wɔ nɔnɔ etefe anɔ fia nɔ zã kple kele le Afede kple efe amegãwo kple efe asafowo kpakple sɔhewo fe agbe dzi. Afede ɔo wo de Dente Kɔmla tefe! Gblɔ na mia tɔ be egbe miafo tu ye me na Dente Kɔmla, eva o meɔava o, ne woanɔ fu fom, ne woanɔ aha nom. Tete la ɔlawo dzo yi, emegbe la ame aɔeke megava o.

e. Tufɔfo ye me na Dente Kɔmla

Asafowo kple sɔhewo fo fu de afi deka, eye woɔe wofe tsiami Gblɔ Kwadzo be, nebia Adalã kple ame tsitsiwo se, nu si wode wofe tame, be yewoawɔ la, ne yewoawɔe kaba. Amegã Bɔbɔlɔe gblɔ be, Dente Kɔmla fo ge mɔla le ye me; asafowo nedi dekapui ene kple tu ene ve. Dekapui enewo tɔ wofe tu enewo va tsi tre de tofo le amegãwo fe nkume, eye amegã Bɔbɔlɔe kple Afede wona ɔugui eveve dekapuiawo, eye wotsɔ de wofe tuawo me. Emegbe la wokpɔ mɔ na fia la wozu fa ame aɔeke megava o, eye wobe, ekem yewoawɔ nua azɔ. Amegã Afede yɔ enjutimegã Asrɔnku, amesi doa gbe ɔa de nu sia nu ta hafi wowɔne. Asrɔnku va

again for the king, and nobody else turned up, they decided to go ahead and perform the ceremony. At this juncture, Chief Afede called his co-chief, Asraŋku, the one who always said the prayers before any ceremony was performed. Asraŋku now stood up accompanied by the four youths armed with rifles, and called out loudly, saying: “Ye gods and you people of Ho and Mawu Sodza, listen! Ðente Kɔmla, who is among us today, has misbehaved towards our father, the elders, the community and the troops. We are therefore removing him today from amongst us, and shoot him into the sun, to be handed over by the sun to Mawu Sodza. It is only Ðente Kɔmla who may no more live among us; *Wusu* is our father and remains among us with his children, the Dome. Ðente Kɔmla should go and serve his *Ðente* for his subsistence. Mawu Sodza, please listen! The trɔ̃ of the Godziviwo should listen, Agbasia should hear. If Ðente Kɔmla should go to any trɔ̃, to mention the name of any man or woman from Ho, requesting that he should die, please do not listen to him. Let the curse fall back on him! It is his bad behaviour that occasioned us to remove him from among us.” Adalè then ordered the boys to shoot. These aimed their guns against the sun and fired, one after the other. The big drums and the community drums sounded, accompanied by loud songs of jubilation. The community went on a procession singing and trooping two times around the town of Ahliha. Hereupon, the leaders of the communities and the important chiefs swore to Afede and Bɔbɔɔɔɔɔ saying: “If a king or anybody from Dome says that he does not like what you have just done and therefore rises against you, then we have broken the three great oaths and “the Evening of the Ho’s, if we do not die for you”.



1

2

3

Drums

1. *Atupani* (male and female), 2. *abuba* (played together with Nɔ̃ 1.) 3 *asiwui* (hand drum, especially played by priests.)

tsi tsre kple ɖɛkakpuiaɔ kple ene, eye Asraŋku do yli gbɔ be: “Mi Hotrɔwo kple amewo, kpakple Mawu Sodza, misee! Egbe Ɖente Kɔmla le mia dome, ezo azɔli manyomanyo na mia tɔ kple ame tsitsiwo, asafowo kple soheawo. Eya ta yewoɖee ɖa egbe, yewofoe le ye me, ne wɔatsɔ yi Mawu Sodza gbɔe, Ɖente Kɔmla ɖeka pe Wusue nye mia tɔ kple evia Domeviawo pete, megale mia dome o. Neyi wɔaɖa subɔ efe Dente, ne wɔanɔ aɖu nui lo! Mawu Sodza nese, Godziviwo fe trɔ nese, Agbasia nese. Ne Ɖente Kɔmla yɔ Hovi aɖe, ɣutsu alo nyɔnu fe ɣkɔ le trɔ aɖe gbɔ be, manɔ agbe gbedegbede o la, migasee ne o; neɖi eya lo!” Azɔ Adalã gbɔ be, ne woada tu la, eye wotrɔ tu la mu ɖe dzi da ɖekaɖeka. Uu gãwo kple asafoawo fe vuwo ɖi, aɖom ɖi kple hadzidziwo. Eye asafoawo yi ɖadi hiã fo xlã Ahlihagbɔ lae zi eve. Esia megbe asafoheneawo kple amegã ɣkɔɣuawo va ka atabu na Afede kple Bɔbɔle be: “Nu si miewo Dente Kɔmla fifi, ne ame aɖe alo Dometsɔ aɖe alo fia aɖe ka be, wo Afede nu si newo menyo ye ɣu o, atsi tre ɖe ɣuwo la, ne nyemeku na wò o, ekem metu ɣtakese etɔawo, metu Hoawo fe fiẽ” Nenem asafoheneawo katã va ka yi. Emegbe amegã aɖe va ka fia Afede, Bɔbɔle kple Dza Kwasi be: “Ne Dometsɔ aɖe katse, ne yemete ɣu tu da ɖe wofe gbɔme o, yetu Hoawo fe fiẽ”



1

2

3

4

5

Drums

1. male and female Atumpani, 2. abuba (is played together with No 1.) 3 asivui (especially played by priests. Drums: 1. Agblouu, (war drum) 2. Atumpani. Male and female. (Talking drums) 3. Abuba, large war drum. 4. Agbeko 5. Laklevu: Leopard-drum, because it sounds similar to the roaring of a leopard.

All the leaders of the community swore this oath, one after the other. After them came a chief, who swore to King Afede, to Bɔbɔbe and to Dza Kwasi thus; “If any Dome person dares to rise against the king, and I am not able to shoot into their town, then I’ve broken the oath of the Ho.”

After this, the spokesman of the community and the youth stood before the chief, turned to Adalè and said: “We have performed the task which the chiefs have given to us. Now we have only one word which we would like to give to the elders: There lived once a linguist in Sòkɔde who was exactly like Dente Kɔmla. He sinned and was banned. Incidentally, all the chiefs who had passed the judgment later died, for the simple reason that, those chiefs who had expelled him continued to visit him in secret, to ask for his advice and direction. Thus the curse hanging over him affected them and they died. Please excuse us. Excuse us seven times; you must be very careful of any relationship with Dente Kɔmla. No one should go to him, when he is serving his trɔ̃.” The elders thanked the community for this warning. They were in total agreement with the new relationship and caused the chiefs to proclaim it: “You communities of Ho listen, young and old please listen! From now onwards, Dente Kɔmla has been ostracized from the proximity of the king. It is forbidden for everybody even to go into his house. If he is indebted to anyone, the person may demand payment. When his wife is fetching water at the public well, nobody is allowed to help her raise the pot onto the head. Anybody who touches his wife does so without any consequences. We forbid that however.” There was a chief in the community called Dza Kwasi, who said, Dente Kɔmla was a thief, and that Howusu had once sent him to Aɔaklu to recover a fine which had been imposed on an oath swearer. He went and negotiated on behalf of Wusu, and as a result, he was given a woman to be brought to the king. He never brought her to him, but married her himself, and she is still living with him today. Chief Afede should, therefore, send a messenger to Aɔaklu to persuade the woman’s brother to come and take the woman back home, for a carton of brandy. If the woman should refuse to accompany her brother home, she could be seized wherever she was found, sold and the proceeds would be retained. Nobody would incur any debt from this transaction, because the oath through which he had got the woman does belong to the Ho. Gble Kwadzo, a community chief, then got up, turned to the chiefs and said: “Adalè, listen to us and tell the chiefs, the community and the youth: we have now completed our duty, and the night is falling. The chiefs should, therefore, give us two cartons of brandy and a sheep, so that we can go home. The sheep should be brought immediately to be slaughtered.” Chief Afede said: “That is in order, we will provide it.” The sheep and a large flask of brandy were immediately brought to the community. Afede then requested Asraŋku and Adalè to pray over the sheep, before it was slaughtered. Asraŋku prayed over it and said: “Hey! Listen you trɔwo and gods of Ho! Yes, Dente Kɔmla has sinned against the kings, against the elders and against the community and has, therefore, been ostracized today. This is his blood we are spilling today; this blood is to go to Mawu Sodza for his information!” The sheep was swung three times up and down, was slaughtered and then thrown to the ground. Its flesh was shared among everybody.

The Banyakoes had brought one of their drums, the drum of misfortune, called *Dum*. The spokesman Asraŋku brought out a fowl and 12 *hoka* cowry shells. He gave all to the chiefs and requested that the fowl should be slaughtered for the drum and the cowries

Esime wowɔ esiawo vɔ la, asafoawo kple soheawo fe tsiami va tsi tre de amegãwo fe nkume yɔ Adalã be, nesee wɔdɔdo tsitsiawo gbɔ, wodɔ mí míewɔe vɔ. Nya deka le mia si miagblɔ na ame tsitsiawo hã. Ame ade nye tsiami le Sɔkɔde, sigbe Dente Kɔmla pe ene. Eda vo, eye wodɛe da. Emegbe la amegã, siwo katã deɛ da la, wogazɔ vivime nɔa adanɔ kple nu nya fiamɛ dim tso egbɔ. Eya ta wotsɔ nu le enu, eye woku do. Eya ta woawo hã taflatse taflatse zi adre, ne woakpɔ nyuie le Dente Kɔmla nɔti, eye ne ele efe trɔ wɔm la, ame adeke megade egbɔ o. Ame tsitsiawo do dase alo da akpe na asafoawo le nya sia nɔti. Wolɔ be, yewoawo nenema, eya ta amegãwo na wodɛ gbefã be: “Mia asafoawo miseɛ, kpevi kliko ne wosee! Tso egbe míede Dente Kɔmla le fia nɔti le mia dome ame adeke megade efeme o. Ne enyi fe le ame ade si la, ne woaxɔe le esi. Ne wokpe srɔa le tɔme womegale ne o, ne ame ade ka asi srɔa nu, ekae míegbee egbe kenken lo! Amegã ade le asafoawo dome woyɔna be Dza Kwasi gblɔ be, Dente Kɔmla la fiafie, Howusu doe de Adaklu atabunya gbe. Eyi dagblɔ atabunya de Wusu nu, eye wotsɔ nyɔnu de asi ne be, netsɔ ve na Wusu, ke Dente Kɔmla metsɔ nyɔnu la ve na fia o, ke eya nɔtɔ tsɔe de wonye srɔ va se de egbegbe. Eya ta amegã Afede nedo ame de Adaklu, ne nyɔnua nɔvia nɔtsu la nava, ne, woana aha ketɔe deka ava kplɔ nyɔnu la ayi afee. Ne nyɔnua gbe be yemele afe yi ge o la, ne yewo Ho asafowo kpɔe la, ne yewoalée afle adu, menye fe o, atabu la mia tɔe, Esia megbe la, asafoawo fe amegã Gblɛ Kwadzo tsi tre de tofo le amegãwo fe nkume: Adalã see, ne woado tsitsiawo gbɔ, asafoawo kple soheawo be, míewɔ vɔ, eye zã le dodom eya ta amegãwo ne wodi aha ketre eve kple alɛ deka ne woakɔ mí lo! Alɛ neva fifi ne míatso de anyi. Amegã Afede be: Agbayie míana” Woadi alɛ la ve, na asafo la kple ahadzafi deka. Afede yɔ Asranɔku da be neyi lã la gbɔ kple Adalã, ne woado gbe de nu ne, hafi ne woatsoe. Asranɔku do gbe la da be: “Hɛ, miseɛ, Ho trɔwo kple Ho mawuawo! Ê, Dente Kɔmla wɔ dovo de fiawo kple ame tsitsiwo kpakple asafowo nɔti, eye míedee da egbe, eya fe vue nye si tso ge míala de anyi woayi Mawu Sodza gbɔ, be Dente Kɔmla megale mia me o, eye ne eyɔ Hovi ade nkɔ be, neku la, nedɔ eya nɔtɔ nu kokoko, míegbee lo!! Tete wotsɔ alɛ la do de dzi zi etɔ, eye wotsɔe tso de anyi, emegbe wohetsɔ lã la ma kenɔ.

Banyakoetwo tso wofe vu ade ve, si nye vu vɔ woyɔne be Dum. Tsiami Asranɔku tso koklo deka kple hotsui hoka wuieve de asi na amegãwo be woatso koklo la na vua, eye woatsɔ hotsui la na vunɔ. Amegã do dase ne, do gbe da de koklo la nɔti tsɔe da asi na vunɔ la. Enumake vunɔ la tso koklo la, duɖu vu la de anyigba, tso mamlea titi de ametakoliawo

given to the drummer. The chiefs thanked him for the presents, prayed over the fowl and handed it over to the drummer. The latter killed it immediately and let some of its blood drop onto the ground; he smeared the rest on the skulls hanging around the drum. The fowl itself would later be used for a good meal. With this the case of Dente Kɔmla's exclusion was ended.

When the Ho King was first called to the assembly, he was very annoyed about Afede and Bɔbɔlɔe; he said: "You've betrayed me, you've combined against me, you've proclaimed me publicly and you, my uncle Bɔbɔlɔe, are among them! This is indeed the second time that Afede is publicly proclaiming me and is sitting in judgment over me. What have I done to you, how much money have I borrowed from you that I have not paid back? I have no family and no children among you.⁵⁵ I used to be rich, but now I'm a poor man. If I had known earlier, I would not have allowed myself to be enthroned as a king. However, it has already happened."

Bɔbɔlɔe then rose, went to stand before the king and addressed him saying: "My cousin, certainly, you were born by my mother's elder sister, and today you are king in your father's house, and I am also on the throne in my father's house. Do you know why I never come to you, be it day or night? This is because I've heard stories about you; that tax money was brought to you and you spent it together with Dente Kɔmla. I, your cousin, have not seen nor heard anything of it. You as king should be thankful to the elders of Ho, to the community and to the youth, that they have brought this matter to light. What the people say about you in all the towns in which you have had taxes collected, is that you have got the taxes from them and have used it for yourself. You then hurriedly went to adopt the German flag, in order to hide yourself under German protection. You were definitely afraid of Kwadzo Dei, and that's why you did that. For that reason, all our people have turned away from you. Kwadzo Dei can no more come to investigate this matter. That is why we, the Ho people, have organized ourselves to go into this affair until we came to the bottom of it. Now that the trials have come to an end, I beseech you to stretch out your hand and embrace your children, and they will then respect you as king. I will not betray you; I will not reveal any of your weaknesses; moreover, I have compassion for you; the people of Ho only want the best for you. If you decline and say you would not take any advice, then I will never set foot in your house again." King Afede also spoke in the same vein. The king thanked them for their advice and said: "My father installed you, and today you have installed me as king, this is why I will heed your advice." With this the court hearing came to an end.

2. Trials due to evil magic

a) The Causes

Two boys, sons of his elder brother, were living with B. His elder brother had died and left behind these children. Their names were Akl. and Tot. B. looked after them until they came of age; when they became young men, he bought them guns and helped them to marry. Tot. helped B. very much with his work. Akl. however, only incurred a lot of debts. Because of this B. had to give his own child, as well as Akl. himself, into pawn servitude in order to be able to pay all his debts. Tot. helped him to pay the debts;

⁵⁵ They would have been able to support him.

ɲu le vua ɲuti. Ke woawo ɲuto tso koklo la be woaɖa aɖu. Ale wofo Ðente Kɔmla fe ɖeɖeɖa nya la tae nye si.

Gbã, le nya la kpekpe me la, Howusu bi dzi ɲuto ɖe Afede kple Bɔbɔle ɲuti be, woto ye ta eye wobla nu ɖe ye tame, fo ya ɖe ye tame, eye ye nyruɪ Bɔbɔle hã le eme. Zi eveliae nye esi Afede fo ga ɖe ye tame ɖi vɔnu ɖe ye ɲuti. Nu ka mewɔ mi, ho nenie medo le mia si, eye nyemexee na mi o. Nye ɖeka koe susɔ ɖe mia dome, eye vi hã mele asinye o. Tsã nane le asinye, fifia naneke megale asinye o. Ðe menyae alea la, ne megbe be, ame aɖeke nagaɖom fia o. Ewɔ xoxo.

Bɔbɔle tsi tre, te ɖe fia fe ɲkume, eye wòye be: Nyruɪnye nɔgãe dzi wo vavã. Egbe enye fia le towo fe me, eye nye hã mele zikpuia dzi le tɔnye fe me. Enya nu ka ɲuti nyemeva gbɔwo zã kple keli o mahã? Nya siawo sem mele le ɲuwò be, wodzo nu ve na wò kple Ðente Kɔmla miele ɖuɖum. Nye nyruɪwo nyemekpɔ o, nyemese o. Wò fia, ɖe ado ɖase na Hometsitsiwo, asafowo kple sɔhewo, be esia ɖi go. Kpɔ ɖa le duta bubu, siwo keɲ wodzo nuawo le la, wogblo le ɲutiwo be, exɔ nudzɔdzɔ le yewo si ɖu vɔ, eye néfu du yi ɖaxɔ Dzamaflaga, hele gbɔgblo be ye Wusu yezu Dzamalado tɔ. Ðe néle vɔvɔm na Kwadzo Di, eya ta newɔ esia ɖo. Eye mia towo katã gbugbo le yowo me. Azɔ Kwadzo Di magate ɲu abia nu siawo ta o. Eya ta mí Hoawo mí be míadi nu siawo kokoko, va se ɖe si míakpɔe. Ne nya sia vɔ le mia dome, ekem nàdo asi ɖa ale viwowo, eye woawɔ fia na wò. Menye tawo trɔm wole o, menye ga fom mele ɖe ta wò o, nuwò vem mele, wo agbe dim Hoawo le. Ne egbe be yemele wo tɔ se ge o la, ekema nyemegbɔna va afewo me gbɛɖegbɛɖe o. Nenema Afede hã fo etɔe. Fia la da akpe na wo bena, yetɔ eɖo wo, eye woawo hã gaɖo ye egbe, eya ta yemagbe wofe gbe o. Ale wofo nya la tae nye esi.

2. Dzoɖuamenya aɖe ɖɔɖɔ

a. Nya, si hee ve

ɲutsuvi eve le B, gbɔ, siwo nye foa fe viwo. Foa ku gblẽ wo ɖe anyi nɛ. Wofe ɲkɔwo nye Akl. Kple Tot. Ele wo nyim tso ɖevime va se ɖe esime wotsi. Woɖo ɲutsu me, eye wofle tu na wo. Tot. enye ame si kpɛna ɖe B. ɲuti vevie. Akl. nyi fe geɖe ɲuto eya ta B. tso eya ɲuto via kple efe ame ɖo awɔba, hexe feawo katã. Tot. kpe ɖe ɲuti le feawo xexe me. Ke Tot va dze ɖo vevie, eye tɔɖia B. dze agbagba le ɲu ɲuto be wòahaya, gake mete ɲui o. Eya ta ekɔe do ɖe Matse le nɔviawo gbɔ, ne woawo hã nadze agbagba le ɲu. Woawo hã wɔ woto sinu le ɲu vuu, womenya ta le enu o. B. yɔ vɔlusiwo, be woava dze agbagba le ɲu, ke woawo ha mekpɔ enu o. B. gblẽ ho le agbagbadzedze sia me anɔ hotu 16 sɔɲ.

then Tot. became ill, and his uncle B. made a lot of effort to have him cured, but in vain. He, therefore, brought him to his brothers in Matse, for them also to do what they could. They accepted the challenge, and also did their best, but could not achieve any success. B. then invited priests to come and try their hands on him; but their efforts also remained unsuccessful. B. spent as much as 16 *hotu* in all his efforts to cure his son.

b. An Ordeal

One of the priests submitted that his own brother, either paternal or maternal, must have put a spell on him. B. therefore gave his brothers 2 *hotu* and 25 *hoka*, requesting them to commit the whole Ho tribe to a trial by ordeal. They moved to Taviefe, where the owner of the *aka*, Bele Kɔmla, was performing. The inhabitants of the royal town of Dome, of Axɔe as well as of Ahliha were found not guilty; the guilt fell on the people of Banyakoe. The individual families of Banyakoe were then tried, and the guilt fell on the children of Pake, while all the others were released to go free. The messengers then went back home and reported that the sons of Pake had been caught by the *aka*. But B. himself as well as Am. K. were the elders of the Pake family. When they heard the report, they were very angry and requested to know, who, exactly, the victim was, when they went through the ordeal individually. The messengers answered that no individual trial was performed. The whole case was then brought to King Afede.

Am., B. and K. declared their readiness to undergo the ordeal. King Afede gave his blessings to it, saying, it was good to do so, since it was the one way by which they could rid themselves of suspicion, and it would help to know who had bewitched Tot. When they happened to be found not guilty, no one would need to fear them anymore. Am. now requested the king to assign him one witness to be present and to observe the proceedings. Afede appointed D. Km. for that post. He gave them the 30 *hoka* which they had requested. Each of the three men had 10 *hoka*.

Accompanied by some members of their families, they left for Taviefe to meet Chief Bele Kɔmla. After they had greeted him, he asked for their mission. They answered they had come to him to subject themselves to a trial by ordeal. After reflecting briefly, Bele Kɔmla invited them to sit down. Some folks from Lume had just come to him; their case was only a short one. The Ho people should just wait patiently a little while; he would then get the facts clear in their case. When he had finished with the Lume folk, he told D. Km. he should now bring the people who had come for the performance of the ordeal. He then asked D. Km. which of them had wanted to undergo the ordeal, and Am. said he was the one. The *aka*-man then ordered him to produce his money, upon which he laid 10 *hoka* cowry shells on the floor. He further ordered him to go and buy, for the occasion, 1 *hoka* worth of red palm oil. He went to buy it. The *aka*-man now put a container on the fire and poured the red palm oil into it. He then called the man who wanted to undergo the ordeal to approach him and to make his protestation. Am. spoke: "If I have ever, since my birth, put a charm on any Ho person, man or woman or child or on Tot., then may I be submitted to judgment. If, however, I have not done so, then may I be set free! I have lived in Accra for six years. If I have put a charm on a Ga man or any foreigner, then may this judgment go against me." The *aka* owner on his part said; "Well, let me clarify everything for you. You are a man, who has been to war; if you shot someone dead in war, that will have nothing to do with the ordeal. Or if at home an evil magician attempted unsuccessfully to put a spell on you, and as

b. Akanyinyi.

Ɖɔlusi aɖe va gblɔ bena, nɔviawo alo tɔviawo le dzo ɖum Tot. Esiata B. tso hotu eve kple blaeve vo etɔ be, woadzidze aka ɖe Hoawo katã nɔti. Woyi ɖatso aka la le Bele Kɔmla gbo le Taviefe. Fiagbome Axɔe kple Ahlila gbo aka eye Banyakoe tsi aka me. Azɔ woɖe wo hlɔme, eye bubuwo gbo aka; ke aka lé Pakeviwo. Dɔlawo tso nya la va afee be, Pakeviwo tsi aka me loo. B. nɔti Am. Kple K. wonye Pakeviwo fe ame tsitsiwo. Esime wose nyaa la, eku dzi na wo nɔti, eye wobia bena, esime woɖe wo ɖekaɖeka ɖee, ame ka nu aka le? Dɔlawo be, yewomele nu ɖe eme nenema o, eye wolɔ nya la yi Afede gbɔe.

Am. gblɔ be, yeanyi aka ɖe ye ɖokui nu, eye nenema B. kple K hã gblɔ. Afede gblɔ be ne wowo nenema hã enyo be woaklɔ wofe dɔme afia wo nɔewo, ne yewoakpo ame si tututu le Tot, la ɖum. Ne wogbo aka la, ekema ame aɖeke magadzi nɔ le wo nu o. Am gblɔ be, nena ame ɖeka yewo, ne wɔanye ɖasefo na yewo. Afede ɖe D. Km. kpe ɖe wo nɔti. Wobia akatsoho ho bleatɔ, eye wona wo dome ame siaa ame xɔ hoha ewo – ewo.

Wodze Taviefemo dzi, eye wo vi aɖewo hã kpe ɖe wo nu. Ale wova tu Taviefetɔwo fe amega Bele Kɔmla. Esime wodo gbe ne vo la, ebia wo bena, azɔli ka dzi wole va ye gbo mahã? Wogblɔ ne bena aka nyi ge yewova le egbo. Eye Bele Kɔmla bu tame sɛ gblɔ be na wo bena, ne wabɔɔ nɔ anyi gbo. Lumetɔwo va ye gbo fifia, wo tɔ enye nya kpui aɖe ko, eya ta ne wɔalala vie, ne yeaɖe wo tɔ le eme. Esime wɔwu nu na wo vo la, egblɔ na D. Km. be, yewo vo azɔ, eya ta nekplɔ ame siwo le aka nyi ge la ve, eye wona wokplɔ tefe bubu eye wokpe aɖadzo la ɖe afi ma. Ebia D. Km. be, ame ka le aka nyi ge mahã? Am. be, yee. Ebe, netsɔ akanyihɔ ve, eye wotsɔ hoka ewo trɔ ɖe ayi. Egblɔ ne be, netsɔ hoka, ne wɔadze ami dzɛ, eye wɔyi ɖedzee ve. Emegbe wotsɔ akagba ɖo dzo la dzi tso ami la fo ɖe eme. Eye wɔgblɔ be akanyila nete va ne wɔafo aka ne yease. Am. fo aka be Esime medzo ne mekpɔ Hovi sia Hovi, nɔtsu o nɔɔnu o, ɖevi o, mete dzo ɖe enu kpo, hafi mava ɖu Tot. matsi aka me, ne nyemewɔe o, magbo aka. Eye menɔ Gɛ fe aɖe, ne mekpɔ Gɛvi aɖe, eye mete dzo ɖe enu, be maɖui alo amedzro sia amedzo mete dzo ɖe enu ɖui, nenɔ ahame nam. Eye akatɔ la be, nyo maɖe eme na wo. Nɔtsu nenyɛ, ede ava, ne eda tu ɖe ava me wu ame, mele aka me na wo o. Ne ele afewɔ me, dzotɔ vɔ aɖe ɖo tame ɖe nuwɔ, eye wɔgbo ne le nuwɔ, eye nane wɔe, mele aka me na wɔ o. Akatɔ gblɔ na D. Km be, nefo aka be; Ne mewɔe fiame bubu nagblɔ be Kpao. Ne wɔanɔ gbɔgbɔm alea sɔn ko. Eye akatɔ la tso dzeku ɖeka fia Am., eye wotsɔe de amia me le agba la me, enumake ami fu dzoge, eye wɔtsɔ efe miasi fu amidzodzo la me le agba la me bam zi etɔ, eye mefia o. Eye akatɔ gblɔ na Am. be, egbo aka. Wobe K. neva, eye wofo aka ne enumake, eye K hã gbo aka.

a result something evil befalls him, that also has nothing to do with the ordeal.” The *aka*-diviner now turned also to D. Km. and requested him to give his affirmation: “Truly, if I have done it, then – (I should be found guilty)!” A third person would then respond: “No, he hasn’t done it!” [While the accused was going through the ordeal, D. Km. constantly repeated loudly: “If I have done that, then I—” and the others replied: “No,⁵⁶ he has not done it.”

The *aka* diviner now showed Am. a grain of salt, threw it into the bowl of hot oil, whereupon the oil immediately flamed up. The *aka* diviner dipped his hand three times into the oil flame without sustaining any scalding, and declared Am. not guilty. He thereupon invited K. to approach. He stated the facts, and was also found not guilty.

The *aka* diviner now asked whether there was someone else. They named B. He was also ordered to bring cowries; he brought them and laid them on the floor. He also had to buy 1 *hoka* worth of red palm oil. He now requested D. Km. to state the facts of the case. D. Km., turning to B, said: “If it is you who put a spell on his son, Tot., then you will remain in the *aka*. If, however, you have not charmed him, then you will go out free.” D. Km. was now requested to ask him: “Have you not cast a charm on him?” – The friends of B answered: “No, certainly not!” The *aka* owner⁵⁷ showed him a grain of salt, threw it into the bowl of oil and, behold, it burst in two and a blaze arose! The *aka* diviner tried to dip his hand into the oil, but could not because he feared getting burnt. He declared to the man that the judgment had gone against him. But this man replied: “No the judgment has not gone against me!” The *aka* diviner, therefore, told him to let his son Yw. go through the test in his stead. He told him: “Your name is no more Yw., and you must respond if I call you B. The son then also made the declaration as all the others before him, but he was also caught by the verdict on his father’s behalf. His father was not satisfied with this either. Yw. then did the test for his own behalf, and was found not guilty. That annoyed B. very much. He was not satisfied with this either. His brothers prevailed upon him to agree to be taken home. He resisted, saying that it would be better if they went to a different *Aka* diviner.

He swore to D. Km. to let him undergo a different ordeal. If he did not, then he, B., would be breaking the oath of the Ho. D. Km. told him it did not matter, but that they should first go home, but B. would not.

The *Aka* diviner then informed B.; “I have four other types of *aka*; which of these four would you want us to employ now?” B. replied that he wanted the *ayidi*. The magician went into his room and brought out a bag containing the types of *aka*.

56 The ‘No’ of the other man is an assurance of the truth in what the one going through the ordeal is saying.

57 *Aka* means God’s water. One who knows how to prepare it and use it is called *akato*. One who undergoes the test “remains in *aka* or comes back,” that is his guilt or innocence will thereby be proved.

Egblɔ be ame ka hã susɔ. Wobe B. eye wògblɔ ne bena, netsɔ efe akaho vɛ, eye wòtsɔe fo ɖe anyi. Eye wòbe neɖe hoka fle ami vɛ, eye wòflee vɛ. Eye wògblɔ na D. Km. be nefo aka nɛ. D.Km fo aka nɛ be, viwò Tot. nenyɛ woe le equm, nenɔ aka me na wò, eye ne meɖui o, nagbo aka. Wogblɔ be, D. Km. nefo aka nɛ be, ne meɖui o fĩ, ame kemɛ nabe kpao. Nenem wotsɔ dzeku ɖeka fiaɛ, eye dzeku la wo le ami la me, eye ami la fu dzo, eye akatɔ tsɔ efe asi be, yeade eme, gake mete ɲui o, elabena efe asi le didim be yeafiã. Eye wògblɔ nɛ bena, etsi aka me, eye wògblɔ nɛ bena ɖabi, yemetsi akame o. Eye akatɔ la be, ekem nena evia Yw. Neva nyii ɖe etefe. Eye akatɔ gblɔ na Yw. bena, efe ɲkɔ meganyɛ Yw. o!, ne yeyɔe be B ne wòatɔ. Eye wofo aka na evia hã abe tsãtɔ ke ene, eye via hã gatsi eme ɖe fofoa nu. Gake medze fofoa ɲu o. Akatɔ gblɔ be, via ɲutɔ nanyii ɖe eqokui nu, eye wògbo aka. Esia megbe B. nyrã ɲutɔ, be yemetsi akame o. Eye nɔviawo gblɔ nɛ be, nena yewoayi afe, wogbe be, aka bubu ko yeaganyi. Eye eka atam na D. Km. be ne akatɔ medi aka bubu yenyi o la, ekem etu Hoawo fe fiẽ. D. Km. gblɔ nɛ bena mewɔ naneke o, nena yewoayi afe wògbe.

Akatɔ gblɔ nɛ bena, aka ta ene ele ye si, ka wòdi mahã?. Ebe ayidi, eye akatɔ yi xɔ me, eye wotsɔ akakevi la ɖi goe. Eye wobe neyi ɖaku tsi ɖe tre me vɛ.



Magical Paraphernalia

a. magic ribbon, to be worn around the neck. b, c, f, objects used in the process of preparing the ordeal. d. magical ring with a tin containing magic powder. e. a jaw bone, wrapped in magic cords.

The *aka* diviner dips the ends of the *awudzawo* b c f into the God's water and smears the face of the one undergoing the test with it.

He ordered B. to bring him a calabash full of water. He brought it and placed it on the ground. After that he pulled out whisks, a bundle of porcupine quills and several other magical objects from the bag. He dipped the tips of these objects into the water and said he had finished with the preparations; B. should bring 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowries. He threw the cowry shells on the ground, all around the calabash. Having sprinkled ashes around the calabash, the *aka* diviner ordered D. Km. to come forward and make his protestation. D. Km. spoke as he had earlier done. The diviner then ordered him to wash his face from the calabash. He did so three times and sprinkled his back with the water. After that, he had to step back a little and clap his hands. The diviner took his hat and waved it three times before his eyes, and no cowry shell fell out of it. He now called him to draw nearer so that he could touch his face with the horse-tail-whisk and he blew into it three times and yet no cowry shell fell from it. He then confirmed again to B. that he was guilty. The *aka* diviner then seized him, and



A group of men at the water place

“He ordered B. to fetch water.”

Eye woku tsi la va li anyi. Eɖe awudzawo kple kotokufu babla kple dzoka nu bubuwo, hetsɔ wo tɔ tsi la me vivi, eye wògblɔ nɛ be, yewo vɔ azɔ netsɔ hotui hotu hoka ewo vɛ, eye wòtsɔ hotsui la va fo ɖe akatre la te. Akatɔ la tsɔ dzoti tsɔ fo xlā akatre la kple ye ɣutɔ ɖokui, eye wògblɔ na D. Km. be neva fo aka nɛ D. Km. fo aka ne nenema, eye akatɔ la gblɔ nɛ be, neku tsia fu ɣkumee, eye wòfu ɣkume zi etɔ̃. Eye wòtsi nɛ be, neva eye wòtsɔ awudza lili ɖe efe ɣkume, eye wòɖo fufui ɖee zi etɔ̃, gake akakui meva o, eye wògagblɔ nɛ bena, egatsi aka me. Akatɔ la lée, be yeakplɔe ayi xɔ me, ke nɔviawo gbe hele evlim, nɔviawo biaɛ bena; ɣku le vewoma?

tried to force him into the room, but his brothers did not allow that. His brothers asked whether he had pains in his eyes. He assured them that he felt no pains; the *aka* had not injured him, and that he had come out of it innocent. The diviner now took the *kakler* and *gbato* herbs and squeezed their juice into B's eyes. His brothers then took him and his children home, while the *Aka* diviner insisted once again, that he had been found guilty. On arrival at home, his eyes became sore and very painful; this made all his relatives believe that he was guilty.

c. Judicial Sequel

When Howusu heard that his community chief B. had been caught in an ordeal, and that he was having pains in the eyes, he immediately ordered his gong-gong beaters to summon all the communities and their leaders, all chiefs as well as the youth, first from his own town, then from Axõe, from Banyakoe and from Ahliha to assemble the next morning in Banyakoe – they were to meet on the matter of the ordeal which had been performed on B. All these people assembled the next morning in Banyakoe. Afede and the chiefs had all assembled in court. The King of Ho, Wusu, ordered his linguist Y.K. to ask King Afede, why he had sent his community chief B. to Taviefe for the performance of an ordeal without having first informed him. He would have wished that the community chief, B. himself was there to speak in his own defence. He should appear before the community chiefs and in the presence of the elders of his own town, so that they could hear from his own mouth, what he had to say. King Afede then rose up, greeted the people present and said: "If the king says that I have sent his chief captain to a trial by ordeal without having informed him, I have to reply that I have not sent anybody anywhere. Y.K. (the linguist) should listen and pass it on to the chiefs. D. should listen and channel it to the community and the youth. It is true, that they went to Taviefe for a trial by ordeal." He continued, he was at home when B., K. and Am. came to him. Am. had informed him that Tot. was sick. B. had charged his children to engage the *aka* diviner. There, all the Ho were declared not guilty; only the children of Pake were found guilty. "And who are the Pake children involved? They are B., K. and Am."

Am. then said that if they were supposed to be guilty,⁵⁸ then he would like to prove his innocence. B. and K. also wanted to do the same. They begged him for 30 *hoka*, which he shared equally among them. He had also got D. Km. to accompany them to Taviefe. He, Afede, had not sent them anywhere, though it might appear so. They came back to him to report that Am. and K. had been pronounced not guilty, but that B had been condemned. That was what went on in Taviefe. Afede took his seat.

Wusu the king requested B. to be brought forward so that he could hear from his own mouth. A chief called T.K. said that K. was not at home and, therefore, B. could also not come. The King then sent two messengers to Dzogokɔfe, to call him to the meeting. By about midday, the messengers returned to report that K. was not at home; he was supposed to have gone to Taviefe in the night. Wusu said that did not matter, Afede himself should have had him brought there. But Tk.. said no; if they had not found K., then on no account should they bring B. since he was his brother. At this juncture, the King requested two cases of brandy before he and his youth-group could

⁵⁸ The final proof of guilt would only be through a new water ordeal in which both of them had to take part.

Ebe ŋku aḍeke mele ye vem o. Nyemetsi akame o, megbo aka. Akatɔ la tɔɔ kaklẽ kple gbatongba fia ɔe ŋkume nɛ, eye B. be efia gbe ɔe ŋkume nam, eye nɔviawo va, eye wokplɔ eyama va afeme kple viawo, eye akatɔ kã ɔe dzi be etsi aka me kokoko. Afe hafi efe ŋkuwo va nyrã dee vevie, le evem ŋutɔ, eya ta tɔviawo kple nɔviawo katã bui akametsilae.

c. Akanya la dɔdrɔ

Howusu se bena efe asafohene B. tsi aka me, eye efe ŋkuwo le evem. Enumake wòdɔ efe gadolawo, eye wodo ga le efe dume gbã, emegbe Axɔe, Banyakoe kple Ahliha be, amegawo alo ametsitsiwo kple asahenewo, asafoawo kple sɔhewo nava ŋdi kanya yewoayi Banyakoe aḍakpe ta ɔe afi ma ɔe B. fe akametsinya ŋuti. Ŋu ke ŋdi wo katã woyi aḍakpe ta ɔe Banyakoe la, Afede kple amegãwo va ɔi anyi. Wusu to na efe tsiami Y.K. be, ne wòabia Afede na ye be, nu ka ŋuti wòdɔ yefe asafohene B. ɔo ɔe aka gbɔ le Taviefe, eye yemese o mahã? Eya ta ye le yefe asafohene B. ðim le tofo ne yeabia efe akametsitsi kple efe akafofo fe nyawoe ase, yefe asafohene ye. Neva Hometsitsi kple wofe asafohenewo kple ye ŋutɔ fe amegãwo fe ŋku me, ne yewo katã yewoase efe numegbe. Afede tsi tre do ɔoafe ɔo ɔe wo, eye wògbɔ be, gbe si ke fia gbɔ bena, ye ɔo efe asafohene B. ɔo ɔe aka gbɔ yemasee o la, kpao, yemedo ame aḍeke ɔo ɔe afi aḍeke, be nenyi aka na ye o. Y. K. nesee ne woado amegãwo gbɔ, D nesee ne woado asafowo kple sɔhewo gbɔ, ele me be, wode aka gbɔ, le Taviefe. Yeli, eye B. kple K. kple Am.

Wova yegbo eye Am. To na ye be, Tot. dze anyi le dɔɔɔ, eye B. ɔo eviawo bena woanyi ɔatsɔ aka Hotɔwo keŋ gbɔ aka; ke Pakeviwo tsi aka me. Ame kawoe nye Pekeviwo? Woawoe nye; B. K. kple Am. Eye Am be ekem nenyi ale, yeaklɔ fome. B, hã be yeaklɔ fome afia, eye K. hã be yeawɔ nenema. Wobe, mado ho bleatɔ na yewo, yedoe na wo wolema hoka ewo ewo. Yeḍe D. Km kpe ɔe wo ŋu, eye woheyi Taviefe lae. Yemedo wo ɔe afi aḍeke o, hafi wogawɔ abe ɔe yee do mɔ wo ene. Wova gbɔ, eye wobe, Am gbɔ aka, K. gbɔ aka ke B. tsi aka me. Ale wode nua gbee nye esi. Eye woyi ɔabɔɔ nɔ anyi.

Eye fia Wusu be, ne wokplɔ B. vɛ ne wòava do efe numegbe, ne yease. Amegã ɔeka woyɔna be Tk. gbɔ bena, K mele afe o, eya ta B. hã mate ŋu ava o. Eye fia la ɔe ame eve ɔo ɔe eyome le Dzogokɔfe. Anɔ yedota, ameawo gbɔ hegbɔ be, K. mele afi ma hã o, eyi Taviefe zã me ke, eye Wusu gbɔ be, mewo naneke o. Afede ŋutɔ nena woakplɔ B. vɛ. TK. be ɔabi, ne womekpɔ K. ŋkume o la, womakplɔ B. hã o; elabena eyae nye nɔvia. Fia be, ekem ne wova kɔ ye yi afe. Afede kple efe ame tsitsiwo yi ɔaŋu, eye wotsɔ aka ketre ɔeka va de asi na ame tsitsiwo. Eye sɔhewo dzo, ke fia kple efe ame tsitsiwo tsi Banyakoe hele K. lalam.

go home. King Afede presented one case of brandy to the chief and their entourage after consultation with his elders. The youth went home but the King and his elders remained in Banyakoe, where they waited for K.

The following morning, the King met in court with the community and the chiefs. He requested his linguist to ask Afede about the whereabouts of K. They replied that he had not returned. They then dispatched two men to go after him to Taviefe. The messengers found him in Taviefe, living with Bele Kɔmla. They informed them that the elders of Ho and the community had assembled in court because of B., and, therefore, he should accompany them back.

They then pleaded with Bele Kɔmla to let the man go with them. K. insisted that he would not be able to go with them on that day, for they had been sent there to undertake the ordeal in which he and Am. were declared innocent. His elder brother “remained in the *aka*,”⁵⁹ for which reason he had to pay the resultant debt. Bele Kɔmla requested 24 *hotu* and a goat. He had paid the money, and was yet to pay for the goat; as soon as he got the money to pay for the goat, he would come back. It was when Bele Kɔmla got the goat, that he would “remove the *aka* from the eyes”⁶⁰ of B. That was the message the messengers had to bring to the Ho and their chiefs.

The *Howusu* now rose up, turned to Afede, greeted them all and said: “Nobody hands over a government to a child. One has to become mature before he is put in the helm of affairs of a tribe. Afede and I were still young when we assumed the helm of affairs and that is why we are suffering so much. This was the situation when I was found guilty and *Afede* pestered me unceasingly. The mouse slapped the cat; now when the cat also wanted to slap the mouse, the mouse shouted that the cat was trying to start a quarrel. Afede, why haven’t you yet brought B. before me, since I’ve been looking for him for some time now? I do not have a knife, I don’t have a gun, and I’ve not brought anything with which I could kill a person; I just want to interview him.”

Afede also rose up and said: “There is nobody among us who can surrender B.; if anybody does so in the absence of K., it will result in a misunderstanding. Forgive us if we say that we cannot surrender him. K. will have to come home first.” At this juncture the community linguist, D., spoke to the chiefs: “Why have you called us here to this court hearing; isn’t it because you would like us to do what you find too difficult to do yourselves? Just give the order, and we will immediately rush to B.’s house, pull him from his house and bring him here. This is typical of Banyakoe people, they are hypocrites and keep on postponing matters. As such, they want to drag this matter until night falls again. I pray the chiefs to hurry and take action so that we can finally go home!” There arose a quarrel among them, till night fell. The community went home but the chiefs remained overnight.

K. arrived back in the night, and went to greet the chiefs the following morning. He brought them a sheep and six bottles of brandy which they accepted. After breakfast, they continued the hearings again, and K. was summoned to attend. They first asked him to narrate how the ordeal went off. K. answered them: “Am. has already told you the story; haven’t you heard it?” They responded, that although they had heard

59 “remain in *aka*” means the same thing as “remain in the river” ie. get drowned. The guilty party, in earlier times, was left lying dead, as happened in the 80s in Tsibu.

60 Pepper and poison were put into the eyes of the guilty person, hence the pain. To “remove the *aka* from the eyes”, therefore, means to remove the effect of these poisons.

Esi ɲu ke la fia kple asafoawo kple amegãwo va ɖi vɔnu. Eye fia to na efe tsiامي bena, neto na Afede bena, K ɖee? Woɖo ɲu nɛ be, megbɔ o. Eye wogaɖe ame eve ɖo ɖe eyome le Taviefe. Wotu K. le Taviefe le Bele Kɔmla gbɔ, eye dɔlawo gblɔ nɛ be, Hofeawo kple asafoawo ka ɖe nɔvia B ɲu le vɔnu be eya kple yewo ne yewo zɔ gbɔ loo.

Woɖe kuku na Bele Kɔmla be, nena yewoakplɔe ayi. K. gblɔ be, yemele ejute ge ayi gbe ma gbe o, elabena woawo dɔ yewo ɖa yewova nyi aka, yegbɔ, Am. gbɔ ke ye fo tsi aka me; eya ta yele akametsifewo xem. Bele Kɔmla be, yeaxɔ hotu 24 kple gbɔ ɖeka, yeana hotsui la, eye esusɔ gbɔ ko, ne yekpɔ gbɔ nɛ la, ekema yeagbɔ. Ne yekpɔ gbɔ hafi Bele Kɔmla aɖe aka le ɲkume na B; eya nye du wɔde asi na dɔlawo wova gblɔ na Hofeawo kple amegãwo.

Eye Howusu tsitre, eye wɔdo gbe na wo keɲ, yɔ Afede, wɔtɔ, eye wɔgblɔ nɛ be womatsɔ ɖevi aɖo fiaɖuɖu nu gbedegbede o. ɖe ame natsi nyuie hafi woatsɔe aɖo du nu. Afede nye ɖevi, wotsɔe ɖo du nu ye hã yenye ɖevi wotsɔ ye ɖo du nu eya ta yewole fu kpem ale. Ale wonɔnae nye si; esi wodzɔ ɖe ye dzi Afede meva tuma? Ale nele dzinye krarara. Akpagana fo avli fe to me, avli tɔ fo gbe ɖo wogblɔ bena, edia ge. Afede, nu ka ɲuti mele vinye B, dim meɖee nam haɖe o?. Kpɔ ɖa nyemetsɔ amewuhe ɖe asi o, nyemetsɔ tu o, nyemetsɔ naneke be mawu amee o; negbe be, mabia efe numegbe ase ko.

Tete Afede tsi tre gblɔ be, B. dela si mele yewo dome o, ke ne ame aɖe de B. asi le K megbɔ, ne K. gbɔ la, anye nyahehe; eya ta taflatse, yewo mate ɲui o, negbe K. koe agbɔ hafi. Eye asafoawo fe tsiامي D. gblɔ na amegãwo be, nu ka ɲuti woyɔ yewo ɖo le vɔnu me le aɖi, amegãwo menye ɖe woyɔ yewo be, nu si ke sɛ wu wo la, ne yewoawɔe na wo o mahã? Ne wogblɔ nya ɖeka ko yewoayi B. fe me akɔe vɛ fifia; ale kokoko Banyakoetɔwo lee nye si; Banyakoetɔwo ametrɔlawo mienye, didritɔwo hã wonye, ale kokoko wogale yewo trɔ ge zã nagado ɖe yewo. Eya ta amegãwo nawɔ nua kaba, ne yewoadzo. Eye wɔzu nyahehe ɖe wo dome zã gahedo Asafoawo gaka yi wofe duwo me, eye amegãwo gatsi anyi dɔ.

Le zã me K. gbɔ. Esi ɲu ke la, K. tsa le amegãwo dzi do gbe na wo. Etsɔ alɛ ɖeka kple ahakpavi aɖe le aɖi na amegãwo kple asafoawo, eye woxɔe nɛ. Esime woɖu nu vɔ ɲɖi wodi vɔnu eye woyi ɖayɔ K. vɛ, woawo hã wova ɖi anyi. Wobia K. bena, ale ke wode akagbe mahã? K. ɖo eɲu bena, Am meɖo eɲu wose o hã? D. Km medoe wose o hã? Woɖo eɲu ne bena, wo keɲ wodoe yewose hafi, eya hã nadoe ne yewoase. K. va tsi tre, eye wɔgblɔ bena, yele gbe me hafi wovayɔ ye, eyae nye yewofe Taviefe fe mɔdzedze enumake. Yewode aka gbɔ, Am. nyi aka la gbɔ, yenyii gbɔ, ke ye nɔvi B. la eya tsi aka me lo! Eye amegãwo gabiaɛ

everything from Am., yet they would wish to hear it again from him. K. rose and spoke: "I was in the bush when they came to call me. I left immediately for Taviefe. We then went to the *aka* diviner. Am. went through the ordeal and came out clean. My brother B. was, however, caught by the *aka*." The chiefs then asked him, what his elder brother then said when the judgment went against him? K. replied: "He said he was not guilty and remained unwavering in that position." The chiefs asked further: "Has anyone dropped plant juice into his eyes?" K. replied in the affirmative and said: "Some plant juice has been dropped into his eyes alright, the juice of *kakleŋ* and of *gbato* plants; but I have not seen it myself, since I was then having my meal." The King now ordered him to go and lead his brother to their presence, for him to undertake the ordeal once more. K. pleaded with the chief to excuse him, for his brother was unable to see, and that Bele Kɔmla had requested 24 *hotu* and a goat from him before he could remove the effect of the juice from his brother's eyes. He would, therefore, beg permission from the King to allow him to take B. to the *aka* diviner. He would hand over his brother to the King to have him undergo the ordeal once again, but this current *aka* would first have to be taken out of his eyes. If this was not done, and yet another ordeal was imposed on him, he would go totally blind. The King answered that he had heard the argument, but since B., had children and relatives, Afede should appoint one of those to undergo the ordeal in his stead. They should go and ask B. whether he would want to go through the ordeal once more. Y. Km. and two other men were appointed to go to B.

But then one I. got up and told the King that the missionary had sent him to remind him that he was operating under the German sovereignty, and that a trial by ordeal did not have any substance and was a useless effort. The king had no power to put B. to death. If he dared do that, a report would have to be made to the Commissioner, that he had put someone to death without cause. If anybody did anything for which the death sentence could be prescribed, then it should be reported to the Commissioner and it was he who would investigate the matter, so that Wusu and his chiefs would not fall into trouble.

The Commissioner's linguist also went to the kings and said that he had something to discuss with them, and he was given the chance to speak. He said he had first been with the Englishmen and had later joined the service of the Germans. As far as he knew, trials by ordeal and touching the dead were forbidden for it was plain deceit and fraud. If the king should respect the trial by ordeal and go ahead to kill B., then he would only land himself in unpleasant circumstances. The king could just impose a financial penalty on him. And if he could not pay, he could seize any of his properties; if he had really done something evil, he could then be brought before the Commissioner for trial. The chiefs thanked him for his advice. The night again fell, the people went home but the king and his chiefs spent the night there.

The following morning, the linguist Y. Km. went to B. and reported to the elders that B. had agreed to allow the trial by ordeal to be performed once more, and that he himself also fervently wanted to be among them; however, it was only the effect of the juice of the herbs which had been dropped into his eyes, and which had been causing him a lot of serious pain, that prevented him from coming, and that the chiefs should find a man, who would undergo the trial by ordeal on his behalf. He was not the one who had remained in the *aka*. It was rather Am. He only happened to be the one into whose eyes the juice of the herbs was dropped.

bena esime foa B. tsi aka me dee, ale ke wògblo mahā? Egblɔ na wo be, egblɔ be yemetsi aka me o, eye efe nu le sesēm ɲuto ɲuto. Amegawo gabiae be, menye de wobe wofiā gbe de ɲkume nɛ o mahā? Wòbe, ē, wonya fiā gbe de ɲkume nɛ, gake yemeli hafi o, yeyi de nu du ge hafi kaklẽ kple gbato wofiā de ɲkume nɛ. Eye fia gblɔ be, neyi ne woakplɔe vɛ, ne yeana akae le afi. Eye K. gblɔ be, yele afɔ na fia, elabena ɲku meli nɛ o. Bele Kɔmla gblɔ be, netsɔ hotu 24 kple gbɔ deka vɛ hafi yeawo ɲku la nɛ lo. Eya ta fia nana mɔe, ne yeakplɔe ayi Bele Kɔmla gbɔ ne ewɔe wovɔ nɛ la, ekema yeakplɔe ava de asi na fia, ne woana aka lae; elabena ne wogana aka bubui la, ekema gbagbām ko ɲku la gale. Nyatefe ne evɔ nɛ la, yeakplɔe ava de asi na fia. Fia be yesee, gake vi mele B. si o hā? Fome adeke meli o mahā? Afede nedi ame ne woanyii de etefe. Ne woyi, ne woabia B. Be aganyi aka mahā? Woɔe Y. Km kple ame eve do de B. gbɔ.

Tete I tsi tre yi de fia gbɔ gblɔ be, yevuawo de nya ade ye si, be yeagblɔ nɛ be; Fia ɲuto nyae be amlaɔ fe ɲusẽ te yele. B nɔviwo nyae be etsi aka me, eye ame sia ame dze sii bena, enye dzoquametɔ; gake ɲusẽ mele fia si be, woawui o. Ne eka tse wu B. la, ekema woagblɔe na Amlaɔ gbā, bena woakpɔ eme agblɔ na wo bena wo Wusu nagakpɔ nya o.

Amlaɔ fe nyanuɖela yi de fiawo fe ɲkume gblɔ na wo be: Nya vi ade le asinye be magblɔ na mi. Woɔo ɲu nɛ be, nedoe, ne yewoase. Ebe, yenɔ Ɛnɔlɔsiawo fe do me, gbe yetasa asi; eye azo yeva le Dzamawo fe do me. Nu si yekpɔ lae nye be; aka kple ame kukuwo tsɔtsɔ to ame nye apasanu ɔwɔwɔ kple ame beble. Eye ne fia dze akanyinyi yome wu B. la akpɔ nya kokoko. Nu si ko fia nawɔe nye be, wɔable fe gā ade nɛ, ne mete ɲu xee o la, ekema nu siaa nu si le efe me la, nazu fia to, eye woanyae ɖa le edenyigba dzi. Gake ne ewɔ nu manyomanyo ade la, yeagblɔe na Amlaɔ. Emegbe wodo ɖoafe nɛ be, eyae fo nu lo. Zā do, eye woka, eye fia kple efe amegāwo gatsi anyi.

Esi me ɲu ke la, tsiami Y.K. de B. gbɔ eye wogbɔ va ka na ametsitsiawo be, B. lɔ be yeanyi aka la. Egblɔ be, wo dome vava hā le ye dzrom ɲuto, gake gbe si ke wofiā de ɲkume na ye la ele ɲku vem na ye. Eya ta yemate ɲu ava o. Amegāwo kple asafoawo naɖe ame ne woanyii de ye tefe. Aka, si yenyi le Taviefe la, yemetsi aka me o, Am boɲ tsi aka me, gbee wofiā de ɲkume na ye ya lo! Esi Am se nya sia la, ebi dzi ɲuto, eye woka atam nɛ be, ne ɲu ke mekplɔ ye yi aka gbɔ o la, ekema etu Hoawofe fiẽ. Asafohene la, tsi tre gblɔ na ame tsitsiawo bena, ye la ɖevi yenye, mi katā miele ekpɔm be Am ka nam be metua Hoawo fe fiẽ, ne nyemekplɔ ye yi de aka gbɔ o. Tam menye tonye o, Homegāwo katā to. Eya ta mikpɔ eme, ale ke gblɔm miele mahā?

Am. was very angry, when he heard this, and he swore saying if the linguist did not take him the next morning to perform the trial by ordeal, he the linguist would be breaking the Oath of the Ho. The community chief then rose and spoke to the elders of the communities: "I'm not an old man, but you all have heard that Am. has sworn, that if I do not accompany him tomorrow morning to the performance of the trial by ordeal, I would be breaking the Oath of the Ho. The Oath is not mine; it belongs to the chiefs of Ho. What do you now say to that?"

The elders reflected on this for some time and asked their linguist to extend their sympathies to Am. It was clear that B. was afraid of death and was clinging to him to accompany him to his death. He had already gone in and come clean of the ordeal. He might no more have to undergo the ordeal. He should only bring a case of brandy and the oath would be nullified. The community chief was finally warned that he was forbidden by the Ho from going for a further trial by ordeal.

The following morning, B. appointed two men, who should be sent to undertake the trial by ordeal on his behalf. B. himself gave money to the men to go and help wash his name clean of any suspicion, which might be lingering in the minds of the chiefs and the community. They left in the afternoon and returned three days later. On their return, they were preceded by a man firing gunshots in the air. His companions were shouting; "B. is not guilty!" Some people were happy, others were annoyed about it. With this, the whole matter came to an end. The Ho had to come together once more to listen to the details of how the innocence of B. was finally established. The blinded eyes of B., as well as all the debts emanating from this quarrel, were a matter only for the relatives of B. and the *Aka* diviner to settle.

3. A Marriage Case

a. Cause and Course of the Quarrel

G. was the elder brother of K., and a chief in Axɔɛ. When he died, K. left the Ahliha village and went to settle in Axɔɛ in order to perform his brother's funeral rites. K. requested his wife A. to accompany him to Axɔɛ, since he could no more live in Ahliha. A. declined and said she could not move with him to Axɔɛ. If he would not remain with her in *Ahliha*, then that would spell the end of their relationship. One night when K. came from home to his wife in Ahliha, he was very drunk. He revived the question why she did not want to live with him! She answered; "For no reason." K. continued: "If any man in Ahliha gets involved with you, I will kill you. When the court in Ho settled the case between you and your former husband and gave you to me to marry, it would have been better if they had given you back to your husband and imposed a fine of 3 or 4 sacks cowry shells upon me."

The woman reported this to her parents who felt aggrieved. They asked whether they had committed an offence by giving him their daughter to marry. When K. heard that the parents of A. had heard of the case, and that they were angered by it, he bought a bottle of brandy to be presented to his father-in-law and brother, to beg for forgiveness and reconciliation. However, K. Y. and his brother did not take the brandy. They said they felt insulted by what he had said about them and wondered if the good that they had done to him was wrong. They refused to take the reconciliatory brandy. That did not prevent K. from going to Ahliha to visit his wife again.

Ame tsitsiawo de nu to sē, eye wona tsiami la gblɔ na Am. be baba nē lo ku le B. vem, eya ta wobe yekpla asi kɔ nē.

Enyi aka gbɔ xoxo eya ta efe aka gbɔ yiye adeke megali o. Atam si woka fifi la, netsɔ aka ketre deka ne wɔdalé enui. Emegbe woagblɔ na asafohene la hā be, mele afi adeke yi ge o.

Esime ɲu gake la, B. de ame eve de asi na ame tsitsiawo, ne woayi akagbe. B. ɲutɔ do mɔ ameawo, be yeaklɔ yefe dɔ me afia amegāwo kple asafoawo.

Yetɔme ameawo yi. Ijkeke etɔ megbe la, wo gbɔ, eye ame deka le ɲgɔ le tu dam be, B. gbɔ aka lo! Esia nye dzidzɔ na ame adewo, eye wove dewo. Azɔ nya adeke megali o, nya vɔ. Hafi ele ko be, Hofeawo nakpe ta bena woase B. fe akanyinyi la gɔme. Eye B. fe ɲku gbeagblē lae nye B. fomeawo kple akatɔ fe nya kpakple wofe fewo katā.

3. Atsu kple asi dome nya dɔdrɔ

a. Wofe dzrewɔwɔ

K. fo ade si ɲkɔe nye G. lae nye amegā le Axɔe, eye wòku. K. vu tso Ahliha va Axɔe edige. Eya ta K. gblɔ na srɔa A. be, neva ye gbɔ le Axɔe, elabena yemagate ɲu aganɔ Ahliha o. A. gbe be ye hā yemele Axɔe yi ge o, ne manɔ ye gbɔ le Ahliha o ko evɔ. Gbe deka fiē K. mu aha ɲutɔ, eye woyi srɔa gbɔ le Axɔe biae bena: Nu ka ɲuti manɔ gbɔnye o mahā? Nyɔnu la gblɔ nē be, menye nu siaa nu ɲuti o. K. gblɔ nē be, nenye be etsi Ahliha, eye ame ade fe ɲutsuvi ka asi ɲɲu la, yeawui. Esime Hofeawo drɔ vɔnu le nye kple srɔwò dome, eye woxɔ wò nam la, de woxo wò tɔ na srɔwò la eye wobu fɔm mexe kevi atɔ alo ene la, ne nyowu sã.

Nyɔnu la tɔ nya la, dɔgblɔ na edzilawo eye wòve wo ɲutɔ wogblɔ be esi yewoxɔ nyɔnu la na K. la, ezu nu vɔ yewowɔ; eye wodzra nya la dɔ nē. Esime K. se be dzilawo se nyaa, eye woku dzi na wo la, edze ahatukpa eve yi toa K.Y. kple nɔviawo gbɔ, wo kpata gee. K.Y. kple nɔviawo gbe aha la gblɔ bena, nya si wògblɔ de yewo ɲu la, eve yewo ɲutɔ. Ezu vɔ yewowɔ de ɲuti; efe kpata kpataha le A. ta la, yewo mele exɔ ge o. Gake K. va srɔa gbɔ le Ahliha zāwo katā me tsina dɔna.

One day, K. heard that one A. in Ahliha had had an affair with his wife. K., therefore, requested payment of a penalty. The case had not yet been investigated. One day, the men and their wives had gone to farm; only a few men were left at home, engaged in roofing a building. A message suddenly came to M. on the farm, saying that K. was seen very drunk, with a knife in the hand, and had come to his sister A., saying he would kill her, and that they were quarrelling at home. M. said he would not go, for he had warned his sister often enough, but she wouldn't listen to him; if he wanted to kill her, then he should go ahead and kill her. The elder brother Kdz. did not like it at all; he said to M.: "Hurry, take the lead! Such matters are not to be taken lightly. I'll follow immediately after you." When he came to the house, he saw that they were quarrelling and that K. had a knife in his hand. M. instantly led his sister A. away to his own house. There he said to her: "Haven't I told you this everyday that you should stay away from K.? But you would not listen! What is happening now could even lead to death." Hereupon, K. came in rushing at them with the knife. But M. shouted and said: "I will never allow that you come into any house to kill my sister." He pushed K. out of the house, saying: "Go home; you have nothing more to do with A!" He did these three times, trying to prevent K. from entering the house. K., however, remained adamant, insisting on entering the house. M. said to K.: "If you, uncouth fellow, step into my house, it will lead to disastrous and unpleasant consequences." But K. would not listen. At that very moment, Kdz. arrived with some other people and seized the knife from his hand. He immediately took another, swearing that he would kill A., by all means. They implored him to go back home but he would not. At this juncture, M. called out to the people around: "Help me, get hold of this drunkard, and bind him up!" They seized and bound him up. When his brothers in Axõe heard that K. was bound up because of his wife, none of them came to his help. It was only D. Am. who complained to the chiefs and people of Ahliha. Some suggested that he should be thoroughly beaten up, but the elders did not allow this. K. wept and shouted in his shackles. Kdz. pleaded for K., and after he had got K. to promise that he would quietly go home if set free, he was untied and he went home, but not before saying that the matter would not be laid to rest until there was a court hearing.

b. The Court hearing

The Ahliha people were very angry when they returned from their farms that evening to hear of what had happened. They sent their linguist Y.K. to A.Y. and to B. who informed them about what had happened between K. and his wife, and added that they should accompany K. and his brother the next morning to Ahliha. A.Y. responded: "K. is my nephew, and so I am the judge in any case involving him. If God permits and we wake up healthy, we will surely come." When Y.K. returned from Axõe, he went to Banyakoe to inform Afede and his elders about the case. Afede told the messenger: "I will come if we wake up tomorrow, strong and healthy and if nothing evil happens." Upon the return of Y.K. from Banyakoe, information went round the village of Ahliha that nobody should go to farm in the following morning, because there was going to be a court sitting on the matter of the quarrel between K. and his wife.

The following morning, Afede came from Banyakoe, in the company of his chiefs and the local community representatives. They sent a messenger to A.Y. and B. in Axõe, to bring K. and his paternal brothers to Ahliha. Afede told his spokesman: "Listen, and

Gbe dɛka K se aflui aɛe bena, ɲutsu aɛe le Ahliha, enjɔɛ nye A, le asi kam srɔ̃ ɲuti, eya ta K ɔ̃atɔ ɔ̃odui, be woaxɔ fe la le esi. Womekpɔ wu nya la nu o; gbe dɛka Ahlihatɔwo katã yi agble; negbe ɲutsu aɛewo koe tsi afe le xɔ wɔm. Kasia K.Y. fe ɲutsuvi B. le du dzi va dɔwɔfe la, yɔ M. gblɔ nɛ be, K enye kem mu aha tɔɔ hɛ, be yeawu nɔvɔnye A., eye wole avu wɔm le afea me ɲutɔ. M. gblɔ be, yemayi o, elabe yexlɔ nu ye nɔvi A. mesee na ye o, ne ewui hã dɛko woakpɔ egbo awu. Amegã Kdz se nya la, menyo enu o, eye wɔgbɔ na M. bena, yi kaba, elabena amewunya menye kɔɔɔɔɔ o; mele yowome tututu gbɔna M. va afea me, wole avu wɔm vavã, eye hɛ le K. si. M kplɔ nɔvia A. do goe yi eya ɲutɔ femee, eye wogblɔ nɛ bena, esia gblɔm mele na wo gbeawo tɔyo gbe zã kple kelie nye esia be, meganɔ K. gbɔ o; azɔ dɛe, kunya medze eme oa? Tete K. gado dɛ wo dzi kple hɛ la, eye M. hã nyrã bena, ne K. age dɛ ye feme, awu ye nɔvi la, yemalɔ gbedegbede o. Eye wotu asi K. be yi afe me, nya aɛeke megale wo kple A. dome o; etu asii enuenu zi 3 be, negayi afe la me o. K. hã gbe dra dɛ anyi be, afea me kokoko yi ge yeala. M. gblɔ na K. bena esi wonye ame dovo wonye la, ne ege dɛ yefe afe me la yeazu nyagã le efe ɲkume fifi woakpɔ, gake K. mesee o. Tete la Kdz. Va kple ame aɛewo, eye Kdz. lé hɛ la le esi, eye woxɔ le esi sesɛtɔɛ, ke egatsɔ bubu. Vevietɔ ele kakam bena, yeawu A. kokoko. Wogblɔ nɛ be, yi afe, ke egbe dra dɛ anyi. Enumake M. blu bena, milé ahanomunɔɔ sia, ne miablae nam, eye wolée bla. Nɔvia siwo le Axɛ le, se be, wole K. bla dɛ Ahliha le srɔ̃a ta, gake ame aɛeke menya afa nɛ o. Negbe D. Am koe va dzu amegãwo kple Ahlihatɔwo kura. Ame aɛewo be, yewoafɔe hafi, gake amegãwo gbe. K. le babla me de asi avi fafa kple yli dodo me. Kdz. dɛ kuku dɛ eta, eye wobia K. bena, ne elɔ be yeayi efe me kpɔ la woatui. K. lɔ, eye wotu kae wɔyi afe me, eye wogblɔ bena, nya gali yewoagblɔ.

b. Nya la dɔdrɔ̃

Ahlihatɔwo gbɔ tso bofo fie wɔwɔɛ, wose nya la, eku dzi na wo ɲutɔ. Eya ta wɔdɛ wofe tsiami. Y.K. ɔ̃o dɛ A.Y. kple B. gbɔ, eye wode K. kple srɔ̃a dome nya la xɔ be, etsɔ ɲdi kanya la A.Y. kple B nakplɔ K. kple tɔviawo ava Ahlihae. A.Y. gblɔ be, wonedɔ afe. K. la ye nyrui ye, eye ne nya aɛe dɔɔ dɛ enu hã la, yee nye edrɔ̃la. Ne Mawu ɔ̃i ɲu ke, yewofɔ nyuie ko, yewoava. Y. K. gbɔ va yi dɛ Banyakoe yiɔaɛe nya la xɔ na Afede kple efe amegãwo. Afede hã gblɔ be, ne yewotsi agbe, nya aɛeke medzɔ o ko yeava. Wodo ga le Ahliha le fiẽ bena: Tɔɔ ɲu si ake la, yewoakpe dɛ K. kple srɔ̃a fe nya la ɲu, eya ta ame aɛeke megayi afi aɛeke o.

ɲua ke, Afede kple efe amegãwo kple Banyakoe asafoheawo wova. Wodɔ ame ɔ̃o dɛ A. Y. kple B bena, woakplɔ K. kple tɔviawo vɛ, eye woyi. Afede gblɔ na efe tsiambe, nesee ne

pass it over to Y.K.: Why have you sent an envoy to me; what is the problem?” Y.K. answered: “K. wanted to cause mischief in my Ahliha town and I don’t know what to do. I therefore want to ask K. and his wife to tell us all that happened.”

They first gave K. the chance to speak. He, in his turn, said that he had been drunk; they should ask his wife to confirm this. They gave her the go-ahead to speak. She said: “My greetings to you. The spokesman should please listen to me and pass it over to my father and to the chiefs. It is about four years now, since my husband departed, leaving me alone. I fell sick and became a burden on my father until the missionaries gave me some medicine which cured me. K. then came and proposed to me, and I agreed, to live with him. He then moved from his town Axõe and came to stay with me in *Ahliha*. I served him, cooked for him and provided all his needs, and even went with him to work on his farm. This annoyed my earlier husband, who swore he would take me back from K. I, however, refused his overtures and insisted on living only with K. It was because of this quarrel that you, Ho people, gave me to K. to marry, and I am now his wife. It was all the fault of my husband. I was living with K., when his elder brother G. died in Axõe. He then requested me to leave Ahliha and move with him to live in Axõe, where he was going to bury his brother. I declined, explaining that with my own small house here in Ahliha, I would not go to live with him in Axõe. Yet he always came, and still comes each night to sleep in my house. Anytime he came, drunk, he would start a quarrel with me, saying that since I had refused to go and live with him in Axõe, he would kill anyone who might touch me. One day, he came, very drunk, and insulted me, my father and my mother. He said he would have been better off if the judges had made him pay four or five sacks of cowry shells instead of giving me to him as wife.⁶¹ And when he got his hoe and hatchet back from me, I also stopped cooking for him. One day, when he saw that everybody had gone to the field, he came with a knife to kill me in my room. I grabbed the knife, struggled with him and screamed until my brother, M. came and took me to his house. He followed me even there, threatening to kill me in my brother’s house. My elder brother then came to my rescue and bound him up. That is the reason why I am no more living with him. It is only a pity that I still have yams in his farm.” The elders requested the linguist to relate the woman’s version to K. after which they allowed K. to speak.

K. greeted those present and said: “A. is my wife, whom I love very much, and it has never been my intention to kill her; and she knows this to be true. I could have killed her, if I had wanted to, for example, when we were both alone on the farm. If A. says that I had taken a knife against her, then she was wrong. I was not carrying the knife because of her, I was carrying the knife with which my brother, G., tapped palm wine. It just happened that I was carrying it when I arrived in her house. I did start a quarrel but never with the intention of killing her. I was drunk and do not know anything of what she said. I was drunk and I submit myself to you, with the promise that I’ll never do that again. Just give me my wife back to be with me.”

M. then rose up and said: “Listen to this and let the elders hear it!” He then urged K.D. to listen and let K. understand: “K. is lying if he claims he did not want to use the knife against A.; he has certainly used the knife against her. The *Ahliha* were all on their farms, Kdz. and a few others were the only people left behind, engaged in roofing a

61 As penalty for the illegal relationship with A., when she was still living with her first husband.

woaḍo Y. K. gbɔ. Nya ka dzɔ hafi efe du va tu ye mahā? Yedo vɔ! Y.K. be, yefe du Ahliha K be yeagblẽ, eye yemenya eme o. Eya ta woabia K. kple sr̄a, ne woagblɔe na ye.

Gbā wotsɔ nya la ḍo ḍe K. gbɔ, eye K. be, ahae yemu, ne woabia ye sr̄. Wotsɔ nya la ḍo ḍe A gbɔ, eye woto etɔ be: Ne woḍo afe, tsiami nesee ne woaḍo ye tɔ kple amegāwo gbɔ. Anɔ fe ene nye si yesr̄ gblẽ ye ḍi, yedze ḍɔ. Yetsi ye tɔ dzi, eye asafowo gbɔ yexɔ amatsi le hafi ḍɔ la bobɔ na ye. Emegbe K. va dze ahiā ye, eye yel̄ yewole yiyim. Ewu tso Ax̄e va le ye gbɔ le Ahliha. Ye subɔne ḍa, ḍaa nu ne, wɔa nu siaa nu ne bofo hā yekplie. Sr̄nye xoxoa nyra be yeaxɔm le K. si, eye megbe be K. gbɔ ko nɔ ge mala! Nya sia ta mi Hofeawo miexɔm de asi na K. mezu sr̄a eye nyawo katā mli dze sr̄nye dzi. Mía kple K. míeli, eye foa G. va ku le Ax̄e. K. gblɔ nam bena, ye fo ku, eye yeyina edi ge, eya ta mavu ne manɔ ye gbɔ le Ax̄e. Megblɔ ne bena, xɔnu le asinye le afi, eya ta nyemele yiyi ge o; gake eva ḍɔa gbɔnye zā sia zā. Eye ne emu aha ko, wɔanɔ dzuyem, anɔ dzre wɔm kplim. Egbɔ nam be, esi megbe be nyemanɔ ye gbɔ le Ax̄e o la, ne ame aḍe ka asi nɔnye la, yeawum. Gbe ḍeka egamu aha la, va dzum petepete kple tɔnye kpakple nɔnyewo bena, esi wodr̄ vɔnu na ye xɔm na ye la, ḍe wobla fe na ye kevi 4 alo 5 la, ne nyo wu. Agblenu kple fia si wɔnam la, exɔ wo le asinye, eye nye hā megbe be, nyemagaḍa nu ne o. Azɔ esi wokpɔ be amewo katā yi bofo la, eno aha mu tɔɔ hɛ, be yeawum afu xɔ me. Mele hɛ la, hele yli dom vu, hafi nɔvinye M. va kplɔm heyi afe me; gake etim vɛ be yeawum. Ke fonye tsitsitɔ va xɔm, eye wolée bla; eya to nyemaganɔ efe gbɛḍegbɛḍe o. Yefe avadze, si le efe bofo la tɔ koe le ye vem nɔ. Ame tsitsiwo na wodo nya la ḍe K. gbɔ bena, ale sr̄wo gblɔe nye si ale ke gblɔm néle maha?

K. gblɔ be wonedɔ afe. A. la ye sr̄e vavā, eye yelɔne nɔ, yemedɔ ewuwu ḍe tame gbɛḍegbɛḍe o, eya nɔ hā nyae. Ḍe yeḍo ewuwu la, anye ne esime ye ḍeka, eya ḍeka, yewonɔ bo nu la, ekema ne mewui. Esi A. be metsɔ hɛ ḍe asi ḍe ye nɔti la, ḍabi ḍabi, menye eya nɔtie o. Fonye fe ahakpahɛ le asinye meva kpli. Mehe dzre vavā gake nyemedɔ be, mawui o. Memu aha, eya ta nu siwo wobe, mewɔ la nyemenyae o; ahae memu lo! Mena ta mi, nyemagawɔe gbɛḍegbɛḍe o. Ne woaḍe asi le A. nɔti nam ne wɔanɔ gbɔnye lo!

M. tso tɔḍ ḍoaḍe na wo bena, ne wosee ne wɔaḍo tsitsiawo gbɔ, eye woyɔ K.D. be nesee ne wɔaḍo K. gbɔ. Esi K. be yemetsɔ hɛ ḍe asi ḍe A. nɔti o la, eka avatso. Etsɔ hɛ ḍe enu tututu. Nya – Ahlihatɔwo katā woyi bofo, negbe Kdz. Kple ame aḍewo koe tsi afe le xɔ gham, tete B. le du dzi va yɔm be, K. va xaxa nɔviwò ḍo le afe me be yeawui. Mebu tame s̄, megbe be nyemayi o, elabena megbe na nɔvinye A. enuenu be meganɔ K. gbɔ o, ame

house. Suddenly, B hurried to me and said: “K. is harassing your sister and wants to kill her.” I thought for a moment and told him that I didn’t want to look after her because I had often warned her not to stay with K. who was a bad man. But A. did not listen to my advice. Then my elder brother came, shouting to me saying, one should not joke with matters of life and death, I should set off at once, and he would follow right after me. I hurried to the house where I saw K. holding a knife. I pushed him back and led A. to my house. K. pursued her further, and attempted to forcibly enter the house. I did not allow him and told him, if he ventured into my house, I would also turn into as bad a man as he was. However, K. remained adamant and insisted on forcing his way into my house to attack my sister with the knife. My brother Kdz. suddenly arrived with a few other men who took the knife from him; and when he pulled out another knife, they took this also from him. He was drunk alright, we would not have otherwise been able to seize the knife so easily from him and he would certainly have killed my sister. I pleaded with K. to go home, but in vain. I therefore requested my people to tie him up, and they did. His brother Am. then came from Axõe and called us names. We had wanted to beat him up but the elders restrained us. People might say that B., who had come to call me, was a crazy man, but now, I know that he is very sensible. I would have lost my sister if he had not come to call me. If my sister refuses to continue living with K. now, she would have my total support. K. should go home and A. should remain here.”

It was then the time for G.K. the paternal brother of K. to speak. He greeted the gentlemen assembled, and requested the people to listen to him so that the elders would also hear and bring it to the attention of M. and his brother. “What K. has done is very bad; he was drunk when he did it. We, his paternal brothers, are very sad about it but we are pleading earnestly with her father and her mother not to take his wife A. from him. Henceforth, we shall keep a watchful eye on him so that he would never again do such a thing to his wife, when he is under the influence of alcohol. We are seriously pleading with you.”

Kdz. the elder brother of M. now rose and after greeting, he said: “The spokesman should listen and relate it to the elders, to K.Dz. and his brothers. I am begging your pardon; since K. had insulted us when the Ho people gave him A. to marry; he only despised us and did not recognize that we had thereby done anything good for him. Is the wife of K.Y. not the sister-in-law of K., who had left K.Y. and moved to Gbi⁶² where she is playing around with a man till today? Or has K.Y. given his daughter to K.? This woman cooks for him, fetches water for him and follows him to the farm. My brothers and I have not received any engagement palm wine from K. on behalf of A; I don’t know whether or not he has bought any palm wine for her father. Anyone who goes to a girl’s father with brandy under his cloth cannot marry under Ewe culture. Palm wine is the engagement drink in the interior of Eweland. And if you met some one carrying a pot-full of palm wine on his head, and you asked him of his mission, he would tell you he was carrying palm wine meant for engagement in the house of N.N. Nobody has drunk of K.’s engagement palm wine. K. has not spent anything on his marriage. That is why he pulled out a knife to kill her. Murder which results from a quarrel is a very serious offence. We are also in favor of A.’s refusal to continue living with K. One only carries a knife or a sword when going into the bush, but not when going to the house of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law.”

62 Peki.

nyagãe; gake A. gbe nye gbe. Tete fonye blu be, womedĩa kɔ le amewunya ɲuti o, mayi kaba, mele yowome tututu gbɔna. Mefu du va, hɛ le K. si vavã, eye metu asii ɔa kple hɛ la, eye mekpɔ A. do go le egbo va afenye me K. ti yonyeme, be yeage ɔe afenye me kokoko. Nye hã megbe be mayi eme o. Ne ekatse ge ɔe afea me la, nye hã mazu ame nyagã ɔe ɲuti, sigbe ale si eya hã nye ame nyagã ene. Neyi Axõe, K. gbe dra ɔi be, yeayi afe la me kokoko le A. gbɔ kple hɛ la. Rẽ fonye Kdz va kple ame aɔewo, bebli hafi Kdz. xɔ hɛ la le esi. Egayi ɔatsɔ hɛ bubu, megaxɔ eya hã le esi. Eyama mu aha ɲutɔ, ahae memu o la, anye ne míete ɲu xɔ hɛ la le esi o, anye ne ewu nɔvinye A. ɔe ya me. Mede kuku na K. be yi afe, wògbe, eya ta mede kuku na mía tɔwo woblae nam, nye M. blaе nɔwɔ. Nɔvia Am. Tso Axõe va kple dzre dzu mí kakaka. Míebe míafoe hafi, ame tsitsiwo gbe. Ne ame aɔe kpɔ B. be, lãe la, le esia me, mekpɔe be, enya nu. ɔe B meva yɔm o la, nyatefe ne K. awu nɔvinye la. Eya ta esi nɔvinye gbe bena, yemaɔ K. gbɔ o la, nye hã megbe. K. neyi afe, ne A. hã nanɔ anyi M. fe gbee nye si.

K. tɔvi G.K. va do ɔaɔe bena, woasee, ne ametsitsiwo nase, ne wòɔɔ M. Kple foa gbɔ. Nu si K. wɔ la, ewɔ dovo ɲutɔ, wòzu aha wòmu, eye wòwɔ nu siawo. Eve mi tɔviawo ɲutɔ, gake míede kuku na tɔa bena, mega xɔ A. le K. si o. Azɔ, míaawo hã míaale ɲku ɔe K. ɲuti, bena magawɔ sigbe nu aɔeke ɔe srɔa ɲuti to ahamumu me o. Míelé aɔ na mi.

M. fo Kdz. tsi tre do ɔaɔe be, tsiami nesee ne wòɔɔ K. Dz. Kple tɔviawo gbɔ. Taflatse wonyae, bena K. fe aɔi le K. Y. kple mí katã fe ɔme hafi esi Hofeawo xɔ mia nɔvi A. ɔe asi ne wòzu srɔa la, menyae bena, nu gãe miewɔ na K. la o, eye miexɔ fu le K. gbɔ Menye K. fe srɔnyie nye K.Y. srɔ, eye wòdzo le K.Y. gbɔ yiɔɔɔze asike Gbi - ɲutsu le Peki egbegbe o mahã? Gake K.Y. mede asi le etɔ ɲuti na K. wòle dzo gbɔ ne, le tsi dum ne, wòle bofo dem kpakpli o mahã? Nye kple nɔvinyewo míekpɔ K. fe saha kpɔ le A. ta o, eye ne edze saha na tɔ, míekpɔe o. Miele esem mahã? Yevula tɔ be Eveme o. Deha goe nye sanu wowɔna le Eveme menya, eye ne wotsɔ dehago ɔe ta, ame aɔe bia eta la, wogblɔna bena, sahae yina ɔe ame si fe me. Ame aɔeke meno K. fe saha kpɔ o. Eya ta medi asi la wòve o, eya ɲuti wòtsɔ hɛ ɔe ɲu, be yeawui. Amewunya nya vɔe. Esi A. gbe be yemaganɔ K. gbɔ o la, míaawo hã míegbe. Ne ame aɔe tɔ hɛ, eyia gbe me, ne etsɔ yi, (klante) eyia gbe me. Ame aɔeke metsɔa lãnu yia toa kple lɔxoa fe me o.

It was now the turn of K.Y., A.'s father. He rose, greeted the people present and said: "K.Dz. should listen and let his paternal brother hear. K. is my nephew, but he did not ask for A's hand in marriage from me. I am truly angry with K. I have therefore forbidden my daughter from continuing to live with K. My daughter, however, did not listen to me. I have spoken to her several times, until I finally became tired of admonishing her. Therefore, I stopped cautioning her and only watched how they lived together. My fathers, please excuse me, and don't let my words offend you. You Ho people did give my daughter's hand in marriage to K. My fathers, I did not disregard your decision, so I surrendered A. to you to be given to K. as his wife. I have not drunk his engagement palm wine, and he has never worked on my farm. I know that there has never been an end to petty quarrels between husband and wife. K. and his wife had quarrels during which I and my brothers were targets of insults. He told his wife that if he had at that time been pronounced guilty and the woman was taken from him and he was fined four or six sacks⁶³ of cowry shells, it would have suited him better than her being given to him. Those words angered me very much. It was several days later that he brought two bottles of brandy to me, begging for forgiveness; he had been drunk, when he was speaking those words, and I refused to accept the things which he took back. Soon after that, he tried to kill my child. Please, listen! Any one who goes into the country of murderers, never returns, but he who goes to the home of people who do not kill, it is he who comes back home. The child of a Ziavi man was returning from the farm, when he met a man who aimed his gun at him. The youth ran home to his father and told him: "Just as I was passing by that fence, a man aimed his gun at me." His father told him to accompany him to the house and show him the man. Just as they arrived at the fence of the man concerned, however, the rifle went off and the boy fell down, dead, in the presence of his father. The child was buried; he was lost to his father and mother. The murderer was sold and is still alive today, eating salt. I'm pleading with you men of Ho; K. might be my nephew, but if he had killed my child, my A., I would have gone to meet him face to face. I'll support and agree with my daughter if she does not want to live with him anymore; but if she wants to remain with him, good; I'll not be against it. You are my father; I will not refuse to obey your word."

Chief A.Y. then rose and greeted the assembly. He said he would only speak briefly before they withdrew to sit in council. They should please listen to it for the benefit of the child's father and mother: "So, this is why you have assembled here today? It is good. K. is my nephew. I know that both in Axõe and in Heve, he is considered to be a very bad person. M. should listen! When K. was tied up, did anybody at all come from Axõe or Heve to help him? They said, only a person, like D. Am. had come to help. Yes, of course, he is also a bad man. We can only thank you for tying him up and thereby preventing him from committing an atrocious deed: We cannot find fault with you at all. You people of Axõe, you from Heve and you, who live in the king's town, when you see anybody who is about to commit such an atrocity, get hold of him and tie him up! Nobody will come to the help of such a criminal. You rescued him, when he came with evil intentions to his brothers. We thank you for that. You have done nothing bad, you've rather done well. Nobody came to his aid, and so he cannot scold anyone. If any inhabitant of Axõe had got himself involved in this affair, and had started a quarrel, we would have known what to do to him. I sympathize with you!" Y.K. then announced

63 one sack 10 *hotu*, at that time was 10 marks.

A. tɔ K.Y. tsi tre do ɔɔafe be. K Dz. Nese ne woado tɔviawo gbɔ. K. la nyruinye ye, eye K. medi A. le gbɔnye o. Nyatefe K. fe adi le nye dome. Eya ta megbe na vinye A. vuu bena wo kple K. naganɔ anyi o. Gake vinye mese gbenye kpɔ o; eku de K nɔti, megbɔ kakaka wɔtim. Azɔ nya hã meɔe nu le eme, eye metsɔ nku deɔe le wofe anyinɔnɔ kpɔm ɔa. Taflatse, taflatse, tɔnyewo gbe si le nunye, ne medoe na mi negave mi o. Mi Hteawo miexɔ vinye A na K. Tɔnyewo nyemegbe miafe gbe o, meɔe asi le A nɔti na mi wonye K srɔ. Nyemena K fe saha o. Mede bonyefo kpɔ o. Nɔtsu kple srɔa, dzre vi wowɔ mevɔna le wo dome o. K. kple srɔa A. wowɔ dzre, eye wodzum kple nɔvinyewo. Ebia srɔa be vɔnu si miedrɔ tso afia na ye be, yetɔ deɔe nye A la, de wobu fɔ ye, yexe kevi 4 alo 6, eye A meganye ye srɔ o la, nenyɔ wu. Mese nya sia eka dzi nam nɔtsu. Mede nkeke adeke o K. dze ahatukpa vi eve ve nam, de kuku nam be, ahae ye mu, eye sigbe nya la dzɔ le ye nu. Megbe ahawo, wotsi esi wɔtsɔ yii. Emegbe vinye wuwu koe va do de dzinye. Misee, wuameawo de womedena gbɔna o, mawumawuawo de wodena gbɔna. Ziavi nɔtsu ade fe vi tso bofo gbɔna, eye ame ade gbe dzo tu de enu, eye wovu du va tɔa gbɔ le afe me. Egbɔ na tɔa bena kpɔ kem nu meto pe nɔtsu ade gbe dzo tu de nɔnye. Tɔa gbɔ ne be, zɔ nɔnye, nafia nɔtsu lam. Esime woyina de nɔtsu la fe kpɔ nu pe tua di de via nɔ hefu anyi wɔku enumake le tɔa nɔ. Wotsɔ nɔtsuvi la di ebu de tɔa kple nɔa kenken, eye wotsɔ ame si wui la, dzra wofle. Eya le agbe le dze dɔm. Mele afɔ na mi Hofeawo, K enye nyruinye; gake ne ewu vinye A. madze nɔye tututu miakpli miawɔ nu. Ne vinye A gbe be, yemano K gbɔ o la, agbayie mele eyome, eye ne elɔ be yeano K gbɔ la, agbayie, mele eya hã yome. Miawoe nye tɔnyewo, nyemagbe miafe gbe o. Tɔa fe gbee nye si.

Amegã A.Y. do ɔɔafe na wo be, nya vi ade le ye nu yeagbɔ hafi ne yewoayi danu. Nese ne wɔado vitɔwo kple vinɔwo gbɔ. Nya, si nɔti yewova xa ɔe nye esiawo mahã? Enyo K. nyruini menya be, K. enye ame dovo le Axɔe Kple Heve gbɔa me o mahã? M. nese, ne wɔado bubuawo gbɔ, esi woblae de Axɔe alo Hevetɔ adeke mava o, negbe D. Am. Koe; dovowɔla dekae nye ekema hã. Ahlila K nɔviwo katã le. Esi wofo dovo mietee bla la, ɔase dom miɛle na mi. Elabena agbee miedɔe eya ta migagbe sigbe wɔwɔ o. Axɔe, Ahlila kple fiagbɔme, ne nekpɔ ame ade le dovo wɔm la, milɛe bla. Ame adeke nanya afa na dovowɔla sia akpɔ o. Nɔviawo gbɔ wɔna kple dovowɔwɔ, eya ta woxɔe de agbe. Dasee dom miɛle na mi, elabena miɛwɔ vɔ o, nyuie sɔn miɛwɔ, eya ta ame adeke menya afa ne o; eya ta ame adeke medzu mi ha o. De wonye Axɔetɔ ade de nya sia dzre me na mi la, ne mienya ale si miawɔe; baba na mi! Y.K. do ɔɔafe bena, ame tsitsiwo le kɔkɔ gbe ayi danu, eya ta woano anyi kpoo.

that the elders were rising to go to sit in council in private; those remaining behind should therefore behave themselves and remain quiet.

c. The Judgment

The judges withdrew to sit in secret council, where they remained for about an hour before coming back. They greeted us on their return. We responded to the greetings and enquired about the members of the secret council meeting, and they also responded. The linguist A.D. then stood up from the circle of the elders, took white clay and smeared the arm of K. Y., saying: “The elders vindicate you. The law is on your side; we sympathize with you!”⁶⁴ A.D. now turned to K.D. and requested him to tell K.: “The Old Woman (the court) says that he is very guilty. No one goes into the country of murderers and comes back alive. If you, K., had killed your wife, would you then be able to create her, could you breathe life back into her? That should never happen again! The chiefs have asked us to tell you that you should bring in payment, one big goat, 24 *hotu* and twelve bottles of brandy. They are ready to hear you if you have anything to say against it.” K.Y. and his paternal brothers thanked the judges and said: “You have spoken.” K. and his paternal brothers moved a little aside to have some discussions together. When they returned, they begged the chiefs to reduce the penalty a little. They agreed and now only requested 12 *hotu*, one goat and six bottles of brandy. They demanded two bottles of brandy from K.Y. also. The chiefs then went to eat and K. went to put together the amount charged. In the course of the afternoon, K. brought 6 *hotu*, a goat and six bottles of brandy. The chiefs had the goat slaughtered immediately, the meat was shared and the brandy was drunk. They then assembled once more and told K.Y. to listen carefully: “We Ho people one day came together and gave A. to K. to marry. That is why it should be that she remains his wife.” The paternal brothers of A. as well as those from the maternal side stood against it and demanded that she should no more be the wife of K. The Ho, however, said: “That is our decision; we have communicated it to you!” But A. wept and assured all that she would not go back to K., but would go where she liked. Five days later, she went back to her husband.

64 This is an expression of sympathy, that he had suffered all these inconveniences, through no fault of his.

c. Fɔ́bubu

Wokɔ́, eye woyi adzra me. Wonɔ́ eme vu anɔ́ gafofo ɔ́ɔ́ka hafi wogbɔ́. Eye wodo gbe na mi, mileŋ miebia adzra metɔ́wo woawo hã lɔ́. Tete A.D. tsi tre le tsitsiawo dome, eye ye le esi wòsi ɔ́ɔ́ abɔ́ na K.Y. be, tsitsiawo tso afia ne, etɔ́e nye dzɔ́dzɔ́e, baba ne loo. Eye A.D. trɔ́ nu tu K.D. be negblɔ́ na K. be ablewu gblɔ́ be, efe nya ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mele eme o. Ame ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ medea wuamewo de gbɔ́na o. Wò K. ne ewu srɔ́wò la ɔ́ɔ́e agate ɲu anyii wòagbɔ́ agbe mahã? Wɔ́tsiwɔ́tsie nye esi newɔ́. Amegãwo be, nadi gbɔ́ lolo ɔ́ɔ́ka, hotu 24 kple ahaɔ́ɔ́ka ve, ne nya ɔ́ɔ́ le yewo nu la, ne nasee K.Y. kple tɔ́viawo hã woyi danɲu gblɔ́, eye wova lé afɔ́ na amegãwo, eye woɔ́ fea dzi na wo be woatsɔ́ hotu 12, gbɔ́ kple ahatukpa 6 ve. Eye woxɔ́ ahatukpa 2 le K. Y. hã si. Eye amegãwo yi nu ɔ́u ge, K. hã yi nuawo di ge. Yetrɔ́ me K tɔ́ nuawo ve. Wowu gbɔ́ la enumake mã, eye wono aha la. Emegbe wogakpe ta, eye wogblɔ́ na K. Y. bena neke to nyuie ne wòasee: Mi Hoawo xɔ́ A de asi na K. be wòadɔ́, eya ta srɔ́a kokoko wònye! A. tɔ́viwo katã gblɔ́ bena, A. megale K ɔ́ɔ́ ge o. Amegãwo gblɔ́ bena, ekpɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ miawo ɲutɔ́wo dzi, míawo míegblɔ́ vɔ́. A ɲutɔ́ de asi avi fafa me be yemegale K. gbɔ́ nɔ́ ge o, bonɲu afi sia afi si dze ye ɲu la yeayi. Mede ɲkeke atɔ́ o, A gayi srɔ́a gbɔ́.



Indigenous Musicians



Dwarfs in Gafe

(The clothing of the group is typical also of Ho).

Chapter 3. Social Life

1. Main Section: Marriage

I. Kinship

In Ho and its surroundings, kinship is not determined matrilineally but through the paternal lineage. If a man in the family of Adaseviwo has two daughters, and they go to marry in another family, for example, in the family of Dzagbadzaviwo, their children will not inherit in their mother's family, but from that of their father. They may well consider themselves as blood-relatives of their nephews, but this blood relationship has little legal effect. The fact, however, that it is not the husband or his family members, but rather her paternal brothers who will be responsible for her burial, apparently goes to prove that she does not lose her relationship to her kin by her marriage into another family. It does very often happen that when the Adaseviwo family is indebted, they turn to their sisters who have married into other families to contribute towards the payment of their part of the debt.

II. Marriage Rites

Marriage rites begin with courtship, of which there are several types in *Ho*.

A. The legal forms of contracting marriages

1. The usual marriage, contracted in youth

a. Courtship.

When a girl is born, she is promised to a man with the intention that he would marry her later. The man, who wants to marry the girl, hires about fifty men at the end of the year to help him work on the farm of this bride's father. The same men come again the following year to work on the mother-in-law's farm. Whenever the

A. *Srõdeḡe vavāto*

1. *Asididi tso ḡevi me*

a. *Asitabiabia*

Esi wodzi nyɔnuvi aḡe la, le ḡevi me ke wotsɔne na ŋutsu aḡe be, wɔaḡe. Ŋutsu si le asi la dim la, ne fe trɔ la, aɔɔ ŋutsuwo abe blaato ene, be woayi aḡawɔ dɔ na nyɔnuvi la fofa. Ne fe gatɔ la, wogaŋlɔne na nyɔnuvi

girl's parents wish to have something done, the son-in-law comes to arrange it for them.

la nɔa. Ne dɔ aɖe hiã ɖevi la dzilawo la, ekema ele be, woawɔe na wo.



Three little girls in Akpafu, dressed only in loin cloth.

When the little girl grows up a little, her bridegroom buys her a local stool and a new hoe. In addition to that, he sends her one *hotu* of cowry shells⁶⁵. If he wishes, he may also send her some dresses. Some men would buy a big gourd full of palm wine for the girl's parents. A man who cares very much for the welfare

Ne nyɔnuvi la tsi vie la, ekema ɲutsu la flea zikpui kple agblenu yeye, eye wòtsɔa hotsui hotu kpena ɖe ɲu ɖona ɖee. Ne elɔ la, aɖe avɔwo hã akpe ɖe eɲuti. ɖewo adze ahago gã aɖe aɖo ɖe dzilawo hã. Ne ɲutsuvi la le agbagba dzem alea la, ekema wonɔa nu xlɔm ɖetugbui la bena, megayi aɖi aɖeke

65 At current value 50 pfg.

of his wife, counsels her, and advises her that she should no more go wandering, especially to other men, since she is now a man's wife.

*o, elabena amesrõ wònye, eya ta megado
nutsuwo fe ha o.*



A girl adorned for marriage

After the husband has performed everything that custom prescribes, the girl would be adorned by her relatives with strings of beads around her hips, arms and feet.⁶⁶ The girl then wraps her hips in a beautiful cloth,⁶⁷ and parades through the whole town in the company of about ten of her age-mates, greeting people. (A girl who is not a virgin may cover herself with

*Ne asidila wɔ nu siwo katã wodi tso
esi vɔ la, ekema vitɔwo doa ka na nyɔnuvi
la, eye wodea ka ali,kɔ kple alɔnuwo ne.
Emegbe wodoa godui nyuie aɖe ne, eye
wona nyɔnuvi 10 kplɔne ɖo wotsana le
amewo dzi le gbɔdoa me; ke ne ɖetugbui
la dɔ nɔtsu gbɔ kpɔ la, ekema wota avɔ ne
faa. Ne wole tsatsam la, wonɔa hotsui nam
nyɔnuvi la. Ne wogbɔ va afe la, wova ɖua*

66 Red parrot feathers are knotted into the strings.

67 The girl continues to wear the loin cloth until the first time she sleeps with her husband. From then on, she puts on the local clothes.

a cloth.) She gets small gifts from people, consisting of cowry shells. On her return, they eat and sing together. The songs are accompanied by an accordion. After this they all go home.

The above information has been completed by another narrator.

*nu, eye wonɔa ha dzim ɔe yevusanku ɲu;
emeɔbe wokana yia afe me. Tso ekema dzi
wokplɔnɛ yia afe mee.*

α The different types of courtship

If a man is eager to marry, whether he is young or old, when he sees a woman he likes, he would tell her: “When you get another child and it is a girl, I’ll take her to be my wife; for it is your child that I want to take as my wife. If it turns out to be a boy, he will become my friend.” It happened to the narrator’s aunt that a man sued for her yet unborn child by throwing a little piece of stone after her, saying: “If you bear a girl, she should become my wife, and if you bear a boy, then I’ll take him as my friend. The woman brought forth a girl and gave her to this man to marry. She justified her action by saying that the man’s head was “cool”, meaning he had a good disposition.

Another procedure is the one in which the suitor himself sends to the brother of the chosen father-in-law to tell him that he would like to marry the daughter of his brother, N.N. The brother then pays an early morning visit to the girl’s father and informs him accordingly. The father then discusses this with his wife and asks for her opinion. She goes to the members of her family, especially to her sisters, and listens to what they have to say. If the suitor is, in their opinion, a hard worker and one who does not like quarrelling, on whom they can rely when the family is in difficulty, they give their consent. They say: “We like him, just give her to him, with him your daughter will not suffer want.” The wife conveys the result of the consultation to her husband. He then talks again with his brother, who brings the answer to the suitor.

Occasionally, it also happens that a little girl’s father himself would send for the young man, whom he likes. He is practically offering his daughter to him.

The result of the discussion with the members of the family is, however, not always favorable to the suitor. He might have once insulted a member of the family or perhaps offended one of them in one way or another. The relatives would then say: “What? Hasn’t he once insulted me? One day, when you are no more, he will never do anything to help me”. Another sister would assert: “No, he has already violated me, he’ll not get her; he humiliated me.” Sickness or disease is another reason which speaks against a marriage. If the family of the girl becomes aware that the groom-to-be is impotent or is afflicted with a bad disease, the whole situation would be thoroughly discussed on the quiet. Pawn-servitude also makes wooing very difficult; for, a man who has to work on his master’s farm will not be able to also provide for wife and children.

β. Tests for the purity of love

The suitor, after getting a positive answer to his inquiry, organizes sixteen youths to render thanks on his behalf. To one of them, he gives a bowl full of cowry shells, about 60 *hotu*, to be carried on the head and be presented in the company of the others to the

brother of his father-in-law. Upon arrival the delegate places the tray on the ground, and then takes a handful of cowries for his companions, leaving the rest. The brother brings the gift to the girl's father, who counts them carefully.⁶⁸ He then shares the cowry shells among his paternal brothers, and with this, the courtship in the family is completed.

The gift to the mother-in-law then follows. She gets a basket full of maize from her son-in-law. If the harvest turns out badly, however, she would have to be content with twelve or sixteen maize cobs. Maize is used for this ceremony because it was introduced into the world at the same time as human beings.

The little bride receives about 10 *hoka* cowry shells monthly until she finally matures. In addition to the shells, plantain, maize and yams are also presented. After a good yam harvest, he presents his bride with six tubers of yams and 10 *hoka* cowry-shells. If the yams are not well-developed, he sends eight instead of six tubers. The bridegroom is obliged to make these annual presents until the girl reaches maturity. Another obligation of the bridegroom is to organize, at the beginning of each year, about twelve other young men to work on his father-in-law's farm. He will also do the same, now with six young men, on the mother-in-law's farm. This activity is known as *safɛŋŋlb*.

The parents-in-law will expect their new son-in-law to visit his bride daily, greet her and to have frequent conversations with her. The evening hours are usually suitable for this. He then sets his little bride on his lap and talks to her in a friendly way. He usually sits beside her when she is a little older. He seldom comes empty handed to these nocturnal visits. He may bring some game today to his mother-in-law, and tomorrow perhaps 4 to 5 *hoka* cowry shells. If the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law is good, she makes him buy clothes for her or order them from a weaver. Quite often, however, the son-in-law himself weaves the cloth. He may arrange that she pays debts and that she sends him on important commercial trips.

b. Reversing the engagement

The inability of the bridegroom to satisfy these various demands is proof enough that he does not love the girl. If it comes to that, the parents of the girl send him six *hotu* cowry shells and inform him that he does not need to worry, for he would not get the girl to marry. However, if the marriage does come on, then it is not only due to the affection of the man, but also to the love the girl has for the man. When the girl reaches the marriageable age, her mother pleads with her not to feel shy but to go to her husband. A well bred and good-natured girl does not wait for her mother to plead in vain. Yet some girls persistently refuse to move to their husband. Her relatives would try to force her to obey them, by tying her up, putting her in shackles and leaving her hungry for three to four days. She then has the time to reflect over her situation in this position. Even these extreme measures remain unsuccessful in some cases. Such girls run away and later become wandering whores, but their children belong to their legal husband. When such a girl dies, it is only the legal husband who may bury her. If this task is performed by another man, his work of charity would only land him in debt and trouble. The mother can also bury the child but she will have to dig the grave herself.

68 The bridegroom will later replace the amount deducted.

She will only be free from her husband when she or one of her relatives is in the position to refund the dowry which the husband had paid for her, but her children still remain her legal husband's. For he who wants to enjoy his fruits should not sow his crops in a stranger's farm.

c. Entry into Marriage

From the day on which the girl pays her bridal visit in the company of her playmates to the members of the man's family, she begins to be considered as the man's wife. He gives her money to buy her pots, dishes, ladles and other smaller objects. As soon as she acquires such objects, she may now move completely to the husband. Before she leaves her parents' house, however, her mother gives her the final admonitions.

She would say: "Today, I surrender you to your husband. Live with him peacefully; do not quarrel with him. Do not talk a lot if your husband happens to be angry. Do not flirt with other men, for that leads to death. If anybody insults you, just walk quietly away. When you meet two or three people gossiping, please do not get involved. I don't want to receive any negative report about you, and I have therefore told you everything".

The custom of adorning brides with strings and parrot feathers is fast dying out. What happens nowadays is that the girl is simply brought to the husband when she is of age.

Below is the version of another narrator:

C. Atsufeyiyi

Ne nyɔnuvi la va atsufe la, ekema ɲutsua tɔɔa ga nɛ wɔɔafle xɔmenuwoe abe ze, koloe, tsi kple nu kuklui geɖewo ene. Le nuawo fefle megbe la, nyɔnuvi la vuna yia srɔ̃ gbɔ keɲkeɲ. Vɔnɔ la xlɔa nu nyɔnuvi la bena yeɖe asi le eɲu na srɔ̃ egbe, ne wɔɔnɔ egbɔ kpo, megawɔ dzre kplii o. Ne ɲutsu la nyrã la, megafo nu geɖe o. Meganɔ asike dom o, elabena ku le asikedodo me. Ne ame aɖe dzui la, neto egbɔ yi kpo. Ne megade nu eme o. Yemele didim be, yease nya aɖeke o, eya ta yefia nuwoe ɖo.

Kadodo, si wonɔa dodom na nyɔnuwo la, nu le yiyim; blewublewu la, megale anyi nɔ ge o. Egbegbe la, ne ɖevi aɖe tsi ko la, ekema ɲutsu la va kplɔnɛ yine.

α. Bridal ornaments and Bridal visits

Women who can afford it have the adult brides of about 15 years old adorned with strings of beads jewels. In the Ho market the mother pays for the services of two women, who are experts in the art of dressing brides in their strings. Each woman takes one foot and one arm of the bride, decorating them with parrot feathers and beads. The beads are bought at great cost. Many years ago, one paid 1 *hoka* for a feather, but now 3 feathers cost 50 pfg. The complete set of bridal ornaments costs about 8 marks. For this reason, poorer people only tie their daughters with three to four feathers. The strings have to be woven using pineapple fibres.



Market in Banyakoe

Two such strings cost 5 *hoka* (about 5 pfg.). In addition to this, the bride is adorned with the finest beads and silver necklaces; she chooses clothes, headgear and the like to go with the jewellery. The beads are usually borrowed from members of the family. Borrowing from strangers is out of the question since any eventual losses will have to be replaced. The bride, however, takes care and sees to it that the beads cannot be lost. She binds a piece of cloth over the bead jewellery before she goes to mill corn, to split fire wood or to work on the field.

After she has put on all the bridal ornaments, she walks to the market place, accompanied by ten to twelve age-mates; they move very quietly, two times around the market and the girls go back home. This ceremony underscores the special importance of the market to the woman. Even if she should be divorced by her husband, the market from which she buys salt, oil, flour, remains open to her. The market feeds human beings in the same way as mothers feed their children. As a result, the market is called *asi*, meaning “woman”. The market feeds even the outcast.

When the girl returns from the market place, she goes with her play-mates on a procession through the whole town, visiting first her relatives and then also the rest of the people. Her relatives would present her with cowry shells amounting to between 50 *hoka* and one *hotu*. Her distant relatives donate 1 to 2 *hoka* each. Nobody allows her to move on without giving her a present. Thus some receive 10, 15, 16 yes, even 20 marks in cowry shells, which are carried home in a large metal bowl. At home, meanwhile, her mother would prepare a rich meal on which she and her play-mates then feast. On the following market day, the bride would be taken by her playmates again to the market, where they again quietly move around twice before going home where again a hearty meal would be waiting for them.

If a girl's mother is not well-to-do, she is simply dispatched to her husband with the advice that she should be obedient to her husband, and ensure that one day she would also be able to provide the bridal strings for herself. This custom is so important to women that they never fail to make up for what they have missed in their youth, even in their later lives, when they have already had children.

β. Taking the Bride Home

Just before the bride is taken home, the bridegroom dispatches three women to bring her gifts comprising 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowry shells, three dresses, one scarf, twelve giant tubers of yam and twelve ordinary bunches of plantain. The women carry the present in such a way that one carries the yams, the other carries the clothes and the third, the cowry shells on the head. Only women who are not yet widowed may belong to this procession. At present, these gifts comprise twelve dresses (partly silk and velvet), 2 *hotu* and 25 *hoka*. The rest remains the same.

The bridegroom then instructs a young man and a woman to go to his wife. The choice of the woman is determined by whether or not she is obedient to her husband, has a child and whether all her children are alive.

Before she leaves her parental home, she receives serious advice and admonitions from father and mother. The mother says: "Go to your husband and obey him! Don't look straight into his face, when he asks you a question; but look onto the ground. Do not contradict him! Should your neighbours start a quarrel with him, you keep quiet and bow your head. Do not look him in the face; you know it is disrespectful if you do. Do not play with men; you'll otherwise become a prostitute and be a disgrace to yourself. Never take part in the "Hide and Seek" game (*belibe*); it will only lead you to ruin. Do not make friends with many women. Do not roast, cook rather!"⁶⁹ Get out of bed early and go directly to the well: when you return, sweep the yard, make fire and start cooking. When that is done, follow your husband to the farm. Consider your husband's brothers only as your brothers, for they are the ones who will help when you are in trouble. Do not get involved in any illegal relationship with them; if you do you'll be put to shame. Help them if any of them is sick or when his wife delivers a baby; you fetch them water and provide firewood. Give them salt and whatever you are capable of providing. If you later find yourself in a similar situation, they will also reciprocate."

69 A lazy wife doesn't like the hard work of boiling, but roasts maize, yams etc., which is easier.



Women fetching Water

Her father also sends her along with the following rules of life in her new household: “Do not interfere when your neighbours are quarrelling; just listen and do not talk! When anybody enquires about anything from you, just tell him the truth; for nobody trusts a liar. If you do not follow my advice you’ll become involved in all sorts of quarrels and court cases in which I, your father, can be of little help. Stay at home, and do not go idling round the town. When you visit somebody, just look with your eyes and not with your hands! If you touch something and it gets lost, people would say that it was you who stole it. Never stoop so low as to go and call a woman for a man! That will only land you in uncomfortable situations and involve you in judicial hearings. If such a woman should die in labour, it is you who would be blamed for it. When a friend comes to you and blabs and prattles evil things into your ears, both of you will get a thrashing if your husband hears of it.” The girl leaves her parental home with these exhortations in mind, and in the company of the youth and the women sent by the bridegroom, she proceeds to meet her husband.

One of the most important qualifications of the woman who leads the bride home is her reputation of not being guilty of any misdeed against her husband.

d. Married Life

α. The Economic Relationship of the Spouses

It is the responsibility of the wife to provide salt for the kitchen while the husband has to provide fish and meat. Some husbands are, however, very stingy, and give nothing

to their wives. A woman who daily cleans the husband's sheep pen gets a sheep from him as a gift. On the farm, the wife is allocated a definite portion on which she grows her with own crops like beans, pepper and cotton. After the yam harvest, her husband presents her two tubers of yam and a sack of maize as a special gift. He usually gives her two sacks of cotton in addition to this for her own use but she is then obliged to sell two other sacks of cotton for her husband.

At the commencement of farm work, each party lays out his or her own farm. The woman plants beans, maize, cassava, groundnuts and water-yam, in addition to various vegetables such as pepper, okra and tomatoes among others. On his farm, the man cedes a piece of land with three or four rows of yam to his wife. If he has several wives, then each will get the same portion; only in this case, the portions would not be as big as if he was sharing with only one wife. She plants corn, cotton, and other herbs for the kitchen between the rows of yam. Husband and wife work separately. He shares his total harvest as follows: 1) Yams for his own use, 2) those for sale, and 3) those which may be used by the general household. Finally, he turns to his wife and shows her the exact number of tubers of yams which he has allocated to his own kitchen. When the woman exhausts her allocation, she goes to beg the husband to show her which of the yams she should now use for the satisfaction of their subsequent needs. Yet some men are hard, and compel their wives to pay for this.

The cotton grown on the wife's plot is processed and used by the woman herself or is brought to the market. Very often, the husband also buys a sack of cotton from her for about 2 marks; he lets his wife spin it and gives her the liberty to sell the yarn. In this case, she will have to refund the 2 marks to her husband, but she retains the profit on it for herself. In addition, she undertakes to spin one more sack of cotton for the husband, who uses the yarn for himself while paying his wife 2 marks as her wages. She uses this income for jewellery, dresses and for meat for herself and the children.

It is her responsibility to provide salt for the whole family. A quarrel will ensue if the house runs short of salt. The husband provides his own meat requirements. When the water begins to boil, the wife requests her spouse for something "sweet", i.e. for some meat for the soup.

Every proper farmer is also a weaver. He lets his wife do the spinning for him. If that is not sufficient, he buys from other women. A lot of European yarn is employed in addition to the local. Men seldom give new dresses to their wives. The man is afraid that if his wife puts on beautiful clothes, she may begin to look attractive to other men. Another reason can be attributed to polygamy. If the polygamist gives a new cloth to one of his wives, the second wife becomes jealous and feels slighted and discriminated against. This leads to family quarrels. A polygamous husband must either give to all his wives or to none of them. The acquisition of a new dress is linked with a lot of difficulties for the woman. If she requests another man to weave it for her, then her husband would accuse her of unfaithfulness and ask her for an explanation.

It is the man and not his wife who mends torn clothes. The husband mends his own as well as his wife's torn dresses. The women excuse themselves by saying that: Only men know this job.

β. Customary Relations of Married Couples

During the period of her menstruation a woman must be at some distance away from her husband, sleeping in her own room as much as possible. As soon as day breaks, she must put her mat and the stool on which she is fond of sitting behind the house during this period. She bathes with warm water on these days⁷⁰ The man will surely die if she does not comply with the custom. The wives of priests, spiritualists and chiefs must stay in another house outside the farmstead on these days. They may come to the fence of their husbands, but they should not come to the farmstead itself. After the elapse of six days, the woman gives the husband an herb, *afla*, indicating that she is healthy again. He sprays saliva on the herb and that confirms that he has accepted the truth of her report. She puts the herb in a calabash, pours water on it and washes her face with it. Now, her cleansing is accomplished in every sense. A woman who has not been at home during this period can let any other man carry out the act. That, however, does not exclude the fact that on her return she must inform her husband, who must then undertake the cleansing ritual with her again.

A man who has several wives lets each of them spend the night with him for four nights. With many women the relationship among them is such that it seems as if the man has only one wife. In other cases, there is a lot of quarrelling where the husband loves one wife more than the others.

Certain types of quarrels may be classified as *gunuwo* or “unlucky things”. There is ill-luck when a woman throws soup dishes, a calabash or any type of object in the room on the ground out of anger; when she pours water on the ground or when she throws away fufu. If married couples throw away maize, yam or other foodstuffs during a quarrel, the consequence is the swelling of the body. The same thing happens when a child gets water instead of soup from the mother. There are serious consequences when a mother hits her child or any person with a ladle or broom. It is forbidden that the mother demands that the child does away with its own uncleanness. If the woman has brought blame on herself through any of these actions, she alone will not swell but rather her husband and any other person who enjoys any of her cooked meals. One usually shouts at a man who disregards these precautionary measures: “Do you want to swell and eat your death?”

Sometimes a priest, but in most cases chiefs, must step in for the removal of the threatening ill-luck. The man calls them and says: “My wife has done something that brings ill-luck (*gunu*). Come and hear it for me!” The guilty party, that is, of course, always the woman, is then condemned to a punishment of 2, 5 up to 6 marks. Palm oil, flour, pepper and a cock in addition to that. The cock is immediately slaughtered by one of the chiefs present, and, together with the flour, a meal is prepared for the judge. Finally, the oldest person among them takes the maize that has been left over and scatters it in the farmstead of the quarrelling married couple and says: “We, the elders have today cleared away the ill-luck that the children brought about.” After that, each judge pulls out an herb from under his dress which they all pour water on in a calabash. Then they draw a little of this consecrated medicine in their mouths and spit it again into the calabash and wash their faces with it in turns. Then one of the chiefs present

⁷⁰ For six days, all she does and where she goes is *gu*, meaning ill-luck. She may only cook for herself during this period. She should neither cook for the husband nor carry out any services for the man at all.

puts the hands of the married couple in one another, puts his right hand on it, counts up to four and with the fifth number he puts their hands that have been put together in the consecrated medicine. Then he prays over it: *Gu, si ke dɛviwo wɔ, mɛva dɛ dɔ. Ne woɖu nu, wono aha, womlɔ anyi, ne ta, dome mave wo o loŋ*! This means: “Today, we, the elders, have cleared away the ill-luck that the children have caused again. When they eat, drink palm wine or lie down, may they not have stomach-ache and headache!” After this prayer, the married couple wash their faces with the consecrated medicine, and the chiefs share their money among themselves.

Often, the cause of quarrel and marital strife is neglect of one party by the other. The husband comes home from the bush and the wife brings no water to drink. He goes to fetch some for himself, but finds none in the pot. Now, he is unhappy and begins to quarrel; or the wife has not laid the mat in the evening or has not laid it nicely. She is reprimanded by the husband for it and she then returns an angry answer. There is a peaceful marriage when the wife honours the husband and vice-versa. This is evident in her calm and precise responses to his questions, when she cooks early and keeps every other thing in order. If the husband gives her something to sell for him at the market, she brings back the profit promptly or buys something for the household. In order to reciprocate, the husband honours the wife by talking to her in a gentle and friendly manner, weaving the needed clothes for her and giving her scarves.

2. Vengeance and Forced Marriage

A discussion of a form of marriage, whose causes are due to an accident during hunting or the evil deed of a woman

a. Vengeance Marriage

Vengeance marriage, *hɛsiɖɛɖɛ*, constitutes the end of protracted quarrels that have been caused by an accident. If someone kills another person either accidentally or intentionally, the victim is sold, and, apart from that, must pay the bereaved family the value of seven human beings amounting to 800 *hotu*. The conclusion of a peace treaty that follows is sealed through two peculiar customs, namely, through the procurement of the so-called “red pot” and additionally that a member of the bereaved family gets a bride from the family of the offender as wife. The details of the matter are as follows: On a particular day, all the chiefs come to a place in the bush together with both families and the company of the youth from town. A he-goat, which both parties must buy together, is slaughtered there. In addition, the chiefs provide oil, salt and firewood. They sit in four groups, namely the family of the victim, the bereaved family, the chiefs and the other citizens of the town. After the meal has been prepared, both participating families eat together from a dish and drink from a jug. After that, the first chief rises and asks both parties whether they have anything else to say. If yes, they may say it now. Then he turns to the witnesses from town who are present with the words: “It is not only the chiefs, who are wise, but also the youth. If they still have anything else to say, they may say it now.” After that, the bones of the animal that has been slaughtered, are placed in a pot. In addition to that, maize, beans, yam, groundnuts, salt and leaves of the oil-producing plant *fla* are put into it. Now, the pot is painstakingly closed, and the king prays to the spirit of the deceased and requests both parties to shake hands

with each other. He stands near them and puts his hand on theirs, reminds them of the significance of maize and says: “Maize is the food that is eaten by everyone. I am holding maize here on the occasion of the evil word that has caught up with you. If any of you should talk about the matter again, he or she will die when he or she eats maize.” After that, he takes salt and yam and speaks the same words. He expressly adds that they will not die, if they must, out of necessity, talk about the matter. After this talk, the pot is solemnly sunk into the ground and covered. After the elapse of about half a year, the family of the culprit gives the bereaved family a bride, whom one of their members marries. Having completed this, peace is totally restored between both families.

However, the following story shows how such marital relationships turn out later. A person from Ho shot at a bird of prey that he also hit. But the bullet ricocheted and hit a boy, who died. The family of the culprit paid 800 *hotu*. A pot was buried and the usual marriage took place.

But one day, the woman went to a spiritualist and asked him to kill her husband by means of magic. This demand was divulged later and led to a tedious process that ended when a hoe, a cord and a basket were placed in front of the family of the offender and it was ordered to choose. A hoe and a cord meant death - a cord to hang oneself and a hoe to dig a grave. On the other hand, a basket meant the ransom of the guilty woman, who had dug the pot out of the ground again. The same pot had to be filled with 260 *hotu*. Two cases of spirits and three rams came in addition to that.

b. Forced Marriage

Forced marriage came about when a man handed over his wife, who had been unfaithful to him to the king of Peki as his wife. A woman who constantly misbehaved and finally went about with a man in an inviting manner became the wife of the king, Kwadzo Dei, in this way. After he had handed her over to him, a report was made to the chiefs of Ho. They informed the people of Ho of the incident, and any of these persons who had ever been in a bad relationship with the woman had to go to the king in Peki in order to confess to him there. This king sentenced the individuals to fines of 16 and 10 *hotu*, and two bottles of spirits each in addition. At the expiration of a specified term, the woman, who was forbidden from performing any sort of duties for a man, be it at the well or at home, was considered as wife of the king. Impure relations in any form with the wife of a king were punishable with 5-600 *hotu*. Such occurrences were obviously only possible in a period, during which the king of Peki has also had sovereignty over Ho and surrounding areas.

B. Concubinage

Concubinage is common in the pagan part of the Ho tribe. Every pagan, whether married or unmarried, has concubines, so-called “girlfriends”. Many men stop in their old age, but not mainly out of moral reasons, neither is it because the dwindling of the natural power calls a halt to the licentious life. While for one person his economic circumstances make it impossible to provide for wife and children and at the same time still meet the never-ending requirements of a “girlfriend”, for another person serious sickness resulting from his previous life makes it impossible for him. While one person thinks that he cannot constantly pay for the claims and fines on behalf of the offended

men, another person tells himself that it is a disgrace if his grown-up son and he himself are in the same wrong relationships with one woman.

There are two forms of concubinage, namely, the secret and the public.

1. Secret Concubinage

Secret concubinage implies that a man has one or several “girlfriends” outside of his home, whom he asks to come and see him from time to time through female messengers. Through this female visit, her intention of coming should be concealed from the person’s husband.

In the surrounding villages pagans also have concubines, whom they acquire when travelling through. The reward for these women consists of money, clothes and food. Even married women gain additional income for themselves in this way.

In spite of this low moral condition, it is strange that many women feel the need to make a general confession to their husbands by mentioning the names of those men with whom they were in bad relationships. Other women are compelled by their husbands to clear themselves of any suspicion by swearing to the gods or through trial by god’s water. The god or the magical power of god’s water exposes guilty women through sickness or death within a specific period, in three or seven days. But even such women who swear no oath often see a sickness as punishment for concealed sins, and driven by the conscience, make a confession to their husbands.

The degree of punishment is measured by mutual tribal or family relations. For example, among friendly tribes, there are firm agreements concerning such circumstances. Some people let the men concerned off with a simple warning; others let the law take its course and collect the fines fixed for that. Up to the year 1895, the non-christians demanded 60 pfennig within friendly tribes and from friendly persons. From members of foreign tribes, the man can demand up to any level that will be paid. In the past, there were often all sorts of animosities, including tribal wars that were consequences of such claims and secret betrayals carried out by women. That was why, for example, in the year 1895, the coastal traders no longer spent the night in Waya and no longer took their wares to the Aqaklu market. In this respect, the inhabitants of towns where a big market is held, somehow lead an unbridled life.

The unfaithful woman herself is admonished by her husband at the beginning, and if she does not stop it, she can be sacked. Now, if a married man draws narrow moral limits for his wife, he is in no way disposed towards allowing himself to be disciplined. He can lead any life even with the knowledge of his wives without them being given the right to also hold him responsible. If he only knows how to keep his activities a secret from the husband of the woman, with whom he is in a relationship, he considers the matter as settled. However, he is often betrayed by his own wives. The consequence of that is, on one hand, his punishment and, on the other hand, disturbance of the family peace. On his part, he revenges against his traitorous wife by giving her a good beating.

2. Public Concubinage

Another form, whereby both parties often live together in a house for years in an illegal manner, is public concubinage. Often widows who refuse to become wives of

their brothers-in-law according to inheritance rules stoop to that. Also women, who as persons consecrated to a deity or slaves of a deity, may not marry without the agreement of a priest, are often content with this unrestrained form of marriage. Finally, there are those who do not want to accept the men assigned to them or those who are sacked by these men because of their bad life. The men with whom they live are either strangers, who sooner or later return to their tribes, or are members of the tribe who could not marry because of their bad character or other circumstances. At any rate, such unregulated marriages are exposed to public disdain in Ho. It follows from this that a man should not build a personal house for his wife with whom he lives in an unregulated marriage. Usually, he asks his maternal brother to construct such a house for him. The construction of a hut for a woman is the exclusive right of a man who lives together with his wife in a legal marriage.

3. The Legal Consequences of both Forms of Concubinage

The legal consequences of these forms of concubinage make them valid in the following ways:

In the first form, children born from such relationships belong exclusively to the husband of the woman. This man considers the child as belonging to him and does not differentiate between such children gotten illegitimately and his own children. That child, like his own children, is entitled to inheritance. The decisive question is the child's mother lives in a legal marriage with her husband. If the latter is not the case, such children belong to their maternal uncle.

Nevertheless, a birth that occurs unfavourably can have the most unfavourable consequences for such a "friend". During her pregnancy, her husband hands her over to his rival with the words: "I leave her to you." Before the time of her delivery, the woman lives in the man's house, who must feed and care for her until the time is over. If the birth has a happy outcome, the family members of the woman together with those of the man call her husband, give him the equivalent of about 2,50 marks in cowry shells and ask that he accept the woman again together with the child. This husband accepts the child into his house whether it should come from a red cat or from a leopard. However, if the child dies after birth, the seducer must pay high expiatory fine at his discretion. If the woman dies, big debts often accrue to the seducer and his family, who would pay 2, 3 up to 400 *hotu* cowry shells as expiatory fines in this case. With such high claims, the culprit must have usually ended up in slavery in the past. At any rate, he would be left as security for the money lent until the debt was paid by his relatives.

Children from the second form of concubinage belong legally to the father, who however often leaves them on their own when he moves to his homeland.

A concubine can leave a man anytime at will without his being able to avail himself of the protection of the public law. An unregulated life together with someone excludes any form of property. Their mutual care is limited entirely to daily nourishment. Whatever a woman acquires during unregulated living with a man, her maternal sisters and brothers inherit after her death, while the heirs of the man are his paternal brothers.

As in a lawful marriage, a woman living in a concubinage relationship is also buried by her paternal family members.

C. View of Marriage

There is no doubt that there are marriages in which husband and wife harmonize excellently, but fundamentally, the wife is quite indifferent to the husband and vice-versa. If the man dies, the surviving partner knows that she can soon get another husband. If the woman dies, the husband mourns for her, bewails her and does what custom prescribes for him. The man does not need to take care of the burial of his wife because she is buried by her paternal brothers. For example, if a woman, who lived in Banyakoe came from Dome, her paternal brothers take her corpse to Dome, to bury her near her grandmothers. When the woman is sick, her husband makes an effort to save her life. However, the inner motive is not love for the woman but rather fear of people's gossip. They should not be able to say that he does not love his wife because for him the result would be that he could not marry another woman. In his pain, he thinks less about the loss of his life partner than the loss of what he had done for and given to the deceased. His marriage portion is lost and will not be replaced by anybody. On the other hand his hope of getting children is thwarted and that causes him pain. With the death of one of his wives, a man living a polygamous life consoles himself with the fact that he still has other wives, who can help him with his work.

2. Main Section: The Family

I. Pregnancy and Birth

A. Pregnancy⁷¹

1. The Pregnancy Mark, *tolugba*

If a woman is about to have her first child, she goes together with her husband to an elderly man, who himself has children. This elderly man stirs a paste made with red earth, dips a knife into it and makes a ring for both married people on their temples. The mark is termed *tolugba*, "pregnancy mark".

2. Magic Charms

After that the woman, accompanied by a man, goes to a spiritualist, who ties magic strings in her hair, around her loins, neck, arms and feet. He attaches the fur of a groundnut-eating rat and feathers of the clockbird, to the strings. The magic strings guard the woman day and night. Apart from that she gets a leaf extract, with which she must bathe. It is strictly forbidden that a woman expecting a baby touches the blood of a woman in birth, because that would have bad consequences for her. However, she may carry a newborn baby in her arms, because that is good omen for her.

71 The people of Ho claim that many women are pregnant for 14, 15, even 16 months. They call a child born after one year *Feyi* if it is a girl. *Feyi* means: "The year is over". If it is a boy they call it *Fenu*, which has the same meaning as *Feyi*. A *Feyi* should live in Ahliha and a *Fenu* in Taviefe.

B. Birth

1. Midwifery

a. The Spiritualist

On the day of her childbirth the spiritualist who performed the rites cuts off all the magic strings that he had tied around her body. That makes a safe course of birth possible. If the birth occurs without bad secondary occurrences, that is ascribed to the influence of the magical rites.

b. The Traditional Midwife

Experienced women help with the birth. One of them, the midwife, first washes her face and that of the mother with palm wine that she has poured on herbal leaves. In the farmstead the extracted of consecrated leaves is placed in a pot and every woman who enters must first wash her hands before greeting those present. With clean hands she then enters the labour room, in order to greet the mother and thank her. She says: *Wò ɲuwo wɔ nu*, meaning “Thanks to your guardian gods!”

In each town there are women who specialize in the art of midwifery. The learning usually occurs through another woman, who is an expert in it. The duty of the midwife is to be ready to receive the child at the right time, cut off the umbilical cord and put it in order as well as care for the child and the mother. If the midwife is skilful and conscientious, the child is treated well according to African standards. In many areas one conspicuously sees a lot of umbilical hernias, which sometimes get to a horrifying size. That must be the fault of midwives, who are afraid to take action at the right time, and because Ewe women usually give birth while kneeling, so that it often happens that the child falls on the ground.

For a girl the compensation consists of 4 *hoka* cowry shells and, for a boy, 6 *hoka* cowry shells, as well as a gourd full of palm wine. Immediately after birth, the child must be protected against the evil look of those around. A stranger who comes to the farmstead after the birth is received with suspicious looks and also with unfriendly words. The midwife must therefore wet or sprinkle the newborn with the extract of some herbs.⁷² After that is done the glance of strange persons no longer hurts it.

A name is given to a child immediately after birth. However, many parents wait for a special day to do so.

2. Customs

a. With the Birth of a Single Child

The work of a midwife includes putting her hand between the legs of the one giving birth. When the head of the child appears, she holds onto it carefully, and receives the child when it appears. When the child is completely born, the midwife cuts off the navel with a knife (wooden knife) made from palm ribs. A woman who has never given birth to a child, must bury the placenta. After that the child is bathed with soap and warm water.

⁷² She puts the extract of the leaves into her mouth and sprays it on the newborn in such a way that it falls on it like fine mist.

A special pap called *hatsi* is prepared with the finest flour for the child. In the morning, the father of the child provides palm wine for the midwife, to wash her hands. But she also washes her hands in a certain herbal extract, with which she also washes the child's face. The midwife gets 5 *hoka* for the birth of a boy and 4 *hoka* for the birth of a girl. As long as the navel of the child has not (dried up and) fallen off, his father should not go to the farm, because it would be very bad if he cuts through an earthworm with a hoe.⁷³ However, there is no deep meaning behind this law. As soon as the navel drops, the man can go to the farm unhindered.

In the course of three weeks, if the child is healthy, the father presents the family members with the child and greets them. Before he goes to town with it, he binds it at the back of an older girl of good character, none of whose sisters and brothers born after her have died.⁷⁴ If the woman does not have her own daughter, one is sought for the purpose. Only relatives, who present the child with gifts of cowry shells, are visited on their way through town.

2. Vidzidzi me kɔnuwo

a. Vi ɖeka dzidzi

Dɔ si vixelawo wɔna lae nye, wodoa asi ɖe ame si le vi dzi ge la fe ata me; ne ɖevi la fe ta do la, ekema efe asi le eɲu ɖɔɖɔɖɔ. Ne ɖevia do go vɔ keɲ la, ekema exɔne. Ne ɖevi la do vɔ alea la, wokpaa fɔ helāna fofolila, eye wogblona na ame si mele vi dzim o la bena, wɔatsɔ amenɔ alo volo la aɖaɖi ɖe do me. Emegbe wodea adzalē akutsa me lena na ɖevi la kple tsi dzodzoe.

Le esia yome la, woɖaa akplē na ɖevi la enumake. Woyɔa akplē sia bena hatsi. Ne ɲu ke la, ɲutsua dzea aha na vixelawo, bena woatsɔ klɔ asi. Wodoa amatsi hā klɔa asii, eye wotsɔne fua moe na ɖevi la. Nenyɛ ɲutsu wodzi la, ekema vixelawo xɔa hoka atɔ, ke nenyɛ nyɔnue la, woxɔa ho ene. Ne fofolila mekpɔ ge o la, vito la mekpɔ mɔ ade bofo o; nenyɛ bena, wotsɔ agblenu lā vɔkli me la, ekema menyo o. Gake nenem se sia la, gɔme gobia aɖeke mele eme o. Ne fofolī la ge la, ekema ekpɔ mɔ ayi bofo faa.

Ne kwasiɖa etɔ va yi, eye wokpɔ bena ɖevi la fe lāme le sesīe la, ekema wotsɔne tsana le amewo dzi doa gbe na wo. Hafi ne woava yi gbɔdoa me la, wotsɔa ɖevi la dea me na nɔvia tsitsito si fe ta fa, eya nye be, vi siwo dzim wole ɖe eyome la, ɖeke meku kpɔ o; gake ne ɖeke mele esi o la, edia ame bubu tɔ, si fe ta fa. Ne wole tsatsam la, wodea wofe fomeawo gbɔ; eye wo dome ɖe sia ɖe na hotsui ɖevi la.

73 But the mother is also not allowed to leave her labour room before the navel has dried up. Usually, this important event should take place on the fifth day after birth.

74 The child has brought its good nature from its pre-existence, as is shown the fact that none of its sisters and brothers born later has died.

Two months after its birth, the mother adorns herself with beads. She wears beautiful dresses and bangles, hangs silver chains around her neck, wears a head scarf and goes to town to greet those who visited her while she was in labour. During this period, one person fetched water for her, the other brought ground flour or yet another palm oil. Now, she must thank all these persons. She says: "I thank you for the work that you have recently done for me! You are the ones who have taken care of me." These women reply to it: "Thanks be to your guardian gods for the help at that time!" As she comes to the houses of women who did not pay any attention to her during her labour, she thanks them nevertheless for the fact that their guardian gods helped her during the labour. They are ashamed of themselves before her and, therefore, present her with cowry shells. She may cook a meal for her own husband again after she has thanked the people. But this tradition is no longer strictly preserved; and, gradually, it will disappear altogether. If a woman who was in childbirth does not thank people, she is laughed at. If the same woman has had a quarrel with someone, people mock her and say: "If this woman were a human being (if she had dresses and money) she would have come and thanked us after her childbirth. This miserable woman!" Many women neglect the expression of gratitude because they are poor and cannot adorn themselves well enough.

b. With the Birth of Twins

If a woman gives birth to twins – a boy and a girl –, she and the father of the twins should neither eat nor talk to anyone, until other persons, who have also given birth to twins come to them. First of all, these persons collect 22 *hoka* from the parents of the twins. After that they pour water into a calabash, count up to nine and then touch the mouth of the father of the twins as well as that of the mother with it. An organizer of the rites now takes food, eats some of it and touches the mouth of the father and that of the mother with it. It is only after that the parents may eat. This ceremony is known as: "touching of the mouth with water (*tsitwotwunu*).” The midwife gets palm wine with which she must wash her hands. As long as she has not been presented with palm wine, she may not roast any maize on the fire, because the twins would fall sick as a result.

The next Ho market day is determined for the holding of a feast. Palm wine, none of which should be sold, is already produced for this day. When enough palm wine is procured, it is taken home on a particular day alongside meat and yam.

On the appointed day relatives of the mother, as well as those of the father, gather. Both organizers of the customs, who performed the first rites, also come again. The next morning the organizer (the old woman, who had already given birth to twins herself), says to the parents that they should now buy back the house in which they live. She collects 4 *hoka* for that. The organizer of the rites has prepared a medicine, which she will use when all the people have gathered. After that the parents must buy back all objects that they have in their house before they use them again. For some of these they pay 1, for others 2 and yet still for others 5 *hoka*. The woman in charge of the rites now fetches a calabash full of palm wine from the pot, stands and prays over it as follows: "May nothing settle upon the feast that we are celebrating for the twins today! May the parents of the twins remain healthy! May all the people get twins, so that I can always perform the rites for them!"

Now, she pours some palm wine on the ground. She drinks some herself and serves some again for the parents of the twins. She then gives these parents permission to

Le vidzidzi yleti eve megbe la, vɪnɔ la sa dzonu ɖe ŋui, eye wotsɔa avɔ nyuiewo tana, fɔa kɔɔkɔɔwo kplana, tsɔa alɔnugawo dea alɔ nu, blaa ta kple taku nyuiewo bena woayi ɖado gbe na ame siwo va na nui le vidzixɔ me, eye woada akpe na wo; elabena esi wòdzi vi la, woawoe nye ame siwo va du tsi ne, tu wɔ ne, eye ame aɖewo na ami dzɛɛ. Esiata wodea ame siaa ame gbɔ, da akpe ne be, esɛ ŋu loo, nyitsɔ aɖe fe dɔ, miawoe kpɔ ame ta loo. Wogblɔna na vɪnɔ la bena, "wo ŋu nu wɔ nu gbemia" (gbe aɖe gbe). Ame si ke mewɔ naneke ve le vidzixɔ me o la, ne ede efe me la, ewɔa ŋukpe na wo, eye vɔ la, eya ko wòkpɔ mɔ aɖa nu na srɔa wòadɔ.

Egbe la, womegale ewɔm o, blewublewu la ava trɔ. Enye koko na nyɔnu aɖe, ne meda akpe o. Ne wo kpakple ame aɖe wole dzre wɔm la ekema woadzui ne agblɔ bena, "Amee nenye ɖee ne esime nedzi vi la, ne wo hã eda akpe, ame dzodzroa!". Ame geɖewo medaa akpe o, le ŋutinuwo fe wo si manɔmanɔ ŋuti.

b. Veviwo

Ne ame aɖe dzi ve la, gbã vɪnɔ la mele naneke ɖu ge o, eye mele nu hã fo ge o. Nenemakee nye vitɔ la hã, va se ɖe esime ame bubu aɖe, si dzi ve abe woawo ene la nava, eye woaxɔ adzɔ hoka blaave vɔ eve le wo si. Emegbe atɔ tsi ayi ŋutsu la gbɔ axlɛ ɖeka eve etɔ va se ɖe asieke, eye wòatsɔ tsi la atɔ nu ne, eye wòawɔe na nyɔnu la hã nenema.

Emegbe la, atɔ nuɖuɖu, eye eya ŋutɔ vɪnɔ kple vitɔ la. Ne ewɔ nu sia vɔ la, ekema wokpɔ mɔ aɖu nu, afo nu. Woyɔa nu sia wɔwɔ be "tsitɔtɔnu." Ame si xe vi na wo la, ele be woana dehae bena, woaklɔ asii, elabena ne womena ahae o la, mekpɔ mɔ atɔ bli le agba me o, ne etɔ bli la, ekema ɖeviawo fe lãme masɛ akpɔ o.

Emegbe woɖoa ŋekeke bena Hosigbe la yewoawɔ eve. Wohoa de eye wonɔa aha kpam, gake ame aɖeke medzea aha la o. Ne wokpɔ be aha si wokpa ɖi sɔ gbɔ eye ŋekeke si woɖo la hã ɖo edzi la, wotsɔa aha la vaa afee, eye woflea lã hã dana ɖi, yi ɖatsɔa te hã le bofo fuu va afee.

Ne ŋekeke la ɖo edzi la, ekema vitɔ la kple vɪnɔ la fe fometɔwo vana. Eye vedzila xoxo, si wɔ nua na wo gbe ma gbe la, hã ava kple srɔa. Ne ŋu ke la, venɔ xoxo la gblɔna bena, woava fle afe si me wole la le ye si.

Dewo la woflenɛ hoka 4. Venɔ xoxo la dia amatsiwo hã ɖaɖi, eye ame siaa ame va foa fu hafi woawɔ nu la. Woflea afe la me nuwo hã, nu siaa nu si woatsɔ le afea me be woawɔ eɲu dɔ la, ɖe woflee, ɖewo hoka, ɖewo hoka eve alo etɔ heyi dzi. Venɔ la tsɔa aka si wotsɔ ve la, eye wodoa gbe ɖa gblɔna bena; "Ve si wɔm yele la, Kusie kusie, vedzilawo fe lãme nasɛ, eye veviawo hã fe lame nasɛ, amewo nedzi ve, ne yeava wɔ na wo ɖaa.

use all the objects that they have bought from her. Now, they may also drink palm wine again without getting headaches or body pains. They will also remain healthy when they eat or smoke tobacco. After drinking the palm wine, they dress themselves completely in white cloth. This dressing precedes the cutting of the hair, during which the conductor of the rites leaves three small tufts of hair on the head, called *vedziḡa*.

After that they cook beans in two new pots around whose necks they have tied a creeper (*kakleg*). Both dishes are placed on the head of a girl each. These girls go to the marketplace, with the organizer of the rites, the parents of the twins and many other people following with the dishes. They place the pots down at the end of the marketplace. The woman in charge now circles round the marketplace with the parents. After they have done that once, they reach for the beans in the dishes and eat some. This is repeated five times, after which they all go home. The parents of the twins must provide this meal.

As they are about to depart from the marketplace, they send a messenger ahead to town to say that the mothers of the twins are coming. The drums should be played for the twins (*vefu*). Immediately, drums resound on the road, the organizer leads the parents to the big village road, around which she goes with them nine times. Then both pots are placed in front of the drums in such a way that their openings face the ground. Here the parents of the twins must perform a dance, accompanied by drummers. When they have danced enough, they take both pots home. They keep the pots behind their house. However, they must be turned upside down on the ground.

Now the feast begins. The palm wine is divided into two, one part belongs to the father and, the other to the mother of the twins. The paternal brothers of the mother are charged with the task of selling palm wine to the people. All those present, who came with the intention of drinking palm wine, buy some. Someone with 5 *hoka* gets two calabashes. This continues till night falls.

The organizers of the rites demand their remuneration, amounting to 8 *hotu* from the parents of the twins the next morning. When the two old women have got their remuneration, they say: "We have finished the work and we are going home." If they came from another town, one, of course, does not let them go home without eating. Five days later, the parents of the twins visit all towns of Ho, to thank the people. If one of the children dies by the time of the twins' feast, the ceremonies are held at noon. However, the parents' dance is performed at night. As far as the customs must be undertaken at the marketplace, they occur at night. If both twins die between the birth of the children and the designated feast day, the feast is cancelled.

A woman who has given birth to a boy and a girl cannot perform the rites for twin girls. The organizers of rites must also have given birth to two girls to be able to perform the rites for the mother of the twins.⁷⁵

Parents of twins should not eat the meat of soldier monkeys (*abladzī*); twins are also prohibited from doing the same. The reason for that is that one gives twin children the name *abladziviwo*, meaning "children of soldier monkeys". Parents and children are also prohibited from eating rat meat because it will make them sick. Parents of twin children should not engage in farm activity on Fridays. That is a rule that the organizer

75 Only such elderly parents of twins, whose twins belong to the same sex as the newborns, are suited for performing rites.

Ekua aha la de fona de anyigba, eya nuto noa de, eye wokua de na vedzilawo hã. Azo la, edea mo na wo be nu siwo keŋ woxo fle le ye si la, woate nu awo wo ndo faa. Woano aha hã, ta maŋu wo o, dome hã maŋu wo o. Nenemake ne woŋu nu, alo wono atamazi hã, woano sesie. Wonoa aha la, eye wota yevuvu aŋe si woyona be klala na vedzilawo, eye wodea dakoe etõ na wo, si woyona be "vedziŋa." Emegbe la, wotsa zevi yeye eve, eye wosa kaklẽ de wofe kome heŋa nu de wo me. Ayiboe nã wo ame eve la me, eye wotsa na wo doa detugbui eve ta, eye vewola la dzea wo yome kpla wo yia asi me, eye amewo kpla wo do fiu. Wotsa zevi eveawo kpla wo foa xlã asi la; ne wofo xlã asi la zi deka la, wova kaa nu la ðuna. Nenem wowone zi gbo zi atõ, eye emegbe la wogatrã na va afe. Nu si woŋa la nye vedzilawo deŋe sɔŋ fe nuŋuŋu. Ne wogbona la, wodã ame de ngogbe, bena wo gbo vevu, foge, elabena venwo gbona. Enumake vuawo ði na eye wova line de ablo me. Eye vewolawo kpla vedzilawo foa xlã ablo ze asieke, eye wotsa zeviawo kple eve va tsy anyi de vufolawo gbo. Le vedzilawo kpokplo tsae megbe la, wodea asi le wo nu, bena woŋu ye, eye woano vu la fom na wo. Ne woŋu ye la woti wo la, ekema wogatsa zeviawo, eye wovaa afeme. Zeawo la, wotsa wo tsy ako de wofe xo megbe.

Azo ameawo dzea nuŋuŋu gome, eye woma aha si wotsa ve la de akpa eve me. Akpa dekae nye vito la to, eye akpa eveliae nye vino la to. Emegbe wotsa vino la fe toviawo dana de veno la fe aha gbo, eye wotsa tre dana de edzi na wo, bena woadoe na amewo.

Ele na ame siaa ame si va aha la no ge la, si be woatsa hotsui ve hafi, ame si ke tsɔ hoka atõ ve la, wodoa tre eve ne. Wonã esia woxo dzi vuu va se de esime zã dona.

Ne nu ke la, ame si le nu la wom la bla fe na vedzilawo abe hotu enyi ene bena woaxe. Ne woxe fe la ne vo la, ekema egblona bena, yewo na wo vo eye woyia afe. Nenyẽ du bubu me wotso la, ekema woŋa nu ne woŋuna gbã emegbe la wõdzea mo. Le nkeke atõ megbe la, vedzilawo yina ddaa akpe na amewo, eye wodea Hodu bubuwo hã me. Nenyẽ be, veviawo dometo deka ku la, ekema wowo nu siawo katã le ndo, eye woŋaŋa ye le asime le zã me, eye wowo nu siwo keŋ wowo ndo la le asia me le zã me. Ne ame aŋe dzi ve woku la, ekema mekpɔ mo awo venu na ame bubu o.

Ne ame aŋe dzi nyonu deŋe eve kpɔ, eye ame aŋe dzi ntsu deka kple nyonu deka la, ekema nyonu deŋe dzila mele venu wo ge ne o. Ele be, veviawo nasɔ tututu hafi wõakpɔ mo awo venu.

Vedzilawo fe konyinyiwo nye: Womekpɔ mo aŋu ablazĩ o, eye veviawo hã nenemake; elabena wotsa nko na veviawo bena ablaziviwo. Womeŋa alegeli o, eye veviawo hã nenemake, ne woŋi la, ekema woale do. Vedzila aŋewo medea bofo le Fida o, eya nye se si vewola dona na wo. Ne ame aŋe wu ablazĩ, eye vedzilawo see la, ekema ele be woŋo tua dala kple ati.

of rites has given them. If someone shoots a soldier monkey (*abladzi*) parents of twin children must beat the hunter with sticks.

The name of the drum that is played for parents of twins is *atengble*. No one should play this drum or dance to it without cause. Only those people who have already killed a human being or a leopard, should dance to the drum. One, therefore, calls the drum: “drum of heroes” (*kaleɣvu*). This drum is kept at Ahliha till today. If these rites are dropped for parents of twin children, it is believed that they will become cripples.

The birth of twin children is a great joy. One says of such parents: “The path that the twins’ mother takes is better than that which the rich person takes.” This means: “if someone is rich, no one performs the rites which one performs for parents of twin children for him; neither does anyone play the drum that one plays for parents of twin children for him. Only for a man who has bought slaves will this drum be played after his death. No one fears the birth of twins; it is rather seen as riches.

c. Children with Six Fingers

People are only afraid of such births where a child has six fingers. Such children are referred to as: “witch children” (*adzeviwo*). However, nothing evil is done to them. If one meets a child with six fingers on the way to the market, one turns back immediately. If the person would not go home, he/she would not be “received” by the market. This means he/she would not sell anything. If someone goes hunting and meets a child with six fingers along the way, he turns back. Immediately after birth the sixth finger of such children is cut off. If someone’s business is not flourishing, he is fond of saying that he has met a witch child on the way.

If a woman aborts, the aborted foetus is buried without anyone hearing about it. But one thanks such a mother. The aborted foetus is also seen as an actual birth. Usually, such a woman becomes sick, and her friends bring her water and wood.

II. Care for and Upbringing of Children

A. Care

One feeds a child maize pap quite early. It is bathed and carried about and laid down. Gradually, the child is set on the ground. If a child should grow teeth before it can sit, it is considered a bad sign. This is why mothers are worried when their children can sit before cutting their teeth. When a child begins to walk it is fed fufu, and may now eat all types of foods.

B. Upbringing

1. Work

a. The Boy

A child is not assigned any particular task before a certain age. When a meal is cooked, it is called to eat. If a boy outgrows actual childhood (at about eight years), he accompanies his father to the farm. The father gives the boy the fire (a torch) to carry. He is provided with a hoe on the farm, and begins to learn hoeing. If he becomes somewhat bigger, he may carry a water container to the farm for the father. The father also gives the son

Uu, si wofona na vedzilawo la, ɲkɔe nye zagada. Ame aɖeke meɖua nenem vu sia dzro o. Ame siwo fomevi ɖune la wonye ame siwo wu ame kpɔ, alo wowu lākle kpɔ. Eya ta wotsɔ ɲkɔ na vu la bena kalēvu. Uu sia le Ahliha va se ɖe egbegbe. Ne womewɔ ve na ame aɖe o la, ekema wobe azu xɔdrɔ.

Vidzidzi enye dzidzɔ gā ɲuto eye amewo foa ɲkɔ ɖo na wo bena: Kesinɔmɔ mato venɔmɔ” Egɔmee nye ne hotsui le asiwo hā la, womawɔ nu siwo wowɔna na venɔwo la, na wo akpɔ o, eye vu si wofona na wo la, womafoe na wo akpɔ o. Gake ne ame aɖe fle ame kpɔ hafi ku la, wofoa nenem vu sia nɛ. Ame aɖeke mevɔa vedzidzi o, ke boɲ wobunɛ abe kesinɔnu ene.

C. Asiadeeviwo

Vidzidzi si wovɔna lae nye ne ame aɖe dzi vi eye asi ade li nɛ. Woyɔa ɖevi siawo be, adzeviwo. Ne wokpɔe la, womewɔa neneke wo o, ke boɲu wowɔa kɔnu siwo katā wowɔna la, na woawo hā. Ne ame aɖe yina asigbe, eye wòkpe adzevi siawo dometɔ aɖe le mɔ dzi la, ekema egbugbɔna dzaa; elabena ne megbugbɔ o la, ekema asi maxɔe o. Nenemake ne ame aɖe yina adegbe, eye wòkpɔ wo la, agbugbɔ dzaa. Nu si wowɔna na ɖevi siawo lae nye wokpanɛ ɖa le ɖevime ke. Ne ame aɖe fe nuwɔwɔ medzi edze nɛ o la, egblɔna be, ɖe yekpe adzevi aɖe le mɔ dzi.

Ne ame aɖe yi vi dzi ge, eye fu ge le eɲu la wotsɔa fu gege la ɖina, eye ame aɖeke hā mesenɛ o. Emegbe la, woda akpe na ame la be, efe nu wɔ nu loo. Wobua ɖevi la kpɛna ɖevi, siwo dzim wole la ɲuti. Fu gege lea ɖo ame, eye ame nyanyɛwo dua tsi, eye wofɔa nake ve na ame la.

II. ɖeviwo dzikpɔkpɔ kple wo hehe

A. Dzikpɔkpɔ

Ne wodzi ɖevi metsi nyuie o la, wonɔa akplē namii. Wolea tsi nɛ, eye wotsɔnɛ ɖamlɔa anyii. Deveve la, wotsɔa wo nɔa nyinɔfe ɖom. Ne ɖevi la mele anyi nɔm hafi to aɖu o la, ekema enye busu, eya ta wodɔa vevie, bena wɔnɔ anyi nɔm hafi ato aɖu. Ne ɖevi la le azɔli zom la, ekema wodea asi fufu nanamii; azɔ ɖevi la ate ɲu aɖu nu siaa nu faa.

B. Hehe

1. Dɔwɔwɔ

a. ɲutsuviwo tɔ

Ne ɖevi la tsi vie la, dɔwɔwɔ gobi aɖeke menɔa esi be wɔawɔ o. Ne woɖa nu la, eya ko wɔɔyɔe woava ɖu. Ne ɖevi la (ɲutsuvi) do le eme ve la, ekema ne fofoa le bofo yi ge la, abla akati ade asi nɛ.

seed-yams, so that he can plant a row on the farm for himself. (Under the guidance of the father, he learns how to take care of the yam plants.) He follows his father into the bush, to cut yam poles, some of which he carries on his head to the farm. (The boy roasts yam for the father on the farm, and calls him when it is done. When he returns home, he carries a small load of yam to his mother to cook.) As he grows older he goes to the farm alone when his father is unable to do so. He lets him warp and weave at home.

For his first work on the loom the little son is given yarn by his mother, with which he learns to weave. He gives the first garment to his mother. The neighbours and relatives admire it and ask who wove the dress? The mother proudly names her son, who now can also weave garments for his relatives. For a cloth twelve hands wide he gets 25 *hoka*, and for one twenty hands wide 1 *hotu*. With this money his mother buys him yarn, with which he weaves a dress the proceeds from which belong to him. With that he buys himself a goat or a sheep.

The boy first gives the yams planted in his own yam rows to his mother to cook. In later years, he takes his yam to the market, buys yarn with the profit and weaves a cloth that he again sells. If his yam is used up in the household, the father presents him with a goat. At the palm wine tapper's, the boy burns the holes cut in the palms, and he is compensated by the palm wine tapper with two palm trees. He produces palm wine from them and buys yarn, soap and other things with the profit. He presents his mother with a piece of European fabric as a gift. The mother would not be comfortable with foodstuffs. She is happy with the fabric because she can wear it. She tells other women with pride that her son has bought this cloth for her.

Another source of income for the son consists of head portorage. The remuneration from that belongs to the son, but, under all circumstances, he shows it to the father, who looks after the money for him. If he has saved enough money, he buys a gun for him. If the son is lucky during hunting later, he gives his father the thigh and his mother the breast of the animal that he killed. If the father is sickly, the son weaves a cloth for him, so that he does not appear in shame before others. The parents, on their part, praise the boy and speak highly of how good he is to them.

*Le bo la fo la, wotsɔa agblenu dea esi,
bena wɔɔnɔ nuɔɔɔɔ srɔm. Ne egatsi vie la,
enɔ tsigui tsɔm nɔa agble yimii.*

*Eye wona teta agbaka dɛka nu eya hã
bena woanɔ fafã. Ne fofoa yi na atigbe
la, ekplɔnɛ dɛ asi, eye wotsoa ati vi aɔɔ dɔa
ta nɛ, nenena ke wotsoa fɔ hã dɔa ta nɛ.
Ne egatsi vie la, ele nɛ azɔ be, woayi agble,
eye ne fofoa mele yi yi ge o hã, eɔɔa eya
dɛdɛ dɛ. Wotsɔa dɛtidwo hã nɛ wowɔna
le afe me, eye to esia me la enya avɔtsitsi,
kadeɔ kple avɔɔɔɔlɔ keɔ.*



Children at Farm Work

In this way, he gets a good reputation, and everyone is happy to entrust her daughter to him as wife. If a woman does not have her own daughter, her son cares for her during periods of sickness. He fetches water for her, roasts maize and grinds corn for her. He leads her to the bathroom and supports her back on the sickbed, so that she can lean on him. People like such behaviour, and they say: “Whoever cares for his mother well, will honour his wife.”

The son must already have acquired his own property by the time of the death of the parents so that he does not need to suffer. If the parents are old and weak, he should feed them and see to it that they suffer no lack. There are not very many such good-natured sons, but they exist.

b. The Work of the Girl

The girls play with each other on the road. The small boys participate in it, too. An example of their games is the ‘marriage game’, in which the boys say “wife” to the small girls. After the little girl has somehow grown up, her mother teaches her how to cook, in order that she can later cook on her own. She then accompanies her mother to the farm, where she learns farm work. The mother buys a wooden plate for her little

b. *Nyɔnuviwo tɔ*

Nenye nyɔnuvie, eye wotsi vie la, ekema enɔa fefem le ablo me. Woyɔa fefe la be asididi kɔɖiɖi; (srɔ̄dɛdɛ kɔɖiɖi) ɲutsuviwo hã nɔa fefe sia me, eye wonɔa nyɔnuviwo yɔm bena, srɔ̄nye, srɔ̄nye. Ne nyɔnuvi aɖe do le me vie la, ekema wonɔa nuɖaɖa fiamii, bena ne eva tsi la, ne woale ɲuanya nuɖaɖa, wokplɔne yia bofo hã bena wɔnɔ bofodɔwo srɔ̄m. Woflea gbɔnuvi nɛ wɔtsɔa nu ɖe me tsoa bofo va afee. Ne nyɔnuvi la tso bofo la, ekema wonana wodoa dzo, eye woklɔa

daughter. She puts fruits on it and carries them to the house. On returning from the farm, she must make fire, wash the cooking pots and put water on the hearth. Whenever the mother pounds yam in the wooden mortar, the little girl sprinkles water on it. Later the little girl pounds fufu on her own. The mother also teaches her how to sweep, bathe and apply pomade to her body nicely. She buys her a pot for fetching water every morning in the company of the mother. Other tasks that she learns from her mother are: washing clothes, mopping the floor, removing seeds from cotton and roasting and grinding maize. When the mother goes to the farm, she looks after the little siblings and takes care of the whole household.

The mother also teaches her little daughter the importance of work. For example, she makes her daughter like weaving by putting aside the yarn that she has spun and joining it with what she has spun herself. With that she then weaves a cloth for the father. Occasionally, the yarn is sold. The mother uses the proceeds to buy a chicken or a goat for her daughter. The highest principle of a Ho person regarding the sound upbringing of children is that the parents do not spend what the children earn. Of course many admonishments go along with these principles, for example, “once you have learnt how to weave well, you should never walk around in tattered clothes. Your husband cannot buy you all your clothing; you must help him”, and so forth.

nuḍazewo me keŋ, eye wokua tsi ḍoa dzoe. Ne woyina fufu to ge la, wokpɔnɛ ḍe asi, bena wḍanɔ tsi dem tati na wo; veveve la, eya ɲutɔ hã dea si etoto sɔsrɔ me. Woflea zevi nɛ, eye ɲdi kanya la, woyɔnɛ, bena wḍayi tɔ me. Nu bubu, siwo wogafia ḍeviwo (nyɔnuviwo) la wonye; Avɔnyanya, xɔmelili, ḍetikudede, kpelitoto kple wɔtutu.

2. Introduction to the Family History

A very important aspect of the upbringing of a boy is training on family relationships. Above all, he must learn to know all family relations exactly. This task is, however, not easy because of the institution of polygamy as well as the outcome of other excesses. Blood relations often live far apart from each other. For instance, a woman goes to Aḍaklu and has a child there, then leaves there and marries in Sɔkɔḍe, and brings forth children again. Finally she leaves that place too, to settle down in another place where she again becomes the wife of a man. One needs to pay a lot of attention to learn to know all the relatives and understand the lines of generations. The mother passes on to her children what she knows about plants and their use for the treatment of diseases. However, the transfer of knowledge is done during special events such as the occurrence of diseases, etc. Insults that might have been rained on the grandparents or the parents by any person are not missing from the family history that the son hears. If the same persons had been harmed, the child is told: “Protect yourself against this or that person and fear him!” Or, “you must take revenge for what so and so has done to us!” Finally, “this or that person has had me, my sister or my brother as a pawn and has done this or that to me. Protect yourself against him!”

The children are also admonished to behave themselves well towards their peers, respect elderly people and obey them. What is particularly impressed upon them are the disgrace that accompanies stealing and the consequences of flirting with females. Theft is punishable by beating. A boy who respects, obeys and answers the questions of elderly people, has a good reputation in the whole town.

Stories from the old days are told by the fireside during leisure time⁷⁶ in the evening. Formerly, the stories were always taken from the family itself and from experiences of the tribe. Tales were also much appreciated. The saying: “Old people never die, but old words do,” spurs them on to hear old stories retold anew.

3. Children's Games

As long as the children are still small, they spend their time with all sorts of games in the sand. During these games, they build houses and determine among themselves who should occupy them, namely a man and wife. They lay out farms and behave as if they were going to the farm. On returning from the farm, they use sand to cook a maize meal and take the roots of some trees to pound fufu. The boys go hunting and bring back the bark of trees to represent meat. They go to the market and to the well. After that, they say that now it is night and all of them lie down to sleep. When they get up again, it means the day is broken. The boys call each other and say that they should go to the palm wine place. Others behave as if they were weaving cloth. The girls take sticks and say that now they want to spin.

The Hide and Seek Game

Older children are fond of playing in the evenings. When about ten children gather together, nine of them hide themselves and the tenth, who remains behind, must look for them. If he does not find the others quickly enough, he walks through the whole town and says all sorts of words to himself, to make those who are hiding

3. *Deviwo fe kɔɖiɖiwo*

Ne ɖeviwo le ɖevi me la, wonɔa ke me nɔa fefem. Eye fefe siwo wofena woe nye wonɔa fefexɔwo tum ɖe anyigba, eye womaa wo nɔewo ɖe xɔ la me atsu kple asi. Wodea fefegble, eye wotsona le afi ma be yewoyi bofo. Ne wogbo tso bofo la, wotsɔa ke ɖa akplɛ, eye wotoa fufu hã kple ati aɖewo fe ke. Njutsuviawo dea adegbe eye wotsɔa atitsro wɔa lãe. Wodea asi kple tɔ me hã. Ne wowɔ nu siawo vɔ la, wogblɔna bena, zã do, eye womlɔa anyi ken. Nju kena, eye njutsuawo gblɔna bena, yewoyi aha me. Wolɔa fefevɔwo, eye nyɔnuviawo tsɔa ati ɖe asi be yewole ɖeti trom.

Yayle

Devi siwo tsi vie la, fena le fiẽ. Ne wode ame 10 la, ekema ame 9 asi aylã, eye ame ɖeka adi wo, ne mele wo kpɔm o la, ekema eya ɖeka nɔa nya kukluiwo gblɔm nɔa tsatsam le gbɔɔda me, bena wɔatsɔ adɔ nukokoe na ame siwo yla la. Ne woke nu la, efua du yia wo gbɔ, eye wogblɔna be yelɛ mi, yelɛ mi. Emegbe la, wogaɔɔa

⁷⁶ In former times the storytellers took their material entirely from family history and history of the tribe, from the areas of religion, proverbs and tales. Ever since the Ewes have been in touch with the world, the old things are vanishing by leaps and bounds because their interest is entirely in the newest and latest.

to be stirred into laughter. As soon as one of them laughs, he goes to the hiding place and says: “I have caught you! I have caught you!” Then another one of them is appointed as the one who has to look for the others. This game is called *karo*.

The Samadjebo Game

On one side are only girls and on the other side are only boys. Both groups stand facing each other at a distance, quite wide apart. One of the girls puts a pad on the head of another one. She goes to the boys, chooses one of them, places her hand on his shoulder and leads him to the girls. This boy also chooses one of the girls that he likes and leads her to the boys. This play is called *samadjebo*, which means the choice of men.

The Blind Cow Game

The boys get together and cover the eyes of one of them with their hands. The others hit the one whose eyes have been covered with the hand. They then remove their hands from his eyes and leave him to guess who hit him. If he is not able to guess who hit him his eyes are covered again with hands and he is hit once again. If he is able to guess who hit him, that person's eyes are covered with the hands. They carry out this game until they get tired. This play is called *patapre* or *asitsyomoe*.

The Atsunu Game

A number of children make a circle and while singing out the following words: *atsunu ye, atsunu ya, atsunua; atsunu boye*, each of them gives the other his cloth. The cloths move from one hand to the other, until each of the playing children gets his own cloth back. Then they throw their cloths up, while they sing: *atsunu⁷⁷ do le donye me!* This means” My cooking for the bridegroom is over”.

ame bubu, eye ame asieke gasina ylana. Njutsuviwo kple nyɔnuviwo sɔɔ tsakana wɔa fefe sia. Woyɔ fefe sia be karo.

Samadjebo

Fefe bubu aɔee nye esi: Nyɔnuviwo sɔɔ nɔ afi ɔɔka, eye njutsuviwo hã nɔa afi ɔɔka. Wodzea nɔɔ wo nɔewo; gake wo dome didina vie. Woɔɔa tsihe nyɔnuvi ɔɔka ta, eye wozɔna yia njutsuviwo gbɔ, tsana le wo dome; esike nɔɔ enu la, ekpla asi kɔ nɔ, eye wɔkplɔnɔ yia nyɔnuviawo dome. Njutsuvi, si wokplɔ yi nyɔnuviawo dome la, eya hã tsana le wo dome; esike dze enu la, wɔakplɔe ayi njutsuviawo domee. Woyɔa kɔɔɔɔɔ sia bena, samadjebo (atsudɔɔ kɔɔɔɔɔ)

Asitsyomoe

Bubue nye njutsuviwo sɔɔ woafɔ fu eye woatsyɔ asi mo na ame ɔɔka hetua kɔ ame si fe mo wotsyɔ asii la. Emegbe woɔɔa asi le mo nɔ gblɔna nɔ bena, woayɔ ame si tu kɔe la nɔ. Ne mete nɔ yɔ amea o la, ekema wogatsyɔ asi mo nɔ, eye wogatua kɔe. Ne megayɔ ame o la; ekema wotsyɔnɔ mo nɔ; ke ne eyɔ ame la, wotsyɔnɔ na ame si wɔyɔ la. Nenem wonɔ ewɔmee va se ɔɔ esime ɔɔɔi tea wo nɔ. Fefe sia nɔkɔe nye patapre alo asitsyomoe.

77 Atsunu means the meal that the bride cooks for her bridegroom. After marriage, the cooking of atsunu stops. What the concubine cooks for her lover and sends to his house is also termed atsunu. Everything that the bridegroom presents to the bride as a gift is termed srɔnu.

The Truguya Game

The playing children sing: *trugu, truguya, truguya; egbe mitsiya gba; afale kpeli kpe, tsiamia*. (The words cannot be translated). After the last word has been spoken, all participants must stretch out their right arm. If one of them stretches out the left arm instead of the right, all the other play mates hit him. After that the game begins all over again.

The Atifose Game

All the children shout: *ati fose kpî; kpe fose kpî*, meaning “the tree blooms abundantly; the stone blooms abundantly”. The player who says stone instead of tree is given a beating by all the other players. This is because the stone does not bloom.

The Kuḍe Game

The playing children fix a stick in a small heap of sand and sit around it. While singing *Kuḍe, Kuḍe, kɛ dzadra*;⁷⁸ *Kpokwasi kodzie, kɛ dzadzra* the children dig the heap of sand with their hands. This digging and singing are continued, until the stick that has been fixed in the heap of sand falls. The player in front of whom it falls gets a beating from the others.

The Lawo tso Game

The playing children sing: *lèwo tso; tso, tso! nukpui tso; tso, tso! koklo tso; tso; tso! “Animals’ fang; fang! fang! Grasscutter’s fang; fang, fang! Fowl’s fang; fang! Fang!”* Many animals have fangs, the fowl has not. One of the children mentions the names of different animals and all the others shout: *tso, tso, tso!* When they call *tso!*, and after the name of an animal that has no fangs has been mentioned, the one who has made the mistake gets a beating.

The Gadede Game

- A....
- B. _____
- C. : : : : : : :

Four older boys stand on line A and about twenty to twenty-five younger ones stand on line C. Now, the four older boys try to penetrate group C forcefully and then catch one or several of the boys. Those, who belong to group C, smack the intruders. If the latter succeed in catching one or several of the former in spite of the smacking, the robbers are pursued up to line B. As soon as this line is crossed the captured person must surrender. He now helps party A capture other persons from group C. Each new prisoner must help, until all those who are still in group C are captured. The game then begins all over again.

The Hehe miahe Game

A number of children form a circle; each person holds his neighbour’s hand firmly. Once the circle has been formed, each of the players moves backwards,

78 Kɛ (kae) dzadzra means “scrape it like a fowl”.

while holding the hands of his neighbours firmly. In this way one pulls the other backwards. Now, the boy, who first falls down, is derided. He must then go and fetch some water in a calabash, fill his mouth with some of the water and spit it on the front part of his neighbour's foot.

The Kedodo Game

A number of boys come together and then they send one among them away. One of those who has remained behind then takes a number of small stones, rolls them in the hand, gives them to one of the others. Now the boy who has stood by the side is called, and he must guess the one who has been given the stones. If he is able to guess the name for the first time, he is free. Another person is then sent away.

4. Admonishment and Punishment

a. Admonishment

We admonish all our children. For example, if a child goes to town and does not come back home after a long time, he is admonished. A child who plays truant in town a lot, creates trouble for his parents. If a child insults an adult, it is regarded as anathema. This is because a child should not insult anybody. If any adult asks a child to do any work and he declines, he is beaten and admonished by the parents. Children should not refuse any work. A child who willingly does work for other people gets something to eat from them. If a child is incorrigible, steals, causes mischief or does not like to work, but rather loiters around with his playmates, he is seriously admonished to stop that. A child is not admonished at noon, in the afternoon or in the evening, but rather in the early morning hours (about 5 o'clock).⁷⁹ The father, his uncle or the aunt admonishes the child seriously. If he does not listen to the admonishment, he is threatened with punishment.

Many children avoid work and lie down instead under the shade of trees. When the father calls them, they run into the bush. A reasonable father, however, punishes the son and cures him of laziness through caning. With regards to disobedience, the father deals with it based on the number of times it manifests itself. During the admonishment in the morning hours, the father, using examples, shows the son the consequences of

4. *Nuxɔxlɔ kple tohehe*

a. *Nuxɔxlɔ.*

Ale si nɛxlɔa nu ɖeviwo katā lae nye: Ne ɖevi aɖe yi gbɔdome, eye megbɔ kaba o la, ekema woxlɔa nui; elabena ɖevi ɔ gbɔdome la, ɖe wodea nya akɔ na efe dzilawo. Ne ɖevi aɖe le ame tsitsiwo dzum, wogbena nɛ bena, ɖevi medzua ame o. Ne ame aɖe ɔ ɖevi aɖe wogbe, eye efe dzilawo see la, wohea nya ɖe eɣu, eye woxlɔa nui be, ɖevi megbɛa ɔ o, elabena ɖevi tsɔɔ la, eyae qua amesimenu. Ne ɖevi la doa asike, fia fi, saa sakpli, melɔ ɔwɔwɔ o, ke beɣ fefe ko wɔlɔna la, wohea nya ɖe ɣu vevie, eye woxlɔa nui be, wɔadzudzɔ. Womexlɔa nu ame le ɣɔɔ, yetɔ alo zā me o, ke boɣ ɔɣli (abe ga 5 me ene). ɖevi la fofu, ɔɖia kple ɔɖia woawoe xlɔa nu ɖevi vevie. Ne wole nu xlɔm ɖevi aɖe mele esem o la, ekema wodoa ɣɔɔzi nɛ.

⁷⁹ Because people are drunk in the afternoon and evening. The admonishment happens in the presence of members of the family.

disobedience, which are falling into debts, slavery and isolation, in times of need. If he is obedient, he will win favour from people and from the gods, and he, the father, will buy him a gun, ask of the hand of a woman for him, and assure him of inheriting his property.

b. Punishment

However, the admonishment presents itself differently in very serious cases such as theft. If a son deserves caning, he is punished early in the morning by the father out of “pity and love”.

However, if the father pities his son and does not want to cane him because of that, he charges his brother to carry out this punishment early in the morning before he goes to the farm.

The severest punishment involves depriving the child of food, rubbing pepper in his eyes, and tying his hands and feet. In this painful state the boy gives the assurance that he would never do what he has done again. Upon this assurance, the pepper is washed off from his eyes; and it is ensured that the boy is later afraid of such behaviour that has caused him to undergo such excruciating punishments.

A child is punished when he throws stones or plays with a knife. If he steals meat from the parents’ meat box daily, it is assumed he will finally go to town and steal meat from other people when his parents’ meat gets finished. Many parents do not see it as wrong when the child secretly steals meat from their meat stock. However, they see it as something wrong and therefore punishable, when he begins to steal meat from neighbours. Deriding an adult is also punishable. In their youth, many children are so spoilt that at the drop of a hat they call down the name of a god on their playmates.⁸⁰ The parents must then pay the full fine for that.

In the first place, the punishments are aimed at making the child stop bad behaviour and improve. He must adopt the lifestyle of his father and his relatives. If the punishment has a positive effect, it is a proof that the *aklama* that dwells in the child is a good one that learns from the *aklama* that dwells in the father. If a man has a number of children and one of them differs from the others due to his laziness or his fondness for stealing, the father makes efforts to free him from this bad behaviour. If he does not admonish and punish such a child, it proves that he does not consider him as his own child, but rather an *ahasivi*, child of a whore, who has got the *aklama* that dwells in him from another man. Whoever punishes his child proves that the child is his own child and that he loves him. One therefore hears many fathers say: “That is no strange child, but my own”.

The *aklama* that lives in the child feels the pain that is caused by the punishment. And it also should be prompted to learn from the *aklama* that dwells in the father. If all punishments remain unsuccessful, that is a proof that the *aklama* that lives in the child has surrendered to theft and laziness. Such a child is incorrigible. That has led to the use of the saying: *metee kpɔ vuu dokpoe*, meaning “I have tried for a long time to change it (my child), but to no avail.”

⁸⁰ Hence swearing by the gods.

III. Value of Children, Lack of Children and Infant Mortality

1. The Value of Children

Children are a help, joy and honour to their parents, and are, therefore, sought after. In childless marriages, there are often quarrels that ultimately lead to a separation of the spouses.

Childless spouses do not enjoy public respect. Right after the birth of a child the parents are no longer called their former names. From now on they are given the honorary names “Father” and “Mother” and this prefixes the name of the child. Examples are *Komlatɔ* and *Komlanɔ*, meaning Komla’s father and Komla’s mother. The more children parents have, the bigger the respect they enjoy in the public’s eye. The measure of respect that a couple with children enjoys is determined by the number of boys. A woman who only brings forth girls for the man does not enjoy as much respect from him and in public opinion as compared to another woman who bears more boys than girls or at least brings forth boys. At the approach of the enemy the boy can offer resistance; he accompanies the father to war. The boy can help the father to do hard work on the farm, and through that the father will be rich. The sons protect the parents against the defamatory statements of the neighbours. A person who has a big family is always victorious in court. The son puts up his hut near his father’s. When the father dies, it is the sons, who settle on the ruins⁸¹ of the father’s house and use the name of the father.

A girl brings money and honour to her parents, when she gets married. If that is not possible because of some physical defect or because of some other reasons, to her relatives she is completely worthless and useless. A son-in-law is regarded as a son by the parents of his spouse and he helps them carry out all activities.

However, there are many spinsters. Such women might already have left either one or more men, or are widows who are not sought after by other men. The parents explain to them that if they do not want to stay with this or that man, they should not have any husband at all. The deeper reason is always childlessness or barrenness of a woman. For parents, a daughter is valuable when she gets married and for a man she is valuable when she is physically fit and becomes a mother. Barrenness renders a woman less valuable in society, and therefore, she is not able to enjoy the respect reserved for mothers.

2. Childlessness

In view of these facts, childlessness is a baffling phenomenon, explained by crime, living a bad life and child mortality. Among pagans many children are aborted. The reason for that is forced marriage. For instance, a girl who is forced by the parents with whacks and chains to go to her husband, does not want to grant him the joy of being the father of a child. A father may desire his daughter to bond herself more firmly to the man though it may be against her will. This inner aversion sometimes has a religious basis. In the opinion of the people of Ho and all Ewes, the human being was already married in previous existence at the place of origin of human beings in

⁸¹ The houses of the deceased are demolished or fall into decay.

Amedzofe. If the girl does not come to the man to whom she was already married, she cannot live with him in peace.

The same thing happens if a girl sneaks to the visible world without knowledge of the society in the previous world. As punishment for that, she gets no child here or she constantly bickers with her husband.

A picture of the conspicuous childlessness may be presented in the following description: In the village Ahliha the first chief K.Y. had seven women; four of them died and one ran away to Peki. He had all together three children with them, one of whom died. K.K. had three wives; one of these women died and another one left him. He had only one child. D.K. had two wives, one of whom bore him three girls, while the other one was childless. Y. K. has only one wife, who bore him two children. A. K. has three wives and a child, to whom he is, however, only a stepfather. K. N. has two wives, with whom he had only one child. N. had three wives, two of whom bore five children. He dismissed one of them and the other ran away from him. D. had four wives, out of whom only one bore two children. One of the women ran away from him, and a second died. A had two wives, one of whom bore him two children. A has a wife and a child. K. N. had two wives, with whom he has three children. A. K. has two wives and has three children with them. Ad. K. has a wife and a child. H. K. had taken many women, who all, however, ran away from him. W. K. had five wives and had five children with them. The situation in Ahliha in relation to childlessness is probably the same in all other towns, too. K. D. had seven wives in the town B; the first of these women bore him two children, the second, one and the third, two. The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh had no children. He, therefore, had only five children with the seven wives.

3. Infant Mortality

In relation to infant mortality, the following facts can be put together. Kdz. had nine brothers. Kdz., who is now a man of twenty-five, is the only one living. The woman A.H. from A brought forth twenty children. Fifteen of them had died in 1886. A.D. brought forth ten children; four of them had died in 1886. Kk. had three wives, who brought forth twenty children; eighteen of them died.

This happens mainly due to the carelessness of the mothers as well as the useless customs and traditions connected with the treatment of children. A discerning man said: "It is not thanks to our mothers that we are still alive". To a certain degree he might have been right. It often happens that a child falls from a carrying cloth very loosely fastened by a woman. Another, lying with her little one near the fire, lets him fall into the fire during the night. Other women also take the children too early into the open, particularly to the farm, without taking the necessary precautionary measures. The latter include that the mother put a piece of cloth on the child's head to prevent it being directly exposed to the scorching sun. Generally, children have a lot of umbilical hernia, which is sometimes alarmingly large. This, of course, leads to the death of many children.

IV. Naming

1. Birthday Names

The reason why one gives a child the name of his birthday as his personal name is that one wants to honour *Mawu*, God, by doing so. This is because one believes that God is the provider of the birthday itself. For example, if somebody is born on Tuesday, *Braḍa*, s/he is given the name of her/his birthday. A boy is called *Kɔbla* or *Kɔbra*. A girl, on the other hand, is called *Abra*. The name of greeting is then: *Adzo*, Monday, *Abra*, Tuesday, *Aku*, Wednesday, *Awo*, Thursday, *Afi*, Friday, *Ame*, Saturday, *Awusi*, Sunday. The people celebrate their birthday as a “good” day. However, as they do that they do not make any sacrifices to the gods. Of all the seven days, Friday is the worst day. This is because it is seen as a fatal day. One says of children born on Friday that they will be bad people. The good birthdays are: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. All these names originate from Akwamu.

2. Children’s Death Names

If the newborn child of a woman always dies, one says that she has brought forth her children only for them to die. If the child dies and another one is born later, one gives it a *Dzikudziku* name [born-to-die name]. Some of these names are as follows: 1. *Ati*. A child will be *ati*, “tree”. This name is given, so that when death sees the child, it does not kill it. 2. *Blenyegbe*. By this name the mother complains that child has only come to trick her and then soon leave her. 3. *Kuḍego*, meaning “brought to the bank for death”. By this name the mother complains that she has brought forth the child to the banks of the world only to die. 4. *Aḍuḍɔ*, meaning “rubbish or urine”. The child is given as nasty a name as possible, so that death will not feel like laying its hands on it.

3. Insinuation Names

When somebody has a quarrel with another person, both parties like to insult each other by casting insinuations. The one insulted should, however, not notice that the insults are directed at him. Some of these names are: 1. *Ewɔḍave*, 2. *Ŋeblewo*, 3. *Etɔmenyo*, 4. *Etɔnuwɔe*, 5. *Anidzewoe*. 1. *Ewɔḍave* means: When two people are quarrelling with each other, and one of them does the other harm or insults her/his brother, too, the offended person says: “You could do that to me alone. If you had done that to another person, you would have been punished!” 2. *Ŋeblewo* means: “The person, who has insulted me, deceives her/his tongue; he has no power.” 3. *Etɔmenyo* means: When somebody exults and insults his brother, one casts insinuation by saying: “He likes only his own”. 4. *Etɔnuwɔe* means: If the reign of a king is very harsh, one gives a child, who is born during this time this name and with that one wants to say: “He is only ruling now, but s/he will also die some day”. 5. *Anidzewoe* means: “The human being is not worth anything”. This means he has neither honour nor riches; it is only now that he has acquired a little something.

One gives these names to children in order that the person to whom the name is directed, hears and is angry. If somebody has no child to whom he can give the name, he gives it to a sheep, a dog or a fowl that he owns.

IV *Ŋkɔnanawo*

1. *Dzɔgbɛŋkɔwo*

Nu si ta wotsɔa gbe si gbe ame aɖe dzo la fe ŋkɔ ne lae nye be, woatsɔe ade bubu Mawu ŋu; elabena wosusu be, ŋkeke la etso Mawu gbo. Ale ne wodzi ame aɖe le Braɖa la, wotsɔa dzɔgbe ŋkɔ la ne; nenyɛ nyɔnue la eŋkɔe nye Abra, eye nenyɛ ŋutsue la eŋkɔe nye Kɔbla. Wotsɔa dzɔgbe ŋkɔ sia dzena na ame hã abe Adzo, Abra, Aku kple bubuwo ene. Amewo ɖua wofe dzɔgbe sia abe ŋkeke nyuie ene; gake womedɛa dza na trɔwo le edzi o. Le dzɔgbe ŋkeke adreawo dome la, fiɖa nye vɔɖito; elabena wobui abe ŋkeke sesẽ ene. Ne nyɔnu aɖe dzi vi gbe ma gbe la, ekema wogblɔna bena, ɖevi la ava nye ɖevi vloɛ. Esiwo nye nyuietɔwo la wonye: Dzoɖa, Braɖa, Kuɖa, Yawoɖa, Memleɖa kple Kwasiɖa. Ŋkɔ siawo nye Akɔmunjɔwo.

2. *Dzikudzikuŋkɔ aɖewo.*

Ne ame aɖe le vi dzim wole kukum ɖaa la, ekema wogblɔna be, ele dzikudziku dzim. Ne ame aɖe dzia dzikudziku, eye wogadzi vi la, ekema wotsɔa dzikudzikuŋkɔ na ɖevi la. Ŋkɔ siawo dometɔ aɖewoɛ nye: 1. Ati. Woyɔ ɖevi la be Ati bena ne ku kpɔe la, woasusu be atie, eye magawui o. Ŋkɔ bubue nye: 2. Blenyegbe. Egɔmee nye ɖevi la yeble ge ko wova, ne wɔagadzɔ. 3. Kuɖego, 4. Aɖuɖɔ

3. *Ahamanɔkɔ aɖewo.*

Ahamasisie nye, ne ame aɖe kple nɔvia wowɔ dzre, emegbe la ame ɖeka anɔ nɔvia dzum ɖe aye me ale be, ame si dzum wɔle la, menye be yedzum wɔle o. Ahamanɔkɔ aɖewo: 1. Ewɔɖafe 2. ɖeblewo 3. Etɔmenyo 4. Etɔnuwɔe kple 5. Anidzewoe. 1. Ewɔɖafe gɔmee nye, ne nɔvi eve wowɔ dzre, eye ɖeka wɔ nu vevie alo dzu nɔvia vevie la, ekema ame si wowɔ nu lae la, agblɔ be, ewɔfe wɔkpɔ, eyaŋuti wɔwɔe; ɖe wɔnye ame bubu ŋue la, ne eɖe fe. 2. ɖeblewo, egɔmee nye ame si le ye dzum la, efe aɖe koe le eblem, ŋusẽ aɖeke mele eŋu o. 3. Etɔmenyoe nye ne ame aɖe le eɖokui dom ɖe dzi, eye wole nɔvia dzum la, ekema wosia ahama ɖe eŋuti bena, etɔmee nyo ne. Ne fia aɖe le dzi ɖum ŋusɛtɔe la, wodzia vi tɔɔ ŋkɔ ne be. 4. Etɔnuwɔe, egɔmee nye efe amegaɖuyi eɖo, ava ku xoxo. 5. Anidzewoe, eyae nye ame la mele ɖeke me o, fifi ko hafi nu ɖo esie nye si.

Wotsɔa ahamanɔkɔ na ɖeviawo, bena ame si ŋu wole esim ɖo la, nasee, eye wɔavee. Ame si medzi vi aɖeke o la, etsone na lã si le esi.

4. Remembrance Names

This type of name shows the child the order in which he is born or reminds him of events during which his birth occurred. For example, if a woman has given birth to two children and the third is a boy, he is called *Bansa* and if she is a girl, she is called *Biansa*. An example of remembrance names given during events is *Krakani*. With this name the bearer recalls the Asante war. This is because the name of the then Asante king was Karikari. These names also remind one of the dead or the move to another town.

4. *Ŋkudododzinƙa adewo*

Ŋkɔ siawo fe dewo fia dewi ale si ame ede dzi la mɪ. Le kpɔdeɲu me, ne. ame ade dzi vi evelia la, ekema etɔlia nye Bansa (Ŋutsu) nenye nyɔnue la, enye Biansa. Dewo dɔa ŋku awawɔwɔ dzi abe Krakani ene. Krakani dɔa ŋku Asanteva dzi; elabena Asanteawo fe fia ŋkɔe nye Krakani. Ŋkɔ siawo dɔa ŋku ame si ku dzi kple uvu yi du bubu me hã dzi.

5. Drinking names

a. Introductory remarks

Palm wine drinkers sometimes give themselves five, ten or even twenty names. Each name is made up of a whole sentence and is in most cases generally a common proverb. During hard and very strenuous work or during war and also during palm wine drinking, the bearer of a name calls his name loudly or a friend calls his name loudly and very quickly. Whoever knows the drinking name of another person proves that he is in a friendly relationship with that person. The calling of names is aimed at encouraging a person to do more strenuous and particularly dangerous work. With the drinking names the physical strength, courage, and intelligence of a person are recognised. These virtues, together with wealth and a respectable position are praised. However physical and moral weaknesses are severely criticized. Out of the long sentences of these drinking names, usually only catchwords are used as personal or call names. However, it is not everyone, who has a drinking name who would like to be called by these catchwords. Someone by name *Kɔmla* may also have a number of drinking names. Other persons may also choose one of the catchwords of their drinking names as personal names. They let people call them by these names in daily life.

b. Listing and Explanation

During palm wine drinking, drinkers give themselves special names. Some of these are those mentioned from 1-18 and are explained sequentially on pages 222-223.

b. *Ahanonƙa adewo.*

Ahanolawo tsɔa ŋkɔ tɔxe dana dɪ, ne wole aha no ge la, ekema wofone dɔ. Wofe dewo nye: 1. Avu du fu meɖua ga o, gaɖugbe tsyɔa gli. 2. Go klogo vi suewo kplae axa bɔ. 3. Ŋdɔ du gli memua gli o, edoa kako nɛ. 4. Ŋtasesẽ kplala nyo wu amenuveve. 5. De nyo mesɔa afe o. 6. Ketakɔfe zu Dzelukɔfe. 7. Mi fufu tu me le agbe. 8. Kpɔtiku mekua

ḍoḍoe ku o, go aḍewo le dzedzem, go aḍewo le miemiem. 9. Ativṣe menṣa balime dzena o, ne menye vu o, enye loko. 10. Atsiafu medzea lē o. 11. Kpekpla mekpla goe o, goe la nu gbagbāe. 12. Tre menyia avu o, tre kaḍa avu kaḍa. 13. Gbagbagbe – Kate menyia wṣna o, viwo mite ḍe ave ḡu. 14. Ne eyṣ tṣ la, nayo tṣgbuiwo ḡkṣ; tṣ ḍeka medzia ame o. 15. He maḍamaḍa ḍana wua fe. 16. Ya memua agṣ o. 18. Agba kpe vu mekpea tṣ o, ekpe tṣ vu yi to.

The names are the catchwords in bold print. Many of them are kept as personal names or they remain hanging on the individual against his wish, so that he is no longer called by his original personal name, but rather by one of these catchwords. Some of these names are: 1. **The dog chews bones**; it does not chew iron. If it wants to chew iron, it breaks its teeth. This means if somebody wants to carry out something opposed to his destiny and nature, he harms himself. 2. **Bulging sack**: If a child wants to hang it around himself, he gets pains in his side. This means nobody should overtax his strength. If he does that, he must suffer the damage. 3. **The sun** shines on the wall, but it does not knock it down; it makes the wall strong. This means admonishments cause pain, but they do not destroy man. They rather strengthen him. 4. **Cruelty** carried out quickly is better than compassion. This means whoever shows compassion, will be seen by the person to whom this is done as weakness and therefore not respected. It is, therefore, better to show him at once one's superiority. 5. **The homeland** of another person is not as beautiful as one's own. 6. **The village Keta** became the village of Dzelu. This means if one begins to do some work and dies, while carrying it out, and another person continues it, that person gets a good reputation, as if s/he was the one, who did the whole work. 7. The inner part of **dried faeces** is fresh. This means even if somebody is outwardly unattractive, he can be inwardly fresh and healthy. It may also mean his appearance indicates that he is a fool, but he possesses a lot of wisdom. 8. *Nux vomica* does not die a perpetual death; on several parts of it there are leaves and other parts put forth shoots. The *nux vomica* plant can lie in the sun for a long time and may appear dry. But if one looks closely at it, one can still find leaves on it; other parts of it even put forth new leaves. This means if somebody is so inconspicuous and unattractive, it shows that he has in him power, life and wisdom. 9. **The dwarf tree** cannot be seen in a valley. If it is not the silk cotton tree, then it is the *loko* that can be seen. This means it is only both types of trees that jut out above a valley, so that their crowns can be seen from afar. This means an unimportant person is not spoken of in a far distant place, his name is not known outside his immediate homeland. It is only an important person that one likes to talk about. 10. **The sea** produces no mosquito larvae. The characteristic of the sea is such that the mosquito and its larvae cannot settle on it. This means that depravity cannot occur to a person, who is good. It also means that ill luck stays away from whoever is good. 11. Whoever hangs a **stone** around himself, does not hang a gourd as well. This is because the gourd will break. Meaning: the strong person and the weak person cannot fight, for the weak person will be defeated. 12. The bachelor

rears no dog. **The bachelor's stomach** as well as that of the dog have sunk in. This means that the bachelor has not got enough food to eat and because of that he cannot feed a dog either. This means: A poor person cannot copy what a rich person does. 13. On the broad plains no heroic acts can be carried out. **Children get to the forest.** This means no one can carry out bad acts or talk big, wherever many people come together. He can only carry that out under the protection of the trees of the forest. This means one does not bring the secrets of a person into the public domain, but rather voices it only secret. 14. If you mention your father's name, mention your grandfather's at the same time, for **an individual generates nobody**. This means the slave calls his master "father". However, if one asks him about his grandfather, he must be silent. This means the slave has a father, but he has no grandfather. However, the free-born has not only got a father, he has a grandfather, too. The name shows the difference between slaves and free-borns. 15. **The blunt knife** still cuts more than the finger nail. This means: Even if a rich person loses something, he still possesses more than a poor person. The rich person, therefore, boasts before the poor person. 16. **Shea butter** is not cheaper than goat fat. In other words, an inferior thing does not dominate a better one. This means: If a younger brother wants to dominate an elder brother, the elder brother rebuffs the attempt by making use of a proverb. This is also used when a lowly placed person wants to encroach on the rights of a highly placed person. 17. The speed of a storm **does not make fan palms fall**. In other words, although the wind roars through the crowns of the fan palms and makes their leaves move, it cannot uproot the palms themselves. This means that one can threaten an innocent or a strong person, but one does not make him fall. 18. **The load pushes only on the boat**, but not the river; if it pushes the river, the boat sinks. In other words, the load put on the river only presses the walls of the boat, but not the water. Should it ever be too heavy for the water, the boat sinks. This means the carrier encourages herself/himself and says: the load does not burden me. If it should burden me or if it should be too heavy for me, then I throw it on to the ground. Similarly, the carrier of a hammock thinks that the person lying in the hammock presses only the hammock, not the carriers. If it should be too heavy for the carriers, they let it fall on the ground.

6. Play Names

If a child or an adult does something, one gives him a name in connection with that, in order to annoy him. For example, if one breaks many dishes, *koloe*, one calls him Koloe. If the person concerned is called (by the name) and he/she responds, one refrains from doing that again.

6. Fefɛŋkɔ aɖewo

Ne ɖevi alo ame tsitsi aɖe wɔ nane la, ekema ehatiwo tɔɔne tɔɔa ŋkɔ ne bena wɔave dɔme ne. Le kpɔɖeɖu me: Ne ame aɖe nɔa agba (koloe) gbām ɖaa la, wotsɔa ŋkɔ ne be, koloe.

These names do not stick. When he grows up, he is not called by that name anymore.⁸²

Some of these names are:

1. *Koloe*, dish
2. *Agboka*, the torn rope of a ram. This name is given to wicked children. The meaning of the name is: the (torn) rope does not fall from the ram. If one ties a ram, and it tears the rope, the rest of the rope remains hanging around its neck. It then moves with it in town. (Everyone recognises that the ram was not released, but rather tore the rope).
3. *Anagobɔɖi*, there are many sweet potatoes

7. Religious Names

a. *Trɔŋ* Names

Some of these names are:

1. *Kade*: name of a trɔ̃
2. *Klu*. Name of a boy, who was dedicated to the *trɔŋ* during his childhood
3. *Kosi*. Name of a girl, whose mother committed her to the *trɔŋ* during her childhood
4. *Kade Ŋku*. If a boy is born on Wednesday and committed to the *trɔŋ* *Kade*, he is called *Anku* of *Kade*
5. *Dzoka Klu*. *Klu* is the name of a boy, who has been committed to the trɔ̃ *Dzoka* (as a slave, *klu*)
6. *Dzoha Kosi* is the name of a girl, who has been committed to the *trɔŋ* *Dzoha* (as slave, *kosi*)

Ne wole ame la yɔm, eye wòtɔ la ekema woɖea asi le eɲu. Ŋkɔ siawo metsia ame si ɖaa o, boŋ ne wotsi la, woɖea asi le wo ɲu.

Wofe ɖewoe nye:

1. *Koloe*
2. *Agboka*. *Wotsɔa ɲkɔ sia na ɖevi vloewo. Ŋkɔ la gɔmee nye agboka megena le agbo ɲu o. Ne wode ka agbo eye wotsoe la, ekema ka mamlea nɔ kɔ ne wonɔa yiyime.*
3. *Anagobɔɖi* – *Egɔmee nye anagotee alo dzetee bɔ ɖi.*

7. *Subɔsubɔŋkɔ* *aɖewo*

a. *Trɔ̃ŋkɔwo*

ɖewo nye:

1. *Kade*: *Kadee nye trɔ̃ aɖe ɲkɔ*
2. *Klu*: *Klue nye ɲutsuvi, si wotsɔ na trɔ̃ le efe ɖevi me.*
3. *Kosie* nye *nyɔnuvi*, *si dada tsɔ na trɔ̃ le efe ɖevi me.*
4. *Kade ɲku*: *Ne wodzi ɲutsuvi na trɔ̃ Kade le Kuɖagbe la, ekema wotsɔa ɲkɔ ne bena, Kade fe Anku alo ɲku.*
5. *Dzoha Klue*: *nye Klu, si wotsɔ na trɔ̃ Dzoha.*
6. *Dzoha Kosie* nye *Kosi si wotsɔ na Dzoha.*

⁸² Whoever is called by a playing name, but does not respond to it, admits with that the name annoys him; with that the purpose is achieved, and, therefore, he is always called by that name. On the other hand, whoever answers makes it known that the name does not annoy him. As far as he is concerned, the purpose is not achieved. That is why the one who wants to annoy him stops.

7. *Gbe Klui*. If a woman dedicates a child that has been born to the *trɔŋo* and gives birth to the child in the bush, it is called *Gbe Klui*, slave of the bush. If she has, however, not committed the child to any *trɔŋ*, she says it has become the slave of *Aziza* or *Gbetɔ*, owner of the bush (forest devil)

7. *Gbe Klui*: *Ne nyɔnu aɖe fɔ fu eye wɔtsɔ vi, si dzi ge wɔla la na trɔ aɖe, eye wodzi ɖevi la ɖe gbe ma la, wotsɔa ŋkɔ na ɖevi la be Gbe Klui. Alo ne womenae trɔ aɖeke o, hafi wodzi ɖe gbe me la, ekema wogblo bena, ezu Azizã alo Gbetɔ fe Klu.*

b. Names that remind one of God

Some of these names are:

1. *Mawufe* meaning from God's dwelling place. Or it is from God that I have got the child.
2. *Mawusi* meaning *Kosi* from God, God's slave.
3. *Mawufenu* meaning the child is God's property.

b. *Ŋkɔ siwo ɖoa ŋku Mawu dzi.*

Dewo nye:

1. *Mawufe*: *Egɔmee nye Mawufe alo Mawu gbɔ yexɔ ɖevi la tsoe.*
2. *Mawusi*: *Egɔmee nye Mawu fe Kosi.*
3. *Mawufenu*: *Egɔmee nye Mawu, ɖevi la Mawu ŋutɔ fe nu wonye.*

c. Official Religious Names

Some of these names are:

1. *Amegãsi* that is the title of many traditional priests, who show their affiliation to the *trɔŋ*.
2. *Míanɔsi* that is the name of the traditional priest, who serves the earth, *mía nɔ*, our mother.
3. *Miatɔsi* is the name of the traditional priest who serves the heavens, *mía tɔ*, our father, also called *dzingbe*.

c. *Ŋkɔ siwo fia dɔ si wɔla ame aɖe nye;*

Dewo nye:

1. *Amegãsie* nye *ŋutsu*, si le *trɔ aɖe nu*.
2. *Mianɔsi* nye *ame si le anyigba nu*.
3. *Miatɔsie* nye *ame si le dzifo alo dzingbe nu*.

V. Circumcision

The custom of circumcision is part and parcel of most Ewes. The people of Peki and the inhabitants of the mountain areas of Avatime and Logba are exceptions.

1. Personality of the Circumciser

Circumcision should not be carried out by any uninitiated personality. The art of circumcision is passed on from father to son, and is therefore the preserve of the family. Usually, the circumciser appoints his most obedient and understanding son as his successor. This son must accompany him wherever he goes and during the circumcision he must closely observe. When the boy grows up and has his own children, he carries

out the first trial of the art that he has learned on them. If he succeeds, the circle of his activity expands to cover the children of his close relatives and finally those of strangers. The father hands over the office to the son with the words: *mia togbui fe kɔ*, meaning “that is the custom of our ancestors”.

2. The Time of Circumcision

Circumcision is carried out once a year during the hot, dry period of the harmattan. The boy is circumcised during the second or third year of his life because circumcision is very painful. One can also wait up to the fifth or seventh year of the boy's life, if it becomes necessary to do so because of health reasons.

3. Meaning

To the boy himself, the circumcision does not carry the meaning of manhood. However, after circumcision a boy should no longer behave as a child and should be found more in the company of his father than his mother. From now on, he is mainly under the care of his father, and this marks the actual beginning of his training. With the people of Ho, circumcision appears to have just a social meaning. The uncircumcised is derided, and throughout his life he is loathed. The result is that he cannot marry. Many persons also claim that it is necessary because of health reasons.

4. The Act Itself

Every year a circumciser moves from town to town around his hometown. As soon as he appears, parents come with their children to his lodging, where he carries out the act. A hole is dug there and the boy placed across it. Before then the boy must remove his clothes. He is then admonished by the circumciser to be calm. He is threatened that if he defecates because he does not control himself, his father will be made to pay a fine of 4 *hoka*. The circumciser presses his legs against the thighs of the boy. A second man covers his eyes and encourages the boy to bear the pain. The circumciser pulls the prepuce, presses it first with the nail of his thumb at the point where it must be cut and then cuts it. The remaining part of the prepuce that is below is removed through a second cut. As soon as the act has been carried out, he dips his hand into medicine that is standing near him and sprinkles the wound with it. As the boy goes home, the blood should not drop on the ground because if wicked magicians who possess magical powers place their feet on the blood tracks, that could result in the sickness or death of the boy. In order to prevent that, the circumciser makes a kind of pocket for the boy by using a big leaf. The blood then drops into it until the boy gets home.

5. Rules Governing Behaviour

With regard to diet and the treatment of the boy, the circumciser tells the parents the rules governing behaviour that they must observe. The circumcised person should not eat or drink anything that is spicy. For this reason it is forbidden for him to eat pepper, drink palm wine and spirits. For three days he should only take porridge mixed with honey and the wound needs to be treated with care. A day after the circumcision the

wound is cleaned with warm water every morning and afternoon. After that one smears palm oil on it and dresses it with cotton. On the fourth day the boy is bathed with cold water and then immediately with warm water by the father, in order to remove all remaining blood stains. The oiling of the wound is continued, until the wound gets completely healed. As a measure of protection against flies, one ties a scarf around the boy's loins. It takes fourteen days to three weeks for the wound to get healed.

6. Honouring of the Circumcised

After the wound has healed completely, a feast is held in honour of the boy. A meal is prepared for him, and when he is satisfied, he calls other children too and invites those who cleaned his wound to eat the food he has left over. The old scarf that was tied around his loins is burnt on the principal path. By the fire he is made to say: "May I remain healthy!". On returning, he bathes himself and puts on a new loin cloth, he is told that now he has become a man and must henceforth always wear a loin cloth.

6. Nuwɔwɔ na ɖevi siwo tso ava

Ne abi la ku keŋ la, woɖua ŋkekenyuie na ɖevi la. Woɖaa nu ne woɖuna, eye ne eɖi fo la, woyɔa ɖevi bubuwo kple ame si klɔ ava ne, wovaɖea nu mamlea. Ɖovu, si wosa ɖe ali ne la, wotsɔne tɔa dzoe ɖe mɔ gã dzi, eye wonana ɖevi la gblɔna le dzo la gbɔ be: Nye lāme nasẽ. Ne wova afe la, wokua tsi ne wolena, eye wotsɔa godoe yeye hã ne wodona. Eye wogblɔna ne bena, egbe la ezu ŋutsu, eya ta ele be nado godoe ɖaa.

7. The circumcisers' earnings

The circumcisers' earnings have changed very much in the course of the years. Formerly, he got one 1 *hoka*, later 2, then 5, 10, 12½ and finally 25 *hoka*.

VI. Tattooing and Hairdressing

A. Tattooing

Tattooing is closely connected with naming. There are very different meanings behind the different types of cuts on the face and other parts of the body.

1. The *Dzikudziku* Mark

The *Dzikudziku* mark is also called *akaba*. After an aunt or a grandmother has given a newborn child a *Dzikudziku* name, she also cuts a mark on the face⁸³ of the child, as she turns to the public and says: "It should live!" There are in all seven cuts, three each radiating on both corners of the eyes and one diagonally on the cheek. Many children do not have the cuts. They have, instead, two cuts diagonally made across their cheeks. The cuts made at the corners of the eyes are called *xefɔe* or *koklofɔe*, meaning the bird's foot or the fowl's foot.

83 Soot is rubbed into the fresh wound to stop the bleeding. For the marks to appear as clear and grand as possible, ointment from pulverized gun powder and cactus juice is applied to the wound.

2. The Mark of Slaves of Gods

Children, who, are consecrated to a god as *Klu* and *Kosi* also have identification marks on the face. Usually, they get the slave cut *akaba* diagonally on one cheek. Those who conform more to *Anlo* customs make three round cuts, one on top of the other under both temples on each cheek in addition to that. They call the seven cuts *adree*, meaning seven. A third type of mark consists of making a small longitudinal cut on the forehead above the root of the nose. This means that the concerned person is an incarnation of one of his ancestors. The mark is, therefore, called *amedzɔdzɔ*, meaning “incarnation”.

4. Insignia of Drumming Societies

A third group of marks involves making a cruciform incision on both cheeks. One calls these *akumawunui*. The cruciform incisions mean that the person concerned belongs to a specific playing society, which gathers around a drum to play. They should enhance the beauty of the face. This is, however, disproved with the proverb: “Nobody looks for beauty with the point of the knife”. Whoever is not handsome from birth scratches himself with the knife in vain.

Here the facial marks pertaining to the people of Ho have been described. It will, however, be of interest to describe two additional types of facial marks that are common at the coast.

5. Marks of Religious Groups and others

This forms part of the marks of the people, who belong to the *Yeve* society. Many small cuts are made on the forehead, the temples, the cheeks, the left side of the stomach and at the whole length of the back. Others have made cuts on their shoulders, back and stomach in such a way that they look like a chain. One calls these marks *dakpla*, and they are principally in honour of the black snake *voduda*.

The other marks that are related to this are the *kpemeblinui*, which are small signs lightly scratched into the skin. They are principally identification signs that public harlots have. There are also marks in the form of half moon made between the thumb and the index finger at the back of the hand, on the stomach and on the inner parts of the legs. They call these the ladder, on which they climb.

Finally, one has to mention skin cuts which are made on the temples and forehead for hygienic purposes. In case of headache, they have cupping glasses put on freshly made cuts.

The cuts then leave scars later, especially if they have often been renewed. One calls that *nyaqui*.

B. Hairdos

Sometimes there is also a deep meaning behind the different ways of treating the hair.

1. The Hair of Slaves of Deities

The hair of the *Kluwo* and *Kosiwo*, that is children consecrated to a god or bought by him, should not be cut until their third or fourth year of age. It hangs down dishevelled in long locks on the head. Shells, beads or cowries are tied to the hair. The hair ought to be cut only under the supervision of a traditional priest, with certain customs.

2. The Hair of Priests

There are traditional priests whose head has never been shaved with a shaving blade throughout their lives. The god that lives in the man prohibits him from cutting his hair under threat of death as punishment. If the hair at last becomes too long, the owner must ask his god to allow him to cut at least its extreme ends. The hair is considered as seat and a sanctuary of his god. If it is cut, the god would lose its abode in the priest.⁸⁴ In Ho itself I only once saw such a traditional priest twenty-five years ago. Currently, the hair is somewhat better cared for there. However, the priest leaves a tuft of hair at the spot where the Catholic priest has a tonsure. This serves as an abode for his God and it is, therefore, called *beḍawe*, “place of refuge”.

3. The Hair of Royal Servants

In former years, the main servants of the kings, called *tsyɛŋfo*, also had long hair hanging down the back of the head in strands, while the front part was shaved. With this growth of hair everybody recognised them as royal servants and therefore gave them due honour.

4. The Hair of Wounded Persons

The head of wounded persons is completely shaved after their recovery by the person who treated them. This person is usually a spiritualist. During the shaving of the hair, he explains to the convalescent that he is completely healed, and discharges him. A feast is connected with the shaving of the hair, during which a lot of palm wine is drunk.

5. Treatment of Hair and its Significance

People who do not belong to the class of priests sometimes leave a small, round tuft of hair on their forehead or at the back of the head. It is called *ta fe ŋku*, “eye of the head” and also *dzo*, “horn”.⁸⁵

84 He would roam about without finding his dwelling and would finally leave him. What this means is that the priest is dead. The priest must give the man who trims the hair for him 2 hoka cowry shells as charge by his god. If the barber does not get the money, the priest's god would kill him.

85 The human eyes only belong to the face, but not the head. The eyes that are missing from the head are replaced by leaving a tuft of hair either at the back the head or on the forehead.

3. Main Section: Family and Social Life

I. Family Life

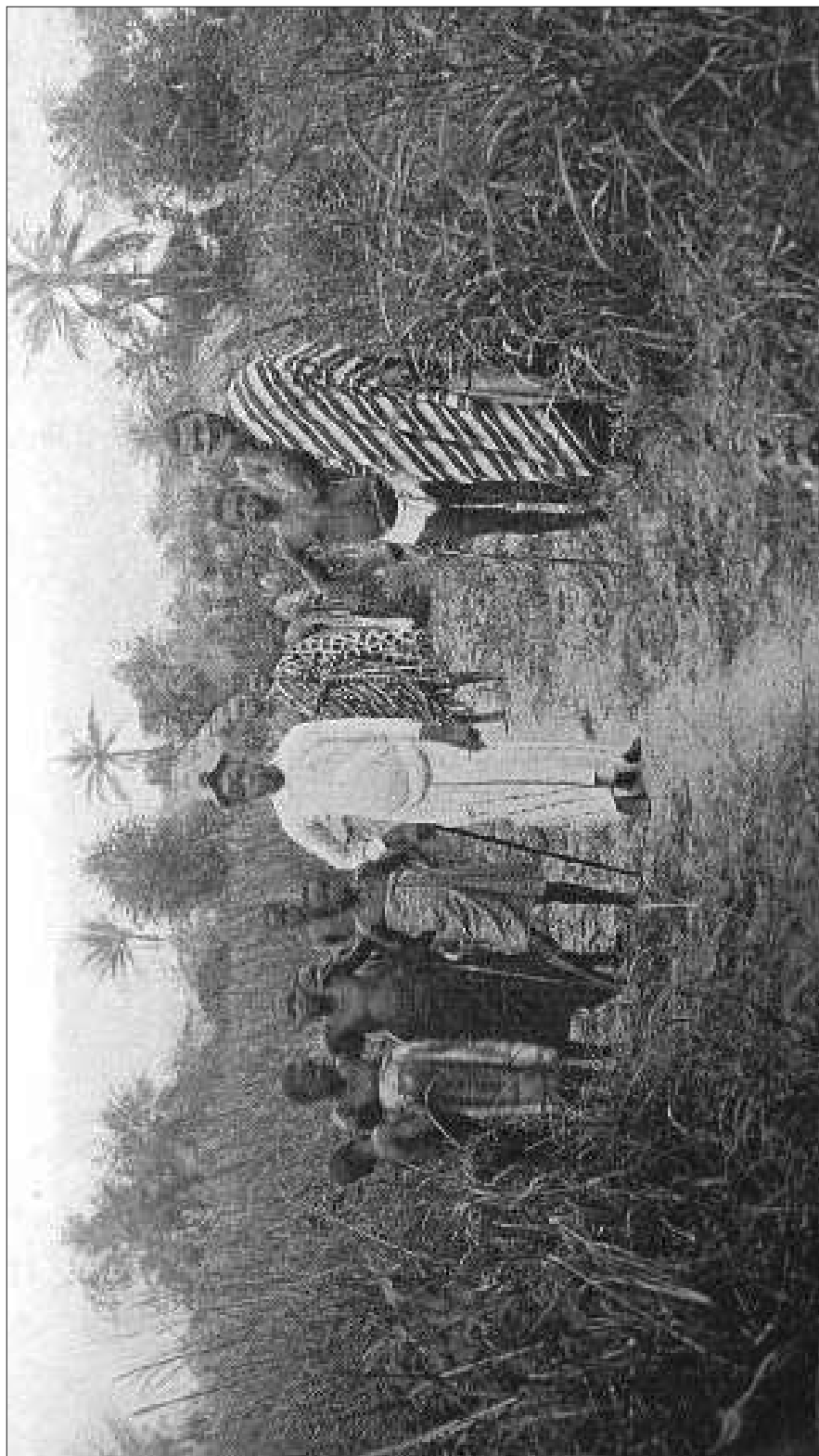
A. Order And Cleanliness

As it is with us, so in Ho family order and cleanliness depend on the qualities of the woman.

1. Clothes and Beds

In domestic life the clothing of men and women is often very inadequate. Young women are not ashamed to wear only a narrow loin wrapper to associate with their peers or even show themselves on the village street in this state. The man is not better clothed either. Usually, the woman wears a wrapper that is about ½ m. wide around her loins. On the other hand, the man has a long traditional cloth thrown over his right shoulder, right arm remaining uncovered. It is only during the fresh morning hours that both shoulders are covered for protection against the cold. The man also wears his loin cloth, *godotse*, under his cloth. During farm work the man always wears only his loin cloth.

One finds cleanliness of clothing among almost all people of Ho. A cloth is worn from Monday to Friday and then subjected to washing by a wife. The wife gets the soap from the husband. However, many men are negligent and they let weeks pass by before they wash their clothes. This is sometimes done intentionally. Many people move about in dirty clothes pretending that they are poor, while in their duffle bags at home they have silks and satins. Someone who often changes his clothes draws the attention of the public to himself and is often contacted for money. He must be afraid of being bewitched by jealous persons. The ulterior motive for this is that the rich person is respected and honoured, while the poor person, on the other hand, has no standing in the opinion of the public. It is a disgrace if lice settle in the clothes or in the magic cords tied around the arm, for the clothes louse owes its existence only to uncleanness. For example, whoever seldom washes his cloth or washes it and wears it again before it is dry, will probably get lice. Many people do not dry their magic cords thoroughly after their bath. Soap and dirt then settle in them, and these are the conditions conducive for the thriving of the clothes lice. Many people often leave their forearms in a bad state.



1. A Girl in loincloth, *godotse*. 2-4. Usual women's clothing with vest and traditional cloth. 6 and 8 Complete men's traditional attire. 7. Men's loin cloth for house and farm work.

Such a breeder of clothes lice is sometimes told by another person: “You have a louse in your cloth”. On the other hand, if he has a quarrel with the neighbour, he uses this observation as an insult and says: “You are no human being, but an animal”.

Women often wear torn clothes to annoy their husbands, because they like to give the impression that their husbands neglect them. If a woman goes about in tattered clothes, that is a disgrace to the husband. In this case, he will be spoken of in the female world as lazy and negligent of duty. One says: “If he were a right husband, he would also mend the dresses for his wife”.

The cleanliness of the beds or the mats leaves much to be desired. Mats and night wear should be put daily in the sun. The mat is taken away from the sleeping place in the mornings and hung on a climbing plant that has spread in the room or the farmstead. One recognises a hardworking or orderly woman through the way she industriously puts her mats in the sun. A lazy woman leaves bugs to grow in the mats. At the beginning one leaves these guests quietly on their own and does not feel their bites during superb good sleep. If it at last becomes too bad, one is compelled to beat the mats thoroughly in the sun. During this activity hundreds of lice often appear.

2. Bathing Places and Personal Hygiene

a. Bathing Places

Each house has a bathing place. However, a serious lack of cultural sensitivity immediately makes itself felt. In many farmsteads the bathing place is cut off from the view of the outside world with a thick fence. However, this is an exception. Usually, the bathing person withdraws to the back of the house. Often both old and young bathe in the middle of the farmstead without any protection against the outside world. Until now, the water places were at the spots where public paths cross the river. Before women fetch their water, they like to bathe in freedom and do not feel embarrassment. A lot of cultural harm is caused by these public bathing places, and the credit goes to the German government for prohibiting these indecent facilities. From there women are taught about true body beauty and ornaments of others. However, they use their knowledge to insult and cause each other pain. The jealousy of the poor against the rich increases through that, and one says to another: “Do you think that because of your clothes and jewellery you are better than I?” The other way round, the rich insults the poor: “Have I perhaps borrowed something from you? Have you perhaps given me clothes and jewels?” With such quarrels it even comes to an oath. The offended person swears and says: “This person insults me due to my clothes. Well, let us see, which of us both is the more beautiful and the more ugly!” The oath is sworn and both of them appear before a court, made up of a spokesman as well as the man before whom the oath has been sworn. They must both pass their judgment regarding which of the women is more beautiful.

b. Personal Hygiene

Personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. Men, women and children often bathe. The man cares more about the cleanliness of the hair than the woman. Women often remove vermin in their huts as well as on the open roads. One can often observe that women wearing a head scarf, instead of scratching their hair, hit the spot with the

knuckle of their left hand. The cause is lack of sufficient care of the hair. Sweat, dust and things like these often remain in the hair not only for days, but rather for months. If a woman tidies the hair thoroughly, it takes two to three months before they repeat it. Of course, in the meantime the hair might have become an actual breeding place for vermin.



Women Bathing

The one standing in the water has just smeared herself with soap

Other women also get the vermin from neighbours who do not tidy their hair. If a louse falls from the hair of one woman and gets into the hair of another, all the conditions under which the breeding can thrive are present. If the vermin torments her too much, she cuts the hair very short. Anyone who pays attention to her hygiene bathes twice a day. On the other hand, if someone goes into mourning, he does not bathe for several days neither does he eat.

A lot of attention is paid to the cleanliness of the hands. However, these same hands experience unequal care. The right hand or “hand for eating” should not touch any unclean thing. All works that offend against the sense of cleanliness are seen to with the left hand. Because of that it is called *mîësi* or *asinyagè*, meaning the hand that must see to the ugly thing. Before and after meals the right hand is washed painstakingly because it must bring the meal to the mouth. One seldom finds dirt under the finger nails of the right hand.

The care of the mouth is scrupulously seen to by many people. This lies in the fact that after meals the mouth is rinsed with water. In addition to that the teeth are cleaned with a short stick.⁸⁶ Others, who are less meticulous, clean the teeth with the fingers or with wet bathing cloth.

3. Dwelling Place, Cooking Utensils and Dishes

An industrious woman should clean the living room and courtyard everyday. Apart from that she washes the bedroom and living room once or twice a week. However there are few women who do that. Many women let four or five weeks pass, when they carry out the necessary care of the floor. That is similarly the case with sweeping of rooms, and when it does happen, they only sweep where there is no hindrance. It does not occur to them to move an object from its position, in order to sweep behind it. Owing to this negligence, all sorts of vermin, especially a worm termed *dra* which in the course of the night works its way through the mat that has been spread, then emerges from the floor and sucks the blood of a sleeping person. These worms are generally feared and one can avoid them through an active washing of the floor. That is why most women diligently wash at least the spot of the floor on which they lie. But there are always some women who are too lazy for even that. Such women let their children lie down in uncleanness and even the clothing in which they wrap themselves at night are often not dried or washed early.

The courtyard is swept everyday because this is open to the view of the villager and thus open to his judgment. If only the courtyard is in order, a woman can be considered to be industrious and tidy, even if the room is full of dirt and the mats are full of vermin.

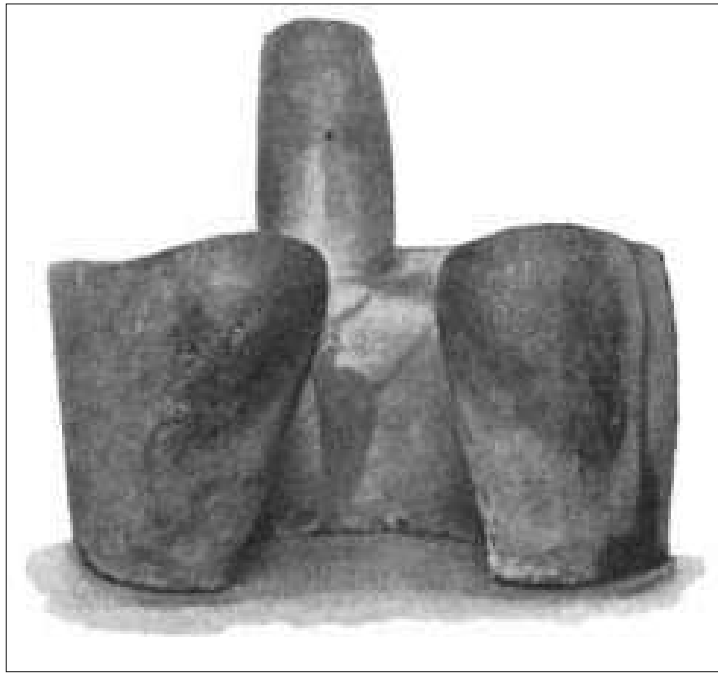
The hearth is made by the woman herself, in the form of a horse shoe. If she is not very good at this work, she asks a neighbour, who makes the hearth for her free of charge. The duty of the housewife is to keep it in order. Every morning she must, therefore, wash her hearth with water in which red ochre has been dissolved. An untidy hearth is not compatible with the good name of a housewife.

Water pots, cooking utensils and eating dishes should be kept clean by a housewife. For this purpose all water pots are washed and smoked over fire. At the beginning that gives drinking water a smoky taste, but later contributes to its quality. Negligent women always pour new water into a pot covered with dirty sediment. Cooking pots and dishes should be washed in the evening right after meals. At any rate, a hardworking woman cleans the eating dishes in the morning before she goes to the farm. However, many women let dangerous food particles accumulate in dishes and stirring spoons. The best time for washing mortars, in which fufu is pounded, is in the mornings, but often are only washed immediately before use. That is why old fufu scraps are found on them.

4. Meal Times

They have their meals once or twice a day. The main meal is in the afternoon and usually consists of fufu and pepper soup with some fish or bush meat. A solid porridge, *akple*, is also gladly eaten with spinach and palm oil. It is known that all the Ewes eat with the hand.

⁸⁶ See picture showing a king's wife on page 53.



A Traditional Hearth

Wooden spoons carved by themselves are used, but usually it is the hand. But eating with the hand is not so unappetizing, as it appears to us Europeans. There are specific rules for it. For example a child is prohibited from pushing his whole hand into the mouth while eating. One eats fufu with the thumb, middle and index fingers. On the other hand, one eats soup with the middle and ring fingers, on which the thumb is lightly placed. It is allowed to eat soup with the middle, ring and little fingers, too. The bouillon should not run down the whole hand. It should rather come only up to the middle joint of the finger. However, many people, particularly people whose parents have formerly not stopped them from doing that, never learn this art. The man eats separately from the woman. The man often invites his brothers, and he lets his sons also eat with him from the same dish. Often, one finds nine to ten men squatting around a dish.

It is an honour to the father, when many sit with him around the dish. On the other hand, it is also an honour for the son, when he eats with his father from the same dish.

Women also like to have their sisters or friends eat with them. Usually, the woman eats with the smaller children or grown up daughters from a special dish. Mostly, the man takes his meals under the eaves of his roof or in the open farmstead. Sometimes, having meals in company may cause all sorts of disturbances for the domestic peace. If a man praises the food of the neighbour and finds fault with that of his own wife, that annoys the wife. Quarrels then arise. If the man often has a guest with him, the woman complains that she must always cook and pound fufu for people who do not work for her.



School Boys Cooking and Eating

All sorts of disagreeable characteristics of women are mentioned by men as reasons for the separate eating of man and woman. For example, one says that women cannot eat properly. It is, therefore, unappetizing to eat at table with them. Another man maintains that women do not want to be told how much they eat. They therefore usually reserve fufu in a bigger dish. Elders have expressed themselves about this in the following way: One never knows what thoughts women have in mind; they always lie. For example, if one had slept with one of his close relatives and her husband eats with her from the same dish, that would bring him death.

A young man should not eat with her mother-in-law, either. This is because if their hands touch each other, one of them will fall sick, suffer from convulsion or be affected by leprosy.

B. Housework

Apart from those that have already been mentioned, the housework of a woman consists in cooking, getting bath water ready, caring for the children and spinning, to which in Banyakoe pottery is added. After she has taken care of her domestic duties in the morning, she goes to the husband on the farm. Usually, she takes along his fufu or maize porridge.

A man's domestic duties are of different types. He must sometimes thatch the roof, mend the fence or bring the house into shape. At home he occupies himself mainly with weaving, dyeing, warping of yarn and so forth. Many men are experts in saddlery, sewing sandals, knife sheaths, cartridge bags etc. Others, on the other hand weave baskets and mats.

Children begin to help their parents very early. The boy must catch the sheep and goats in the evening and tie them in the farmstead with ropes.

II. Social Life

The life of a Ho person has an extraordinarily pleasant aspect. This is expressed mainly in greeting, conversation and in public games.

1. Greeting

A person from Ho, like all Ewes, attaches great importance to a friendly greeting. However, he differentiates between natives and strangers, between acquaintances and unknown persons. While the latter is only wished good morning or good day, as he passes by, the greeting of an acquaintance or friend is heartier. However, it takes a lot of time. A person from Ho feels the need to greet his family members and friends daily, if that is in any way possible. After coming back from a long journey, the first stroll takes him to his family members, in order to greet them and hear from them about the news that has taken place in the town and in the family. As he enters the house he is joyfully shouted at: *do eme lo!* or *dzã, dzã, dzã!*, “welcome”. He then sits down, receives some water, and also a calabash of palm wine from the family members. Then begins the actual salutation. The one who has come back asks of the health of people who have remained behind. He asks how father, brother, sisters, friends, and acquaintances as well the chief and lastly the whole population of the village, are doing. On his part, he is also asked in the same exhaustive manner of the people he left behind.

The load of the stranger as well as that of the family member is taken off his head in a kindly manner, as he enters the farmstead. A fresh soothing drink is also brought to him. Then they enquire about his place of origin, his purpose for coming and the aim of his journey.



Negro Women Cooking,
one woman carrying her child at the back – The wooden plate in the foreground is filled with cut up yams

Though living space may be limited, he is readily offered an appropriate night's lodging. It is an honourable thing for the *paterfamilias* to treat his guest in a friendly manner. It is part of the rights of the guest that one gives him a pot, water and firewood to cook his food. Sometimes, cooked food is offered to him by the host. The next day, he gives the host a small present of tobacco, salt and similar things. After that he continues with his journey.

It is a special event, if after a long time, a person from Ho meets a friend he has not seen for a long time. With him, the greeting is particularly warm and thorough.



1

2

3

View into a Farmstead

1. Head of the household (Compare Hairdressing). 2. and 3. Travellers preparing their meal

“Is that your face?” “Are you still alive?” “How are you?” “Where are you coming from?” “Where are you going?” Similar questions are repeated, until finally the actual greeting begins, with both of them enquiring after relatives, friends, and acquaintances.

If a chief's spokesman whom one wants to honour comes, the head of the household above all charges his wife or one of his relatives to bring the guest *watsi*, water mixed with maize flour. The guest drinks it and pours the rest on the ground.⁸⁷ Now, he is greeted in the usual way. He is asked about the purpose of his coming, which he reports on in an elaborate manner. A priest is greeted by pouring water mixed with flour, in which some cowry shells have been placed, in front of his feet and saying: “May your feet be cool!” In other words, may you bring us a good word! From the form that the²⁴² * water mixed with flour poured on the ground takes, the *paterfamilias* reads good or bad omens. It is particularly favourable, if the water runs out in five streams.

A guest who visits the *paterfamilias* on the farm usually gets one or two tubers of yam from him as a sign of his joy regarding the unexpected visit.

⁸⁷ It is a sacrifice for the invisible companions, the dead or the deities.

2. Maintenance of Friendships

Among the people of Ho, great importance is attached to the maintenance of friendship. One can hear in every possible manner the sentence: “We want to enter into friendship!” One entrusts oneself and confides one’s secrets to a friend. But one expects that one guards what has been entrusted. Under no circumstances should a friend inform a second person about what has been passed on to him in secret. If he is asked, the answer he gives is: “I do not know”. If he should reveal the secret, that would be a disgrace for him and his family. One expects from a friend that he speaks up for the friend and also passes on to him the wicked gossip of other people.

It is a sign of good friendship if one tells the other the truth, even if that is unpleasant for him. For example, if anyone wants to sue another person out of anger, it is the duty of the friend to stop him from doing that, in order that he sleeps over the matter. This is because “during the night, the pillow tells a person something”, in other words he thinks about the thing at night. The next morning, many are then grateful that their friends have restrained them from taking a wrong step.

3. Play and Song

When the moon shines in the evenings, a Ho person is fond of playing on the open village road. But the nature of night games is in most cases repugnant. There are only a few games that are such that one can watch them without taking offence. The following belongs to the first class: A number of men and women stand in a straight line opposite each other. The women begin to sing to the men standing opposite them: *asamade bo, ame to vi wogaḍe dza*, meaning: “have you ever heard that father and child have married secretly before?” The answer given in chorus by the men standing opposite is: *asamade bo, bo, yibo*. As they do this, both choirs approach each other. When they meet, one holds the hips of the other. After that, women and men retreat. With this play, the beauty of the individual is all-important. A man who has the ill-luck of not being handsome is left standing. They sing about him: *nyuie, nyuie, mietsa le me; vɔŋe, vɔŋe dze, anɔ anyi kpo*, “We have taken out the beautiful, the beautiful; the bad, the bad remains at its place!” If the person left out gets angry, he is chased out of the play ground amidst insults.

Another game consists of a number of players, who stand in a circle. Each of these players stretches out both hands and places them in the hands of the neighbour on the left and on the right. As that is done, the right hand is placed in such a way that the back of the hand is upwards, while the back of the left hand is downwards. They clasp their hands in one another in this position. While doing that they must ensure that they do not give the hand a wrong posture. There is a lead player whose hand movements must be imitated. At first he shouts: *futsu, futsu bɛ*. Then all other players answer in chorus *bɛ*, as they make the corresponding movements of the hand. The lead player shouts: *kɔkɔli abɛ*. And the choir answers: *abɛ*! With this shout all the participants bring their hands in another direction. What is important is that no wrong movement of the hand should be made. In this way, the game often lasts for hours.

During the evening game, drums with dance and song are rarely missing. The songs of certain drums are often very dirty, and immorality is thus fostered. This is especially true of the drum *Agbanɛ*, also called *Totoeme* and *Agbemle*. It also has the appellation

Kpini. It is reputed to have come from Avatime, from where it spread to the south. Married men do not like this drum for the reason that by this drumming their wives are led into infidelity. For example, one of the songs that is part of it is: *Agbanṅ gado se de be ye srɔṅ manɔ yeve o; amenuvɔṅ le dzidzɔ kpɔm be, ye srɔ manɔ yeve o*, meaning “the drum agbanṅ legislates again. The law calls the woman away from her husband; the bad person is happy because it calls the woman away from home”. A woman sang agbanṅ songs in the presence of her husband in *Akɔviefe*. He prohibited her from doing that. In spite of that she went to the play ground daily and on her return to the house she sang the bad songs. That annoyed the man so much that he went after her one evening and saw her totally drunk in the hut of the drummer. He then stabbed her in the chest out of anger and hanged himself near her.

A class of games that can only be performed during the day and by a small group will now be discussed.

One is *atidada* or our morris game. The game is known from the coast right into the interior and noble as well as ordinary people are fond of it. The Hausa, who come from the interior, are reputed to have a special liking for it, too. In view of the design, the small and the big games are differentiated from each other. The basic forms are the square, which, like our game, is divided lengthwise and crosswise into several fields.

The small game is in the form of a rectangle intersected by a longitudinal line and a transverse line. On the other hand, the form of the big game is identical with the design of the “morris game”. Only children play the small game, and it consists of a player bringing his sticks to each of the three points of intersection of a line. Only adults play the big game. Instead of our differently coloured stones, short sticks are used, that each player fixes in the sand at a sharp angle, so that the end of the stick is pointed towards him. With the small game three sticks are used by each player, with the big game, nine or ten. With *atidada* they never play for money.

Another game called *vedada* or *aqিদada* is played with fruits similar to the chestnut. Within a distance of three to four metres groups of three to four players sit opposite each other. Each of them has pressed a *ve*⁸⁸ into the sand. Now, he puts the index finger of the right hand in the inner part of the thumb of the right hand, holds an *adi* fruit between both fingers and shoots it, well-aimed against the fruit of his competitor that has been pressed into the sand. If he hits several fruits at the same time, the fruits that have been hit together with those that he has thrown accrue to him as winnings. Often, they also entertain themselves with this very innocent game for hours.

A similar game that is related, but is not totally innocent, is always played by putting money at stake. It is termed *vetetre* and consists in smearing the above-named fruit *ve* or *adi* on one side with a sticky mass. The smeared fruits are put on a mat, around which the players sit in a circle. One fruit is now set in motion in a ring, so that as much as possible it touches the fruits that have been lined up by the competitor and pushes it out of the field. Usually 2-5 *hoka* are staked for a game. Children are strictly forbidden from playing the game by their parents because through it they will certainly be set on the road to depravity, becoming thieves and running into debt.

88 Fruit of a liana, similar to chestnuts.

Ađitata

If one wants to play the *ađi* game, one takes forty-eight palm nuts or small stones and makes small holes in the soil. People who play often make the holes in a piece of wood. In all there are twelve holes, with six in each row. The players distribute the stones in the holes in such a way that there are four stones in each hole, six holes for one player and six for the other player.

There are two types of *ađi* game. One is called *wole* and the other the *ameta*.

1. The *wole* game is played as follows: One takes four stones from any chosen hole from his row and puts them in the next four holes, one stone in each of the holes. B. Does the same in his row. After A has put his four stones, one each in a hole, he should not continue to play until B has put his stones one in each hole. In this way, both of them play the game with deliberation. The art is that each player gets as many stones as possible in his row of stones. If a stone or two lie in 1, 2, 3 or more holes of B and A is in a position to put a stone in each of them, he has the right to take all the stones in B's holes, in which he has put one or two stones. However, if B has put in three, so that what A puts in makes them four, A should not take any stones from B. The expression for this is: *edze kɔ dzi*. B must thus ensure that he never has only one or two stones in his holes, but rather always three. The game lasts until there are no more stones in the holes. The player who (at the end of the game) has the most stones has won. If A has ten more stones than B, he has defeated the other player by ten stones. Now, the game begins all over again.

The *wole* game is difficult and that is the reason why only adults play it.

Ađitata

Ne wole ađi ta ge la, wodia nefiku alo kpekui 48, eyome wođea ađito. Ame siwo ta ađi đaa la, đea toawo đe ati me. To 12 wođena đe akasa nu; to 6 nɔa go đeka, eye 6 hã nɔa evelia. Ađitalawo mǎ kpekuawo đe toawo me enene. To 6 enye ame đeka tɔ, eye 6 enye ame evelia tɔ

Ađi ta evee li. Đeka nye wole, nye evelia nye ameta.

1. *Ale wota wolee nye si:*

Wolɔa kpeku eneawo dometɔ đeka, si ame la lɔ, eye wotanɛ va yinɛ. Wodaa kpekuawo đe bubuawo dzi đeka đeka. Ame evelia hã lɔa efe to đeka tana nenema. Ame la mekpɔ mɔ agata kpekuawo ayi dzi ne wonɔ le esi o. Alea wonɔa ewɔmii đe nunya me. Ađanɔ si le emee nye, ame siaa ame nana ađi nadzi đe afe nɛ, eyae nye ađi nasɔ gbɔ le efe to me. Nanye be kpeku đekađeka alo eveve susɔ đe ame đeka fe to ađewo me, eye, nɔvia ta efe ađi wòdze wo dzi la, ekema ekpɔ mɔ alɔ ađi Mawu le nɔvia fe toawo me; gake ne kpekuawo de ene la, mekpɔ mɔ alɔe o, ekema edze kɔ dzi. Alea woanɔ ewɔmii, va se đe esime ađiawo navo le toawo me, ame si fe kpeku sɔ gbɔ wu la, eya fle nɔvia. Nanye kpeku 10 wotsɔ wui la, ekema afle nɔvia kpeku 10. Emegbe wogadea ađi to.

Wole tata sesẽ, eya ta ame tsitsiwo koe tanɛ.



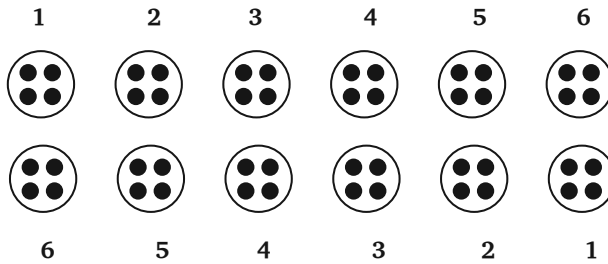
Boys playing
the Vedada game also called *vetetre*

2. The *ameta* game is played as follows: A takes four stones of his choice from his row and puts each of the stones in the next four holes. Together with his own that he has just put in, he takes the four stones already lying in the fourth hole, in which he has put his last stone.

2. *Ke ameta ya bobɔ vie. Ame ɖeka la kpeku ene le to ɖeka si wòlɔ̃ la me hetana. Ne kpekuawo vɔ la, ekema elɔa esi dzi wòda mamlea ɖo la gatana yia edzi, alea ko wòanɔ ewɔmii va se ɖe esime wòadze do, eya nye wòada kpeku la ɖe to gbolo me.*



The Aditata Game

A.**B.**

He now has five stones. However, he must put each one of these in the next five holes. Again, he takes the four stones lying in the fifth hole together with his stone that he has just put into it.

Again, he puts these stones in each of the five holes that follow next. If the last hole is now without stones, meaning it is empty, the competitor could begin with the game and proceeds in the same way as A. If his last stone gets into a hole that has no stone, A could continue to play.

Ame evelia gayia dzi. Ne wole ewɔm alea, eye ame aɖe gakpɔ kpeku ene la, alɔe. Ne efe aɖi mamlea dze nɔvia fe kpeku etɔ dzi la, alɔe (wogblɔna be efii). Alea wonɔa ewɔmii va se ɖe esime aɖi la navɔ le toa me. Wogadea aɖi la to, eye ame si megakpɔ kpeku wòde efe to adeawo nu o la ebu efe towo. Alea woanɔ ewɔmii va se ɖe esime ame ɖeka nabu efe towo keɲ.

Remark on the Ewe text!

The Ewe text is too short and the translation is insufficient for German readers. This is why the German text is more comprehensive

If three stones are in 1, 2, or even 3 holes in A's or B's row or "home", so that when the opponent puts in one, there are four in each, then A should empty these three holes under the rule that they are in his row. However, B should empty them if these holes are in his row. The expression for the emptying is *ɖu*, "eat"

In addition to the "eating", there is *fififi*, "stealing". What this consists of is that if A has three stones in a hole and B puts his last stone onto the three, he should empty this hole. The stones belong to him. In other words, he should not use them to play any further. The game is continued in this way, until all the stones in the holes are collected. The participant who has not got enough stones any more for his six holes loses the hole, for which he has no more stones. For example, if B has only 16 stones at his disposal, he can only fill four holes. Now the two empty holes are at the disposal of A. If he still has 12 stones at his disposal, he can only fill three holes; if eight, two and if four one hole. All the holes that have become empty are now at the disposal of A. If B possesses no more stones, A has won all the holes.

4. Rules Governing Travelling**a. Conversation during a journey**

During a journey, one should only talk to his companions about the village or country to which one intends to travel. For example, if one is moving from Waya to Ho, s/

he should not speak about Waya, but rather about the affairs of Ho on the way. He should only give an answer about a town he has left if he is asked a question about it. However, the answer should not always correspond to the truth. If he speaks about the inhabitants of the town he has left without this cause, one calls him a gossip and slanderer. These rules are based on the very accurate observation that a person has the tendency to criticize all the conditions that depart from the customs and traditions of his native land.

b. Satisfying Occasional Needs

If carriers of loads and hammocks arrive at a maize farm that has mature crops, one of them greets towards the direction of the farm with a loud voice. The reason behind his friendly greeting is that he might have seen a good acquaintance on the farm. If the farmer present gives him an answer, he knows that his request for some maize cobs will be granted. The greeting is as follows: “Farmer-hey! i. e. Hallo, farmer! How are the farmers doing?” From the farthest corner of the farm comes the answer: “They are doing fine.” “How is home?” The answer that comes is: “It is doing fine”. The carriers then say: “We are hungry. Can we buy a few maize cobs?” The answer that comes is: “Yes” or “You could buy some from such and such a person in town”. Since the farmer has understood the meaning behind the greeting, even before the men made their request, he simply does not respond to the greeting if he does not want to give them anything.

The same thing happens if the carriers get to a palm wine tapper’s that is out of the way. A neighbourly-sounding voice calls here, too. “Palm wine owner-hey! How is your home? How are your assistants doing?” If he answers the greeting the request follows immediately. “We are thirsty. Can we buy palm wine?” The palm wine tapper now appears with one of his assistants, greets in the friendliest way and enquires once again about the wish of the men. At this point he advances all sorts of excuses such as: “I have at the moment no reserved palm wine”, “All the palm wine has already been ordered by the chief yesterday. Together with the elders of the town he wants to drive away ill-luck, *busu*”, and so forth and so on. However, the resistance is broken through a friendlier request and soon they have a big calabash with foaming palm wine in front of them, that they empty with obvious enjoyment and lively conversation. After that they continue on their way.

4. Main Section: Nursing and Treatment of Accident Victims

I. Nursing

1. Care for the Normal Sick

Any arrangements that make life pleasant and comfortable can hardly be spoken of in the household of the heathen from Ho, even where the European civilization has made its appearance. Where missing culture and foolish treatment harmoniously shake hands, what an observer observes is the lack of any outward comfort particularly on the sick bed. Usually, the sick person lies on a mat or some mats on flat ground. The head

rests on a head rest made with a piece of cloth rolled up or on a head stool or else on an object that has somehow been raised. From time to time the sick person is brought into a sitting position, in order that he can have some relief. One of his relatives sits behind him, so that he can lay on his lap or his breast. In terms of food the sick person at the beginning gets the food that healthy persons eat, namely fufu or maize porridge with spinach and similar dishes. As the sickness gets worse, he gets some thin sour-tasting maize pap that has been sweetened with honey. Drugs are always brought to him by his relatives, neighbours and friends. Each person considers it the duty of a true brother and friend to find herbs, a root or the bark of a tree, whose extract must be taken by the sick person. Sometimes different mixtures of herbs are boiled together and given to the sick person to drink. During the treatment of a sick person, washing and bathing play a big role. Different herbs are likewise boiled in bathing water. The drawing of blood through bleeding has special meaning during the treatment of the sick. The same method is used in the face of almost all localized pains such as headache, pains in the loins, etc. The simplest method involves scratching the skin up to about the size of a mark piece with a sharp knife. A goat's horn, whose upper end has been cut, is placed at the spot that has been scratched. The person concerned puts the leaf of an oil producing plant around this opening, that juts out about a centimetre above the opening. Now he draws the air out of the horn with his mouth and puts the leaf over the opening. The horn remains for about 15-20 minutes on the affected part of the body and then is taken off. It is sometimes almost totally filled with blood. As long as the treatment of the sick is restricted to the boiling of herbs for internal and external use and to such drawing of blood, there is not much objection to that. The unreasonable thing about it is the continuous change of the medicines to be used. Everyone who is well-disposed towards the sick person, believes that he must bring him some herbs, through whose use he promises him a perfect healing.

This medical treatment is associated with magic, which tends to involve the craziest procedures during the treatment of patients.

A whole range of the most diverse rules regarding behaviour are always attached to the use of herbs. One drug forbids the use of palm wine; another one forbids the use of a certain type of fish. With the use of a third one, one should not eat bush meat and with a fourth one should not eat chicken.

2. Care of Smallpox Patients

Smallpox epidemics have already repeatedly caused great havoc in Ho and its surroundings. In 1883 the old king, Kofi, recounted that he had seen the smallpox spirit as a terrible figure on the crossroads. Because of its devastating effects the smallpox, *dɔvɔɲe*, is called the “wicked sickness” and the period of its duration is described as “war time”. In order to engage and drive away the smallpox outbreak, the chiefs of Ho take two different steps. The first, which is of religious nature, maintains that fufu should not be pounded as soon as night has set in. The reason behind this step is that through the pounding that can be heard, the abode of human beings is revealed to the smallpox spirit. The same thing happens when cocks crow. Such cocks must be slaughtered. Lastly, because goats that have black and white colourful spots remind one of how smallpox patients look, they must be gotten rid of as soon as possible. The other

step consists of keeping smallpox patients at a distance away from the village. They set up a hut made of palm branches for them in the bush and make available for them a caregiver, who himself had already been a smallpox patient. During the period of the sickness the patient should not come to the town. In fact, where possible, he should avoid any contact with other people. Food is brought to the sick in the bush everyday and placed near the hut. The caretaker of the sick then collects it from there.

The German government has the undisputed credit for carrying out an immediate inoculation of the population against smallpox epidemics with good success. Wherever smallpox had broken out, messengers with fresh vaccine were sent and they inoculated the people free of charge. Even though the first attempts were in sharp contrast to the views of the natives regarding the nature of smallpox, they, however, soon came in their numbers, in order to have themselves protected against the feared smallpox spirit.

3. Treatment of Persons Affected by Leprosy

Leprosy is also another disease much feared by the people of Ho. Persons affected by leprosy are, however, not separated from their relatives, in spite of the fact that it is known that coming in touch with them has the most fatal consequences. There are families, of which one says that leprosy is in their blood. Their members, therefore, have trouble marrying.

4. Treatment of the Mentally Sick

With regard to mental disorder, a distinction is made between a temporary and a lasting one. The first, *aḍava*, is mostly seen as punishment for any kind of trespassing against religious guidelines. The other one, *tsukuku*, is an incurable disease. The first type is sometimes treated by spiritualists and traditional priests successfully. On the other hand one leaves the incurable mad persons to their fate, as long as they do not pose a danger to the public. They live with their relatives and still go to the farm with them. If they begin to become unpleasant for their neighbourhood, one puts them in chains. In former times, it was not rare that mentally disturbed persons either followed women and children to the water place with a sharp knife in the hand or threw fire onto the roofs of their neighbours. Such persons often disappeared suddenly, either when they were put in chains or when someone gave them a poison, from whose effects they never woke up.⁸⁹

On 4th September 1892 a ten day old child whose mother was mentally disturbed was brought to us. The woman's husband had been a blacksmith and had as such bequeathed to her his anvil, hammer and blacksmith's pliers. A man from Ziavi was called for the treatment of the woman. To him, the cause of the disease lay in the anger of the anvil against the woman. This woman had made herself somehow guilty and had, therefore, been punished by it with madness, *aḍava*. She now had to atone with

⁸⁹ The very bitter bark of the *atsa* tree is used as poison for mice and mad people. One pours the extract of the bark into palm wine for the mad person. First of all, this stupefies him, then he feels terribly hot and has a raging thirst. He is denied the water she/he asks for because this would neutralize the effect of the poison. Soon after that he falls asleep, never to awake again.

24 fowls, one *hotu*, 10 *hoka* and two big calabashes of palm wine. Apart from that the woman must swear an oath that she would serve the blacksmith's hammer, after her convalescence. After the woman had given the atonement fee, the elders came together and ate the chicken, drank the palm wine and shared the cowries. After that they put different plants in a wooden dish, poured water into it and put the anvil, the smith's hammer and the pliers into it, prayed over it and gave the water to the woman to drink and bathe. The blacksmith's tools were given the credit for the convalescence of the woman that followed soon after.

II. Treatment of Accident Victims

The treatment of accident victims is left exclusively to the spiritualists. Their way of treatment may be revealed through the following story that I experienced. During the summer of the year 1880 a man had the misfortune of shooting his brother during hunting. The bullet penetrated his thigh and shattered his bone. One day, when I had come to the sick person, I saw a spiritualist kneeling before him and driving a piece of wood right into the wound. The end of the wood had some fibres that looked like a brush. When I asked him what he had planned to do with the wounded person, he answered that he wanted to clear the way for the bullet that was stuck in his bone to come out. The man died later in the most excruciating pain.

1. Distress Signal

The total treatment of a man who has had an accident while hunting is undertaken as follows: If somebody has the misfortune to shoot a fellow human being in the bush, the culprit himself gives a distress signal, so that other people who are around in the bush hear it immediately. The shouting of *dzalele!* in a very long and high tone announces to everybody that a misfortune must have occurred. The culprit immediately takes the gun from the wounded person and takes it along with his own to the house. On the way home, he continues to shout *dzalele*. If he meets someone on the way, this person hurries to the accident spot, while he himself goes to town and informs his relatives about what has happened. He could also meet somebody on the way, who takes the gun from him, in order to make the announcement in town. As soon as the misfortune has been made known there, the paternal brothers as well as the peers of the accident victim hurry to the bush with a hurriedly made hammock.

2. First Aid

The first measures that one undertakes there and then consist of invoking the spirits of people, who have earlier on died from blows and gun shot wounds. A spiritualist invokes the name of spirits, squeezes an herb and presses its juice into the eyes and wound of the man who had been shot, all the while praying. Through that the wicked gods and wicked spiritualists are prevented from putting their hands on the wound.

It is now that the sick person is carried home. However, out of fear of the evil eye he should not be brought to town. A mat is woven with fresh palm leaves for him at the outskirts of the town because an ordinary mat would worsen his wound. In the meantime, the chiefs gather at the request of the culprit, in order to be told about the

incident. First of all, the chiefs are careful and, therefore, go to the wounded person, in order that he himself informs them about the incident. This is because they do not want to depend only on the narration of the culprit, just in case the wounded person dies. They ask him if both of them left home together, which rendezvous they had visited, where they had met again, whether the hunter had shot while standing or while in half-kneeling position and similar things. From that narrative it is determined whether or not the shot was made with a wicked intention. After that the chiefs withdraw for consultation and hand over the wounded person to the culprit for him to care of. As a sign for his gratitude, he must give them and the men who carried the wounded person home two bottles of spirits each.

3. Care-takers of the sick

We are here concerned about the caregivers. All family members of the wounded person are in the first place excluded from nursing him. They should neither care for nor visit him because usually what only matters to them is that he dies. His death earns them more profit than his life. They, therefore, pour poison into his wounds. All women within the age of menstruation are excluded, too. The main reason lies in the fact that men and women are bad. A woman with whom the wounded person had had a forbidden relationship should not see the wound. It would also be pernicious if another man with whom this woman had had the same kind of relationship saw his wound. However, old women and young girls are allowed. A man and an old woman from the family of the culprit are destined to be caregivers. This care-giving consists in satisfying the needs of the sick person day and night. The caregiver cleans his wound, boils the medicine for him and holds him in the night, if he cannot sleep because of pains. In addition to that he strictly sees to it that no medicine is brought to the sick person by a second or third person.

4. The Sick Room

The sick room is a very low hut built with palm branches at the borders of the town. The sojourn of the wounded person within the town would be fatal for the whole population; it is only through the sacrifice of a goat that it could be cleansed.

5. The Spiritualist

Another duty of the caregiver consists in finding a famous spiritualist. If one has agreed on a particular man through common family consultation, two family members of the culprit look for him and bring him two bottles of spirits as a gift. After greetings have been exchanged with one another, one of the messengers says: "My father greets you. There is no evil thing. Yesterday one of my sons went into the bush and shot a human being. This is the reason why my father, who has looked everywhere around for somebody, but did not find anyone like you, sends me. Accept this bottle of spirit from us, in order that you can offer a sacrifice to your magical devices and come to us". After that the spiritualist hurries to his magical objects, pulls them out of the sack and lays them before himself. He tells them that he has been called. He addresses them by their

names and pours some spirit on them. He then puts them on a fleece, kneels before them and prays: “I have been called by Kofi, whom a bullet has hit in A. Personally, I do not possess any powers; you are my power. Therefore, accompany me, and when I use an herb, let the wounded person recover. If he becomes healthy again, you will get a sheep from me”.

After the prayer he puts the powerful magical objects in his magic bag and accompanied by those who have been sent, he sets out with the magic bag in his hand. On arrival at the accident victim’s house, he lets the father of the wounded person tell him what happened. After he has got a bottle of spirit once again, he pulls his magical devices out of the gray bag, kneels down before them, then sprays them with some spirit that he has in his mouth, and then prays: “Now, we have arrived. Therefore, be powerful and help, so that there is success!” After the prayer, he takes some sticks, whose ends he has carefully trimmed and covered with fresh palm nuts. With these sticks and some magic devices in the hand, he goes to the wounded person. He prays there again and says: “You, wicked gods, you, wicked spirits and all of you, who have an evil eye, leave this place now!” After they have been driven away, he fixes two posts each at the entrance and end of the sick room. After that the wounded person and his caregivers must wash themselves with extract from leaves that have been consecrated. Now no malediction and calamity can haunt them anymore. This is necessary because many people curse them and wish that the wounded person dies. Through the bath the malediction is made ineffective.

The medical treatment follows these precautionary measures. The spiritualist puts some spirit in his mouth and sucks the wound for a long time, in order to pull out the stone in this way. Pretty often the wound has long since begun to suppurate. The onlookers are surprised that he is able to do that. However, he maintains that his magic devices give him the power to do that. Through that the reputation of his magic devices grows in their eyes. A further means consists in striking the spot on the wounded organ where he thinks the bullet is with a feather of the *kan̄ga*, vulture. Then he passes the feather over the spot and shouts: “Come out!” After he has continued with this procedure for three days, he spits out a stone from the mouth, after he has sucked the wound. He shows it to the delighted caregivers as the stone that was sucked from the wound. Out of joy over that the people give him a bottle of spirit again.

If the spiritualist notices after the elapse of some time that the man will die from the wound, he informs the culprit⁹⁰ about it and comforts him by saying that God has destined that for him. The culprit then drinks together with the spiritualist. After that the spiritualist puts his magic bag on his back and goes home. Before that he receives a white cock as a present.

With a favourable outcome of the treatment, it is usual that the bullet in the wounded organ is swept outward through the suppuration, so that its position is determined and it can be cut out. If the spiritualist notices that the wounded person would live, he does not leave him anymore. He gets a good meal, plenty of palm wine and spirit everyday, and moreover does no work.

90 The culprit needs some consolation because after the death of the wounded person a heavy punishment awaits him. In former times the culprit was sold.

6. Convalescence

After the wound has healed, he informs the culprit that he would cut the hair of the recovered person the next day. The culprit is filled with joy and buys two bottles of spirits, which are drunk with friends after the cutting of the hair. Before the shaving of the head, he prays to all the gods of his native land and thanks them for their help. After that he accompanies the recovered person to the town and hands him over to the father of the culprit. On the evening of that day a carousal is held amidst joy over the rescue and the recovery of the victim from destruction. The spiritualist knows all too well about the praise that he reaps on that evening, and therefore says: “I am not the one; if my magic devices had not been with me, the man must have died. Now, you see that one should not doubt magic because it is powerful”.

On the next day the family elders, who have assembled, are informed that the man is now healthy and that the spiritualist wants his remuneration. The father of the culprit asks how much he wants. He answers: “Have I not already told you? Or have you perhaps forgotten?” Hereupon the old man answers: “But one does not skin the animal at the place where one has shot it but rather carries it home for that. You have saved us from a difficult situation; you will certainly not shove us into a quagmire.” The spiritualist notices the innuendo and lets them pay 12 *hotu*. On the next morning, he then goes home with two bottles of spirits, a sheep and 12 *hotu* cowry shells.

The cutting of the hair is also connected with peculiar customs that should be reported here. The actual cleansing of the person healed consists in the brother of the culprit giving him a cloth for six marks, a white headband for 1 mark, a waist tie for 1 mark, a cloth made with European material for 6 marks, a sheep worth 7-8 marks, two big calabashes of palm wine, two bottles of spirits, sixteen pieces of yam tubers and 12 *hotu* cowry shells. After that follows the bill for the expenses of his relatives. Each stranger who enquired about the accident victim obtains from them some spirits which the culprit must of course pay for. Now, one of the three days: Sunday, Tuesday or Friday will be determined by them as the day on which they invite all their relatives and friends in the neighbourhood. Each of them brings 2, 6 and even 25 *hoka* cowry shells along. Seven to eight large gourds full of palm wine wait for them, and each person who presents the recovered person with cowry shells gets a calabash full of palm wine to drink. With regard to the two pots that still remain he calls the village chiefs, who see to it that nothing is left over. The recovered person has his own spokesperson for the carousing. Through him he thanks the invitees in the following words. “Here is the palm wine. Accept it. I thank your gods. *Atando* has blessed me, *Kpaya* has blessed me and *Zodzi* has helped me, so that nothing has befallen me.”⁹¹ This is the reason why I also thank your titular gods”. The chiefs answer: “You do not argue with whoever presents you a gift before the presentation is done”. About five men are appointed as cupbearers. They give the father of the recovered person the first calabash. He prays over it and pours some on the ground and says: *Wò míá tamea, va xò aha no, míá nò Zodzi, va xò aha no. Atando, va xò aha no. Amesí xò abi, woawo nye amesi kpe ò ɲu, eye meku o. Eyata me woava xò aha ano, ne woabu ɲuti, ne wòano agbe ò, that is “You, who are above us,”*⁹² come and drink palm wine; our mother *Zodzi*, come and drink palm

91 This means that I have not died.

92 The heavens.

wine! Atando, come and drink palm wine! You have helped the one who was wounded, so that he did not die. Because of this come and drink palm wine. Watch over him, so that he lives long”. Finally, the dregs are poured into a calabash and again the subject is talked about: “Greetings to you, greetings to you and greetings to you!” The greeting three times means “life”. After that the chiefs explain that they have driven away the evil spirit today. Then they pour the palm wine dregs on the ground and go home.

5. Main Section: Death and Burial

I. Introductory Description

1. The Dying

When someone is sick, his relatives go to the *Trɔŋ* priests to ask them about the cause of the sickness. The priests answer that the sickness comes from a *gbetsi* or from the spirit of a person, who had died long ago or from a god (*trɔŋ*) that is troubling him. As soon as they know, they try to drive away the evil influence of the being through all sorts of ceremonies, until such time that the sick person either recovers or dies. When a sick person is breathing his last breath, his wishes are granted. Whether he wishes palm wine or spirits or anything else, he gets it. Many people do not want to be with a dying person at all. They quickly leave the place and go outside because they are filled with pity. If a dying person is still talking a lot, one puts a piece of cloth into his mouth.

This is because if he utters the name of a person who had died earlier on, all those standing around believe that he has killed the dead person. What results from that is that there are all sorts of troubles for his children.

2. Preparations towards Burial

If the sick person dies, his relatives go to the farm, where they fetch a lot of foodstuffs. In the evening two gun shots

Akpa ga etõlia: Ku kple dīdī.

I. Nufɔfo le eɲu hatɔe

1. Kudɔfofo

Ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém la, woyina ɖabia nu le trɔ̃siwo gbɔ. Trɔ̃siswo gblɔna be: Dɔléle la tso gbetsi alo ɲɔli xoxo aɖe gbɔ, alo trɔ̃a na ɖee le fu ɖem nɛ. Ne wosee aka la, wonɔa busu yim va se ɖe esime ame la fe lāme sēna alo wòkuna. Nu sia nu, si ke ame aɖe bia le efe kudɔfofo me la, wonanɛ, eɖanye aha alo nu bubu aɖe o. Ame geɖewo melɔ̃na be, woanɔ kudɔfofe o, elabena enye nublani tefe, eya ta ne eɖo tefe la, wodzona yia xexe. Ame si le kudɔ fom le nya geɖe gblɔm la, wotea avɔ ɖe nu me nɛ. Elabena ne eyɔ ame aɖe, si ku, ɲkɔ la, ekema wosusuna be, eyae wui. Eye wodea fu geɖe na viawo ɲutɔ.

2. Ame kuku dzadzraɖo

Ne ame aɖe ku la, ekema nɔviawo yia bofo ɖadia nuɖuɖu fuu va dana dī. Le fiẽ la, woda

are fired. Through that the demise of such and such a person is announced to the people. Now all the people come together, remain with the dead and mourn him till midnight and then go back home. However, the family members stay with the dead till morning. They bathe and adorn him, wrap him in clothes and mats and put him on a bier. On the next morning his brothers invite the chiefs onto the village road and inform them about the death of their brother. The chiefs express their sympathies to the relatives. Then they ask the family members whether they have gun powder. They answer the question in the affirmative and hand over the gun powder to the chiefs, who then distribute it among the young people and order them to shoot it. Before the shooting they like to drink palm wine. While they are shooting, the relatives of the dead person bring along clothes, that one puts into his grave.

3. Parting from the Deceased

The chiefs send some men with the task to dig the grave. If the dead person is a man, the grave is made in his house. However, if it is a woman, they make the grave in the bush. The grave diggers get a meal, palm wine and cowry shells. All the people who come for the burial present cowry shells as gifts to the family members, to lessen the burial costs. When the time at which the dead person should be buried arrives, they come with a gun and some palm wine to the body, in order to swear to him. The one among them, who swears the oath, says: "When you were still alive, both of us were drawn together into war as men. Now, if anybody had killed you, I would bring the perpetrator to book". Then he draws some palm wine, drinks some and says: "Formerly, we liked to drink palm wine with one another. I am, therefore, giving you your last palm wine".

4. Burial

If the dead person is a man, he is buried in his own house. However, if it is a woman or a child, they are buried in the bush. If they are buried in the house, one believes that their spirits would come to a relative. Everybody can help with the digging of a grave. Whoever has helped with that, must only observe the customs; s/he must bathe outside the town, before s/he goes home. The grave is made deep, wherever the ground is soft. The corpse is laid into the grave with many clothes. Otherwise he is given nothing to go with into the grave or nothing is put on the grave. Formerly, one broke pots with oil on the grave. However, that does not happen anymore. As long as the dead person has not been buried yet, one weeps, sings songs and plays drums. There are no special songs, but rather each person composes verses and sings. They do that, in order to comfort themselves.

5. Questioning the Dead and the Mourning Period

Four or five days after the burial of the dead person, his relatives go to a priest with some fufu in hand, to ask him to call up the spirit of the deceased for them. The priest goes into a room with the fufu and locks himself in the room. There, he speaks through the nose and says: "The *gbetsi* has killed me; the spirit of a deceased person has killed me". He then eats the fufu in place of the spirit of the deceased.

tuti eve, si fia bena, wodo xɔ ame kuku la. Amewo vana, eye wonɔa egbo nɔa avi fum ne va se de esime zā tsina, eye wodzona. Ke ame kuku la nɔviwo nɔa egbo va sena de esime ɲu kena. Wolea tsi na ame kuku la, eye wowɔa leke ne, eye wohiane de agba ɲu. Ne ɲu ke la, ekema nɔviawo yɔa ame tsitsiwo va foa fu de ablɔ me, eye wogblɔa wo nɔvi fe ku la na wo. Ame tsitsiawo doa baba na wo. Emegbe wobla ame kuku la nɔviwo bena, ɖu le wo si mahā? Woɖoa ɲu be: *. Ame tsitsiawo xɔa ɖu la, eye wodea se na ɖekakpuiwo bena, woatsɔ wofe tuwo, ne woama ɖu na wo ne woada. Wonɔa aha nom hafi nɔa tu la dam. Ne wole tua dam la, ame kuku la nɔviwo va na avɔ, bena woatsɔ aɖi.

3. Adetsitsi na ame kuku

Azɔ ame tsitsiawo dɔa amewo ɖa, bena woɖaɖe yɔ. Nenye ɲutsue la, woɖea yɔ la de afe me, ke nenye nyɔnue la, woɖea yɔ la de gbe me. Woɖa nu na yɔɖelawo, eye wona aha kple hotsui hā wo. Ame siwo katā va amedife la, wotsɔa hotsui va nɔa kɔkɔm de anyi na ame kuku la nɔviwo be, yewole ame ɖim na wo. Ne amedifi le ɖoɖom la, wotsɔa aha kple tu vaa ame kuku la gbɔ, eye wokaa atam ne. Ame si le atam la kam la gblɔna be, ye hā ɲutsu yenye, esi wòle agbe la, ye kpakpli koe dea ava, eya ta de wònye ame aɖe wui la, ne yeakpɔ ame le fe ɲkume. Emegbe ekua aha la de nona, eye wògblɔna be tsā la ye kpakpli noa aha, eya ta efe aha mamlee nye si loo.

4. Amedifewo

Woɖia ɲutsuwo de wo ɲuto fe xɔme, ke woɖia nyɔnuwo kple ɖeviwo de gbe me, elabena wosusu be, me woɖi wo de afe me la, wofe ɲoliwo ava wu ame. Ame siaa ame ɖea yɔdo faa; ke kɔnuwɔwɔ si ko le ɲue nye be eɖelawo lea tsi le gbɔ to hafi va afe me. Ne anyigba nyo la woɖea yɔdo wogoglona. Woɖia ame kple avɔ gedɛ, ke womegadea naneke yɔdo la me o, eye womegadoa naneke hā yɔdo la dzi o. Tsā la, wotsɔa aminu gbāna de dzi, ke fifi la womegawɔne o. Ne womedɔ ame haɖe o la, ekema wonɔa vu hā fom. Ha, siwo wodzina la, menye ha tɔxe aɖeke o, ke boɲ ame ɲuto koe kpane dzina. Wowɔa nu siawo, bena woatsɔ afa akɔ na wo ɖokui.

5. ɲɔliyɔyɔ kple Xɔmenɔnɔ

Le ame la fe kuku ɲeke ene alo atɔ megbe la, woɖa fufu yia vɔnusi gbɔ be, wòayɔ ɲoli na wo. Vɔnusi la tsɔa fufu la yia xɔ me, eye wòtua vɔ de eɖokui nu. Eye wònɔa ɲotimegbee dom bena: Gbetsie va wum, ɲoli va wum. Esia megbe la, etsɔa fufu la heɖuna de ɲoli la tefe.

The bereaved family must sleep in the dead person's room for eight months after the death of their relative. As soon as this period is over, they leave the room, adorn themselves and fix a meal. From now on, they can move freely among the people. They throw the leftover of their food outside and say that today they have sent the dead person to his brothers who died earlier.

After the funeral celebration, the (movable) property of the deceased is distributed. Everything that is bad is carried outside the village and thrown by the way side, in order that the dead person himself can make use of it.

6. The Journey of the Deceased into the Underworld

We believe that when the deceased sets off on his way into the underworld, he comes to a woman who has a big wound. This woman stands at the entrance of the town and asks the dead person, where he is going. The newcomer answers that he would like to go to the realm of the dead. Now, the woman lets him lick her wound, before he could continue with the journey. The woman's name is *Liagbe*. The woman asks him what he had done in the world. After he has narrated everything to her, he licks the wound and then goes into the town. Some people also say that one must go through a river, before one comes into the underworld. One says that whoever has gone into the underworld does the same work that he has done in this world. There is no reincarnation. That is the reason why many people say that if there were reincarnation people would never be human beings here anymore. However, many people believe in reincarnation and that a person will be born once again.

II. Good Types of Death

1. Death and Burial of the Rich

a. Expressing Sympathy

If a rich person among us dies, everybody goes there with palm wine to express his sympathy. One goes to the place with a big gourd full of palm wine, in order to visit his brothers. Some people take along tobacco too for the same persons. Many people gather there. The paternal brothers of the deceased and many other people buy gun powder. The next morning the gun powder is distributed among all the (male) inhabitants of the town. After that, they call the men who play the big drums as well as those who play the female drums. First of all, each of these people gets 5 *hoka*. Until that time the dead person is still lying on his mat, and nobody can go to him, if he does not get permission from his paternal brothers.

b. Preparations for Burial

After making all these preparations, the dead person is bathed with hot water and soap. At the bathing place one should not mention anybody's name, because it is believed that the dead person would hear it and kill the person concerned. If the deceased is a woman, she is embalmed with spices. On the other hand, if it is a man, he is embalmed with the usual oil. After the bath, one lays out the corpse, puts a hat on its head,

Ne ame aḍe fe ame ku la, ekema nɔviawo nɔa xɔme dɔm nɛ abe yleti enyi ene, neyleti la de la, ekema wodoa go, eye wowɔa leke heḍa nu ɖuna. Tso gbe ma gbe dzi la, wodoa go le xɔ me. Nu si woḍu la, wotsɔa mamlea fua gbe hegbɔna bena, yewoḍo ame kuku la ɖe nɔviawo gbɔ egbe.

Le kunuawɔ meḡbe la, woma ame kuku la fe nuwo, eye nu siwo ke menyo o la, wolɔa wo va kɔna ɖe nɔ to, bena ame kuku la ɣutɔ natsɔ awɔ ɛɲu dɔ.

6. Mɔzɔzɔ yi tsiẽfe

Miesusuna bena ne ame kuku dze mɔ yina tsiẽfe la, eva ɖoa nyɔnu aḍe, si abi gã aḍe le ɛɲu la gbɔ. Nyɔnu sia le du la to, eye wòbia ame kuku la be, afi ka wòyina mahã? Ame la ɖoa ɲu bena yeyina tsiẽfe. Nyɔnu la nana wòḍuḍɔ abi la me nɛ hafi dzea mɔ alo yia efe mɔzɔzɔ dzi. Nyɔnu la ɲkɔe nye Liagbe. Abia ame la bena nu kawo wòva wɔ le xexeame mahã? Ne exlẽ nuawo vɔ la, ekema aḍuḍɔ abi la me hafi ayi du la me. Amea aḍewo be, wotsɔa tsɔsi hafi yia tsiẽfe la. Wogblɔ be ame siwo yi tsiẽfe la, woganɔa dɔ siwo wowo le xexe sia me la wɔm le afi ma. Dzɔgadɔ meli o, eya ta ame aḍewo nɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Ɖe wònye dzɔgadɔe li la, ne yemagadɔ ɖe afi sia akpɔ o. Ke ame aḍewo susuna bena, amewo gatrɔna dzɔa ame.

II Ku nyuie Fomeviwo

1. Kesinɔto fe ku kple ɖiɖi

a. Afanyanya nɛ

Ne kesinɔto aḍe ku le mía dome la, ame siaa ame fomevi nya afa nɛ kpakple aha. Wotsɔa ahadzafi ɖeka alo ahago ɖeka va kpɔa nɔviawo ɖa, ame aḍewo tsɔa atama vane. Amewo va foa fu fuu, eye tɔviawo flea ɖu, eye nɔvia bubuwo hã flea ɖu ve. Ne ɲu ke la, womaa ɖu la na ame siwo katã le du la me la ɖekaɖeka, eye woyina ɖayɔ Uugafolawo ve kple hotsui hoka etɔ, nenemake wogatsɔa hoka atɔ yi ɖatsɔa gbolowɔlawo hã. Ekema me la, ame kuku la le aba dzi, ame bubu aḍeke mekpɔ mɔ ayi egbɔ, ne tɔviawo meḍe mɔ o.

b. Edzadzraḍo

Ne wowu nu siawo nu vɔ la, wolea tsi na ame kuku la. Woḍoa tsi dzodzoe, eye wolena nɛ kple adzalẽ. Ne wole tsi la lefe la, womeyɔa ame ɲkɔ o, elabena wosusu be ame kuku la ava se ame la ɲkɔ, eye wòawui. Nenye nyɔnue wònye la, wosia amake nɛ, ke nenye ɲutsue la, ami ɖeḍe ko wosina nɛ. Esia meḡbe wotsyɔa avɔ nɛ fuu, eye woatsɔe amlɔ anyi atɔo efe kuku

ties valuable beads around the arms and covers him with many cloths. After that has happened, one then says that everything is now ready. Now, the dead is laid on a bedstead under the eaves of his house. The people then gather around him, weep, fire musketry and sing. The big drums, *zagada*, that are only played for such a deceased who (in his lifetime) has bought slaves, sound loud near him. All his relatives throw cowry shells on the ground in front of the big drums and dance to the rhythms. During the dancing, they recount the achievements of the dead person, for example, that he has bought slaves and has given birth to twins. In the course of the afternoon the relatives give pieces of cloth and cowry shells for burial. They tear the cloths and throw the pieces on the dead person. Then he is laid in the grave. Dishes, pots, ladles and calabashes are put into his grave. The grave is then covered with soil. After the burial, the thanksgiving ceremony takes place and the people disperse and go home.

c. Customary Rites that follow the Burial

Five days after his burial, they go to the *Trɔŋ shrine*, in order to call him up. He (deceased) comes and talks (there). He says whether or not he died quietly (without any external cause) or someone has killed him. After that they wait for five or six months and then buy palm wine and meat, in order “to roll the mat of the deceased”. After that has happened, then it means everything (the customs) has ended.

D.K. reports the burial of a rich person as follows: If a rich person among us dies, all his brothers come together to discuss with one another and then say: “Get out the gun powder that he has stored, so that we see it”. If they see that six barrels are available, they buy two or four (barrels) in addition to the deceased’s gun powder. After that has happened, they invite the chiefs into the street to inform them and discuss with them issues concerning the burial. They divide the barrels of gun powder into two parts. One part is fired at home and the other part at the tomb. Anybody who can shoot gets some of the gun powder. But those who participate in the firing of musketry buy some gun powder themselves in addition to that, they have enough and one can hear their firing from afar.

The drummers of the big drum are hired, and if the deceased has given birth to twins or if he has bought slaves, the big drum, *zagada*, is played for him. *Zagada* drummers are hired with 1 *hotu* cowry shells, two fowls and two bottles of schnapps.

On that morning, the dead person is bathed by his paternal brothers, then the corpse is beautifully adorned and laid in state. When this has happened, they fire musketry for him, sing dirges as they mourn him (amid deafening noise). This continues till mid-day and then all the people go home. At mid-day the chiefs assemble on the street and demand a sheep from the relatives of the deceased. The sheep is slaughtered on the road. They share its flesh among themselves, but they put the fat of the sheep on the forehead of the dead person. During this time the young people arm themselves. They wear native clothes or nice European clothes and come onto the street to fire musketry. After that, an elder goes and stands at their head and goes with the whole file to the dead person, while singing *asafo*⁹³ songs. He swears to the dead person and says that if he had died any other death, he could have helped him.⁹⁴ In the course of the afternoon

93 Asafo is a drum.

94 He would have avenged his life.

adɔ nɛ, eye wotɔa dzonu veviewo dea abɔnu nɛ. Ne wowɔ esia vɔ la, wogblɔna be, wozie vɔ alo wodzrae ɔo vɔ. Emegbe la wotsɔnɛ mlɔa abati dzi le beɔome. Eye amewo va foa fu ɔe eɲuti, avi, tudada, hadzidzi, vugā, zagada (elabe efle ame kpɔ) wole ɔiɔim hoo le egbo. Ame siwo katā nye efe kɔmetɔwo la, wotsɔa hotsui kɔna ɔe zagada kɔme hafi nɔa eɔum. Ne wole ye la ɔum la, ekema wonɔa nu si ame la wɔ kpɔ la gblɔm le to la me, ne efle ame kpɔ alo edzi venɔvi kpɔ. Le yetɔ me la, nɔviawo naa avɔ kple hotsui, bena woadɔi. Wodzea avɔwo kɔna ɔe ame kuku la dzi fuu, esia megbe la, wotsɔnɛ dea yɔ me. Wotsɔa agba, ze, tsi kple tre dana ɔe egbo le do la me, eye woxea ke ɔe dzi. Le ame la ɔiɔi vɔ megbe la, woda akpe na ameawo, eye woyia afe.

c. Nuwɔwɔ le amedɔiɔi megbe

Le ɲekeke atɔ megbe la, woyina ɔayɔnɛ le trɔɔ me, evana, eye wɔfoa nu. Nenyɛ eya ɲutɔ ku kpoo alo amee wui hā egblɔnɛ. Esia megbe wolalana abe yleti atɔ alo ade ene, eye wodzea aha, flea lāwo, eye wonɔla efe tsitse. Ne wowɔ eya ko la, ekema evɔ keɲkeɲ.

D.K.: Ne kesinɔtɔ ku le mɔa dome la, ame siwo katā nye nɔviawo la, wofoa wo ɔokui nu fu gbā, eye wofoa nu le wo nɔewo dome bena: Miyi ne miatɔ ɔe agbadziɔwo vɛ ne mɔakpɔ. Ne wokpɔ bena, ede titrim ade la, ekema woawo flea eve alo ene kpea ame kuku la ɲutɔ tɔ. Esia megbe la, woyɔa ame tsitsiwo va ablɔ me, eye wogblɔa nya la na wo, eye woɔɔa aɔaɲu le efe ɔiɔi ɲuti. Woma titrinuawo ɔe akpa eve me: akpa ɔekae nye eɔiɔi tɔ. Woma ɔu la na ame siaa ame si ate ɲu ada tu ko. Eyome tudalawo ɲutɔ gaflea ɔu na wo ɔokui, bena woasɔ gbɔ ne wole tua dam la, ne woadi le didife.

Woyina ɔatsɔa vugāfolawo eye ne ame la dzi eve alo fle ame kpɔ la, ekema wofoa zagada nɛ; wotsɔa hotu, koklo eve kple dzin atukpa eve yina ɔatsɔa zagada folawoe.

Le ɲdi ma me la, tɔviawo lea tsi nɛ, eye wotsɔnɛ mlɔa anyi heɔɔa atɔyɔ nɛ keɲ. Eyome la wonɔa avi fam henɔa ha dzim hoo, ale be, nusese nyea ɔɔ. Wowɔa esia va se ɔe ɲɔ me, eye wo hatā woyia afe me. Le ɲɔ sia me ame tsitsiwo foa fu ɔe ablɔ me, eye wogblɔna na ame kuku la fe fometɔwo bena, mɛle alɛ ɔeka dim, mitsɔ vɛ na mɔ miatso, wowua alɛ la, eye womane le wo nɔewo dome le ablɔ me, eye wotsɔa alɛ la fe ami ɔadana ɔe ame kuku la fe ɲgonu. Yeyiyi sia me katā la, ɔekakpuiwo le wo ɔokui dzram ɔo, wota avɔ, eye wodo awu nyuiwɔ heva ablɔ me, eye wonɔa tu la dam. Ne wova da tu la vɔ keɲ la, ekema ame tsitsiawo dometɔ ɔeka avɔ asafoawo ɲɔ, eye woanɔ asafɔha dzim ava ame kuku la gbɔ, eye woaka atam na ame kuku la be, ɔe wɔanye ku bubu aɔe wui la, ne yeate ɲu akpa ɔe eɲuti. Le yetɔ me la, wogamaa ɔu si wotsɔ dzra ɔo la, hena etsɔtɔ kple eɔiɔi. Tɔviawo ɔea tɔyɔ nɛ eye wotsɔnɛ ɔina ɔe eme.

the gun powder that is meant for the funeral procession and the burial is distributed. The paternal brothers have dug the grave in which the dead will be laid.

2. The Burial of Poor People

M.K: When a poor person among us dies, people come to express their sympathy. However, not as many people participate as for a rich person. He is buried like the rich person, but not so much noise is made as in the case of the rich. But the maternal brothers bury the dead in all cases.⁹⁵ Later they go to the priest, who calls up the spirit of the deceased, and rolls his mat as is done in the case of the rich person.

L.D.: When a poor person dies the relatives buy the gun powder for firing musketry. If the deceased had no cloth, they buy him one for dressing him, and all inhabitants of the town drum for him, It is done just as it is done for a rich person. They mourn him and roll the mat for him. The inhabitants of all towns come together to mourn him and express their condolences. During the burial, calabashes, ladles, dishes and pots are given to him in the grave. For the poor man too cords are tied around his legs before the burial. Attached to the cords are two red parrot feathers. The poor man too is buried in his own house. However, if it is a bad death he is buried in the bush.

3. Burial of Children

If the child of a young woman dies during her first delivery, it is not dressed before burial. Leaves are spread in the grave, the child is laid on them and covered with more leaves. When the child dies, only the mother and no one else has the right to mourn him.

However, one may stay with the mother and chat with her. It is said that if four or more children of a woman have died, she should not mourn the dead child of another woman who has delivered for the first time. If she mourns him, the children that will later be delivered of the woman will also die just like hers. The dead child is buried after bathing him. Before the burial the mother of the dead child is led away out of sight, so that she could not be greeted by women whose children have always died.

After five days some maize pap is prepared for the mother to take to the *Trɔŋ shrine*, in order to commune with the spirit of the child there. Usually, the (spirits of the) children that are called up say that their mother in the spiritual world has come and killed them. Some of these children also say that their *gbetsi* has decided that they should immediately leave (this life). Yet others say that their husband in the spiritual world has come and killed them.

If the child was born prematurely, the aunt or a brother from the father's side takes it in his arms and carries it to the grave. However, if the child has grown somewhat, he is mourned and musketry is fired for him, too. However, he is buried like any other small child. After the burial, some water is put by the way side for mourners to cleanse themselves before going home. On arrival at home, they sit on the road, where the relatives of the deceased child thank them. If the deceased child could already work on the farm, he is buried with cloths. If the mother of the child had already died before

⁹⁵ Even if the paternal brothers do not see to the burial of the deceased, the maternal brothers and sisters never forsake him

2. Ame dahewo dīdī

Mk.: Ne ame dahe aḍe ku le mīa dome la, amewo nya afa nē, gake womedoa vivi ḍe eḡu abe kesinṭwo ene o. Woḍia woawo hā sigbe ale si woḍia kesinṭwo hā nene. Zidodo koe metea ḡu nṭa wo ḡu nenema o, gake wo nṭviwo ḍia wo kokoko. Wodea trōfe na wo nenemake, eye woḡlṭ tsitse na wo nenema.

L.D.: Ne ame dahe aḍe ku la, ekema efomeawo flea ḍu wodana na wo. Ne wokpṭ be, avṭ aḍeke mele esi o la, woflea avṭ tana nē, eye duametwo katā wofoa vu nē. Wowṭna na wo pepepe abe ale si wowṭna na kesinṭwo ene. Wonṭa yṭṭ na wo, eye woḡlṭa tsitse na wo. Duwo katā koe nya afa na ame dahe, wofa avi nē kakaka hafi tsṭne ḍina. Ne woyina eḍi ge la, wotsṭa tre, tsi, agba kple ze ḍe asi dea yṭ me nē. Wosa afṭḍomeka hā na ame kuku la hafi ḍine. Wotsṭa akose eveve dea ka wo me hafi sa afṭḍomeka lae. Woḍia ame dahewo hā ḍe woawo ḡutṭ fe xṭ me nenye ḡutsu wṭnye. Ke nenye ku vṭ wṭku la, eya ko woḍine ḍe gbe me.

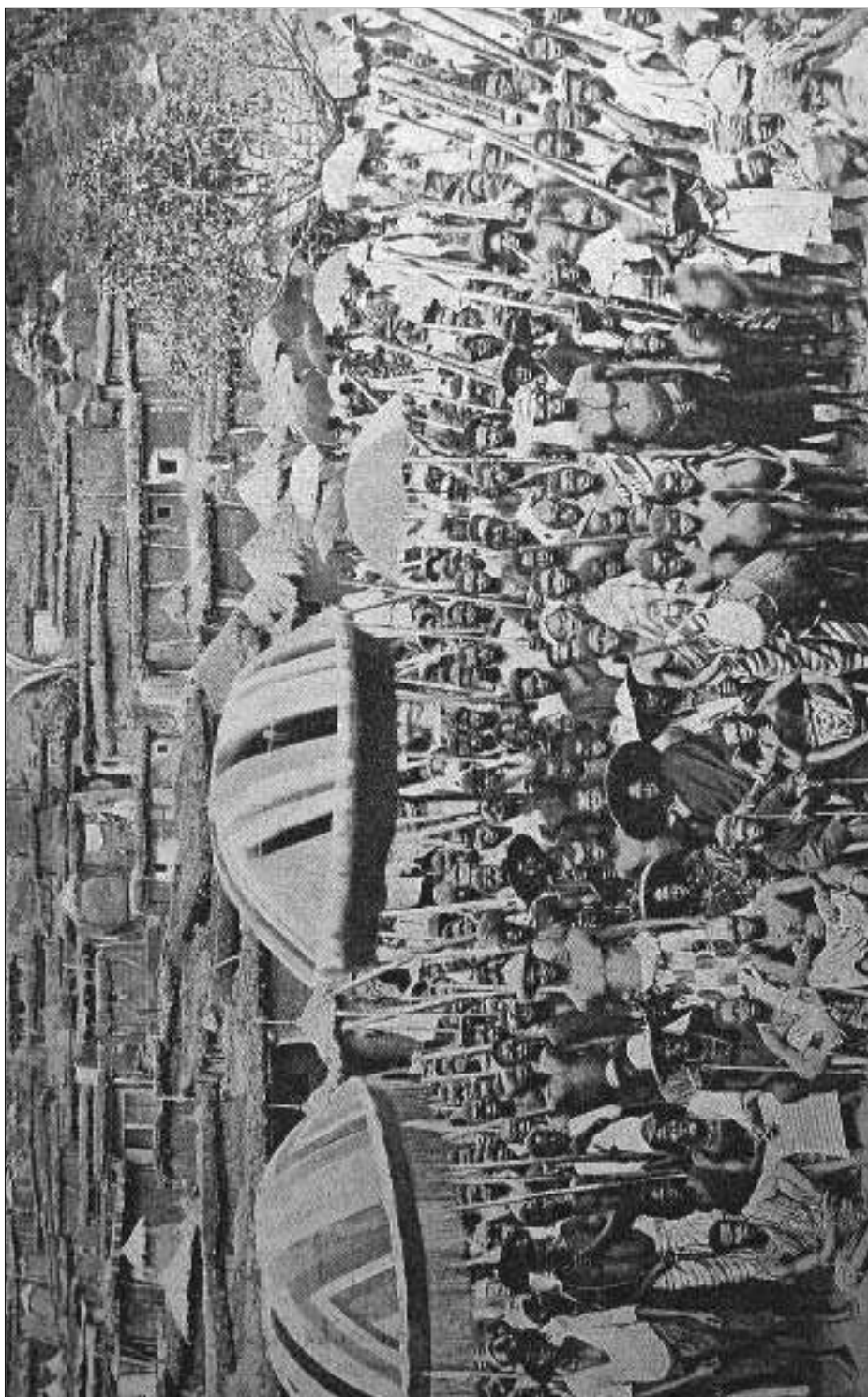
3. Ḍeviwo fe dīdī

Mk.: Nyṭnu ḍetugbui si ke medzi vi kpṭ o, hafi wṭdzi ḍe wṭku la, womedīa wo kple avṭ o, ke boḡ wotsṭa amagba kekena ḍe yṭdo la me, eye wotsṭa ḍevi la mṭba edzi gatsṭa amagba dana ḍe edzi. Ne ḍevi la ku la, dada koe fa avi, ame bubu aḍeke mekpṭ mṭ be, wṭafa avi o, ke boḡ ḍeko woanṭ ḍevi la dada gbṭ anṭ dze ḍom. Wogblṭ bena: Ne ame aḍe dzi vi kpṭ zi ene alo wu nenema woku keḡ la, mekpṭ mṭ afa avi le aḍi ma o, elabena wogblṭ be ne efa avi la, ekema ḍetugbui la fe vi, siwo wṭava dzi la hā aku abe etṭ ene. Ne wole tsi na ḍevi la vṭ la, wotsṭa wo ḍina. Hafi ne woatsṭ ḍevi la aḍi la, wokpṭa dada yi ḍaylana, bena dzikudzikudzilawo megado gbe nē o.

Ne ḡkeke atṭ va yi la, wofoa dzogbṭ tsṭna yia trōxṭ me, eye woyṭa ḍevyawo wova foa nu. Wogblṭna bena yewofe ḡṭlimenṭ eva wu yewo. Ḍewo gblṭna be, yewofe gbetsi eḍo na yewo alea be, yewoadzo enumake. Ḍewo gblṭna be, yewofe ḡṭlimetsue va wu yewo.

Ne ḍevi la nye vi fē alo vu dzīe la, tasia alo tṭvia tsṭne ḍe alṭo woyia yṭdo gbṭe. Ne ḍevi la tsi ve la, wofa avi nē, eye wodaa tu hā nē. Gake woḍia wo abe ḍevi tukuiwo ene. Ne woḍii vṭ la, wokua tsi ḍoa mṭ dzi na amedīlawo wolena hafi vaa aḍe me. Ne wova la, wova nṭa ablṭ me, eye vi kukutwo va daa akpe na wo. Ne ḍevi la ate ḡu ayi bofo hafi ku la woḍine kple avṭ. Ne ḍevia dada ku le egbṭ hafi eya ḡutṭ va ku la, woḍine kple avṭ; elabena nṭa megali adzi vi o. Woḍia ḍetugbuiwo kple ḍekakpuiwo abe ame tsitsiwo ke ene, vovototo aḍeke mele eme o.

him, he is buried in a dress, for his mother is no longer alive, to be able to bear another child. Young men and women are buried just like adults.



Funeral in Akpafu,
the town in the background

4. Sickness, Death and Burial of Priests

a. Sickness and Care

When priests fall sick, it is usually said that the god that they serve is annoyed with them. That is why one must punish the sick man⁹⁶ for him to recover. If the *trɔŋ* is a medicine *trɔŋ*, as it was, for example, with the mother of T, the *trɔŋ* demands, first of all, a goat or a cock from him. A medicine *trɔŋ* does not understand the *Twi* language, does not demand any sheep, but rather eats only goats and cocks. Now, all the other priests come together and cook the goat that they have received from the sick priest. The (cooked) goat meat is taken from the broth and put in a dish. Then the meat broth is cooked into a soup together with flour and palm oil. It is then mixed with the meat and eaten. Apart from that they get 60 *hoka* cowry shells from the sick person, which they share among themselves. The priests say that by so doing they propitiate the *trɔŋ*, in order that he sets his wife (the sick priest) free. After that they make the herbs *sumbe*, *flatoga* and *ma* into medicine in a large dish. All the priests hold the calabash high and spray their saliva over it. If the sick person is a woman, they spray saliva four times on the medicine. However, if it is a man, they spray five times on it and say: “God, we have no saliva in our mouth. You are the owner of saliva; spray your saliva on it for us!” Then they wash their face with the medicine. After that, they bathe him and say: “Today we have punished your wife (the priest), may he get healthy again!” Then all of them go back home.

b. Death and Burial

If the priest dies, his relatives send people to the palm wine tapper to buy palm wine for the inhabitants as well as for the strangers. Yams and other foodstuffs are also taken from the farm. With regard to these preparations, the town folk help the family members with cooking and smaller jobs. Each of his children⁹⁷ brings the nicest cloth he owns to bury their mother with it. This is because everything that he possesses belongs to them; women inherit objects for women and men inherit objects for men.

As soon as a priest dies, he is put in a room and the entrance to it is covered with a big traditional cloth. Then the inhabitants (*afeawo*=*Hofeawo*, meaning all people of Ho) of Ho are informed about the death. Messengers are sent to them, until they have all come together. Four Ho people must make known the death of the traditional priest by striking a small bell, *avaga*. At the same time, a messenger is sent to all priests in the Ho towns. Until then no one mourns the dead person and no one fires a gun for him. When the priests have come together, they open the door to the corpse. Before they open the door, they announce themselves to the dead person and say: *ago na wò!* After that, the oldest priest removes the curtain from the door. The one who ventured to remove the curtain from the door, gets the cloth, for the other priests were afraid to open the door.

Now the relatives of the deceased come into the room; they bathe the dead person and get him ready. His corpse is covered with beautiful clothes. After that the priests

⁹⁶ The expression, *fle*, buy, is used in Ho and its surrounding areas to mean “to punish” in the legal language.

⁹⁷ With children one can also understand here the slaves of gods.

4. Trõsiwo fe dóléle, ku kple ḍiɖi

a. Agbagbadzedze le trõsiwo ɲu

Ne trõsiwo le dɔ lém la, wogblɔna bena, wofe trõwo le dzi bim, eya ta ele be, woafle dóléla la, bena efe lāme nasẽ. Ne trõ la nye atiketrõ abe T. nɔ tɔ ene la, woxɔa gbõ alo koklo le wo si: Azɔ gbõ si ke trõsi bubuawo xɔ le trõsi dóléla si la, wokpea ta, eye woɖanɛ. Wotea gbõlā le detsi la me ɖe agba me, eye wotsɔa tsi la kple gbõlā la tɔtɔna heɖa akplẽ dzẽ bakana kple wɔ heɖuna. Eye wogaxɔa hotsui ho blade le dóléla si me mana. Trõsiawo gblɔna bena, yewotsɔ esia kpata me na trõ la, be wòɖe asi le srõ ɲuti, Emegbe la wodoa amatsi ɖe tre gā aɖe me, nu siwo wotsɔna done wonye sumbe, flatogā kple ma. Trõsiawo katā kɔ tre la ɖe dzi henyɔa ta ɖe dzi fia, nenye nyɔnue le dɔ la lem la, wonyɔnɛ zi atõ, eye wogblɔna bena: Mawu, ta mele mía nu me o, wɔnenye ta tɔ, nanyõ ta ɖe dzi na mí. Emegbe la wokua amatsi la fua ɲkume, eye woyina ɖakɔa dɔɔ la vɛ, eye wolea tsi la nɛ, eye wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Míefle srõwo na wo egbegbe loo, wò lāme nakɔ egbegbe. Esia megbe la wodzona yia afe me.

b. Nu siwo wowɔna hafi ḍia trõsiwo

Ne trõsi la va ku la, ekema viawo dɔa ame ɖona ɖe aha me, bena woadze aha na afeawo kple amedzro siwo va la. Wodia te kple nuɖanu bubuwo hā tsoa bofo dana ḍi; menye woawo ɖeɖe koe wɔa nu siawo o, ke boɲ duametɔ bubuwo hā kpɛna ɖe wo ɲu le nuɖaɖa kple nu kukluiwo gome. Vi, siwo le trõsi la si la wo dome ɖe siaa ɖe atɔɔ avɔ nyuietɔ si le wo si la aɖi wo nɔ lae; elabena nu siaa nu, si le esi la wo tɔe; efe nu, siwo nye nyɔnu gome la, woayi ɖe nyɔnuwo gbɔ, eye esiwo nye ɲutsu gome la, woayi ɖe ɲutsuwo gbɔ.

Ne trõsi la ku teti la, wodɛnɛ xɔ me, eye wotsɔa avɔ gā aɖe doa vɔ ɖe enu, eye woaɖo du de afeawo yome, va se ɖe esime woava akpe ta. Ame ene tsoa afeawo dome afaga ɖe asi nɔa fofom kpon, kpon, kpon, eye woɖoa du ɖe trõsi, siwo katā le Ho gbɔtawo katā, be woava. Va se ɖe fifi la, ame aɖeke mele avi fam haɖe o, eye womele tu hā dam haɖe o. Ne trõsiawo va kpe ta la wovua vɔ le ame kuku la nu. Hafi ne woavu vɔa la, wogblɔ na bena agoo na wò, eye trõsi ma ke fe tsitsitɔ ɖea avɔ le xɔ la nu. Ame si do dzi ɖe avɔ la le xɔa nu la, eya tɔe nye avɔ la, elabena trõsi bubuawo le vɔvɔm na vɔ la vuuvu.

Azɔ efe fometɔwo ava xɔ la me, eye wo le tsi nɛ adzrae ɖo kenɛ, eye woaɖe avɔ nyuiewo atsɔy nɛ. Emegbe la trõsiawo katā wovana kple trõvu, eye wokplaa trõnuwo. Ne wova la, wowɔa aɲgba ɖe asi va dana ɖe xɔ si me ame kuku la le la tame, eye wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena; equie, equie, equie, equie! Nenye zigbɔ zi ewo wole ame kuku la gbɔ vam hā nenema ko enye wofe nyagbɔgbɔ. Trõsiawo bia gbõ alo koklo tsoa ame kuku la nɔviwo si, enumake wotsɔa gbõ alo koklo eve yina na wo. Ne ame la nye kesinɔtɔ la, woxɔa gbõ kokoko, eye

come together with the *trɔŋ* drums and hang on them the objects that belong to the *trɔŋ*. As they arrive, each priest brings along a leaf that they put on the roof of the house in which the deceased lies. As they do that they say four times: “We sympathize with you”. If they come to the dead person ten times, they say the same words every time. Now, the priests demand a goat or a cock from the brothers of the deceased, who immediately give them a goat or two cocks. If the deceased was rich, like, for example, R’s mother, they take only one goat in addition to 60 or 80 *hoka* that they get. This is because it is only with rich priests that the *trɔŋ* customs are fully practised. The priests are given flour and red oil. Then they build a fire on the road and cook their food there. While some are cooking, the other priests dance and do all sort of things. Till now, no one has permission to fire musketry, and in fact this cannot be done until the time for the burial has arrived.

When everything has ended the paternal brothers carry the corpse on their heads. Now the guns are fired. When they have walked a long while, they remain standing where the dead person himself stops (with them). A grave, *dzegbla*, is quickly dug there⁹⁸ and the dead person is buried.

c. Final Celebration

Now nine days are counted, after which the final celebration, *dza ati*, is celebrated for him. However, one does not observe any mourning period for him. On this day the priests gather again, in order to play their games for the dead person. They get a goat and fowls from the relatives of the deceased again. They cook these on the road and do it exactly the way they did it at the beginning. After they have eaten, they gather the remaining firewood, the feathers of the fowls and leftovers of the food and throw them away by the wayside. On the way back from the wayside they bring along herbs that are consecrated to the *trɔŋ* (the herbs are called *sumbe* and *flatoga*). They bring these herbs in front of the house of the deceased, throw them into a big wooden plate, pour water on it and wash their faces and hands with it. As they do this, they say: “We have ended everything, we have ended everything”! Then they smear themselves with white clay and all of them go home.

M.: *Ama Am.* was a reputed priestess in *Heve*. She was born in *Heve*. The name of her father was *Dr.* and the name of her mother *Ddk.* At first she was with a priest as a pawn (for a crime). The name of the priest was *Kp.* The name of his *trɔŋ* was *Kade*. The priest himself grew very old. *Am.* had been with the priest long before the Asante war. If a priest in whom the *trɔŋ* lives, dies, the *trɔŋ* must settle down on one of his children. This is because he wants food. If the *trɔŋ* wants to settle down on somebody and the person won’t allow it, the person will be taken ill and with a lot of difficulty he then accepts the *trɔŋ*.⁹⁹

Kp. died, and the *trɔŋ* began to seize the girl. She went into the room (of the *trɔ*) and began to call up the spirits, until all the *trɔŋ* customary rites were performed for her. The man who did it for her¹⁰⁰ was *D.* from *Kpando*. When he performed the *trɔŋ* rites for

98 *Dzegbla* is a grave that has not got the necessary depth because it was dug in great haste.

99 With the observation of many customs the sick person will be treated by the priests. During his illness they talk to him until he declares himself ready to assume the priesthood.

100 To perform the *trɔ* rites for somebody means installing /him as priest.

wogaxɔa ho blade alo ho blaenyi kpenɛ elabena wowɔa trɔ̃ na trɔ̃si kesinɔɔwo futafuta. Woxɔa wɔ kple ami dzẽ, eye wokpea dzo dɛ ablo me, eye wodɔa nu le afi ma. Ne wole nua dɔm la, ekema trɔ̃si bubuawo nɔa ye dɔm, eye wonɔa nugbenugbe wɔm. Gake va se dɛ fifi la, womekpɔ mɔ ada tu haɖe o, va se dɛ esime amedɔyi naɖo. Ne wowɔ nu siawo vɔ la, ekema tɔviawo kɔa ame kuku la dɛ ta, eye tu nɔa dɔdɔm le enu. Ne wole yiyim vuu afi si ke ame kuku la va tɔ dɔ la, afi ma, wole edige dɔ, wodɛa dzeɖbla, eye wodɔa wo dɛ me.

c. Trɔ̃si fe atidzadzɔa

Azɔ wonɔa ŋkeke bum na wo, ne exɔ ŋkeke asieke la, ekema wodɔa ati na wo, gake womenɔ yɔɔ me na wo o. Le ŋkeke sia dzi trɔ̃siwo agava ava dɔ kɔ nɛ, eye woagaxɔ gbɔ kple koklo le kutɔwo si me, woatsɔe agaɖa nui le ablo me eye wogawɔna abe le si wowɔ le gɔmedzedzea me pɛ ene. Ne wodɔ nua vɔ la, wofɔa nake mamleawo kple koklofuiawo kple nuɖuɖu mamlea siwo susɔ la fua gbe dɛ mɔ dzi. Ne wogbɔ tso mɔ dzi la, wowɔa trɔ̃magbewo (sumbe kple flatogã), eye wo katã woatsɔe ava ame kuku la fe xɔ nu, ade dɛ gbɔnu gã aɖe me, eye wo katã woaklo ŋkume dɛ eme, eye woaklo asi dɛ eme, anɔ gbɔgbɔm be, ewɔse, ewɔse, emegbe wo katã woatsɔ ye aɖu, eye woayi afe me.

M.: Ama Am. Enye trɔ̃si ga aɖe le Heve. Wodzii le Heve; fofoa ŋkɔe nye Dr., nɔa ŋkɔe nye Dk. Gbã enɔ trɔ̃si aɖe gbɔ le awɔba me, woyɔa trɔ̃si la be Kp. Trɔ̃si sia tsi ŋutu, woyɔa efe trɔ̃ la bena Kade. Am. nɔ trɔ̃ sia gbɔ xoxo hafi Asanteva va. Ne trɔ̃ le ame aɖe gbɔ hafi wòku la, ekema ele be trɔ̃ la nava dze viawo dzi elabena ele nuɖuɖu dim. Ne trɔ̃ la le didim be yéadze ameawo dzi womele lɔlɔm o la, ekem ezua dɔléle dzea wo dzi, eye le nuwɔwɔ geɖe me la, woxɔa trɔ̃ la.

Kp. va ku, eye trɔ̃ la de asi nyɔnu sia dzi dzedze me. Ede asi tatra me dɛ xɔ me de asi ŋunuwo yɔyɔ me va se dɛ esime wode asi trɔ̃wɔwɔ me nɛ. Ame si va wɔ trɔ̃ la nɛ la woyɔnɛ be D. tso Kpando. Esime wòwɔ trɔ̃ nɛ la, exɔ hoku blaenyi le esi. Le efe nuwɔwɔwɔ ŋuti kple efe nu gbeɖlɛwo ŋuti wova trɔ̃ zu vɔnusi gã aɖe ŋutu, edea xɔ me, eye wòyɔa ŋoli na ame siaa ame.

her, he got 80 *hotu* from her. Because she learnt and, therefore, spent a lot of money, she became a very great priestess. She went into the house and called up there spirits for anyone.

This woman suffered from gout for two years. Her daughter *R*, (however), treated her for a long time, (however) in vain. On 15th June¹⁰¹ she died. Her doors were locked with a (traditional) dress, 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka*.¹⁰² First of all, she was bathed and nicely prepared by her paternal and maternal brothers and sisters. Then the doors were closed. They now went to Banyakoe to get the town criers. Both of them took other men along. The chiefs *Aw.*, *Dgb.*, *Agb.* *Y.* and *A.D.*, as well as the priests were present, when the doors were opened. The cowry shells, 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* that were thrown in front of the doors belonged to the chiefs. The priests got two fowls, palm oil, salt, flour and palm wine. *Bn.*, *Yw.*, and *Nyrk.* opened the doors to the room for the dead and got the (traditional) dress. *Dzd.* and *Amk* said to *Em.* she should open her (the deceased) bag. Before this was opened, they (the priests) had rung the bell using the deceased's bell and accompanied it with songs. They now took out the dresses and covered the dead person with them. (Her daughter) *R.* got all the women's things and her sons inherited all the men's things.

Now people began to weep. No strangers could come by, but rather only the people of Ho. Many brought palm wine, to express their sympathies to the children (of the deceased). When the priests ate their meal on the road and drank palm wine, they withdrew. After that her paternal brothers carried her (the corpse) outside and buried her in *Wuglo*, on the left side of the *Kpenje* road (in the countryside) *Atsiamanya*. *Wuglo* is the burial place for priests.

Fifteen days after her burial, all the priests from the Ho townships came together for the final funeral rites. In all 17 traditional priests came together, namely five from Banyakoe, three from Dome, seven from Axõe and two from Klefe. The priests from Ho, who failed to attend, feared that they would be arrested if they came. When the priests were together, they got a goat, red oil and flour from the children of the deceased. Then the priests went to a water place called *tsi makumaku*, bathed there and smeared white clay on their bodies. Then they wore their *trɔŋ* attire and came onto the road. They began to drum and dance and were possessed (by the *trɔwɔ*). The paternal brothers of the deceased had all strangers who had come as their guests. The man who threw the stone into the bush on which they had cooked their meals, got 4 *hoka* (cowry shells) for it. Another person, who had thrown away the ashes, got 4 *hoka* for it. After that they dispersed and everybody went home.

101 1900.

102 The cowry shells were thrown before in the door entrance.

Azo lāmetutudo va dze nyɔnu sia dzi fe eve sɔɔ; via nyɔnuvi R. dze agbagba le eɲu vu do kpoe. Eku le Yuni 15 lia dzi. Wotsɔ hotsui hoka ewo kple avɔ hetu vɔ de enu. Gbã tɔviawo kple nɔviawo le tsi nɛ, eye wodzrae do nyuie hafi do vɔ de enu. Woyi dayɔ Kl. Kple Any.; ame siwo nye avagafolawo tso Banyakoe. Ame eve siawo gadi amewo kpe de wo dokui ɲuti. Afede, Dgb, Agb. Y. kple A.D., wova bɔbɔ nɔ anyi, eye vɔnusiawo hã va bɔbɔ nɔ anyi hafi wovu vɔ le enu. Hotsui hoka hoka 10, si wokɔ de xɔa nu lae nye ame tsitsi tɔ. Trɔsiawo xɔ koklo eve, eye wotsɔ amĩdzẽ, dze wɔ kple aha kpe de eɲuti na wo. Bn. Yw kple Nyrk. woawoe vu vɔ le ame kuku la nu, eye avɔ la zu wo tɔ. Dzd. Kple Amk wogblo na Em. bena wɔdatu efe keviawo; hafi ne wɔdatu keviawo la, wotsɔ ame kuku la ɲutɔ fe avaga le fofom, eye trɔsiawo katã wole ha dzim de eɲuti, eye wotsɔ avɔwo le eme tsyɔ nɛ. Nu sia nu, si ke nye nyɔnuwo fe ɲutinuwo la, wo katã wonye R. tɔ alo efe domenynuwo, eye nu siwo nye ɲutsunuwo la, wonye viaɲutsuwo tɔ.

Avifafa di azo, amedzrowo mete ɲu va o, negbe Ho gbɔtawo koe va. Ame aɖewo tɔ aha va kpɔ viawo da. Esi trɔsiawo ɖu nu le ablɔ me vɔ, eye wono aha hã vɔ la, wodzo. Emegbe tɔviawo tsɔe yi ɖaɖi de Fuglo le Kpenɔemɔ fe mia me le Atsiamanya. Fugloe nye trɔsiwo fe ɖife.

Ŋkeke wuiatɔ megbe la, trɔsiwo katã tso duwo me va efe atidzagbe. Trɔsi wuiadre sɔɔ va efe ati la dzafe. Wo ame atɔ tso Banyakoe, etɔ tso Dome, adre tso Axɔe eve tso Klefe. Trɔsi mamleawo le vɔvɔm be, ne yewo va la, woava lé yewo. Esi trɔsiawo kpe la, viawo tɔ gbɔ ɖeka, ami dzẽ kple wɔ na wo. Gbã la, trɔsiawo katã yi de tsi makumaku me, eye wole tsi le afi ma keɲ, eye woɖo ye hetsɔ wofe trɔvɔwo ta emegbe wova ablɔ me. Wode asi trɔvuwo fofo me, eye wole ye ɖum hele giglim. Tɔviawo wɔ amedzro na ame siwo katã va. Ame si fɔ kpe, si wokpe de ablɔ me ɖa nu le dzi la, fu gbe la, tɔe nye hoka 4. Eye ame si ɔ dzowɔ la fu gbe la eya hã tɔe nye 4. Esi wowɔ esia vɔ la, woyi wofe xɔwo nu.

III. Death and Burial of People who have died a violent death

A. Suicides

1. Persons who were hanged

a. How they, are looked for in the bush

Kln. When someone is enraged or has become mad, he goes (into the bush) and hangs himself.

When we, the people of Ho hear that someone has hanged himself, if it is at night only his relatives and no one else, go to look for him. The next morning other people go to him (there). However, because they are very scared, they hang talismans on themselves and some smear their face with a (powerful magical) powder, *ti*, in order that the spirit of the deceased does not harass them. If a person who wanted to hang himself earlier, has hanged himself at mid-day, and the people hear on this occasion that he earlier had attempted to do the same thing, they do not want to look for him anymore. Even if they go, they only appear to look for him and the actual search is then left to his relatives. This is because they believe that the one who first sees the person who has hanged himself will have misfortune and be tormented by the spirit of the deceased. That is the reason why the people do not want to get near him.

b. Burial

If one of the people who are looking for him (the person who hanged himself), sees him, he throws grass onto him and says: "I sympathize with you, I sympathize with you!" Then the others approach and cut down the tree on which he hangs. After that they also cut off the branch on which he hangs. Now, they pull the branch together with the person who has hanged himself through the bush. Without mercy it goes over stones and through thorns. That is done for everyone to see, and to act as deterrent for people. He is dragged (through the bush), until they have arrived at the burial place of those who have died violently. They dig a small hole there, throw him into it and cover it in wild haste. One of the people present at the burial, who has some pity (upon the dead person), fires two gun shots. If someone has hanged himself near the town, a stick is pushed through his chest¹⁰³ and he is carried like a pig and buried in the bush. However, if the people did not like him, he is dragged on the ground to the burial place. A big grave is not made for them, but rather a small hole and he is thrown into it and buried. Then the branches of the tree (on which he hanged himself) are cut off and laid across the grave, so that wild animals do not dig him out.

c. Funeral

When they have buried him and come home, the people living in the community demand 12 *hotu* and one goat from his parents, because the town has been desecrated. They use part of these cowry shells for the cleansing of the town and share the rest among themselves. After nine days the people come together to perform the final funeral rites. To perform the final funeral rites, *atidzadza*, a lot of palm wine is bought, fufu and maize porridge are prepared and all sorts of foods are brought to the funeral grounds. Then much is eaten and the rest thrown onto the rubbish heap.

103 Because nobody wants to touch him.

III Uumewo fe ku kple ɖiɖi

A. Ame siwo wu wo ɖokui

1. Kadeveelawo

a. Kadevelawo ɖiɖi

Kln.: Ne dome ve ame aɖe alo efe mo blu la, ekema eyina ɖadea ka ve na eɖokui.

Ne mí Hoawo míese bena, ame aɖe de ka ve, nenye zā mee la, ame aɖeke mayi akpɔ o, negbe efe fometɔwo ɖeɖe koe ayi. Ne ɲu ke, ame bubuwo le egbo yi ge la, le vɔvɔ ta wotsɔa dzokawo kplana, eye ame aɖewo tsɔa ti sisina ɖe mo hafi yina, bena ame la, nagawɔ ɲoli yewo o. Nenye ɲudɔ ame la de ka ve na eɖokui, eye to egbo hā amewo nɔa esem le eɲuti bena edina be, yeawɔ ale nu sia la, amewo melɔna be, yewoayi eɖife o. Eye ne woyi hā ɖe woɖine ɖe anyasa me, eye wotsɔa edidi la gblɛna ɖe efe fometɔwo ɖeɖe dzi. Elabena wosusu be, ame si ke tre ekpɔkpɔ gbagbiagbā la, ekema ekpɔ busu, awɔ ɲoli, eya ta amewo melɔna be woate ɖe eɲu kura o.

b. Kadevelawo ɖiɖi

Ne eɖilawo dometɔ aɖe kpɔe la, etsɔa gbe dana ɖe edzi gblɔna bena eɖue, eɖue! egɔmee nye baba na wo. Emegbe amewo katā woava, eye woalā ati, si ɲu wòle la afu anyi, eye woagalā atilɔ, si ɲu wòle la hā ɖa, eye woanɔ eya kple atilɔ la tem, eɖadze kpe dzi o, eɖadze ɲuwo me o, nublanuikpɔkpɔ aɖeke mele me o. Wowɔa esia, bena ame siaa ame nakpɔe, ne womagawɔe o. Wohea wo alea vuu yia ame tsiavawo ɖife; woɖea do vi aɖe, eye woatsɔe axlā ɖe eme axe ke ɖe dzi nyamanyama. Ame si fe nu wɔ nublanui la, eya ko woada tuti eve aɖe na. ame si de ka ve ɖe dua gbɔ, eye wove enu la wotsɔ ati fona ɖe akɔnu nɛ, eye wotsɔne abe ha ene ava ɖi ɖe gbe me; gake ne ame la fe nu menyo wo ɲu o la, wohene le anyigba yina ɖe eɖife. Womeɖea do na wo wololona o, ke boɲ do sue aɖe ko woɖena na wo, eye wotsɔa wo fua gbe ɖe eme hexea ke ɖe wo dzi, eye wolā ati fe alɔwo dana ɖe wo dzi, be lāwo magaho wo o.

c. Nuwɔwɔ le wofe ɖiɖi megbe

Ne woɖi wo vɔ heva afe me la, afeawo xɔa hotu 12 kple gbɔ ɖeka le edzilawo si, elabena egblɛ gbɔ me na wo, hotsui sia fe ɖe wotsɔna dzraa gbɔ me ɖoe, eye wotsɔa mamlea mana le wo nɔewo dome. Le ɲkeke asieke megbe la, wovana va dza efe ati. Ne wova efe ati dza ge la, wodzea aha geɖe, eye woɖa fufu kple akplɛ kple nu sia nu baka atɔ, mamlea afu gbe ɖe aɖukpo dzi.

On the same day, the paternal brothers of the deceased put a new mat on the road in such a way that the wrong side is turned upwards and the good side is downwards. Then people roast groundnuts and maize, green bananas etc. and put these food items on the spread out mat. The whole mat is filled. Many people also eat maize mixed with groundnuts. Then they fill a small pot with palm wine, smear it totally with white clay, tie the fibre of the raffia palm around its neck, cut three small pieces of firewood and put them against each other in the form of the traditional hearth, put the pot on it, but light no fire under it. In the evening the pot and all the different food items that are on the mat are taken away and placed at the crossroads near the grave of the person who has hanged himself. Then they go home and fire two gun shots, thus signalling the end of the funeral rites.

d. The Spirit of the Dead is called in the *Trɔŋ* shrine

(After the funeral rites), they go to the *Trɔŋ* shrine to commune with the dead. Formerly, the priests took 24 *hoka* for that. However, they are now paid 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka*, before they invite such a spirit to commune with him in the *Trɔŋ* shrine. This is because he has died a violent death. It is said that the person who has fallen in war will come to the *Trɔŋ* shrine when summoned to say that he has brought this type of death from the dwelling place of God, *Mawufe* or that he was possessed by spirits who have made him mad to do what he had done. Others say that their brothers or sisters who also died through a misfortune had taken them away to be with them.

2. Other Suicides

The motives behind suicide are of double nature. Some are driven into it by a wicked *gbetsi*. Others take their own life as a result of an offence or because of bad treatment by family members. In the year 1892, as well as other unexpected deaths some suicide cases occurred in the chief's town Dome. The cause was the fact that part of the town had been built too close to the abode of an earth god. The smoke from their fireplace got into the eyes of the *trɔŋ*, thus irritating the god and he was the cause of the mishaps that occur among them. According to others, the cause was that in the year 1884 no funeral rites were performed for the deceased King Kofi. As a result of that he has not been able to cross over the river into the realm of the dead. His spirit still lingers on and comes into town to cause deaths and suicides. For yet other persons, the explanation was that the spirit Dzaɖe Komla, whose neck the people of Ho broke because he was suspected of being a wicked spiritualist, is avenging them because he was disgraced.

If someone commits suicide as a result of an insult he has suffered or as result of mistreatment meted out to him from members of the family, the person committing suicide is not buried until the relatives have paid the fine that has been demanded. A person, who commits suicide desecrates the land and causes drought, whereby the whole tribe is affected. The family member who was the reason why the suicide took this step is called to account for it. The brother of K committed suicide. K. was blamed for not caring enough for his brother. For this reason he had to pay 12 *hotu* cowry shells before the corpse was buried.

Gbe ma gbe ke tɔviawo atso aba yeye ava do de ablo me, woatrɔ aba la fe nyuife ado de anyigba, eye ame siaa ame atɔ azikpeli alo ame bli fufu ablo abladzo gbogbo, eye woatsɔ wo ava da de aba doɔɔa dzi tantan; ame adewo dea azikpeli la nɔa duɔum. Wodefa aha dozi (kpezi) me tan, eye wotaa ye ne kpi, wotsɔa ala sana de efe kɔme, wolā nake vi ade wo ame etɔ tsona kpea mlekpui tso dozi la dana de edzi; womedoa dzo de ete o. Fiẽ me la, wotsɔa zevi la kple nu siwo katā le abaɔɔɔa la dadana de mɔ to le afi si wotsɔ ame kuku la do, eye wodzona va afe, emegbe la wodaa tuti eve, ekema wowɔ efe kunu vɔ kenken.

d. Eyɔɔ le trɔɔ me

Woyi dayɔne le trɔɔ me. Tsā la, trɔsiwo xɔa ho blaevɔ vɔ ene, fifi la woxɔa hotu hoka ewo hafi yɔne wova xɔa me, elabena ame tsiava wonye. Wogblo be, ne ame tsiava la va xɔa me la, eya ntɔ foa nu gblɔna bena, Mawufe yexɔe tso, alo egblɔna bena, nuwo de asi nkume na ye, eya ta yewɔ nu sia. Dewo gblɔna bena, ame siwo alo nɔvia, siwo ke tsi ava la, woawoe va kplɔ ye, bena yewoanɔ anyi.

If a wicked *gbetsi* is suspected to be the cause of the suicide the dead person is treated as an *ametsivume*, a person who has died a violent death, whom one denies an honourable burial. The land on which he has committed suicide must be propitiated through sacrifice to the god of the Earth, *trɔŋ*.

B. Persons Who Died in War

1. The Burial

When a person dies in war, that person cannot be buried in the usual manner. We have to go to the paramount chief and ask him for land. He shows us the land that we buy before we bury our dead. The grave diggers get palm wine, 60 *hoka* cowry shells and a cock. If this is not given, the owners of the land do not allow the dead persons to be buried on their land. When they are buried, one must buy palm wine for the paramount chief to thank him. If they omit to do that they get no permission. If they do not pay before burying their dead persons, these dead persons are exhumed and thrown into the bush. If a respectable man dies during a war in another town and the enemies could not take him along, he is buried there by his own brothers. Later they exhume him, remove his bones, nails and hair, carry them home in a box and bury them there. If the place is very far, it is the duty of his maternal brothers to take along the finger and toe nails as well as his hair¹⁰⁴ home.

2. The Funeral Celebration

After war the people prepare themselves, in order to have funeral celebrations for all the men who died in war. This funeral is performed once for all of them together. They drum, cook, eat and drink. With that the celebration for those who died in war has ended. However, for high-ranking personalities the funeral rites are performed differently. One puts some empty boxes (as long as the human body) near each other; then one puts a small traditional stool on the boxes at one end and covers it with clothes. It looks as if it were a human being lying there. One puts a hat at the end of the head and puts an umbrella across it. After that the deceased's female slave must bathe, adorn herself with beads, smear herself with white clay and put on a nice dress. She must remain seated on the ground near the (counterfeited) corpse and fan him. She should not get up from her place until the time for the burial. If it is time for the burial, the clothes and the hat are taken away and the girl goes home. However, before she eats anything (there) she must bathe. The other sympathizers also disperse and go home.

C. Death of Women in Childbed

Mk.: If a woman is about to be delivered of a child and she dies, one puts her in the bush and stays with her overnight. During that night one lights a fire there, fires guns, drums and sings for her until daybreak. In the morning she is bathed. Then one puts banana leaves on the ground, spreads a mat on it and puts her (the corpse) on it. After

104 These are cut off immediately after he has died in war.

B. Avameku

1. Ale si wođia woe

Ne ame ađe ku le ava me la, womeđine dzro o. Du, si me ke mío do la, ele na mí be míayi dufia gbɔ abia anyigba, eye wòafia anyigba mí míafle hafi ađi míafe ame kukuwo. Wonaa aha kple hotsui ho blade kple koklo deka, eya nye yɔkuawo tɔ, ne womena sigbe nuawo o la, ekema anyigba dzitwo malɔ, bena woađi wofe ame kukuawo o. Ne wođi wo vɔ la, ele be, woadze aha ana dumefia la hafi ada akpe, ne menye nenem o la, womađemɔ na wo o. Ne womexe fe hafi ɖi ameawo o la, ekema anyigbadzitwo aho ame kukuawo ađađi. Ne ame ŋkɔŋu ku de du bubu fe gbedzi eye futwo mete ŋu tɔ wo yii o, ekema nɔviawo ŋutɔ ađi de afi ma. Emegbe woyina ɖahone, eye wotsɔa efe fuwo, fewo kple taɖawo dea aɖaka me tɔna va afe heđina. Ne afi ma didi ŋutɔ la, ekema ele na nɔviawo bena, woakpa efe fewo afɔfetsuwo kple asifewo kple taɖawo ava afe kokoko.

2. Wofe Kɔnuwɔwɔ

Le awawɔwɔ vɔ megbe la, wodzraa wo ɖokui ɖo eye wowɔa yɔfe na ame siwo katã ku le ava me la; wotsɔa wo katã wɔa deka, wofoa vɔ, ɖa nu ɖuna, eye wonoa aha, ekema wowɔ avatsilawo fe nu vɔ. Ke ame si ke nye bubume la wowɔa eya hã tɔ vovo. Wofa aɖakaga fufluwo tuna de enu, eye wotsɔa avɔ tɔɔna ne, tɔɔa amaguivi ɖoa efe tagbɔ, eye wonɔna abe amee mlɔ anyi de afi ma ene. Eye wotsɔa kuku ɖona ne eye wohea xexi de tagbɔ ne. Emegbe woana efe kosi nale tsi, ado dzonu, ata ye eye wòdata avɔ nyuie anɔ nu la gbɔ, anɔ ya gbɔm ne; kosi sia matsi tre le enɔfe akpɔ o, va se de esime amedi yi naɖo. Ne amedi yi ɖo la, woɖea avɔ kple kuku dzrana ɖo, eye nyɔnuvi la hã dzona yia afe me. Gake hafi wòadu nu la, ele be, wòale tsi hafi, eye nuawɔlawo hã woaka ayi afe me.

C. Nyɔnu siwo ku kple wo ɖiɖi

M.K.: Ne nyɔnu ađe va vi dzi ge, eye woku la, wotsɔne ɖamlɔ gbe me, eye wotsia egbo ɖona. Le zã ma me wodoa dzo de afi ma nɔa tu dam, nɔa vufom, nɔa ha dzim de enu va se de esime ŋu kena. Ne ŋu ke la, wolea tsi ne, eye woɖoa akɔɖumagbã de anyigba tɔɔa aba ɖona de edzi, eye wotsɔne mlɔa edzi; emegbe wosia ye de ŋkume ne.

that her face is smeared with white clay. Whoever comes to her (to see her), takes white clay in the left hand and spreads it on the corpse and says three times: “I sympathize with you!” They continue with that, until the time for the burial has come.

If the child is still in her body, a man is instructed to cut open the body at the edge of the grave, in order that they see the child in her body. If the child is still hanging on to life a little, they knock its head against a tree, so that it dies. However, if they see that the child could still live, they take it home to care for it, until it is grown. If the child is a boy, they call it *Kpeme*. They say that it is not the female foetus but rather the male that kills women. Such women are buried in (the country) *Atsiamanya*.

Nine days after her burial, the burial rites are performed. Her house is demolished and burnt on the way (on the outskirts of the town), so that no vile thing can stay in it again. The inhabitants of the town get 60 cowry shells from the relatives of the deceased. Then they tie a pullet and a tortoise at the end of a palm branch and drag it through the town.¹⁰⁵ Behind them a bell is rung, until they have all finished. (This is called “sweeping the town”). No *busu* can be made later if the town has not been swept in this way.

D. Death of wicked Spiritualists and Murderers

1. Death of the wicked Spiritualist

a. First Report

Mk.: If people say of a woman or a man that he bewitches people, all the people unite against him. In the course of the night, they capture the evil spiritualist and take him or her to the countryside, *Atsiamanya*. Here the executioners put a stick on his neck¹⁰⁶ and kill him. Other people are put in a hole that has been dug, so that only the head shows, (Then the hole is filled up) until he dies. They do not bathe him, but rather throw him into a small hole, covered it with soil and go away. That is his whole interment. After that the house of such a person is demolished and burnt, the ashes swept together and thrown away (outside the town).

Such people are not killed at noon. Neither are they buried at noon, for it is believed that they would recognise the people and kill them. When an evil spiritualist is executed one should not talk there; neither should anybody's name be mentioned.

b. Second Report

α. Example of an evil bewitching

L.D.: The way evil spiritualists bewitch people is as follows: If they get annoyed through the actions of another person, they go (at night) when people are asleep to the house of the person concerned entirely naked, without dress, without loin cloth and sprinkle medicine (poison) into his dishes, on the stool, the bath house and in the hearth. The person, (against whom it is directed), knows nothing about it and he will fall ill the next morning if he uses any of these objects. If someone is suspected to be an evil witch

¹⁰⁵ *Kplɔgbɔ* me actually means: “sweep the town”; cleanse it from evil spirits.

¹⁰⁶ They press the stick at both ends firmly to the ground and others roll the body over and over, so that his neck breaks.

Ame si va egbo la, atso ye de miasi avuvu de edzi agblo bena, edue, edue, edue, si gomee nye baba na wo. Alea ko wona wawam va se de esime amadiyi dona.

Ne devi la gale dome ne la, ekema wodja ame wodakone le yodo la to, be woakpo vi si le dome ne la da. Ne devi la le agbe vie la, wotsa efe ta xana de ati wokuna; gake ne wokpo bena, devi la ano agbe la, wotsone vaa afe mee, eye wokpoa edzi va se de esime wotsina.

Nenye ntsue la, ekema wotsa nka ne bena Kpeme. Wogblona bena nyonu fe tu mewua ame o, ke boŋ ntsu fe tue wua ame. Wodia nyonu siawo de Atsiamanya.

Ne wodii vo nkeke asieke megbe la, wowa efe kunu, eye wogbaa efe xo tsa dzoe de mo dzi, bena nu vo adeke megano eme o. Afeawo xa ho blade le kutwo si, eye woatsa koklovi abla de debaya nu kple akpokponyasu hetsona kpla gbo me; avaga na didim le wo yome kpon, kpon, kpon, va se de esime woawevan ken. Ne womekpo gbome alea o kpa, womate nu ayi busu akpo o.

D. Dzoquametwo fe ku

a. Nufobo gbato le nu

M.K.: Ne wose le nyonu alo ntsu ade nu be, ele dzo dum ame la, amewo kata bla nu de enuti. Eye woyi dalene le za me hekplona yia Atsia manya; le afi sia fia fe blafowo tsa ati do ko dzi ne, eye wowune. Dewo wokua do, eye wotsone tua tsitre de eme efe ta ko nana dzedzem va se de esime woku.

Womelea tsi na wo o, ke boŋ wodea do via de ko tsa wo fua gbe de eme, kua ke de wo dzi hetea dzi le wo gbo. Efe didime kata koe nye ekem. Emegbe woagba efe xo ato dzoe kenken eye woalo etefe atso afu gbe.

Womewua wo le judo o, eye womefia wo le judo ha o, elabena wogblo be, woava dze si amewo, eye woawu wo. Ne woyi dzoquametwo ade wu ge la, womefoa nu o, eye womeyca ame nka ha le afima o.

b. Nufobo evelia le nu

a. Dzoqudu ame

L. D.: Ale dzoquametwo dua dzo amee nye si. Ne wokpo bena ame ade fe nu le dome vem na wo la, ekema ne amewo kata do ala la, eva ame la fe me amamae, meta avo o, eye medoa godoe ha o. Eye watsa amatsi awu de agba, si me woku nu le alo zikpu dzi, tsilefe kpakple mlekpui me. Ne nu ke womenyae o, eye wowo nu siawo nu do la ekema woxa dlele. Ne wose be, ame ade nye dzoquametwo la, wona ediam, elabena esese hafi woadze sii. Dewo la

he is monitored always because it is not easy to recognise them. Many wicked witches go to the farm of the person on whom they want to cast an evil spell and sprinkle medicine in his yam barn or on his maize barn without the owner of the farm knowing anything about it. When he comes to his farm to take some foodstuffs, he is attacked by fever and he says: “Something is burning in my body like a barb. From then on, he is ill and he becomes so weak that he cannot till his field again when it is time for tilling the land.

β. Trial by Ordeal

When the people hear about these acts of a person, they unite and capture him. If the person concerned realizes that he going to be killed, he says that he wants to undergo a trial by ordeal. He is now taken to a person who possesses *aka*, where he is made to confess.¹⁰⁷ The witch is asked: Have you ever since your birth cast a spell on a tree in the bush, as a result of which the tree died?” He (men behind him) answers: “No, never! That will be proven through the judgment of ordeal”. The person who possesses *aka* asks him once again: “Have you never used witchcraft against a person since your birth?” Answer: “No, never!” “Or have you ever been found guilty by ordeal?” Answer: “No, never!” The *Aka* diviner, who carries out the trial, now takes one or two small stones, moistens one with saliva and says “This belongs to the wicked *gbetsiwo*”. He then moistens the other, throws it away and says: “This belongs to an evil spirit if that evil spirit wants you to remain in *aka*!” After that he takes a third (stone) and says: “If a malignant spirit (*trɔŋ*) dwells in you, this belongs to it”. The *aka* owner now says: “I have now said everything to you.”

Some types of *aka* are *nyade* and *amidzoka*. If *nyade* is used, the person concerned kneels down. If the village comrades agree, a man is designated to submit himself to the trial with him at the same time. Two calabashes are filled with water. One person kneels in front of this calabash and the other person in front of the other. Now the *aka* diviner says: “Fetch water and wash your face, so that we see!” Both of them fetch water and wash their face with it. Instantaneously, the witch is caught in the *aka*.¹⁰⁸ Then the people mock him as they shout loudly and clap their hands. If they are afraid that the wicked witch has the intention to escape, they do not shout, but rather put him in chains. The next morning, all the people come together onto the road and ask him how the trial turned out. If the person does not deserve death, They put a hoe, an earth chisel and a basket in front of him and asks him what he wants to choose. Since the man knows that the earth chisel and hoe are put before him for the purpose of making a grave for him, he chooses the basket. This means he would prefer to pay. Now he is sentenced to a fine of 300 *hotu* or some to a fine of 1000 *hotu*. If he can pay this debt, then he may live.

107 The word *wo aka na ame* cannot be translated. The thing consists in one of his family members standing opposite him and narrating what he has been accused of. The accused has a number of men behind, who speak up for her/him and answer all accusations with *kpao!* meaning “no”.

108 That means he is shown as a wicked witch.

dzoquametɔ la yina ɔe ame si wòle didim be, yeaɖu dzoe la fe agble, eye wòavuvu amatsi ɔe efe tɛxɔ me alo bliva gbɔ. Agbletɔ la menyanɛ o eye ne eva agble be yeava tɔɔ nuɖuɖu la, tete avuvu dzea edzi eye wòɔɔa gbɔgbɔm bena, nane le meym le lāme able ate ene. Tso ekema dzi la, exɔ ɔɔlɛle, eye efe lāme gbɔdzɔna ale be, ne agble dzɔ la magate ɲu ade agble o.

β. Akanana dzoquametɔwo

Ne duawo le nuwɔwɔ sia sem le ame aɔe ɲu la, ekema woblaa nu, eye wolɛnɛ ke ne ame la kpɔ bena, wole ye wu ge la, ekema egblɔna be yeanyi aka.

Wokplɔnɛ yia akanala gbɔ, eye wofoa aka nɛ. Wobia dzoquametɔ la bena, tso esime nedzɔ la, ne meɖu ati le gbe me kpɔ wòku o fĩ. Eɖoa ɛɲu bena, kpao, aɖi aka. Akadola gabiane bena; Esime nédzɔ la, ne metsɔ dzo ɔe amegbetɔvi aɔeke ɲu kpɔ o fĩ. Kpao! Alo mesa aka ku kpɔ o fĩ. Kpao! Emegbe akanala la atɔɔ kpekɔ ɔeka alo eve anyɔ ta ɔee agblɔ bena: Gbetsi vɔwo tɔe nye kem, eye wòagatsɔ bubu anyɔ ta ɔee afu gbe agblɔ bena nenye ɲɔli vɔe be, natsi akame alo naku aka la, etɔe nye kem. Agatsɔe zi etɔlia agblɔ bena, nenye trɔ vɔe le ɲu wò la, etɔe nye kem. Akatɔ la gblɔna be, mefo aka na wò vɔ.

Aka aɔewo nye nyaɔe kple amidzoka. Nenye nyaɔe wònye la, ekema ame la dzea klo, ne afeawo lɔ la, woɔea ame kpɛna ɔe ɛɲuti, bena wòanyi nyaɔe la kplii. Tsi le tre eve me, eye ame ɔeka dzea klo ɔe tre ɔeka gbɔ, eye ame evelia hã ɔe ekeme gbɔ. Akanala gblɔna bena; Miku tsiawo fu ɲkume ne míakpɔ. Wo ame eve la kua tsi la fua ɲkumee; enumake dzoquametɔ la tsia aka me, eye amewo dea asi eyuyru me, eye wofoa asikpoloe ɔe ta. Ne wonyae bena, dzoquametɔ la asi le yewo gbɔ la, womeyrune o, ɔeko woazi kpi akpɔe alo woabɔ pãe enumake. Esi ɲu va ke la, amewo katã va foa fu ɔe vɔnu, eye wobia efe numegbe sena ale si ke wode aka la gbɔe. Ne amea medze ku o la, wotsɔa agblɛnu, tso kple golo dana ɔe egbɔ, eye wobiane be, ka natsɔ mahã. Esi ame la nya be tso kple agblɛnu tɔɔ ge woala aɖi ye la (aɔe do) eya ta etsɔa golo la si gɔmee nye yeaxe fe boɲ. Azɔ wodoa fe nɛ abe hotu alafa etɔ alo akpe aɔewo ene. Ne ete ɲu xe fea la, ekema etsi agbe.

γ. Hanging

However, if the person deserves death, he is killed. One ties a rope around his loins and leads him to *Atsiamanya*. A hole is dug there, in which he is placed upside down, so that his feet are visible above. Others are put upright into a deep hole, so that only the head shows. Birds and driver ants eat him. Only executioners and strong men do this; none of the townsfolk go to the execution place. During his burial there is neither crying nor firing of guns. On the same day, his house is demolished and thrown away into the bush before the town.

2. Death of a Murderer

Whoever kills someone deliberately or inadvertently is usually sold, and the whole family of the culprit becomes indebted. If the culprit is to be killed, that can only happen if he is handed over to the blood avengers by one of his close relatives, usually the uncle. However, if the uncle, in agreement with the family, does not surrender the culprit, the family that takes vengeance has permission to recover its losses by snatching away and selling family members of the culprit and destroying their houses and farms. If a person who has exposed himself to blood vengeance quickly flees, he himself is certain of never going back home. For example, Waya village is said to have come into being through such an escapee. However, his family has to pay all expenses incurred and to see to the cleansing of the defiled land. Failing to do that will make the land lose its fertility.

Poisoners and evil witches are buried alive, and they are often miserably tormented to death with cudgels and cutlasses. In the year 1877 a person from Adaklu, who killed a person from Peki and chopped off his head, was terribly tortured to death by some people from Peki. First of all, a knife was pierced through the cheeks of the victim thus rendering him speechless so that he could not curse anybody. After that they stuck knives in his heels, so that he could only walk on his toes. He was led around in this condition, burnt with fire and cut with knives. Finally, he was tied onto a tree, so that he could not sink to the ground unconscious. Left in this condition he hungered and thirsted for days. Finally, they cut one piece of his flesh after the other from his body and threw the pieces of flesh into the bush, until he was at last hacked into many small pieces.

E. Burial of a Person who died from Smallpox

Mk: If someone dies from smallpox, he is not mourned. Anyone who is attacked by smallpox is taken to the bush, where a hut (made of palm branches) is erected for him. The man or woman who takes care of him is not allowed to come to town. When food is brought to them, the food is placed on the way. Then one strikes a tree several times with a piece of wood, shouts loudly, and they (the caretakers) come for the food prepared for both the sick and the caretakers.

If the sick person dies, his relatives are called from town. The dead person is not bathed. They wait till nightfall when they use torchlight to bury the corpse. He is buried at the same place where he died.

γ. Ewuwu

Ke ne ame la dze ku la, doko woawui, wodea ka efe yonu kplone yia Atsiamanya; wokua do, eye wotsa efe ta aka do la me, eye wowua efe afotiwo dzi de xexe. Dewo wodea do wogoglona, eye wotsa ame la tua tsitre de eme, efe ta koe na ya me. Xewo kple zanuvewo va duna. Blafoawo alo ame sesewo koe nye ame siwo wo ale nu siawo, du la kata meya etefe o. Ame la fe didime koe nye si, ame adeke mefaa avi na wo o, wome daa tu na wo ha o. Gbe ma gbe ke wogba wofe xo eyee wolone fua gbe de gbe me.

E. Sakpatelelawo fe didi

M.K.: *Ne sakpate wu ame ade la womefa avi ne o. Gba la ne sakpate dzo de ame ade dzi la, wokplone yia gbe me, eye wowo xo ne le afi ma; gutsu alo nyonu si le edzi kpom la, mevaa gbo me o. Ne wotsu nuqudu ve na wo la, wotsone dana de mo to eye wotsa ati xana de ati kpa, kpa, kpa doa yli ya wo, eye wotsa nuqudu la yina na wo.*

Ne ame la ku la, woyo efomeawo le afe me. Womelea tsi na wo o, eye wolalana va se de esime za dona, eye wodra akakati kple dzotiwo yina daqia woe; wodea yodo la de gbesa me afi ma ke.

After one or two years, when the smallpox epidemic is over, the people of the town prepare themselves, in order to perform funeral rites of all the people, who have died from smallpox.

The men who buried the smallpox victim gets his property, for the relatives fear that the deceased would come and kill them if they themselves used his estate. Only people who have once suffered from smallpox can bury him. Whoever has not had smallpox yet does not come near a smallpox patient or his corpse. The inhabitants of all towns now buy meat, gun powder and palm wine. Then they come together, eat and drink till evening when the funeral celebration comes to an end.

F. Sudden Death (through Stroke)

1. Treatment of a Person who died in a Room

MK.: Two types of sudden death are discernible. A “good” type of death is when someone dies in a room. On the other hand, a “bad” type is when someone dies on the road or on the farm. If someone dies a sudden death without having been sick, he is bathed. People go to express their sympathy because the news seems to them like a lie. That is why they come together to see the corpse themselves. Such a person is buried, as if he has died a good death because no one is afraid of him. If the deceased is a woman, she is buried outside the town; if it is a man, he is buried in his own house. The house can still be occupied without fear.

After someone has died, a message is sent, first of all, to all his brothers in the surrounding towns, who gather around him. Gun firing, weeping and drumming are heard over a long distance. In the course of the afternoon, he is carried by his paternal brothers or (his) fathers to the burial place; they assist each other to give him a fitting burial. The grave is called *ɔyɔɛ*, “father’s grave”, because it is made by family members and for that matter his grave is not made hurriedly like that of a suicide, but rather it is dug deep enough. If the deceased was a king, one lays a table for him in the grave and puts spirits and his glass on it. His brothers lay cloths, with which they bury him, in the grave. Having done all that, they then stretch a mosquito net over the dead person. Those who ^{286*} have done this work in the grave and prepared it should not speak to anyone after they have left it, until they have bathed. Then they may talk to people.

The next morning, the family members come together to fix a day to perform the funeral rites. The purchase of foodstuffs is shared among all family members in such a way that some must buy meat and others palm wine etc. The house of such a deceased is not demolished after the end of the funeral, but is rather left as a guest house for strangers. (The soul) of these people is not looked for in a pot.¹⁰⁹ After that, people commune with their spirit in the *Trɔɲ* shrine, where they narrate the events leading to their death. They tell whether their death was caused by people or whether it was the destiny they came with.¹¹⁰ The relatives of the deceased who come from elsewhere remain in the mourning room until the final funeral celebration is performed. Then everyone goes home.

109 As in the case of persons bitten by snakes.

110 From Amedzɔfe, the place of origin of human beings.

Ne exɔ fe ɖeka alo fe eve, eye sakpate la nu yi vɔ la, dua metɔwo dzra wo ɖokuiwo ɖo, eye wowɔa ame siwo katã ku la fe nu ɖekae.

Nu siwo le sakpatelɛla si ku la si la, wotsɔnɛ na amesiwo ɖii la; elabena wole vɔvɔm bena, ne yewo wɔ enu ɖɔ la, woava wu yewo. Ame siwo ke wɔ sakpate la xoxo la, woawoe nye ame siwo ɖia wo. Ame siwo ke mewɔe haɖe o la, woawo matena ɖe wo ɣuti o. Duawo katã wosɔ nu, eye wodzea aha. Emegbe wofoa vu, ɖua nu, noa aha va se ɖe fiɛ me, ekema wowɔ wofe nuwo vɔ kenɔ.

F. Ku Kpata Kulawo

1. Ame siwo ku ɖe xɔ me

M.K.: Ku kpata le eve. Nyuietɔe nye ne ame ku ɖe xɔ me, eye vɔ̃etɔe nye ne ame ku ɖe mɔ dzi alo bofo. Wofe ɖiɖime le vovovo.

Ne ame aɖe ku kpata ɖɔ malɛmalɛ la wolea tsi na wo, eye amewo vana gidigidii va kpɔnɛ ɖa. Woɖia wo abe ame siwo ku ku nyuie ene, eye womedzia ɣɔ le wo ɣu o. Nenye nyɔnue ku ku sia la, woɖine ɖe gbɔ to; ke nenye ɣutsue la, woɖine ɖe eya ɣutɔ fe xɔ me. Ame bubuwo ganɔa xɔ la me, eye womevɔna o.

Gbã, esi ame la ku la, woɖoa du ɖe nɔviawo katã siwo le duta duta wova kpea ta ɖe enuti; tudada, avifafa kple vufɔfo le ɖiɖim hoo. Ne yetɔ ɖo la, ekema tɔviawo alo toawo tsɔnɛ yia amedife, eye wokpea asi ɖe enu ɖine nyuie. Yɔɖo, si woɖena na wo la, woyɔnɛ bena, tɔyɛ; elabena eya la womedɛnɛ abe dzekudzegbla ene o; ke boɣ woɖenɛ wogoglona nyuie. Ne fia ame la nye la, ekema woɖoa kplɔ ɖe do la me nɛ. eye wotsɔa yevuha kple efe kɔɣkɔ dana ɖe edzi. Nɔviawo hã atɔ avɔ ada ɖe yɔɖo la me, bena woatsɔ aɖii; ne wowɔ nu siawo katã vɔ la, wodoa mudɔ ɖe edzi. Ame siwo le yɔɖo la me dzram ɖo alea la, ne wodo go la, womedea nu ame aɖeke ɣu o, va se ɖe esime woale tsi hafi woade nu ame ɣu.

Ne ɣu ke la, ame kuku la fe fometɔwo ɖoa ɣekeke, bena woawɔ efe nu. Woma nu fefleawo na amewo kenɔ; ame aɖewo nye lãflelawo, ame aɖe wo nye ahadzɛlawo. Ne wowɔ kunu la vɔ la, womegbã wofe xɔ o, ke boɣ enɔa anyi na amedzrowo. Nenem me siawo la, wometsɔa lubu na wo o. Emegbe wova yɔa wo le trɔxɔ me wovana va foa nu ale si ke wɔ wo hafi woku; nenye ame aɖe gbɛ ku la tso va alo woawo ɣutɔe xɔe vɛ nenema la wogblɔnɛ. Nɔvia siwo tso duta va la, wonɔa yɔxɔ me kakaka, va se ɖe esime woanɔla efe tsitse, ekema ame siaa ame ayi ɖe efe nɔfe.

2. Treatment of a Person who dies in the bush

If someone dies a sudden death on a farm or on the road, one says that he has died a bad death. First of all, one takes the deceased to his house. Then a small hut made of palm twigs is made outside the town and the corpse is taken there. Musketry is fired in the town for him, but no drumming, singing and dancing is organized for him in the town, only performed outside. His house is not demolished and the funeral is performed like for those who die a good death. However, they (the burial rites) are not performed within the town.

G. Persons bitten by Wild Animals

1. Those who are found still alive

Mk.: Those who are attacked and wounded in the bush by wild animals to the extent that they remain in the bush are searched for and taken home. However, they are not taken into town, but rather a hut is erected with palm branches for them on the wayside (outskirts of the town) and they are laid there. Then they look for competent medicine men to treat him. If the person dies after they have cared for him for a long while and made medicine for him, his maternal brothers pay for all that had been spent on him. The one who had made the medicine for the deceased, gets nothing other than his food from them. On the other hand, if the person becomes healthy, they (the relatives) must give those who treated him what they demand. If he dies, that is another matter.

These dead persons are also buried in (the countryside) *Atsiamanya* among people who have died a violent death. The father-in-law of the deceased summons men who carry him to the burial place. However, if it is a woman who has been bitten by an animal, the husband organizes people who go to bury her. Strangers or other people are not allowed to bury her because it is dangerous. Such dead persons are buried in quickly dug graves. Those who went into the bush with him, before he was torn by the animal, bring water on the way so that they bathe, before they come into the town.

2. Those who are found dead

If people hear that a person has been torn by a wild animal, they tell the king, and he calls the people together to deliberate on what to do. Men are then sent to the place of the incident. If they see the animal, they kill it and parade it on the village road. If they do not see it, the dead person is buried. They carry him into the bush, for he should not be taken home. He is bathed with hot water and rubbed with oil there. Palm oil is smeared in the wounds if he has wounds on the body. The oil container is put in the grave for him to apply the oil to his wounds

Nine days after the burial, funeral rites are performed for him. Meat and palm wine are bought and the meat is used for preparing food for the strangers. On the same day the deceased's house is demolished and burnt on the road (outside the town). After this they go home.

2. Ame siwo ku ɖe gbe me

Ne ame aɖe ku ku kpata le bofo alo mɔ dzi la, wogblɔna be eku ku vɔe.

Gbã wotsɔne va mlɔa efe xɔ me, emegbe la, wowɔa abaya xɔ ɖe du la xa, eye wotsɔne yia afi ma. Wodaa tu na wo le gbɔ me gake womefoa vu na wo le gbɔ me o ke boɲ le gboto ko. Womegbã wofe xɔ o, wowɔa wofe nu abe ale si wowɔa ku nyuie kulawo fe nu ene; gake gbɔ me ko womewɔne le o.

G. Lālɛawo

1. Ame siwo gale agbe vie

M.K.: Ame siwo ke tsi gbe dzi, lã lé wo alo de abi wo ɲu la, wotia wo yome, eye wotsɔa wova afeee. Wometsɔa wova gbɔ me o, ke boɲ wowɔa abayaxɔ ɖe mɔ to na wo tsɔ wo dea eme. Wodia amatsiwɔla reviewo bena woadze agbagba le ɛɲuti ne wole amatsi la wɔm le ame la dzi kpɔm kakaka wòku la, ekema nɔviawo axe efe nu gbegblɛfowo kenken; ame si le amatsi la wɔm la, mexɔa adzɔ aɖeke o, negbe nuɖuɖu ko wòaxɔ tso wo gbɔ. Ne ame la haya la, ekema nu si agbagbadzelawo bia la, ele be woawɔ wo. Ke ne woku la, ezua nya bubu.

Woɖia woawo hã ɖe Atsiamanya ɖe ame tsiavawo dome. Ame si ke ku la fe tɔ dia ame wotsɔne yia ɖife la. Nenyɛ nyɔnue lã le, ekema srɔa dɔa amewo woyina ɖaɖine. Amedzro alo ame bubu aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ aɖi wo o, elabena enye nu vɔ. Woɖia ame sia tɔgbiwo ɖe dzekudzegbla me. Ame siwo ke eya kpakpli woyi gbe me hafi lã lée la, wokua tsi va mɔ dzi na wo wolena hafi va gbɔ me.

2. Gbemetsilawo

Ne wose be, lã lé ame la, gbã wogblɔne na fia, eye woyɔa amewo foa fu dea aɖaɲu le ɛɲuti ken ale si ke woawɔ. Eye wodɔa amewo ɖona ɖe tefe afi si ke lã lé ame la le la. Ne wokpɔ lãa la, wowune, eye wotsɔne va ablɔ me. Ne womekpɔe o la, wotsɔa ame kuku la ɖina. Wotsɔne yia gbe me, wometsɔne va afe me o, wolea tsi dzodzoe na wo, eye wota ami tɔtɔ na wo. Ne abi le ɛɲu la, wotsɔa ami dzɛ ɖena ɖe abia na wo emegbe ne wole wo ɖi ge la, wogadea ami nuwo me tsɔna dona ɖe egbo le yɔɔda me, bena woatsɔ anɔ abi ɖom.

Ŋkeke asiekea gbe wowɔa efe nu; woflea lã dzea aha eye woɖa nu na amedzoawo. Gbe ma gbe wogbã efe xɔ tɔa dzoe ɖe mɔ dzi. Eye esia megbe wodzona yia afe.

H. Death through Snake Bite

1. First Report

a. Treatment of the Bitten person

If any person is killed in an accident, we say of the person that he has “remained in his blood” or that he has “remained in war”.

Sr.: If someone is bitten by a snake in the bush and (the poison) seeps into him, and he cannot walk anymore, those, who are with him give distress signals (by striking their mouth). Immediately people come together to carry the person bitten by the snake home. At home, he is not put on a mat, but rather on fresh palm leaves. (Palm twigs are woven together like a mat and placed on the ground). Then spiritualists, who have medicine against snake bites, are called in. They come to treat the person for as long as it takes till he recovers or dies. Everyone who makes medicine for him claims that his medicine is the better one. A friend says: “Mine is the better one” and the other claims: “Mine is better. If I make it for him, he will immediately become healthy.” If the (poison of the) snake bite penetrates him, the person dies. However, if it does not penetrate, he will live. Whoever is bitten by a snake is not taken home, but is rather put on palm branches outside the town, before one makes medicine for him. If it is a woman who is bitten by a snake, all beads that she has on the body and her clothes are removed, so that only her loin cloth is on her. If it is a man, only the loin cloth for the farm remains on the body.

b. Death and Burial

If the person dies, he is carried into the bush and buried. The corpse is put on banana leaves in the bush. Three banana plants are placed against each other and water is put on it. (The banana plants are put against each other to represent a hearth). However, fire is not lighted; the water will, therefore, not become hot. While the women are washing the corpse, the relatives of the deceased come to take the leaf rings from the plants and beat them flat with stones. *Kplo, kplo, kplo* is heard everywhere there. These (fibres) serve as sponge, with which the deceased is washed. After that has happened, they gather up all the fibres by the side of the corpse. Then the corpse is smeared with white clay; the white clay is his oil.

Everyone who goes to the corpse must take along white clay and spread it on the dead person. Then he dips his finger into the white clay on the dead person and smears it on his forearm. Those whose children have always died until now, are fond of saying: “The same thing will happen to me, too; I will also come to him (the dead person).” After that the dead person is laid on a mat, with its beautiful side downwards and the rough side upwards. People are fond of saying: “One puts them (those bitten by snakes) on the reverse side of a mat!” His brothers give gun powder and musketry is fired skilfully for him (outside in the bush). Then he is carried away and buried (in the countryside) *Atsiamanya*. Someone who is not afraid of a dead person, carries him to the burial place.¹¹¹ They say that when carriers are on the way and the dead person arrives at a place where he wishes to be buried, he then induces the carriers to stop. The carriers can no longer continue; they put him down there and dig his grave. His

¹¹¹ There are always several carriers.

H. Ame siwo da ɖu

1. Nufɔfo gbāto le eɖu

a. Agbagbadzedze le wo ɖu

Sr.: Ne da ɖu ame aɖe le gbe me; eye wòte eɖu ale be, eya ɖuto mate ɖu azo azoli o la, ame siwo le egbo doa bobui, eye amewo foa zi vana, eye wokone yia afe mee. Ne wokoe va afe mee la, wometsone mlo aba dzi o, ke boɖ wotsone mloa do dzi (Doe nye debaya, si wolɔ tso do anyi abe aba ene). Emegbe woyɔa dzoto siwo si damatsi le la, ve. Wova dzea agbagba le ame la ɖu vuu, va se de esime efe lame ase alo wòaku. Wowɔa amatsi la dikeke dikeke; xolɔ tsona gblona bena, tonye ewuna, ame bubu ha gblona bena, tonye ewu, ne mewoe ko la, avo fifia ke. Ne da la ɖu amea te eɖu aku, gake ne mete eɖu o la, atsi agbe. Wometsɔa ame si da ɖu la vaa afe me o, ke boɖu wotsone mloa gbo to le do dzi hafi wowɔa amatsi la ne. Nenyɛ nyɔnue da ɖu la, ekema aɖe dzonu siwo katã le eɖu la ada di, eye woadɛ avo ha le ɖu wòasuso godui deɖe ko de eɖu; nenyɛ ɖutsue la agblego koe avo eɖu.

b. Wofe ku kple diɖi

Ne ame la ku la ekema wokone yia gbe me, hafi woadi. Wolãa akokumagbawo tsonɛ doa edzi, eye wokpea dzo de afe ma doa tsi dzoe le edzi, gake tsi la mevena o, elabena womeɖea dzo de ete o, menye nake ɖuto ha wokpena o, ke boɖu akoduti wowone. Ne nyɔnuwo le tsi lem ne la, ekema ame kuku la fe fometwo vana, eye woka akoduti siwo wotsɔ kpe dzo lae la kogbe susesue, eye wonɔa kpe tum edzi afe ma katã na diɖim kplo, kplo, kplo. Nu sia wotsɔna wɔa abusa hetsɔna lea tsi na ame kuku la, emegbe la wogatsɔa abusawo katã wɔa dekae dana de ame kuku la gbo, eye wota ye ne kenken de efe afe sia afe, ye la nye efe ami.

Ame siaa ame si ke ava egbo la, ele ne be, wòatsɔ ye de asi avuu de ame kuku la dzi. Eye ye, si le ame kukua dzi la ato asi eme ado alonu, eye ame siwo nye dzikutwo la, wogblona bena; Esia ke awo nye ha mava egbo. Azo wotsɔa aba yeye vane, eye wotsɔa aba la fe nyuiefe alo ɖkume dona de anyigba, eye wotrɔa emegbe de dzifo tso ame kuku la mloa edzii, eye wonɔa gbogblo bena; Abamegbe dzi woawo mlonɔa. Nɔviawo naa ɖu wodaa tu ne kakaka. Emegbe la, wotsone yina daɖina de Atsimanya. Ame si ke mevɔa ame kuku o la, atsɔe faa ayi de diɖe la. Wogblo bena, ne ame siwo tsɔe la wole azoli dzi eye ame kuku la do afe si wole didim be, woadi ye do la, ekema enana etsɔlawo tona. Ame siwo tsɔe la, womegatea ɖu yia ɖgo o, eye wodrone do afe ma heɖea do ne. Do la megoglona nyuie hafi woɖine de eme o. woyɔa do la be dzekudzegbla. Azo wodzona ve afe me eye wova doa efe atidzadza.

grave is not made deep. His grave is called *dzekudzegbla*. After burial the people go home and they fix the time for the funeral.

c. The Spirit of the Deceased is fetched from the Bush

On the ninth day (after the burial) one goes into the bush in order to fetch the *lubu*¹¹² from the spot where the thing happened to him. When one goes to fetch him, the carriers of *lubu* and great spiritualists take the lead before daybreak, and a team of young persons follows them early in the morning. It is said that when all go at once before daybreak, the dead person will hear and flee from the place. That is why the *lubu* carriers and the great spiritualists go there first. The spiritualists perform magical rituals there, tie him (the dead person) and call him by his name. They swear and say to him: “You and I, we have gone everywhere together; if something has happened to you, before you died this death, I would have taken revenge for your death!” When the team of young persons arrives, they also swear in the same way. They swear by saying: “If highwaymen have shot you secretly (in the bush) or if you were killed in (another way) and hidden in a termite hill, we would have taken revenge for your death. Then they dig the soil at exactly where the snake had bitten him, put it (the soil) in a pot and tie it with white material. The pot is put on the head of someone to whom the same thing had already happened. If it is a man, he carries it. On the other hand, if it is a woman she also carries it. Then there is skilful firing of musketry at the place. As soon as the *lubu* carrier raises his foot, the pot shakes on his head. Then people begin to weep and fire musketry till they come home. Those who remained at home, join them (the carriers). Now, they go through the (untrodden) bush to the grave of the deceased, on which they put the pot turned upside down. The pot stays on the grave, and the people go home.

d. Spirits’ Feast

When they get back home from the grave, they cook for the visitors who come from the surrounding towns, and drink a lot of palm wine together with these visitors. After they have finished eating, fire is lighted on the village road. People whose relatives have died a similar death roast plantain and spread oil on it. Others roast groundnuts with maize. Still others roast dry maize that they allow to burn completely. Others cook maize porridge or make fufu. Then they all gather these foods and put them on a mat on the open village road. The “people who have died violent death” come together there and eat the foods of their brothers. People who have no compassion are fond of saying: “This is exactly how we will also die.” They eat the food on the mat and drink the palm wine from the pot, which is tied with white material and smeared with white clay. Then the house of the deceased is demolished, and they spend time drumming and playing. Thereafter, they take all the belongings of the dead person, his clothes, as well as the food items that are on the mat and carry them outside (into the bush) to the spot where they mourned the deceased and to burn them there. His brothers share the money that the deceased left behind. But they do not leave other things because this kind of death is considered as a very bad one. No one is allowed to take his crops either;

112 *Lubu*: a pot that is filled with soil at the spot where the person has been bitten. The spirit of the deceased is taken home in this pot.

c. Lubutsɔtsɔ

Ŋkeke asiekea gbe la, woyina ɔatsɔa efe lubu le gbe me afi si nu la wɔe le la. Ne wole etsɔfe yi ge la, lubu la tsɔla kple dzotɔ gāgāwo yina le fɔŋli xoxo, eye le ŋdi kanya la, sɔhewo dzea wo yome. Wogblo bena, ne ameawo katā woayi zi ɔeka le fɔŋli la, ame kuku la ava se wofe ŋko, eye wɔasi le tefe la. Eya ta lubutsɔla kple dzotɔ gāgāwo koe yina gbā. Dzotɔawo nɔa dzo wɔm, eye wonɔa eblam, eye wonɔa ame kuku la fe ŋko yɔm tia. Eye wonɔa atam kam nɔa gbɔgbɔm nɛ bena; Nye kpɔli wɔ miedea afi sia afi, ɔe wonye sigbe nua ɔe wɔ wɔ hafi neku ale la, ne makpɔ etefe kokoko. Ne sɔhewo hā va la, woawo hā ka atam nenema. Vevietɔ ale si wowɔa anyrā le ame ŋuti le gbe me, woda dafi, alo wowua ame tsɔna dea ko to me fe atam wokana kenken fianɛ. Emegbe la, woaka anyigba, afi si nu la alo da la ɔui le la tututu dea zevi me, eye woatsɔ aklala abla ɔe ŋuti. Eye woatsɔe aɔo ta na ame si nu sia fomevi wɔe kpɔ la. Nenyɛ ŋutsue la, ŋutsu atsɔe, nenyɛ nyɔnue la, nyɔnu atsɔe, eye woada tu le etefe la kakaka. Ne lubutsɔla ɔe afo la, ekema ze la nɔa fofom le eta. Amewo nɔa avi fam, eye wonɔa tu dam va sena ɔe esime wovaa afe. Afenɔlawo hā kpenā ɔe wo ŋuti. Eye wodzea gbe tsɔne yina ɔe efe ɔife, atsɔ lubu la aɔo efe yɔdo dzi alo wɔatsɔ zevi la abu yɔdo la dzi. Emegbe wodzona yia afe, eye zevi la tsia afi ma.

d. Nuɔɔa na wofe ŋoliwo

Ne wova afe la, woɔaa nu na amedzro siwo ke tso dutawo va la, eye wonoa aha geɔe. Ne woɔu nua vɔ la, wodoa dzo ɔe ablo me, eye ame siwo ke wo nɔviwo ku ku sia tɔge la, mea abladzo sisia ami ɔe ŋu. Ame aɔewo atɔ azikipeli, ame aɔewo mea blifufu woafia kolikoli, ame aɔewo ɔa akplɛ alo fufu. Wotsɔa nuɔɔu siawo katā dana ɔe aba dzi le ablo me, eye ame tsiaɔawo va tsɔa wo nɔviwo fe nuwo ɔuna. Ame siwo ke nye ɔmevevetɔwo la, wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena; Alea ko yewo hā yewoava kui. Eye wonɔa abadzinuawo ɔum eye wonɔa deha si wotsɔ ɔe kpezee me bla atayi ɔe enu, eye wota ye nɛ la, kum nɔa nonom. Ekema ne wogbā amekuku la fe xɔ, eye wonɔa vufɔfo kple kɔɔiɔi dzi. Emegbe la wofɔa ame kukua fe nuwo eɔanye avɔ o, eye wotsɔa abadzinuawo hā yia efafe la, eye wotɔa dzoe le afi ma kenken. Ne ga le esi la, ekema nɔviawo mā eya; gake womenana nu bubu aɔeke susɔna o; elabena wobua nenem ku sia ku vɔɔi ŋutɔe. Efe agblemenuwo la, ame aɔeke mekpɔ mɔ ade asi ŋu o, ɔeko wotsia anyi babawo ɔuna. Elabena ame siaa ame le vɔvɔm bena, ne yewo ka asi ŋuti la, ame kuku la ava wu yewo.

they remain on the farm, where they are eaten by termites. Everyone is afraid to take any of the crops for himself because the deceased would otherwise kill him.

2. Second Report

a. Care

Mk.: The customs that one observes when someone is laid on palm twigs are as follows:

Anyone who wears a dress woven from red thread is forbidden to come to him. He may not eat palm kernels and palm oil. If the person concerned does not die but rather recovers, the value of the brandy or the palm wine that was drunk as well as all that they have eaten till his recovery is calculated. However, if the spiritualists have eaten at the house of his relatives, he does not need to pay anything anymore. If the person (bitten) recovers, his head is shaved.¹¹³ A lot of palm wine is bought and three goats are slaughtered for the occasion. One belongs to the father, one to his mother and the third one to himself. Many people, also of their own free will slaughter fowls to grace the occasion. After cooking all that, he invites all those, who had made medicine for him. The mother calls her friends and the father his contemporaries. Then they eat and drink together. After the meal his head is shaved. After that has happened, he bathes and then the crown of the head is smeared with white clay. Then he adorns himself beautifully, wears his best clothes and sandals, takes an umbrella in his hand and goes into the town to greet people. Now, he can freely mingle with everyone. All the debts that he has incurred are shared among his paternal brothers, who pay them.

b. Death and Burial

However, if the person dies, he is taken briefly to his own house. For the inhabitants do not want to have him laid in state in the town. Then he is carried into the bush. Only his paternal brothers may carry him into the bush. Nobody else is allowed to carry him because they are afraid. When his paternal brothers carry him into the bush in the night, they cut away two banana leaves and put them on the ground. They spread two mats with their smooth side turned downwards on the banana leaves, and place the corpse on the mats. Many townsfolk accompany the family members of the deceased into the bush and stay with the corpse. They light fires around themselves to keep warm. While doing that, they sing dirges, weep and fire musketry. On the next morning he (the dead person) is washed by his mother and all paternal brothers. For that purpose no hot water is used, but rather cold water. No oil is applied on the corpse, but rather it is smeared with white clay. Three banana plants are cut down and placed against each other and a pot can be placed on it. The pot is filled with water, but fire is not lit underneath it. Leaf rings are pulled by the women from these banana plants which they beat with stones to be used as sponge. When a woman finishes beating her part she puts it aside. This is done by all women present. *Kplo, kplo, kplo* is heard all over the whole place. Sisters (paternal) of the deceased stick food into the mouth of the deceased as they say that is his last meal. All sponges are put at one place, they wipe the corpse with them and they smear it completely with white clay, before putting it down and cover it with clothes. Thereafter friends come, pour brandy into his mouth

¹¹³ *Ta vñe*, “the evil head”. This means the evil is shaved off his head.

2. Nufofo evelia le enu

a. Agbagbadzedze le wo ɲu

Mk.: Kɔnu, siwo wowɔna na wo gbā, esime wotsɔ wo da ɔ ɔ dzi lae nye:

Woxea mɔ na ame siaa ame si ta kadzēvɔ la, nu biabiā sia nu biabiā alo nu dziē sia nu dziē meva egbo o. Womeɖua denu alo ami dzē nu o. Ne ame la meku o, ke boɲu wòhaya la, ekema aha, siwo katā wodze, eɖanye yevuha alo deha o, kple nu siwo katā woɖu la, wonɔa fe la bum ɖi, va se ɔ esime efe lāme nasē. Ke ne dzowɔlawo le nu ɖum le efe fometɔwo gbɔ la, ekema fe aɖeke meganɔa anyi o. Ne amee la haya la, wolua ta vɔa nɛ. Wodze aha geɖe, eye wowua gbɔ etɔ. Tɔa tɔ ɖeka. ɖewo ne edze wo ɲu la, wotsɔa koklo hā kpena ɔ enjuti. Ne woɖa nua vɔ keɲ la, ekema aɔvɔ efe amatsiwɔlawo akpe ɔ eɖokui ɲuti nɔa hā etɔ nyɔnuwo, eye woaɖu nu ano nu ɔ dzi. Emegbe la, wolua ta nɛ. Esia wɔwɔ megbe la ale tsi, eye woasisi ye ɔ dzodome nɛ. Eye wòata avɔ nyuie, ado atokota, alé xexi ɔ asi, awɔ fewunu nyuie ayi ɔ gbɔdome aɖado gbe na amewo. Azɔ la, eya kple ame siaa ame woanɔ anyi faa. Fe siwo katā wònyi la, woamāa na tɔviawo woaxe.

b. Ku kple ɖiɖi

Gake ne ame la ku la, gbā wotsɔne va dana ɔ eya ɲuto fe xɔ me vie ko; elabena afeawo melɔna, be woatsɔe ada ɔ gbɔ me o, emegbe la, wotsɔne yia gbe me. Tɔviawo ɔ ɔ ɔ koe kpo mɔ, bena woatsɔe ayi gbe mee. Ame bubu aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ be wòatsɔe ayii o, elabena wo katā wole vɔvɔm. Ne tɔviawo tɔvɔ ame kuku la va gbea me le zā me la, wolā akɔɖumagba eve, eye wotsɔne ɖona ɔ anyigba, eye wogatsɔa aba eve trɔa wofe ɲkume ɖona ɔ ame kuku la fe fometɔwo ɲu, eye wodɔa egbo le gbe la me. Wodoa dzo foa xlā wo ɖokui nɔa fufum, eye wonɔa ha dzim, nɔa avi fam henɔa tu dam. Ne ɲu ke ɲdi la, nɔa kple tɔviawo katā lea tsi fafe. Womesia ami na wo o, ke boɲu wota ye na wo ɔ ami tefe. Wolā akɔɖuti etɔ, tɔvɔna kpea dzoti, ale si ke ze ate ɲu anɔ edzi ko, eye wotsɔ ze la ɖoa edzi ko, eye wokua tsi ɔ eme fuu, gake la womedoa dzo ɔ ete o. Nenem akɔɖuti etɔ siwo wolā la, eya nyɔnuwo flɔna tɔvɔ kpe tua edzi wɔa abosa; xɔlɔ wɔe etsɔe da ɖi, ame bu gawɔe etsɔe da ɖi, nenema nyɔnu sia nyɔnu wɔne. Eye afi ma katā nɔa ɖiɖim kplo, kplo, kplo. Nyɔnu siwo nye tɔviawo la, wotsɔa nuɖuɖu dea efe nu me, bena eya nye efe nuɖuɖu mamletɔ. Wotsɔa abosawo katā foa fu ɔ afi ɖeka tɔvɔna tutua ɲuti na ame kuku la, eye wotsɔa ye hesisina ɔ ame kuku la ɲuti keɲ hafi atsɔe mɔ anyi, eye woatsɔ avɔ atsɔvɔ nɛ. Emegbe xɔlɔwo vana, eye wodzea aha kɔna ɔ nu me nɛ, gblɔna bena: Aha susɔe si míakple wo míeno lae nye esi. Wotsɔ efe avɔ aɖewo ɖine, eye wotsɔa mamleawo na nɔvia alo dada. Gake ame siwo mekpɔ mɔ awɔ enu ɔ o, negbe ne teɖuyi ɔ ko. Woɖine ɔ Atsiamanya (ame tsiavawo ɖife).

and say: “That is the last brandy that we are drinking together.” He is buried with some of his clothes; his mother or the maternal brothers get the others. These clothes are, however, not worn everyday, but rather only during the yam festival. He is buried at the (countryside) *Atsiamanya*, the burial place for people who have died violent deaths.

When he is buried, and they go home, water is placed on the way for them and all those who buried him bathe there before they go home. At home, all who are sitting under the shade of trees thank them on their return, and then all go home.

c. Cleansing of the Town

The next morning, the paternal brothers of the deceased go to the priest at Banyakoe with 12 *hoka* cowry shells and a cock to ask him to sweep the town, meaning to make propitiatory sacrifice for them to clear away the evil from the town. The priests *Any*. And *Adl*. tie a toad and a chicken to a palm branch and call a man, who rings the bell. They go through the town together and drag the toad and the chicken on the ground. In a calabash they have consecrated medicine, which they spray onto the ground and in the air. The medicine is made by pouring water on the leaves of the *wu* tree. That is how they purify the town and drive away evil from it. Those who perform the rituals should not utter any word in the process; they must go their way quietly like the deaf and dumb. Others only shout: “Evil moves out today, and good comes into the town! Evil has disappeared completely!” With that everything ends.

Ne wodii ɔ trɔ gbɔna va afe la, ekema wokua tsi va ɔɔa mɔ dzi na wo, eye ame siwo katã dji la, wolea tsi le afi ma hafi va afe me, eye ame siwo katã ɔɔɔ ɔɔ ɔti ɔɔme la, wodaa akpe na wo be, miesẽ ɔ loo, eye wo kakana yia afe me.

c. Busuyiyi

Ne ɔ ke la, tɔviawo tsɔa hotsui hoka wuieve yina na trɔsi, si le Banyakoe la, eye wotsɔa koklo hã kpena ɔɔ ɔɔuti, be woakplɔ gbɔ me na wo, eye woade nu vɔwo ɔa na yewo. Any kple Adl. siwo nye trɔsiawo la, woatsɔ akpɔkpɔ atsi ɔɔ debaya ɔuti, atsɔ koklovi hã atsi ɔɔ akpɔkpɔ la gbɔ, eye trɔsiawo aɔɔ ame si foa avaga la akpe ɔɔ wo ɔɔkui ɔu, eye woanɔ avaga la fom kpon, kpon, kpon! Wonɔa tsatsam le dua me, eye wonɔa akpɔkpɔ kple koklovia hem le anyigba. Wotsɔa wɔmagba doa amatsi ɔɔ tre me henɔa hehlẽm ɔɔ anyigba kple yame; wole gbɔme flam wole nu vɔ ɔɔm ɔa tsɔ gbɔ me. Ewɔlawo ɔuto mefoa nu o, womegblɔ nya aɔɔke o, ɔɔko wonɔa yiyim miã sigbe mimitɔwo ene; Ame bubuwo koe ɔa gbɔgbɔm bena; Vɔ do go egbe, nyuie va gbɔ me loo. Vɔ nu yi egbe kenken. Esia megbe la nuwɔwɔ aɔɔke megali o.

Chapter 4: Economic Life

1. Main Section: Agriculture

I. The Religious Foundation of Agriculture

A. Burning of Grass

1. Introductory Remarks

Ho's stony ground has not got much natural nutritive value and must, therefore, be fertilised well. However, artificial fertilisation is out of the question because no livestock is kept in Ho. On account of the tsetse fly, cattle cannot be kept there in future either. The lands that have been put under cultivation must, therefore, always lie fallow for some years, before they can be cultivated again. In the course of these years the land is fertilised every year with ashes that remain behind after the burning of grass. If the soil does not undergo this natural fertilisation, it loses its productivity, which is at any rate low. The time for the burning of grass, January and February, is, therefore, of particular importance to the native, because during this time, he is not very busy with farm duties and thus can devote himself to uninterrupted hunting. The successes of the latter are particularly dependent on the beginning of the burning of grass. If it still rains often in December and January, the grass remains green for a long time, so that the burning of grass begins late and the bush only burns partially. The bush should be lit after a successful agreement among the chiefs and only in the evening. The fire is then extinguished after a few hours by the dew and never burns so far that it could pose a danger to a neighbouring group. The house owners must first fetch as much reeds as they need for the repair of their roofs in January and February. If the bush is lit too early, the roof reeds that are indispensable for the native also burn. The consequences of that are felt in a serious manner, especially during the next rainy season. Sometimes it happens that the fire spreads over the dry grass from afar, before the inhabitants have been able to prepare for it by cutting the grass around their town. Sometimes entire towns burn, while others can only be saved from destruction with great difficulty.

Sometimes wicked neighbours take pleasure in lighting the bush too early or at noon. The fire then spreads with great speed through the dry steppes and surprises many villages. When the time grass burning has started the people are usually in the habit of remaining at home, until the actual danger for them is over.

2. The Procession to the Place of Sacrifice

When the grass begins to become dry the chiefs confer, go to the priest of the earth and say to him that they want to go to the abode of *Trõ*¹, in order to serve the *trõwo* and bring them sacrifice, in order that they obtain for them the life of the animals. When they arrive there they make propitiatory sacrifice to the *trõ* as they pray as follows: “During the burning of grass that is about to happen, may the animals die, and may anyone, who goes into the bush, find dead animals! If someone sees a live animal, may the animals become blind. Inversely, may their eyes (the eyes of human beings) be clear! That is why we have preceded coming before the animals. When the animals come, tell them that human beings have been here for a long time, and that they have no case to present.” The reason why the chiefs go to the abode of *trõ* is as follows: When the burning of the grass is approaching the wild animals also go to the abode of *tõo* and tell the *trõ* that their house would burn. The *trõ* answers them and says that he would give them a medicine, with which they should wash their faces, in order that when their house begins to burn they (can) flee and hide themselves. He would spread himself out over them (like the hen spreads its wings over its brood), in order that no one would see them. That is why the elders go to the abode of the *trõ* early before the animals get there. This is because when they go to the abode of *trõ* before the animals, the *trõ* tells the animals: “Human beings have been here; so your petition already is late.”

2. *Trõfedede*

Ne gbewo de asi fufu me la, ekema ame tsitsiawo dõa aḍaṇu, eye woyia anyigba nunḵlawo gbõ, eye wogblõna ne bena, yewoayi trõfe aḍasubõ, aḍe dza na trõwo, eye yewoaxõ lāwo fe agbe le wo si. Ne woyi la, ekema woḍea dza na trõ la, eye wodoa gbe ḍa ne bena: Dzo, si le bibi ge la, lā neku, eye ame siaa ame si le yiyim la nafõ lā kuku. Ne ame aḍe kpõ lā gbagbe la, ekema lā la fe ṅkume natsyõ, eye yewo fe ṅkume nakõ. Eya ta yewotre vava na lāwo ḍo. Ne lāwo va la, woagblõ na wo be, yewova xoxo; woawo la, wofe nya gblẽ xoxo. Nu sita ame tsitsiwo dea trõfe ḍo la, enye bena; Ne dzo le bibi ge la gbemelāwo hā dea trõfe, eye wogblõna na trõ la bena, yewofe xõ le fiafia ge. Trõ la gblõna na wo bena, yeana amatsi wo, ne woatsõ aklõ ṅkumee, bena ne wofe xõ de asi fiafia me la, ne woasi abe; ye ṅutõ hā yeakeke ḍe wo dzi, be ame aḍeke makpõ wo o. Esiata pe, eye ame tsitsiwo gblõna bena, yewoade trõfe kaba hafi ne lāwo nava va; elabena ne woyi hafi lāwo yi la, ekema trõ la agblõ na lāwo bena, amewo va xoxo, eya ta wofe nya gblẽ.

1 Living and sacrifice place of a god of the Earth.

3. Clearing of Bush

After the return from the place of the *trõ*, instruction is given for everyone to gather his thatch because the time for the burning of grass has come. When the chiefs see that the people have gathered their thatch, they give an order for the bush in the vicinity to be cut down. When the bush around the town has been cut down they go in the morning to clear the place of sacrifice for *Agbasia* in order that it does not burn. At noon one lights the grass around the abode of *Agbasia*, in order that it does not burn.

3. Afekõdẽdẽ

Le trõfedede megbe, ekema wogblõna bena ame siaa ame nawu be, elabena dzobiya dõ. Ne ame tsitsiwo kpõ bena, wowu be võ la ekema wodea se bena, woadẽ afekõ. Le afekõdẽdẽ megbe la, woyina dadea Agbasiafe hã ñu le ñdi me, bena trõfe la nagabi dzo o.



Landscape after the Burning of Grass

First of all the bush is lit at this place. If the area around *Agbasia* is not cleared and someone sets the bush on fire somewhere else and the fire spreads and burns the abode of *Agbasia*, the traditional priests get a goat, 60 *hoka*, flour and palm oil from him. If the traditional priests do not obtain that from him, and he has headache

Ne ñdõ vu la, ekema wotõa dzo Agbasia ñu tẽ va yina, bena magafia o. Tefe siae nye esi bia dzo gbã. Ne womedẽ Agbasia ñu o, eye ame adẽ tõ dzo gbe le afi bubu wobi va lé Agbasiafe wofia la, ekema nunõlawo axõ gbõ, hotsui hoka 60, wõ kple ami dzẽ le esi. Ne womexõ nenem nu sia le esiwo o, eye ta

or abdominal pain, he must give it, in order to make *busu* with it for him.

alo dɔme le ɖuwom la, woaxɔe kokoko, eye woatsɔe ayi busui na wo.

4. Burning the Bush

After all these preparations have been made, the bush is set alight. First of all, one lights the bush in the evening, especially in the neighbourhood of houses. The reason is that the houses do not catch fire, because fire has not got as much strength during the night as at noon. Now it is made known that everyone may light the bush. Yet people are afraid to burn the bush because they say that the chimpanzee (*aziza* or *akplakpui*) must light the bush first. The one who first lights the bush will go mad. So everyone is afraid of the lighting of the bush and waits until it is sent by the chimpanzee. When the fire comes from afar people are no longer afraid, but everyone lights it.

Bush burning is very important for us because of meat. If some grass remains standing here and there at some places, people hide in it, to see whether there are wild animals in it, then go home and report it. Immediately, people take guns and spears and follow the one who has seen the wild animal. As soon as they get near the place no one is allowed to speak anymore. When they have finally arrived there, they surround the place and light the bush. When the bush burns, the animals try to escape and they are then shot. When someone shoots an animal and his brother has helped him, the head and viscera belong to him. If he has shot a big animal, his companions say that the loins belong to them. Others claim the head and neck (of the animal). The hunter himself must leave these parts for them without any protest. If the harmattan is very severe, the bush burns well and people get a lot of meat to eat. However, if the grass is not very dry, people complain

4. Dzotɔtɔgbe ɣuti

Ne wowɔ nu siawo katã vɔ la, ekema wotɔa dzo gbe azɔ. Gbã wotɔa gbe siwo fo xlã afekɔto la le fiẽ. Nu sita wotɔnɛ le fiẽ lae nye be, megabi afe o, elabena dzo mekpɔa ɣusẽ le zã me abe ɣɔɔ ene o. Azɔ la woɖe se; ame sɔa ame ate ɣu atɔ dzo gbe faa. Gake la wonɔa vɔvɔm na etɔtɔ elabena wogblɔ be ele be, azizã alo akplakpui natɔ dzoe gbã. Ame si tɔ dzo gbe gbã la, adze aɖava, eya ta ame sɔa ame nɔa etɔtɔ vɔm henɔa azizã sinu kpɔm. Ne dzo la bi tso didife vavã la, ekema vɔvɔ aɖeke megali o, ke boɣuu ame sɔa ame tɔnɛ faa

Dzobibi le vevie le mía gbɔ le lãkpɔkpɔ ɣuti. Ne wotɔ dzo gbe vɔ, eye gbe aɖewo tso ɖe anyi wokpɔ la, ekema woɖianɛ kpɔna, nɛnye be, wokpɔ lãwo le eme la ekema wotɔna va gblɔnɛ le afe. Enumake amewo tɔɔa tu kple akplɔwo hedzea ame si kpɔ lã la yome. Ne wole gbe la tum la, ame aɖeke megafoa nu o. Ne wotui vɔ keɣ la, ekema woɖea to ɖe gbe la, eye wotɔa dzoe. Ne gbe la le bibim la, ekema lãwo dina be, woasi, eye wofoa tu wo. Ne ame aɖe fo tu lã aɖe, eye nɔvia aɖe xɔnɛ la, ekema ame la tɔe nye tu kple dɔmenuawo.

Nɛnye lã gã aɖee wofo tui la, ekema nɔviawo gblɔna bena, yewo tɔe nye ali la, ame bubuwo gblɔna bena, yewo tɔe nye ta kple kɔ la, Nenem ele na lãwula la be, wɔatsɔe na wo kpoo. Ne pepi nu sɛ ɣutɔ la, ekema gbeawo hã bina nyuie, eye amewo kpɔa lã geɖe ɖuna. Ke ne gbeawo mebi nyuie o la, ekema ameawo fa konyi, elabena womegele lã geɖe kpɔ ge aɖu o. Ne dzo le bibim la, ekema amewo megawɔa dɔ aɖeke o, negbe dzogbe ko wonɔa wɔwɔ. Le dzogbewɔwɔ megbe la, eɖo adegbedede dzi, eya yome wosia tegbe, ekema dɔwɔwɔ

because they will not get much meat. During the burning of the bush, people do no other work, but rather only stay in the bush. After the burning of bush, hunting begins. Then fields are tilled again and with that work begins again. The whole period for burning of grass lasts about four months. If (in burning the grass) a house burns, men climb onto the roof to put out (the fire). Women and men fetch water and pass it on to them on top of the roof. Women give a distress signal² to call for people to come. Sometimes one can put out the fire. However, at times everything is destroyed.

dze eyome keŋkeŋ. Dzibiyiwo katã xɔa yleti ene sɔŋ. Ne dzo dze xɔ aɖe dzi la, enumake amewo yia xɔ la dzi, bena woatsii. Nyɔnuwo kple ɣutsuwo siaa wokua tsi nɔa doɖomi ɖe wo. Nyɔnuwo tsɔa asifunu yɔa amewoe. Ɖewo la wotea ɣu tsine, ke ɖewo la nu gblẽ na ɣutu.

B. Cultivation of Yam

1. Planting of Yam

As in most other tribes the priest of the most important tribal god must inaugurate the planting of yam with a rite. That must also have happened in Ho in former years. A priest³ must inaugurate the time for planting. If he delayed it he would be admonished by his people. After he had prepared the field for the planting of seed yam, he would go to the farm accompanied by some chiefs, in order to perform the religious rite there. This consisted in holding a tuber of yam heavenwards and praying over it that the god *Sodza* keeps away all evil and gives his blessings for the growth of the crop. But the person praying thought not only about a good harvest, but also that the life of the people should be preserved until the harvest and that they may gather in good health and enjoy it. People firmly believe that the priest's prayer would be heard by God. Behind this belief lies the reason why the supplicant must be accompanied by elders. At the thought of his disobedience towards the chiefs and priests, the people were required to provide witnesses for him, who must satisfy themselves that the person offering the prayer only asks for good and nothing evil, only blessing and no curse for them.

Currently, the cultivation of yam in Ho is uncontrolled and the farmer can plant his yam whenever he likes. However, this does not rule out the fact that most pagan farmers have the need to drive away evil from their field and secure the blessing of *dzɔgbewo*.⁴ The whole tribe also requests favours from heaven through the priest in the course of the year, especially concerning the dry season.

2 This lies in striking the mouth with the hand, while they give wailing sounds.

3 It is also said that the tribal chief had to perform the religious customs before the planting of yam.

4 The personal guardian gods.

2. Protection of Yam

a. Aklama

If a wayfarer gets near a yam farm, he can see on both sides of the path small hillocks, on which yam, cassava, beans and maize are planted. The yam climbs up lushly on a pole, and the other plants near it appear thriving well. They have not come to this place by chance. This is because the hill displays human care. At the entrance to a big yam field one sees one or two rows of yam and maize that are accorded the most painstaking care. Others are laid out less painstakingly, and their whole outward appearance shows the negligence of the planter. Obviously, all these small gardens have the same meaning, and one can see the greater or less religious zeal of a farmer from their condition. These small gardens are intended for the *aklamawo* or *dzogbewo*,⁵ the “guardian gods” of a human being. The farmer has planted all sorts of plants that he plants on his own farm. His guardian gods should eat these crops to their satisfaction, so that they do not attack his own farm. If a wicked *dzogbe*, or *dzogbe vɔ* gets at the farm plants, they can longer thrive because it sucks the juice from them. He cultivates a special farm for them in order to prevent that. That is why it also happens that the pagan in Ho plants yam only on his birthday, or on a day that is lucky for him. In other tribes, for example in Taviefe, people should not go to work on their farm on their birthday.

The yam that is planted in this special garden is termed *dzogbete* or *aklamate*, “yam for *dzogbe* or *aklama*”. The farmer stands in front of the hill and prays: *O Mawu Sodza, te si âa ge míele neɔo, ne wòadze etɔ̃, ene. Ne de kpe dzi kpe nedze eve, ne de ga dzi ga nedze eve. Dzaɔza tsi nedza, te si meâa, nedze eve dze etɔ̃ ; lãme nasẽ. Te si ke meâa, na lɛnye me nasẽ ne manɔ gbɔwò, maɔu*, meaning, “O Mawu Sodza, may the yam that we are now planting thrive and bear crops three-fold and four-fold! May the stone on which it stumbles divide itself in the middle, and may the iron that it comes across divide itself in two parts! May it rain on it and may the yam that I have sown double itself or triple itself. May I remain healthy, in order that I stay with you⁶ and can eat it!”

b. The Accursed Hand

When the farmer sees to the yam plants he is always uncertain whether by the touching of certain trees, leaves, herbs and similar things a malediction has not stuck his hand. If he worked on his yam with this curse on his hands, he would stop its growth and thriving because the curse is passed on to it right away. That is why before he starts working he washes his hands from time to time in this little garden, from a calabash which contains consecrated herbs. He can comfortably resume his work again only after the hands are cleansed of any possible curse.

c. The Evil Tongue

However, he must still protect himself and his yam farm against other destructive influences on his yam; that is the wicked mouth. Many a neighbour is envious about the fact that his fellow man could cultivate a big piece of land, while he himself, weak and sickly was able to plant only the bare necessities. He, therefore, likes to destroy the

⁵ The personal guardian gods

⁶ The praying man wants to be with God like the child is with the father.

plantation of his hardworking neighbour as much as possible. He hopes to achieve this through a malevolent praise of his yam farm. While passing by a nice yam plantation, he praises it in an envious tone and believes that through that the growth of the crops will be affected and will be as bad as his own. In order to render the influence of the envious praise harmless, the farmer plants an herb that looks like our onion at the borders of the farm; he call this *nugbe*, “mouth grass”. The leaves of the herb are tough and woody.

d. Other Evil Influences

Apart from the malicious praise, in the view of the farmers, there are still all sorts of other destructive influences on farms. Their number is legion. That is why one sees a black creeper drawn around a farm to scare off birds of the air and prevent admittance to wicked human. On another farm, maize cobs are fixed in the ground in such a way that only a short end of it is seen; and on a third farm stands a very small hut, in which there is a structure made of sticks that looks like a table, protected with thatch. On it lays a cord plaited by the farmer who knows how to make it look like a snake. These things are to keep away bad influences and hence promote the thriving of the plants.

The farmer himself guards against the voracious monkeys, and drives away the intrusive birds with all sorts of scarecrows. The latter are usually threads arranged criss-cross over the farm, on which shells and similar things hang.

3. Yam Festival

a. Public Sacrifice

α Driving Away of Ill-luck

The yam festival is the most important of all days. When the yam is mature and to be brought home, one first sacrifices to the gods. Both of the days *asituibe* and *aâenɔgbe* are days of sacrifice. On *aâenɔgbe* all the chiefs come together and call the priests and spiritualists. They say to them one ought to eat yams now and be glad. That is why they should cleanse the town, remove evil from it, and by so doing, put the town in order again. Now, they buy palm wine; take leaves from the *adzu* and *wo* trees as well as creepers and ashes. Then they take a stick from the *adzu* tree and tie all these leaves to it firmly. While they are tying them they say: “May the evil spirit (of the deceased) go into the ribbon and be bound; the wicked *gbetsiwo* should go into the ribbon and be bound;

3. Teɖuɖu

a. Vɔsasa

α. Nu vɔwo nya nyã.

Teɖuɖue nye nkeke gãtɔ wu bubuwo katã. Ne teɖuɖu ɖo afe la, ekema - - abaya, eye wokplɔ xɔ me kple kpɔ me kple kpɔnu ale bena, du blibo la katã me ɖina kenken. Gbe, siwo katã wokplɔ kple agbelitsroawo la, wolɔa wo ɖafua gbe, eye wonɔa agbeli dzum alo nɔa vlo domii. Le zã me la, ame tsitsiwo kpea ta, eye wodea ka nyasa (akpɔkplɔ) hetsɔna tsina ɖe ɖeɖɔ nu, be yewole gbɔ me kplɔ ge awu nu. Wohea akpɔkplɔ la le du la katã me, eye woɖoa ta Aɖaklumɔ dzi kplii.

Woyia busu. Asituigbe kple Afenɔegbe wonye busuyigbewo. Afenɔegbe la, ame tsitsiwo katã kpea ta, eye woyɔa vɔnusiwo kple dzotɔwo vane, hegbɔna na wo bena: Yewole te ɖu ge, eye yewole dzidzɔ kpɔ ge, eya ta ne wadzra gbɔ la me ɖo na yewo,

may the wicked *trɔ̃* go into the ribbon and be bound; may the wicked witch go into the ribbon and be bound; all evils that are in this town should go into the ribbon and be bound!” Now they pour urine on the ash and make a paste with it. They smear the “bound thing” with it and say. “We smear the faces of all the evil in these ribbons, in order that they cannot see anymore. “ Then they throw the “bound thing” on the ground, and they all deride it. Now, they prepare a medicine and take the sticks wrapped in creepers (in which they have bound all evil), carry it outside the town and fix them in the ground on the different routes that lead to the town. When they have done this they say they have driven evil out of the town and the doors to sweep the houses and farmsteads. The front of the farmstead is swept, too, so that everywhere in the whole town is clean. They throw all straws and cassava waste that have been swept together outside (the town) and revile the cassava. In the course of the night the elders come together and tie a toad on a young palm leaf. They say they now want to sweep the town and end everything. They drag the toad behind them through the whole town towards the direction of the Aɖaklu Mountain.

β. Extirpation of Sicknesses from the Town

After this has happened, the priests say they now want to remove the sicknesses. In the evening they ring the bell and announce that they are at the point of going on to the road, and therefore no one is permitted to light fire in the hearth or eat.⁷ On the following morning the women of the town sweep their houses

woaɖe nu vɔ̃wo ɖa le dua me, eye woawɔ dua me nyuie. Azɔ wodzea aha, eye wodia adzutimagba kple wɔmagba kple adzɔ kple afi. Wotsɔa adzuti la, eye wotsɔa amagbawo katã ɖoa eɲu heblanɛ. Ne wole eblam la, wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Ɔɔli vɔ neyi ke me na woabla, gbetsi vɔwo neyi ka me ne woabla, adze vɔ neyi ka me, nu vɔ, siwo katã le du sia me neyi ka me ne woabla. Azɔ wodɔa ɖuɖu ɖe afi la dzi wɔzua ba, eye wotsɔne sisina ɖe nubabla la dzi hegbɔna bena; nu vɔ siwo katã le ka la me la, wofe ɲkume yewo sisii ɖo, bena womagakɔ nu o. Emegbe la wotsɔa nubabla la fua anyi, eye wo katã doa yli hoo. Azɔ la wodoa amatsi, eye wotsɔa ati babla la ɖatuna ɖe mɔwo to ɖekaɖeka; mɔ sia mɔ, si ke va dua me la, wotune ɖe eto keɲ. Wowɔa nu sia, eye wogbɔna be, yewonya nu vɔwo ɖa le dua me, eye yewodo vɔ ɖe wo nu. Amatsi, si wodo la, wonana amewo katã, nyɔnuwo kple ɖeviwo kple ame tsitsiwo va fua mo ɖe eme.

β. Dɔɖeɖe

Nuwɔwɔ sia megbe la, hɔlusiwo (vɔnusiwo) gbɔna bena, yewoaɖe ɔ azɔ. Le fiẽ me la, wodoa kpo bena, yewole mɔa ɖe dzi yi ge, eya ta ame aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ ado dzo alo aɖu nu o. Ne ɲu ke la, wokplɔa xɔ me kple mlekpui me alo ɖe gbɔnu kake fo, gbɔ la me nyɔnuwo katã wɔna nenema; ame aɖewo

7 In the middle of the night, when the people are sleeping three men go through the town. One pulls behind him a palm leaf, on which there is a toad tied to a cluster of herbs. The other holds a calabash filled with consecrated leaves and water in the hand and sprays the road with it. The third whistles with a regular, but soft sound. As soon as they have gone through the whole town, they throw the toad and consecrated leaves on the way to Aɖaklu.

and hearths and put the sweepings on broken wooden plates. Many hang torn mats and torn clothes on themselves, others tie grass and creepers around themselves. While they are doing that, they pray: “All sicknesses that (you) are in our body and torment us, we have come today to throw you out!” When they set out to do this, the priest orders that everyone must shout and strike the mouth while doing that. Immediately, all of them shout, strike the mouth and walk as fast as they can on the road to *Aḍaklu*. While they are walking, they habitually say: “Out today! Out today! Out today, what anyone kills! You evil spirits, out today! And what causes us headache, out today! *Aḅl* and *Aḍaklu* are the places where everything (unholy) should go!” On the way to *Aḍaklu* is a *Kl* tree, and when they have arrived there they throw everything away and return home. On returning, each one washes himself with the medicine that has been put on the road and then goes home.

γ. Procession to the Place of Sacrifice

After all this they again bring other sacrifices a day before the Ho market and in the afternoon of the Ho market day the town is swept again.

Now, all is set for the festival prior to the eating of the new yam. This (the preparation) lies in going to the farm and digging yam. However, one does not take it home, but rather puts it somewhere on the way. The reason why one does not take it home is that they have not yet been at the place of sacrifice of the deity (*Trō*). If they want to go there, the way to the place of sacrifice of *Agbasia* must be cleared of grass. After that the people come with their drums that they beat hard. Having arrived at the place of sacrifice, two big mounds are made. They

tsɔa aba vuvu kple avɔ vuvuwo kplana; ame bubuwo tsɔa gbe kple kaklẽwo sana ɖe ɲuti. Ne wole nu siawo wɔm la, wonɔa gbe dom ɖa bena, dɔ siwo katã le yewofe lãme nɔa fu ɖem na yewo la, miva egbe ne miatsɔ mi aɖafu gbe. Ne wole mɔ dze ge la, trõsi la gblɔna be ame siaa ame nado ɣli alo nado bubui zi ɖeka; enumake bubui dzɔna hoo, eye wo katã wovua du zi ɖeka rẽ. ɖoa ta Aɖaklumɔ dzi. Eye esime wole du la fum la, wonɔa gbɔgbɔ bena: Ade egbe, ade egbe! Ɖe ame le amegui ade gbe, aklama vɔ ade egbe, taɖame ade gbe! Aḅl kple Aɖaklue nye avalime, ne wo katã naɖo ta afi ma. Le Adaklumɔ dzi la, klɔti aɖe le afi ma, eye ne woɖo afi ma la, wotsɔa nuawo katã fua gbe ɖi eye wotrɔna va afe. Ne wova la, ame siaa ame gafua ɲkume kple amatsi le ablɔ me, eye afe me.

γ. *Trõfedede*

Le nu siawo katã megbe la, Asituigbe la, wogayia busu bubuwo, eye le Hosigbe yetro la, wogakplɔa gbɔ me nyuie.

Azɔ wonɔa dzadzram ɖo hena teɖuɖu. Eyae nye woyia bofo ɖakua te, gake wometsɔ te sia va afee o, ke boɲu wova dzrana ɖo ɖe mɔ dzi. Nu si na be, wometsɔ nɛ va afee o lae nye be womede trõfe haɖe o. Ne wole trõfe yi ge la, woyina ɖataa mɔ yi Agbasiafee, emegbe ameawo vana kple vufɔfo geɖe.

Ne wova trõfe la, wofoa dru gã eve ɖe anyi. Nu siwo wotsɔna ɖe asi yia trõfe lae wonye: aha, te mumu kple te ɖaɖa kpakple wɔ baka. Gbã wofea te mumu, si wotsɔ yi la me ɖe eve, eye wodoa gbe ɖa bena; Agbasia, woenye ame si na te ɖo, eya ta tɔwoe nye

take palm wine, uncooked and boiled yam and flour mixed with oil to the place of sacrifice. First of all, the uncooked yam is cut in the middle and then a prayer is offered: “Agbasia, you are the one who has given the yam. Because of that here is yours! We thank you sincerely. May the eating of yam be a great joy and may no quarrel come in between!” After that they put yam mixed with oil and one not mixed with oil on the ground. While doing that they say to Agbasia: “Whoever does not eat the white (yam), yam mixed with palm oil belongs to him and whoever does not eat yam mixed with palm oil, the white belongs to him.” They also do the same thing with flour mixed with oil and flour that is not mixed with oil. In the process of doing that, they say: “We bring here to you everything that you have given us. Eat of it what you like!” After that they pour palm wine into a pot and water into another and say: “When one has eaten, one drinks water.” While this is going on the drums sound, songs are sung and the priest says: “Our father Agbasia, we beg you, let us hear only a good thing and nothing evil! When someone is pregnant, may twins and triplets be born, in order that we grow and become numerous! When the period for planting yam comes back, let it rain more on it than formerly, in order that we come back to thank you more fervently than before!” After that the priest pours water on one of the earth mounds, stirs it into a paste and calls the people to him. Then he dips his finger into the mud, smears their forehead, temple and chest with it and says: “That is Agbasia’s mud, with which I smear you, that you may stay alive.” After that they scatter and go home.

si; míeda akpe na wò vevie, bena teḍuḍu la nanye dzidzɔ gā, eye dzre aḍeke magava eme o. Wotsɔ te bakabaka la kɔna ɖe anyi, eye wotsɔa esi womede ami o la hā kɔna ɖe anyi. Eye wogblɔna na Agbasia bena: Ame si ke meḍu yietsɔ o la, etse nye si, eye ame si ke maḍu dzietsɔ o la, eya hā tse nye si. Nenema ke wowɔa wɔ, si wode ami kple esi womede amii o la. Eye wogblɔna be, nu siwo katā wòna la, woawo nye si; esi ke ame aḍe lɔ la, nequi faa. Eyome wokua aha ɖe zevi ɖeka me eye wogakua tsi ɖe ɖeka hā me gblɔna be, ne woḍu nu vɔ la, tsi wonona. Le esia me la vu kple ha le ɖiɖim ḡutɔḡutɔ, eye trɔnua gagblɔna be: “Mía tɔ Agbasia, míede kuku na wò be, míase nya nyuiewo, míagase nya vɔ aḍeke o. Ne ame aḍe fɔ fu la, wòadzi eve adzi etɔ, bena ne míasɔ gbɔ adzi ɖe dzi. Ne tefayi bubu goḍo la, nana tsi nagadza ɖe dzi vevie awu tsātɔ, ne míagava ada akpe na wò vevie awu! Emegbe la, trɔnua kua tsi kɔna ɖe dru la gbɔ, eye wòwɔne wòzua ba, eye wòyɔ ameawo katā va egbo eye wòdea asi eme ɖoa ame siaa ame fe ḡgonu kple tonu kpakple akɔta gblɔna bena: “Agbasia fe bae nye si meḍo na mi, ne mianɔ agbe! Esia megbe wokana yia afe me.

b. Prayers and Sacrifice of the Individual Farmer

In the evening, during the “fine sweeping” of the town people go to the farm, to fetch yam that they, however, should not take to the town yet and therefore hide in the

bush outside. As soon as the high priest leaves the town the next morning to go to the place of sacrifice of his god, the women set out to fetch the yam that they have put down. Now, they begin to cook. Many people slaughter fowls or goats, and others buy themselves fish for the feast.

When the yam is done, a little is mashed, mixed with oil and put on the ground at the entrance to the farmstead together with uncooked yam. The paterfamilias speaks to it: "That belongs to all those (gods) that stay on the fence." He does the same thing under the house door and says: "This belongs to all those (gods) that live with me." Then he goes to the weaver's loom, offers it its sacrifice and says: "That belongs to all the 'artists', who have helped me while weaving." After this, he lays all his magic objects on a mat that has been spread in the house and speaks with them.

From another side the priestly functions of the household head are described more thoroughly. Each paterfamilias takes a piece of raw yam, goes to his weaver's loom, *agbati*, with it and prays: "May the artists take this yam and eat! When they practise their art, may this succeed!" Again he takes raw yam, steps under the house door with it, and prays: "O my *aklama* and all gods that watch over this house come and eat yam! May I remain healthy and not feel pains anywhere, if I also eat of it! May all we members of the household remain healthy!" After he has implored the protection of his family, he takes boiled yam, grinds it on a stone and mixes it with red oil. He steps again to the weaver's loom and prays in the earlier manner. However, even with that the veneration of the "artists" has still not ended. Once again he grinds boiled yam, but this time round he does not mix it with red oil. He goes to the entrance to the farmstead and prays again to the weaver's loom: "The artist, who is not fond of eating yam mixed with oil, may come and receive the white and eat it!" From here he once again goes to the house door and prays: "The one among my guardian gods and the one among the watchmen of the house, who is not fond of yam mixed with oil, may come, take the white from my hand and eat it!" From the house door he steps into the middle of the room and says: "Whoever does not like eating yam mixed with oil, may eat the white; whoever does not like eating the white may eat the red; and the one, who does not like eating the red, may eat the uncooked yam!" With this prayer he has ended his duties as family priest.

Just as the weaver prays to his weaver's loom, the hunter also prays to his gun, the blacksmith to the hammer and anvil and the carpenter to the plane and saw.

c. Sacrifice by the Slaves of the Gods

While the free people begin with the cooking of yam as soon as the priest has left the town, the slaves of the earth god, *Trɔ̃kluwɔ*, must first fulfil their duties as children of the priest of their gods (Compare Religion). Each of these children gets from their parents two pieces of yam that he takes to the priest of his god in the morning of the yam festival. The priest cuts a small piece from it and divides this again into four pieces. The child kneels in front of him and stretches out its tongue. Holding two of these pieces of yam in each of his hands, he prays over the child and touches his tongue with it five times. After that the child stretches out his hands, each of which he touches five times with the same pieces of yam and again prays in the earlier manner. After that he touches both feet of the child five times and prays for the third time. Out of the

cowry shells that the child had brought, he threads half of them on a string and hangs it around the child's neck. With that the child is now allowed to eat new yam.

d. The Feast

After all these preparations yam is pounded into fufu and everyone invites his brother to dine with him. After the meal the people are called together to converse and drink palm wine. Everyone bathes in the afternoon and puts on a new traditional dress, ties around a new loin cloth. Nowadays, members of the *Gobi* drumming society wear shoes and European dresses. When they are drumming *Gobi* drinks are placed on the dancing ground. Then they pass the rest of the day till sunset drumming, dancing and drinking till sunset. As soon as day breaks next morning the drumming and drinking continues. The merry-making continues for five days if they have good harvest of yam. During this feast many people spend 3 to 5 marks and in addition many people incur debts. The yam festival is the biggest feast day for the Ewes. Apart from it, there is no other festival that is celebrated by all towns like that of yam festival.

Another description gives an account of the feast as follows: after finishing his priestly duties the paterfamilias can abandon himself to the full joy of the feast with his family members and eat yam. For this he lets a large quantity of fufu be pounded and one or two fowls slaughtered. After the meal has been prepared, he invites all family members, who accept the invitation and sit around the dish with a hilarious chit-chat. Having finished dining with him, one accepts a second, third, fourth, even a fifth invitation. These invitations continue until the individual is really incapable of eating more. Those of the guests who have not cooked yet finally ask if their meal would also be eaten, if they are cooked. If they get a positive answer, there will be cooking and dancing here, too. However, the overfull stomach must rest somehow. One bathes and applies ointment, puts on the most beautiful dress and drinks palm wine that has been ordered by friends. After that the celebrating crowds gather themselves on the road where they sing and dance. With that, there is a little room for eating again. One sits down once again, to consume the fufu that has in the meantime been prepared. All those whose meal has not been taken today cook the following day and invite kith and kin and friends like the others. In this way, the whole town invites one another to the feast.

d. *Te la duḍu ḡuṭo*

Emegbe la wotoa fufu, eye ame siaa ame yɔa nɔvia vanɛ wo ɖuna. Le nuḍuḍu la megbe woyɔa amewo gafoa fu, eye wonɔa aha nom henɔa dze ɖom. Le yetɔ me la, ame siaa ame lea tsi nyuie ɖea avɔ yeye tana hetsɔa godui yeye hã dona. Fifi ŋkekewo me la, gobefolawo doa awu nyuie, eye wodoa afɔkpa hã. Ne wole wofe gobe la fo ge la, wotsɔa yevuha va ɖoa tofo, eye new ole vu la fom le ye ɖum la, ekema wonɔa yevuha la nom, esia ko wonɔa aɔwɔm va se ɖe esi me zã dona. Ne ŋu ke la, wogayia edzi kple vufɔfo kple ahanono. Ne te ɖo vavã la, wonɔa edzi ŋkeke atɔ sɔŋ. Le esia aɔwɔ me ame aɖewo gblẽe ga abee M. 3 – 5 ene, eye ame aɖewo hã nyia fe ɖe me. Teɖuḍe nye Veawo fe ŋkeke nyuie gatɔ. Eyome la gã aɖeke meli, si du blibo la ɖuna o.

II. The Farmers' Calendar

A. Fixing of Time

1. The Year

The people from the hinterland mark the beginning of the New Year with the tilling of the yam fields. When the yams have been dug and the dry grass burnt off, then one year has passed-.

2. The Month

The months are reckoned according to the moon in the sky. When the moon appears (first quarter), stays in the sky and then becomes invisible again, one says that a month is gone. When the moon shines and gets closer one says: *edɔ ta ʔo*, "it is above your head". After that it stays in the middle (of the sky). If the moon rises right after nightfall, one says: *edɔ tonu*, "it is at the edge (of the sky)". Should the moon first rise very long after nightfall the expression is: *ele agu dzem*, "it shines till daybreak". If the moon is waning, it does not rise for long anymore till another one appears. We do not know the number of days that total up to a month. When we see the moon and then it disappears again, then a month is gone.

3. The Week

They say that the seven-day week originates from Europe and from the Twi. Our week has only four days. The Ho market is our Sunday. This is because on this day no one goes to the work place, but rather stays at home. The (names of the) days are: *Asiamigbe*, *Aʔenɔegbe*, *Asiatuigbe* and *Asigbe*. The last one is also called *asime*, market. This is because on this day all the people come together and enquire about the price of market wares.

II. *Ŋkeke kple yeyiwo*

1. *Fewo*

Ne Umeviwo dze tegbesisi gɔme la, ekema wodze fe bubu hã gɔme. Ne woho te, eye dzo bi gbe, siwo katã fu la ekema fe la wu nu.

2. *Yletiwo*

Wobua wofe yleti de yleti si le dzifo nu. Ne yleti dze dzi, eye woli vuu va bu vie la, ekema wogblɔna bena, ele yleti deka. Ne yleti do te va vie la, wogblɔna be edo tafo. Emegbe la eva doa titina. Ne zã le dodom hafi wòle dzedze la, ekema wogblɔna be, edo to nu. Ne zã do ɔtu hafi yleti (p. 310 – 312) la do la, ekema ele agu dzem. Ne yleti la gaka la, ekema etefe medidina hafi bubu gadona o. Mienya naneke le ŋkeke ale si wɔa yleti deka la ɔtu o, ke boɔu ne miekpɔ yleti la, eye wogabu la, ekema ele yleti deka.

3. *Kwasidawo*

Kwasida ŋkeke adretɔ la, wogblɔ be etso Ablotsitɔwo kple Blutɔwo gbɔ. Gake mia ɔtuwo miatɔe nye ŋkeke enetɔ. Gbe si gbe Hosi di la, gbe ma gbee nye Kwasida, eye gbe ma gbe la, ame adeke mele dɔwɔfe yi ge o, ke boɔu wotsia afe. Ŋkekeawo nye; Asiamigbe, Afenɔegbe, Asiatuigbe kple Asigbe. Woyɔne hã be, Asime, elabena gbe ma gbee amewo katã kpea ta, eye wobia nuwo fe asita sena.

4. The Days

When the sun rises and sets again, a day is gone. Good days are *Hosigbe* and *Asiamigbe*. On both days one does *Mawunuwo*, “God’s things”. That is, on these days sacrifices are made to the *trõwo*. Bad days are *Asituigbe* and *Afenɔegbe*. These are the days of the evil spirits (of the deceased) and the days, on which the malignant *Trõwo* come into the town. It is believed that the good days belong to *Mawu*. That is why propitiatory sacrifices are made to the gods (*Mawuwo*) on these days. On the other hand one drives away evil from sick people on bad days.

5. The Seasons

When someone intends to do something on a particular day, then the day which he has fixed is *azã*, “day fixed beforehand”. A year has three seasons. These are *adame* (March, April, May, June), *keleme* (July, August, September, October), *pepi* (November, December, January, February⁸).

4. *Ŋkekewo*

Ne agu dze, eye ye gaɔ to la, ekema ŋekeke ɖeka va yi. Ŋkeke, siwo wotia be wonye ŋekeke nyuie la, wonye Hosigbe kple Asiamigbe. Le ŋekeke eve siawo dzi wowɔa mawunuwo lena, eyae nye bena, wonaa nu trõwo le ŋekeke siawo dzi. Ŋkeke võwo nye Asiatuigbe kple Afenɔegbe, nenem ŋekeke siawo nye aɖifie võwo fe ŋekeke kple trõ võwo fe afe va gbe. Wobua ŋekeke nyuieawo be, wonye Mawu tɔ, eya ta wona nu Mawuwo le ŋekeke siawo dzi. Ke le võawo dzi la, woyia busu na ame siwo le dɔ lém la.

5. *Azãwo*

Ne ame aɖe ɖo nane be, yeava wɔ la, ekema ŋekeke si woɖo la eyae nye azã. Azãgbe etõ le fe ɖeka me. Woawoe nye: Adame, keleme kple pepi. Le gbãtɔ eveawo me la, tsi nɔa dzadzam ɖaa; ale be, amewo megakpɔa mɔnu gaɖe be woawo dɔ o.

B. Development of Field Products during particular Periods

1. Yam

First and second months (March and April): Tilling of the yam field and planting.

Third month (May): Sprouting of leaves and growth of yam tendrils. These put forth branches (*dee alo*) that reach out to cling to something. Poles are, therefore, fixed. As soon as these stand, the yam puts its outstretched arms out to cling to them (termed *eba ɖa*, also *ebla ɖa*).

Fourth month (June): The yam develops, *te zi ne*. The yam is as big as a palm nut. At the end of the month the yam is dug in.

Fifth month (July): the leaves are darker and the yam tuber is edible.

Sixth month (August): New yam is eaten.

Seventh month (September): the heads of suitable yam tubers are cut and buried again, in order to get new seed yams.

Eight month (October): The yam heads hidden in the ground for getting new seed yams are beginning to show.

8 Major rainy season, minor rainy season, the dry season.

Ninth month (November): The tendrils die off and the leaves wither. The tendrils are separated from the yam. One begins with the construction of yam houses.

Tenth month (December): Yam harvest. The yam is dug out and brought into the yam house.

Eleventh month (January): Continuation with the yam harvest. The preceding year's fields, on which there is maize or yam, are hoed.

Twelfth month (February): Burning of grass and hunting

2. Maize

Twelfth month (February): First planting of maize (*dzogbe kpeli*, grass burning maize)

First and second month (In other words, third month after planting): the maize is hoed.

Second or third month (April): The maize sets ears and matures by the end of the month.

Third or fourth month (May): the maize is yellow

Fourth or fifth month (June): The maize cobs are broken off. The maize stalk lowers its head and dies off. Maize is the metaphor of a mother. During the third month it ties the child at the back, *ekpa vi*, meaning it sets ears.

Fifth or sixth month (July): The mother lowers its head and dies, but, the child is taken away, to multiply itself through a new planting.

III. Agricultural Operations

A. Operating Conditions

1. Different Types of Soil

The different types of soil are: *Dimenyigba*, humus soil, *kpenyigba*, stony soil, *avlumenyigba*, grass producing soil, *aɲenyigba*, bituminous earth, *anyigba yibɔ*, black soil, *ɲɔnyigba*, wormy soil, *babanyigba*, soil full of termites, *kokunyigba*, rough soil, *lāminyigba*, oily soil. In addition to these there is swampy and hilly country.

Dimenyigba is a soil in which there are no stones. Even when one digs deep holes into it, one comes across no stone. This type of soil is suitable for all farm plants: yams, maize, groundnuts and others. On the other hand, it is not suitable for cassava. Weeds do not thrive well on it, but so much better the farm plants. This type of soil can be tilled easily.

III Agbleme – ɔwɔwɔwɔ

A. Nu siwo ku ɔe agbledede ɲu

1. Anyigba fomeviwo

Anyigba fomeviwo nye: Dimenyigba kpenyigba, avlumenyigba, aɲenyigba, anyigba yibɔ, ɲɔnyigba, babanyigba, kokunyigba, lāminyigba, kpodzinyigba kple tsimenyigba.

Dimenyigbae nye anyigba si kpe mele edzi o. Ne ele do ɔem ɔe edzi vu hā mele kpe kpɔ ge akpɔ o. Dimenyigba enyo na nuku sia nuku, abe te, bli, azi kple bubuwo ene; gake la menyona na agbeli o, gbe melɔna tona ɔe edzi o, gake nukuwo nyona le dzi. ɔwɔwɔ le anyigba sia dzi mesesẽ o.

A soil is termed *kpenyigba* because it has nothing but stones. It is tilled with a lot of difficulty because there are stones everywhere. Farm plants thrive well on it. However, when it does not rain, they do not. Cassava thrives best on it. Weeds do not grow quickly on it. Digging terraces for yam, fixing poles for yam or constructing a yam house on the soil is very difficult. However, it is popular with the people because plants do well on it when it rains a lot.

Avlumenyigba is not very popular because it produces a lot of grass. However, plants thrive well on it. It can be tilled easily, but it produces a lot of grass and because of that people are not fond of laying out their farms on it. Whoever takes a chance to cultivate it will at any rate see that his plants thrive well.

*Aṣenyigba*⁹ is not a good type of soil and is not popular with the people. When it rains, the water does not soak into it, but rather remains on the surface because the soil under it is hard. Plants do not thrive well when they are planted. It is a bad type of soil, on which field plants do not thrive.

*Anyigba yibo*¹⁰ is a good and quite firm type of soil. It is much liked because it is suitable for agricultural plants. It can easily be tilled. Grass grows very quickly on a farm that was laid out on it in the previous year. However, if the black soil is on hilly country, not much weed grows on it.

Kpenyigba. Woyɔɛ alea, elabena kpe sɔŋ le edzi, eye dɔwɔwɔ le edzi sesẽ ɲutɔ, elabena afi sia afi nye kpe. Nuku sia nuku wɔna le kpenyigba dzi, gake ne tsi medza o la, nukuawo menyona o. Agbelie nye esi nyona le edzi wu bubuwo katã. Gbemetona ɔɛ edzi kaba o. Ne wobe, woafɔ tedru alo woatu ati na te alo woatu texɔ la, esesẽna ɲutɔ. Gake amewo lɔnɛ kokoko, elabena enyɔa nuku, ne tsi dza na nukuawo vavã la ekema wonyona ɲutɔ.

Avluemenyigba la, amewo melɔnɛ nyuie o, elabena etoa gbe kabakaba. Gake la, nuku sia nuku wɔna le edzi nyuie. Dɔwɔwɔ le edzi mesesẽ hafi o, gake gbeawo fe miemie kabakaba pɛ enye nu si na bena, amewo melɔa agbledede de edzi o. Ame si do dzi ɲlɔɛ eye tsi dza nɛ la, akpɔ be nukuawo anyo kokoko.

Aṣenyigba menye anyigba nyuie aɔɔke o, eye amewo melɔnɛ hã o, elabena ne tsi dza la, medea eme o, eta ko wosena, elabena ete da ade. Ne wofã nuku ɔɛ edzi la, menyona o. Enye anyigba vlo aɔɛ si melɔa nuku kura o.

Anyigba yiboɛ nye anyigba nyuie, eye sesẽ vi aɔɛ le eme. Amewo lɔn, elabena enyo na nukuwo. Dɔwɔwɔ le edzi mesesẽ o. Ne enye avlume hafi anyigba la nyɔ la, ekema emia gbe kabakaba, gake nentye kpodzi wonye hafi nye anyigba yibo la, ekema mewɔa gbe geɔɛ o.

9 Bituminous soil.

10 Black Soil.



1

2

3

View of a Farm

with a1. Termite hill; 2. a yam plant; 3. Cassava plant

*Ŋɔnyigba*¹¹ is not popular with the people because it is not a good type of soil. When fruit trees are planted on it, worms eat the roots from within, so that they die. It is not a good soil. That is why it is not planted either. The wormy soil does not even produce grass. The roots of the grass that nevertheless grows on it are eaten up by the worms, and as a result they are very thin. These worms are called *teligbagbe*. The wormy soil is also a soft soil.

*Babanyigba*¹² is a good soil, for when it is planted the plants thrive well. Palm ribs and poles fixed for yams are eaten up by termites, and when it is dry, the termites eat the yam tendrils, too. That is why it is not popular. Only people who do not know it well usually till it. When one builds a yam house on it and ties the yams in it firmly, the termites eat the strings (with which the yam is firmly tied) and the yam falls on the ground. Working it is not particularly difficult. The termite earth is light. Grass grows very quickly on the previous year's farms. However, if it is a hilly country it does not produce much grass. It is suitable especially for cassava, plantain and banana.

Kokunyigba is one of the worst types of soil, that is not liked at all by the people. It is not suitable for any single field plant. Whether or not it rains, there is no influence on it. It is a firm type of soil, that even if it rains for a long time the rain cannot soak into it. When the sun shines on it after the rains it becomes harder than stone. No grass grows on this soil either.

*Laminyigba*¹³ is not popular with anybody because farm plants do not thrive on it. They rather get spoiled on it. When it rains water stands in pools. After

Ŋɔnyigba. Amewo mel̃a anyigba sia o, elebena menye anyigba nyuie o eye ne wof̃a nuku ɔe edzi la, ekema ɲɔ va ɔua nukuawo fe ke le to me keɲ, eye wokuna. Menye anyigba nyuie aɔeke o, eya ta womef̃a nuku ɔe edzi o. Ŋɔnyigba memia gbe aɔeke o, eye gbe siwo le edzi h̃a ɲɔwo le efe ke ɔum eye womekpɔ l̃ame aɔeke o. Woyɔa ɲɔ siawo be teli gbagbe. Ŋɔnyigbae nye anyigba bɔbɔe h̃a.

Babanyigbae nye anyigba nyuie elabena ne wof̃a nu ɔe edzi la, ewɔna nyuie. Nenye bena, wotu f̃ɔ alo ati na te la, ekema babawo va ɔune, eye ne ku le ɔiɔim la, ekema babawo nɔa tekawo l̃am, eya ta amewo mel̃ne nyuie o. Ne ame aɔe medze sii o la, eya ko worlɔne. Ne wowɔ tɔɔ, eye wonye te ɔe eme la, teawo dudu na ɔe anyigba. Babanyigbae nye anyigba bɔbɔe, ne tefe la nye avlume hafi nye babanyigba la, emia gbe, ke ne enye kpodzi la, metoa gbe o. Enyona na agbeli, ablazɔ kple akɔɔu.

Kokunyigbae nye anyigba vlo tɔwo dometɔ ɔeka si amewo mel̃na kura o. Elabena menyo na nuku aɔeke o; tsi dza alo tsi medza o, eya metsɔ ɔeke le eme o. Enye anyigba ses̃e aɔe, si ne tsi dza h̃a metea ɛɲu o. Ne tsi dza, eye ɲɔɔkutsu vi aɔe vu ko la, ekema eses̃ena wua kpe. Anyigba sia memia gbe o.

L̃aminyigba la, ame aɔeke mel̃ne o, elabena mewɔa nuku aɔeke o, ke boɲu nuawo boɲ wogl̃ena. Ne tsi wu la, ekema exana ɔe afi ma, kasia wɔaxɔ ɲekeke et̃ la, ekema ɛɲɔ kat̃a wɔna h̃e abe ami wokɔ ɔe afi ma ene. Gbe siwo le afi ma h̃a fe l̃ame

11 Wormy soil.

12 Soil full of termites.

13 Animal fat soil.

about three days the surface of the water becomes completely yellowish, as if oil has been poured there. The grasses that grow on it are unsightly and thin. That is why no one can till it.

Hilly country is good soil that is popular with the people. It can be tilled easily. If it does not rain for a long time farm plants do not thrive on it. The soil is hard and does not produce weed.

Wet soil is a type of soil, into which rain can easily soak. Plants that are planted on it do not get spoiled even during dry seasons, but are always fresh. During heavy downpours one has a lot of work with it. People must drain the water so that it flows somewhere else. Therefore people are not fond of tilling it, because too much water is not good for the plants. The soil is soft and easily worked but grass grows quickly on it.

Apart from these types of soil, there are no others that one would give a special name to.

gblēna; eya ta ame aḍeke mate ɲu aɲlɔ afi ma o.

Kponyigbae nye anyigba nyuie si amewo lōna hā. Dɔwɔwɔ le edzi mesesē o. Ne tsi medza o la, ekema nuku mate ɲu awɔ le edzi o. Enye anyigba sesē, eye gbe memiena ḍe edzi kabakaba o.

Tsimenyigbae nye anyigba si ne tsi dza la, eḍoa efe lāme kenken, eye ne wofā nuku ḍi, eye ku ḍi vuu hā anyo kokoko. Nenye tsi gā ɲutɔe dza la, enyea dɔ ɲutɔ, ele na amewo bena woade mɔ na tsi la, be wḍasi ayi afi bubu; eya ta amewo melṣa eɲɔɲlɔ o elabena tsi geḍe menyo na nukuwo o. Anyigba la bɔbɔ, eye dɔwɔwɔ le edzi mesesē o, eye wòmia gbe kabakaba.

Kpe ḍe anyigba siawo ɲu la, anyigba bubu aḍeke megali si wona ɲkɔ tɔxe bubu aḍeke o.

2. Water Conditions

Ho has no natural water courses. It lies on a dry stony grassland, whose northern boundary borders a bare mountain range that runs from south west towards north east. At the foot of this mountain rise many small springs that together form a small stream. However, during each dry period of the year there is a lack of the necessary water in Ho.

3. The Climatic Conditions

Compare temperature recordings at the end of this volume.

B. Mode of Operation

The whole land that belongs to a tribe is divided into village lands, of which each has a special name and its particular owner. The conditions of ownership suggest that the members of a family lay out their farm on the same piece of land. Because of wild animals it is required that as many fields as possible be laid out on the same piece of land. Fields that lie isolated in the bush are often made a nice mess of by antelopes and must, therefore, sometimes be specially watched. The size of the field depends on the zest for work, health and the number of able-bodied family members of the farmer. Whoever for example does not feel like or does not intend to undertake a

big commercial trip in the coming year lays out a smaller farm than in the previous year. Generally, one can say that the average farmer makes three to five hundred yam mounds, while many bigger farmers have over 1,000 yam plants.

In Ho the profitable cultivation of the fields depends very much on the natural recovery of the land and its self-renewal. The farm that is laid out on a bigger piece of land is shifted to another place each year, until after ten to twelve years the whole land has been cultivated. After this lapse of time, the farm is laid out again, where it was ten to twelve years ago. During this period, the land has been fertilized enough with ashes and made productive through the burning of grass that takes place every year.

The introduction of an artificial system of fertilization involves the greatest difficulties, at least for the meantime. As long as no cattle are kept, a regular fertilization is not possible either.

IV. Agricultural Produce

Since in Ho and its surroundings no millet (fo) was produced in the days of old and at the present only a little, our attention is focussed on the cultivation of maize.

A. Maize

1. Planting

Before one prepares the field for yam, one sows maize at the place at which yam was planted during the previous year. Before one sows the maize the field is cleared of grass. One calls this first sowing *dzogbekpeli* “grass burning maize”. Some farmers also prepare (special) forest land for the sowing of maize. The second sowing is termed *masakpeli*, “rainy season maize”. Four months after the planting of yam, one begins to cut down the forest and during the fifth month this work is finished. This sowing *masakpeli* is exactly like the first (the maize). It only grows (the maize) much quicker than the first. During the third month after the sowing the maize is mature. However, one does not like to eat this (green), but rather it is preserved carefully, in order to make *Akplē* with it.¹⁴

If one wants to sow maize, one first makes a small hole and puts three or four maize grains into it, just as one wants. If

A. Bli

1. Efafā

Hafi ne woafā te alo woadze tegblesisi gome la, wofā bli gbā, eye tefe si wofā te do xoxo la, tefe ma wofāne do. Gbā la, wonlba gbeawo da hafi fāne, eye woyɔ blifafā gbāto sia bena dzogbekpeli. Gake ame siwo lɔ la, wofoa ave faa. Woyɔa blifafā evelia bena masakpeli (masabli). Le tefafā yleti ene yi atɔa me la, wodzea avefofo gome, eye le yleti etɔlia fe nuwuwu me la, ekema wowua ave la fofo nu. Eya hā sɔ pɛ kple dzogbekpeli gake masakpeli wɔna kabakaba wu. Le efe yleti etɔa me la, evana; gake la womelɔna be, woadu eya o, ke boɔu wodina be woadzrae do nyuie hena akplēda.

Ne wobe woafā bli la, woɖea do eye wotsɔa bliawo dea eme ku etɔetɔ alo enene, ale si ame la lɔ ko. Ne agble la lolo la,

¹⁴ *Akple* is a thick flour porridge that is similar to pudding.

the field is big, one organizes people who sow it. One makes the holes for sowing and another person puts the maize grains into them. If the seed had been put into water before the sowing, it stays in the soil for only three to four days and then sprouts. However, if the seed has not been put in water, it needs seven days until it sprouts.

2. Growth

If the seed has sprouted and grown somewhat, the whole farm is hoed because through that the maize plant thrives very well. Maize is hoed only once after sowing. When the plants are somehow grown, one says that they are putting forth flowers and after that they develop fruits. If the maize plant thrives, it develops two to three cobs. However, there are grains only in two cobs, while the third is completely empty. The maize cob is what the grains sit in, and the leaves that cover the grains are called *kpelivo*, “maize dress”. On the other hand the long maize leaves are called *kpelivala*, “maize wings”. The long hairs that grow out of the maize cobs are termed *aqabani*, or in the coastal areas *abuke* “small strings”. If the grains on the cob are not yet grown, they are termed *daqui* “snake teeth”. Four months after the sowing the maize begins to mature and during the fifth month it is dry (completely mature).

3. Harvest

One begins to eat new maize during the third month. It is called *kpelimu*, “green maize”. It is very tasty; children and adults like eating it. One eats it boiled or roasted. Everyone looks forward to the green maize and enjoys it. When the maize is completely dry, it is taken away and the stalks are broken. After the maize has been broken, its leaves are tied together and it is hung on a pole. Many people erect a stand, *agbati* over the hearth to smoke the crop. Whoever wants sells his maize, since it is very expensive.

4. Use

This plant is very useful for the people. One uses it as *zoklale*.¹⁵ One grinds it into flour and cooks *Akplē*¹⁶ or *dzogbo*¹⁷ with it.

The maize that is put in water is crushed and used as *amɔwɔ*.¹⁸

It is used for cooking *Akplē*. *Akatsa*, drunk as a thin savoury pap and an especially favourite breakfast of the inhabitants of the coast, is also made with it. *Amɔwɔ* is also used for preparing *dzogbo*. In the mornings children eat *aboda*, which is maize grains boiled soft in salt water.

15 These are maize grains roasted on fire and then put in salt water, which are very tasty.

16 *Akplē* is a thick maize porridge similar to pudding. The flour necessary for its production is made from roasted maize.

17 On the other hand *dzogbo* is a thin pap that is produced with the usual maize flour.

18 A slightly sour dough.

ekema adɔ ame woafãe na wo. Dewo ame dɛka nɔa do la dɛm eye ame dɛka nɔa bli la dem eme. Ne wotsɔ bli la de tsi hafi fã la ekema enɔa tome nkeke etɔ alo ene hafi miena. Ke ne womede bli la tsi o la, exɔa nkeke adre hafi miena.

2. Bli fe wɔwɔmewo

Ne bli mie, eye wotsi vee la, ekema woganlɔa eme keɲ, elabena esia nana bli la gakpɔa lãme nyuie. Bli la ne wofãe la, zi dɛka ko wonlɔa eme. Ne etsi vie la, ekema wogblɔna bena eɔo agɔ eye ne egate va dzi me la, ekema egbaa ahadza, eye esia yome la edzea vi. Ne bli la nyo vavã la, ekema edzea vi eve, eye dewo dzea etɔ, gake la wo ame eve me ko bli nɔna eye etɔlia naneke menɔa eme o. Ati si nɲu bli la dze dɔ la, woyɔnɛ bena kpeliti, alo tsakpeli, nu si le eɲu lae nye kpelivɔ alo agobo, eye alɔ siwo le eɲu la wonye kpelivala. Woyɔa ka suesue siwo do tso kpeliti la me hele enu fũu la be aɔabani, Aɲlɔwo yɔnɛ be abuke. Ne kpeli si le eɲu la metsi o la, wogblɔna bena edo daɖui. Le blivavã yleti enelia me la, ekema wodzea fufu gɔme, eye le yleti etɔlia me wofuna keɲ.

3. Bliɖeɖe

Ne bli ɔ yleti etɔ la, wodea asi eɖuɖu me xoxo. Woyɔa bli sia bena kpelimu, evivina nɲuɔ, eye ɖeviwo kple ame tsitsiwo ɖune. Wodanɛ, menɛ heɖuna. Ame siaa ame kpɔa dzidzɔ le blitɔmu nɲuti, elabena enye modzakadenu. Ne bli la va fu keɲ la, ekema wova lãnɛ le eko gbe, eye wonɛa atiawo fua anyi; ati siawo nye ahɔlitiwo. Le eɲeɲe vɔ megbe la, wowɔa kpelisã, eye wotɔnɛ ɖoa eme; ame aɖewo ɔa agbakle tɔnɛ ɖe edzi, eye ame aɖewo sanɛ tɔɔna kua ati siwo woyɔna bene kpeligbati. Ame aɖewo ɔa agbati ɖe afe me be woayɔ bli la. Ne wolɔ la, ekema wonɔa bliawo dzram. Kpeli ɔa asi nɲuɔ.

4. Ale si wowɔa eɲu dɔe le afe me.

Nenem nuku sia enye nɲuɔwɔnu na amewo nɲuɔ. Wotsɔnɛ tɔa zɔklale ɖuna. Alo wotsɔnɛ tua ɔ ɖaa akplɛ, eye wotsɔa ɔ la foa dzogbo hã nona. Wodea bli tsi hetsɔnɛ gbã amɔwɔ si wotsɔna ɖe akplɛ, wogatsɔna amɔwɔ la ɖaa akatsa, si nye nunono nyuie aɖe. Akatsa nono le nɲdi ma futanɔlawo nɲuɔ. Wogatsɔ amɔwɔ foa dzogbo nona. Wogatsɔa bli ɖa aboɖae, eyae nye ɖeviwo fe nuɖuɖu le nɲdi. Wogatsɔnɛ ɖaa lihae. Lihae nye aha nyuie, si nyo na nono, gake womelɔa eɖaɖa o. Bli enye nuɖuɖu na lãwo hã.



Maize Granary,
Under it a hearth for the smoking of corn,
to dry it and to protect it against maize beetles

Maize beer, *liha*, is a tasty drink, but people don't like to make it. Maize is also given to animals as feed.

If one wants to bake bread, one crushes maize, then grinds it fine, makes a dough with the flour, stirs it in the evening and puts it aside. At night around 4:00 a.m., one gets up, lights the oven and when it is hot, the dough is put into it. When it is baked, one takes it out and sells it. This food is very palatable to the people. They especially like to eat it in the mornings. Bread is baked every day because it is eaten every day.

B.Yam

One of the most important field plants is the yam, which has very great meaning for the people of Ho as well as for the rest of the tribes in the interior with regards to their feeding. If yam does not thrive well in a year the people of Ho speak of famine. It is therefore understandable if the informants provided a comprehensive description of this important food plant.



Rice Container in Avatime

Ne wobe woawɔ abolo la, gbā wogbā bli la, emegbe wonyɔne, eye wofoa dzogbo dea eme, eye woblune le fiẽ keɲ hedana ɖi. Le zã, anɔ ga ene me la, wofɔna doa dzo ɖe kpo me, eye ne kpo la xɔ dzo la, ekema wofoa abolo ɖe eme keɲ. Ne ebi la, ekema wofɔne ɖadzrana. Nuɖuɖu sia nyoa amewo ɲu ɲutɔ, vevietɔ woɖune le ɲdi. Wofoa abolo gbe sia gbe, elabena woɖune gbee sia gbe.

B. Te

1. Types of yam

The different types of yam are: *klevu*, *tsetse*, *yrapa*, *biansa*, *hlo*, *teyibɔ*, *kratsidie*, *konfonte*, *nyègasi*, *zũ*, *avazde* and *dzobali*.

Klevu is a good type of yam that is very popular. Its fufu tastes very good. *Klevu* thrives on any type of soil, but especially on stony and on arable soil. The exterior of the root is smooth; there are no thorns on it. When the root gets very big, hairs that look like a beard develop on it. These are its roots. But the actual root is smooth. *Klevu* produces (no side tubers or) bulbs. It usually develops only a single root. Wherever it thrives well, its leaves are greenish black, so that one immediately recognizes from the leaves that it (its root) is big.

Its tendrils as well as the rootlets that look like a beard have no thorns. Its leaves are small. At the beginning they are reddish, but later they become dark, when they get bigger. However, if the root does not thrive, the leaves keep their reddish colour.

One can dig it early; its seed heads are dug even earlier. If it is not dug early it sprouts in the soil. The inside of the yam tuber itself is yellowish and firm. The boiled *klevu* tastes good, but it is hard. Its fufu tastes better than all other types of yam. The fufu keeps well for long and does not spoil. *Klevu* is expensive on the market and its seed tubers are very good, too.

Tsetse is a type of yam that becomes very big. However, it is not valued by the people. When it is dry and all types remain small, *tsetse* also remains small. The reason why the *tsetse* type is not popular is that when it remains behind during a big drought, it cracks and becomes unsightly. That is why people do not like it, although it makes good fufu. *Tsetse* does not thrive on stony soil and on hilly country. It rather wants to have humus black soil, on which wild sugar cane thrives.

There are no thorns on it and its exterior would be quite beautiful, if there were no abrasions on it. It has small roots, but has no beard. *Tsetse* sprouts many side tubers or bulbs. Sometimes there are three, even four on it. It shoots broad leaves that, however, do not become dark. Its leaves fall off quickly because the yam itself gets mature quickly. Its tendrils are reddish and there are no thorns on it.

The inside of the yam itself is white and is not firm. Its fufu tastes better than its *kɔ*; ¹⁹ since it has no special taste when boiled. It soon becomes soft when it is cooked. If the tuber does not have any abrasions on it it can be kept for a long time. It is not a yam which is in demand on the market and mostly not paid any attention. Everybody plants *tsetse*; it is therefore also not expensive

Yrapa resembles *tsetse* because it is not valued either and has no particular reputation, and it breaks easily. It thrives in the arable soil where sugar cane grows wild, and where there are no hillocks. *Yrapa* has no thorns, only a few are to be found at its upper end (head). It has roots on which there are thorns here and there but it has no beard. It puts out many side tubers, up to three or four pieces.

Its tendrils are large and reddish. Initially there are a few thorns on them but they disappear later. Its leaves are big and smooth, with no thorns on them. *Tsetse* and *yrapa* are considered as one kind of yam because of their various uses and also their appearance. Their leaves shine a bit and do not become dark. These leaves soon die and fall off. The inside of the tuber is white, soft and insipid, but its fufu tastes good. If

19 *Kɔ* is boiled yam that is eaten with the hand like potato.

1. Te fomeviwo

Te fomeviwo nye: Klevu, tsetse, yrapa biansa, hlo, te yibo, kratsidie, konfonje nyagasi, zū, avadze kple dzobali. Klevue nye te nyuie aɖe si amewo buna ɖutɔ. Efe fufu nyona ɖutɔ. Klevu nyona le anyigba sia anyigba dzi, vevietɔ le kpenyigbawo kple avlumenyigbawo dzi. Eɖuti zrɔna, eye ɖu aɖeke menɔa enu o. Ne eɖo ɖutɔ la, gewo nɔa eɖu, siwo nye efe kewo; ke eya ɖutɔ ɖuti zrɔna.

Klevu melɔa vidzedze o, eya ɖeka ko lɔa ɖoɖo. Ne eɖo ɖutɔ la, efe aɖgbawo nyɔna vī(tsiditsidi) ale bena, ne ekpo aɖgbawo ko la, adze sii bena eɖo vavā. ɖu menɔa efe kawo ɖu o, eye menɔa efe kewo alo efe gewo hā me o. Efe aɖgbawo le sue. Gbā la, wobiāna, emegbe ne eɖo la, wonɔa yibo, gake ne meɖo o la, wobiāna.

Wokune kaba, ke efe teta wogakuna kaba wu; elabena ne womekui kaba o la, Akaka ɖe do la me. Te la ɖutɔ me biāna, eye wosesēna. Efe tekɔ vivina gake esesēna; efe fufu gavivina wua wo katā. Fufu la nɔa anyi etefe didina, eye mevona o. Ne wotsɔ klevu yi asi me la, exɔa asi ɖutɔ; efe teta hā nyona ɖutɔ.

Tsetse enye te, si ɖona ɖutɔ, gake amewo mebune kura o. Ne ku le ɖiɖim, eye tewo katā tso ɖo la, ekema tsetse hā tsoa ɖo. Nu si ta womelɔ tsetse ɖo o nye ne etso ɖo, eye ku le ɖiɖim la, ekema ewona kenken, eye enu wona nyama. Esiata ko amewo melɔne ɖo o, wonye enyo na fufu hafi. Tsetse melɔa kpenyigba kple afi si ke wɔ kpo o, ke elɔa avlume afi si aɖa le, eye anyigba hā wɔ yibo le la.

ɖu menɔa eɖu o, eye eɖuti anyo hafi ɖe menye abie nɔa eɖu o. Ke le eɖu, gake ge mele eɖu o. Tsetse lɔa vidzedze ɖutɔ, ɖewo tɔ dea etɔ kple enewo gɔ hā. Etoa aɖgba keke, siwo menɔa yibo ken o. Aɖgba siawo lɔa gege kaba, elabena te la lɔa kuku kaba. Efe kawo ɖuti biāna, eye ɖu menɔa wo ɖu o.

Te la ɖutɔ me funa, eye mesesēna o. Efe fufu vivina ɖutɔ wu efe kɔ; elabena kɔ nɔa yaa. Ne wole eɖam la, ebina kaba ɖutɔ. Ne mexɔ abi o la, enɔa anyi etefe didina ɖutɔ. Womelea fɔ ɖe eɖuti o, eye etɔna hā, ne wotsɔe yi asimee. Ame siaa ame faa tsetse, eya ta mexɔa asi kura o.

Yrapa kple tsetse wosɔ; womebua eya hā o, eye mexɔ ɖkɔ kura o, elabena ewona. Elɔa wɔwɔ le avlume, afi si aɖa sɔɖ le kple afi si kpo aɖeke mele o. Yrapa la ɖu aɖeke mele eɖu o, negbe efe ta gbɔ ko ɖu ɖekaɖekawo le. Ke le eɖu, eye ɖu ɖekaɖekawo le ke la ɖu; ke ge aɖeke mele eɖu o. Eya hā dzea vi geɖe abe etɔ kple enewo ene.

Efe kawo lolo, eye wobiā, ɖu aɖewo nɔa ɖu le gɔmedzedzea me, ke emegbe la wovɔna ken. Efe aɖgbawo lolo, zrɔ, eye ɖu aɖeke mele eɖu o. Wobua tsetse kple yrapa abe te ɖeka

the tuber has no cuts in it, it lasts a long time, but if it has cuts it begins to rot when it rains. It is sold on the market, but not especially desired.

Biansa is a good yam, whose *kɔ* is much liked. People value it, but it does not become large. It thrives everywhere, but even in good soil it does not get very big. The yam is very attractive looking: there are no thorns, only its roots show a few thorns. It produces four or five side tubers. Also because of these many second growths it does not grow large. Its leaves are smaller than those of *klevu*; they have no thorns. At first they seem reddish, but gradually become darker with further growth. The leaves soon become dry and fall off.

The yam itself is yellow inside and harder than *klevu* and is not easily pounded. *Biansa* tastes good when boiled, but people don't like its fufu. Its fufu loses texture and taste soon after pounding. It does not do well in drought and does not produce many seed yams, another reason why there are not many of them. Pregnant women do not usually eat it, it causes them difficulties and even causes abortions. That is another reason why it is not liked. It lasts a long time and does not decay quickly. Because it is not common it is not sold on the market.

Hlo was first found in the forest and then planted on the farm. One can still find it in the forest. No one values it. The reason why people like it is that it can be planted during the bush burning. For five months no one is allowed to bring yam to the house, but one can bring *hlo* home without a problem.

Since *hlo* is a forest plant, it flourishes mainly on good farm land and forest land. It has many thorns, even on its climbing tendrils, as well as on its many roots. When digging up *hlo* the farmer gets many injuries because of the thorns. It puts forth many side tubers, but if it is in the bush it doesn't produce so many. Its heavy creepers are red, with small thorns. If the fruit in the ground becomes larger the leaves darken. The latter are not particularly big, soon become dry and fall off. The *hlo* that grows in the forest becomes very large, but soon rots and then grows up again. However if (the bush) is burnt it soon perishes.

The inside of *hlo* has strong fibres. At first it is yellow inside, but becomes white if it stays for long. Its fufu is good; but it also tastes very good when one eats it boiled out of the hand. If one uses the water that it was cooked in for soup it is not good, even if a lot of meat is added. Because of that the water it is cooked in is poured away and different water is used to make the soup.

If the wild yam dug in the forest is planted for a long time in cultivated land it gradually loses its many thorns, the roots become fewer, and even the water it is boiled in can be used for soup. After longer cultivation the *hlo* becomes white inside. After being dug up *hlo* can last for a whole year. People are happy to eat it and buy it; since it can be eaten earlier than all the other kinds of yam it is for sale even when there is plenty of yam, so people like it. If one plants nothing but *hlo* one doesn't look after his farm. When people discuss yams they mock such a farm.

Te yibo is an old type of yam that is held in high esteem. However, it does not match *klevu*. People are fond of planting it because it grows fast to its due size. It gets rotten quickly and has, therefore, not become famous. It thrives in any type of soil, in stony soil as well as on hill rocky country with enough rain. However it prefers arable land. Its appearance is not nice. It has a very thick skin. If it is scratched with the finger nail, one does not quickly penetrate to its flesh. There are no thorns on it. Because the *teyibo*

ene, elabena wofe ɔɔwɔwɔwɔ ɔɔ gbɔ eye wofe ɔɔwɔwɔwɔ hã nenema. Efe amagbawo klẽna vie, eye womeɔyɔna o. Amagba siawo kuna kaba, eye woduduna le edzi. Te la ɔɔwɔ me fu, eye wɔɔwɔwɔ hele yaa, gake efe fufu vivina. Ne abi aɔke mele ɔɔu o la, ɔɔwɔ anyi etefe didina; ke ne ɔɔwɔ abi, eye tsi de asi wuwu me la ekema evona. Wolɔa efefle, gake bubu gobi aɔke mele ɔɔu o.

Biansa nye te si wolɔa efe kɔ ɔɔɔɔ, eye wonye te nyuie. Amewo bunɛ gake melɔa ɔɔɔɔ o. Eɔona le afi sia afi, ne wofãe ɔɔ anyigba nyuie dzi hã meɔona bo aɔke o. Te la ɔɔwɔ ɔɔwɔ nyo, eye ɔɔ aɔke mele ɔɔu o, ke ɔɔ ɔɔaɔɔkawo le efe ke ɔɔ, gake menye ɔɔ gobi aɔke o. Elɔa vidzedze abe ene alo atɔ ene. Vidzedze geɔɔ sia na bena melɔa ɔɔɔɔ o. Efe amagbawo le sue wu klevu tɔ, eye ɔɔ aɔke menɔa wo ɔɔu o. Gbã la edzena abe ɔɔ wobiã ene, gake ne ede asi ɔɔɔɔ me la, ekema ɔɔwɔ yibɔ. Efe amagbawo kuna kaba, eye wogena.

Te la ɔɔwɔ me biã, eye wosesẽ wu klevu, eye ɔɔsẽ hã le ɔɔu. Amewo lɔa biansa fe kɔ ɔɔɔɔ, ke efe fufu ya menyona o. Womelɔa efe fufu o, elabena etɔɔna kaba. Biansa sea kuɔiɔi eye melɔna foa ta o, eya ta wovena ɔɔ. Bebli hafi woakpɔe le mia dome. Nyɔɔnu, si le fu fɔm la, meɔuna biansa o, elabena enana aɔɔnu ɔɔnɛ, eye ɔɔwɔ la fu la gena gɔ hã. Esia nana be womedoa vivi ɔɔ ɔɔu o. Enɔa anyi, eye mevona kaba o. Esi wonye ɔɔe wovena la, eya ta womedzranɛ hã o.

Hlo. Wokpɔ hlo le ave me hafi va fã ɔɔ agble me; eye egbegbe la, woagakpɔe le avewo me. Ame aɔke meɔnɛ o gake wolɔnɛ. Nu si ta wolɔnɛ ɔɔ lae nye, wofanɛ le dzogbenɔli ɔɔwɔ, eye yleti atɔawo me la, ame ɔɔke mekpɔ ɔɔwɔ atɔ te va afe mee o; ke wokpɔ ɔɔwɔ atɔ hlo vɛ faa.

Elɔa wɔwɔ le anyigba nyuiewo dzi, vevietɔ le avlume kple ave tefewo, elabena avemenu wɔnyɛ. ɔɔu le te la ɔɔwɔ, kawo kple efe ke gbogboawo ɔɔu; eya ta ne wole ete kam la, ame fe asi ɔɔa abi kenkenɔ ɔɔ. Edzea vi geɔɔ gake menye fuu akpa o, ke ne ele ave me la, edzeno fũu wu. Efe kawo lolo biã, eye ɔɔ suesuwɔ le wo ɔɔu; ne ɔɔɔɔ ɔɔ ete la, efe aɔgbawo nyɔna. Aɔgbã la, ɔɔwɔ lolona, eye ɔɔwɔ melolona o, wokuna eye woduduna kaba. Ne hlo le gbeme la, eɔona ɔɔwɔ, ke emegbe la evona, eye wogamiena; ke ne dzo le efiã la etefe medidina hafi wotsɔna o.

Eme enye ka ɔɔwɔwɔ fe fufɔfo, eye wosesẽ hebiã, gake ne etsi te ɔɔu la, efuna. Ne woɔae kɔ la, evivina ɔɔwɔ, eye efe fufu hã vivina. Ne wotsɔ efe tsi fo detsii de lã eme fuu hã mevivina o; eya ta ne amewo ɔɔae la, wotsɔ eɔatsi fua gbe, eye wotsɔ tsi bubu foa detsi lae.

Ne woku hlo tso gbe me le fafam eye etefe didi ɔɔwɔ la, ekema efe tsi vivina, eye ɔɔu lã meganɔa ɔɔu nenema gbegbe o, eye keawo hã megasɔa gbɔ o.

Ne wohoe tso gbe me le dodom alea la, efe telã la va funa. Ne woku hlo da ɔɔi, ɔɔwɔ anyi mevona o, aɔw fe ɔɔka kloe. Amewo lɔa eɔɔɔɔ, eye woflenɛ ale si dze. Esi wonye eyae wotrea ɔɔɔɔ na teawo, eye ne te ɔɔ vuu hã, eya dzra ge woala gbã la, eya ta wolɔnɛ. Ne ame aɔe fã hlo ɔɔɔɔ la, womebuna amea fe agble la o. Eye ne wole dze ɔɔm le te ɔɔu la, fewu ko woaɔu le ɔɔwɔ.

Te yibɔ enye te xoxo, si amewo buna; gake mede klevu nu o. Wobunɛ elabena ne wofã woawo kple wo tɔwo la, woɔona kaba ɔɔwɔ, eye ɔɔɔɔ hã lolona ale si dze. Nu si na be, mexɔa ɔɔkɔ boo o lae nye bena, mexɔa ɔɔkeke aɔke hafi vona o. Elɔa anyigba sia anyigba,

does not shoot side tubers it grows quickly. It has a beard of small roots, which are knocked off during digging.

Its tendrils are very thick with big dark leaves, which, however, soon become dry again. Because of its dark leaves it is given the name *te yibɔ*, “black yam”. Its leaves dry up and fall off more quickly than the leaves of other types of yams.

Its inside is white and soft. When it is being boiled and the fire under it is not strong it remains hard and cannot easily be pounded. It is not good for fufu because it is not viscous; its *kɔ* tastes good and is gladly eaten. It does not keep fresh for long, it rots quickly. The seed tubers as well as the nice pieces of yam soon rot. When its seed yams are dug and stored, they usually are already rotten by the time for planting. That is why it disappears quickly compared to all the other types of yam. In time, *te yibɔ* will hardly be seen any more.

Kratsidjie is an old type of yam, but one pays little attention to it. It does not like just any type of soil, but rather only arable soil because its yam becomes very big. The name *Kratsidjie* is derived from the Kratsi language because the yam itself comes from *Kratsi*. In the *Kratsi* language *djie* means *te*, yam.²⁰ Formerly, it did not exist in Eweland. Thorns are neither on the yam itself nor on its roots. It becomes big because it shoots no side tubers. Its tendrils and leaves are big and thick. The colour of the leaves is not completely dark. Its leaf is long and dark. However it gets dry soon and then drops off.

The yam itself is white and soft, so that if the one boiling it is not careful it turns into porridge. It is therefore not suitable for fufu. If one wants to use the water in which it is boiled for soup, it will not be good. One therefore makes only porridge with it.

This yam rots very quickly. On the other hand, its seed tubers keep well for a long time. It is not expensive when sold. It is planted only seldom because it cannot be used for fufu. And everybody wishes that it becomes extinct. Gradually it will disappear, because it is much despised. If anyone planted exclusively this type of yam, he would be derided. It said that if its thorny leaves scratch someone, the person gets sick all his life or becomes a hunchback. That is why it is left to die out in many places. The yam itself would not die out, but it will actually be rooted out.

Konfoŋte is not esteemed much. Formerly, it was not in Eve land. It originates from the Kpando area. It is called as such because it is not as hard as *klevu*, but rather *foŋfoŋ*, “soft”. When it is boiled and eaten with the hand, it gives a smacking sound. It becomes very big and therefore prefers arable land. It has no thorns, but rather only a beard. It is big because it does not produce second growths or side tubers.

Its tendrils are thick and dark and have no thorns. Its leaves are broad, big and dark; they quickly drop off. Its fufu is not good; the people, therefore, prefer to eat it as *kɔ*. Its soup tastes good. It does not keep well for long, but rather rots quickly. It is bought in the market. This type of yam will not become extinct.

One differentiates the actual *konfoŋte* from the *konfoŋtekavie*, “with thin tendrils”, whose tendrils are thin and whose leaves are small.

One uses its name as a simile. When three or four men sit in judgment, and one of them is still young – if the young person is asked in the court, what he thinks about the matter, he says he is like *konfoŋte* that has just appeared among the types of yam. In other words, he is still young and the matter is not his business.

20 *Kratsidjie* = Kratsi yam.

kpe me kple kpo dzi sia ne tsi nya le dzadzam ne ko. Vevieto la, elɔ̃ avlumenyigba. Te la ɲuto ɲuti menyo kura o, ele trikpa, eye ne eka fee la, make de la la ɲuti kaba o, ɲu menɔa efe kewo ɲu o. Te yibo ɔona kaba, elabena melɔ̃a vidzedze o. Ge sɔɲ le ɲu eye ne wokui la, ekema woɔa wo ɔa le ɲuti.

Efe kawo ɲu yɔ fũu kple aɲgba lolo yibo, siwo kuna kaba. Exɔ ɲkɔ bena te yibo, le efe aɲgbawo ta. Aɲgba siawo funa, eye wogena kaba wu te bubuawo tɔ. Ke te la ɲuto me fu, eye wobɔɔɔ. Ke ne wole eɔam, eye dzo mesese de ɲu o la, ekema asesẽ, eye menya le toto ge o. Menyo na fufu o, ne wotsɔe to fufui la, ade aɔeke menɔa eme o. Efe kɔ vivina eye amewo lɔ̃ eya ɔuɔu wu. Menɔ anyi etefe didina o, teta kple telã la vona kaba. Ne woku efe teta da ɔi, eye kasia efayi naɔo la, evona, esia ɲuti etsrɔ̃na le tewo dome kaba. Blewublewu la, womagale te yibo aɔeke kpo ge o.

Kratsidie enye te, si li xoxoxo; ke womelea fɔ de ɲu kura o. Melɔ̃a anyigbawo katã o, ke elɔ̃a avlumenyigba ko, elabena enye te si ɔona ɲuto. ɲkɔ kratsidie la enye Kratsigbe, eye te la hã tso Kratsi. Te = die le Kratsigbe me. Mele Eveme tsã o. ɲu aɔeke mele eya ɲuto kple efe kewo ɲu o. Medzea vi o, eya ta woɔona ɲuto. Efe kawo kple aɲgbawo lolo, eye kawo mele yibo keɲ o. Efe aɲgba didi yibɔwo kuna kaba, eye wogena.

Te la ɲuto le yie, eye wobɔɔɔ ɲuto; ale be ne eɔala medze aɔaɲu o la agblẽ, afo dzogbo, esia ta menyo na fufu o ɔo, eye ne wobe, woatsɔ efe tsi afo detsi la, mevivina o. Woɔane ko alo wotsɔne foa dzogbo.

Te sia vona kaba ɲuto, ke efe ta ya nɔa anyi. Ne woyi edzra ge la, mexɔa asi o. Le efe fufu manyomanyo ta meɔo o, eye ame sia ame le didim bena yeatsrɔ̃e, blewublewu la ava vɔ keɲ; elabena wodoa vloee akpa. Ne ame aɔe fa eya deɔe la, ekema ame bubuwo doa vloee. Wobena ne efe amagbawo ka ame ɲu la wozua dɔnɔ alo kpoɔ, eya ta wotsrɔ̃e le afi geɔewo. Te la ɲuto melɔ̃ be, yeatsrɔ̃ o, ke amewo le etsrɔ̃m.

Konfonɔte la womebune gobi aɔeke o. Mele Eveme tsã ; ke etso Kpando nutowo me va. Woyɔe alea elabena mesese abe klevu ene o; ke boɲu eme le fonfon, eye ne wole eɔum la, enɔa ɔiɔim kɔfukɔfu. Elɔ̃a avlumenyigba, elabena eɔona geɔe ɲuto. ɲu menɔa te la ɲuti o, negbe ge sɔɲ ko. Medzea vi o, eya ta woɔona ɔo.

Efe kawo lolo hele yibo, eye ɲu menɔa wo ɲu o, esiawo ɲu aɲgba keke lolo, siwo le yibo la le. Aɲgbawo gena kaba. Efe fufu menyo o, evona kaba, gake efe ta nɔa anyi wu. Ne wodzrae la, woɔene. Te sia matsrɔ̃ akpo o.

Konfonɔte fomevi evee li; Dekae nye konfonɔte, eye eveliae nye konfonɔte ka vie, elabena efe ka le sue, nye amagbawola melolo o.

Wotsɔ ɲkɔ konfonɔte la doa loe. Ne ame etɔ alo ene wole vɔnu drɔ̃m, gake la wo dome ame deka menye ame tsitsi o. Nenyee be, wole nya la drɔ̃m, eye wobia dekapui la be, ale ke wɔsusu le nya la ɲu mahã? Ekema egblɔ̃na be ye la konfonɔte yenye, ye la fifia yeva te wo dome eyae nye yemetsi haɔe o, eye nya la metsɔ ye gbɔ nya aɔeke o.

Nyagasie nye te xoxowo dometo deka, eye wonye te nyuie si amewo lɔ̃na. Ewɔna le avlumenyigba kple afi si wɔ kpo la dzi. Ne tsi le dzadzam la, ewɔna le anyigba sia anyigba dzi. ɲu aɔeke mele te la kple efe kewo ɲu o, ke boɲu ɲuti zrɔ̃ nyuie. Melɔ̃a vidzedze gobi o.

Nyagasi fe kawo kple aɲgba le sue, eye wonyɔ̃. Kawo kuna kaba, eye aɲgbawo gena. Eme fu yie, eye amewo lɔ̃ efe kɔ kple efe fufu hã; ne wotsɔe fo detsi hã enyona. Melɔ̃na

Nyagasi is a good and popular type of yam that has long become acclimatized. It thrives in arable soil as well as on hilly country. When it rains, it thrives in any type of soil. Thorns are neither on the yam nor on its roots, but rather its exterior is smooth. It only shoots a few side tubers.

The tendrils and leaves of the *nyagasi* are small and dark. The tendrils soon get dry, and its leaves drop off.

Its inside is white and it is gladly eaten as fufu or boiled and eaten with the hand. It is also good for soup. It does not rot quickly, but rather keeps well. It is gladly bought in the market, but is very expensive. The head of *nyagasi* is tough and can only be cut with difficulty. Its lower end is good, but it is not as good as the head.

Zu²¹ was formerly not in Eweland, but originates from Ave. As the Eves (that is the people of Ho with some Ewes from surrounding towns) fled to Ave during the Asante war, they brought it with them from there. It derives its name from its heavy weight because it is very big. At the beginning it was not at all popular because caring for it is extraordinarily difficult. There are long thorns on its roots; some are up to one inch long, so that one can only dig it with a lot of effort.

Nowadays, it is liked because its tendrils shoot many branches and give it an impressive appearance. In addition to that it gets big and produces seed tubers. If its roots do not get any abrasions, it keeps well for very long. It does not spoil quickly and thrives by itself without much effort. Nowadays, it is planted by everyone, because even with a long drought it does not die off.

At the end of its head there are no thorns. Its tendrils are thick. At the beginning they are reddish, but later become dark. It is the same with its leaves. The leaves do not become dry quickly; they remain green a long time.

The inside is white and soft. It is good used for fufu, but it can also be eaten with the hand when boiled. It does not rot easily. When there is a cut somewhere, it does not last for even three days until it rots. When one wants to sell it, it is very expensive because people like it.

Avadze is also an old acclimatized type of yam. It is more popular with women than with men. When it is planted, one erects no poles for it, and because women cannot erect poles, they persistently plant it. However some men plant it too.

It thrives in arable soil, where it is wet. However, it does not want too much water. It has beard-like roots but it has no thorns. *Avadze* has no side tubers and therefore becomes big.

The *avadze* whose tendrils are red is called *avadze dzĩe*, “red *avadze*”. On the contrary, the one, whose tendrils are dark, is called *avadze*. The inside of the red *avadze* is as red as blood, on account of which it is also called blood *avadze*.

A third type is *akpoka*. It gets as big as the head of a human being. Its leaves quickly wither and then drop off. The inside of *akpoka* is beautifully white, sometimes also coloured. It is suitable particularly for porridge. Many people also boil it and eat it with the hand. It is not suitable for pounding fufu. Another type is called *tevadze* because it is similar to the yam. However, its leaves are similar to the *avadze*. One (type) is called *gbete*, “goat yam” because its inside smells unpleasantly. All these different types of *avadze* cannot be pounded into fufu all alone. They are therefore mixed with other yams or with *manʒani*. A further type is called *hamanʒsi*; its inside is white and smells

21 Zu = blacksmith's hammer.

vona kaba o, ke boŋu enɔ anyi etefe didina. Ne wobe, woadzrae la, exɔ asi ɲutɔ, elabena amewo lɔnɛ. Nyagasi fe tagbo le kaɖi ne wole elām la, melɔna be yeaɖe kaba o. Efe ɖɔgbɔ vivina, gake mede efe tagbo nu o.

Ezū mele Eveme tsā o, wokpɔe tso Ave esime Eveawo si Asanteva yi Ave la, eye wohe ve. Exɔ efe ɲkɔ tso efe kpekpe me, elabena eɖona ɲutɔ. Gbā esime wotsɔe ve la, amewo melɔna kura o, elabena eɲudɔwɔwɔ nye dɔ. Ne wofāe la, ekema ɲu nɔ efe kewo ɲu fūu, ɖewo didina abe inches ɖeka ene, elabena ne wole eɖome kam la, wokpea fu ɲutɔ.

Ke azɔ la wolɔnɛ, elabena efe kawo dzea alɔ geɖe, eye wovuna ɲutɔ, hekpe ɖe esia ɲu la, eɖona gā, eye wogafoa ta hā. Efe ɖoɖo la, ne mexɔ abi o la, enɔ any etefe didina ɲutɔ. Melɔa tsɔtsrɔ o, eye ale sia ale si wowɔ la, edzina ɖe dzi kokoko. Fifia la eyae nye te; si bɔ, eye wole ame siaa ame si, eye ne ku ɖi vu u lā melɔna be yeaku o. ɲu menɔa te la ɲutɔ ɲu o.

Efe kawo lolo, gbā la wobiāna, ke emegbe la wonyɔna yibɔ, nenemake enye efe amagbawo hā. Aɲgbawo mekuna kaba o, wonɔa anyi etefe didina hafi va kuna. Ezū me fu, eye wobɔbɔ. Efe kɔ kple fufu sia vivina. Mevona kaba o, ke ne abi le eɲu la, mexɔa ɲekeke etɔ hafi vona o. Ne wobe, woadzrae la, axɔ asi ɲutɔ elabena amewo lɔnɛ.

Avadze hā enye te xoxo dometɔ ɖeka. ɲutsuwo melɔnɛ abe nyɔnuwo ene o. Ne wofae la, wometua ati nɛ o, eye esi nyɔnuwo mate ɲu atu ati o la, eya ta wolɔ efafa ɲutɔ; ke ɲutsu aɖewo hā fānɛ.

Elɔa wɔwɔ le avlume kple afi si tsi le gake melɔa tsi geɖe akpa o. Ge kple ke geɖe le avadze ɲu, gake ɲu aɖeke mele wo ɲu o. Avadze medzea vi o, eya ta eɖona ɲutɔ.

Avadze, si fe ka biā la, woyɔnɛ be avedze dziē, ke esi fe ka nyɔ la, woyɔnɛ be avadze. Avadze dziē me biāna abe vu ene, eya ta woyɔnɛ be vuvadze.

Efomevi bubue nye akpoka. Eya la eɖona abe ame fe ta ene. Efe amagbawo kuna kaka, eye wogena ɖe anyigba. Akpoka me fu nyuie, ke avadze ya me le ɲɔtaɲɔta. Enyo na dzogbo ɲutɔ. Ke ne amewo lɔ la woɖa nɛ kɔ, gake efe fufu ya menyona o. Te bubu aɖe hā li si woyɔna bena tevadze, elabena ele abe te ɲutɔ ene gake efe aɲgbawo ɖi avadze tɔ. ɖeka hāe enye gbɔte; elabena eme vena ɲutɔ.

Nenem avadze siawo katā le, wometsɔa woawo ɖeɖe toa fufui o, negbe ɖeko wotsɔ wo tsakana te bubu hafi alo kple maɲkani. Bubu fomevi aɖee nye hamantsi, eme funa, eye wovēna lililīeye woɖona abe te bububwo ke ene. Bubue nye awulawula, eme yɔ fuu kple ka eye eɖona ɲutɔ, gake amewo melɔnɛ o, elabena tsi le eme akpa.

Avadze siawo katā la wonɔ anyi etefe didina ɲutɔ wu te, womevona kaba o. Ne wobe, woadzra wo la, woxɔa asi ɲutɔ. Te sia matsrɔ akpɔ o.

Dzobalie nye te nyuie, si amewo buna gake mele ame siaa ame si o, eye womeɲlɔa agble tɔxe nɛ hā o; negbe tewo dome koe wofanɛ ɖo. Elɔa anyigba sia anyigba, eye eɖona ɲutɔ

pleasant. It develops tubers like other types of yams. Another type is *awulawula*. It becomes very big and its inside consists of nothing but fibre. Apart from that it is full of water and therefore not popular.

All these types of *avadze* keep well for an extraordinarily long period, much longer than the yam and do not rot. On the market they are popular and expensive. They will never become extinct (in Eweland).

Dzobali is a good type of yam that is very much liked, but is not planted by everyone. *Dzobali* is never planted alone, but rather together with other types of yam. It thrives in any type of soil. There are roots on the tuber, but neither these nor the tuber itself have thorns. However, its exterior is not totally smooth. It shoots side tubers, but it becomes very big.

Its tendrils are thick, completely covered with thorns and dark. Its leaves are big and dark. The leaves do not get dry quickly. *Dzobali* is somewhat yellower than *klevu*. Its fufu and its *ko* are good, but it is always pounded together with other yams. It can also be boiled and eaten with the hand. It comes seldom onto the market because little of it is planted. It is, however, gladly bought. When it is boiled, it is hard and there are fibres in it. It keeps well for a very long period. It is washed in hot water alone, before one boils it together with other yams. Usually, it is pounded together with cassava into fufu.

Some general remarks about the yams: All these types of yams are planted mixed together, but each is different. When the yam is planted on the field and it thrives well, someone who passes by that farm, gives it the following names: 1) *Krompe*, a type of yam that is very popular. 2) *Awuiawui*, the lazy person always says: "I will go now, I will go now"; but he never comes to the farm. The work piles up. It is too difficult for him. 3) *Matomato*, meaning the field of the industrious man does not get overgrown. 4) *Gegia meḍia wo o*, meaning "the lazy person (must always borrow and) is not satisfied (with that)". 5) *Dzogbe zu ave*, "the wilderness becomes a forest". Where formerly grass has grown, yam plants now stand creeping with tendrils, behind which the farmer finds shade. 6) *Amenɔoawe tɔ melia ati o*, meaning "the yam of the one who stays at home does not climb up poles", simply because the lazy person is too indolent to erect poles. 7) *Afɔtogelāletɔ mevanɛ o*, "the one who does not want to have a dirty foot plants no yams", meaning whoever is nicely clothed and goes around impeccably washed and rubbed with ointment, farm work is for him too dirty and he, of course, plants no yam. 8) *Mavamava tɔ meḍia memea o*, "whoever has planted no yam, he cannot roast any either", but rather lets his relatives present him some. However, he will not be satisfied with that. 9) *Wodiekreku*, is praise for the nice growth of the yam. One does not give this appellation to a single type of yam, but rather all that are in the field. The appellations are praise for the owner of the yam and derision of the lazy person.

Among all types of yam that we have now talked about, *klevu* is the best that is esteemed by all people. One praises it because its shape is beautiful. It has not got any excrescence anywhere and does not rot quickly. When it is boiled, it yields very much. Even if it does not look like much, it gives a lot of fufu. The digging of *klevu* is not hard work, and no thorns injure the hand of the farmer. For these reasons it has become more famous than all other types of yam.

ke le enu, gake nu aḍeke mele te la nu kple kéawo nu o; gake enu hã meẓrõ keŋ o. Edzea vi gake eḍona hã nutɔ ale si edze.

Efe kawo lolo, eye nu le wo nu keŋ, eye wonyõ. Efe aṅgbawo lolo, eye wole yibo. Amagbawo melõna kuna kaba o. Dzobali biã wu klevu. Enyo na fufu kple kɔ, gake wometoa eya ḍeḍe o. Mesɔ gbɔ gobi be woadzra o; gake ne wokpɔe la woḥene. Ne woḍae la esesẽ na, eye ka la eme. Eya hã nɔa anyi etefe didina nutɔ. Ne wobe, yewoḍae la, woḍoa tsi dzodzoe kpalane hafi kpena ḍe te nu ḍana. Wotsone kpena ḍe agbeli nuti toa fufu.

Nya aḍewo le tewo katã nu; Te siawo katã la wotsaka wofana, gake la ḍe sia ḍe le vovovo. Ne wofa teawo ḍe agble me eye anyigba nyo na wo wowɔ nyuie, eye ame aḍe va to agble ma nu yina la, efoa ŋkɔ ḍo na wo bena: 1. Krɔmpe, 2. Awuiawui, 3. matomato, 4. yeyia meḍia fo o, 5. dzogbe zu ave, 6. amenɔfe tɔ melia ati o, 7. atɔtogelālētɔ mefane o, 8. mafamafa tɔ meḍua memea o. 9. woḍie kreku. Womefoa ŋkɔ siawo ḍo na te ḍeka ko o; ke boŋu wofone ḍo na tewo katã le bo me hã. Ŋkɔ siawo nye kafukafu na te la tɔ, eye wonye fewuḍuḍu le kuviatɔwo nu.

Te siwo katã nu míefo nu le fifia la, klevue nye gātɔ le wo dome, eye amewo bune hã nutɔ. Nu si ta wo kafune ḍo lae nye bena, efe nɔnɔme dzani, nya kpɔna, eye metoa kɔ aḍeke o, eye melõ vovo hã o. Ne woḍae la, eḍia nu nutɔ. Ne mesɔ gbɔ o hã efe fufu aḍi nu kokoko.

Ne wole klevu te kam la, menyea dɔ o, nu aḍeke metɔa ame o. Esiata woxɔ ŋkɔ ḍo wu bubuwo katã.

2. Caring for the Yam

a. General Overview

α. Tilling of the Field

The time during which a field is tilled for the yam is dependent on the earlier or later commencement of the burning of grass. When the burning of grass is over, the stubbing of the grass roots can be undertaken at the end of February or the beginning of March after the first rain. This work is termed *gbesisi*, “cutting grass”. Depending on the amount of strength and diligence that a farmer uses, he weeds a smaller or bigger piece of land. The reclamation of land in mountainous or thick forest areas requires much more effort than in the plains.



Clearing forest for cultivation of yam

Here the forest must first be cleared and the ground painstakingly be cleared of grass and creepers. The trees are cut down at the height of about one metre above the ground. Here and there, there are men who are occupied with the cutting down of trees and gathering of branches that are then burnt. During this time, a big fire, which is fed with the wood that has been cut down, burns in the whole clearing day and night. The bigger trunks are split by women and carried as firewood in loads to the house.



Planting of Yam in Ho

The farmer wearing a loin cloth holds a piece of seed yam with the right hand and loosens the earth mound meant for the planting of the seed yam with the left hand. In the background one can see an abandoned termite hill; in front of him is his wife standing with the hoe.

β. Planting Yam

After the land has been prepared for the planting with a lot of effort the planting begins. In the plains the farmer always has his hoe and digging iron, *fitsu*, hidden under a heap of grass on the farm, and so does not go to the farm with the hoe but with the indispensable gun on his shoulder. He looks around for a wild dove, a partridge or a wild animal for a little bit of meat for his lunch through a well-aimed shot. In order to plant the seed yams, he first digs holes in the soil in straight rows with his short-handled hoe and then fills them again with fine soil. The hole has the shape of a horse shoe and is 20-30 cm deep. Over this pit is built up an earth mound, *dru*, in which the farmer painstakingly embeds the seed yam. However, hardworking farmers dig such holes. The less diligent farmers are content with gathering soft soil and putting the seed yam in it. These farmers should not expect a rich harvest because as soon as the yam strikes roots, they get to hard soil and become stunted. All unnecessary side eyes of the seed yam are cut off, in order that its whole strength is of benefit to the eye that has remained. After the sowing these seed mounds are slightly covered with grass for protection against the sun that dries everything. An industrious farmer considers it an honour and that of his family members, when the rows of yam are nicely straight. He knows exactly how many rows he has and how many plants are in a row. On steep mountain slopes sharp pointed poles are used instead of the hoe to for the loosening of the soil. One drives these poles into the soil and turns it over. After that, with an instrument termed *amla* that looks like the stake knife, the loosened soil is heaped together, called *dru*.

γ. Nursing the Yam Plant

The further treatment of the fast growing yam plants is the same for the yam in the plains as on the mountains. As soon as the sowing has ended, the young tendrils are given support through the erection of wild sugar cane or palm branches. After this work the farmer goes into the bush again, in order to cut two- to three-metre long poles. He sharpens these poles with the cutlass and drives it into the soil for the yam plants. He must take care in the driving of the stake with the hand without help. A farmer who has driven stakes the whole day is by the evening so tired that he has no desire for play and dance, but rather looks for his mat as soon as possible.

After he has finished with this difficult work, he must weed the farm and remove the grass that has grown again in the meantime. This first growth of grass is called *hlogbe*, “revenge grass”. The grass grows quickly and would soon stifle the yam, in other words take vengeance against it, since the bush has been cut down because of it. With the hoe in the hand, the farmer takes care of his farm and removes the enemy of the yam, *ede hlogbe*, “he removes the revenge grass”. After an elapse of about one month *hlogbetse*, “the younger brother of the revenge grass” grows up again and because of that the field is hoed for the second time. During the month of October or November an industrious farmer hoes his field for the third time.

The branches that grow on the yam tendrils are pulled and painstakingly wound around the tendrils. All offshoots that later grow anew are treated likewise. Four months after the sowing the work of digging up the yam roots, *teḍome kaka*, begins. In order to make a free and unimpeded growth of the yam possible, the soil is loosened below

and behind the new yam. For this purpose the farmer has a narrow and sharpened chisel-like tool, with which he digs around the yam root, exactly to the extent that is necessary for the growth of the yam. The hole is then filled with fresh soil and the exposed piece of yam covered again. With this special care only the loveliest plants thrive on his farm. In this way, the he gets a number of perfect pieces of yam that are his joy and the pride of his yam house during harvest. They are, therefore, termed *telè* (that at best can be translated as “fat yams”). This work takes place during the month of July.

During the month of August the yam farm does not claim the farmer’s full attention anymore; he sees to housework and goes trading and hunting. Again in August last year’s farms are hoed once again and planted with maize. If the land has been unfruitful, he makes a new piece of land arable through the planting of the maize.

δ. Yam Harvest

Now, the yam harvest is soon at hand. It proceeds in different activities that are different from each other, but mentally belong together. The yam festival, the acquisition of the seed yam and the gathering of the yam tubers form part of it.

The yam festival usually takes place at the beginning of the month of September and has predominantly a religious character. The social character of the yam feast is manifested mainly through the festive mood, which each paterfamilias gives himself over to with his family members. The first yam that the priest in Banyakoe brings is exultantly greeted by the people with the cry: *bo, bo, bo, bo!* Now the people cook the first yam with the most cheerful expressions of joy. On this day the bridegroom gives a present to the bride, the friend to the friend and the children to their parents. The farmer also presents eight or twelve pieces of yam to the workmen or women who in the course of the year hoed his field for him. (Compare Yam Festival).

About fourteen days after the yam festival the farmer must remember that he needs to have seed yams for next year. The acquisition of the seed yams is again connected with a special piece of work. The yam farmer carefully cuts the tendrils from a number of pieces of yam that have grown nicely in such a way that the crown of the yam root remains hanging on it. He digs out the yam root that has been cut away and plants in its place the tendril back in the soil. This first fruit is buried in a hole and used for the kitchen when required. If it rains a lot during this period, it must be taken out of the hole again and put under trees. As soon as the sun shines, the farmer brings it back into the hole, where it is protected from a quick drying up. This firstling yam is called *tekpasi*, “yam that has been cut away”. If the second rainy season during the months of September and October is favourable, the yam tendrils that have been planted shoot new sprouts that are termed *teta*, “head yams”, which will be used next year as seeds.



Digging Yam

With the left hand the farmer holds the yam root; in his right hand he has a cutlass, with which he digs the soil around the roots. One can clearly see the yam head, *teta* of the piece of yam that is still stuck in the hole. Some thin roots are hanging on it. Farther the vine is to be seen, which, luxuriantly covered with leaves, climbs up the stake. Behind the farmer is his wife standing with a wooden plate, *gbɔnu*, on her head, on which she carries the yam that has been dug to the yam house or home.

During the month of December and beginning of January the yam is completely mature. The tendrils die off, and the roots are dug out and brought into the yam house. This whole work of gathering of the harvested yam is known by the name *tekuku*, “digging yam”. In the yam house the yams are painstakingly sorted and tied on poles. On each of the poles hang ten to twelve pieces. During the sorting the size and the later mode of use are the decisive criteria.

b. Description by the Natives

α. Planting

(The tilling of the field precedes the planting of the yam.) After the bush has been burnt and the grass starts to grow again, then one begins to till the field. Someone who has many helpers hoes a field, on which he can plant one thousand pieces. Whoever is alone or has only a few helpers plants only three hundred to five hundred pieces.

After the field has been prepared, terraces or level recesses are made in rows on the field. The farmer differentiates between *akasa* (meaning rows that run through the whole length of the farm) and *agbaka* (meaning rows that run through the whole width of the farm). After the terraces have been made, loose soil is thrown into them and heaped. Such a heap is called *dru*. Men, women and children help with this work. The planting follows, when the mounds have been made.

Before the first yam-seed is put into the soil, the farmer prays: “O, *Mawu Sodza*, may the yam that we are now planting thrive and bear fruit three- to four-fold!” First of all, one plants yam in two mounds for the tro.²²

β. Work on the Yam Plant

When it rains, it does not last a whole month, until the seed yam begins to grow.

As soon as the yam vines have reached a satisfactory length, one fixes palm branches and then says: “(The time) for

b. *Nufofo le te ɲuti*

α *Te fafā*

Ne dzo bi, eye gbewo de asi memie me la, ekema wodzea tegbesisi gome. Ame si si amewo le la, wosia tegbe la ne, ale be woate ɲu afā te akpe deka de eme, eye ame siwo amewo mele wo si so gbo o la, wofāa alafa etɔ, alafa ene alo alafa atɔ.

Ne wosi tegbe vɔ la, ekema woɖea do de agble la me keɲ, gake la de akasa nu alo de agbaka nu. Ne woɖe do la vɔ keɲ la, ekema wofoa dru. Ame siaa ame yia dru la fo fe, nyɔnuwo kple deɖiwo hā yina. Le drufofo yome la wofa te.

Ne wole te fā ge la, gbā wodoa gbe de bena: “O, Mawu Sodza, te si fā ge mɔlala la, neɖo, ne woadze etɔ ene”. Gbā wofā te dru eve na trɔ la, emegbe hafi wofā te la de agble blibo la katā me.

β *Asitɔtrɔ le teawo ɲu*

Ne tsi le dzadzam la, ekema medea yleti deka hafi teawo katā miena o. Ne te la mie, be woate ɲu atu fɔ ne la, ekema wogblɔna bena, eɖo nutɔtrɔ me. Le nutɔtrɔ megbe la,

²² However, that happens only with such people, who have got twin children.

the fixing (of palm branches) has come.” After this the tendril shoots branches. When the growth of the plant has advanced enough, bigger or smaller poles are fixed for it. The first hoeing in the farm is called *hlgbe*, “hoeing of the revenge grass”. The second that is undertaken after the erection of the poles, is *hlgbetse*, “hoeing of the younger brother of the revenge grass”. The third hoeing has no special name. A farm is hoed four to six times up to the yam harvest. During the hoeing the different side tendrils of the vines are also woven into one another.

After the yam has been planted, and begins to grow and the palm branches are fixed, one begins to count the months. Four or five months after the planting, one digs the yam. It is dug to enable the yam to have more room to grow. If the yam is dug and it is detected that the yam root already has two sprouts, one is removed and one remains to become very big.

γ. Yam Harvest

In the tenth month (after the planting), one begins to dig the yam because during this month the tendrils begin to die off. During the fifth month (after the sowing), the people already eat *hlo*, one of the types of yam. The yam that has grown is cut off below the crown, in order that new sprouts grow (on the head that remains in the soil). One terms these sprouts *tavovo*, “head plants”. One cuts the yam in order that it shoots a new head, which one plants the following year. During the sixth month the yam is cut and (the actual yam roots are) taken home. That is the beginning of the eating of yams.

When the time to dig yams has come, both pieces of yam that have been planted for *Mawu* are dug first. One holds it up into the air and says: “O, *Mawu Sodza*, you dweller with human beings.²³ You ship full of yams and ship full of *wle*!²⁴ Give me and I will give you, leave me out and I will leave you out. Here is your yam, which I have dug for you. When I dig mine, grant that I get plenty and add other yams from somewhere.” After that, he begins to dig out the yams.

First of all, the farmer digs the head plants (or the seed yams), then he digs the *telā* (actual edible yams). While the men dig the yams, women and children carry it into the yam house. Whoever has a lot of yams is busy with the digging of yams for four or five weeks, until he finishes with it, when the yam tendrils begin to die off. The field is then hoed once again, and now the farmer constructs the yam house. (The size of the yam house is made according to the volume of the harvest.) Whoever owns a lot of yams makes his yam house sixty to seventy feet long.²⁵ On the contrary, whoever owns only little makes it only twelve feet long. The width of the yam house is between eight and ten feet. The thick poles that are used for the construction of the yam house are called *avuletiwo*, “peace makers”.²⁶ One ties palm ribs across these poles, between which one sets the yam poles. The whole thing is then covered with palm branches. The farmer ties the seed yams on the right side. On the other hand he firmly ties the bigger yams on the narrow side of the house. This is called *tsitsibani*. A certain seed yam

23 *Hagbeno* is explained in different ways: Some understand by that “owner of palm wine”, others “lodger with the whole great number of human beings”, who are scattered everywhere.

24 *wle*, a type of *colocasia*.

25 The “foot” is not measured with a staff, but rather with the foot.

26 Because they give the yam house its support.

ekema wotua ati nɛ, wotua ati gāwo kple suewo na teawo le ale si womie la nu. Tebomeɲɔɲɔ gbātɔe nye hlɔ̄gbe, eye evelia, si wonɔna de atitutu yomee nye hlɔ̄gbetse, eye woyɔ etɔlia be etɔlia. Ke afi si anyigba nyo le, eye gbeawo wɔna le kabakaba, si woyɔna bena avlume la, wonɔa bo la me wodea zi etɔ kple ade hafi wokua te, eye tefe, simewɔa gbe o la ade zi ene ko. Ne wole tebo me ɲɔm la, ekema wonɔa teɔwo hã lem nɔa xatsaxatsam de atiawo ɲu.

Ne wofa te eye womie, eye wotu fɔ nɛ pɛ la, ekema wodea asi yleti xexlẽ me nɛ. Le efe fafã yleti ene kple yleti atɔ me pɛ la, wodea asi te dome kaka me. Nu si ta woka edome do lae nye be, ne te la naɔ. Ne wole ekam, eye de dze eve la, ekema wodea deka da wosusɔa deka di, bena woado alolo.

y Tekuku

Le yleti ewolia me la, wodea asi tekuku me azɔ, elabena le yleti sia me wokua ka. Le yleti atɔlia me xoxo woɔua hlo, si nye te fomevi deka. Wotanɛ de ete, bena woagaɔ, doɔo sia woyɔna be tafofo. Nu si ta wotaa te do lae nye be woafɔ ta, bena ne woagatsɔ afa le yeyiɣi bubu me. Le yleti adea me la, wonɔa te tam nɔa afe vamii. Esiae nye teɔuyi fe gɔmedzedze.

Ne tekuyi do la, ekema wokna te eve, si wofã na Mawu gbã la, eye wodone de dzi gblɔna bena: O, Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ, tefu, flefɔ, nam mana wò, tem mate wò. Wo tee nye si, meku na wo. Ne meku tɔnye la, nana woasɔ gbɔ, eye nalɔ bubuawo atso afi bubu ava fo de edzi nam. Emegbe hafi wokua teawo.

Gbã la wokua teta, emegbe la wokua telã la ɲutɔ. Ne ɲutsuwo le te la kum la, ekema nyɔnuwo kple deɣiwo nɔa wo lom nɔa kɔkɔm de texɔ la me. Ne te la sɔ gbɔ la, wokune kwasida ene alo atɔ hafi wovɔna. Ne te la sɔ gbɔ la, ekema wowɔa texɔ, si fe didime anɔ afɔ blaade alo blaenyi, eye esiwo mesɔ gbɔ o la, anɔ afɔ wuieɣe ko; dewo kekena afɔ ewo, eye dewo afɔ enyi.

(of inferior quality) called *kpafoe* is tied at the end of the house. Twelve to fifteen yam heads (seed yams) are firmly tied on a pole. The seed yams occupy about half of the house. The (edible yam) fat yam is painstakingly sorted out. One first ties the nicest, whose exterior is completely smooth. This first and nicest yam is termed *hlõtœ*; after it, comes the *kpasia*, “the cut yam”.



Yam House seen from inside

That is the yam that has been cut during the seventh month (after the planting). Finally comes the yam that was planted last. When the farmer is going home, he takes along such a yam for cooking, since he sees that it cannot germinate. The women take along any a yam that was tossed into the yam house. A man who has two wives gives two poles to each wife as a present. She can then sell these.

δ. Division of the Yam Farm

A man, who made thousand yam mounds and has three or four wives (divides his field among them) in such a way, that each wife gets ten rows of yam. On the other hand, if he planted less than a thousand, each wife gets only about eight rows.²⁷ She may now plant her kitchen plants, for example cassava, plantain, cotton, banana, okra and pepper in between the individual yams, *asatsodomee*. The place that has been offered to the woman for her use is termed *aya*. Each of the women must then hoe that part of the farm that has been given to her and keep it in order. On the other hand the man fixes the yam poles. When one has cut the yams, one only takes some of it to the house for use. Only eight to ten rows of plants that are standing on a single *aya* are cut. He gets

²⁷ Not for her ownership, but rather for tilling.

Ati siwo wotuna *de texɔtiawo me la*, woyɔa wo bena avuletiwo. Nenem ati siawo *ɲu wotsɔa fɔ̃ blana ɔo keɲ*, eye wotsɔa tetiawo va dea eme, emegbe wotsɔa devaya tsyɔ eta me keɲkeɲ. Gbā la, wonyēa teta *de texɔ me le nuɖusi me*, eye esi gafo taw u la, wonyēna *de tsitsibani ɲu*. Woyɔa teta aɖe be, kpafoe; eya wonyēna *de nuwuwu*. Tetawo xɔa tefe afā le xɔ la me.



Yam House seen from Outside

Ne wole telā nye ge la, wotiane, esiwo *ɲuti zrɔ̃ la*, wonyēa woawo gbā. Woyɔa esiwo wotsɔna toa egome gbā la be, hlɔtɔe, eyometɔe nye kpasia; eya enye te si wota le tefafa fe yleti adrelia me. Nyenyē mamletɔe nye te zi fafē, eyae nye te memletɔ, si wofā kpe *de te ta la ɲuti*. Ne wole afe yi ge la, ekema te si wokpɔ bena, eku la, woawo tsɔ ge woala aɖaɖu. Esiwo wolɔ kɔ *de xɔ la me la*, woawo nyɔnuwo va kɔ tsɔtsɔm nɔa ɖadam. Ne srɔ̃ eve le ame aɖe si la, ekema etsɔa ati eveve na wo, bena woatsɔ adzra.

δ. Tebo me mamā

Nenye be ame aɖe fā te wòɖe akpe, eye srɔ̃ abe wo ame etɔ̃ ene le esi la, ekema wo dome *de sia ɖe xɔa agbaka ewoewo*; gake ne mefae wode nenema o la, ekema *de sia ɖe axɔ agbake enyienyi*. Tefe siwo tsi teawo dome la woyɔ wo bena asatsodomee kple agbakadomee, eye tefe siawo dzi woadoa agbeli kple ablazɔ kple deti kple akɔɖu, atise kpakple ɖokpo ɖo. Tebo si woma na nyɔnuwo la woyɔ wo bena aya, eye wo dome *de sia ɖe ɲɔa efe tebo me*, eye ɲutsuawo nɔa ati la tum na teawo. Ne wole te tam le afe vam *de ɖuɖu nu ko la*, ekema wotaa aya ɖeka, si enye agbaka enyi alo ewo la, bena woawo hā navafo ta. Esiwo wometa o la, woawo nye telāwo.

the seed yam on this piece. Such yams that have not been cut are termed *tela*, “edible yam or fat yam”.

3. Prices of Yam

In the year 1885 the yam prices were as follows:

In September and October three pieces of yam cost	10 <i>hoka</i> = 20 pfennig.
In October and November three pieces of yam cost	10 <i>hoka</i> = 20 pfennig.
In December three pieces of yam cost	25 <i>hoka</i> = 50 pfennig.
In June four pieces of yam cost	1 <i>hotu</i> = 1 mark.

If one buys the yam on the farm, one always gets for one in addition. It is interesting to note that here only prices for the natives are given. The European must pay a little more. During the months of January and February, nine big pieces of yam cost 3 *hotu* in the market and nine small pieces 2 to 2½ *hotu*. During the yam season in September and October three pieces cost 25 *hotu* to 1 *hotu* in the market. During the months of May and June, when there is no more yam, three pieces cost 1 *hotu*.

C. Cassava (Manioc)

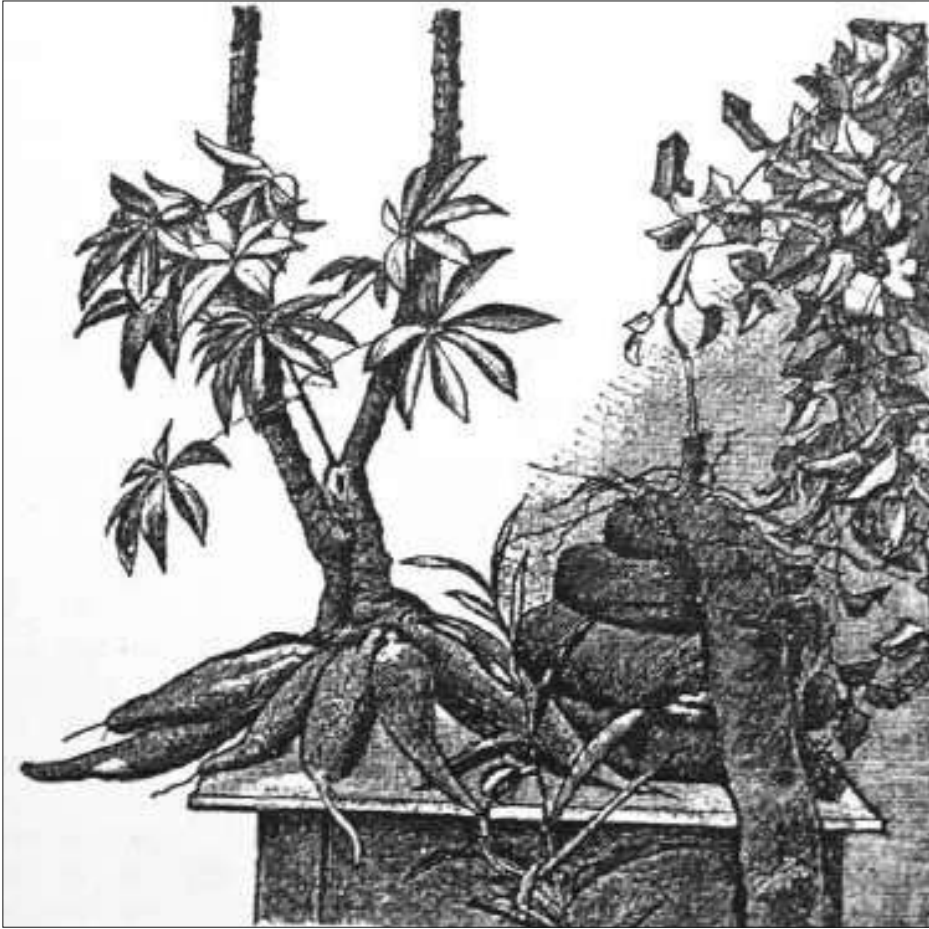
1. The types of cassava

There are three types of cassava: the real cassava, the white and the red cassava. The real cassava plant is red, but its leaves are dark green. The white cassava plant is white from which it derives its name. It is a good cassava, but it has a lot of fibres and does not come close to the quality of the true cassava. The red cassava plant and its leaves are dark. The bark of the root as well as its inside is red. It is a good and popular type.

C. Agbeli

1. Agbeli fomeviwo

Agbeli fomeviwo nye: Agbeli ηuto, agbeli yie kple agbeli dzie. Agbeli ηuto fe ati nɔa dzie, eye efe amagbawo nɔa yibo. Agbali yie fe ati nɔa yie; esiata woxɔ ηko do alea, agbeli la ηuto hã nɔa yie. Enye agbeli nyuie gake ka geɖe le eme, eye menyo de agbeli ηuto nu o. Agbeli dzie la, efe ati ηuti nɔa yibo, eye amagbawo hã nenemake. Agbeli la ηuto ηuti biã, eye eme biã. Enye agbeli nyuie, eye amewo lɔne.



1
1. Cassava 2. Yams

2. Its Growth

When yam and cotton have been planted, then cassava is also planted. One cuts a short piece (about one foot long) from the cassava plant and shoves it into the soil. Four months after it had been stuck into the soil the roots begin to swell. That means it has now developed all its roots. By the fifth month the roots have sprouted completely. Some plants have six, eight and ten usable roots.

2. Efe Wɔwɔme

Agbelido yie nye, ne wofā te ɔ, eye wofā ɔeti hā ɔ keɲ. Wolā agbeliti la kpuiɲpui heɔna ɔe tome. Ne wo doe, eye wòɔ yleti ene, ekema elolona, eyae nye emia kawo keɲ. Yi yleti atōa me la, eɔna keɲ. Dewo agbeli ade, enyi alo ewo nɔa ati aɔewo te.

3. Use

Cassava is eaten by the people mainly during a hunger period. During that period, cassava has a good name. However, while it is being eaten by the people, at the same time they scorn it. As soon as the yam is mature, cassava is not valued any longer by anybody. One takes the cassava and pounds it into fufu; one also boils or roasts it. One dries it in the sun, grinds the dried cassava and then cooks the flour into a pap that is called *konkoŋte*.

When one lays out a special farm for cassava and hoes it, the root becomes very good. However, when one plants it on an old farm, the root does not make good fufu because it becomes hard. One, therefore, terms such fufu *anego* “pitch box”. It thrives best on farmland in stony and hillocky country. Cassava that has grown on hillocky and stony soil is soft and is at best suitable for fufu. Many a cassava is bitter, but while it is being boiled, the bitterness disappears. If one takes cassava out of the soil and brings it home, one must bury it again in a pit there. If this does not happen, it is no longer good for fufu, but rather can only be boiled and eaten with the hand. If one wants to pound it into fufu, it produces nothing but grains.

4. Appellations

Cassava is not esteemed by anybody and nobody over estimates its value. That is why the ancestors have a proverb about it: “Cassava says it takes pity on the human being, but he reaps no thanks for it.” One gives cassava appellations. These appellations are: 1. “The hyena is tied by the wild boar.”²⁸ 2. “I want to step aside a little” (that says cassava modestly, as soon as there is new yam, because no one eats it then). 3. “Dig a lot” (one needs many single pieces for a meal). 4. “Deadly yam”. (Cassava causes body aches and headaches. It intoxicates people like palm wine.) 5. Describes its stature as slim rice. 6. The babbler says: “The times to do good do not pass by.” 7. If cassava is glutinous, *konkoŋte* (cassava flour) is not glutinous.”⁸ 8. If cassava is glutinous, *konkoŋte* sings *Adzo* drum songs.”²⁹

D. Okra, Pepper and Beans

1. Okra

Okra, *fetri*, is also called *atise*. One plants it mainly on the yam farm. Here in Ho one does not lay out any special okra farms, as happens in *Aɔaklu*. Three seeds are put in a planting hole; these seeds sprout after six days. Now it begins to grow, germinates, develops its red leaves and the flower buds swell. (Soon) after that the crops are ready for use. There are long edges on the okra. The end of its stalk is rather broad, but tapers upwards. When the okra is mature, one cuts it off, brings it home and uses it. If the crop is not cut from the shrub at the right time, it becomes hard and then useless in the preparation. The shrub always has its leaves and its fruits at the top. When there is a

²⁸ When the hyena has been bitten by the wild boar, it behaves as if it were tied up.

²⁹ Numbers 7 and 8 say: When cassava is dried and has been ground into flour, one does not notice anymore whether it is made with good or bad cassava. When it rains a lot, cassava is gluey, and that is the time, during which a lot of *koŋkote* is eaten.

3. Eɣu dɔwɔwɔ

Agbelie nye nuɖuɖu kple ɣudɔwɔnu na amewo, ne dɔɣli ɔ la, ekema agbeli xɔa ɣɔ ɣu. Wonɔa eɖum ganɔa vlo domii, ke ne teɖuyi ɔ la, ame aɖeke megabua agbeli nanekee o. Wotsɔa agbeli toa fufu, ɖane, mene, eye wotsɔne wɔa kokonte hã heɖa akplɛ ɖuna.

Ne wode agble tɔxe na agbeli, eye wole eme ɣlɔm la, enyona ɣu, ke ne ele flu xoxo me la, menyona o, eda ade, eya ta woyɔne bena aɣego. Avlume, kponyigba kple kpeme wonye tefe siwo nyo na agbeli, vevietɔ la, kpodzi kple kpeme, eye wofe agbeli hã nyo na fufu, eye wobɔɔna nyuie. Agbeli aɖewo vena gake wofe fufu mevena o. Ne wohoe va afe, eye wometsɔ de dome o la, ekema meganyona na fufu o, negbe ɖeko woatsɔe aɖa ko aɖu; ne wotsɔe to fufu la, awɔ ku sɔɣsɔɣ.

4. Agbeli ɣɔ aɖewo

Agbeli la, ame aɖeke mebuɛ o, eye mexɔ asi aɖeke le amewo fe ɣkume o. Eya ta ame tsitsiwo doa lo be: “Agbeli be, yevea ame nu, gake yemexɔa akpe o. Wofoa ɣɔ ɔ na agbeli bena: 1) Akpotoku habla, 2) mateɖe agavee, 3) Kugli, 4) agbeli kutea 5) dzadzre, 6) nyameléla be, amenyoyi meyina o; 7) agbeli dze kokonte medze o; 8) agbeli dze kokonte le adzoha me.

D. Fetri, atadi kple ayi

1. Fetri

Wogayɔne hã be atise; afi si wofãne ɖoe nye tebo me. Eya hã wodea ku etɔ do ɖeka me, eye ne exɔ ɣkeke ade la, ekema emiena. Azɔ edzea wɔwɔ gɔme, eklɛa se, edoa aɣba dzɛɛ ɖa, emegbe la etoa noe. Esia yome la, eɖina, eye fli nɔa fetri la ɣu ɣu. Efe tagbo lolona vie, eye efe agɔnu gbɔ nɔa le. Ne fetri la ɖi la, ekema woyina ɖalãne keɣ hevaa afee wɔa eɣu dɔ. Gake ne womelãe le atia ɣu kaba o, exlɔna, eye etsɔtsɔ fo detsii nyea dɔ. Amagba aɖeke mele eɣu o, negbe efe ɖonu ko nakpɔ amagba kple fetri la le. Ne fetri bɔ la wodzranɛ etɔ hoka, gake mebo ɖe, afi sia geɖe o. Elɔa anyigba sesɛ kple aɣenyigba, gake melɔa tsi geɖe o. Ke sesɛ meli nɛ o, eya ta wokuna kaba.

lot of okra, they are sold three for 1 *hoka* (1 pfennig). However, there is not a lot in all places at the same time. The okra plant loves a hard and bituminous soil, but it does not want a lot of water. The shrub has not got strong roots. That is why it dies soon.

The different types of okra are: *atise*, *zamaɖizamahlō*, *meseɖi*, *agbagba* and *amagbatomi*. *Atise* is the actual okra. However, all the types are similar to each other in that they have a slimy and viscous juice. In their exterior growth they differ. *Meseɖi* and *amagbatomi* have low, short shrubs, their fruits are not big either. The actual okra, *atise*, does not become very high and its fruits are not particularly big either. On the contrary, the *agbagba* shrub grows tall; its fruits surpass all others in size. *Zamaɖizamahlō* means: “When I am mature, it is not long till I become hard.” The peculiarity of *amagbatomi* consists in the fact that its fruits set where the leaves grow. At the bottom of each leaf stalk there is also a fruit bud. Its name *amagbatomi* is derived from that. The fruit of *meseɖi* crop grows quickest. Its name *mesea ɖina o*, meaning “it does not stop maturing” is also derived from that. One uses okra mainly for soup, *detsi* (a slime made with okra, tomatoes and pepper combined).

2. Pepper

The pepper seed is nursed in the yam farm. When the small plant has grown a little, it is taken out and transplanted on the farm. After the planting it takes about ten days until it sprouts out. Flowers appear first on the pepper plant and then the fruits. These mature soon after flowering. When it is completely grown, it is picked, taken home and used there. If one has enough pepper at home, one leaves the rest on the shrub. The pepper on the farm is used partly for sowing and partly for use at home in the months August to December. Pepper must be sowed anew each year.

The types of pepper are: *kuklui*, *ɖokpo*, *toɖodzo*, *ɖokpo yibɔ*, *gbōble*, *tēe*, *gbōtsi*, *gbōtē* and *asitsuɖukui*. *Kuklui* or *atadi* is very small and hotter than all other types of pepper. The fruits of *ɖokpo* are long and not as hot as those of *atadi*. *Toɖodzo* fruits are short and only a very little spicy. *ɖokpo yibɔ* is dark; its leaves are also dark. Its fruits are only a little spicy; they are even somewhat sweet, and its stem does not die off quickly. The fruits of *tōoble* are round and not hot. They make soup good and pleasantly tasty.

Tomatoes are put into the soup. In case of need people enjoy tomatoes in place of meat; they make the soup thick. *Gbōtē*, “goat tomatoes” is related to tomato, but it is not much sought for. Its fruit is not hot, but the leaves are. *Asitsuɖukui* is somewhat bigger than *kuklui*; its hot fruit is pointed at the bottom. All these types of pepper are used in soup. One also makes pepper soup with them and eats it together with boiled yam or bread. If there is no pepper in the soup, it is not palatable.

3. Beans

Beans are planted on the field. Three pieces are thrown into the planting hole; after three or four days they sprout. They flower, and after that the bean comes out of the flower. After four months the pod is grown, and during the fifth month its tendrils die off. But one picks the beans before its tendrils get dry and brings them home. The beans are taken out of the pod and brought to the market by many people, where they fetch a good price. They are also cooked, and the bean soup is very good. A firm red pulp that (looks like pudding) is made out of boiled beans. They are boiled in salt water and

Fetri fomeviwo nye; atise, zāmaḍizāmahl̃, mesed̃i, agbagba kple amagbatomi. Atisee nye fetri ṇuto gake la wo katā fe adedada sɔ pɛ. Le wofe wɔwɔ me la, wole vovo. Esiwo mekɔna hafi d̃ina o la, wonye mesed̃i kple amagbatomi, woawo fe ati nɔa kpuie ko, eye tsetsea hā melolona gobi o. Atise ṇuto metea ṇu lolona gobi o. Ke agbagba fe ati kɔna, eye efe tsetse hā lolona wua bubuawo katā. Zāmaḍizāmahl̃ gɔmee nye, ne med̃i la, etefe madidi hafi mahl̃ o. Amagbatomi la, eya tsena d̃e amagba tefe, afi sia afi, eye megl̃ēa tefe aḍeke d̃i o. Le efe tsetse sia ṇuti woyɔnɛ d̃o bena amagbatomi. Mesed̃ie nye esi d̃ina kaba wu wo katā, eye esiata woyɔnɛ bena mesea d̃id̃i o. Wotsɔa fetri foa detsi, eye wogatsɔnɛ tua dzetsi hāe.

2. Atadi

Wowunɛ d̃e tebo me, eye ne etsi vie la ekema wogahonɛ dona d̃e bo la katā me. Ne wofāe la exɔa ṇkeke ewo hafi miena. Ne atadi be, yeatse la, gbā efoa se, emegbe hafi wòtsena. Etefe medidina hafi wòd̃ina o. Ne etsi nyui la, wokenɛ yia afemee nɔa eṇu d̃o wɔm. Ne wole eṇu d̃o wɔm vuu la, wova gbl̃ēa mamleawo d̃e ati la dzi hena fafā kple d̃uḍu le kele me. Ele be woagafā bubu le fe bubu me.

Atadi fomeviwo nye: kuklui, ḍokpo, toḍodzo, ḍokpo yibo, gbɔble, t̃ē, gbɔtsi, gbɔt̃ē kple asitsuḍukui. Atadi ṇutɔe nye si le sue, eye enu ses̃ēna wu bubuwo katā. Ḍokpo tsena lɔbɔ, eye eya mevena abe atadi ṇuto ene o. Toḍodzo fe tsetse le kpuie, eya la veve vi aḍe koe le eme. Ḍokpo yibo hā fe nɔnɔme le nenema, negbe tsetsea koe le yibo. Eya hā mevena o, eye efe ati hā mekuna kaba o. Gbɔble le kpoḍoe, eye mevena o, ne wotsɔe de detsi me la, evivina, eye wovena lilili.

T̃ē la, wodene detsi me blibo, ne ehiā la, woḍone lā tefe; ke gɔgl̃ɔgɔ la, wodene detsi me, bena wòato. Gbɔt̃ē nye nɔvi, gake womelea fɔ d̃e eṇu o. Ne woḍa efe amagba la, evena, ke eya ṇuto mevena o. Asitsu ḍukui lolo wu kuklui vee, eye efe nu le tsuie, evena ṇuto. Atadi fomevi siawo katā la, wotsɔ wo dea detsi me. Ke wogatsɔa wo tua ataditsi d̃una. Ne atadi aḍeke mele detsi me o la, menya d̃una o.

3. Ayiwo

Wofa wo d̃e bo me. Wodea ku et̃ do d̃eka me. Enɔa toa me xɔa ṇkeke et̃ alo ene hafi miena. Efoa se, emegbe sefofo la wɔa ayi. Le yiliti ene megbe la, etsina, eye le et̃lia me la, efe ku kuna. Gake la wonɔa ewɔm va afe hafi kawo kuna. Wokl̃ēna keṇ, eye wodzra d̃ewo hā, exɔ asi ṇuto. Wotsɔnɛ d̃a akpe dz̃ie, eye wotsɔnɛ d̃a ayibɔbɔe, eye wogatsɔnɛ d̃a nu bubu gedewoe. Wotsɔnɛ foa akl̃ si wotsɔna doa abolo.

makes many other dishes out of them. Many people mix them with flour and bake them into bread.

The types of beans are: the actual bean *ayi*, then *adza*, *kelege* and *kpokpo*. Although the different types of beans are similar to each other, their uses are different. *Dinɔe* or *adza* is boiled and eaten together with the pod. Otherwise nothing is prepared with it. They like to plant *kelege* on trees; the tendrils then climb up to the crown. The fruits are left to dry on the tree. After that one picks them and takes them home. The produce is boiled or roasted on fire and eaten. One also cooks into red *akpleɛ̃*. *Kpokpo* is used in just the same way. The beans are not used for anything else. These are the types of beans. One values them like maize because they are as useful as maize.

4. Groundnuts

The sowing of groundnuts precedes the sowing of the first maize. They are planted everywhere. After ten days the seed begins to sprout. Soon after that they shoot tendrils that lie flat on the soil and grow. Groundnut leaves are almost round. During its growth something yellowish is deposited (on the leaves). After that the roots sink into the ground. At the end of the roots the fruits put forth, called *seti*. At first these are small round sprouts that gradually develop into a fruit. The fruit grows during the fourth month. During the fifth month it is fully grown and can be dug out. If the fruits are not dug out during the sixth month, they fall off (from the strings in the soil). Under a groundnut plant, there are about eighty to hundred single fruits. A groundnut pod contains one, two or three kernels that one terms *azikɔ*, “pile of groundnuts”.

Groundnut is either sold or used (by the farmer himself). One eats them roasted or boiled; soup called *azidetsi* is also made with it. It is very palatable, mixed with maize and eaten as *aboda*. Apart from that, a glutinous drink called *akatsa* is made out of it.

There is a type of groundnut that is termed “red groundnut”. This type has broad tendrils, not broad. It also puts out fruit roots, *seti*, and sprouts flowers. After that many round fruits grow (on the roots). They set during the fourth month and can be dug at the end of the fourth month. After the digging, they are brought home and sold. One also boils and roasts it. Red *Akplɛ̃* and groundnut soup, which is very tasty.

E. Cotton

There are two types of cotton; one is the actual cotton, and the other is the *keɖeanyigba*, “dwarf cotton”. Three or five seeds are put into the planting hole. If it rains, they sprout on the fourth day. When the plants grow one says that they have entered *abala*, meaning they have “set sail”. Their slender stem shoots many branches. Their leaves are not very dark. When they have set sail they flower, and soon after that they sprout fruits. The fruit is called *detigbo*, “the green cotton bud” (the immature pod). This pod opens later, and the white cotton appears. When one sees that the pod has cracked, one takes out the cotton and brings it home. Special fields are laid out for cotton; it is also planted in between yam. Everyone loves cotton very much. However it is the women who particularly occupy themselves with it because it is very expensive. There are many seeds in cotton. It keeps well for very long. Cotton is packed in woven sacks and sold. When they are picked them from the stalk on the farm, men and women

Ayi fomevi aḍewo nye; Ayi ɲutɔ, adza, kelege, ɖinɔe kple kpokpo. Ayi fomeviawo katã wole ɖeka, gake la wowɔa wo ɲu dɔ vovovo. Woɖaa ɖinɔe kple efe tsro ɖuna, eyome la womegawɔa nu bubu aḍeke kpɔli o. Kelege la wofone ɖe ati ɲuti eye wòɖea ka yia ati la tame. Ne etse la, wonana wovuna keɲ ɖe ati la dzi, emegbe la woxane va afe. Woɖane alo wotɔne ɖuna; eye wogatsɔne ɖaa akplẽ dzie hã. Nenemakee nye kpokpo hã, gake la womegatsɔne wɔa nu bubu aḍeke o. Esiawo nye ayi fomeviwo, eye wobua wo hã vavã abe bli ene.

4. Azi ɲu ɖɔwɔwɔwɔ

Wofãa azi gbã hafi va fa dzogbe-kpeli. Wofãne ɖe afi sia afi faa. Ne wofãe la exɔa ɲekeke ewo hafi miena; ne etefe didi vie la, ekema eɖea ka ɖe anyigba, eye wowɔna gbadzagbadza. Efe aɲgbawo de wɔwɔge nogoe kloe. Ne ele wɔwɔm la, nane ɖoa eme dzẽ eya nye efe sefofo. Emegbe la, etoa nane yia tome, si woyɔna be seti, eya nu aziawo le wɔwɔ ge ɖo; gbã la enu wɔna nogoe va zua azi. Le yleti enea me la, enɔa tsitsim, eye le atɔa me la, etsina keɲ, eye wodea asi ekuku me. Ne womekui le yleti adelia me o la, ekema eduduna. Le azi ɖeka te la, wokpɔa aziku blaenyi alo alofa, eye azito ɖeka me la, aziku ɖeka, eve alo etɔ nɔne woyɔne be azikɔ.

Wotsɔne dzrana na amewo, eye wotɔne alo woɖane ɖuna, eye wotsɔne foa detsi, si woyɔna bena dzidetsi. Evivia amewo nu ɲutɔ, wotsɔne doa bli tɔtɔe kple aboɖa; eye wotsɔne noa akatsa hãe.

Woyɔa azi fomevi aḍe bena azi dziẽ. Azi sia ya ɖea ka tehẽ ɖe anyigba, eye meɖea ka legbe o. Eya hã tua seti, eye sefofo nɔa eme. Emegbe la, ewɔna nogoe ɖe ete fiuu. Ne exɔ yleti ene la, ekema eɖona. Le yleti enelia fe nuwuwu me la, wokune. Ne wokui va afe la, wodzranɛ na amewo. Woɖane, eye wotɔne hã ɖuna. Woɖa akplẽ dzẽ kple bɔbɔ kpɔli, eye wò vivina ɲutɔ.

E. Ɗeti

Ɗeti fomevi evee li, ɖekae nye ɖeti ɲutɔ, eye bubue nye keɖeanyigba. Wofãa ɖetikuwo ɖe do me ku etɔetɔ alo atɔatɔ. Ne tsi le dzadzam la, exɔa ɲekeke ene ko miena. Ne ekɔ vee la ekema wogblɔna bena edo abale. Efe ati nɔa lẽ, eye wodzea alɔ geɖee, efe amagbawo menyɔna geɖee akpa o. Ne edo abale la, ekema efoa se, eye etefe medidina hafi wotsena o. Woyɔa efe tsetse be ɖetigbo. Le ɖetigbo megbe la, ekena, eye wodoa ɖetifu la ɖe ɲgɔgbe, eye wofuna tii. Ne wokpɔ bena, eke la, ekema woyina ɖaɖene fũ va afe me. Wodea agble tɔxe koɲ na ɖeti, eye wogafane ɖe tebome hã. Ame siaa ame lɔa ɖeti fe nya ɲutɔ, elabena enye asixɔnu ɲutɔ, vevietɔ la nyɔnuwo wɔa ɖetifu ɲu dɔ ɲutɔ. Ɗetifu la ɲutɔ ka geɖe le eme. Enɔa anyi xɔ ɲekeke geɖee. Wodena golo me hedzrana ɖo. Ne eke ɖe agble me ɲutsuwo kple nyɔnuwo siaa yina ɖaɖene va afee, eye ne wotsɔe va afee la, ezua nyɔnuwo ɖeɖe fe dɔ.

gather them and bring them home. When it gets home, it is only the women who work on it.

Cotton thrives on arable land as well as on hilly country. Many a year it thrives very well and many a year not at all. It depends on whether it rains a lot or not during the time of the sprouting of the fruits or the bursting of the pods. Much rain spoils it.

F. The Oil Palm

1. Planting

An oil palm plantation develops by itself; no one plants an oil palm plantation. There are high palms that one terms *akɔnde* or “high palms”. When they bear fruit, their fruits fall on the ground, germinate again and become a palm plantation. Some people also throw the palm nuts on a dunghill and light a grass fire on it. After some time has passed, these nuts germinate, and when they have grown higher they are dug and planted in the forest. One plants these seedlings just as one transplants coffee seedlings. After sixteen years it has become a big palm plantation.

2. Types

The types of oil palm are: *Blede*, *demlɔ*, *abehene*, *klode*, *de yibɔ* and *abenta*. The fruits of *blede* are not entirely red. The branches of *demlɔ* stretch nicely and straight, and their fruits become beautifully red.

Abehene is termed as such because, among all the oil palms, it is the queen. The name originates from the Twi language (*abe*, palm, *hene*, king). They say that it the queen of all palms. Its branches are beautifully long and broad and its ribs are thick. Its appearance is better and nicer than that of all other palms; its fruits become beautifully red.

The fruits of *klode* are red and have thick flesh around the nut. When the nut is boiled, its flesh bursts open; thus the name *klode*.

De yibɔ is a type of oil palm, whose fruits are black in a state of maturity. That is the reason why it is also called “black palms”.

Abenta has the peculiarity that out of one nut two plants develop, they interfere with each other and intertwine.

Aɔnyɛ is not a palm. Its nut is soft, and one can break it with the teeth.

All these different types of oil palm are similar to each other, but their fruits differ.

3. Use

a. The Branches

Palm is very useful. Even its stem is used. One ties the palm ribs (as battens) on the roofs, before they are covered (with grass). One makes fences, doors and shutters out of it. When a house is covered with grass, one ties them (the palm ribs) on the grass so that it is firm. One uses them as (temporary) stakes for the yam plants. Furthermore, one uses them for the weaving of nets and in weaving. They are also needed as firewood, and sheds and brooms are made with their leaves.

Deti l̥sa ɔ́wɔ́ le avlume kple kpodzi gake le fe aɖewo me la, ɖeti awo ɲutu; ke le ɖewo me la, mel̥sa ɔ́wɔ́ o. Eku ɖe esia ɲu bena, etseyi kple ekeyi mel̥sa tsi geɖe o.

F. Deti

1. Efafā

Deve dzo le eɖokui si. Menye ame aɖeke do deve o. Deti kɔ́kɔ aɖe li, si ɲkɔe nye akɔ́nde. Ne etse ku la, ekema efe kuwo duduna ɖe anyigba, eye kuawo miena zua deve. Ame aɖewo la ɖekuwo kɔ́na ɖe akɔ́li dzi, eye wotsɔ́a be tɔ́a dzo ɖe edzi. Ne etefe didi vie la wo katā miena, eye wohoa wo ɖadona ɖe ave me abe ale si wodoa kete ene. Le fe wuiade megbe la, ezua deve gā aɖe.

2. Efomeviwo

De fomeviwo nye: blede, demlɔ́, abehene, klode, de yibo kple abenta. Blede fe alɔ́wo yia dzi mlomlo nyuie, eye kutsetseawo hā biāna nyuie.

Abehene, woyɔ́e alea, elabena eyae nye deawo katā fe fia. ɲkɔ́ lae nye Blun̥kɔ́ (abe = de, hene = fia) Wogblo be, eyae nye dewo katā fe fia. Efe alɔ́wo didi nyuie, eye def̥wo lolo, keke tsyoo. Efe lāme nyo, dze ani wu bubuwo katā, eye efe kutsetse hā biāna nyuie.

Klode fe kutsetse biā, eye lā, si le kua ɲu hā tri; ne woɖae la, eɲuti wona, eya woyɔ́ne bena klode. De yiboɔ́e nye de, si fe kuwo le yibo, ne wobiā hā nenema ko wonɔ́na; eya ta woyɔ́ne bena de yibo.

Abentae nye de, si ne womie la, wo batana aloo wodea alɔ́ wo nɔ́ewo me aloo wowɔ́a ɖeka, esiata woyɔ́a wo bena abenta. Aɖunye menye de bubu fomevi aɖeke o; efe ku bɔ́bɔ́, eye woléa ɲu gbāne kple aɖu.

De fomevi siawo katā la, wole ɖeka, negbe wofe tsetsewo koe to vovo.

3. Eɲu ɔ́wɔ́wɔ́

a. Alɔ́wo

De enye ɲuɔ́wɔ́wɔ́nu gā ɲutu. Wowɔ́a efe ati la ɲutu hā ɲu dɔ́. Wotsɔ́a def̥ nyea ɔ́ hafi gbāne. Wotsɔ́ne tɔ́a kpɔ́, eye wotsɔ́ne tɔ́a ɔ́ hāe. Wotsɔ́ne l̥sa ababe tua ɔ́ nu. Ne wole ɔ́ gbam la, wotsɔ́ne blana ɖe bèawo dzi, bena woasesē. Nenemake wotsɔ́ne tuna na tewo gbā. Wotsɔ́a f̥ kpaa ɖol̥ge. F̥ kee wotsɔ́na doa dzo, eye abaya siwo le eɲu la nyo na agbadɔ́ kple abaya ɔ́wɔ́.

b. The Fruits

As long as the palm fruit is still soft, the people are fond of eating it. After that the palm nut becomes red. One prepares palm oil with the red palm nuts and then makes oil for rubbing the body with the latter. Very palatable soup is made with it. Oil that is called *nemi* is also prepared with the (actual) kernel. One uses the latter for the baking of *aklè* (fried pastry), and this is eaten with bread. The hull is called *netsro*. The people of Agu make ornaments called *agɔku* with it.

Before one prepares palm oil, one cuts many mature palm fruits, brings them home and digs a hole that one calls a palm mortar³⁰ in the ground. All the palm fruits are thrown into this mortar. One then calls all his brethren. They all come together and pound them (with poles). After they have ended the pounding they pour a lot of water on it. The oil then settles on top of the water and is skimmed off.³¹ When there is no more oil in it, one puts it on the fire in a big pot. During the boiling, all the impure ingredients settle at the bottom (of the pot). The oil comes to the top and is skimmed off.

To produce *nemi* the hull around the kernel is removed, and (the kernels) are roasted in a big dish. Through the roasting the oil flows out and one ladles it into pots. When they are well roasted, they are ground finely in the mill like flour and water is poured on this. One then skims off the oil from it and puts it again on the fire, where it is completely melted out. One calls that *nemi*, “kernel oil”.

Red oil and kernel oil are very useful for people and they bring in money. That is why whoever owns palm plantations among us is also rich.

30 It is a hole about 1 metre deep that is broad at the top and tapers towards the bottom. The hole is lined with flat stones.

31 This work is termed *amivovo*, “beating oil”.

b. *Dekuwo*

Ne dea wɔ aɲane la, ekema amewo lɔa ɛduɖu. Emegbe de la va biāna. De biabiā sia wotsɔna ɖaa ami dzẽ, eye wotsɔne wɔa amitɔtɔ, si wosina. Wotsɔne foa detsi si vivina ɲutɔ. Efe ku si le eme lā wotsɔne ɖaa nemii, si wotsɔna tɔa aklā si wotsɔna ɖua aboloe. Tsro si le ɛɲu lae nye netsro. Agutɔwo tsɔne wɔa dzonu, si woyɔna be agɔku.

Hafi ne woɖa ami dzẽ la, woyina ɖalā de, si biā la va afe me fu, eye woɖia to gā aɖe si woyɔna be detoto. Wolɔa de la katā kɔna ɖe to la me, eye ame la yɔa nɔviawo katā vɛ. Ame siawo katā foa fu tone nɛ. Ne wotoe vɔ la, ekema wokua tsi kɔna ɖe edzi fũ. Emegbe wova tea ami la le ɛɲɔ. Ne ami la vɔ le eme keɲ la, ekema woɖoa ami la dzoe le ze gā aɖe me. Ne ele fiefiēm la, ɖi siwo katā le eme la yia to, eye ami la vaa dzi wokuna.

Ne wobe, woɖe nemi la, woɖea tsro, si le dekua ɲu, eye wotɔa nefiawo le agba gā aɖe me. Etɔtɔ nana be, ami dona le ɛɲu wonɔa kukum ɖe zewo me. Ne wotɔe vɔ la, ekema wotune le te dzi memie abe wɔ ene, eye wokua tsi kɔna ɖe edzi. Woblua eme, eye ɖi la katā yina ɖe ete; wotea ami la le ɛɲɔ gaɖoa dzo dzi wololona nyuie. Esia woyɔna be nemi.

Ami dzẽ kple nemi wonye ɲudɔwɔnu gā ɲutɔ, eye wokpɔa hotsui tsoa wo me. Eya ta Deme afi sia la, ame si ke si deve le la, eyae nye kesinɔtɔ.



Felling of Oil Palm

c. The Roots

The root of the oil palm is also useful for people. One repairs calabashes and big gourds with it. The root is at first scraped completely. After that, one sews the broken parts together with it. The palm is covered by something called *devɔ*, palm cloth. This palm cloth is made of very thin threads (that seem to be woven into each other). One uses these fibres as strings for musical instruments.

d. The Trunk.³²

The dry palm trunks that have not yet decomposed are also used as firewood. Potters like to take it and fire their pottery wares with it.

32 Worms that are called *gbamido* grow in the decomposed palm trunks. These worms are looked for and cooked and are a tasty dish. Mushrooms termed *hlo* also grow out of the decomposed palm trunk. These are collected and used for soup at home; they are very popular because one eats them in place of meat. Whoever has got many mushrooms sells them and has a small profit from it.



Felled Oil Palm

c Kewo

De la fe ke hã nye ɲudɔwɔnu na amewo; eyae nye bena, wotsɔnɛ hea tre kple akpakui. Gbã la wokua efe ke, eye woflɔnɛ keɲ hewɔnɛ lɛ, eye emegbe la wotsɔnɛ hea nu siwo ke gbã la. Nanewo hã le de la ɲuti si woyɔna be devɔ, eye nenem devɔ sia la ka lelɛ aɖewo le eme keɲ, eye nenem ka siawo wotsɔna wɔa saɲku.

d. Zekpɛ

Zekpɛ fufu la wogatsɔna dea dzo me, eye zemelawo wɔa ɛɲu dɔ vevie le dzofofɔ zewo me.

e. How the Palm Plantation is inherited

A palm plantation never dies out, and it is a very big inherited property. When the owner of the palm plantation has died, the oldest person who comes after him gets it. One terms such a forest “ancestors’ palm plantation”. If the palm plantation belonged to the father, his sons inherit from him after his death. If the father has bought it with his own money, the palm plantation belongs to his sons in any case.

e. Deve domenyinyi

Deve metsrɔna gbedegbede o, eye wònye domenyinu gā ɲutɔ. Ne detɔ la ku la, ekema ame si ganye ame tsitsi le eyome la, agaxɔe, eye woyɔ ave siawo bena tɔgbuideve. Nenyetɔdeve la, ekema ne ɲutsu la ku la, eviawoe le edome nyi ge. Aloo nenyetɔ la ɲutɔ flee kple afe hotsui la, ekema deve la nye evia tɔ kokoko.

V. Challenges to Agriculture

The main challenges to farming in *Ho* were and still are drought and grasshoppers. During years of low rainfall, yam and maize do not thrive. The population then depends mainly on cassava (*agbeli*). However, the natives maintain that it has health-damaging properties which make them become as if intoxicated after cassava is eaten over a long period. That is also the reason why the population calls it insulting names to describe its characteristic peculiarities.

The grasshopper plague prevailed for almost a whole decade, from the beginning till the end of the 90s. The vast swarm of grasshoppers usually came during springtime, when maize was in its most beautiful growth. After their retreat the maize farms are found to be so eaten away that only the bare stalks survive. Strangely enough, the grasshopper spares yam leaves, and therefore the yam does not suffer from it.

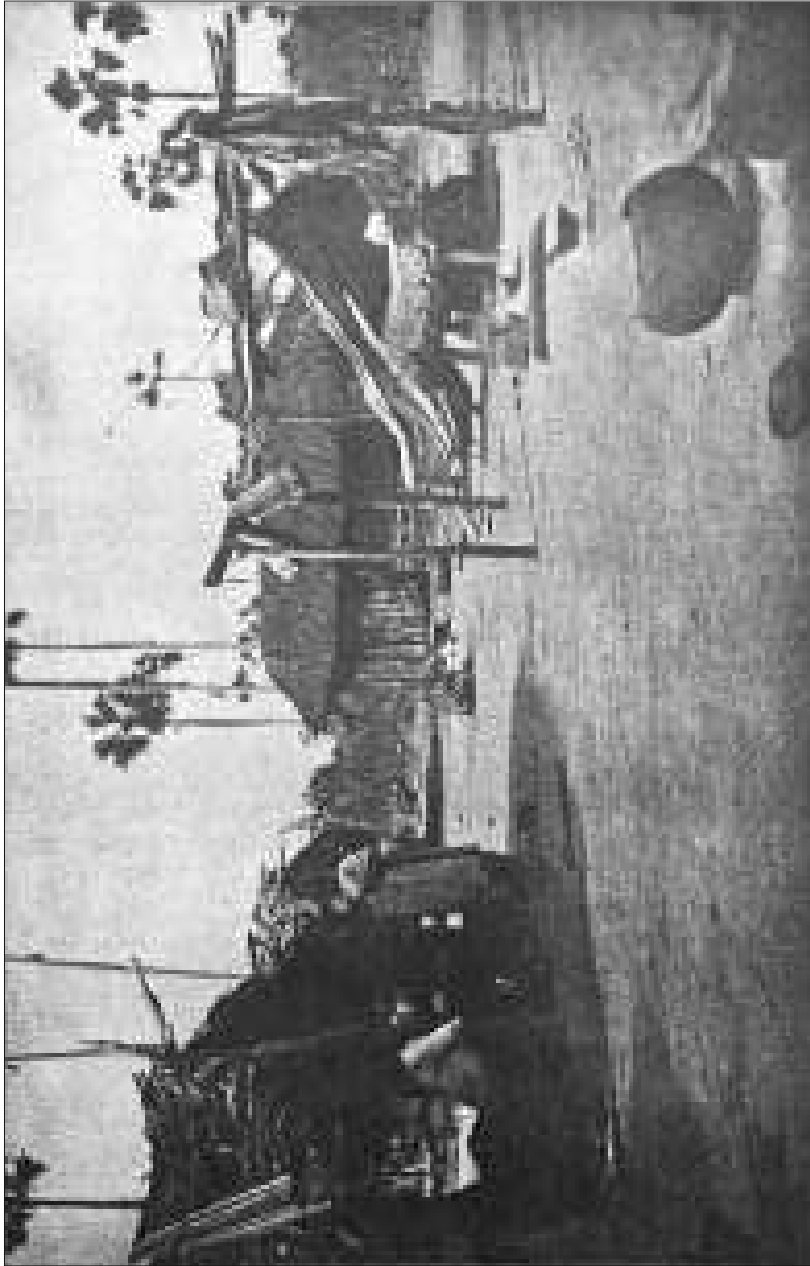
2. Main Section: Foundation of Towns, Construction of House and Household Equipment

I. Foundation of Towns

A. Introductory Remarks about Town, Village and Tribe

1. Town and Village

In the *Quarterly Newsletter of the North German Mission (Quartalblatt der Norddeutschen Mission)* 1880 No. 92 the former missionary Merz narrates about towns and villages as follows:



A Plantation Village

On the flat shed roof is a fibre basket, a mat hangs in front and behind a traditional dress.
Under the roof is the millstone, against which a European travelling through has leaned his hammock.

“A town does not differ from a village as far as its size and appearance are concerned. This is because there are towns that have only a few huts and villages with 3000-4000 inhabitants. The villages developed out of the towns, the earliest residences of the Ewe immigrants and up to now new ones are always appearing. The inhabitants from the interior often walk several hours away from their ancestral home in order to lay out their farm where they find arable land and drinking water. As soon as the field products become mature on such isolated farmsteads, watch must be kept over them against the burglary of monkeys at night and against the thievish green parrots (the small *lokpo*) during the day. In the middle of the farm a hut of palm branches is built, in which there are perhaps a couple of old pots, some mats and some implements.³³ Outside it under a shade tree a loom is mounted. After the farmer has worked in the course of the morning, he sits behind his weaver’s loom in the afternoon.

If the external conditions are favourable, perhaps a second and third family settles there. In spite of that, the people who have settled here still have houses and farmsteads in town. They go to the town on market days or during funerals, in order to be in the circle of their families for some time. However, these visits always become sporadic with time. More and more family members settle in their hamlets, and in this way a village, termed *kɔfe*, emerges. What one understands by *kɔ* is part of the family that lives in town. The village that has emerged usually adopts the name of the man who settled there first. If these inhabitants of plantations let their houses in town fall into ruin, their services are gradually not enlisted for public works of the town. On the other hand, the possibility is open to every village inhabitant to return to the domicile of his ancestors. The emigrants are usually younger brothers of a family, because the inheritance is in the possession of the eldest son.

Villages also emerge when exiles and escapees, as well as such persons whose stay in the town has been made very difficult, settle somewhere in the bush and put up their homesteads there. They often lead solitary lives there for many long years, until at last individual relatives quietly settle near them. For example, the founder of Waya must have been a murderer, who had to flee from the blood avenger. For a long time he lived hidden along the Waya stream and the Tɔdzɛ river. In Anlo eighteen people who were accused of mixing poison should have been burnt. However, the king made the suggestion that the people be exiled. After that they founded several villages along the lagoon.

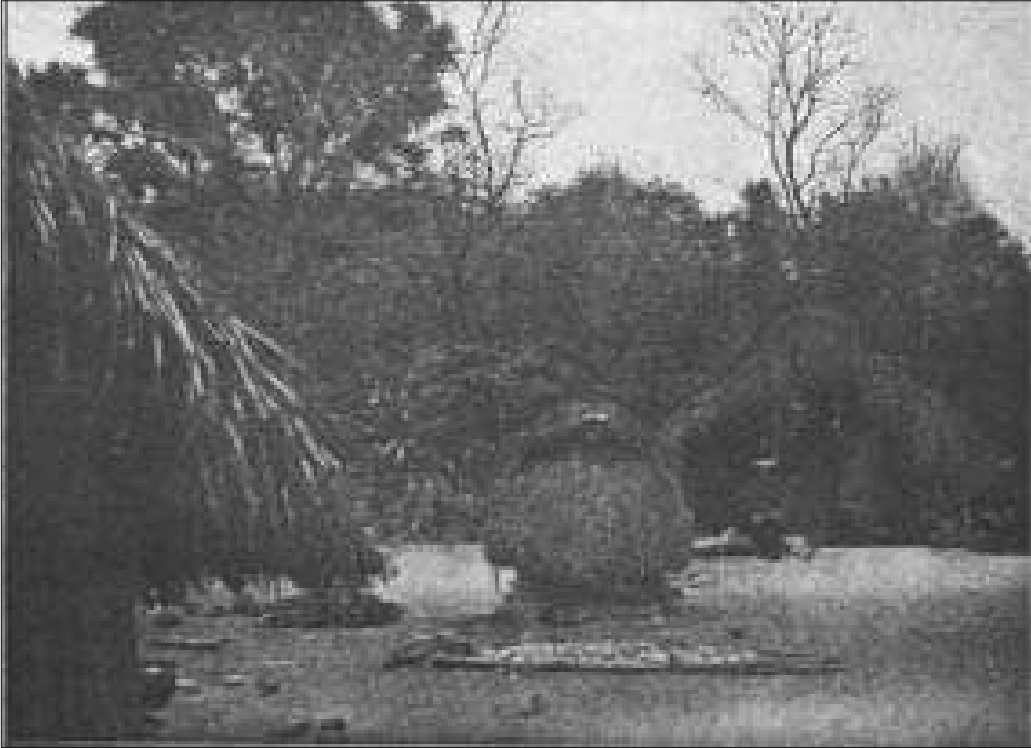
The towns are, therefore, the original domiciles of the natives in which the various elders including the king live.

2. Tribe

A tribe consists of different branches of a family who have built in a particular part of a town. The children together with all the members belonging to the family live around the house of the family head. At the head of the family, of the *kɔ*, is a family head, who has to represent his family. Such family heads or elders are sometimes more distinguished than the king himself. Their reputation is mainly determined by wealth, personal qualification and strength of the family represented by them. The

33 No one takes his entire household effects into a hamlet, but only as much he really needs there. The huts of a hamlet are not as big as those in the town. We term our hamlets *agblekɔfewo*, meaning “farm hamlets”.

elder maintains his position for life. The honour is inheritable, but this does not rule out a choice.³⁴ All the elders together with the king form the counsel of judges”.



A Plantation Hut

In the foreground is dried cassava

B. Foundation of Town

1. Motivation

People leave their old towns, when many people die (there) or when something evil has happened (there).³⁵ The *trɔ̃* priests (*ɔɔnusiwo*) are those who first order it, and harass the people until they move away. The foundation of a town differs from the foundation of a hamlet. A hamlet always emerges when people (temporarily) leave a town, in order to till their fields. Priests also make many people move away and set up a hamlet when they are no longer healthy.

B. Dutsotso

1. Nu si na wodia nɔfe yeye

Amewo vuna le wofe xɔ xoxowo tefe, nenye be, amewo le kukum, eye nya vɔwo le du me vam. Gake hafi woavu la, ɔɔnusiwo nye ame siwo agblɔe gbã, eye woawoe nye ame siwo le fu ɔe ge na amewo va se ɔe esime woavu. Gake dutsotso le vovo le kɔfetsotso gbɔ. Ne amewo le didim bena, yewoawɔ bofodɔ la, ekema wovuna ɔatsoa kɔfe. Ame aɔewo la ne wofe lãme mele sesem o la, ekema ɔɔnusiwo gblɔne na wo be woavu aɔatso kɔfe.

³⁴ See page 98

³⁵ For example, when some people have hanged themselves.



A Plantation Village in Volo

2. Consecration of the Building Plot

One looks for a new domicile as follows: chiefs and young persons go out to look for (suitable) land. After they have found land, land which is quite level, they erect there a big mound on it. The priest takes four cowry shells in his hand; stirs water mixed with flour (in a calabash), prays and says: "The land that we have just found to be good for us, may it also like us! For, it was terrible for us where we formerly lived and for that reason we have moved away from there. May she [Mother Earth] grant that we give birth to boys and girls to become very numerous. May no evil thing happen here! These are not my own words, but rather the prayer is the prayer of my ancestors. Because of this, may the prayer also be granted!" Now, he pours the water mixed with flour on the ground (which drinks it) to make it soft. He then says: "May the land be soft!" After that he

2. *Nɔfe ɲu kɔkɔ*

Alee wodia nɔfe yeyee nye si: Ame tsitsiwo kple ɖekakpuiwo yina ɖatsana dia anyigba. Ne wotsa, eye wokpɔ bena, afia aɖe nyo, alo anyigba la sɔ li nyuie la, ekema wofoa dru gã aɖe, eye trɔsi aɖa tsɔa hotsui ene ɖe asi, eye wodoa wɔtsi hã hedoa gbe ɖa bena, anyigba si ke yewokpɔ fifi be, enyo la, eya hã nalɔ yewo; elabena afi si yewonɔ tsã la wɔ dɔme vevee le yewo ɲu, eya ta yewovu le edzi. Yewole kuku ɖem ne bena, wɔana yewoadzi ɲutsuwo kple nyɔnuwo, ne yewoasɔ gbɔ fũ, nya vɔ aɖeke megadzɔ o. Ye ame si le gbe dom ɖa la, menye ye ɲuto yefe nyae o, ke boɲu gbedodoɖa lae nye ye tɔgbuiwo tɔ; eya ta gbe la nava me nenema. Azɔ la etsɔa wɔtsi la kɔna ɖe anyigba be anyigba nabɔɔ. Emegbe etsɔa hotsui ene la xlɛna ɖe anyigba. Ne hotsuiawo katã dze ɲe la, ekema wogblɔna bena, anyigba la nyo na yewo pɛ. Ne eve dze ɲe, eye eve bu anyi la,

throws the four cowry shells (that are in his hand) on the ground. If the open sides of all the cowries look upwards, they then say that the land will “render them something good”. If the opening of two cowry shells looks upwards and that of both of the others downwards, they say that the land has “heard their prayer”. If the opening of three shells looks downwards and only one upwards, the one who has thrown them shakes his head, takes the shells together and throws them once again.

Before the foundation of a new town, the elders are not in the habit of giving any special advice. After they have viewed the whole place, they turn back and go home. On another day, it is proclaimed that people will clear and clean the new town today. On the following morning, the people then come together and get the place ready. After that one makes a (consecrated) medicine and sprinkles the land with it. Then all the people wash their faces with it, after which the priest sprinkles all those present with the (consecrated) water. After all that has been done, a sacrifice is presented to the land and also a prayer offered: “Here is the sacrificial flour, which we are giving you, in order that you love us and do us good just as we will also be good to you.”

3. Selection of Building Sites

After all this, the chiefs together with the young people determine where the village road should lie. On finding a suitable place, they fix poles into the ground on both sides and with that indicate (the road), so that no one constructs his house on it. After that has happened, the chiefs hold a meeting, during which they deliberate on where the individual should build his house. All the young people belonging to an elder also settle at the place he chooses for himself. The land is distributed in this way; each elder settles at a place with his children. After they have distributed it in this way, each one makes a sign at his place with the hoe, so that he does not lose it. Then all the people go home.

4. Occupation of a New Town

One evening the elders let it be proclaimed that early the next morning no one should go anywhere. The youth should come together because the elders have something to talk to them about. On the following morning, the chiefs then explain to the assembled company that they have identified a new town. However, the grass is still not dry. As soon as the grass has become dry, they should secure the building material. Each individual should know that in advance, so that no one starts out on a long journey. Those present answer that they have heard it. As soon as the bush becomes dry, the chiefs call their youth together again and say: “It is now time that you go into the bush. Young people, do you want it or not?” All answer: “Yes, we want it!” An elder who has no strength anymore immediately summons and instructs the young men that they get construction timber for him. Someone who works diligently at it can quickly finish his house; no matter if he is an elder or young man, each can quickly construct his house.

In former times, the move into a (new) town was very difficult because the people believed that the one who comes first must die. That is why the old people always moved first and the others then followed. If an old man moved first into the new town, his children did not consent to it; they said he must die.



A Christian Hamlet in Amedzofe

The old man then said that he had nothing against his dying, and he moved. When they also moved, nothing happened to them. However, currently no one is afraid at all anymore in this regard. Everyone moves fearlessly to settle at a new place. They only remark: “If I die, then I die.”

When all the people are ready for the move into the new town, they first make *busu* (meaning they drive away evil). First of all, they have a priest come into the town, who fixes a magic stake (sable) at the entrance of the town, in order that no calamity can find its way into the town. After that, they plant a magic stake³⁶ (in the ground) at the entrance of the house, so that no evil can come into the *Trõ* shrine. After that, they throw flour mixed with oil on the magic stake wrapped with creepers that stands at the entrance of the town, as well as the stake (planted at the entrance of the *Trõ* shrine) and say: “That is your food; now keep watch over the way vigorously!” They lay consecrated herbs (near the *Trõ* shrine): *dzoveti*, *ahamee*, *womagba*, and *aqudzemagba* and pour water on them. The priest prays over them: “May the medicine that I give cause the town to have peace! May one only hear good things in the house and may no evil thing occur!” After the prayer, he sprays the whole medicine into the air. He puts some remains in a dish on the ground, and all those present wash their faces with it. The priest performs these customs for the whole town. However, if he must perform it for an individual in his farmstead, he gets 60 *hoka*, four bottles of spirits and a cock from the family head. He slaughters the cock and concocts medicine from its blood, with which he sprinkles the whole house, that there may be peace in the farmstead.

36 Just as a bullet bounces off a very hard object, so evil bounces off the magic stake.

ekema wogblɔna bena, anyigba la se gbedododa la. Ne etɔ̃ bu anyi, eye deka dze ne la, ekema ame si da hotsui la vuvua ta, eye wɔgalɔne dana.

Aɔaɔɔdede gobi aɔeke mele ame tsitsiwo dome le afe yeye tsotso me o. Ne wokpo tefe la vɔ la, ekema woyia afe. Le nkeke bubu dzi la, wodea gbe fa bena, afi si yewoyi dakpo la, yewoanlɔe, bena wɔazu kɔkɔefe kenken. Ne nu ke la, ekema wovana va dzra tefe la do ken. Emegbe la wodoa amatsi wuna de anyigba la dzi, eye amewo katã klɔa nkume, emegbe wotsɔa amatsi la wuna de ameawo me. Ne wowɔ esiawo katã vɔ la, wodea dza na anyigba la, eye wodoa gbe da bena: Dzawɔe nye si yewonae, ne wɔalɔ yewo, awɔ nu nyuie na yewo sigbe ale si yewo hã yewolɔe ene.

3. Nɔfewo tiatia

Emegbe la dekapuiwo kple ame tsitsiwo dia tefe afi si ablɔ anɔ. Ablɔ tefe wodina gbã. Ne wokpo tefe, si nyo na ablɔ la, ekema wotua ati de axawo kpakple eve dea dzesi, bena ame aɔeke nagawɔ xɔ de afi ma o. Azɔ ame tsitsiwo dea aɔaɔ le wo nɔewo dome, eye wobia wo nɔewo bena, afi ka ame si kple ame si atu efe xɔ do mahã? Afi si ame tsitsi aɔe lé la afi ma dekapui siwo nye etɔwo katã nɔna. Ale womã anyigba lae nye si. Ame tsitsi sia ame tsitsi kple viawo. Ne womãe alea vɔ la, ekema ame siaa ame tsɔ kodzi dea dzesi efe tefe, be magabu o esia megbe wodzona va afe me.

4. Uvu yi de yeye me kple busuyiwo

Le fiẽ la ame tsitsiwo na wodea gbefã bena, etsɔ nɔdi la, ame aɔeke nagayi afi aɔeke o, ne dekapuiwo nawɔ vu, ne ame tsitsiwo nafo nu vi aɔe na wo. Ne nu la ke, eye wokpe ta la, ame tsitsiwo gblɔna na dekapuiawo bena, yewoyi dadi tefe yeye vɔ, gake la gbeme meko haɔe o. Ne gbeme kɔ la ekema yewoade asi xɔwɔnuwo didi me. Eya ta ame siaa ame nanyae ada di, ne ame aɔeke nagayi didife o. Deviawo hã doa enu na wo bena, yewosee. Ne gbemekɔyi do edzi la ekema ame tsitsiwo gayɔa sɔheawo foa fu gblɔna na wo be: Gbeme yi yi do edzi, sɔheawo lɔ loo alo womelɔ o mahã? Wo katã doa enu bena, yewolɔ. Ame tsitsi, si nusẽ mele enu o la, dɔa dekapuiwo zi deka bena nkeke si dzi la, ne woatso ati na ye. Le xɔtutu me la, ame si ke do vevie nu la, ate nu atu afexɔ kaba faa nenyɛ, ame tsitsi alo dekapui te nui hã la, ate nu atui kaba faa.

Tsã la, ne wotso du yeye la, vuvu yi de du la me nyɛa dɔ nuto, elabena wosusu bena, ne ame aɔe va gbã la, ava ku. Eya ta ame tsitsiwo koe lɔa vava gbã, emegbe ame bubuwo dzea wo yome. Gake ne ame tsitsi aɔe be yeavu ayi gbã la viawo melɔna o, ke bonu wogblɔna be, ava ku, ne ame tsitsi la gblɔ be, yeaku faa la, ekema evuna yina.

When all trouble is to be removed from the town, all the chiefs come together, look for a priest and a spiritualist and tell them that they should put the new town in order. The priests then direct them to bring the *aɖudze* wood and its leaves. The wood and leaves are then tied to a stake fixed in the ground at the entrance of the town. While the priest ties the objects firmly, he usually says: “All that is wrong with the people should go into the ribbon!”³⁷ After he has done that, he cuts the *aɖudze* wood in many small pieces, spits on them and smears each of them with red ochre. All those present then take one of these pieces home and fixes it in the ground there. When that has happened, it means there is nothing evil in the house anymore.

II. House Construction

1. Building Materials

When someone wants to construct a house he first secures construction timber. The most important woods that are felled for this purpose are: *klẽ, atɔtɔɛ, xe, toti, huhɔɛ, xlẽ, atiyi, kpue, lolosẽ, flangɔ, pampɔ* (bamboo cane), *alati* (raffia palm), *agɔti* (fan palm), *yẽde* (wild date palm), *voti* (wild fig tree), *gbɔmitsimitsi, srõ, kpakpeti, kpɔtsɪŋlɛ, atikplalɛ, kpomi* (a nice white wood, with which the local stools are also carved), *ɣɔfi, loko* and *ɣɔtsa*. However, the woods get special names again according to their different use during the construction of houses. *Xlẽ, toti, xe, atiyi, flangɔ, agɔ, atikplalɛ, atɔtɔɛ, kpue, ɣɔtsa, huhɔɛ* are similarly made fork-shaped (by cutting). They are fixed in holes, and one then puts longitudinal beams on them. The four corner posts of the house are called *agbatsɔ* (load carrier) or also *gligã* (big wall) because they must carry the whole house and support it. Those poles that are fixed near the forked-poles are *lolosẽ, kpɔtsɪŋlɛ, voti, loko* and all other poles that grow straight. These poles are called *afɔɖometi*, meaning foot poles.³⁸ Beams or poles that one uses as rafters are: the branches of the raffia palm, bamboo cane, *lolosẽ, atɔtɔɛ, atiyi*, (black wood), *voti, xle, and kpɔtsɪŋlɛ*. Every morning, one goes into the bush to pull out roofing grass and set it aside. No one goes at midday to pull roofing grass. After this, he looks for ropes (creepers). Some of these are: *nyidɔ, globo, and adzɔ*.

37 Evil spirits, evil *Trɔwo* and wicked spiritualists are made powerless through the tying.

38 What a foot is for human beings the “foot poles” are for the house.



The Town Amedzofe in Avatime

Ne wovv va hã naneke mewɔa wo o. Gake egbegbe la, ɔɔvɔ aɔeke megale eɲu o. Ame siaa ame vuna yina faa; gake la, wogblɔnɛ kple nu bena: ne meku hã maku.

Ne amewo katã le vuvu ge ayi du la me la, ekema woyia busu. Gbã wonana ɔɔnusi aɔe va dua me, eye wòbla subla ɔe kpɔ la nu be, ne nu vɔɔi aɔeke nagava du la me o. Eye wotsɔa gboɲetsyoti fona ɔe xɔ la nu, bena nu vɔɔi aɔeke nagava trɔxɔ la me o. Emegbe wotsɔa bakabake wuna ɔe kablɛ la ɲu kple tsyoti la dzi bena, wofe nuɖuɖue nye kem, ne woadzɔ mɔ la nu sesiẽ. Wotsɔa dzoveti, ahamee, wɔmagba aɖudzemagba doa amatsi, eye ɔɔnusi la doa gbe ɔa bena: Amatsi, si na ge yeala la, ne afe la me nafa. Nya nyuie naɖi le afea me, nya vɔ aɔeke megava o. Azɔ la, ewua amatsi la keɲ. Ne ewui vɔ la, atɔ mamlea ada ɖi, eye ameawo akui afu ɲkumee. Esia wowɔna na du blibo la, gake nenyɛ ame ɔeka ɔe fe afe mee wòwɔe le la, ekema exɔa hoka 60, ahanu ene kple koklo ɔeka le ame lasi. Wowua koklo la, eye wotsɔa efe vu wɔa amatsii wuna ɔe kpɔ blibo la katã me, bena kpɔ la me nafa.

Ne wobe, woadɔ nu vɔ le dua katã me la, ekema ame tsitsiwo katã foa fu, eye wodia ɔɔnusiwo kple dzotɔwo, eye wogblɔna na wo bena, ne woadzra gbɔ yeye la me ɔo. ɔɔnusiawo gblɔna na wo bena ne woadi aɖudze kple efe amagba vɛ, eye esia wotsɔna blana tuna ɔe kpɔ nu alo ablɔ me. Ne ɔɔnusi la le eblam la, enɔa gbɔgbɔm bena, wo katã fe vu nayi ɔe ka la me. Le nu sia wɔwɔ megbe la, ɔɔnusi la nana wolã aɖudzeti kpuikpuikpui wòasɔ gbɔ kpi, eye wonyɔa ta ɔe wo dzi, eye wotsɔa de lilina ɔe atiawo dome ɔe sia ɔe ɲu, bena ame siaa ame natsɔ atu ɔe efe me. Ne ewɔ nu siawo la, ekema ɔɔvɔ aɔeke megale afeawo ɲu o.



Negro Huts under Construction

2. Construction Tasks

After these preparations have been made, the building site is made ready. The side poles are sharpened and the whole place for the house measured. There are different types of construction. These are: *nyigomee*,³⁹ *avame*⁴⁰ and *akpata*.⁴¹ There is no particular rule. Each one builds the way he likes it. The width of some houses is eight or nine feet and the length eighteen to twenty feet. After the place for the house has been measured (which is always done by means of vines), the foot poles and the forked poles are fixed in the ground.

Then the (person constructing) calls an expert to cut off the poles for him. When that has happened, these poles are firmly tied to palm ribs (that are put on them). The cross beams and rafters are then put on them. After putting out the framework, the palm ribs are tied on it across from below to the top; on the roof are also tied palm ribs.⁴² When one does this work, one usually cooks for the workers. After the tying of the palm ribs, one calls people to cover the roof. About twenty men come for the roofing of the house. Quite a few days later, one calls the same men again to rough-cast the walls with clay (*tre xɔ*). One also summons women, who fetch water for them. First of all, the men stamp down the clay;⁴³ they take four days for it. After they have

39 *Nyigomee* is a hall supported by four stakes similar to a verandah.

40 *Avame* is the actual kitchen, also the place where the family stays.

41 Finally, *akpata* is a narrow, but long hut fitted with only three walls, in which the man has his loom and carries out other tasks.

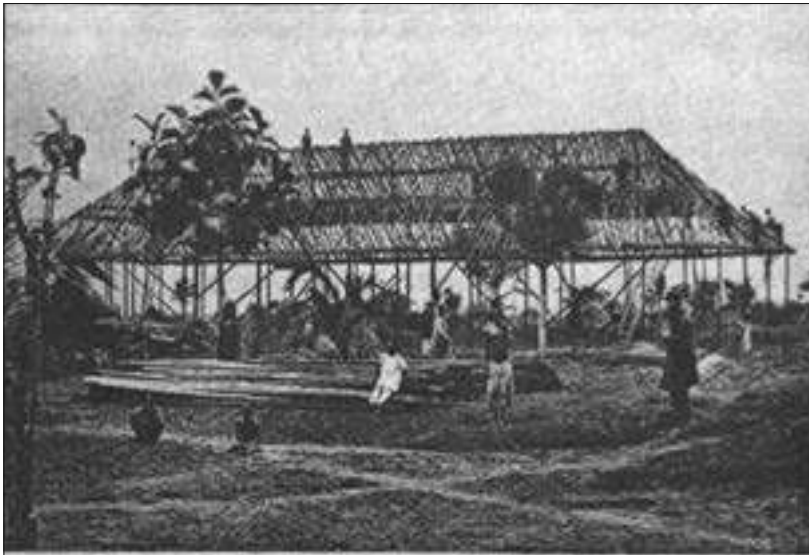
42 The palm ribs for the roofs there are what for ours are the battens.

43 They need water for it.

II. Xɔtutu

1. Xɔtunuawo

Ne ame aɖe be yeatu xɔ la, gbã etsoa xɔtutiwo. Ati, siwo nye vevietɔ siwo wotsona woe nye: klẽ, atɔtɔe, xe, toti, huhɔe, xlẽ, atiyi, kpue, lolosẽ, flangɔ, pampɔ, alati, aɲɔti, yẽde, voti, gbɔmitsimitsi, srɔ, kpakpeti, kpɔtsɪŋlɔe, atikpalɛ, kpomi, yɔfi, loko kple yɔtsa. Le xɔ la tutu me la, wogayɔa ŋkɔ tɔxe na atiawo. Wotsɔa klẽ, toti, xe, atiyi, flangɔ, agɔ, atikpalɛ, atɔtɔe, kpue, yɔtsa, huhɔe wɔa gbegblevee; woawo ke wotuna ɖe do me hã eye woawo dzi wotsɔa mlɔdziawo ɖone. Woyɔa esiwo wotu ɖe gli la fe axawo kple ene dzi bena agbatsɔ alo gligã elabena woawoe tsɔ xɔ blibo la katã ɖe tsitre. Ati, siwo wotuna ɖe gbegblevea wo gbɔ wonye: lolosẽ, kpɔtɪŋlɔe, voti, loko kple ati, siwo dzɔ. Nenem ati siawo woyɔna be afɔɖometi. Ati siwo wotsɔna wɔa paniba wonye: alati, pampɔ, lolosẽ, atɔtɔe, atiyi, voti, xlẽ kple kpɔtɪŋlɔe. Gbe sia gbe ŋdi wodea gbeme ɖanɔ be wum nɔa dadam ɖi; ame aɖeke medea beme le ŋɔ me o. Emegbe wodia kawo, siwo fe ɖewoe nye: globo kple adzɔ.



A Mission House under Construction in Ho before 1870

It was built in the native style. Beams made of palms and poles are lying on the building plot

2. Xɔ ŋutsɔ tutu.

Esi wodi nu sia wo katã vɔ la, ekema wodzra xɔ la tefe ɖo, eye wokpa afɔɖometiawo nu nyuie, emegbe wodzidzea xɔ la keɲ. Xɔtutu vovovowo li, siwo nye nyigɔmee, avame kple akpata. Se mele wo ŋu o, esi ke ame aɖe lɔ la, eye tu ge wɔla, Xɔ aɖewo kekena afɔ enyi alo asieke, eye wodidina afɔ wuienyi alo blaeye. Le dzidzedzidze megbe la, wotua afɔɖomefiawo kple gbegbleveawo. Emegbe woyɔa aɖaɲutsɔ wova lã atiawo. Esi wolã atiawo vɔ la, wotsɔa fɔ blane; emegbe wofɔa panibawo ɖoa edzi, hetsɔa mlɔdziawo ɖoa edzi keɲ, emegbe wotsɔa si nyẽne tso eɖome va se ɖe etame, eye woganyẽa xɔ la ŋutsɔ tame kple fɔ. Ne wole ɖɔ siawo

stamped the clay for four or five days, people are summoned and told that tomorrow early in the morning the walls of the house will be rough-cast, which means that they should come and build the walls. After the house has been constructed, the owner goes with his wife to thank all those who worked for them. As soon as the house has dried, the owner hoes up the floor and carries new soil inside that he slightly sprinkles with water. Then with a piece of wood he makes this smooth. After this work the woman summons a number of women to smear the wall with mud. The woman cooks for these helpers. They also make a traditional hearth for her in the house⁴⁴ and at the entrance to the door a doorstep. As soon as the house dries, the man then decides to move in.

3. Occupation of the New House

First of all, the man goes to fetch firewood and three thick branches of a tree for firewood.⁴⁵ Then he brings all that he possesses, also wooden spoons and pots, into the house. These objects must always be brought from the Ho market into the house. In front of the house he fixes two pointed sticks of wood in the ground at the entrance to his farmstead and buries near it a magic device called *dema*. The latter is also buried in front of the door to his house. Then he prays and says: “No evil should come to the place that I have moved to, and may I hear no evil word! May God bless that I only hear good things here, and may it stink behind the house!” This means he would like to have many children, who respond to nature’s call behind the house. “May God bless that the thighs of women reek!” (means that the women bear children.)⁴⁶ After that, he puts a medicine in a calabash, pours water on it and washes his face with it. In the evening, he lights fires at different spots, and the mats are spread out for sleeping in the house.

On the following day, a feast is then celebrated. The house owner buys a big gourd full of palm wine. Yam is cooked, fowls are slaughtered and a big meal prepared. When everything is cooked, the house owner invites all his brothers for food, and the woman also invites her sisters. After the meal, they all put on their most beautiful clothes, drink the palm wine and enjoy themselves together. The guests stay with him and chat with him till the evening.

4. Number of Houses belonging to a Farmstead

Before one can say that he has finished constructing his house, he must have put up three houses. Everyone constructs his house based on the number of his household, occupants, so that each room is occupied. The man constructs for himself a special house. If the man is married, he must construct two houses. However, if he has no house, it is a disgrace to him.

44 See picture Page 236.

45 He puts the ends of these branches against each other, puts a short piece of firewood between them and lights this.

46 The woman often has children on her lap, especially during bathing and feeding of these children, and so is often made dirty by them.

na la, ekema wonɔa nu ɔam na ɔwɔlawo. Ne wonye ɔ la vɔ la, ekema wodɔa amewo, bena woagbã ɔ la. Xɔgbãlawo vana abe ame blaeye ene, eye wogbã ɔ la. Ŋkeke bubu dzi wogayɔa ame siawo ke, bena woava tre ɔ la. Wodɔa nyɔnuwo hã kpɛna ɔ wo ŋu, bena woadu tsi nawo. Gbã la ŋutsuawo nya anyi, wotsɔa ŋkeke ene ɔɔ nyã nyi lae. Le anyi la nyanyã ŋkeke ene alo atɔ megbe la, wodɔa amewo bena, etsɔ la woadɔ ɔ na ye, eya nye bena, ne woava ɔ gli na ye. Le ɔ la ɔwɔ vɔ megbe la, ɔwɔ la kple esrɔ woyina ɔɔ akpe na ame siwo katã ɔ ɔ na wo la. Ne ɔ la fu vie la, ekema ɔwɔ la tsɔa agblenu guglua eme, eye wokua anyi va ɔna ɔ eme, eye wofoa eme kple kpo keɔ. Ne wowɔ alea vɔ la, ekema, nyɔnu la adɔ wo ɔwɔ bena, woavado ba ɔ na ye. Nyɔnu la ɔaa nu na ɔwɔ siwo va le kpekpeɔ ɔ ɔ la. Wodɔa mlekpui hã ɔ ɔ la me ne, eye wowɔa kpui hã ɔ ɔ la nu. Ne ɔ la kple emenuawo fu vɔ la, ekema ŋutsu la ɔɔa tame be, yeavu.

3. Uuvu ɔ ɔ me

Gbã la woyina ɔafɔa nake, eye wolã dzoti gagagã etɔ, eye wofoa ŋutinuawo katã yina afe la me, tsɔa tsi kple zewo hã yine. Hosigbe kokoko wofoa nuaswo, eye wotsɔa tsyoti eve tuna ɔ kpɔ la nu, eye wotsɔa dema dona ɔ tsyoti la gbɔ, eye wodone ɔ ɔwɔ hã nu. Wodɔa gbe ɔa gblɔna bena, afe si yeva la, nu vɔ adeke megava o, yemagase nye vɔ adeke o. Mawu naɔi na yease nya nyuiwo kokoko, ne ɔwɔme navẽ. Egɔme enye, ne yewoadzi vi geɔ, ne ɔviawo nanyẽ mi ɔ ɔ la me tantan. Mawu naɔi ne nyɔnuwo fe ata dzi navẽ, eya nye ne nyɔnu la nadzi vi. Wogatsɔa amatsi la dea tre me, eye wokua tsi ɔna ɔ edzi hekune fua ŋkume. Le fiẽ la, wova ɔɔa dzo ɔ gbɔ la me keɔ, eye woɔɔa wofo abawo, eye womlɔ anyi ɔ ɔ la me va sena ɔ esime ŋu kena.

Ne ŋu ke la, ekema woɔua ŋkeke nyuie. Gbã ŋutsu la dzea deha go gã ɔɔa, eye emegbe la woɔa te, eye wowua koklo ɔa nu kpĩ. Ne woɔa nuawo vɔ la, ekema afeato ɔa ɔwɔawo katã, bena woava ɔu nu, eye nyɔnu hã ɔa ɔwɔawo. Ne woɔu nuawo vɔ la, woɔa atsyɔ; emegbe wono aha la, eye wokpɔa dzidzo. Ame siwo woyɔ la, wonɔa egbo, eye wonɔa dze ɔom va se ɔ esime zã dona.

4. Xɔ ale si nu ɔa afe ɔɔa me

Hafi ame aɔe nate ŋu agblɔ be, yewu ɔwɔtu nu la, atu ɔ abe ɔ etɔ ene. Ame siaa ame tua ɔ ɔ ɔ ame siwo le afe me la nu, ale be, ame siaa ame nakpɔ ɔa anɔ eme. Ŋutsu la ŋutsu tua ɔ na ɔɔkui. Ne ŋutsu la nye srɔtɔ la, ele kokoko be, ɔ eve nanɔ esi eye ne ɔ mele esi kura o la, enye ŋukpe ne.



View into a Farmstead

The woman is occupied with preparation for cooking, surrounded by sheep and ducks.

If he is not a married man, he has nothing to say, even if he has no house. That is for him no disgrace. Each married man must also construct a special house for his wife, in which she can live together with her children, and where she can keep her special property. If he has two wives, he must put up two houses for them, and so on. If a man lives in an unlawful marriage, he should not construct a house for the woman because she is not his wife. However, if he does construct a house for her, there are major legal proceedings. On the other hand, if an unmarried woman stays with him, he asks her parents and builds a house for her. From this moment, she is his wife. There is no special kitchen in any house. Formerly, the hearth was erected under the eaves or in the room. Many house owners construct an *akpata* (room for housework) near the house.

However, no fire should be lit there. At the same time it is the place for conversation, to which the house owner comes together with his friends to converse with them. Women cook in the open because they do not have any actual house for that. But they are happy about it, if they can cook in the open. However, (cooking in the open) under the hot midday sun is very burdensome. Many men weave their cloths in the *akpata*. Those who do not have such a hall weave their cloths under the projection of their roof or under trees. No special room is constructed for visitors. If a guest comes to spend the night and one has no place, one looks for a place somewhere for her/him.

The huts should not stand on the ruins of the parental home, but can be constructed at any preferred place. People believe that there are spirits of the deceased in the ruins of the paternal home, which is why people are afraid to go to this place. If someone has several wives, he always constructs a house facing the east for the woman he married first.⁴⁷

47 Because *Amedzofe*, human beings' place of origin, is thought to be in the east.



Negro farmsted (Model)

Ke nenye tree wonye la, ekema metsɔ ɖeke la eme o, xɔ le esi alo mele esi o, ɖeke menye ɲukpe ne o. Ele na ame si ɖe nyɔnu la be, wɔdatu xɔ ne kokoko, ne eɖe nyɔnu eve hã, ele be wɔdatu xɔ eve na wo, nenem heyi dzi. Ne ɲutsu aɖe dze ahiã la, mekpɔ mɔ atu xɔ ne o, elebena menye srɔ wonye o. Nenybe, etu xɔ ne la, ekema nya ɲã aɖe adzɔ. Gake ne edze ahiã nyɔnu, si srɔ mele esi o la, ekema abia efe dzilawo eye wɔdatu xɔ ne; tso ekema dzi la, ezu srɔa. Nuɖaxɔ tɔxɛ mele ame aɖeke fe me o. Tsã la woɖia mlekpui ɖe beɖome kple xɔme. Ame aɖewo tua akpata ɖe xɔ ɲu, gake womelɔna be, woado dzo ɖe eme o. Ke boɲu etsɔne wɔa dzedɔxɔ, bena ne yewo tɔwo va ye gbɔ la, ne yewoanɔ eme aɖo dze, ke ame aɖewo ɖea mɔ bena, woado dzo ɖe eme faa. Nyɔnuwo ɖua nu le gbagbagbe, elabena dzodoxɔ mele wo si o; gake la, enyea dzidzɔ na wo, ne wole xexe le nu ɖam. Gake ne ɲudo le vuvum la, enyea fuɖeɖe na wo. Akpata aɖewo nyea avɔlɔfe na ɲutsuwo, gake ame siwo si akpata mele o la, wolɔa avɔ le beɖome kple atiwo te. Wometua amedzrodzefe dana ɖi koɲ o. Ne amedzro vadze wɔ eye tefe mele asiwɔ o la, ekema adi tefe ne le afi bubu.

Wometua xɔ ɖe ame fofe fe gli dzi o, ke boɲu ɖe afi sia afi, si ame la lɔ ko. Wosusu bena, ame fofe fe gli dzi la, ɲoliwo li, eya ta wole vɔvɔm na tefe la yi yi. Ne ame aɖe ɖe srɔ geɖe la, nyɔnu, si woɖe gbã la, eya fe xɛ nɔa yedzefe gome.

III. Household Equipment

1. Of The Husband

The equipment of the man in the room are: a gun, gun powder belt, cutlass, sacks made of raffia, a small keg in which the tools for weaving are kept, a bedstead, a hat, umbrella, and a box in which valuable objects, particularly his money, are kept. He needs the gun for hunting and during burials. In the gun powder keg he has his gun powder; the stone bag contains stones for shooting. He needs his cutlass for cutting different objects. He has his valuable objects in the raffia sack. No customs are connected with these objects kept in the room. During menstruation the wife should not sleep on the bedstead, but rather lays her mat on the floor.

2. Of The Wife

The objects in the room that belong to the wife are as follows: a pot termed *albe* for fetching water, pots in which water is boiled, pots in which maize pap, (*Akplē*) is cooked, soup pots, pots for roasting maize, a broad soup dish called *kposi*, a food dish for guests, wooden spoon for cooking, water scoop, calabashes, a salt basin, an axe, a thief-proof gourd in which meat is kept, a broom, sacks for keeping cotton, bags for keeping her ornaments (*abakavi*), a big calabash like a bowl with cover, a pewter basin, and spinning equipment. The woman goes to the well with the water pot. In another pot she boils water, in the porridge pot she cooks maize porridge and prepares her soup in the soup pot. Maize is roasted in the roasting pot and pepper is ground in the *kposi*.⁴⁸ *Zegbla* is the big cooking pot for social gatherings. The wooden spoons, called *tsi*, are mainly used during the preparation of soup; one needs the stirring spoon during the preparation of the maize pap, *Akplē*. *Akoe* and *trē* are drinking pots. Containers of oil are kept in the *akpe*.⁴⁹ The woman puts her market wares in the tin bowl; she washes her clothes in it, too. She goes to the farm with the *gbonu*, the wooden plate⁵⁰ on her head and carries home field crops in it. No customs are connected with all these objects. Only when somebody has a quarrel with his wife, and she holds the broom, the stirring spoon or the big spoon for preparing soup in front of his face, then she contravenes the law of the Ho people.

48 A flat dish with a rough interior surface.

49 A big gourd with cover.

50 See picture on page 341.

III Xɔmenuwo.

1. Ɗutsuwo tɔ

Ɗutsuwo fe xɔmenuwoe nye; Tu, agbadza, klante, kevi, atigovi, si me avɔɔɔnuwo le, abati, kuku, xexi kple aɔaka, si me efe nu xɔasiwo kple ga hã le. Tu la, ewɔa ɛɲu dɔ le adegbedede kple yɔfemewɔwɔ me ɔugoe me ɔu nɔna. Kpebutue nye nu si me kpewo nɔna. Efe klante wotsɔna lã nu sia nu; kevi la me efe nu nyuiewo nɔna. Xɔmenu siawo la, kɔnu aɔeke mele wo ɲu o negbe abati ɲu ko wòle. Eyae nye, ne nyɔnu, si le gbɔwo kpɔ yleti la, megakpɔ mɔ bena, woanɔ abati la dzi o, ke boɲu aɔo aba ɔe anyigba amlɔ edzi.

2. Nyɔnuwo tɔ.

Nyɔnuwo fe xɔmenuwoe nye: Tɔmedeze (abe), tsidzoedɔdze, akplɛɔaze, detsifoze, kpelitɔgba, kposi, zegbla, nuɔatsi, akoe, tre, dzegoe, fia, lãgoe, (fiafimavui), abaya, ɔetigolo, abakavi, akpɛ, gagba kple ɔetitronu. Wodea tɔme kple tɔmedeze, eye woɔa tsi dzoe le tsidɔdzoeze me. Woɔa akplɛ le akplɛɔaze me, eye wofoa detsi le kutu me. Wotɔa kpeli le kpletɔgba me, eye wotua atadi le kposi me. Zegblae nye duwo fe nuɔaze. Wowɔa tsi ɲu dɔ le detsi fofo me gede, eye wotsɔa akplɛɔati ɔa akplɛ. Akɔe kple tre wonye tsinonuwo. Akpɛe nye nu si me aminuwo nɔna. Wodea agba ɔe gagba me tsɔna, eye woganyaa avɔ le eme hã. Wodea agble kple gbɔnu, eye wotsɔa nuɔuɔu dea eme va afee. Kɔnuwɔwɔ aɔeke mele nu siawo ɲu o. negbe ko bena, ne nyɔnu aɔe kple srɔ wole dzre wɔm, eye wòdo xa ɔe ɲkume ne la, ekema edze duawo fe se me; nenemake enye akplɛɔatsi kple tsi hã.

3. Main Section: Hunting and Fishing

1. Hunting

1. Handing over of Gun to a Youth

When a boy is born here, and he grows up, one buys a gun for him when he is about sixteen years old. On buying the gun, it is handed over to the family elder to be given to the youth. The youth's father calls four other men, so that they are present with him as witnesses during the handing-over. The gun is given to the young man in the morning. It happens this way: the family elder puts the gun on the ground and admonishes the youth: "If you go into the bush with the gun that I have put on the ground for you today and notice that something moves again and then moves again, you must first of all see its tail clearly and when you have seen both of its ears, you shoot at it. A hunter who has not seen the ears of an animal does not shoot at it." After that the young person rises to his feet, and he (the elder) hands over the gun to him with the following words: "May God bless you, so that when you go into the bush, you find both, the living and the dead, and bring them home. Good luck to you! Good luck to you!" After this the gun is loaded and the young man fires in the presence of the elder. When all that has ended, the youth thanks the elder and says: *Eseju lo!* "I thank you very much!" After that, all those present go home, and the youth's father puts twelve boxes of powder into a powder belt⁵¹ and tells him to go and visit all his relatives with the gun and show it to them. As soon as the youth gets to the gate of the farmstead of a relative of his father, he says: "I am coming!" The man inside the house shouts at him: "Then shoot, in order that I hear!" He immediately fires his gun in the farmstead. The man then gives him four to six boxes of powder as a present. In many places he gets 15 or 25 *hoka* in addition to that. After he has been with his relatives, the father charges him to go to his mother's relatives, too, and do the same thing that he has done at his father's. When he has ended his visits in the town, he brings what he has got (from the relatives) to his father. When the father sees that he has got many cowry shells, he removes two *hotu* and 25 *hoka* from them and buys a powder belt for him. If there are still many cowry shells (remaining), he buys yarn with it, from which he weaves a bag for stones.⁵² With that these customs have ended.

2. The Young Man's Hunting Attempts

After this, the youth loads the gun, and when he sees birds he goes to shoot them. If he hits the bird with the first shot, he praises the gun and says that it is "straight". If the young man goes to the farm, he takes the gun along, to range around in the bush. If he sees a partridge, a dove, a squirrel or a *nukpui* (grasscutter), he shoots them. As long as the young man is still not married, he brings all animals that he has killed to his father, and when the meat has been cooked, he then eats it in his father's house.

51 See Page 40.

52 A bag for stones, that are loaded into the gun instead of bullets.

Akpa gã etõlia, Adedada kple lãdeɖe

I. Adedada

1. Tudede asi na ɖekakpuiwo

Le Ueme afii la, ne wodzi ɲutsuvi wòtsi la, ekema woflea tu ne le efe fe wuienyilia xoxo me. Ne wofle tua la, wotsone na ame tsitsi, si ke le wofe kɔ me bena, wòatsɔ na ɖevi la. Wodea tu asi na ɖekakpui le ɲdi me. Ale wowone enye esi: Ame tsitsi la tsɔa tu la tua anyi, eye wòxlõa nu ɖevi la bena: Tu, si ke yetso va tu anyi ne egbe la, ne eyi gbe me, eye nane le vavã, ne ekpo asike, si le lã la gome nyuie kenken, eye wokpo toawo kple eve la, ekema wòade; adela makpo to medane o. Esia megbe ɖevi la atsi tre, eye wòatsɔ tu la ade asi ne agblɔ bena; Mawu neɖi bena, ne eyi gbe me la, natsɔ lã kuku kple agbagbe sia ava afe, kusie, kusie alo nenyoo loo, nenyoo loo! Esia megbe la wo katã woyia afe me, eye ɖekakpui la fofa dea du agbadza me ne abe ɖuguti wuieve ene, eye wòagblɔ ne bena, netsɔ tu la, ne wòatsa le fofa fomeawo gbo ken, ne wòatsɔ afia wo. Ne ɖekakpuia va wo dometo aɖe fe agbo nu la, egblɔna bena, medo. ɲutsu, si le afea me la, gblɔna bena ekema neɖi ne yease. Enumake wòda tu la le kpo la nu. ɲutsu, si wòda tua na la, na ɖuguti ene alo ade ɖekakpui la. Afi aɖewo wonaa hoka 15 alo hoka 25. Ne etsa le fofa fomeawo gbo vɔ la, fofa agadze bena, neyi ne wòatsa le nɔa fomeawo hã gbo, eye awɔ abe ale si wòwɔ le fofa fomeawo gbo ene. Ne etsa le gbo me vɔ la, etsa nu siwo wòxɔ la na fofa, eye ne ekpo bena, hotsui la sɔ gbo la, ekema atso hotu 2 kple hoka 25 afle agbadza ne. Ne hotsui la gasɔ gbo la, ekema agatsɔ afle ka ne, si wòatsɔ alɔ kpebutui. Nu mamleawo la etsa wo na ɖevi la.

2. Adedada gometoto

Nu siawo megbe la ɖevi la asika tu la, afi si wòkpo xeviwo le la, ayi aɖada wo. Ne tu gbãtɔ si wòda la wu xevi la, ekema wokafua tu la ɲuto be, edzɔna. Ne ɖevi la yina bofo la, ekema atso tu la ɖe asi, eye wòayi aɖatsa le gbeme kpilii. Ne ekpo ɖaɖi, akpakpa, adɔ alo nukpui la, awui faa. Ne srõ mele ɖekakpui la si o la, ekema lã siwo katã wòwu la, atsoe ava fofa gbo eye ne wodae la, aɖi le fofa gbo.

3. Sharing of Bush Meat

a. First Report

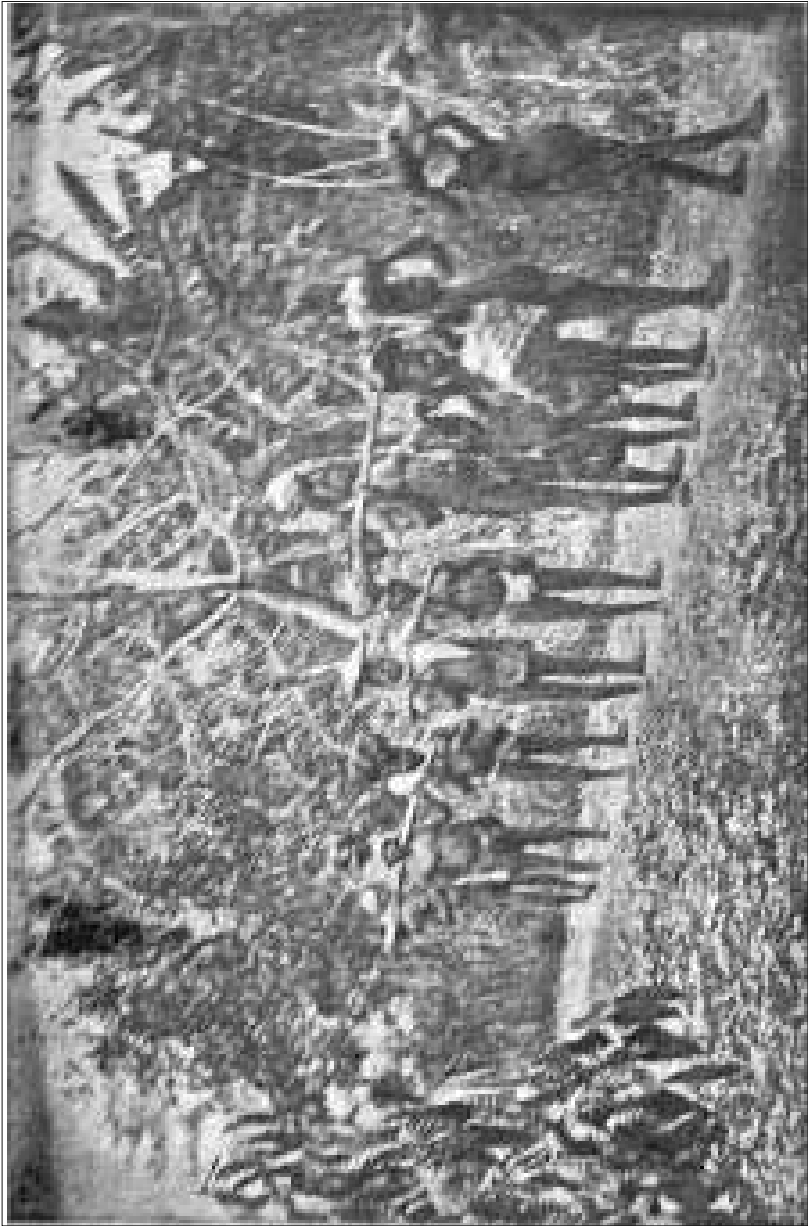
When the youth has grown up, he goes hunting in remote places. If he kills a *kodzui* (an antelope) and brings it home, he must share it. The one who bought the gun for him gets a hind thigh of the animal. The lower parts of the stomach belong to the maternal uncle. The loins belong to his wife. He gives another part to the family of his grandmother. His oldest paternal uncle gets both hind feet. His paternal brother gets the head and both fore feet. He cooks this and invites the whole family for food. His paternal sister gets an *atidofe*, both of the last ribs, and his maternal sister gets another one. The mother gets the chest. However, the father does not get anything in particular. He gets a rear thigh, but only if he has bought the gun for him. If he has not bought it for him, he cuts a piece of meat for him from anywhere. The family elder who handed over the gun to him gets the lower part of the jaws.⁵³ The one, who first heard the shot and came into the bush to help him gets a front thigh of the animal, the place where it was shot, some liver, a little lung and *agbagblafeme*, part of the ribs. The one who first came to his assistance carries the animal on his head to the house, and the hunter follows closely at his heels. Yet it is not only the *kodzui*, but rather each animal that is killed that is shared in this way. On the other hand if a wild boar is killed, what it means is: *Adee*, “the god of hunting”, is with him.

3. *Adela fe lāmamā me*

Ne dēvi la tsi la, ate ŋu ade gbe me le didifewo faa. Nenyē be, ewu Kodzui tso va afe la, ekema dufe dō eŋu. Ame si fle tu la ne tse nye lāta, anyinwe nye nyruia tɔ, alie nye srõ tɔ (tudala), akasina mama fe dzotsofe, atafu alo kpogbo zo gboti na tɔvi tsitsitɔ le fome ma me, eye lā fe ta kple afoti eveawo nye tɔvia tɔ, eye tɔvia atso nu siawo aɖa nui, eye wɔdayɔ kɔmetɔwo kenken woava du nu la. Atidofe dɛka na tɔvia nyɔnu, eye dɛka hã na nɔvia nyɔnu, akɔ na nɔa, ke tɔa la dufe aɖeke meli ne o, nenyē eyae fle tu la ne la, ekema etse nye ata la, ke ne menye eyae fle ne o la, aka lā la fe afi sia afi ne faa. Ame tsitsi si de tu la asi ne la tse nye lāglā la.

Gbã esime tu la dɛ le gbea me, eye ame aɖe see, nya afa ne la, ekema etse nye abo dɛka kple kpefu la kpakple agbagblafeme kple lātu vi aɖe kple dzitodzito vi aɖe. Ame si nya afa la, eyae tsoa lā la dɛ ta, eye tudala la nɔa eyome hafi wovaa afe me. Menye kodzui dɛdɛko wowuna eye wowɔna alea o, ke boŋu lā sia lā, si ame la wu ko. Ne eva wu ha la, ekema wogblɔna be Adee le ame sia gbɔ.

⁵³ Symbol of talking.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Ho people returning home from hunting

2 carries a gun on his shoulder and yam on his head. 3 has the skin of the animal with the viscera on his head. 4 and 5 each carry a rear thigh. 6 carries the head of the animal. 7 and 8 each having a live fowl hanging on their side. 9 has hung a fibre basket over his shoulder. Apart from that all the three are carrying loads of meat on the head.10 and 11 are carrying yams.

b. Second Report

When an animal, maybe a *fia*, a *lu*, a buffalo, *to*, or a wild boar, *ha*, has been killed, the head belongs to the contemporaries of the hunter, who were either born with him in the same year or a year after him and are hunters. They are called *haviwo* or *hatiwo*, contemporaries. If the hunter meets any kind of ill-luck during hunting, his contemporaries must look for him. They precede the family members of the hunter just as the head of the animal precedes its body. If an antelope or another small wild animal is killed, his elder brother gets the meat and shares the meat with his younger brothers. If a misfortune has befallen the hunter, he goes with the hunter's contemporaries to look for the missing person. If they find him dead, this eldest brother together with the contemporaries of the dead person buy gun powder for his burial.

The older paternal uncle, *tōgā*, gets the lower jaw of the animal, *glā*.⁵⁴ If the hunter meets any kind of misfortune during hunting and he dies, if the deceased left behind debts, this uncle must talk and beg that the debt left behind be reduced. Thus, he must strain his lower jaw. Even if he himself contributes little or nothing to the payment of the debt, his main task is to talk. The neck, *ko*, of the animal belongs to his maternal sisters because they surrender their necks and carry the burden. If the fallen hunter leaves behind a debt, they must pay or serve as pawns until the debt is paid.

The mother of the hunter gets the chest, *akota*. She strikes the chest with the hands out of joy as well as out of sadness. She does it out of joy, when the son has killed an animal, and out of sadness, when ill-luck happens to him during hunting.

Both of the last ribs (*atidofe*) are shared between a paternal sister and a maternal sister. They must bathe the hunter after his death. While the other women at home complain about and bemoan the death of the hunter, they must follow his contemporaries into the bush to the accident spot. The hunter's wife gets the loins, *aliwo*, because her loins carry her while she is working for her husband and get tired. Just as the body is supported by the loins, so the wife supports the whole house. If the hunter has several wives, these parts of meat are shared equally among them all.

The maternal elder uncle gets the lower part of the stomach, *anyin*. If the hunter drops dead in the bush and leaves behind debts, he must sit in legal proceedings that result because of that, and he is liable for the payment of debts. For, if legal proceedings become necessary on account of his nephew (also during his life time), he must witness them, *no anyi*. He (the maternal uncle) is, therefore, also called *no*, "mother", and the part of town in which he lives is called *no gbome*.⁵⁵

The grandfather is the root of the family, whose members are only branches and twigs that depend on him. He gets the root of the tail, that part where the strongest muscles and nerves converge.

The paternal brother gets the forefeet with the meat attached to them. He must pay 1 *hoka* and 10 cowry shells (1 pfg. And 10 cowries) before the grave diggers make the grave for his brother.

The *lākola*, meaning the one who is the first at the spot and rejoices with the hunter about the animal that has been killed, gets a fore thigh as well as other different fore parts. He also comes to his aid, if the animal is not yet completely dead or when

54 upper is *glā*, muzzle; below=lower jaw.

55 "town of the mother".

something bad has happened to him. He gives the first report about it at home and must pay too when the hunter has shot a human being instead of an animal.

The hunter himself gets the skin and the second fore thigh.

4. Religious Customs on Hunting

We consider hunting as a *trɔ* and call it *Adee*. For example, if a hunter often kills a big wild animal like a buffalo, he is praised by the people. This praise makes people procure magic objects. If the hunter intends to go hunting he washes his face with a hunting medicine every morning and prays as follows: "If I now go into the bush, may an animal come towards me, so that I can kill it!" Some of these magic objects are tied to the stock of the gun. Some consist of strings that one puts in the hunting bag over one's shoulders. The hunting magic (ashes made with different objects) is put into a closed gourd. The hunter carries it together with a pointed stick. If the hunter discovers the footprints of a wild animal, he points several times with this stick into the air, in the direction to which the animal was running, and he then strikes the footprints of the animal with the wood, so that it does not go any further and he can quickly get the animal. As soon as he catches sight of the animal, he takes hold of the magic powder in his bag, pours some of it into his hand and blows it into the direction of the animal, in order that it goes blind. He now shoots at the animal and kills it. Before he trails the animal that has been shot, he takes the magic strings, takes some sand from the footprints of the animal and ties⁵⁶ the same with the string. While doing this he continuously chants the appellations of the magic object. On tying the string firmly around the piece of wood, he

4. ɔnu siwo le adedada ɲu

Miebua adedada abe trɔ ene, woyɔa nenem trɔ sia bena Ade. Ne adela aɖe nɔa lã gãwo abe lo ene wum edzi edzi la, ekema amewo nɔa ekafum; kafukafu sia nana bena, amewo xɔa dzo. Ne ebe yeayi gbe me la, ekema ado adematsi aku afu moe ɲɔɔ sia ɲɔɔ ahado gbe ɔa bena, ne yetso fifi yi gbe me la, lã aɖe nefu du va kpe ye ne yeawu. Nenem adedzo sia fe ɖewo wotsɔna sana ɖe tu fe zɔ ɲuti, ɖewo nye kablɛ wotsɔna dea kotoku, si wokpla la me. Adedzo fe ti hã le tigu me wotsɔna ɖe asi kple tsyoti aɖe. Ne adela yi gbeme, eye wokpɔ lã aɖe fe afɔtofe la, ekema atso tyoti la nyea ya me ɖoa ta afi si lã la ɖo tae, eye wɔatsɔe afo ɖe lã la fe afɔtofe bena megayi ɖe afi aɖeke o, ne yeatui kaba. Esime adela la va kpɔ lã la la, atso dzoti la le kotoku me akɔ ɖe asifo me, aɖo fufu ɖee bena, efe ɲku negbã; emegbe edane, eye wowune. Hafi ne wɔava ti lãa yome la, etsɔa kablɛ la eye wɔkua lã la fe afɔtefeke, eye wɔtsɔa dzo la blane, foa ɲko ɖo ne, eye ne eblae vɔ la, atsoe afu anyi, eye wɔafu asi nu.

Ne adela aɖe wu afia, eye wɔtsɔe va wɔ ɛɲu ɔ vɔ keɲ la, wɔɖoa ɲekeke atɔ va se ɖe enyi bena, yewoatso afe na Ade, si le ame la gbɔ hafi wɔle lãwo wum la, bena wɔanɔ eme. Gake lã, si ame la wu la, wotsɔa efe kɔ dzrana ɖo.

56 The hunter ties the animal before he has it.

throws it onto the ground and shouts out loud as he strikes his mouth with the palm of his hand.

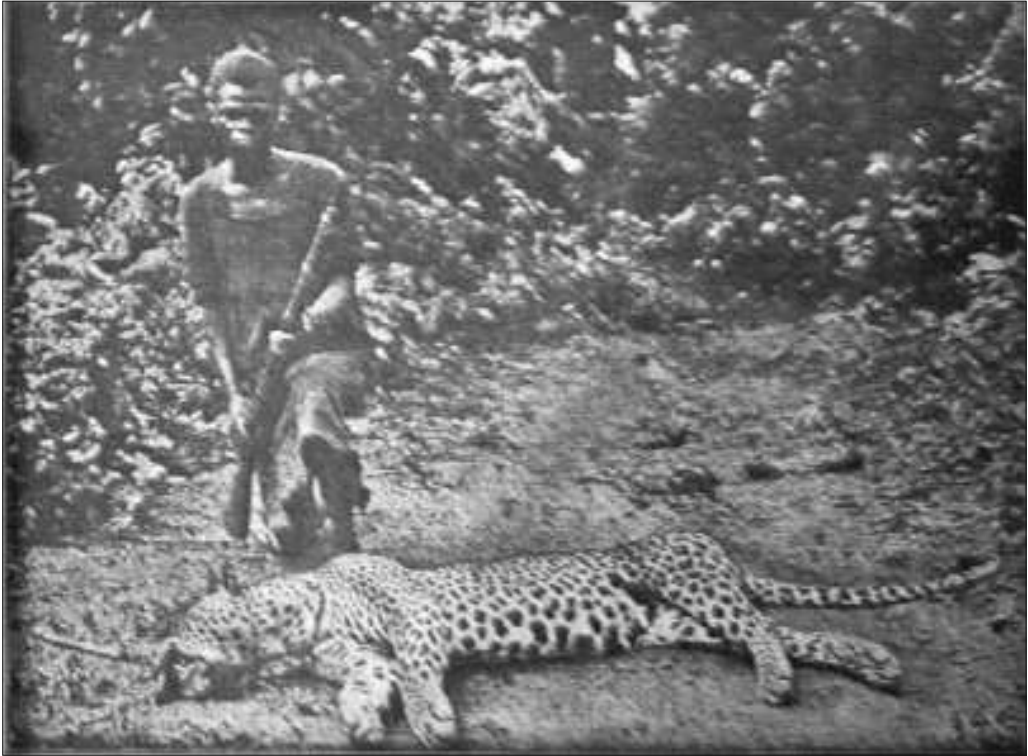
When the hunter has killed an *afia*, a male antelope and shared out all its meat, five or eight days are fixed, after which an abode is set up for hunting god *Adee* that accompanied him when the animal was killed. However the neck of the animal that has been killed is kept until a sacrifice is brought to the hunting god, *Adee*. A lot of palm wine is bought on this day. Those men to whom meat has been distributed buy little palm wine for him, too. The hunter himself lets a lot of flour be ground and he buys oil and salt. His paternal brothers fetch thin twigs from the bush, with which they make a small fence. The fence sticks are tied firmly with strong vines. An entrance is made in the fence. An old hunter for whom this has already been done, now orders him to bring all the lower jaws of what he has already shot and put them within the fence. After that, they cut some meat away from the neck that (has been kept), add additional meat to it and cook it in a big pot. When the meat has become soft, some of the unsalted meat broth is kept. The rest is salted and added to a maize porridge that has been mixed with oil. Now all the people, singers and *Adee* drummers come together. All the hunters appear with their guns, on whose butts they have tied hunting magic. They put all their guns together. Then the oldest hunter rises, breaks off a little of the maize porridge and prays over the guns: "This is our red porridge. If one of you is taken into the bush, may the hunter quickly see an animal". He also draws some palm wine, pours it on the ground and pronounces the same words. He breaks a piece from the red maize porridge again, goes to the fence with it and prays: "You lower jaws of the animals, you have now come home. Here is a meal; here is a drink. Because of this lead yours (the animals that are still in the bush) here, too!" Then he pours palm wine and sprinkles flour on it (on the bones) while he pronounces the same words. After this, he takes the stored, unsalted soup and pours it on the entrance to the fence. While doing that he says: "The salted soup belongs to the one who does not like the unsalted and the unsalted belongs to the one who does not like the salted." After that, they all put their guns on the new fence, weave a basket (made of palm leaves) that they fill with leaves and put it aside at some distance. This basket is seen as a wild animal. Then they all load their guns with gun powder without stones and say: "Now let us eat before we end the thing". When they have eaten and drunk palm wine, then there is drumming, singing and dancing. However, only the hunters (and no one else) may dance. If someone else who has not killed a wild animal performs the dance, he would be very much mocked. While drumming and singing is going on, the (now initiated) hunter takes his gun in his hand and behaves as if he would creep up to an animal. While doing that, he goes in the direction of the basket that has been filled with leaves. He lies in wait (and acts) as if he has killed (the animal in the bush). First of all, he shoots his gun (at the basket) and gets up again. As soon as the shot is heard, his relatives call him the following names: "Hunter, killer of elephants, you have found salt and drunk blood!" During this whole time, there is drumming and singing and drinking of palm wine. The hunter's brothers bring him cowry shells as a present and others bring him palm wine. That lasts until night closes in.

After this, they say to the new hunter: "We have finished our work for you now!" He then brings two bottles of spirits and thanks them for that. These hunters take the cowry shells that have been presented as gifts and the spirits home. The palm wine

Woyɔa kɔ sia bena kɔdzui; wodzranɛ ɔo va se ɔe nkeke, si dzi woasubɔ Adeɛ. Le gbe ma gbe la, wodzea aha geɖe, eye ame siwo kpɔa ɔufe le efe lāwuwu me la, woawo hā dzea aha vivivi vanɛ. Adela la nana wotua wɔ geɖe, dzea ami dzɛ, flea dze. Ame siwo nye tɔviawo la, woyina ɔatsoa ati ziwo le gbe me vɛ eye ati siawo wotsɔna tɔa kpɔe. Wobla kpɔ la kple adzɔ sesie eye woɖea mɔnu ɔe enu. Eye adela xoxosi hā wowɔ nu sia na kpɔ la, gblɔna ne bena wɔafɔ lā siwo katā wɔwu kpɔ la fe glā ava kɔ ɔe kpɔ la me. Emegbe la wokpaa lā si le kɔ la ŋu la, eye wogatsɔa lā bubu kpɛna, eye woɖonɛ dzoe le ze gā aɖe me. Ne lā la bi la, wokua lātsi la fe ɔe dzrana ɔo, eye woɖea dze mamlea hetsɔna ɔa akplɛ dzɛ. Azɔ ameawo katā va kpea ta; hadzilawo kple adevufolawo. Adelawo katā vana kple wofe tu, siwo fe zɔ ame adedzo le, eye wofɔ wo katā dana ɔe afi ɖeka. Emegbe adela tsitsi la tsona, eye wɔka akplɛ dzɛ vi aɖe hedoa gbe ɔa na tuawo bena wofe akplɛ dzɛ enye esi; ne wotsɔ wo dometɔ aɖe yi gbeme la, ne woakpɔ lā kaba. Ekua aha hā ɔe kɔna ɔe anyigba, eye wɔgbɔa nya mawo ke. Azɔ agaka akplɛ dzɛ la ɔe ayi kpɔ la me, eye wɔado gbe ɔa agblɔ bena, lāglā siawo la afe wova. Nuɖuɖu li aha hā li, eya ta woakpɔ wo tɔwo hā vɛ. Ekua aha la kple wɔa, eye wɔkɔ wo ɔe wo dzi kple nya siawo ke. Esia megbe wokua detsi la ɔe kɔna ɔe kpɔ nu gblɔna bena Adeɛ la tɔe nye esi; ne adela yi gbe me, ne wɔakpɔ lā awu. Emegbe wogakua detsi, si me wode dzee la, ɔe kɔna ɔe kpɔ la nu gadoa gbe mawo ke ɔa. Wowua gbedodoɔa la nu be, ame si melɔa detsi vɔvɔ o la, eya tɔe nye dzetɔ, eye ame si ke melɔa dzetɔ o la, eya tɔe nye vɔvɔ. Azɔ wofɔa tuawo katā va ɔoa adekpɔ yeye la nu; fɔa kle, eye wowɔa amagba dea eme tɔɔna dana ɔe adzɔge. Wobua kle si wowɔ la abe lā ene, eye wo katā woɖea ɔu wofe tuwo me kpe aɖeke manɔmee, eye wogblɔna bena mina míadu nu gbɔ hafi míawu enu. Ne woɔu nu, no aha ɔe edzi vɔ la, ekema wonɔa vu fom nɔa hā dzim, eye wonɔa ye ɖum. Adelawo koe ɖua ye la, eye menye ame bubu aɖeke o. Ne ame bubu aɖe ɔu ye sia la, wokonɛ ŋutsɔ, elabena mewu lā aɖeke kpɔ o. Le vu la fofo me la adela la, atso tu, eye woɖea asi ade minyaminya me aɔo ta klefofo la gbɔ. Enɔa ade tam ale si wɔate ŋui, emegbe la ada tu la, eye woatsi tre. Ne tu la ɖi la, ekema etɔwo nɔa ŋkɔ fom ɔo ne bena: Bebefu, kumsru, adela kpɔ dze ku vu no (bebefu kumsru = adela atigliniyiwula). Le yemayi me katā la, wole vu fom le ha dzim, eye wole aha nom, eye adela nɔviwo va nɔa hotsui dzɔm nɛ, eye ame aɖewo nɔa aha tɔɔm vɛ. Wowɔa esia va se ɔe esime zā dona.

Emegbe la, wogblɔna na adela yeye la be, yewowɔ nu nɛ vɔ, eye eya hā atso ahanu eve ada akpe na wo. Ameawo lɔa hotsui, siwo wodzɔ la, kpɛna ɔe aha la ŋu, eye wodzɔna yia afe me. Wonoa aha la, eye wotsɔa hotsui la mana. Kpɔ yeye, si wotɔ la, eyae nye Adeɛ la fe nɔfe. Woyɔa kpɔ la be adekpɔ. Ne ame la, wu lā la, ekema kpɔ sia nu wɔle eko ge le. Ke ne megale lā wum o la, ekema egadzra kpɔ la ɔo yeye, eye wosubɔnɛ, doa wɔtsi fona ɖi nɛ.

is drunk and the cowry shells are distributed. The new fence is the domicile of *Adee*. One also calls it *Adekpɔ* “*Adee’s fence*”, because of this. When the hunter later kills an animal again, it is cut at the fence. If, however, he kills no more animals, he makes the fence anew and pours water mixed with flour on it as a sacrifice.



A leopard that has been killed with the hero kneeling by it.

II. Fishing

One does not devote oneself to fishing in Ho. It is only in years during which it rains a lot that fishing tackle is set up in area and are put in the overflowing streams. We do not have any larger stream. Our streams all dry up during the harmattan season. When the streams overflow, fish traps are laid everywhere. In these streams one catches the fishes *adeye*, *ahadzedzee* and *akpa*, also crabs and crayfish. When the time for catching fish has come, everyone catches fish. However, it does not last long, and then there are no fishes in the streams anymore.

When one has caught a lot of fish, one puts many on a stick (and sells them). The price of a stick is five to ten *hoka*. When streams that have overflowed elsewhere enter ours, then one usually catches very many fish.



Hunting for Hanging

There is Magic Powder in the Gourd Hanging on **a** and **b**.

On **c** one sees among others an Antelope's Horn containing Powerful Magic

II. Lãdẽdẽ

Menye ɖaa woɖea lã le Ho o, negbe fe si me tsi dza vevie la, eya me ko woɖoa fu ɖe tɔsisi siwo ɖɔ la me. Tsi gã gobi aɖeke me afi sia o, eye ne pepi va la, ekema tsi siawo katã miena. Ne tsiawo ɖɔ la, woɖoa xawo ɖe eme keɲ. Lã, siwo woɖena le wo me la wonye adeye kple ahaɖzedzee, akpa kple agalã kpakple bɔlu. Ne lãɖeyi ɖo la, ekema ame siaa ame ɖene; gake medea ɲekeke aɖeke hafi wonɔna le tɔa me o. Ne woɖe lã la, wòsɔ gbɔ la, ekema wotɔne ɖe atɪɲu fuu, eye ati ɖeka xɔa hoka 10, eye ɖewo xɔa hoka 5. Ne tɔ bubuwo ɖɔ va de nu míafe tɔwo me la, ekema woɖea lã ɲutu.

4. Main Section: Industry and Trade

I. Industry

A. Preparation of Drinks

1. Palm Wine

(One gets palm wine from the trunk of the oil palm). When someone wants to produce palm wine, he summons people to fell the palm trees for him. They are felled with a (sharp) striking iron (shoved through the thin palm roots).



Tapping the Palm

When the palm is about to fall, the workers say: “The owner of the palms has sent us to fell small palms; when we find big palms too we fell them.” When they are going to dig the palms, an old man who can no longer go out takes some flour and mixes it with some red oil. He adds some white flour to it and gives it to the workers. These workers (go to the palm plantations with it), call the name of the plantation loudly, put the flour on the ground and say to the plantation: “That is your meal; the old man who is at home has sent us to fell you. We are still children, who know nothing at all. The old man who is at home has sent us.” They talk like that because they are afraid of the forest that they consider to be a *Trõ*. They believe that the forest would be angry with them.

If there are many palms, they go there about three times. About twenty-one days after the palms have been felled, about five men who are particularly expert at the cutting of palm branches are sent there. They cut away the branches from the palm,

Akpa Gã Enelia: Asinudɔwo Kple Asitsatsa

I. Asinudɔwo

A. Ale si wowɔa aha ɲu dɔe

1. Deha

Ne ame aɖe be, yeakpa aha la, edɔa amewo bena, woaho de na ye; wotsɔa tsuwo mune. Ne wole mumum la ekema wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena; Detɔ ɖo yewo ɖa be, ne yewokpɔ via tsa, ne yewoamui ne yewokpɔ gatsa ne yewoamui.



Removal of Palm Twigs

(Somehow below the Knife are Two Bunches of Fruits)

Gake esime woyina ehofe la, ame tsitsi si le afe mate ɲu ava o la, tsɔa wɔ bakana kple ami dzẽ, eye wogakpea wɔ yie hã ɖe ejuti na wo. Woyɔa ave la ɲkɔ, eye wotsɔa wɔ la ɖoa anyi, eye wogblɔna na ave la bena, efe nuɖuɖue nye si, ame tsitsi xoxo, si le afe la, eya ɖo yewo ɖa be yewoava mui. Yewo la, ɖeviwo yewonye, yewo menya naneke o. Ame tsitsi, si le afe la eya ɖo yewo ɖa. Wogblɔa nya siawo, elabena wole ave la vɔm, elabena wobui abe trɔ̃ ene, eye wosusu be, ave la abi dzi ɖe yewo ɲu.

Ne de la sɔ gbɔ la, ekema wodena abe zi etɔ̃ ene. Le ehoho megbe, abe ɲkeke blaeye vɔ ɖeke ene la, wodɔa aɖaɲuwɔla, siwo woyɔna be fɔɖelawo abe ame atɔ̃ ene, eye woyina ɖaɖea fɔ le deawo ɲu, eye woflea adeye alo koklo ɖaa nui na wo. Woɖea fɔ la aɖaɲutɔe

and one cooks fish or chicken for them. At the “neck” of the palm the branches are removed with particular care because the trunk of the palm should not be damaged at all. If the trunk is damaged, it gets completely spoilt (becomes useless for the making of palm wine). When they see that about five branches are still on the palm, they cut a rectangular hole in the stem.⁵⁷



Removal of the Palm Wine

The men remain there until about four o'clock in the afternoon. Food is brought for them,, and then they go home. They must go into the plantation about three or four times until they complete the whole work. When all the branches have been removed, they bore through the hole with an iron and shove a thin pipe inside the hole. A pot is then put underneath it. That is what they do to all the palms. When the palm wine flows, it goes through the pipe into the pot. The hole is cut out three or four times mornings and evenings.⁵⁸ The palm wine that (flows out first) is taken home. It does not intoxicate people. That is why during the first three days, nobody goes into the bush to buy some. What, therefore, happens is that (this first) palm wine remains standing. One calls this first palm wine *atande*.

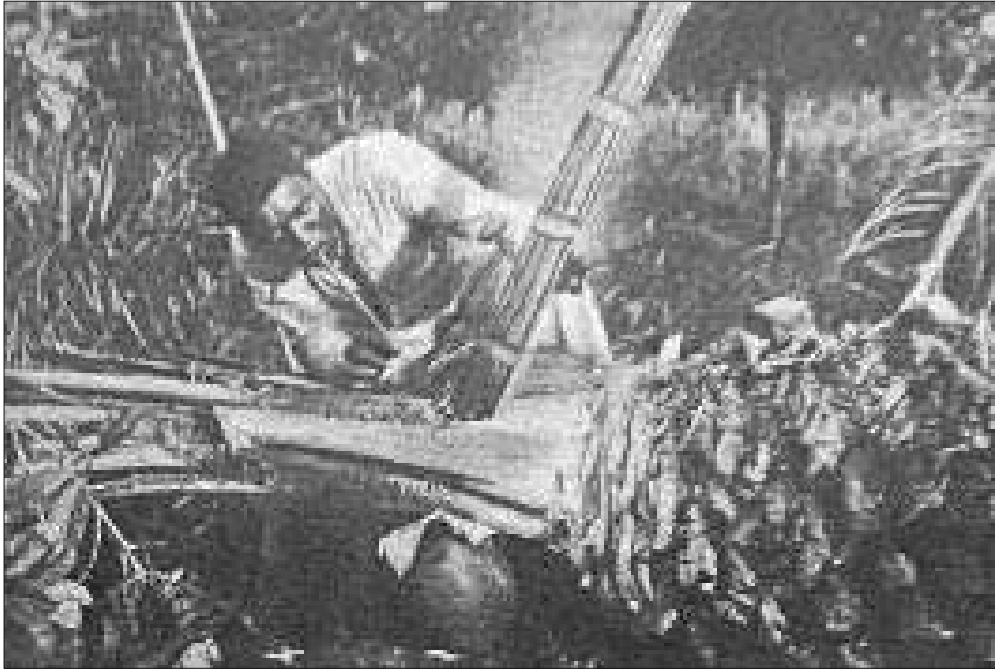
On the same day (on which the unfermented palm wine is taken home), they tie dry palm branches together to make a torch. At two o'clock (in the afternoon) they begin to smoke the palm wine.

When the hole has been burnt out about six or seven times, then all the men who have felled the palms go to the place and take away the palm wine that has flowed into

⁵⁷ See Page 394.

⁵⁸ See Picture on Page 394.

le de la fe kome tututu, eye womedea abi de la ηuto ηu o, elabena ne exo abi la agblē keη. Ne wokpo bena, esuso fō atō la, ekema wodea do de eme, eye do la nca dzogoe ene me. Wonca edzi vuu va se na de yetro me abe ga ene me ene, eye wotsa nuḍuḍu vane na wo, eye emegbe la wodzona va afe me.



Smoking of Palm Wine.

The smoker holds a burning torch in the hole and blows air with a pipe.
Under the hole is a pot, “fē”, into which the palm wine flows.

Wodena abe zi eve alo etō ene hafi wòvna. Ne woḍe fō la vō la, wotsa nuḥonu alo zui ηone yi de ete, eye wotsa nyre fona de do la me, eye wotsa zevi ḍo wo te, alea wowca wo katāe kpena ḍo. Ne aha la dzi la, ekema etoa nyre la me yina de zevi la me. Le ηdi la, wokpane, fiē hā nenemake wowone abe ηkeke etō alo ene ene. Wotsa aha la va afe me, elabena esō gbo le gbe la me, eye to egbo la, memua ame o, eya ta ame aḍeke medea gbea me, bena yeadzee kokoko o, ale aha la tsia anyi. Woyca aha gbāto sia bena atande. Gbe ma gbe ke wotsa fō, eye wobla akati. Le ga eve me wodea asi aha la yoyō me.

Ne woyce abe zi ade alo adre ene la, ekema deholawo katā yia gbea me, eye wotrca aha la keηkeη; le ηdi hā eganye wo to. Fōḍelawo hā nenema. Woyca aha siawo bena ahatsitsi. Ahayoviawo hā wona de eveve wo toxe koη, eye ahakpala hā nenema. ηuḥonuuto hā axo hoka 10 fe aha. Azō ahakpala kple fetō wobua akonta, fē ḍeka hoka 2, nenem heyi, ne ede hoka 2 hā atsōe ne. Wokpa aha la yleti eve, eye etōa me la, ekuna. Ne aha la ku la, hotsui si wokpo le eme la, wotsone va afe me. Dewo hotsui la dea hoka 30, ḍewo hotu 20, ḍewo 15, nenem heyi dzi. Ne woxlē hotsui la vō la, ahakpalawo dometo de sia de xca hotu 2, Ne deveto la kpo bena, hotsui la so gbo la, ekema atso hotu 4 na ame si do aha la.

the pot in the morning as well as in the evening for themselves. The men who have cut off the branches do the same. One terms this palm wine *aha tsitsi*, “fermented palm wine”. Each of those who smoke out the holes gets two palms that belong to them. The *ahakpalawo*, “palm wine producers”, also get two palms each. Each of those who has bored the holes gets palm wine for ten *hoka*. The palm wine producer and the owner of the pots work it out with each other; the latter gets for each pot 2 *hoka*, and if it amounts to 2, it is given to him. Palm juice flows for two months and dries up during the third month. The owner takes the profits home. The cowry shells realised from the palm wine amount to 15, 20, 30 and more *hotu*.⁵⁹ After the cowry shells have been counted, each palm wine producer gets 2 *hotu*. If the owner has got a lot of cowries, he gives the man who drew the palm wine and sold it 4 *hotu*. Many palm wine owners exchange the cowry shells for silver money. Others, on the other hand buy mats that they sell on the coast, in order to buy European products with the profit. Other palms grow again at the place where the palms were felled.

When the palm wine has dried up, big worms (like thick centipedes) called *gbamido* grow in the palms. People eat them and they are very tasty.⁶⁰ When the trunk of the palm decomposes, mushrooms grow on it, that one harvests and prepares soup with them. People like them very much because they replace meat for them. Whoever has a lot of such mushrooms sells them and makes a little profit from them.

2. Maize Beer

When a woman intends to brew maize beer, she buys as much maize as possible. She exposes the maize to the night dew or spreads it in the bath room (on mats), where it is very cool and pours water on it, so that it germinates. When she sees that all the grains are germinating, she dries them in the sun, until they are completely dry. Now, the brewer summons women to help her to crush the *ahali*. *Ahali* is the maize that has germinated; she brews maize beer out of that. The women come and crush the maize that has germinated for her at the mill and then throw it into water. The brewer now summons a man who digs a hole that serves her instead of a hearth. She puts big pots that she fills with the ground maize on the hole. Then she pours water on it and lights fire underneath it. She leaves it on the fire until it has boiled well. One terms this first brew *gbenyi*. Before one drinks *gbenyi*, one pours some of it on the walls (of the house), in order that the spirits (of the deceased) do not stretch their hands into it, through which the beer would lose its strength (would become bad). In the evening, she gives some to all family members to drink as a gift.

Now, she makes an *atse*. An *atse* is like a peaked roof, whose point, however, looks down and the opening upwards. She then puts thatch into it and puts a pot under it. After that, she scoops *gbenyi* into it, so that the beer drains away from it. When the beer has drained away, she draws water on the grain, so that no more beer remains in it. One calls this water *axatsi*. (*Axatsi* should not be mixed with the first extract). Everyone is allowed to drink some of the *axatsi*. After the beer has completely drained away from the grain, it is put on the fire and allowed to simmer well. Then one draws it into pots, and that is the actual maize beer. The maize beer is sold immediately because the

59 Many people realise up to 100 Marks.

60 The worms are thrown into hot water and after a short time are taken out and eaten direct.

Ne avetɔ la lɔ̃ la, atsoɔ hotsui la katã aɖuɖɔ gae, eye ne elɔ̃ la, atsɔe afle aba atsoɔ ayi futa aɖadi yevunuwoe. Afi si ke woho de le la, dewo gamiena ɖe wo tefe keɲkeɲ.

Ne aha ku vɔ la, ekema ɲɔ gã aɖewo dzina ɖe eme, siwo woyɔna be gbamido, eye esia woléna va ɖuna, eye wòvivina ɲutɔ. Ne de fe zekpě la vo la ewua hlo, eye wova wunɛ yia afe hefoa detsii. Amewo lɔ̃nɛ ɲutɔ, elabena ele lã tefe na wo. Ne ame aɖe kpɔ nu sia wòsɔ gbɔ la, etsɔnɛ dzrana, eye wokpɔa ho vi aɖe le eme.

2. Liha

Ne nyɔnu aɖe be yeaɖa liha la, eflea bli fũu ale si wòate ɲui. Esia bliawo ɖe zãmu gbe, alo afekpɔe me, afi si fa nyuie, eye wonɔa tsi wum ɖe wo dzi bena woamie. Ne ekpɔ be, bliawo mie vɔ keɲ la, enɔa wo siam ɖe ɲɔɔ gbe va se ɖe esime woafu keɲ. Azɔ lihaɖala ɖɔa wo tɔ nyɔnuwo, bena woava gbã ahali na ye. Ahalie nye bli miemie si wole liha ɖa gee. Nyɔnuawo vana, eye wogbãa ahali la nɛ le te fo keɲ, emegbe wokɔnɛ ɖe tsi me. Ahaɖala gadɔa ɲutsu aɖe woɖea do nɛ abe ale si woɖia mlekpui ene. Woɖea ze gãwo do la nu, eye wokua bli la kɔna ɖe wo me, gakua tsi kɔna ɖe wo dzi, eye wodoa dzo ɖe wo te. Woɖanɛ vuɔ va se ɖe esime ahali la nabi nyuie. Woyɔa ɖaɖa gbãtɔ sia be ghenyi. Hafi woano ghenyi la, wokua ɖe wuna ɖe gliwo ɲu keɲ, bena ɲɔliwo magade asi aha la me wòatu o. Le fiẽ la, womã ghenyi la ɖe na amewo keɲ, bena woano.

Wowɔa atɔe. Atɔe la nɔna abe mixɔ ta me ene, gake wotrɔa gboe, eye woɖoa be ɖe eme, tsɔa ze ɖoa ete. Azɔ wokua ghenyi la kɔna ɖe atɔe la me, be aha la natsyɔ le ɲu. Ne aha la, tsyɔ vɔ la, wokua tsi kɔna ɖe hliho la dzi bena aha maganɔ ɲu o. Tsi sia woyɔna be ahatsi. Woɖea mɔ ame siaa ame kua ahatsi la nona fãa. Ne wotsyɔ ghenyi la vɔ la, ekema woɖoa aha la ɲutɔ dzo dzi, eye woɖanɛ asi tea ɲu nyuie. Esiae nye liha ɲutɔ, eye wokunɛ ɖe zewo me. Wodzranɛ enumake, elabena ame geɖewo lɔ̃a liha yeye wu tsitsia. Ke ame aɖewo hã lɔ̃a tsitsia. Wogblo be liha tsitsi ɖea atiqui le lãme na ame.

people prefer drinking the new beer to the old (fermented) beer. But many also prefer to drink the old. They say that the old beer cures fever.

3. Relationship between Palm Wine and Spirits

In the year 1890, some natives spoke about spirits as follows: A calabash of palm wine that is about half a litre costs 1 *hoka*. A bottle of spirits of the same measure costs 1 mark. On the other hand, the lower types cost 50 to 75 pfennig. The effects of both drinks are different. Whoever has drunk a calabash of palm wine does not feel the least effect. Whoever has drunk a second converses with his companions, is completely calm and shows no trace of intoxication. A habitual drinker finishes off up to five calabashes at a go, goes about in town, insults people and picks up a quarrel with them. The next morning, he is invited before the elders and must pay 12 *hotu*. Whoever drinks a bottle of spirits costing 50 pfennig is very intoxicated. Intoxication from schnapps is a “sickness” because the person concerned suffers from its effects for three days. A person drunk from spirits lies on the ground and feels so hot that his relatives pour cold water on him until he finally lies in a pool of dirt. The next morning he does not know what has happened to him; food does not taste good, he feels pains all over the body, especially he has a pain in the head. The thoughts of a drinker of spirits are no longer *blibo*, “whole”. Drinkers of spirits are chatterboxes and like quarrelling. They do not do their farm work any more, so that their farms get choked in weeds. What then are bound to happen are the debts and gradual and certain depravity. In the town there are spirits throughout the year and those who like it drink a glass every morning. They call it “putting fire in the stomach”.

If one wants to sue somebody before the elders, he must give palm wine to the chief, but now the chiefs demand spirits and the number of bottles depends on the importance of the chief.



Liquor Bar in Keta

B. Spinning, Dyeing and Weaving

1. Spinning

When women work on cotton, they put it on an (inverted) stool or an (inverted) wooden plate, take a thin metal bar and press out the seeds with it. It is then wound around the string of a bow that is tightened and allowed to spring back, so that the cotton is interconnected. In the process the cotton becomes beautifully white. After that, one winds it around a thin stick (distaff). One then takes a spindle and spins the wool. That is the work of women.

If there is a lot of thread on a spindle, two pegs are fixed in the ground at a distance (of five feet). One takes a long wire whose end is turned back to form a ring termed *akɔkrɔ*, lets the thread go through the ring and ties it around (both) pegs. That is exclusively the work of men. After that, the yarn is put in a pot filled with water and cooked on the fire. When the water is hot, the yarn is washed skilfully until it is white and people like it. After that, two poles (with forks) are fixed in the ground and a cross pole put on them. One terms these poles *detihesege*, poles for weighting the yarn. The yarn is hung on the crossbar and then weighted with stones from below, so that it is well stretched. One does this for three days.⁶¹ However, if it is done in the morning and it is outside beyond noon, it is removed in the evening. If it is completely dry, one ties it around both pegs that have been fixed in the ground and from this it is reeled off on a stick that is similar to a spindle; it is termed *nyre*. It is short and hollow (which is why especially bamboos are used). One draws the thread through (the ring) of *akɔkrɔ* and reels it up.⁶²

When the women have spun their cotton, they give the thread to their husbands, who weave clothes with it for them or sell, when they want. The thread meant for sale is reeled in small shapes that look like rolls; each of them costs 1 *hoka*. The somewhat bigger ones cost 5 *hoka*. Cotton is very expensive and is bought in any case because one needs it to weave clothes.

2. Dyeing

If one wants to dye a yarn black (blue), one first fells a tree, *aditi* and burns the trunk completely to ashes (the juice of the tree is very pungent) which they take home. It is thrown into a pot and water poured on it. When the water is completely soaked up, it is poured into another pot. After that, the soft shoots as well as the flowers of the indigo plant are each pounded specially in a wooden mortar. One then forms the pounded mass with the hand into balls. One calls this *amakɔ*, “indigo blue balls”. (When they are dried in the sun.) One takes 50 pieces and puts them in the water solution. After that, one chops the root of the *akē* tree into small pieces and puts them in the same (water solution). This pot is then kept at a suitable place in the farmstead. One calls that: “the settling of the colour”. After six days, it is checked and when one sees that it

61 The stones remain for three days in the yarn.

62 This pipe turns around a stick fixed in it. The worker takes this stick in the right hand and the *akɔkrɔ* (the wire turned inwards at the top) in the left hand. Then one lets the thread go through the *akɔkrɔ* ring and turns the *nyre* with the right hand, so that the thread is wound up on it.

B. Ðetitetre, amadodo kple avɔlɔlɔ

1. Ðetitetre

Ne nyɔnuwo le eɲu dɔ wɔ ge la, wotsɔa ðetifu la ðoa zikpui alo gbɔnu dzi eye wotsɔa ga lɛ aɖe, si woyɔna be ðetikudɛga la ðea ku le ðetifu la me keɲu. Ne wowɔe vɔ la, wotsɔa ðetilɛda tɛnɛ bena ne wo katã nawɔ ðeka. Ne wotée alea la, ekema ðeti la funa yie. Esia megbe la woxatsanɛ ðe ati lé aɖe ɲu eye wotsɔa keke trea ðetifu la. Nyɔnuwo fe dɔe nye esia.

Ne wotree ðe keke la ɲu fuu la, ekema wotua tsyoti eve, eye wotsɔa akɔkrɔe ðenɛ ðe tsyoti la ɲuti; gake esiae nye ɲutsuwo fe dɔ gedɛa. Emegbe la, wokua tsi ðe edzi le ze aɖe me, eye wodoa dzo ðe eɲu, ne tsi la xɔ dzo la, ekema woklɔnɛ kple ɲusɛ, bena woafu adze ame ɲu. Emegbe la wotua ati eve ðe dome, eye wotsɔa ati tsoa ga ðe edzi. Woyɔa ati sia bena ðetihesege. Wotsɔa ðeti la kua ati siawo, eye wotsɔa kpe dea eme, bena ðeti la nahe nyuie. Wowɔa esia ðewo xɔa ɲkeke etɔ sɔɲu; eye ne fiɛ dɔ la, woɖenɛ ɖa. Ne efu vɔ la, wotsɔnɛ kua tsyoti mawo ke eye wotsɔa nyre dea keke ɲu fonɛ ðe eɲu. Nyree nye ati aɖe si to le eme, eye wole kpuie. Wotsɔa akɔkrɔe dea ðeti la me hafi fonɛ.

Ne nyɔnuwo tre ðeti vɔ la, ne wolɔ la, wotsɔnɛ na wo srɔwo, eye wolɔa avɔ na wo; alo ne wolɔ la wotsɔnɛ dzrana. Ne wole edzra ge la, woɖenɛ xatsana kpabekpabe ðe hoka me keɲ. Esi woɖe wɔlolo vie la, woyɔnɛ, bena afɔɖeti, eya xɔa hoka 5. Ðetie nye asixɔnu gã ɲuto, ale si ale si wɔle la, woɖlenɛ kokoko, metɔna gbedegbede o, elabena wotsɔnɛ lɔa avɔe.

2. Amadodo

New ole didim be woawɔ ðeti yibo la, woyina ɖatsoa aɖiti, eye wotɔa dzoe va se ðe esime wofiana zua aɖi, eye wolɔnɛ va afe mee. Wokɔnɛ ðe ze me, kua tsi ðe edzi; ne tsi la trɔ zu aɖitsi la, ekema wogakɔnɛ ðe ze bubu me. Emegbe woɖawɔa amati fe aɲgba fɛ kple efe tsetse hetɔna vovovoe, eye womlia toto la nogonogoe. Woyɔa mimli sia bena amakɔ. Wotsɔ amakɔ sia abe blaattɔ ene dea aɖitsi la me. Emegbe wogadzaa ati aɖe, si woyɔna be ake la fe ke kɔna ðe eme, emegbe wotsɔ amaze la dana ðe kpɔ me le nyuie aɖe fe. Woyɔa esia bena, amadodo anyi. Le ɲkeke ade megbe la; wokpɔnɛ ɖa, eye ne wokpɔ bena eto la wogakɔa aɖitsi bubu ðe edzi wɔyɔa ze la fiuu. Wogakpɔnɛ ɖa le ɲkeke atɔ megbe, eye ne wofo asi ðe eme kpɔ wonyɔ yibo la, ekema enyo, bena woade ðeti eme, eye wogblɔna bena ebɔɔ.

has become thick, one pours a new solution on it, till the pot is full. After a further five days, one checks again and dips his hand inside. If it is black, it is time to put the yarn in it. One says: “it is soft”.

When the yarn has been put in the dye, one washes it with the hand until it is entirely dark (blue). One then wrings it out and puts it aside. Then one takes other yarn and handles it in the same way. One can dye about thirty hanks of yarn, till the colour has become unusable. It is then poured out. The (dyed) yarn is dried and wound around the *nyre* (bobbin).

3. Weaving

If one wants to weave a cloth, one must first warp the thread. This is done as follows: one fixes twelve pegs in a row in the ground, and the thirteenth peg is fixed somewhat away from them. (At a distance of twelve to fourteen feet a further twelve pegs are fixed again). These are the pegs for the woven fabric *aba wuieve*, called “twelve handbreadth”. If one wants to weave a man’s cloth, one fixes eleven pegs on one side and ten pegs opposite these, and winds the yarn around these pegs. These are the pegs for a cloth of twenty handbreadths. One takes blue and white cotton thread and mixes it. After this is done, it is wound together, cut through, and drawn through the *no* and then through the *age* (piece of wood similar to a comb). Now, one hangs both of these on a pole, *lakui*, which is put (across) the loom. After that, one begins to weave.



Weaver at the Loom

1. *lakui* 2. *kubleti* 3. *agbatroti*, 4. *no*, 5 *aba*, 6. The rolled woven fabric

Azo wotsɔa ɖeti, si wofo ɖi la dea ama la me, eye wonɔa asi titim ɖe eɲu, va se ɖe esime wonyɔna keɲ. Emegbe wofia ɖeti sia dana ɖi, eye wogatsɔa bubu. Wodea kɔ abe blaetɔ ene eme hafi ama la kuna, eye wotsɔne fua gbe. Wofɔa ɖetiawo siana, emegbe la wofoa wo ɖe nyre ɲuti.

3. Avɔɔɔɔ

Ne wole didim be, woalɔ avɔ la, gbā wotsine. Ale wotsine nye si: Wotua tsyoti wuieve, adzidza kpene wonyea wuietɔ, esia nye aba wuieve fe tsyotiwo. Nenye ɲutsuɔ wɔnye la, ekema wotua tsyoti wuiɖeke ɖe akpa ɖeka, eye wotua ewo ɖe akpa ɖeka, eye wofoa ɖeti la ɖe wo ɲu keɲ; esiae nye aba blaeye fe tsyotiwo. Wotsɔa ɖeti yibo kple yiea tsakana. Ne wowɔe vɔ la, woxatsane eye wotsɔne yia agbati me. Emegbe wodzea avɔɔɔɔ gɔme. Ati si me ka nɔna hafi wolɔnae nye vu, eye ati si ɲu woxatsa avɔ ɖo la, woyɔna be kubleti.



Weaver in a Weaver's Loom

1. *agbatroti*, nail for turning stick, *kubleti*, over which the weaver bends. *Agba*, Nr. 9 moves nearer to the weaver's loom as often as the stick is turned. 2. *wu*, ship. 3. *age*. 4. *no*. 5. *hevi*, bird. 6. Warp. 7. Native pillow that is sewn together with a local woven fabric. 8. A man, who sews together the woven stripes lying in front of him into a dress sitting down on a mat. At the background are two men who demonstrate their bodies are covered in cool weather or in the morning.

The wood in which is the yarn to be woven is called the ship, and the wood around which the woven fabric is reeled is called *kubleti*. There are four holes in this wood, in one of which a nail, *agbatrɔti*, is fixed with which one turns the wood. (The weaver turns the stick and reels the web on it as necessary.) He does that until the cloth is finished). One then cuts off the cloth from it. If it is a man's cloth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *abo*⁶³ is cut off. One then sews the single strips (handbreadth) together into a cloth and sells it. The price of this kind of cloth is 6 *hotu* and 50 *hoka* (in silver *M* 3, 50). A cloth called *aba wuieve* costs 3 *hotu* (*M* 1, 50), the price of an *aba wuiande*, sixteen handbreadths, is 5 *hotu* and 25 *hoka* (*M* 2, 75). However, there are no fixed prices for the twelve, sixteen or twenty handbreadth long cloths, but rather they depend on the man and the dress.

It is gradually coming to us that dyeing is dying out completely because there is so much work connected with it. In addition to that, there is always dark yarn in the shops of the whites, so people prefer to buy this. The (raw) cotton is (now) sold to the whites. Among us here in Eweland one does not manufacture much anymore.



A Bridge constructed by the Government

63 1 *abo* is the distance between the tip of one hand and the other with outstretched arms.

Do ene le enu, eye wotsɔa agbatsoti dea eme, henɔa etrom. Alea wonɔa ewɔm va se de esime wolɔa avɔ blibo la wua enu. Emegbe wolā avɔ blibo la, nenyɛ nɔtsutata wɔnye la, efe didime nyea abɔ deka kple afā, emegbe wotɔa wo de wo nɔwɔ nu, eye wodzranɛ. Avɔ sia fomeviwo xɔa hotu 6 hoka 50 (le ga me M. 3.50) Aba wuieve fe home nye hotu 3 (M. 1,50) aba wuiade fe homea nye hotu 5 hoka 25)=M. 2,75) Gake la kpeɔɔɔ dzi gobi aɔke meli bena, ale woadzra avɔ aba wuieve, wuiade kple blaɛve o, ke eku de ame la kple avɔ la ŋu. Blewublewu la, amadodo ava tsrɔ, elabena dɔ geɔ le enu akpa, eye togbo la, yevuɔeti yi hā la fiase me eya ta wolɔ bena, yewoanɔ eya flem. ɔetifu la wodzranɛ na yevuwo. Le Ueme afi sia la, womegawɔa nu bo aɔke kple ɔetifu o.



A Local Suspension Bridge

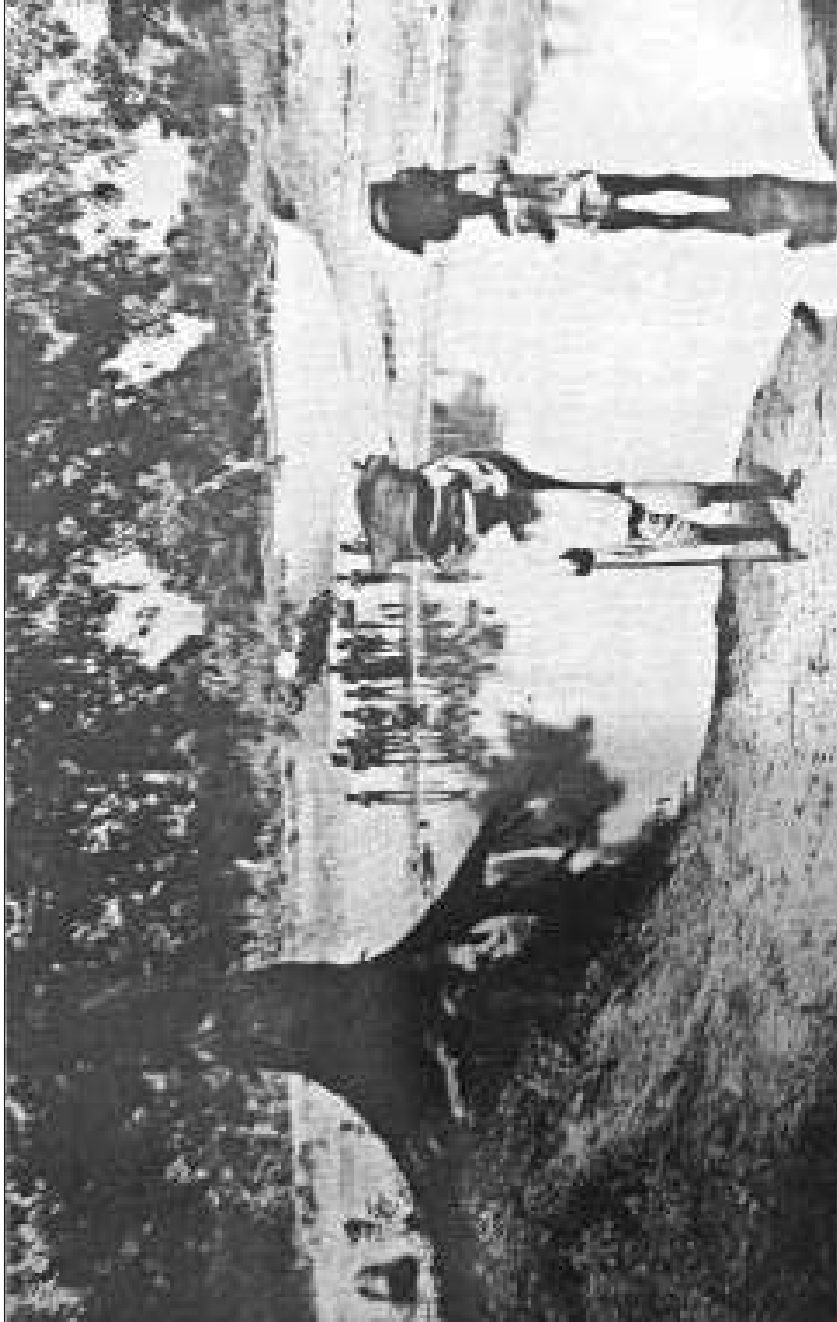
II. Trade

Apart from farming the people of Ho devote themselves to trading. They go to *Lome*, *Keta*, *Gē*, *Fanti*, *Krɔɔɔ*, *Adā*, *Adidome*, *Danyi*, *Kpando*, *Akposo*, *Kebu* and to other places. They take maize, yams, *avadze*, plantain, pepper, rubber, mats and other goods to the markets in Lome and Keta. They sell the goods there, take the money realised and buy spirits, clothes, guns, iron rods, knives, gun powder, sweet-smelling oils, mirrors, combs, shot, bullets, tobacco; dried and smoked fish, *degi* (very small fishes) and salt; head gear, red beads, blue, white and colourful cotton threads; hats, shoes, umbrellas, walking sticks and many other beautiful things.

Goods that one takes to *Gē* are: mats, local cloths and rubber. These goods are sold there. With the profit one then buys tobacco, guns, and nice cloths. Formerly, everyone went over to *Gē*. However, since the way to *Keta* has been opened, only a few people go there as well as *Fanti*. What one took there were mats and local cloths, and with the profits one bought gun powder, guns, tobacco, knives, boxes full of tobacco pipes and cutlasses. Mats, local cloths and calabashes were taken to the market in *Krɔɔɔ*. When they had sold their goods in *Krɔɔɔ*, they went to *Gē* and bought other goods there in exchange. Mats, local cloths and calabashes were also taken to the market in *Adē*. They also bought goods there and took them home. Formerly one only took cash to the market in Lome and bought brandy, guns and tobacco. One takes mats and maize to *Adidome* and takes salt from home. One takes gun powder, guns, tobacco, brandy and red yarn to *Danyi* and brings rubber from there to the coast.

When somebody does trading and he is lucky, he goes with brandy, gun powder and guns, in order to buy human beings. The price of most people amounts to 22 *hotu*. Some are bought for 180 and others even for 250 *hotu*. The purchase of human beings is secretly carried out today; it is no longer like in former times because they must now fear the laws of the whites.⁶⁴ Guns, tobacco, brandy, red yarn, shot, knives, cutlasses and other European goods are taken to *Kebu*. They buy rubber in return, which they sell at the coast again. The Ewe do a lot of trading, but not all of them, because most of them are farmers. The most important objects that are taken to the coast are: rubber, palm kernels and oil. Apart from these, there is nothing else particularly valuable for the coast. Those who do not go trading, carry out farming as their work. However, they sell crops and get money for them.

64 Thus it was in the eighties and the beginning of the nineties. This information stems from that time.



Traders crossing a river

II. Asitsatsa

Hekpe ɖe agbledede ɲu la, Hoviwo gatsana asi hã. Wotsaa asi dea Lome, Keta, Gẽ, Fanti, Krɔbo, Adã, Adidome, Danyi, Kpando, Akpɔso, Kebu kple afi bubuwo. Nu siwo wotsɔna dea Lome kple Keta woe nye: bli, te, avadze, abladzo, atadi, aɲe, aba kple bubuwo. Ne wotsɔ nu siawo yii la, woɖa dzraa wo, eye wotsɔ ga la dzea aha alo flea avɔ, tu, aɖaba, he, ɖu, ami vevi, ahuhẽ, yiɖa, atsrɔɖukpe, sumbui, atama, lãfi, lãyi, deyi, dze, taku, sui, ɖeti, ɖetiye, aframua, kuku, afɔkpa, awu, xexi, atitɔɖeɲu kple nu nyuie bubu gedewo.

Gẽ dzɔnuwo nye, aba, avɔ kple aɲe. Ne wotsɔ nu siawo yii la, wotsɔ wo dzrana, eye wotsɔ ga la flea atama tu kple avɔ nyuiewo. Tsã la, ame siaa ame dea Gẽ, ke esi Ketamɔ vu la, ame ɖeka ɖekawo koe gadena fifia. Fante hã nenema. Nu siwo wotsɔna dea afi ma wonye, aba kple avɔ, eye wogaflea ɖu, atama, tu, he, atamazidaka kple klante. Nu siwo wotsɔna yia Krɔbo wonye, aba, avɔ kple tre. Ne wofle nu siawo le Krɔbo vɔ la, wotsɔ ga la yia Gẽ ɖaflea nu le afi ma. Nu siwo wotsɔna yia Adã wonye: aba, avɔ kple tre. Eye wogaflea nu tso afi ma va afee Tsã wotsɔ ga yia Lome ɖaflea ahaɖaka, tu, kple atama. Wotsɔ aba kple bli yia Adidome, eye woawo hã woxɔa dze va afee. Nu siwo wotsɔna yia Danyi wonye, ɖu, tu, atama, aha kple ka dzẽ, eye woxɔa aɲe yia futae.

Ne ame aɖe le asi tsam eye wòkpɔ bena, enyo na ye la, ekema etsɔa aha kple ɖu kple tu ɖaflea ame. Woflea ame aɖewo hotu 220; ɖewo hotu 180, eye ame aɖe hotu 250 gɔ hã. Nenem nu siawo gale adza me va se ɖe egbegbe; gake megale abe tsã ene o, elabena wole yevuawo fe sewo vɔm. Kebu dzɔnuwo nye, tu, atama, yevuha, ka dzẽ, atsrɔɖukpe, he, klante kple yevunu bubuwo, eye woxɔa aɲe yia futa ɖadana. Ueawo tsa asi ɲutɔ, gake menye wo katã o, elabena ame gedɛawo nye agbledelawo. Wofe asixɔnu vevietɔ, si wotsɔna yia futae wonye: aɲe, nafi kple ami hekpe ɖe esiawo ɲu la asixɔnu gã aɖeke megali o. Ame siwo katã metsa asi o la, wotsɔ agbledede wɔ wofe dɛe, gake hã la, wotsɔ agblenu aɖewo dzrana, eye woxɔa ga.

Chapter 5: The Religious Nature of the People of Ho

1. Main Section: Religion

Part 1: The Deities

I. The Sky Gods

A. Introductory Remarks

1. The belief in God in daily life

After I preached some years ago in the village of *Kpeɖe*, the old chief said to me: “We the people of *Kpeɖe* worship the terrestrial god *Avavikpe*, but apart from that, we also worship *Mawu Sodza*. If there is a person in my village who does not pray every morning after getting up in the morning from his mat, and does not pour water on the ground and say: *O Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ lāgbenɔ, di nuɖuɖu egbe ne maɖu, eye ne matsi agbe*, i. e. “O God *Sodza*, owner of palm wine, owner of meat, give me my food today, too, give so that I remain alive”, then that person is not a human being. When we go to the farm to loosen the soil with the hoe, we say before that: *Mawu*, “God”.

On a journey, I wandered with my people in the hot mid-day sun through a treeless broad plain. After a walk of several hours, we got to a brook whose banks were overgrown with trees. Everybody sat down and made himself comfortable in the shadow of the trees, as is usually the case on a journey. Eventually, the porter, a pagan, dripping with sweat, arrived at our resting ground, put the load on the ground and went to lie in the brook. There, he exclaimed saying: *O Mawu ɖawrama!* The last word comes from the Twi language and it is said to apply to people who like giving to the needy and do not become tired of giving. Thus, the translation would be as follows: “O gracious God!” In 1900, a pagan prisoner from *Taviefe* was in his prison cell in Lome where he was visited by two Europeans. From the gestures from one of them, he discerned that his last hour had struck. In fear he exclaimed: “*Mawu, meɖe kuku!*” “God, I beg you!” From these examples, it is apparent that the belief in God has a place in the daily lives of the Ewe people. This is also applicable in daily life, in bringing up children, in court proceedings, in the exercise of the daily occupation, in periods of sickness and also during inevitable misfortunes.

If a son has been disobedient to his father, he would admonish him with the words: *Esi Mawu dɔ wò dɔ, dɛ wògbɔ na wò bena megaɔ to o mahā? Mawu, si ke me wò, magame ame azɔ o.* This means, “When God sent you to this world, did he say that you should be disobedient? Then the God, who created you, should better in future refrain from creating people!”

A father asks his son to fetch him water but the child refuses. The father calls his neighbour’s child who cheerfully does the assignment. He, in turn, scolds his disobedient son with the words: *Wòe nye Mawu fe amedo ame dovo. Mawu meɔ wò dɔ, be nasusu tame dɛke o. Mawu meɔ to na wò o. Wò tame meɔ de tavu me o, wotsi nya na wò mesea o, i. e.* “You are the good-for-nothing creature of God. God did not create you not to think. God did not open your ears and so you do not listen to what you are told.”

In court proceedings, judges, plaintiffs and defendants often invoke the name of God.

Before the opening of serious legal proceedings in Ho, the first spokesman and priest are called upon to pray¹ to the gods of Ho. In the prayer, he addresses first of all the: *Mia tamea, Mawu Sodza*, “the god Sodza, who is over our head”, and then he mentions the names of the remaining gods. The defendants often call upon the name of God with regard to the truth of their statements. Should anyone be unfortunate to shoot his friend during hunting and should there be no one there as witness, the person invokes the name of God with the assurance: “God sees my heart and my head.” Or: “God sees my inner part and if I am telling lies, I have sworn in his presence (*ekemā meta Mawu*); he will judge me according to the truth.” A solemn affirmation form often used is: *Mawu le tanye me kpɔm, anyigba le afɔnye dome kpɔm, ehe ya me le dzinye me kpɔm*, i. e. “God sees my thoughts, the earth sees under my feet, and the air sees the interior of my heart” (they know that I have not done this or that). If the person concerned is untruthful and he mentions the name of the High God, then a witness will counteract him by saying: “You dare to invoke the name of the Most High God, that you have not taken the object; didn’t I myself see you when you were taking the object away?” Such a person has “lied to God” and will later be made to provide a goat as a fine, *Mawu aflui*. The same person may earn some money, but instead of buying a dress with the money, he buys things that are of value neither to himself nor to other people. A man is sentenced in court by the chiefs but is, however, not satisfied with the judgement and believes that he has justice on his side. The judge calls upon God in his presence saying: *Afia, si ke metso le ŋuwò, ele tefe tso Mawu gbɔ ke; ne mele nenemā o, fi!* i. e. “The judgement I have given agrees with truth from God. If I have denied you justice, then this does not agree with the truth of God!” Several years ago, a man had asked for pardon from the king of Ho four times, yet the king did not want to grant his request for pardon in spite of his request on four occasions. Then the other chiefs intervened and said: “We must grant the man’s request, otherwise, God could punish us for it.”

God is also the avenger of evil. You may often hear, should someone be cursed, that he replies: *Mawu atu fe na wò*, “God will pay you back!”

In daily intercourse, you will often hear people calling the name of God *Mawu*. If someone is thirsty and the person receives unexpectedly, say, some palm wine from a friend, he will thank him sometimes with the following words: *Mawu fe ame meme maku o*, “The image of God shall not die.”

1 See pg. 146 e.

A popular saying about the miser, *nuvela*, is: *Mawu mel̩ wò o, elabena Mawu ka na wò, be wò hã nana n̩viwòwo*, i.e. “God does not love you; God has given you some of his gifts and therefore, you too must give some to your brothers.” The idea underlying this saying is that the miser will lose again what he scraped together!

Two men are quarrelling openly over an object. If people gathered around know that it belongs to A, then a good friend will urge A: “Leave the object to B and do not quarrel any longer, for *Mawu ɲutɔ enye afiatsola* “God himself is He who pronounces judgement.” The person who acquires the object by force cannot keep it and he will soon offer it for sale again to others. But this buyer does not keep possession of the object. He narrates it to other people and they also continue to tell other people till finally it gets to the hearing of the original owner of the object. The latter then brings an action against the person concerned, and after the chiefs have heard the plaintiff, they then proclaim unanimously: *Mawu ɲutɔ tso afia na wò*, “God Himself has granted you your right,” and therefore we do not need to say anything further.

A wants to beat B, a quiet person who has not done anything wrong to A. Suddenly, A stumbles and falls down. Then, the spectators around would cry out and say: *Mawu bu fɔ wò* “God has punished you.”

It is very educative the way and manner people living in the interior call upon the name of God in the exercise of their professions and also in case they are involved in accidents. Two men, *Kwadzo* and *Agbeliba*, went to the farm. *Kwadzo* said to his friend *Agbeliba* on the way to farm: “I have seen rats in an ant-hill; we want to catch them when we return from the farm.” In the afternoon, *Agbeliba* waited for a long time for his friend, *Kwadzo*, who did not show up but went secretly behind *Agbeliba* to the termite hill for the rats for himself. Later, the other person confronted him by saying: *Mawu mel̩ bena, amea ɖe nable n̩via o*, “God doesn’t want anyone to deceive his brother.” According to the perception of pagans, God has shared the animals in the forest and fish in the waters to human beings beforehand so that every human being has his share, whatever be the case. Should, e. g., a hunter shoot an animal and the animal runs away from him, it is seen as an indication that the animal has not been given to him from God. If someone sets a trap for fish in water supposed to be full of fish and he gets a catch of only two or three, he will console himself by saying: “The other fishes do not belong to me. God has not given them to me.” Many years ago, I was present when the inhabitants of a village went to a river to fish. While some cast their nets into the river, others were standing at the river bank. One of them chased a big fish but it was all in vain. Finally he left the place to position himself in another place. When another person came to take his place, he was able to catch the same fish his friend had been chasing for a long time. When the first person was asked whether that didn’t annoy him, he answered: “No, for God has given him the fish.”

In sickness, too, the pagan talks about God. He would sigh at times: *Mawu si ɖom ɖa nakpe ɖe ɲunye, ne nye lāme nafa* “God who sent me to this world should help me to regain my health!”² It is not only the sick person but also the medicine man that he has invited who prays, first of all, to God before preparing the medicine and the accompanying magic potion. His prayer is as follows: *N̩vinye ele kukum, eya wòbe*,

2 On 4th March 1899, a sick woman was conversing with her friend who said in all seriousness: “God sent me well but people have spoilt me.” This means: I came from God into the world as a healthy person but people around me have made sick through witchcraft.

makpɔe ɖa, eya meva ekpɔ ɖa gbe. Mawu, si ke ɖoe ɖa, nenye eya le dzi bi, ne kpe ɖe nyunye! Amatsi, eya ke maɲe ade ɖe ze me, ayru nɛ, ne Mawu nayra ɖe dzi. Ne mewɔe nɛ, amatsi ta ɖeka pɛ, nayra ɖe dzi, bena nefɔ, eye maku o. Ne efɔ, nedze aha neda akpe nam, ne nye kpɛli míanobe, seɲu gbamā lō! trɔ̃ vɔ nagbo ɲe; ɲɔli vɔ nagbo ɲe. Mawu nakpe ɖe nyunye, ne ɲɔli vɔ makpɔm kple ŋku o, ne wɔatrɔ ta yi adzage, “My brother is sick and I am called to see him; now I have come to see him. If God who has sent him is annoyed with him, he should help me now. Here is the medicine; I am putting it into the pot. May God blow his saliva over it to bless it. May he bless the medicine so that with one dose the sick gets up well again and does not die! Then when he has recovered, may he buy palm wine for me to thank me and we shall both (drink it and) thank you on that day.” “May the evil spirits shrink back and the evil gods of the earth recoil [back to wherever they may come from].³ May God assist me that the evil spirits of the dead do not see me with their eyes, but move away from me to a distant place!” When the medicine men, *dzotwo*, have prepared their various concoctions for a sick person, they would normally say at the end: *Ne Mawu ɖi ko, àhaya*, “By God’s grace, you will recover.” A sick pagan who has fallen sick may at times complain to a friend: “I don’t know what wrong I have done against God that I have become sick,” “At the time of death, man is summoned before God,” or: “he is taken away by God.” A father who is at the point of death will call members of his family together to tell them before his imminent death on whom they should avenge it. He would say something like: “N and K have done evil to me when I was alive, take revenge on what they have done! But you should not take revenge only for my death, for God is leading me away.” It is a consolation to a pagan when he hears the following said about a deceased relative: “God has taken your brother, your father or your mother away.”

2. Syncretism

From the aforesaid statements, the question may be asked whether the use of the name of God *Mawu* has the same connotations in all respects, i. e. whether all those who use the name think of one and the same God. This question may, in all probability, be answered with “No.” Unfortunately, I am not in a position to be able to give a clear-cut answer to this, but I would like to draw attention to the following facts: 1. religious syncretism and 2. the multiplicity or manifold nature of the Being designated *Mawu*.⁴

In the introduction to the description of the terrestrial gods, attention was drawn to a procedure through which the Ewes have come to possess other foreign deities, *trɔ̃wo*. Quite the same procedure is to be observed also with reference to the sky gods. Since the Ewes came into contact with the Twi-speaking people, they have learned their language and assimilated the names of the Twi deities. Thus, the recurrence of God’s names, *ɔdumankamā* and *ɖawramā*, can be explained. However, the Ewes always prefix these foreign gods with their indigenous word, *Mawu*, and say: *Mawu ɔdumankamā* and *Mawu ɖawramā*. *ɖawramā*, according to Christaller, means “friendliness, favour and pity”, and *ɔdumankamā* is said to be the name of God the Creator. To what extent their original experience is influenced and perhaps broadened by the meaning of these new

3 The expression *gbɔ ɲe* recoil, is never used in reference to God because we only expect blessing and help from him and because he is so powerful that nobody and nothing can make him recoil.

4 Cf. pg. 225.

names is hardly ascertainable. It is not only the influence of the Twi people but also the preaching of the Gospel among the Ewe pagans that have had an impact on their original perception of God. However, it is not the advent of the Christian religion that brought to them the belief in God or a particular idea of God. This they had long, long before the arrival of the missionaries, but in the sense that their original perception about God has perhaps broadened, but has not thus become clearer. Long before the Christian evangelists came to the country, the name of God, *Mawu*, had conquered the whole territory, inside⁵ and outside Eweland. This can be conspicuously seen in *Avatime* where the earlier name of God, *Aya*, was displaced by *Mawu* long before the advent of the missionaries. The circumstances are similar with regard to people of *Akpafu* who have the same name for God as the people of *Avatime*. There, too, the name of God *Mawu* had long come into use before they came into contact with the Europeans. But they did not allow their indigenous name of God to be replaced, but placed it side by side with *Mawu*. However, they do not say *Aya Mawu*, but rather *Mawu Aya*. Thus, we have there, too, a similar process but the reverse of what is perceived with regard to the Ewes. With them it is not the foreign but the local element which has become the attribute of God.

The priests participated with keen interest in the adoption of foreign names of God. While they were said to have used prayers in Ewe in the olden days, they later added foreign names of God to the same prayers and they did so in the belief that their prayers would be more effective, but would also become more mysterious in the eyes of the populace. The foreign and the mysterious have always made a deep impression on the *Ewes*.

The political and economic conditions were highly favourable for the maintenance of their perception of God as inherited from the ancestors. The tribal hostility among them prevented them almost completely for a long period from interacting with outsiders and also from mutual interaction among the tribes. As a result of this, the individual tribes solely relied on themselves and an exchange of ideas could only take place to a slight extent. This mutual isolation is also a reason for explaining the manifold nature of religious structures where one contradicts another, and which a stranger can hardly understand.

3. Remoteness and Proximity of God

In order to form a proper idea about the notion of God of the people of *Ho* and their environs, one should realize that the indigenous people speak about God who lives in the infinite height of the sky *le dzi me vi*, and about one of those who lives among people, indeed “he who even takes them by the hand,” *amesi lé ame de asi*. God in the Heavens once withdrew from the people through their fault and has now handed over his business to the lesser deities. On the other hand, the same God lives on with individual persons in the way that he leads them to riches. Even in the seventies, the missionary Merz (meanwhile deceased) wrote that the Ewes personify the grace of God and adore it as an independent deity. He was right. Whoever has become rich is the one the Great God, *Mawu gã*, has come to live with. As a result, there is variation in the adoration. The visible sky as husband of the earth has its own priest who is known in the interior of the Ewe territory as *tsinua*, “water priest”. Its priesthood is inherited

5 The larger language islands, as e.g. *Agotime*, *Avatime*, *Logba*, *Akpafu* etc.

from father to son. It is different with regard to divine grace; it may descend upon any good person and will then be adored by that person as *Mawu gã*, “great God.” However, the personified grace is always connected with the moral quality of a person in the African context: “God lives only with a good person.”

4. Man himself is God

The step from the personification of divine grace to the deification of the individual person is not big, and it is indeed also done. The people of *Ho* know people in whose lives so many similarities to the “great God” are to be seen that they unceremoniously name these people *Mawu*. There lived several decades ago in the neighbourhood of *Ho* a man who enjoyed extraordinary respect in the whole area where he lived, and for that reason was called *Wuwo*, i. e. “more than the others.” The people bestowed on him truly divine adoration, not in the sense that they sacrificed to him but in that whatever he said was obeyed at all cost. People would work on his farms and they would bring him gifts. There lived on the coast an old respected chief who called himself *Mawu*. He was richer than all the other chiefs and the inhabitants of twenty-seven towns gave him total obedience. He also compared himself with God in the sense that he was richer and more respected than all the other chiefs.

An old man is often called *Mawu* by young people, for, they say, “He has come before me into the world and has heard the sayings of those old people who are no longer in the world. If we want to hear the sayings of those old people, then we can only hear them from the mouth of an old man or an old woman.” Of the speech of an old man or an old woman, the language says *Ametsitsi fe nu me vëe*, “The mouth of an old man smells”. The opinion is that only the old men can tell stories of the distant past. Every old person is equal to God compared with the youth; for he had already lived long before the youth surrounding him came into being. Whoever speaks in the presence of an old man, is speaking *le Mawu fe nkume*, “before the face of God”. Whoever speaks contrary to an old man, *amegã xoxo*, speaks “against God” and “the sigh of an old man is the sigh of God”. He who forces the sigh from him will be cursed through it.

In earlier times, the chiefs of *Ho* named even some Europeans *Mawu*. This highest mark of distinction was due him any time he succeeded in healing a seriously ill patient or he succeeded in doing something of benefit to the indigenes which was beyond their horizon. Two factors might have coincided for him to be called *Mawu*. The first would involve an act which exceeded their own ability and knowledge, and secondly, this act might have some sort of a significant relationship to the welfare of the individual or to the whole tribe. Thus in these two points lies the similarity to their prevailing notion of God.

5. The Sources of their Knowledge of God.

In our Christian countries, children receive school lessons and are taught about their religion in school and at home. In spite of this and despite the Holy Bible, whose reading is at the disposal of every person who can read, there is less conformity in religious matters. Should, for example, an African want to know about the Christian Religion in Europe so as to apply it to the statements of the various social strata in Germany, he would perhaps receive contradictory opinions about God and the world, about the physical and metaphysical aspects of man. The street sweeper and the carriage driver,

the farmer in the village and the intellectual, the teacher and pastor, they all would perhaps make statements which he could hardly make sense of inwardly. He would find it still more difficult to draw a homogeneous picture. In Africa, where the people do not receive any religious lessons and where the religious ideas are not written in any holy book, the people depend on the tradition of the ancestors. The fact that they refer again and again to the old people in their stories shows that they want to remain in close contact with their ancestors. Thus, the Ewe-speaking person of today makes use of the expression: *Ne Mawu di*, “if God blesses”, we want to do that and that, today in exactly the same sense as the old. The handed-down tradition in *Ho* and its environs is still a great power, which in recent times, however, seems to be waning. Many, many years ago, an old man said that in his childhood in his parental home, old men often sat together to tell them “the sayings of the ancestors about the world and God”. That is no longer so today.

Apart from the tradition, a rich source for knowing about God is your own heart and Nature. A chief who died many years ago once admitted to someone, he had within him “a small being”, an *amevi*, who goes up to God to tell him everything that he does. The expression: “My heart tells it to me”, shows that religious thinking for the *Ho* people too has become an internal necessity. Only with these assumptions is it conceivable that the phenomena in nature are religiously explained. Whoever hears in the lightning the “light of God”, and in the thunder, “his speech,” should, of course, already have a definite conception about God, in order to be able to give such an interpretation. A pagan in *Agblevo* said: “When it thunders above in the sky and goes brrr..., it frightens us. We have never seen who roars but we hear his voice, and we have never seen the one who sends the fire, but we see his fire and are afraid.” Besides the powerful in Nature, it is also the endless coming-into-being and vanishing of individual forms which raise all sorts of questions for them, and with the help of which they continue to develop tradition and their own inner perceptions. For this reason a man said, “We have our own head with which we can think about what we hear and see.”

B. The Characteristics of the Sky Gods

1. *Mawu gã*, the great God

a. The name of God *Mawu*

So far, more has been stated than explained about the name of God *Mawu*. The “Sublime”, the “Unsurpassable”, the “Invincible” or the “Insurmountable” and as can be adduced from all the explanations, rely more on the presumptions and assertions of the natives than on thorough research. The same is the case with regard to the explanation given by a native: “I shall become more” is the meaning of *wu*. The natives mainly agree on the explanation of *wu*, from the coastal belt into the interior. They explain, the word means “more” or “surpass”. Accordingly, *Mawu* would be the unrivalled, unequalled of all beings, who is and has more than the human beings have. When you ask about the area that is surpassed or transcended by God, the answer given is as follows: *Ewu dzifo kple anyigba, ewu trɔwo kple amegbetɔ wo hã*. “He surpasses (transcends) Heaven

and Earth and the *trɔ̃wo*, ‘earth deities’ and human beings”. The conclusion of their explanation is always expressed, *Ewu nusianu*, “He surpasses everything that exists”. If God were called only *Wuwo*, then one could explain the name to mean: “The One who surpasses everything or also the Sublime”.

Unfortunately, the first part of the name has still not been explained. The elders say *ma* is the same as *mā*, “to distribute” and indicates God in connection with *wu* as the one who distributes and gives out more than all others. The younger people among them, particularly the educated among them, on the contrary, explain *ma* as the future form of the first person, thus: “I shall be more”, or but also as the negation “un”, “not”, and would then mean *ma-wu*, “the “unsurpassed” or “insurmountable”. But even with this explanation, the natives always wonder here the tone difference between the word *ma* like “un” and *ma* in the name of God comes from. While the former has low tone, *ma* in the name of God has high tone. That is the reason why one of our teachers arrived at the idea that *ma* might, perhaps, have been an archaic substantive which is seldom used now, but certainly can still be found in the language. Careful inquiries have led to the following results:

1. *Ma* is the name of an herb which is used in the *Mawu* cult. The herb is similar to a type of spinach which does not taste sweet, nor bitter, nor hot. It is *fa*, “cool” and it contains nothing that is harmful to human beings or that could be unpleasant to them. A familiar plant is the *ma dzīe* or “red *ma*” which, however, is never used in the *Mawu* cult but is only used in the cult of a certain class of earth deities. The actual *ma* has externally no mixture of colours, no bristles or thorns, therefore nothing that could cause any injury. *Ma* is also called “maize that is not yet ripe”. The nature of *ma* does not agree with salt, sugar, pepper or fire; furthermore, it excludes the red wood, *tò*, the red stone, *adè*, the lateritic stone, *ahliha*. Remarkably, *tò* and *adè* are used mainly in the cult of earth deities acquired from elsewhere. However, it is prohibited also to use *ma* in the service of the earth deities, in magic, during *trɔ̃wɔwɔ* and *dzosasa*. It harmonizes, on the contrary, with the colour white, with green maize, with physical and moral purity or chastity as well as with the cool of the evening. If *ma* is not found in the service of *Mawu*, then these are valueless; however, should there be only a little of the *ma* herb included, then *Mawu* himself is present.

2. An obedient child, a peace loving person and a peaceful marriage are compared with *ma*. Of a man who does not retort to the rudeness and cheeky remarks of another person but maintains his composure, one says, *Efa abe ma ene*, “He is as calm as *ma*.” Of a marriage in which husband and wife understand each other well, in which there are no quarrels, so to say, it is said: *Efa abe ma ene*, “It is cool as *ma*.” A child, who does not quarrel with his age mates and is always obedient to his parents is compared with *ma*. A refreshing drink of fresh water is as cool as *ma*.

3. *Ma* is also used for the outward peace, for the health and security of a person. A person who is seriously injured will, e.g., be comforted thus: *Ma me na wò lō! Ne maku o lō! Mawu nakpe de ɲu wò. Fafe nevame na wò lō, ne mase nya vō deke o*. “Peace be with you! May nothing evil happen to you! May God help you! May you receive peace so that I do not hear any mishap said about you!” *Ma me na wò* is just the same as *Mawu nakpe de ɲu wò*, “May God help you!” When someone starts on a journey, those remaining at home will call out to him saying: *Zɔ fla dzi, ma dzi*, “Step on *fla* and on *ma*” i.e. move in peace! When a native of *Ho* is on the battle field, the individual warriors

would shout to their commanders: *To ma me, to ma me, to ma me!* “Step on *ma*, on *ma*, on *ma!*” Or, *ma me, ma me lõ, eye maxɔ abi ɖeke o!* “in peace, in peace and don’t get any wound!” On the other hand, they wish the enemy: “May the bullets hit him through the heart or on the forehead!” But their own commander should safely march on, should not step on any thorn and should not strike his foot against any stone. Thus he should be protected on all sides.

4. Finally, attention is drawn to proper names *Mafe* “Place of God” and to *Mabome*, also the “Place of God”. These two words mean beyond any doubt that God is indicated by *ma*. This is in consonance with a very elderly woman in Ho calling out: *Ma le dzi me*, “*Ma* is on high, in heaven.” (Refer to further exposition under Worship of *Mawu*.)

5. On the basis of these proofs, there is no doubt that *ma* is the actual name of God, whose nature is thought to be the opposite of every anger, revenge, doing harm and the like.

His nature contains no *veve*, i.e. nothing that causes pain or brings harm. The worshipper of *Mawu* should therefore also paint himself with white paint and dress in white cloth. Only the white colour harmonizes with *ma*. For this reason, during the time of *Mawu* worship, he is not allowed to have anything to do with the terrestrial deities and nothing to do with magic. Should the nature of God be described with *ma* as being calm outwardly and inwardly, it agrees with *wu*, with everything which exists apart from him. Everything that exists apart from Him is outclassed and excelled by him. However, as for the Ewe, the word *fa*, peace, does not mean moral good but always only a physical condition, so in its use about God it means only that he possesses everything in abundance; he cannot be molested by any enemy and that he is healthy and pure through and through, which means that he has life. He is the *dɔmenyotɔ* and *fafatɔ*, the “benevolent and peaceful” who does no evil to man, but only good by providing his daily bread and by sustaining his health.

b. The Visible Sky

To all appearances, the *Ewe* perceive God in the image of the sky. It makes no difference whether they say: *Mawu nye gã*, or *dzingbe nye gã*, “God is great” or “the sky is great”. The great God is the sky, the flat sky, whose limits no person has ever seen. Asked why they worship the sky as God, the priest of the Earth replied: “Or have you ever seen the limits of the sky?” *Dzingbe* is the visible sky and the visible sky is *Mawu gã*, the great God. When it thunders, the following names are attached to him: *Tatraponi*,⁶ *asiawo fe nuwɔ*, *agbleawo fe nu nyuie*, *veɖaɖa metsɔ o*, that means “Evil for the traders, happiness for the farmers; cooking *vle* does not go fast” (you need a lot of water for it).

A man said in a big gathering: “I have always looked up to the visible sky as God. When I spoke about God, then I was speaking about the sky and when I spoke about the sky, then I thought of God.” The earth is in conjugal union with the sky and that is the reason why it is also addressed as “husband of the earth” and as “our father”. A man called *Kpeli* pointed to the sky and said: “Wherever the sky is, God is also there; for the sky is God.” The father of B narrated to his children that once upon a time, the sky and the earth were so close to each other that you could reach the sky with your hand. In those days, man could communicate with God without any hindrance. But then, they made fire and drove the smoke into the eyes of God and upon that the

6 The word comes from the *Twi* language and means a large broad expanse.

latter drew back from man. This is why he now lives in the “endless sky.” According to similar mythological legends, the reason for the great distance of the sky from the earth is that people after eating cleaned their dirty fingers on the sky, and that when they pounded fufu they hit God in the face with the pestle. The fact that God is not represented in images, but that only unfired earthenware is used in the service of *Mawu*, is also noteworthy.

Now, the language brings us a step further. It says that God clothes himself in “varied colours” and in “white” and that he “covers his face with darkness”. During the rainy period, one friend called to the other early in the morning: *Mawu gadze aɖaŋu wɔ nu bubu, va kpɔe ɖa*, “God shows us today yet another skill, come and see!” or *Mawu gafo nu ziwo gakpla egbe*, “God has adorned himself again today with small objects.” The people are then afraid and say: “What will then come to pass today?” If the clouds are surrounded on the edges in the morning with light and so separated from each other that you can see the blue sky in between, then the language describes this as *Mawu ta ŋɔtaŋɔta*, “God has dressed in different colours.” Occasionally, the blue sky is as if it were bathed in a shimmering light that lies on a transparent veil of cloud. For this reason, the sky is also called *ya* or *ye*. However, *ya* means the sun and *a* is the definite article of *ye*. The natives explain *ya* as “the big lights.” They say about this bright sky: *Mawu ta klala* “God is clad in white calico.” *Mele dɔ ɖeke wɔm o, edzudzo edokui*, “He is not working (today), but resting”. God eats and drinks, lies down and sleeps on this day. Because of this bright appearance, they say: *Efu gbɔ eme yi* or *Efu tititi* “he is light through and through”, which is interrupted by no other colour. *Ye*, sun, light, is the oil God smears himself with. Because the external part of God is completely light and pure, therefore those who have been acquitted and discharged by the judge are smeared with white clay on the right arm. In this symbol, they are said to be like God. Merz, the former missionary, says in an essay: “Man is in the likeness of God; colour and clothing are the purest white. Thus they say also ‘God loves the pure’. That is the reason why the judge and the acquitted are smeared with white clay.” Remarkably, soldiers killed in war as well as those killed while hunting are also painted with white earth and wrapped in white. With regard to this, a native of *Ho* once said. “I know all the *Ho* words except one which I don’t understand. I don’t understand why the fallen soldiers in war all of a sudden receive the colour of God.”

About the blue sky they say: *Mawu edo xlẽ ŋkume*, “God has covered his face with darkness”, or *Mawu eta bisi*, “God has clad himself in dark blue, the colour of mourning.” The bright cloud of the sky, the bright veil of light which spreads over the sky and the blueness of the sky are accordingly considered as only the “clothing of God”, behind which he himself lives unseen to the human eye.

The priest of the earth has stated the following concerning the difference of God from the visible sky “*Mawu* is not *dzingbe*, the sky itself but he has his abode, *le dzi me*, in the sky. He lives in *alili fe tame*, “at the apex of the air space or world space”, and there is nothing more above him.” Very significant for this is how a priest in *Matse* described the abode of God. (See *Matse*.) While some see him dwelling in a very rudely built house, others see him dwelling in a garden planted with bananas and yams, surrounded by his servants.

2. Mawu Sodza

Besides the “great God”, two other gods, *Sodza* and *Sogblē*, are honoured. In *Ho* and its environs, *Sodza* seems related to *Mawu gā* only as a characteristic, but the fact that *Sodza* has many worshippers in *Ho* indicates that he is also regarded there as an independent deity beside the “great God”. So, an *Eve* name, is the thunder, in twofold character, that of a quiet light that causes no harm, and that of the powerful flash. The kind of lightning flash that with a mighty thunderbolt destroys trees, human beings and animals is the manifestation of *Mawu Sogblē*; the lightning that quietly lights up the sky, on the other hand, is the manifestation of *Mawu Sodza*. *Dza* means “tender, gentle” or also “bright, red”. *Gblē* is considered by some as verb to mean “to destroy, spoil”, by others as a substantive with the meaning “blacksmith”. *Sodzā* is the gentle, bright lightning that is associated rain; *Sogblē*, to the contrary, is the blacksmith of God.

Mawu Sodza is called in prayers and other speeches as *Mawunɔ*, *Sonɔ* or also simply *nɔ*. We should conclude from this name that *Sodza* is to be considered a female deity, for *nɔ* means “mother”. To this may be explicitly added that *Sodza* is a wife who lives in a conjugal relationship with her husband *Sogblē*, who is also called *Sotsu*, “male or strong lightning.” Both converse with each other through thunder. If *Sogblē* thunders violently and threatens in anger to smash to pieces the children that God created, *Sodza* would warn him in a soft voice, *Lé dɛ eme, lé dɛ eme!* “stop” “stop!” She asks him to be patient with the children of God. Apparently, she seems to annoy him, yet he should not displease her. You hear this appeasing voice of *Mawu Sodza* in the calm thunder following the violent thunder strikes. The relationship between *Sodza* and her husband *Sogblē* is not always this so good. Quarrelling and being on friendly terms alternate. When the sun does not shine for a long period and instead you only see dark fog, then the elders say that now *Sogblē* is quarrelling with his wife. If it rains in between, then these are the tears of God who is weeping out of sadness, or they are the tears of both spouses together. If the sun shines bright again, then peace has been restored between *Sogblē* and his wife *Sodza*. Both smile at each other and they shake hands. The nick-names given to *Sodza* can be clearly observed in the prayers addressed to her. She is addressed as *Hagbenɔ lāgbenɔ*, *tevu*, *vlevu*, *nyaganyagāwu*. “Mother of men and animals, of ship full of yams, ship full of *vle*, ship full of the most colourful abundance.” The other nick-names are *Nam*, *mana wò*, *tem*, *mate wò*, “If you give me, then I shall also give you, if you refuse to give me, then I shall refuse to give you!” The one sacrificing receives, first of all, his sacrificial offering from the hand of this deity and can then return it to him, from what he himself has received. A supplement recurring in many prayers is: *Kufia*, *dufia*, “King of death and king of the towns”, he controls life and death. Still other names seem to describe him as the deity that gives rain and thus the deity that causes the growth of plants. He is called *Gbedegbleme* and *Mlum*. As such, he is the thunder in connection with rain. If it thunders and rains much, the traveller tells him complaining, *Ametsitsi gale ŋli dom dɛ ame ta egbe*, “The elder (the chief) is roaring again today at the people”, or *Mlum eva eɖokui egbe*, “*Mlum* is stirring himself again today”. *Gbedegbleme* is the thunder which precedes the actual rain. He is also given the nick-names *Asiawo ve nuwɔ*, *blunɔ tso*, *fɛnɔ tso* i.e. “You misfortune of traders and luck of farmers; you, mother of the *Twi* people and mother of the *Eve* people.” Further, they say of him: “Your coming makes weeping and your going makes weeping.” The

meaning of it is, “If it does not rain people complain, and if it rains too much they are again discontented.”

An old man called *Tutu* narrated: “When I was still a child, I once asked my father *Atsukagbe* on the farm, ‘My father, tell me, where is God?’ My father replied: ‘God is in the sky.’ I asked again, ‘Is that the God who gives us food?’ He said, ‘Yes, he is the one. It is this God that one gives yam to and says, *O Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, tevu vlevu nyaganyagawu, na mana wò, tem mate wò, wòe nam hafi maɖu, eyata nye hã mana wò*, “O *Mawu Sodza*, mother of man,⁷ ship full of yams, ship full of *vle* and a ship full of all sorts of abundance! If you give me, I shall also give to you, if you refuse me, I shall also refuse you; you give me before I can eat, that is why I also give to you.”

The form of *Mawu Sodza* is light and bright. He made the Blacks and sent them and has put art in the face of man so that he can perform in this visible world, *kodzogbe*, what *Sodza* has commissioned him to do. This art consists in the kind and manner of his cultivation, weaving, trading and the like. “We *Eve* are all the first born son of *Mawu Sodza*. The *Twi* are his second-born son and the Europeans are his third-born son.” He has man at his service and watches over them in the way that he is with every person, with the rich and poor. He gives him food, gives him protection and guides his destiny. *Mawu Sodza* is the one who blesses your farm. If you weave a cloth, he enables you to get a good price for it when you sell it. He blesses every work that you do; and when he has not decided to kill you, then you have your peace. If he does not shepherd you, then everything you do is in vain. Even your exorcising of evil is in vain; you have to die. He gives us food to eat and water to drink.

If a man or a house is threatened by a special misfortune, he must cry out to God that he should come and see what is happening. The person at prayer tells him that he has fought with the enemy for a long time but has not overcome him. His enemy has severe sickness. If the sick recovers again, then the person who has recovered from illness clothes himself completely in white cloth. In addition, he binds a number of strings of cowries around the foot of his local stool and places it in its own special room. Nobody is allowed to sit on the stool other than the head of the house. Whoever dares to sit on this stool has given himself the stool owner or the householder. The women bind strings with cowries on their legs in honour of *Mawu Sodza*.

If someone goes to war, he prays in his hut to *Mawu Sodza* that he may look after his wife and children as well as the entire family. On the other hand, *Sogblẽ* should save the warrior from dangers and he should help him to capture a man from the enemy’s camp. *Sodza* looks after the house in which one dwells, that nothing evil can get to those living in it. He drives away bad witches and evil spirits so that none of the children is destroyed by them. It is not only evil spirits but also the evil deities may not get near the house protected by him. Under his protection, the number of children increases and the inhabitants of the house are healthy. The following two songs are addressed to *Mawu Sodza*: in the first song the difference between God and the earth gods is clearly emphasized, and in the second it is said that it is only he who populates the towns.

7 Mother of palm wine, mother of meat (?)

First Song

Man is in God's hand (only),
 Magic is different and *trõ* is different.
 The priest says: *trõ* is different and
 magic is different.
 The priest says: magic is different and
trõ is different.
 Man is only in God's hand.
Trõ is different and magic is different.
 Man is in God's hand (only).

Mawu si ame le loo,
Dzo le vo, trõ le vo
Uolusi be: Trõ le vo, dzo le vo
Atangbasiwo be; Dzo le vo, trõ le vo
Mawu si ame le loo,
Trõ le vo, dzo le vo
Mawu si ame le.

Second Song

See, this is how it happens,
 that God denies you increase.
 See, this is how it happens, this is how
 it approaches.
 See, this is how it happens, this is how
 it approaches.
 You sparsely populated towns,⁸
 That God denies you increase.⁹

Kpõ ale wowõa
Eye Mawu tsõ dzidzi te mi
Kpõ ale awõ loo, kpõ ale awõ loo!
Kpõ ale awõ loo, kpõ ale awõ loo!
Hoviwo wowõa,
Mawu tsõ dzidzi te mi

In spite of all these good qualities, *Mawu Sodza* is also called *didritõ*, “dishonest” god. Like all the *Eve*, the people of *Ho* are faced with mysteries of life which nobody can solve and whose existence can be traced back to *Mawu Sodza*. The dissimilarity of the characters of the children of the one and the same father, inequality of property and finally the fact of death – all these are situations in which man is confronted with inescapable forces. It would be easier for them to reconcile themselves with death as a power that rules over all equally than with the fact of difference in talent and property among people. There are people who work only a little and yet acquire great wealth through their work. Others work hard but do not get anything from their labour. They are poor and have nothing to eat, while others are living in affluence. This shows that he also created *Mawu Sowlui* and thereby perpetrated injustice. Some have children and others have not; one town gets bigger and bigger while another disappears.

3. *Mawu Sogblẽ*

Mawu Sogblẽ is the blacksmith of God who forges the thunderbolts which he flings to earth in the lightning and splits trees and human beings.

Everywhere in Eweland are found axe-like stones whose origin the *Eve* trace back to *Mawu Sogblẽ*. *Sogblẽ* shoots the shooting stars. If a star shoots, then it is said that: “*Sogblẽ* has shot.” The people are afraid and they cry out hu...u..! *Mawu Sogblẽ* is the husband of *Mawu Sodza*. *Sogblẽ* is the elder and *Sodza* is the younger deity. *Sogblẽ* is the strong one and that is why mainly the young men who must do difficult work, serve

⁸ *Hoe* is a town or a people that is about to die out.

⁹ These songs are sung by the priests of an earth god and to be thought of as direct inspirations of their god.

him, for example, the farmers, blacksmiths and traders. *Sogblē* is the son and envoy of *Mawu gā* who prepares a place among the people for his father. If a man becomes rich through his labour so that he has many cowries and bondservants, then from now on he will serve *Mawu gā* and makes an enclosure for him in his farmstead. He prepares his real places by putting a cord of twisted raffia, *nyadika*, on which five cowries are tied in a sack for him. These are the seat of God in the sack. The person concerned is thereby protected against thieves. Nobody can now steal his cowries, because he would have to do that “in the face of *Mawu gā*”. Whoever worships *Sogblē*, to him shall *Mawu gā* come, for sure.” A youth called *Akadzɔkpa* wore a loincloth woven of blue and white yarn. When he was asked why he was wearing such a cloth he replied: *Sogblē tɔ menyē*, “I belong to *Sogblē*”. Some years later, the same person wore a white cloth around his head and waist. Again he was asked why he was wearing white instead of dark clothes? He replied, “Formerly, I belonged to *Sogblē* and the *Lubutsawɔ*, but now I belong to *Mawu gā*.” The young man in the meantime had been put in the position to buy slaves; he had become rich. The sense of this change in the service of God is as follows: as long as one must do hard labour and become dirty, one wears *bisi*, dark blue, as an external sign of his belonging to *Sogblē*. The rich, on the other hand, do not need to work and must therefore not make themselves dirty; he is clean, *eŋe ŋuti ɖi*; such a person is washed clean, *wolé tsi nɛ*.

Mawu Sogblē has another deity under him, who stands beside him as servant. It is *Lubutsawɔ*, who lights the fire for *Sogblē* (*amesi ke dzo*) that flashes through the air in a storm. *Lubutsawɔ* is only worshipped by the blacksmiths; however, they consider him not as *Mawu* but as *trɔ̃*, and worship him because of this characteristic.

Dedicated to *Mawu Sogblē* are the flying foxes, who have disobeyed his orders and have therefore been punished. A flying dog is called “his house guard”, *xɔnuvi*, his “preferred son”. His shape is beautiful in the eyes of the people, beautiful among animals and beautiful among the birds. Because he deceived men and animals, he was sued before *Mawu Sogblē*. The latter called the flying dog to come to answer before him, but he refused to comply. *Mawu Sogblē* therefore said to him: “Well, I shall now deal with you as I please. I shall not kill you, but I shall roar over you and close up your body. Everything must, from now on, come out through your mouth!” The flying dog was angry about it and said: “You have made a distinction between me and my comrades. Therefore, I shall no longer look up towards heaven.” From that time on, the flying dog points his feet towards the sky when he settles on a tree and tells *Mawu Sogblē*: “If someone is called, he can only come on his feet to the one who called him; well, I am coming, I am coming!” The flying dog turns his head to the earth and says: “The head is given to people; I am coming, I am coming, may be!” But he does not go to heaven and does not come to the earth. That is why when sorrow afflicts the *Ewe* they comfort themselves with the flying dog and sing: *Agutɔwo nɔ Sogblē, yetɔi sege me, madzo o*, “The flying dogs living with *Sogblē* say, they are between heaven and earth and they can go neither here nor there.”

4. *Mawu Sowlui*

Sowlui is, first of all, the sound which is produced through small bells. Priests tie such little bells on the lower edge of their gowns. These produce sounds when they are walking and this sound is called *sowlui*. But *Sowlui* is also a servant of *Mawu*, who

makes many people suddenly rich. He is the God of cowry shells and thus of riches. *Sowlui* has a distinctive form; he is described as being very tall, he dresses in white and does his work only at night. He says about himself, that the one with whom he lives does not need to worry about his daily bread, for he is strong.

There are two types of *Sowlui*, namely, a bad and a good. The bad *Sowlui* calls himself: *Wɔ kaba ne madzo*, “hurry up so that I can go on!” The second, the good, is *Sowlui agbenɔɔ*, “the *Sowlui* of life”. Although the functions of both resemble each other, they are different. When anyone pours beans or corn in a pot and puts the pot in the room, the pot is full of cowries the following morning. Beans and corn have turned into cowries in the course of the night. And not only that; pots, containers for drawing water, gourds, everything is full of cowries. The owner of the house says: “All that happened on its own without my intervention. I was not on the farm, I did not weave any cloth and in spite of this, my room is full of cowries.” The owner of these unexpected riches is not allowed to tell anybody about this. *Sowlui* does not want to be betrayed to other people: “Tell nobody that I myself have worked before you received wealth. If, however, you betray me, it will not be two days before you must die.” The owner of the house must paint himself with white clay and dress him or herself in a beautiful pure white cloth. He is expected to buy slaves, beautiful clothes and the like with his cowries; he should lend them out and accept to take pawns against that. Such a person has become rich among his people through *Sowlui*.

The influence of *Sowlui* is also visible on the farm. The elders say: “In the year in which your farm produce flourishes, in which the plants on your farm are more beautiful than those of your peers, it is *Sowlui* who has worked for you.” However, this is only evident if you have earned a lot of money from these produce. The profit is a gift of *Sowlui*. He also gives medicine for these riches. This consists of the ash from the magic cord which the newly rich must strew on the cowries. His cowries only have “peace” under the protection of these ashes. The security of the shells is accordingly dependent on the silence of the possessor as well as the use of magical ash.

If these precautionary measures are not observed, then he will show his evil character mainly by taking away his riches from the person again and killing him within a short time. *Sowlui* will give the cowries to another, and this is why he is also sometimes called “thief”. The elders used to say: “If you had very good proceeds from a small farm, then in the next year you prepare an even bigger one in the hope that it yields an even richer harvest. But the farm produce spoils and instead of more cowries, you get nothing. You may realize through this that *Sowlui* has taken back the cowries that he gave you last year.” How dubious his blessings are is evidenced in the fact that a person who becomes a great man through *Sowlui*, must die by all means two or three years later, simply because during this period the fortunate person could not refrain from revealing the secret to his best friend. He forgot what *Sowlui* had forbidden him and he must pay with his life for the violation.

The good *Sowlui* is called: *Wɔ dɔdɔdɔ*, *nadze le mia haviwo dome, maku kaba o*, “Go slow, do not move with your age mates so that you do not die soon.”¹⁰ It is the *Sowlui agbenɔɔ* “the *Sowlui* of life”. He, too, gives cowries to people, but with the difference that he only makes a few people happy and gives these few their riches gradually. He gives something every day, about 2 to 10 *hoka* and he gives his recipient a long life.

¹⁰ Thereby he will not be in danger of telling his friends that *Sowlui* resides with him.

C The Worshipping of the Sky Gods

C. Dzifomawuwo subɔsubɔ

1. The worshipping of the Sky

a. Places of worship

The sky, *dzingbe*, and (the *trɔ*) *Kpelē* are members of a family. If something is done for the first, the second will be done the next morning. Two stones that shine bright (quartz), which are called rain stones, *tsikpe*, are put in a bowl and water is poured on them. This bowl is placed under the roof gutter. Then the herb *sumbe* is tied around the neck of the bowl. Two big heaps of earth are made on it and the herb *flatogā* (an oily plant) is planted on them.

The one who has the sky buys a local stool and ties 12 *hoka* cowry shells¹¹ around the foot. Late in the year (August and September), he buys eight pieces of white material of an arm-length each (for a dress) and two arm-lengths for his head band. Then he buys eggs and two new bowls for roasting corn. On the day on which he makes an enclosure for the sky in his homestead¹² he makes his wives prepare flour. He himself buys palm wine and invites other priests who will help him in making the fence. Within the enclosure, a big mound will be erected on the top of which a bowl is placed. The herbs, *flatoga*, *flatokpui* and *egbe makumaku*¹³ are also placed in the bowl and a lot of water is poured in the bowl. After this, a piece of wood, *nyiti*, is hewn in three pronged fork and stuck into the soil at the entrance to the enclosure. Then a bowl is placed on the top (in the fork) and it is bound tightly with creeping plants. In the bowl grass is planted which will continue to grow in

1. Dzingbe

a. Esubɔfewo

Dzingbe kple kpelē wole kɔ ɖeka me. Ne wowɔ ɖeka fe nu ɲu ke la, ekema wogawɔa evelia hã fe nu. Wotsɔ kpe aɖe si da dzo kanjan, si woyɔna be dzikpe wo ame eve de agba me ku tsi ɖe dzi. Wotsɔ agba sia da ɖe bè dome eye wotsɔa sumbe (gbe) sa ɖe ze la kɔ. Emegbe wofo dru gã eve, eye wotsɔ flatogā do ɖe edzi.

Ame si gbɔ Dzingbe le la, flea kpukpo alo zikpui, eye wɔtɔa hotsui zi hoka 12 ɖe egome. Ne kele le fufu ge la eflea aklala abɔ ene kple efe tablatse abɔ ɖeka, eye wogaflea koklozi kple blitɔgba yeye eve. Gbe si gbe wɔle Dzingbekpɔ tɔ ge le efe me la, enana srɔwo tua wɔ nɛ. Eye eya ɲutɔ dzea aha, eye wɔyɔa trɔnua bubu va tɔa kpɔ la n1 ɖe dzogoe ene me. Wofoa dru gã ɖeka ɖe kpɔ la me, eye wotsɔa blitɔgba ɖeka ɖoa edzi, eye wowɔa flatogā kple flatokpui kple gbe makumaku ɖe agba la me, eye wokua tsi ɖe eme fuu. Eyome woɖalãa nyiti, si dze abɔ etɔ la, eye woatui ɖe kpɔ la fe mɔ nu, eye woatsɔ zevi aɖo etame, eye woatsɔ adzɔ ablae sesie, Eye woyina ɖawɔa gbe siwo ke miena la, va kɔna ɖe zevi la me bena woamie. Ne wowɔ dɔ vɔ la, ekema woɖua nu, eye Dzingbenua ɲutɔ ata aklala, abla ta, eye wɔabɔɔ nɔ efe zikpui la dzi le kpɔ la me; afi sia ko wɔnɔ mele dodo ge akpɔ va se ɖe esime ɲu nake o.

11 See picture pg. 77.

12 The enclosure is the residence and place of sacrifice for the Sky.

13 A type of grass that does not die.

it. When this work is completed they eat, and the priest of the Sky puts on a white garment and a white head band. Then he sits down on a stool within the enclosure. He must remain there and is not allowed to leave the fence till the next morning.

b. Religious Ceremonies

α. For the entire tribe

On the day when people go to the home of the deity, *trɔ̃* (which is outside in the bush), flour is made and mixed with red oil. Flour which is not mixed with red oil is also taken. On arrival, the things are placed here and there so that when the deity comes he should sit in the bowl before he consumes the food.

When there is a drought, the chiefs buy palm wine, close the top tightly and bring it to the priest, to whom they say, “Take this palm wine and pray to our Father so that peace may come to us (coolness through the rain). The priest accepts the palm wine, pours some into a calabash which he fills completely for his God who lives in his house.¹⁴ He prays then to him and says: “*Bonyomi*, the war has spoiled our land and that is the reason why we are calling you for help. See, it is (very) dry and we must go hungry! God our Father, we beg you, see our misery and let it rain on our farms!” Thereupon, he pours the palm wine on the earth, fills the second calabash and goes with it to the actual place (of the *Dzingbe*), where he prays again himself and says: “Oh, our Father and our Lord, we thank you but see how our land is so dry! It is very dry and we must hunger. Let there be rain today, even today!” Thereupon, he puts the herbs *flatogã*, *sumbe* and *flatokpui* in the water in the bowl, places both rain stones in the water and returns home.

b. *Subɔsubɔ*

α. Hoawo *katã*

Gbe si gbe wole Dzingbe fe me yi ge la, wotua wɔ, eye wobakanɛ kple ami dzẽ, eye wogatsɔa wɔ si womebaka o la hã de asi. Ne wova la, wotsɔa nuawo dana de afi bubu bena ne Mawua va la, ne wɔnɔ agba me hafi aɖu nu la.

Ne ku le ɖiɖim la, wodzea aha, eye wobla nu de enu tɔna ve na trɔ̃nua gblɔna ne bena: xɔ aha sia ne nado gbe ɖa na mìa tɔ, ne fafa nava na mìa. Trɔ̃nua xɔa aha la, eye wòkua tre ɖeka taɲ na efe Mawu, si le afea me la, eye wòdoa gbe ɖa ne bena: “Bonyomi, avagblẽgbe woyɔ de anyi. Wòde, kpɔ nya ke ɖa, ku le ɖiɖim, ɖɔ le mìa wum, mìa tɔ Mawu, miedɛ kuku na wò, kpɔ mìaife nublani, nana tsi nadza de mìaife agble me nukuwo dzi” Eye wotsɔa aha la kɔna de anyigba. Emegbe la ekua aha la tre taɲ yia Dzingbe fe ɲutɔ, ado gbe ɖa agblɔ bena: “O mìa tɔ, mìaife amega mieda akpe na wò, kpɔ ale si mìaife xexeme fu ɖa, ku le ɖiɖim, ɖɔ le mìa wum. Egbe egbe na tsi nadza!”

¹⁴ The place of offering is the house, the dwelling of God.

(There), he brings a young boy who had never been with a woman in front of the *Dzingbe* bowl and bathes him from it. Then he lets the boy bathe himself, after which the priest ladles the water from the bowl onto his lap. But if he scoops it backwards,¹⁵ then he has done the people a wrong, because then it does not rain any more. After the child has bathed himself and it still does not rain, people say he is an unlucky child (this means that he himself has something evil that is preventing the rain). However, if the priest wants to do something evil (to the people), then he turns the bowl upside down so that its open side faces down. Then he puts a stone on the bowl and on this stone a second one.¹⁶ When he does that, it will not rain again. It will not rain again at the place where he does that; on the other hand, it rains in other places. Now when the people notice that the drought persists, then they would say: “The priest himself is bringing us the drought.” If he accepts their request, then he goes to the *Dzingbe* place, turns the bowl over again, puts the herbs and the two stones in it, pours much water on it and bathes himself from it. Then it will certainly rain.

β. For individual women during their pregnancy

When a woman is pregnant, she comes to the *Dzingbe* priest and lets him drive away evil. He takes a palm nut that has been carried into a hole and pierced through by a rat, plus, bones of the tortoise, hair from the squirrel and feathers from the clock bird, and raffia twisted into a cord, attaches (all that) to the cord and

Emegbe la ewɔa flatogã, sumbe kple flatokpui dana ɔ tsi la me le agba la me, eye wògatsɔa dzikpe eve la gadana ɔ agba la me, eye wogbugbɔna va afe. Eye wokplɔa ɲutsuvi aɔ, si mede asi nyɔnu ɲu kpɔ o la, ava dzingbegba la ɔme, eye Dzingbenua lea agbametsi la nɛ. Emegbe woana ɔdevi la ɲuto naku tsi la ale, eye Dzingbenua nɔa tsi la hem ɔ ɔdevi la kɔme. Ke ne trɔnua he tsi la ɔ megbe la, ekema ewɔ anyrã le amewo ɲu, eye tsi la megale wuwu ge o. Ne ɔdevi la le tsi la vɔ, eye tsi la mewu o la, ekema wogblɔna bena, ɔdevi la fe ta menyo o.

Gake ne trɔnua le didim be, yeawɔ anyrã la ekema etsɔa agba la bua anyi, eye wòtsɔa kpe ɔɔka ɔɔa edzi, eye wòtsɔa kpe ɔɔka ɔɔa etame. Ne ewɔe alea la, tsi megalɔa dzadza o; aɔ si wòwɔe le alea la, tsi medzana li o, ke edzana le aɔ bubuwo. Ne dzua metɔwo kpɔ be, ku le ɔɔdim la, ekema wogblɔna bena: Dzingbenua lé ku nam, eye wova léa aɔ nɛ; ne trɔnua lɔ la, eyia Dzingbefe eye wòfɔa agba la gatsɔa amatsi kpakple kpe eve dea eme eye wòkua tsi ɔ wo dzi fuu lena; ekema tsi la dzana kokoko.

β. Nuwɔwɔ na funwɔwɔ

Ne nyɔnu aɔ ɔ fu la, Dzingbenua yia busu nɛ. Wotsɔa nefi, si ke alegli tɔɔ yi do mee, eye wòɛɲɔ edokui la, kple klofu, aɔɔfu, avesefu kple bogbigbi sa ka lae. Ne wosa ka la vɔ la, woɔa ama nyɔnu la ɔduna. Wotsɔa agbelitingba, ahaamee, faglu kple dzoveti ɔa ama la eye wokɔ tsi ɔ ati dzi tɔyɔna dea ama la. Ne woɔae vɔ la, wotsɔa bè hea tsihe,

15 This not towards the boy. As the water is poured into the boy's lap, so also should the earth receive rain. The boy is thus here in place of the earth and the priest is the representative of the sky.

16 The overturned bowl is to say that the earth should accept no more rain. The stones laid on top of it are a double seal on it.

binds it around the woman. After he has bound the cord around her, he lets her cook spinach, which the woman must eat. Leaves from the cassava plant, ahamee, faglu and dzoveti are used in cooking the spinach. Then he pours water onto ash, which drips onto the spinach. After it (the spinach) has been well cooked, he takes roofing straw, ties it into a ring and puts the spinach pot on it. Thereupon, the priest ties the roofing straw at all her joints. He himself sits down, and someone else cooks maize porridge. The pot in which the porridge was cooked is also placed on a pad made from the roofing straw. Now the priest takes a big magic cord, binds it together in the form of a ring and puts it near the porridge. Then the priest calls the woman and she replies: “Yes!” The priest says: “I am now going to open you”. Hereupon, he loosens the roofing straw from her joints. First of all, he loosens the one on the chest, then the one at the back, then the one around the loins and then those around the feet and finally those around the arms. Then she eats the maize porridge. Nobody is permitted to help her eat it. After she has finished eating the spinach, the priest chews black pepper-corns, spits them on the magic cord and binds the latter around the loins of the woman. He then orders her: “If a sorcerer sits at your door and you pass by him, it would not bring you pains in the loins. If the sorcerer on his way crosses an object and you also cross this object, this should not cause anybody pains or headache.”

Thereafter, the priest places some medicinal herbs on a wooden plate and orders her to wash herself three times daily with them. On the sixth day, she should pour out the water at a crossroad. If God blesses her, she will then give birth after six or seven days. If she should bring forth a boy, he will be his friend and be called *Dzingbe Klu*. Should it be a girl on

eye woatsɔ amaze la ada ɖe edzi. Eye trɔ̃nua atɔ be asa ɖe nyɔnu la fe funuɖefewo katã, eye eya ɲutɔ abɔɔɔ nɔ anyi, ame bubu aɖa akplẽ. Nu si me akplẽ la hã le la, wotsɔne dana ɖe bètsihe bubu dzi eye wotsɔa dzoka gã aɖe hea tsihe dana ɖe akplẽ la gbɔ. Emegbe trɔ̃nua ayɔ nyɔnu la, eye nyɔnu la atɔ be: Ye! Trɔ̃nua gblɔna bena: Mele tu wò ge azɔ, eye woatu bèkuwo le eɲu azɔ. Gbã la etua dzinu kababla la, evelia megbetɔ, etɔlia alitɔ, enelia afɔtɔ, eye mlɔe ke wotua abɔnutɔwo, hafi woaɖu akplẽ la; ame aɖeke meɖua akplẽ la kpakplii o. Ne eɖui vɔ la, trɔ̃nua ɖua ataku tea dzoka la, eye wòtsɔne sana ɖe nyɔnu la fe ali me eye wòdea se ne bena: Ne dzotɔ aɖe bɔɔɔ nɔ agbali nu, eye wòda atae la, ali megale eɖu ge o. Ne dzotɔ aɖe da ata nu aɖe, eye eya hã da atae la, dɔme maɖui o, ta maɖui o.

Emegbe trɔ̃nua ado amatsi ɖe gbɔnu me ne agblɔ ne bena, wòdale tsi la ɲkeke ɖeka zi etɔ. Ne ede ɲkeke ade la, ekema woatsɔ tsi la afu gbe ɖe mɔ dogofe. Ne Mawu ɖi ne la, ekema le ɲkeke ade alo adre megbe la adzi vi la. Nenye ɲutsue wòdzi la, ekema ye xɔlɔe, ekema woayɔe be Dzingbe Klu. Nenye nyɔnue la, woayɔe be Dzingbe Kosi eye ne etsi agbe la, enye yesrɔ̃. Emegbe egadea se na nyɔnua vevie bena: Ne dzi le ɖoɖom la,

the other hand, she will be called *Dzingbe Kosi* and if she remains alive, become his wife. Then he seriously orders the woman never to leave her room during a storm. If she does so, then she will be struck by lightning.

γ. For sky children

If a man eats (new) yam, his slaves, both men and women, will be brought to the priest. They bring along new yam with them. The priest cuts the yam into pieces and touches the mouth of each of them with it. Now they also have permission to eat the new yam.

When the yam festival comes, the priest digs up the piece of yam which he had planted (for the god) in his farmstead. He himself makes a fire to cook the yam. Then he mixes part of the cooked yam with red oil and leaves the other part unmixed. He places the yam mixed with oil on the threshold of his house and under the entrance to his farmstead. Then he goes with his children to the bowl (within the *Dzingbe* fence), clears around it and there lays the yams mixed with oil and those unmixed separately on the ground. All the old herbs in the bowl are removed and fresh water is poured in. When that is done they wash their feet, hands and face from the bowl. They then take some of the water into their mouths and blow it back into the bowl two or three times. The priest and his children may now eat new yam.

megatso le efe xɔ me gbedegbede o, ne edo go la, ekema dzi aɖe gbe ɖe edzi wòaku.

γ. *Dzingbeviwo*

Ne wole te ɖum la, trɔ̃nua kplɔa efe Kluwo kple Kosiwo va egbo. Ne wogboɔna la, wotsɔa te ɖe asi ve, eye trɔ̃nua fea te la me tɔa nu na wo ɖekaɖeka hafi woawo hã kpɔ mɔ aɖu te. Ne teɖuyi ɖo la, Dzingbenua kua te, si wofã ɖe efe me la, eye eya ɣutsɔ doa dzo ɖane, abaka ɖe kple ami dzẽ, etsɔa esi wobaka la kɔna ɖe kpui nu kple kpɔ nu. Emegbe eya kple viawo yia agba ɖome, eye wonɔ egbo keɣu hetsɔa te baka la kɔna ɖe afi ma hã, dzĩetɔ kple yietsɔ vovovo. Woɖea aɣgba xoxo siwo katã le agba me la ɖa, eye wogakua tsi yeye ɖe agba la me. Ne wowɔe vɔ la, woklɔ afɔ kple asiwo kple ɣkume, eye woaku agbamatsi la ano, atu ɖe eme zi eve alo zi etɔ. Tso esia dzi la trɔ̃nua kple viawo kpɔ mɔ aɖu te azɔ faa.

2. Worship of *Mawu gã*.

a. Place of worship

Mawu gã is worshipped only by those people with whom he dwells and who have prepared a seat and a special place of worship for him. With some this is occasionally very poor and consists simply of a bowl placed on a trident, in which various oily plants, to wit, *ma*, are found. The bowl is filled with water throughout the year. Others, on the contrary, make a special fence of palm branches, and plant within it different oily herbs and a tree, *lɛ*, which is also called *Mawuti*, God's tree. Its high, slender

growth, by which it is conveniently distinguished from other trees, may be the reason why it is used for ritual purposes.

Besides the *Mawuti*, *anyi*, a tree similar to the palm, is planted, which the natives call also “thunder tree”. Under these trees is the *Mawugba*, “God’s bowl”, which is distinguished from the offering bowls of the earth gods in that it is not fired. As these evergreen trees shade the divine enclosure, the residents of the house, *Mawu*’s children, sit under the protection and shade of God, where they have nothing to fear.

b. Religious rites

The *Mawu* priest plants various herbs in the bowls under the trees, the most important of which is *ma*, because it is only through it that the others derive their value. He then fills the bowls with water that was fetched by a still unmarried and clean¹⁷ girl. Some palm wine, which was brought home in a pot carefully covered with leaves, is poured on to the water. Only through this is the guarantee given that no woman in her period can see or touch it.

The other rites in connection with the worship are performed at specific periods, daily, weekly or annually, and irregularly, or also through certain events.

The daily service consists mainly of ablutions from the divine bowl, which are performed with prayer immediately after getting up in the morning. Before this purification has taken place, the person who is going to undergo the rites is not allowed to talk to anybody. Entry is forbidden to those women who are not clean, or who have committed adultery. For weekly or monthly worship, the worshipper brings a small sacrifice consisting of eggs, palm wine and flour. The worshipper prays: “Great God, you who sees my thoughts, I bring you here two eggs from the hens from my fowls. Take care of my house, of my children and my wives, and let me have cowry shells so that there is always peace in my house.” The container in which the palm wine was brought will not be taken back home on that same day.

The weekly worship takes place on Saturday. When the priest gets up from his mat, he washes his face from the divine bowl, dabs his forehead, temples, chest and arms with white clay and dresses in white. Then he sets off to his hut which is consecrated only to the worship of *Mawu*, where he remains sitting on a stool sprinkled with white clay until sunset.

The reason for this is that, on that day, God is with him and will leave him only in the evening when it becomes cool. When the priest is leaving the hut, he hangs a white cloth over the entrance.

For the festival which takes place annually, only a completely white sheep should be used. The drinking cup, from which the person making the sacrifice drinks, must be impeccably clean and to this end is thoroughly scrubbed before the custom. Likewise, he eats only from a white plate or, in any case, from a bowl which has been carefully washed before hand. The invited guests for this festival must sleep separately from their wives the previous night. Girls who still know nothing of a man must cook and fetch water. Other people who do not belong to the *Mawu* children may not take part in the festive meal. Only those with whom *Mawu* is dwelling are invited from outside. The fire needed for cooking should not be taken from any hearth but must be made with

¹⁷ Ritually clean.

flint and tinder, although nowadays European matches are also used. It should also not be lit on an ordinary hearth because it is impure. Instead, the three pieces of wood are laid on each other in such a way, that a pot can be put on it. At the end of the festival, the fire must also be put out with water that had been fetched in the morning by a pure hand. Thus, the desecration of the holy fire must be prevented. The *Mawu* worshipper carefully keeps the three pieces of used firewood.

The offering of the sacrificial sheep is performed in this way: While the sheep is held up three times towards the sky, the one making the sacrifice prays, then kills it and uses the blood for the actual sacrifice, leaving the meat for the attendants to cook. Details of the sacrifice customs can be discerned best from the sacrifice rites to be described, which are performed for a *Mawu* worshipper who has sinned against God. A man with whom *Mawu* dwells dreams somewhat like this: some one is standing in front of him, whose form he sees exactly. The figure standing before him says: “You are trading and you are successful in your trade; but I am the one that lets you succeed. Do you really think that I don’t want to have anything and go hungry? Then you must go and see how far you will get in your power!” The next morning, the person who had the dream goes to one of his relations to narrate the dream, saying that he woke up feeling very weak. Some days later, the dreamer feels unwell and complains about pains in the waist, in the stomach, in the chest and in the head. Thus, it becomes clear to the confidant what the whole thing is about. He explains to the dreamer: “God himself, *Mawu ɲuto*, has revealed himself to you. Go and look for a white sheep and everything necessary for the sacrifice!” No *trɔ* priest will be called upon for the ensuing sacrificial rites. Only a man with whom *Mawu* also dwells is allowed to perform this service.

The *Mawu* priest called upon to perform the sacrifice gets inside the divine fence, and the one to be expiated kneels down in front of him, holding the sacrificial ram over his neck. Bowing his head to the earth, he says, *Meɖe kuku, tɔnye medzɔ o, adzɔ, si ke nɛbia, eya ke mena, ne dziwɔ nabɔɔ, nɛkpɔ dzinye nyuiedɛ aba alesi nɛkpɔ dzinye tsã ene*, which means, “I beg, for I have done wrong. Here, I bring the offering which you want from me, so that you are no longer angry with me. Now take care of me as you used to do.” Hereupon, the priest standing in front of him asks: “What have you said?” The suppliant answers:

“Formerly, I did not know, I thought I could work through my own strength. I did not know that (it is) he (who) gives me health, and for this reason he has revealed himself to me. Everything that he demands from me I will therefore give him. May he take care of me well! If I go to the market, may the market be successful; and if I go to the farm, may I get good proceeds from the farm; if I go to the loom, may I remain healthy! May two ears of corn grow from one seed; if I buy something for 25 pfg. may I get 50 pfg. I am giving you the sheep that you have demanded from me. Therefore, your

Tsã nyemenya o, mesusu be nye ɲuto nye lāmesesẽ nu mewɔa dɔ dɔ; nyemenye be eya na lāmesẽm o, eya ta eya ɲuto dɛ gbe fãe nam. Eya ta nu si ke wɔbia, eya nane. Nɛkpɔ dzinye sesĩe. Ne mede asi, ne asi nanyo; ne meyi dɛ agbati me nakpe dɛ ɲunye ne nye lāme nasẽ. Ne mietɔ ku dɛka nezu kpo eve. Ne mietɔ trɔ nu ne miɔxɔ takufa. Alẽ, si wɔbiam, eya ke mana. Eya srɔwɔ be nɔxɔe le srɔ si hafi mena wɔ. Nyea mena tɔnye nu heyi vɔ, wɔ lɔlɔnu mena wo vɔe.

wife (the priest performing the apology) says, you should receive it from the hand of your wife (the officiating priest). I have given mine; I have given it to you according to your wish.”

After this solemn prayer, the officiating priest of *Mawu* holds the sheep three times towards the sky and prays:

“I bring you here your offering (tax), and the animal which you wanted from me, about which you said, if your wife does not give it to you, you will kill her. Your wife has therefore bought the animal. It was then asked, who is going to receive the animal on your behalf, so that your heart may become cool and you withdraw your hand from your wife again. You yourself have said, I should receive the animal on your behalf. I have received this animal and I am giving it to you. I am not giving it to you in my own authority but on behalf of my grandfathers and my grandmothers. I am offering today the animal which was promised to you. Come now and put your foot (into the blood), sit down and take care of your wife so that she may not be frightened by any evil *gbetsi*, by any witches and by any evil spirits!”

Wò adzo; lã si ke nèbiam be, ne srõ mena o la yeawui. Eya srõwò fle lã. Eya wòbe, ame ka axɔ lã na wò hafi wò dzi nafa, eye aɖe asi le srõ ɲu mahã? Wo ɲutɔ efo nu be, nye maxɔ lã na ye; nenem lã mexɔ le srõwò si na wò, mena tɔnye heyi vɔ. Nyemene le nye ɲutɔ fe akɔta o, mewɔe tɔgbui tefe mama tefe. Lã si ke wonaa wò, eya ke wotsɔ na wò egbe, nava de afɔ me nabɔɔvɔ nɔ anyi, nana srõa ta kpɔm ne nu vɔ, gbetsi vɔ, adze vɔe, ɲɔli vɔ naklẽ ɲku dee.

Immediately after this prayer, he cuts the throat of the sacrificial animal with a knife. He sprinkles some of the first drops of the blood in the divine bowl. The rest of the blood gushing out he allows to flow across the entrance to the divine enclosure. After the animal has finished bleeding, he puts the bowl with *ma*, blood and water back into the enclosure. Upon leaving it, he must make sure that he does not step in the blood, because *Mawu* himself will step his feet into the blood when coming out of the fence.

In this way, he drinks the blood so that the person making the sacrifice will now have peace. The person making the sacrifice now drinks water from the bowl used for the sacrifice, washes his face and body and gets peace, that is, health.

The instructions valid for an effective ritual refer to the behaviour of the *Mawu* worshipper, to the period of worship and also to the prayer to be made. A man who belongs to *Mawu* must sleep separated from women from Friday to Saturday. In the morning of his day, he has a young girl who is not married and does not yet menstruate fetch water for him. He himself is not allowed to talk to anybody that morning, because one never knows whether a person has committed special sins, such as adultery, theft, evil sorcery, or otherwise “evil words”. The curses of such person will be passed on to him and make everything impure. He would make God dirty, *afodɪ Mawu*. He must

carefully fold and keep the very mat on which he sleeps, so that no other person, especially his wife, comes into contact with it.

The time of offering the sacrifice to *Mawu* falls on the transition of the afternoon to evening “when the earth has become cool.” In praying to *Mawu* the worshipper turns his face towards the sunset because that is the “sleeping place of life”. The sun is regarded as the mediator of prayer. Although the worshipper turns to *Mawu* who is dwelling with him, he looks at the setting evening sun. The sun himself is expected to offer the prayer to *Mawu*,¹⁸ which duty he performs in the course of the night. The sun is for *Mawu* the faithful reporter of all that man has done during the day.

The initiation into the office of a *Mawu* priest is, like the other cults, bound up with a number of ceremonial acts, of which the most important consist in washing, painting with white clay, putting on white cloth and wearing of a string to which cowries are attached.

The significance of the *Mawu* priest is different from that of the *trɔ̃* priest. While a terrestrial deity can come to dwell with a man and influence him in a harmful manner, this is completely impossible with *Mawu*. With the terrestrial deities, the priest has the duty of removing the curse on a person, *ɖea nui*, or of removing the terrestrial deity that is oppressing him. However, this is impossible with reference to *Mawu*. The reason lies, on the one hand, in the greatness of God. He is too magnanimous to be expiated with a sacrificial animal; on the other, it lies in the nature of God. He is so kind-hearted that he would not kill any person, even if someone calls his name in the form of a curse on another. God is too peaceful to commit such a deed. However, where there are no punishments, no peacemaker, ‘*ɖanuila*’, is necessary. Because of his greatness and his benevolence, it is not allowed to swear on *Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ*. You cannot use the name of God to bring evil upon anybody or cause the death of anyone. It is just in this way that God distinguishes himself most significantly from terrestrial deities. Also, it is worth mentioning that the priest of an earth deity can never do the rituals meant for *Mawu* for any person. The priest of an earth deity may indeed state what and how it should be done, but he himself may not perform the customs. Only a man with whom *Mawu* dwells is allowed to do it. Inversely, a person who is with *Mawu* is not allowed at the same time to worship a terrestrial deity. At any rate, he must do so on different days. During the time of worshipping *Mawu*, he may not go to the place where sacrifice is being offered to a *trɔ̃*. Inversely, a person who is at the place where sacrifice is being made for a *trɔ̃* is not allowed to go to the place where *Mawu* is being worshipped. The same situation pertains with sorcery. *Mawu* worship, *Mawu nuwɔwɔ* and magic, *dzosasa*, are mutually exclusive. A magician, *dzotɔ*, does not perform the worship of his magic charms and the worship of *Mawu* at the same time, for the two do not go together. If someone with whom *Mawu* is dwelling is also a magician, then he must keep his charms in a house completely separated from *Mawu*. The two should not come together. Though *Mawu* worship excludes terrestrial deities and witchcraft, it is most compatible with the worship of the woman in the hereafter, *dzɔgbemesi*. For, she is under and comes behind *Mawu* and for her, he is great, *gã*.

18 See pg. 146 e.

3. Worship of *Mawu Sodza*

The worship of *Mawu Sodza* is of a dual nature. On the one hand, it is conveyed through *Sogblẽ*; on the other hand, it seems to be thought of without an intermediary. The reason may lie in the fact that some are more *Sodza* and the others more *Sogblẽ* worshippers. During the worship of the terrestrial deities, the calling of *Mawu Sodza* always comes first. The offerings brought to terrestrial deities are held nine times towards the sky. Each time after the offering is swung in the air, the priest spits on it in such a way that his saliva drips on it. He says: *Mawu Sodza tedzedzenɔtso fledzedzenɔtso dzedze dze ami*, meaning, “*Mawu Sodza*, you powerful mother of the growth of yams and of *vle*, here is your offering of yam, on which we have poured oil.” After this, the terrestrial deities are addressed during which the herbs forming part of the prayer are again held nine times towards the sky. This applies to the terrestrial deities.

When the priest of a terrestrial deity turns with offering and prayer to speak to his deity on behalf of a sick person, he invariably starts the prayer thus: *Wò Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, lāgbenɔ va tɔ aha no, ne amesi ke le dɔ lém vevie, naɖi, kusie kusie, ne ame nahaya*. This means “O *Mawu Sodza*, mother of man and beast alike, come and drink palm wine. Help the sick and restore his health”. Then he continues, calling all the terrestrial deities he knows to invite them to come and drink palm wine. At the end of the prayer, he names the herbs *fla, ma* and says: “These are the herbs which you have sent that the sick may recover.”

Another similar prayer which is said before the Yam Festival is as follows:

“*Sodza*, god of our homeland, mother of the large community, you deities (*trõwo*) of our homeland, here we bring you our yam, receive it and eat it! You should eat it before we also eat. May we not have any pains and may our head agree!”¹⁹

After this, the priest lays the offering consisting of yams and flour-water on the earth and prays the second half of the prayer, which goes: “Those of you who do not drink palm wine, we bring here flour-water for you to drink, and those of you who drink palm wine, we give palm wine. If he gets intoxicated from it, may he fall on a buffalo or on a wild boar!” The thought behind this wish is that the *trõ* should kill buffalo and wild boar for them.

Another prayer is:

“O, *Mawu Sodza*, mother of man, mother of animals (?). If you give to the people, you give to the people; if you deny to the people, then you deny to the people. In your greatness, I am great, what you want, I agree. You strong rain giver, you, Saturday-born! You ship full of yams and ship full of *vle*, you ship full of colourful wealth, for the traders and for farmers!”

Miade Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, miade trõwo miafe te – eya ke miaxɔ ɖu, miawo miadu hafi miadu. Wokpɔ afi deke meve mi o, ne miata nasɔ. Ame si ke meno aha o, wɔtsi eya ke, ame si ke no aha, aha eya ke, nemu de tɔvi ɲu nemu de havi ɲu.

O, Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, lāgbenɔ na ame na ame; te ame te ame, wò kɔkɔ mekɔ; wò lɔlɔnu melɔ. ɖoɖo ayoyo. Kwami ame, tevu vlevu nyagã nyagã; asiwo, agblewo, asitsa fe nu võe, agblede fe nu nyuie.

¹⁹ Our way of thinking.

A prayer directed entirely to *Mawu Sodza*, a prayer which the old King *Kofi of Ho* spoke in front of a post planted in the earth and decorated with a white stripe of something, was as follows:

“O, *Mawu Sodza*, mother of the people (or mother of the great community)..., to whomever you give, you give, to whomever you hand something, to that one you hand it. Here, I am handing over your hen, come and eat it! May there be peace in the world, and may man be born together with the placenta! May domestic animals multiply while wild animals die! If a hunter goes hunting, may he keep the dead and the living, the fat bristle rat and the *woyea* in the forest! May the calabash match (agree with) the pot!²⁰ May it stink behind the house!²¹ May her head and each evil word go far away into the bush to land where nobody has ever set foot. Is that not so? Yes, so it is!”

Concerning the time of worshipping *Mawu Sodza*, the priests say unanimously, that first they worship *Mawu Sodza* and only after that they worship the terrestrial deities.” Long before we worshipped *Ueto*, “*Eve-mountain*”, we worshipped *Mawu Sodza*” Or: “It is only later that *Mawu* sent the terrestrial deities and put all his words in their hands.

O; *Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, lāgbenɔ, tevu flevu, nyagānyagāvu, dza dzi dza dzi menya dzi o. Wò na ame na ame, te amehawo. Eya ke mena wò, natsa òu.*

Xexeme nefa, ame nedzi kple tsro, afelā nedzi, gbelā neku. Adela de adegbe me nefɔ kukuwo kple gbagbe tse, nukpui boloko ave me woyea; tre nesɔ, ze nesɔ, xɔ òdome nevẽ mĩa ta nesɔ tititi, nya vɔ neyi avali me; menye alea? Ehe?

4. Worship of *Mawu Sogblẽ*

Since *Sogblẽ* is considered, on the one hand, as spokesman and ambassador of God sent to the people and conversely, as spokesman and ambassador of these to God, he enjoys great respect in certain social strata. It is said: “Many people know *Mawu Sogblẽ* better than they know *Mawu Sodza*; for *Mawu Sogblẽ* does much evil and for that reason they invoke him.” They say, “If I invoke him, he does not do anything evil to me.” On the other hand, it is not only worshipping which stops him from striking a person with lightning but also intercession by *Mawu Sodza* for a good person. If a good person is struck by lightning, you can expect with certainty that this person will remain alive and recover.

The trees struck down by thunder may not be used as firewood. Any person who goes against this will be sick for the rest of his life. But should this not happen, then the transgressor will be punished, either by his foot knocking against something or he has the misfortune of killing a person. The foot will become infected and gradually rot away. Such sick persons bring *Sogblẽ* their offering and bathe in small rain-fed streams. They say, “Let us go and bathe in the rivulets filled with rain water! By this we have surrendered everything to *Mawu Sogblẽ*.” They pray to him, *Wò Sogblẽ ha dzẽ, nase gbe, nede Mawu gā gbɔ, newɔ nuke. Neɖi kusie*, which means: “O *Sogblẽ*, you red pig, listen to

²⁰ That is, the husband live in peace with the wife.

²¹ Is a plea for blessing of children. The small children ease themselves behind the house. There is no smell behind a house where a couple with no children live.

my voice and go to the Great God that he may help me, bless me and let me succeed in everything!” Also the offering brought to *Sogblē* should only be a white sheep.²² Besides the previously mentioned young people, all those who were rescued from any serious danger worship him. Whoever, for example, has escaped from robbers, been rescued from drowning in a torrential river or saved from fire, or whom the bite of a poisonous snake has not harmed, *Mawu Sogblē* has rescued him and will be the god specially worshipped by him in future.

Before people plant yam and corn or sow rice, such worshippers raise a mound on the path leading to their farm, place four grains of maize or rice in three places in it, wash their hands from a small pot and say: “*Mawu Sogblē*, the hands I have washed, I have washed them for you. May the seeds I am sowing thrive; take care of them so that they are not destroyed by anything! I have purified my evil hand; therefore help so that I may appear in beautiful clothes among my peers!” Another prayer says, *Mawu Sogblē, ha dzē, ha dzē, aha dzē mano mū. Wublu mese me fe kplo, èdē ame le vu mede ame le dzo me, dzɔ afe dzɔ agble*, meaning: “*Sogblē*, you red pig, make me not get drunk from spirits! May the thunder I hear not split me! You rescue people from water and fire and watch over house and farm.”

When at the beginning of a storm the blacksmiths turn to pray to *Ligblē*, this prayer also is addressed to *Mawu Sogblē*. If the forging continues to sound and suddenly a thunder storm threatens and the mighty thunder rolls, then they say: *Tɔgbui, Ligblē neɖi nam*, meaning: “May Grandfather *Ligblē* help me and make the inhabitants of the town come to me to make their hoes with me so that I get my food.” They give their offerings to *Ligblē* or to the forging stone, i. e. to the anvil, with the request that he should accept the offering and hand it over to *Mawu Sogblē*; but may the latter hand over the offering to *Mawu Sodza*.

Friday is the day that is consecrated to *Sogblē*. His worshipper smears himself with white clay, but dresses in *bisi dziɖi dziɖi*, in dark blue material.

5. Worship of *Mawu Sɔwlui*

The worshippers of *Sɔwlui*, never bring any offering to this servant of *Mawu*, but they pray to him. The prayer consists entirely of the number of names they attach to him. He is called: *Nana Sɔwlui bowlui, se blu se ve, tevu nyagā vlevu nyagā, tedzedzeno tso, vledzedzeno tso*, meaning “*Sɔwlui*, you giver of pleasant goods, you who understand the *Eve* and the *Tsi* language, you are a ship full of yams and a ship full of *vle*.” Often they add, *Misi nyɔ̃, nu na ame la*. The meaning of these words is: “Your right and left hand are full of wealth which you give to people.”

II. Terrestrial Gods (*trɔ̃wo*)

A. Introductory Remarks

The indigenous people divide their gods into those who live “on high”, *le dzi me*, and those that live on the earth, *le anyigba*, and find their main field of activity here. The earth deities are never called *Mawu*, but *trɔ̃wo*. According to the unanimous explanation

²² When a man is going to war, he prays in his hut to *Mawu Sodza* saying, he should rescue the warrior from his dangers and help him take a man captive from the camp of the enemy.

of the inhabitants, this name identifies the mindset of the earth deities who demand from people today this and tomorrow that; today a fowl, tomorrow a sheep, and then something else. Because of their moody and demanding disposition, the *trõ* worshipper never feels reassured that now he has done enough for his god, who constantly demands something new and again and again something different.

The duties of the terrestrial deities are that they mediate interaction between God and man on the one hand, and interaction of man with God on the other. While there is little to say about the former, the other half of their activity attracts more opinion. Their activity on this side is a real contract business, which can only be concluded through the mediation of the priest. The terrestrial deity is in an association between the sky god on one hand and his priest on the other. With the priest, in that he possesses him entirely and sometimes makes him fall into ecstasy, or only in that he merely occupies a small tuft of his hair. Those deities who totally possess their priests belong exclusively to the foreign immigrants, the so-called *tsatsatrõwo*, “itinerant gods”, the others, who dwell in the hair on the head of their priest, belong to the oldest hereditary gods, the so-called *tgbuitrõwo*. The former disclose through the mouth of their priest all sorts of secrets, for example, where a stolen article is hidden, causes of sicknesses and the causes of serious plagues, like drought, epidemics and the like. They know why devastating cloudbursts break out and they know the outcome of a war. The oldest hereditary gods deal less with predictions and prophecies, than with the fact that they bring the requests of the people before *Mawu* on behalf of the priest. When there is serious drought, they ask God for rain. Sometimes they go even to the extent of stealing water at the house of God, in order to bring it down to their customers in the form of rain. Not seldom, they are caught in the theft by the “sons of God.” The sons of God, *Mawu viwo* punish the terrestrial deities immediately and then release them with a good thrashing. Because the way to God is very far and their business sometimes very hazardous, they want to be paid for their services by their customers. Only in this light is the description of the offering as *adzõ*, “tax, payment”, understandable. But it is also they who denounce to God the greed of the people and their deviation from the customs of the fathers. For this they punish the guilty with sickness and abrupt death.

The terrestrial deities occupy such an influential position, and especially in view of their unpredictable moods, it is very important that these deities remain always well-disposed towards their worshippers. The same deities are kept in good mood mainly through regular offerings and prayers associated with certain events. Thus, offerings are made to them before the annual yam festival, before the burning of the bush, and sometimes also before the planting of yam. In between these, many events occur which require an offering to the terrestrial deity.

The terrestrial deities are divided into hereditary and itinerant deities, also according to their evil and good nature, into male and female. To the evil category belong exclusively the immigrant deities and those associated with a number of magic cures, *dzo zu trõwo*, because all kinds of dubious medicines are at the disposal of their priests. That is why the immigrants are also called *atikettrõwo*, meaning “medicine deities”. Furthermore, they have the characteristic designation “white gods and red gods”, *getrõwo* and *totrõwo*. The white gods are those whose priests are painted with white clay when they are in ecstasy. The red deities, on the contrary, are those whose priests are painted with red colour when they are in ecstasy. This colour is extracted

from the roots of the tree called *to* and from a red stone called *de* ground into powder. Unlike the medicine deities, the priests and the worshippers of the oldest hereditary deities paint themselves only with ordinary clay, which is mixed to a paste. “They do not hold their priest by the hand”, *wo meléa asi ame o*, meaning: They do not send him into ecstasy, and above all, they can never be used for the invocation of the dead. Only the red deities are suitable for this. Accordingly, all the deities standing in relationship with the red colour are from elsewhere.

All the terrestrial deities are supposed to have their abodes in the air, perhaps also in the clouds, and therefore they are thought to be the causes of devastating storms and tempests. On earth, they have their abodes on mountains, on cliffs, in ravines and in caves, in trees, springs, brooks and rivers. While the hereditary deities mainly live in the open and in natural objects, the itinerant deities live exclusively in artefacts, which are erected in huts or under shelter in the open.

The priest of a hereditary deity is determined through succession, while the priest of an itinerant deity is determined through free choice of his deity. Now it often happens that a hereditary priest refuses to accept to serve. Such a person is forced to accept the priesthood, either through the wish of the chiefs or through a sickness caused by the scorned deity. The itinerant deities “possess” the priests and priestesses they have selected in such a manner that body twitchings, lethargy, and other strange illnesses are the definite signs that a deity wants to live with them. At the death of their priest, these deities spring to another person of their choice to have him henceforth as priest. It is worthy of note that in addition to their priestly duties, the priests of the itinerant deities also concern themselves with magic as an effective resource.

B. Characteristics of the terrestrial deities and their worship.

The people of *Ho* brought two great *trōwo* from *Hogbefe*²³ to their present abode. These are *Dzoha* and *Agbasia*. *Dzoha* is in *Banyakoe* and *Agbasia* is in *Axōe*. The deities of the *Banyakoe* people are: *Dzoha*, *Kalia*, then *Zɔdzi*, *Dzikple*, *Gogokpoe*, *Axɔlɔdanyi* and *Aɔi*. The *trō* of the people of *Dome* is *Tsihee*. Those of the *Axōe* people are: *Agbasia*, *Dzagee* and *Zɔdzi*. Those of the *Heve* are: *Tsiagbeto*. Those of the people of *Ahliha* are: *Dzingbe* and *Ahliha*.

B. Anyigba – Mawuwo kple wo subɔsubɔ.

Trɔ̃ gã eve Hoawo tso tso Hogbefe va anyigba sia dzi, woawo nye: Dzoha kple Agbasia. Dzoha le Banyakoe, eye Agbasia le Axōe. Banyakoetwo fe trōwo nye: Dzoha, Kalia, Zɔdzi, Dzikple, Gogokpoe, Axɔlɔdanyi kple Ati.

Dometwo tse nye Tsihee. Axōeawo tawoe nye: Agbasia, Dzagee kple Zɔdzi. Hevetwo tse nye Tsiāgbeto.

Ahlihatwo tse nye: Dzingbe kple Ahliha.

1. Agbasia

a. Names, abode and distinctive qualities

The greatest among all these deities is *Agbasia*, namely, “Nobody puts a hot bowl on the roof; the house would burn down.” His nick-names are: 1. *Agbogbo*,²⁴ “something very powerful” or also “productive”. 2. *Agbasia masia de xɔta* (meaning see above). 3. *Gededi*, god of the broad open plain. 4. *Getrɔ sia me àde dzo Agbasia mea?* “Do you want to set fire to *Agbasia* this afternoon? that is, “Do you want to excite him, spur him on?”

The abode of the deity *Agbasia* is between (the water place) *Dzagee* and *Kpeɲe* on the moist land or between *Uegbe* and the land *Atiagbenya*. *Agbasia* kills people instantly without pity. He is (however) also a deity that takes care of people. He goes to God and buys children for people.

Agbasia has a big, very long beard and is a prominent masculine figure. It is he alone who gives people children they produce; they say that when he is invoked by a priest, he answers clearly so that everyone can hear him.

b. The cult

α. Worship before the burning of the grass

If the burning of the grass has taken place and it (the grass) was not hoed near the deity,²⁵ his priest takes off his clothes. Then he hangs two small gourds filled with magic powder and a chain of cowries around his neck, dresses in blue cloth, binds cowries around his arm, and cuts his hair leaving a small tuft. When they go to the place of sacrifice, the people fetch water in gourds and the priest follows behind them. When they come to the *trɔ* place, he pours water on the fruit called *nyakpekpe* (a long cucumber-like tree fruit) and calls out in a loud voice: “*He..!* This fire was not good! We beg you, because the fire has burnt your house!” Hereupon, the priest stirs water mixed with flour and pours it on the ground as libation. Then all the people turn back and go home.

β. The great feast of sacrifice

αα. Going to the place of sacrifice

On the day when a person does his thing,²⁶ the priest sends a man with clear voice into the grove of *Agbasia*. The messenger hides there so that nobody can see him. When the priest with the others arrives there, nobody is allowed to enter the grove. Then the priest calls out in a loud voice before the people the name of *Agbasia* and says, “*Agbasia*, we have come today to cook a goat for you!” Thereupon, the man hiding in the grove replies in an equally loud voice: *Yo*, “Yes!” All the people present there believe that *Agbasia* himself has replied. Now all the people push their way into the grove, and the man who had hidden himself in the bush also hurries as quickly as he can to join the people unnoticed. Only the priest knows about it.

24 See pg. 1 *Agbogbome*.

25 At his offering place.

26 Celebrates his sacrifice festival.

1. Agbasia

a. *Ŋkɔ, nɔfe kple dzɔdzɔme*

Trɔ siawo katā dome gātɔe nye Agbasia, egɔmee nye: Ame aɔke mate ɲu atɔɔ agba dzɔdzɔ asia ɔe xɔta o, xɔ la abi dzo. Wofoa ŋkɔ ɔo nɛ bena: 1. Agbogbo 2. Agbasia masia ɔe xɔta 3. Yededi 4. Yetɔɔ sia me ada dzo agbasia mā. Yededie nye gbagbagbe alo gbadzafe trɔ la.

Agbasia fe nɔfee nye Dzagee kple Kpeɲɔetɔwo dome le avu me alo Uegbetɔwo kple Atsiamanya dome. Ewua ame enumake nublanui makpɔmakpɔe sã. Enye trɔ, si kpɔa amewo ta; eyia Mawu gbɔ flea vi na ame.

Enye trɔ, si lolo, gè le enu vlaya, eye wòɔo vo; eya kokoko naa vi amewo wodzina. Wogblo be, ne tsɔnua yɔe la, etɔna ame siaa ame seva.

b. *Subɔsubɔ*

α. *Le dzɔtɔgbeyi*

Ne dzo va bi gbe eye womenɔ trɔ la gbɔ o la, ekema Agbasianua ɲutɔ ɔea efe avɔtata ɔi, eye wòtsɔa tigui eve kple hotsui tɔtɔ kplana, eye wotaa blusi, sa hotsui ɔe alɔnu, eye wodɔa ɔagbo ɔe ta. Ne woyina trɔfea la, amewo kua tsi ɔe goewo me tsɔna ɔe ta, eye trɔnua dzea wo yome. Ne wova trɔfea la, etsɔ tsi la kɔna ɔe nyakpeawo dzi nɔa yli dom bena Hẽ, dzo ke manyo o, baba na wò loo, be dzo va fia wò xɔ. Emegbe trɔsia tsɔa tsi blua wɔe hekɔna ɔi, eye wo katā gbugbɔna va afe.

β. *Vɔsasa gātɔ*

αα. *Trɔ la fe me yiyi*

Gbe si gbe wole efe nu wɔge la, trɔnua dɔa ame si gbe nyuie li ne la, ɔe Agbasia fe ave la me. Eye ame la yla ɔɔkui nyuie, bena ame aɔke nagakpɔe o. Ne trɔsi la kple ame bubuwo va la, womekpɔ mɔ be, woayi ɔe ave la me o. Eye trɔnua doa yli sesiẽ ayo Agbasia fe ŋkɔ le amewo dome agblo be: Agbasia, mɛeva gbɔ ɔa ge na wò loo!. Ekema ɲutsu, si yla ɔɔkui ɔe ave me xoxo la, doa yli sesiẽ tɔna bena: Yoo!. Ame siwo katā le afi ma la, susuna be, Agbasia ɲutu ɲutu le tɔtɔ. Enumake wo katā woyina ɔe ave la me, eye ɲutsu, si yla ɔɔkui la hã wɔna kabakaba trɔna va amewo dome, ame aɔke mekpɔne o; negbe trɔnua ko nyanɛ.

ββ. Presentation of the offering. Benediction and final prayer

Agbasia neither eats fowl nor sheep. Therefore, a goat is consecrated to him, which should not be touched by the people in the town. It is also strongly forbidden to beat it or do anything that will hurt it. The goat has the right to eat anybody's food. It will be caught on the day it is to be sacrificed, and porridge made of red maize, flour, small bowls and pots are taken along. Water is poured into the pot and the bowls. The flour and the red maize porridge are thrown in front of the pots. Then some *nyakpekpe* fruits are hidden in a blue cloth, and the people say that they have dressed the deity.

Now, a hole is dug, the goat is put into it and is beaten with sticks till it dies. When it is dead, the skin is removed with a knife. All the joints (cut parts of the animal) are put together in a pot and cooked on three stones set together. When the meat is tender, flour is strewn on it (in the bowl), mixed with red oil and eaten. The bones are all taken together and placed below the *nyakpekpe* fruits; they say, these belong to the deity. When they have finished eating, they then drum and make merry (with song and dance).

Now the priest puts on a blue cloth, pours water on the ground in front of the *nyakpekpe* fruits and forms small clay balls. He gives some to everybody who has come to the place of sacrifice to take home to give to his people who could not come. They apply the rest of the mud on their forehead, forearm, the upper part of the back, on the chest and on the back of the knee and are very happy.

After that, the priest prays and says: “*O Agbasia, masia xɔta!* We rejoice and have come to your house. Help us to remain healthy! Let calabash and cover multiply,²⁷ and when anyone has no children, may he have many children! And when the time of burning the bush comes, let each of us find burnt animals in the bush; however, may the hunters kill living animals! When they go hunting, may plenty of meat come to the town!” After the prayer everyone goes home.

c. Children consecrated to him

α. Request for Children

All those women who want to have children from *Agbasia* bring him 2 or 5 *hoka* in a calabash in the grove, to buy children from him (*Agbasia*). When the sacrifice is done, the priest leads the women who are asking for children in front of the bowls (filled with water). There he makes seven balls of maize porridge and places them in front of the *trɔ̃*. The women put their hands on each other's back, kneel down, take the balls in order with their mouth and eat them. When the priest has done all that for them, he takes one, two or four of the shells they brought to the deity, binds them on a raffia string and hangs it on the neck of all of them, as he says to each of them, *Agbasia* has marked you that none of you is allowed to go to other men apart from your own. *Agbasia* will not pity any of you, if anyone of you goes to another man, but will kill you on the spot.

27 Calabash and cover are husband and wife. It is a plea to be blessed with children.

ββ. Vɔsasa nɛ

Agbasia meɖua koklo kple alē o. Eya ta woɖoa gbɔ ɖi na Agbasia. Dua metɔ aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔɖaka asi eɣu alo wɔɖafɔe alo awɔ nu vevie hã o. Eɖua ame siaa ame fe nu dzodzro. Gbe si gbe wole vɔ sa ge nɛ la, wolea gbɔ la, eye wotsɔa akple dzẽ, wɔ fuflu, agbavi kple zevi ɖe asi. Wokɔa tsi ɖe zevi la kple agbavi la me, eye wotsɔa wo la kple akplẽ dzẽ la kɔna ɖe wo gbɔ. Emegbe wotaa blusi na nyakpekpe tsetsewo, eye wogblɔna bena, Mawu yewota avɔ na.

Azɔ la wokua do, eye wotsɔa gbɔa fe afɔwo dea eme, eye wofonɛ kple ati va se ɖe esime wokuna. Ne eku vɔ la, wokonɛ kple hɛ, eye wotsɔa gbɔ la fe funuɖefewo katã kpena, eye woɖanɛ le kpe kpekpe aɖe dzi. Ne lãwo bi vɔ keɣ la, wotsɔa wɔ kɔna ɖe edzi, eye wobakanɛ heɖuna. Wofɔa fuawo kɔna ɖe nyakpekpe la gbɔ be, eya nye Mawu tɔ. Ne woɖu nu la vɔ la, ekema wofoa vu, eye woɖia kɔ vu.

Azɔ trɔnua tsɔa blusi hetana, eye wɔtsɔa tsi bubu kɔna ɖe anyigba le nyakpekpe la gbɔ, eye wɔɖafo kɔe keɣ atɔ ade ame siaa ame si ke va la si, be woatsɔ ayi afe aɖana wo nɔvi, siwo meva o la hã. Ba mamle la, wo dome ame siaa ame tanɛ ɖe ngonu, alɔnu, dzime, dzinu kple drime, eye wonɔa dzidzɔ kpɔm.

Emegbe la trɔnua doa gbe ɖa gblɔna bena “O, Agbasia masia ɖe xɔta, mɛkpɔ dzidzɔ, eye mɛva afewɔ me, nakpe ɖe mɛ ɣu, ne mɛawo hã mɛanɔ sesɛ ɖe, na tre kple agbɔ nasɔ gbɔ ɖe mɛ si, eye ne ame aɖe mele vi dzim o la, wɔɖadzi vi geɖe. Eye dzo, si le gbe bi ge la, na mɛ dome ame siaa ame nafɔ lã fiafia le gbe dzi, eye ame siwo nye adelawo nawu lã gbagbewo akpe ɖe eɣuti. Ne wode gbe dzi la, lã nava afe geɖe” Ne edo gbe ɖa vɔ la, ekema ame siaa ame vaa afe.

C. Agbasiaviwo

α. Nyɔnuwo fe vi biabia

Nyɔnu siwo katã le vi dim le egbɔ la, wo dome ame aɖewo tsɔa hotsui hoka eve eye ame aɖewo tsɔa hoka atɔ dea tre me heva ave la me, be woafle vi tso esi me. Ne wowu vɔsasa nu vɔ la, ekema trɔnua kplɔa nyɔnu, siwo va vi biage la, yina ɖe agba dome. Eye wɔtsɔ wɔkɔe adre dana ɖe anyigba ɖe trɔ la kɔme. Nyɔnuawo blaa asi ɖe megbe dzea klo, eye wotsɔa nu tsɔa wɔkɔe adre la hemina ɖekadeka. Ne trɔnua wɔe na wo katã vɔ la, hotsui, si wotsɔ ve na Mawu la, trɔnua tsɔa efe agaga alo hotsui eve alo ene sana ɖe la ɣuti dea kɔme na wo katã. Eye wogblɔna na wo bena, Agbasia de dzesi mi bena, mia dome ame aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔɖade ɣutsu bubu aɖeke gbɔ o, negbe mia ɣutɔwo srɔ gbɔ ko. Eye ne wo dometɔ aɖe yi ɣutsu bubu gbɔ la, makpɔ nublanui nɛ o, enumake Agbasia awui sãa.

β. Treatment of the children he has given

A woman is not allowed to go to him during menstruation. If one of the women who had been with him has a child, the child is given to *Agbasia*. If the child is a boy, he is then *Klu*, slave of *Agbasia*, and if it is a girl, she will be *Kosi*, slave of *Agbasia*. Immediately after the birth of the child, the child is brought to the priest and he collects water from the bowl (belonging to the deity), bathes the child with it and hangs two cowries around its neck. The parents are not allowed to cut the child's hair till they have brought it again to the priest. If the child is to have its hair cut, then they (the parents) bring the priest a new knife, a dress, two head cloths, two fowls, a traditional stool, a calabash full of flour with two eggs and 2 *hoka* cowries, before the priest cuts the child's hair; the priest seats the child on the (new) stool. No other person apart from the child is allowed to sit on this stool. The knife, both fowls and also the two eggs, all belong to the priest. The dresses, the stool and the head cloths belong to the child. When the priest has cut the hair of the child, he collects 60 cowries from the parents. If the child is a girl, she is given to one of the priest's sons to marry. But if the priest does not have a son, no one is allowed to marry her unless the priest is asked first. However, the priests do not want this, but give (such a girl) to one of their brothers from the paternal side. If it is a boy, then he will be a servant of the priest until his mother bears a girl, whom she will then exchange for the boy.

2. *Dzoha*

a. Name, form and characteristics

The name *Dzoha* means: If someone gives palm wine, which is *dzoha*,²⁸ it will not make you drunk, but you will die of it. It is given the nick-name, *Dzoha, womenonε mūna gbedεgbede o*, meaning, "Whoever drinks *dzoha* will never be drunk from it." This *trε* was brought from *Amedzofe*. He is the *trε* deity of all the *Banyakoe* kings.

He is angry, strong and tall and has a long full long beard. His dwelling place is in a forest at the foot of the mountain. The brook *Alale* originates from him.

If anyone invokes his name, *Dzoha* kills him immediately. If anyone catches the goat consecrated to him and eats it or (only) does something to it, and the priest hears of it, he will then ask the person. If he denies and swears by the name of *Dzoha*, he kills him instantly. On the day that the god is angry, he reveals himself immediately in the room of a woman called *K*. This woman is the aunt of (king) *Afede* (of *Banyakoe*). The priest himself, whose name is *Adu Koli*, is the uncle of king *Afede*. The *trε* reveals himself to this woman and tells her all that he has to say, and everything that the people are doing against him; for example, when the people have taken a goat from him, or when *Adu Koli* does not to come to him any more.

He becomes very much annoyed with his priest, *Adu Koli*. He then tells her all that he must have. The deity speaks through the woman before the priest himself, who is a man, hears it.

His activity is that he forms people for the women, to whom they then give birth. For that reason they are very eager to worship him.

²⁸ Palm wine that is part of a magic charm.

β· Nuwɔwɔ na ɖeviawo

nyɔnu; si ke lé gbe la, medea egbo o. Nenyé be, nyɔnu, siwo de egbo la dometo ɖeka dzi vi la, ekema wotsɔa ɖevi la na Agbasia. Nenyé nɔtsue la, enye Agbasia fe kosi. Ne wodzi ɖevia la, enumake wotsɔa ɖevi la vaa trɔ̃nua gbo, eye wokua tsi, si le trɔ̃ la fe agba me la, lena ne, eye wotsɔa hotsui eve dea kome ne. Dzilawo mekpɔ mɔ al[ta na ɖevia o, va se ɖe esime woakple ava trɔ̃nua gbo hafi. Ne wova ta lūgé na ɖevia la, wotsɔa he yeye ɖeka kple avɔtata ɖeka, taku eve, koklo eve, zikpui ɖeka, wɔ, tre ɖeka kple koklozi eve hekpe ɖe hotsui hoka 2 nɔti ve na trɔ̃nua, hafi woalu ta na ɖevia. Trɔ̃nua tsɔa ɖeviawo fe agɔnu toa zikpui la dzi. Nenem zikpui sia la, ame bubu aɖeke meboɔɔ na edzi o, negbe ɖevi la nɔto ko. He ɖeka kple koklo eve kpakple koklozi eveawo nye trɔ̃nua nɔto to. Avɔawo, zikpui la kple takuawo nye ɖevi la to ken. Ne trɔ̃nua lū ta na ɖeviwo la, exɔa hotsui blaade le vidzilawo si. Nenyé nyɔnue la, ekema wotsɔne na trɔ̃si la viɔtsu wɔaɖe, alone nɔtsuvi aɖeke mele trɔ̃nua si o la, ekema ame aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ aɖe o, negbe ɖeko woabia trɔ̃nua la hafi. Vevieto la, trɔ̃nuawo melɔna o, ke boɔ wotsɔne na wo toviwo kokoko. Nenyé nɔtsuvi la, ekema atrɔ zu trɔ̃nua fe dɔtsɔla va se ɖe esime nɔtsuvi la dada agadzɔ nyɔnuvi atso aɖo li nɔtsuvi la ta hafi.

2. Dzoha

a. Ŋkɔ, nɔkome kple nuwɔna

Dzoha gɔmee nye ame aɖe na aha wò, si nye dzoha la, mele mu wò ge o, ɖeko nato eme aku. Wofoa Ŋkɔ ɖo ne bena: Dzoha womenone muna gbedegbede o. Eya hã nye trɔ̃, si wotsɔ tso Amedzofe. Nenem trɔ̃ siae nye Banyakoe fiawo katã fe trɔ̃.

Edzea aglã, ekako, eɖo ge vluya, eye wole to la nɔti le ave me. Egbo tututu tsisi Alale dzɔ tso.

Ne ame aɖe yɔ Dzoha Ŋkɔ la, awui fififi. Eye ne ame aɖe lé efe gbɔ, si woɖo ɖi ne ɖa ɖu alo wòwɔ nu vevie, eye trɔ̃nua see bia ame la wòte kple nu sesẽ me hele Dzoha Ŋkɔ yɔm le atamkaka me la, enumake awui sãa. Gbe si gbe ke dzi ku trɔ̃a la, eɖea eɖokui fiana zi ɖeka le nyɔnu aɖe si woyɔna be G.K. fe xɔ me. Nyɔnu siae nye Afede tasi. Trɔ̃nua nɔto nye Aɖu Kɔli, eya hã nye Afede toɖia. Nyɔnu sia trɔ̃ la ɖea eɖokui fiana, eye wòɖea efe dɔmenyawo katã kple nu siwo katã wowɔ ɖe eɔti la, fiana, nenyé efe gbɔ wolé alo Aɖu Kɔli megale egbo vam o. Edoa dɔmedzui nɔto ɖe efe dzodɔla. Aɖu Kɔli nɔti, emegbe la agagblo nu siwo le ehiã la ne. Trɔ̃ la foa nu toa nyɔnu la dzi hafi trɔ̃nua nɔto, si nye nɔtsu la sena. Dɔ, si wowɔna le amewo dome lae nye: Emea ame na nyɔnuwo wodzina eya ta wodoa vevie subɔne.

b. Cult

α. The annual worship

αα. Going to the place of sacrifice

When the time has arrived to bring the *trɔ̃* his offering, the people take along the goat, flour, red palm oil, salt, a pot, a bowl and water. He does not eat pepper. All (worshippers) come to his dwelling at the edge of the grove. There, the priest calls aloud and says, “Our chief, take note, we are coming to you to visit you!” Then he pours the water mixed with flour on the earth, before all are permitted to enter the grove. The first thing the people do there is to hoe the entire sacrifice place, then they make a round mound and put two pots and a bowl on it. Water is poured into them and a hearth is made from three stones (laid against each other).

ββ. Presentation of the offering, prayer and benediction

When the goat is to be killed, he (the priest) takes off his old dress and puts on a blue dress made out of a two armsbreadth material, hangs a chain of cowries around his neck and ties cowries around his arm. Now he lets a hole be dug and has it filled with water and presses the head of the goat into the water. Then the goat will be beaten with cudgels until it dies. Then they burn off the hair and it is cut open. The meat together with bones is cut into pieces, and when the meat is cooked, it is taken from the broth, maize flour is strewn on it, red oil is poured on it and it is mixed. All that is cooked must be tasted before the others eat of it. When they are ready to eat, the priest prays and says: “O, Chief *Dzoha*, we have come together in your home; let us all live in safety and nothing painful happen to us! Let us remain healthy so that we can come back to you again with joy! We are under you; you are our creator, let us therefore have much joy from you!” Then all the people present rush for the maize porridge mixed with oil and eat it; but they do not take any of it home. After the meal, they collect all the bones and they place them in the bosom of the *trɔ̃*.²⁹ They say that if anyone takes some of the maize porridge home and a woman in her menstrual period eats some, she will die. The woman will first vomit blood and finally die as a result. After they have finished eating, the drums will be beaten until the priest pours water on the earth. Then he collects the mud and paints everybody with it. Those who are present are happy about this mud bath, for they say, they will be healthy from doing this. For this reason, some also take some of the mud home for those who could not come themselves.

β. The daily service

The priest himself makes a fence in his farmstead and puts a bowl filled with water inside the fence. In this water the priest puts three different kinds of herbs, namely *tsrɔ̃ɛ*, *sumbe* and *ketike*.

In the morning, when the priest gets up from his place, he should not speak to anybody. He collects water from the bowl and washes his face over it and says: “My god, help me to remain healthy today, and to get something to eat!” If his wife and his

²⁹ In front of the bowls filled with water.

b. Subɔsubɔ

α. Fe sia fe tɔ

αα. Trɔ̃ la fe me yiyi

Ne trɔ̃ la fe nuwɔyi ɔo wole vɔ sa ge ne la, woléa gbɔ̃, eye wotsɔa wɔ, ami, dzẽ, ze, agba kple tsi de asi. Meɔua kuklui kura o. Wo katã wova efe nɔfe le avea nu. Trɔ̃nua doa yli gblɔna bena: Agoo, miãfe amegã, miëgbɔna gbɔwò ne miakpɔ wo ɔa. Etsɔa wɔ si kɔna anyigba hafi amewo katã akpɔ mɔ age de ave la me. Nu gbãtɔ, si ameawo wɔnae nye be, wonɔla trɔ̃fe la kenken, wofoa dru tegblẽ, eye wotsɔa zevi eve kple agba deka ɔoa dru la dzi. Wokua tsi de wo me, eye woɔia mlekpui kple kpe etɔ̃.

ββ. Vɔsasã

Gbã ne wole gbɔ̃ la wu ge la, trɔ̃nua dea efe avɔ xoxo, si wota la ɔi, eye wotsɔa blusi agba eve tana, kplaa hotsui tɔtɔ, eye wogasa hotsui de alɔnu. Azɔ woɔea do kua tsi trɔ̃na de eme fũu, eye woléa gbɔ̃ la fe ta nyɔna de eme, wotsɔa atiwo nɔa efom va se de esime wòkuna. Emegbe womenɛ hafi kona. Ne wole nua ɔa ge la, woflia lã la kple fuawo ken. Eye ne lã lá bi vɔ la, wotene le tsia me, eye wokua wɔ kple ami dzẽ de tsia me hebakana. Nu siwo katã woɔa la, ele be wòadɔe akpɔ hafi amewo katã naɔui. Ne wole nua ɔu ge la, trɔ̃nua doa gbe ɔa bena “O, amegã Dzoha, afewo me miẽfò zi va, na miãno dedie, megana nu vevie aɔeke nawo mi o. Na miãno sesie ne miãno gbɔwo vam kple dzidzɔ. Tewò miẽle, wòe nye miãfe wola, eya ta na miakpɔ dzidzɔ nyuie atso gbɔwò” Esia megbe la, wo katã ha akplẽ bakabaka la ɔuna; gake wometsɔa deke va afe mee o. Ne woɔu nu vɔ la, ekema wofoa fuawo katã nu fu, eye wotsɔne ɔoa trɔ̃ la kɔme. Wogblɔ be, ne ame aɔe tsɔ akplẽ la va afe me, eye nyɔnu, si lé gbe la ɔui la, ekema nyɔnu la aku. Gbã anɔ vu dem (trum) va se de esime wòaku. Ne woɔu nua vɔ ken la, wodea asi vufɔfo me, va se de esime trɔ̃nua tsɔa tsi kɔna de anyigba. Eye wòha ba tana na ame siaa ame. Wokpɔa dzidzɔ le balele sia ɔuti, elabena wobe, le eya me woaxɔ lamesesẽ. Eya ta ame aɔewo tsɔa ba la va afe na ame siwo mede o la hã.

β. Gbe sia gbe subɔsubɔ

Trɔ̃nua ɔuto tɔ kpɔ efe me, eye wòtsɔa agba kua tsi de eme, tsɔna dea kpɔ la me. Gbe, siwo ke wowɔna dana de tsi la me wonye: tɔsrẽ, sumbe kple ketike.

Ɔdi sia ɔdi la, trɔ̃nua fɔna, mele nu fo ge na ame aɔeke o, aku agbametsi la afu ɔkume de agba la me agblɔ bena: Mawunye, kple de ɔutinye manɔ anyi nyuie de, ne mafɔ nu aɔu. Srɔ̃ kple viawo hã, ne wolɔ̃ la, wofua mo de agba sia me. Se aɔeke mele ɔɔuti na wo o. Ame siwo ke gblẽ ɔui la, womekpɔ mɔ be, woato nenem kpɔ sia ɔu ayi o. Ne ame la nyae hafi bua to kpɔ sia ɔu yi la, ekema woxɔa aha, koklo deka, koklozi eve kple hoka 2 le esi na trɔ̃ la, eye.

children wish, then they will wash their faces from this bowl. There is no other law for them apart from the fact that women in their menstrual period are not allowed to pass by this fence. If someone deliberately passes by the fence during this time, that person must bring the priest palm wine, a fowl, two eggs and 2 *hoka* for the deity. Besides, the priest reprimands him very severely. But also the relatives all come together, wash their faces from the bowl and are dabbed with white clay, so that the deity will help them also. The priest also sacrifices to the deity who dwells within the fence. He throws flour and four cowries in front of a small pot and prays: “O *Mawu Sodza*, you owner of the palm wine, ship full of yams and a ship full of *vle*, you who makes the water and makes much mud! Help me; I myself don’t know what work I should do to find (my) daily bread! Bless me that I find something big to eat!”

The priest dresses daily in white material, dabs his forehead, chest, feet and back with white clay and rejoices; and all his brothers and children come together, wash their faces from the bowl of the *trɔ̃*, and he (the priest) dabs them with white clay and says, “May God also help them.”

γ. Consecrated people

αα. The priest

When the *trɔ̃* leaves someone, then the person concerned must die by all means. If he does not die immediately, he still does not remain healthy; he roams aimlessly and is bored³⁰ until finally he dies.

When a priest has died and will be replaced, another priest pours flour-water on the ground, prays for him and says: “When a tree has become dry another tree grows to take its place. That is why we have brought him to you; take care of him!” Then he hangs a chain of cowries over his shoulders, ties beautiful bands of cowries around on his arms and cuts his hair in such a way that a small tuft remains. Hereupon, assorted herbs are brought. Some of these are: *awawatsa*, white *ma*, red *ma* and *fla*. These are put into the deity’s bowl, a lot of water is poured over them and they let the one who is to be installed as priest bathe from it.

When that has taken place, the one to be installed as priest calls all the priests and priestesses together. They cook a big (feast) maize porridge with unsalted fowl and buy palm wine. He pours a little of this wine into a small pot or a small gourd, ties it up with a banana leaf, takes 12 *hoka* cowries and puts palm wine and cowries in the house. *Gl. Kw. Dzoha* himself comes into the room and reveals to him what he forbids his priest. *Gl. Kw.* pours the palm wine into another pot, takes the bones of the unsalted fowl which he had brought with the palm wine and the cowries (into the room), and throws them there into a hole.

After leaving the room, he eats the rest of the unsalted fowl together with the other priests and he drinks the palm wine with them. Thereafter, his head will be shaved so that only a small tuft is left. Then a blue dress will be put on him and blue cloth wound around his head. After this has taken place, they all thank him and say, “We thank you!” From now on, he is a priest.

30 His life no longer has purpose.

trõnua kaa ñkume na ame la vevie ñutu. Trõnua ñea dza na kpõme Mawu la hã. Etsõa wõ kple hotsui ene kõna ñe zevi aÑe ñgo gblõna bena: “O, Mawu sodza, hagbenõ, tevu vlevu wõ tsi wõ ba nyagã, nakpe ñe ñutinye, nye ñutu nyemenya dõ ka mawõ ne maÑu o. Nadi nam ne maÑu nu gã aÑe aÑu”

Gbe sia gbe trõnua taa aklala, eye woÑoa ye ñe ñgonu kple dzinu, aÑta kple meÑome, eye wõanõ dzidzõ kpõm, eye tõviawo kple ye ñutu viwo katã wova kpea ta fua mo ñe trõgba la me, eye wõÑua ye na wo, bena Mawu nakpe ñe woawo hã ñu.

γ. Trõ la ñu mewo

αα. Trõsi la

Ne trõ la vu le ame aÑe gbõ la, ekema ame la kuna kokoko. Ne ame la meku kaba o la, efe lãme manõ sesẽ o, ñeko wõanõ yiyim va se ñe esime wõaku.

Ne trõsi la ku eye wole ame bubu ño ge ñe etefe la, trõnua bubu tsõa wõtsi kõna ñe anyigba, eye wodoa gbe ña gblõna bena; Ne ati ku la, ati gadzõna ñe etefe. Eya ñuti m̃legakplõ ame sia hã ve na wõ nakpõ edzi. Eye wotsõa hotsui tõtõ kplana ne, eye woÑea ñagbo ne. Emegbe la woadzõ amatsiwo tatata. ñewo fe ñkõwo nye: Avafatsa, ma ye, ma dzẽ, sumbe kple fla. Wotsõa wo ñea trõ gba la me kua tsi ñe wo dzi fũu, eye wonana ame si ñom wole la lea tsi la.

Ne wowõ esia võ la, ekema ñutsu sia, si wotsõ ño trõnua tefe la ayo trõnuawo kple trõsiwo kata afo fu, eye woadã koklo makomako kplẽ gã aÑe, adze aha. Aha si wodze la, etsõa efe ñe ñea zevi alo goevi me tsõa abladzomagba blana ñe eñu, eye wotsõa hotsui hoka 12 kpõna ñe eñu tsõna dana ñe G.K. fe xõ me. Dzoha va xõa me, eye woÑea efe nu tsitsriwo fiana. Gl.K. la tsõa aha la trõna ñe ze bubu me, eye wotsõ koklo makomako, si wotsõ kpe ñe aha la kple hotsui la ñu la, fe fuwo ñea do me le xõa me.

Emegbe edoa go le ameawo gbõ, eye eya kpakple trõnua bubuwo ñua koklo makomako mamlea, eye wonoa aha la katã. Azõ woalũ ta na ñutsu la, eye woadẽ ñagbo ne. Emegbe wo katã wodaa akpe ne be, woesẽ ñu loo. Tso esia dzi la eyama trõ zu trõsi keñkeñ.

ββ. The priestly servants

The slaves of the deity who stand by the priest as advisers and assistants are the king *Afede* himself and *Tk*. When they hear something about the *trõ* from anybody, whoever the person may be, they would go to the priest *Akõli* and they advise him what he should do so that everything goes on well. If there is no sacrificial goat for *Dzoha*, his slaves buy him one; in general they see to everything that is necessary for the *trõ*. They are also the people who represent the *trõ*.

The service of his slaves, both men and women, is the same as service of the slaves of *Agbasia*.

γγ. The oath of the *trõ*

His oath comprises the calling of his name. If something is stolen from someone and the person has looked for it in vain for a long time, then he goes to the priest to hand over the thief to the *trõ*. He may also go to one of his servants and hand over the thief to him. He says, "I hand over to you the person who has taken the object that I have lost, with all his relations. Punish them for me!" Not long after that, the *trõ* starts to kill the members of the thief's family till finally it comes to the thief himself. People fear the oath of *Dzoha* and they hold it in high esteem. The priest shares the cowries he received for the swearing of the oath with the servants of the *trõ*. If they hear that someone has called the name of *Dzoha* in vain, they will then demand from him a crate of brandy and 24 *hotu* cowry shells.

3. *Kpelẽ*

a. Name and abode

Kpelẽ is a big forest between *Kpepe* and *Ho*. His nick-name is: *Ava gblẽ gbe, wõe woyõ de anyi*, "When the war has spoilt the land, you are called on to help."

b. Cult

α. Worship when there is drought

When there is the general drought, the priest goes to the forest together with the chiefs of the town. Everybody who would like to can accompany them. The women take flour with them and the men take cutlass and hoe, and also two small pots. When they get there, they clear the path, erect two earthen mounds and put both pots on them. They throw the flour before the pots. Then the priest says a long prayer: "*Kpelẽ*, we are in your hand, let us find the dead and the living! May the world have peace;³¹ pardon, pardon!" Then he makes flour-water with palm wine and pours it on the earth.

β. Regular Service

When the grass becomes dry, the priest calls the chiefs and the inhabitants of the town to offer *Kpelẽ* his consecrated goat. The women grind flour, they take salt, red palm oil,

³¹ By peace, no moral good is to be understood here.

ββ. Ahĩkuawo

Dzoha fe ahĩkuawo nye Afede ɲuto kple TK. Ne wose trɔ la fe nya aɖewo tso ame bubuwo fe nu me la, ekema woyina ɖe Akɔli gbɔ, eye woaɖo aɖaɲu ne bena: wɔ ale ne woanyo aloo newo ale si dze. Ne gbɔ mele Dzoha si woatsɔ asa vɔ ne o la, ahĩkuawo flea gbɔ la, nu sia nu si le trɔ hiã la, woawoe dɛne. Woawo nye ame siwo xɔa nya ɖe trɔ la nu.

Dzoha fe Kluwo kple Kosiwo fe subɔsubɔ abe Agbasiaa tɔ ke ene.

γγ. Trɔ la fe atabu

Efe atabu enye efe ɲkɔɲɔɲɔ. Ne ame aɖe fi xɔlɔvia fe nu vi aɖe, eye wodii vuu mekpɔe o la, ekema eyina ɖe trɔnua gbɔ, eye wotsɔa fiafitɔ la dea asi na trɔ la, aloo eyina ɖe efe ahĩku aɖe gbɔ, tɔ ame la dea asi ne gblɔna bena: Ame si ke tɔ nye nu, si bu la, metsɔ ame la kple efomeawo katã de asiwɔ, nakɔ wo dzi nam. Mexɔa ɲekeke aɖeke o, trɔ la dea asi fiafitɔ la fe fomeawo wuwu me va se ɖe fiafitɔ la dzi. Wovɔa Dzoha fe atabu, eye wobune gã ɲuto. Aha kple hotsui, si wotsɔna vana na trɔnua le atabunyawo me la, eya kple efe ahĩkuawo mǎ hotsui sia me. Ne wose be, ame aɖe yɔ Dzoha fe ɲkɔ dzodzro la, ekema woxɔa aha aɖaka kple hotu 24 le esi.

3 Kpelɛ

a. ɲkɔ kple nɔfe

Kpelɛ nye ave gã aɖe le Kperɲetɔwo kple Hotɔwo dome. Wofoa ɲkɔ ɖo ne bena “Ava gblɛ gbe, wɔe woyɔ ɖe anyi”

b. Subɔsubɔ

α. Ne ku le ɖiɖim

Ne ku le ɖiɖim la, trɔnua kple dua me ame tsitsiwo dea ave la me. Ame siaa ame si lɔ hã eyina faa. Nyɔnuwo tsɔa wɔ ɖe asi eye ɲutsuwo tsɔa klante kple agblenuwo kple zevi eve ɖe asi. Ne woɖo la, wodzra efe mɔ dzi do nyuie, eye wofoa drukɔe eve tsɔa zeviawo ɖoa wo tame. Wotsɔa wɔ kɔna ɖe zeviawo ɲɔ, eye trɔnua doa gbe ɖa kakaka bena: “Kpelɛ miele asiwo me, na miafɔ kukua kple agbagbea, xexeme nefa; kusie kusie”. Eye wotsɔa wɔtsi kple aha tɔtɔna kɔna ɖe anyigba.

β. Kpelɛ subɔsubɔ ɲuto

Ne keke fu la, trɔnua ɲuto yɔa ame tsitsiwo kple dua metɔwo, bena yewoatsɔ gbɔ, si woɖo ɖi la ana Kpelɛ. Nyɔnuwo tsɔa wɔ, dze, ami dzɛ kple zevi eve ɖe asi. (Ye sia yi ne woyina

two small pots. (Whenever people go to the place of sacrifice for the *trɔ*, two small pots are taken along; on the other hand, those pots which were already there will be taken home.) When they arrive in the forest, stones are set together as a hearth and then the goat is slaughtered. Before the goat is slaughtered, a hole is dug, filled with water and the head of the goat is pressed into it till it dies. Then it is taken from the hole and skinned with a knife.

When the meat is cooked and somewhat tender, it is taken from the broth and porridge is cooked in the broth with flour mixed with oil. A hind leg of the goat is tied to a palm branch and fixed in the earth near the mound. Then the heart, stomach and the faeces of the animal are scattered under the tree. The chiefs distribute the meat and they eat it (with the people). However, the bones (of the animal) should not be broken into pieces, and no part of the meat should be taken home. They put the bones of the animal together with some red maize porridge under the tree. The children grab whatever is remaining.

Hereupon, the priest lets the drums beat a long time, and then takes from the mud (*trɔ̃ba*) formed in the middle of the dancing place and distributes it among those present to smear on themselves. They (then) find creeping plants in the forest which they call *Kpelēka* and bind it around the ankle and around the neck. They call these strings “Kpele’s strings of beads”.

Upon arriving home, the priest pours flour-water on the ground and says: “You *trɔ̃wo*, you have travelled!”³² Then, the priest brings (a pot of) palm wine which the chiefs drink together. After the drink the priest of *Kpelē* prays and says: “*Kpelē*, take note, let us remain healthy so that we can come back again to you later and pour palm wine on the earth!” They thank each other and all now go home.

4. *Ati*

a. Origin and priest

His by-names are: *Bablusagā* (not translatable), walk to the town.³³ It is the very *trɔ̃* in whose honour the *Banyakoe* people kill fowls. *Ati* is not a real deity (*trɔ̃*) but a magic which they brought from *Atigbe*, to kill the evil sorcerers³⁴ among them. When he was brought from *Atigbe*, he was put at the fence of the *Axɔ̃lɔ̃* and a place prepared for him there. This magic was brought during the reign of *Wusu*³⁵ by a man called *Tsigbe* from *Atigbe*. Upon the death of this man, there was nobody else who could serve him. After a long time, the people of *Banyakoe* assembled to discuss it. They then appointed the son of the deceased called *Tsigbe De* instead of his (father). But he did not want it and he defended himself by saying, “When my father served this *trɔ̃* he was never happy; therefore I cannot become the priest of this *trɔ̃*.” The chiefs told him that, if he did not want to become the priest of this *trɔ̃*, then they would not like him any more, that he should leave their town to go to wherever he liked. He was forbidden to stay in their town. The chiefs worried him very much until in the end he agreed to become the traditional priest of *Ati*. But as long as *Tsigbe De* was the priest of *Ati*, he also could not be happy.

32 When those making the sacrifice leave the place of sacrifice, the gods also leave it and return back home.

33 When the men go into the town to kill the fowls it is called *gbɔ̃medede*, “going into the town.”

34 Cannibals.

35 The fifth king. See pg. 78.

trõfea la, wotsɔa zevi eve ɖe asi kokoko, eye wotsɔ esiwo li tsã la va afee). Ne woɖo ave me la, wokpea mlekpui, eye wowua gbõ la. Ne wole gbõ la wu ge la, woɖea do, eye wokɔa tsi ɖe eme fuu, eye wotsɔa gbõ la fe ta nyɔna ɖe tsi la me va se ɖe esime wòaku. Emegbe woɖene le do la me kona kple he.

Ne woɖa lã la wobi vie la, wotene le tsia me, eye wotsɔa tsi la ɖa akplẽ dzẽ. Wotsɔa gbõ la fe ata ɖeka trɔna ɖe fõ ɲuti tsɔna ɖoa dru la gbɔ, eye wotsɔa gbõ la fe dzigogoe, dɔwo kple miawo katã kakana ɖe ati la te. Ame tsitsiwo mǎ lã la ɖuna, ke fua la, womegbane o, eye wometsɔ lã aɖeke hã vaa afe me o. Wotsɔa gbõfuawo kple akplẽ dzẽ vi aɖe dana ɖe ati la ɖome, eye ɖeviwo ha nu mamleawo.

Azɔ kpelẽnua ana woafɔ vu kakaka eye wòatsɔ ba, si le toa me (trõba) ama na ame siaa ame, be woata ɖe ɲuti. Woɖea ka, si woyɔna be Kpelẽka la hã le ave la me, eye wotsɔne blana ɖe afɔ ɖome, eye wotsɔne dea kɔ hã, si woyɔna be Kpelẽdzonu.

Ne wova afe la, trɔnua doa wɔtsi kɔna ɖe anyi, eye wògbɔna bena: Trɔwo, miawoe zɔ loo! Emegbe trɔnua yina ɖatsɔa aha vɛ, eye ame tsitsiawo xana ɖe ɲuti nona. Ahanono la megbe la, Kpelẽnua gadoa gbe ɖa bena: Kpelẽ yee na miãfe lãme nasẽ, ne miãgava gbɔwo, eye wotsɔa aha la ɖe trɔna ɖe anyigba. Eye wo dome ame siaa ame da akpe na wo nɔewo, eye woyina afe me.

4. Ati

a. Trõ la fe dzɔfe kple enunɔla

Efe ɲkɔfofodoe nye: Bablusagã, gbɔmedede. Eyae nye trõ, si Banyakoetɔwo foa koklo na. Ati menye trõ gbã o, ke boɲ la enye dzo, si woyi xɔ le Atigbe, bena ame siwo nye amedɔlawo la, ne woaku. Esime wotsɔe tso Atigbe vɛ la, wotsɔe da ɖe Axɔlɔ kɔto, eye wowɔ tefe nɛ ɖe afi ma. ɲutsu si yi Atigbe ɖaxɔ nenem dzo sia vɛ le Wusu ɲɔli la, ɲkɔe nye Tsgb. Gake esime wòva ku la, womegakpɔ ame si anɔ enu o. Etefe didi ɲutɔ hafi dua metɔwo fo fu, eye wofe nu le ɲuti, eye wogatsɔ, Tsigbe fe vi, si woyɔna be Tsigbe De la gaɖo enu. Melɔ Kurakura o, eye wòvli eɖokui ta gbɔ bena: Esi fofonye nɔ trõ sia nu la, mekpɔ dzidzɔ o, eya ɲuti nye hã nyemate ɲu anɔ enu o. Gake la, dua metɔwo fe ame tsitsiwo gbɔ nɛ bena, ne melɔ bena yeana trõ la nu o la, ekema yewo malɛ kura o afi sia afi, si ke wòkpɔ la, ne woadzo le yewo fe dua me ayi, meganɔ dua me o. Ame tsitsiawo ɖe fu nɛ ɲutɔ hafi wòlɔ bɔbɔ nɔ enu. Esi Tsigbe De bɔbɔ nɔ trõ la nu la, eya hã mekpɔ dzidzɔ aɖeke o.

b. Cult

When the *trɔ̃* wants an offering brought to him, he comes to the room of *Gligbaɔo Kosi* and says there, “You yourself eat to your fill, leaving me to be hungry. Therefore you must kill fowls for me!” In the morning on the day when the fowls are to be killed, the priest takes a fowl holding it heavenward. Then, upon a sign, all those who are to kill the fowls, hit them with cudgels till they are dead. As soon as the people see that the fowl that the priest has in his hand is dead, they rush to the farmsteads of the town and beat the fowls to death. They make no exception of any fowl that they see, even if it belongs to the chief. After this, they gather the fowls at a place and bring them to the priest. The people together with the priest then carry them to the place of sacrifice of the deity.

When they have brought the fowls to the place for *Ati*, the priest says as he prays: “*Ati, blabusagã*, go into town! The fowls which you have commanded us to strike for you, we have struck (dead) for you today. We request you to give us life so that we remain healthy; help us so that we do not receive any bad news!” After that, the priest lays three big stones against each other, lights a fire between them and cooks all the fowls. When they are cooked, the meat will be separated from the bones. Then they put the bones on palm branches, which the priest covers with a basket woven from palm leaves. Now the priest pours water into two small pots as well as a bowl, in which he roasts maize, and he puts herbs into the bowl. Some of the herbs are *yra* and *sumbe*. Any person who comes to the water puts some into his mouth and spits it back again into the bowl. Then he repeats this act and rubs his arms and hands with it while he says: “O *Ati*, make me be happy!” Every individual who comes to the bowl does the same. Before they go away, the priest prays again as he says: “*Blabusagã*, let me remain with you and you also remain with me! I have brought the fowls which I struck for you. Make those also happy who have helped me in making the sacrifice for you. What you requested from me, I have given you; therefore, allow me also to be happy!” After this, they all go home.

After the offering meal, the deity commands that a sign is set for him. For that reason, a white dress and a white head band are sewn for him. The priest puts this on, greets the people who have helped him in the work and says to them that they should be thanked. He thanks them also on the following morning; that everything ended.

Women during their menstruation may not enter the house of the priest.

5. *Tsihee*

a. Name and origin

Tsihee dwells in the area of *Dzogokɔfe*. His by-name is *Tsihee, adege kotsoe*, “*Tsihee*, the dry fish”.

Formerly, there was a big tree in the main street of *Dome*. A swarm of bees settled down on it at the time when the people of *Akwamu* were at war with the king (*Aɔinyira*). It happened that the *Akwamu* chased the *Ho* people and came to the main street of the *Dome* people. There they plundered the houses. Suddenly, they noticed the swarm of bees in the tree and wanted to cut it down.³⁶ In a moment, the swarm fell upon the

36 The tree.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne trɔ̃ la le didim be, woasa vɔ̃ nɛ la, ekema eva Ggbg. Ks. fe xɔ̃ me, eye wòfoa nu bena: woawo ɲutɔ̃ wole nu dum, eye wotsɔ̃ ye gblɛ̃ ɖi dɔ̃ le wuwum, eya ta woafɔ̃ koklo na ye. Gbe si gbe wole kokloawo fo ge ɲdi kanyã la, trɔ̃nua tsɔ̃a koklo ɖeka, eye wòdonɛ ɖe dzi, eye ame siwo katã yina kokloawo fo ge la, fonɛ kple ati le esi wòkuna. Esi ameawo kpɔ̃ be, koklo, si le trɔ̃nua si ku la, woluna ɖe du la me ɖe afewo me zi ɖeka, eye wodea asi koklowo fofo me, koklo sia koklo, si wokpɔ̃, eɖanye dumefia tɔ̃ o wometsɔ̃ ɖeke le eme o. Emegbe wofoa koklo, siwo katã wofo la nu fu ɖe afi ɖeka, eye wolɔ̃a wo va trɔ̃nua gbɔ̃, eye ameawo kple trɔ̃nuawo galɔ̃a wo va tsɔ̃fe.

Ne wotsɔ̃ kokloawo va Ati fe la, trɔ̃nua doa gbe ɖa gblɔ̃na bena: Ati, blabusagã, gbɔ̃medede. Wò koklo si nèbe miãfo na wò egbe la, miãfoe na wò. Agbe, na miãfe lãme nasẽ, nakpe ɖe miã ɲu, ne miãgase nya vɔ̃ aɖeke o. Azɔ̃ trɔ̃nua tsɔ̃a kpe gãgã etɔ̃ tua anyi eye wòdoa dzo ɖe kpeawo me, eye wòɖa kokloawo katã. Ne wobi la, ekema wotrea lãwo le fu la ɲuti, eye wotsɔ̃a fuawo ɖoa ɖebayawo dzi. Trɔ̃nua foa kle vi aɖe tsɔ̃na ɖoa fuawo dzi, eye wòkɔ̃a tsi ɖe zevi eve kple blitɔ̃gba aɖe me, eye wòtsɔ̃a gbewo dea agba la me. Gbeawo dome ɖewo nye: yra, kple sumbe.

Ame siaa ame si ke va tsi la gbɔ̃ la akui ɖe alɔ̃ me atu ɖe agba la me, eye wòakui alili ɖe abɔ̃ kple asi ɲuti agblɔ̃ be: O, Ati na makpɔ̃ dzidzɔ̃! Alea ko ame sia ame wɔ̃na. Ne wole dzodzoge la, trɔ̃nua gadoa gbe ɖa bena: Blabusagã, na manɔ̃ ɖe ɲu wò, eye wo hã nanɔ̃ ɖe ɲunye.

Wò koklo si nena mefo vɛ na wò la, na ame siwo kpe ɖe ɲunye yi la, ne woawo hã nakpɔ̃ dzidzɔ̃. Esi nèbia nu la, mena wò, eya ɲuti na nye hã makpɔ̃ dzidzɔ̃. Eye wo katã dzona vaa afe.

Azɔ̃ la trɔ̃ la biana be, woado dzesi ye. Wotɔ̃a aklala avɔ̃tata ɖeka kple taku, si wobla ta la nɛ. Eye trɔ̃nua atsɔ̃e ata ado gbe na ame siwo kpe ɖe ɲuti la, eye wòkɔ̃a gbɔ̃gblɔ̃m na wo be, woawo sɛ̃ ɲu loo. Le ɲdi me hã eya ɲutɔ̃ ɖadɔ̃a gbe na wo nenemake, ekema ewɔ̃ vɔ̃ kenken. ɲuigbegblɛ̃tɔ̃ medea trɔ̃nua fe me o.

5. Tsihee

a. ɲkɔ̃ kple dzɔ̃dzɔ̃me

Tsihee le Dzogokɔ̃fe lɔ̃fo. Wofoa ɲkɔ̃ ɖo nɛ bena: Tsihee adeye kotsoe.

Tsã la ati gã aɖe le Dometɔ̃wo fe ablɔ̃ me. Anyi va ɖo ɖe eme le Akɔ̃mutɔ̃wo fe avawɔ̃yi le Aɖinyrã fe ɲkume. Eva ve me bena, Akɔ̃mutɔ̃wo nyã Hotɔ̃wo, eye wova ge ɖe Dometɔ̃wo fe ablɔ̃ me, le afu tsɔ̃m.

Kasia wokpɔ̃ anyiɖoɖo la le atia me, eye wole didim bena yewoatso ati la afu anyi. Kasia anyi la ka dze Akɔ̃mutɔ̃wo dzi kaka wo me va Sɔ̃kɔ̃ɖe mɔ̃ dzi hetsi afi ma dɔ̃. Esime

Akwamu and scattered them. The bees were angry and they stung them very well, so that the *Akuamu* fled from the town and came to the *Sokode* road where they spent the night. When the *Akwamu* people had left (*Ho*), the *Dome* people made the swarm of bees their deity (*trɔ*), and gave him offerings. The *Dome* people themselves are forbidden to enjoy honey, but they can collect honey to sell.

b. Offering

When you bring an offering to him (*Tsihee*), the priest mixes flour with red palm oil, puts it in the bowl for the *trɔ* and prays: “*Tsihee*, take care of us, the people of *Dome*, so that we get children and there is peace in the world!” Formerly, he was offered a goat. His priest cooks two fowls for him in front of his bowl and puts flour and red palm oil into the bowl. They themselves eat the rest.

One day, the priest brought a goat to offer it to the *trɔ*. A hole was dug, water was poured into it and the head of the goat was pressed into the hole. Now when the people present hit the goat with cudgels, the goat got free of their hands, ran away and went into town. Then the priest cooked (offered) a fowl in place of a goat. From that time, no goat is cooked for the deity, for they say the deity himself refuses it (and says), he does not want a goat. Only *Kw.*, *Aɔ.* and *Amd.* serve him eagerly.

Akwamutɔwo dzo la, Dometɔwo tsɔ anyi la wɔ trɔe, eye woɖea dza nɛ. Dometɔwo mewɔa anyi ŋu dɔ o, gake ne wokpɔ bena, eɖo la, woɖene, gake womenyine o.

b. Dzadeɖe nɛ

Ne wole dza ɖe ge nɛ la, efe nunɔla tsɔa wɔ kple ami dzɛ bakana, eye wotsɔne dana ɖe trɔgba la me hedoa gbe ɖa bena: Tsihee nakpɔ mi Domeawo dzi ne miadzi vi, ne xexeme nafa na mi.

Wotsɔa gbɔ ɖa nui nɛ tsã. Efe nunɔla tsɔa koklo eve ɖa nui nɛ le efe agba dome, eye wotsɔa wɔ kple ami dzɛ trɔna ɖe agba me. Eye woawo ŋutɔ woɖua mamlea.

Gbe ɖeka la trɔnua tsɔ gbɔ va ɖaɖa ge na trɔ la. Woku do, eye woku tsi kɔ ɖe do la me. Wole gbɔ la fom kple ati, eye gbɔ la vli le wo si me dogo le doa me si va gbɔ me. Eye trɔnua tso koklo ɖo etefe heɖa. Tso esia dzi la, womegatsɔa gbɔ ɖa nui nɛ o, elabena wogblo be, trɔ la gbe be, yemele gbɔ xɔ ge o. Kw, Aɔ. kple Amd. Woawo koe gadoa vevie subɔna.

6. Zɔdzi (Zodzi, Zudzi) and Tsiagbato³⁷

a. Names

Zɔdzi and *Tsiagbato* have the following by-names: 1. *Fua zɔ dzi maɲɔ*, “Even if the enemy walks on it, it will not collapse.”

According to the perception of the *Ho* people, it is not ruled out that the earth will collapse. The story is told that a man was once swallowed by the Earth who set him

³⁷ The *Eve* text for this part is so sparse that it was better to leave it out.

free upon the supplication of the priest. A landslide which occurred in the summer of 1901 at *Klefe* was equally the work of the Earth. At that time, the field of a farmer was buried, and that he himself was not on the field during the catastrophe was a clear sign of a special protection. 2. *Anyikonyi*, 3. *Gbolo mexa vu o*, 4. *Míanɔ* 5. *Mia tɔ kpã, ame quic savu*, 6. *Gbe*. “The prostitute does not hide the drum”, meaning she takes part in the drum play, even though she is mocked in the songs that go with the drumming. As bad and good people take part in the drum play, in the same way nobody can disobey the Earth. She supports and feeds bad people as well as the good, “our mother”. As such she is the giver of birth and the one who feeds the *Ho* people. In this perspective the common saying goes: *anyigbae dzi mí*. “The Earth has given birth to us.” “The rubbish is emptied onto us.” “Bush grass”, which grows on the earth. You can see from this that what is meant by *Zɔdzi* is not only the bare earth but also the grass growing on it.

The Earth is thought to be female and she is expressly called “the wife of the sky.” During the rainy season and at every rain, conjugal intercourse takes place between the sky and the earth. After the rain, the scattered seeds sprout and grow and bear fruits. These are the children of Mother Earth. If the earth wills it, then everything grows; if she does not, then the seed spoils. In the same vein in which she is the mother of man and of all that grows, she is also seen as the mother of the deities (*trɔwo*), which she created in her union with the sky. That is the reason why the sky, *Dzingbe*, is seen as the father of all deities, *trɔwo*.

b. Dwelling Place

The dwelling places of both are in the open in the bush. *Adalā* is the priest of *Zɔdzi*, and *Kwasi* is the priest of *Tsiagbeto*. *Zɔdzi* is the husband³⁸ and *Tsiagbeto* is the wife. Both live in different places. *Zɔdzi* dwells in bush grass while *Tsiagbeto* is under a tree called *yɔ*. It is therefore also called *Atisi*. There are three stones there on which no one is allowed to sit save the priest. A pot is hung on the tree, so that people are afraid and do not go to her place.

At these places of sacrifice the impression is clear, that the husband has to expose himself to the heat on the field while the wife, on the other hand, dwells under the shadow of a tree. However, *Zɔdzi* has a place of worship in the farmstead of the priest *Adalā*, where he has a small garden in which herbs are planted and which is surrounded with stones.

Furthermore, a large parcel of land, called *dudokpo*, belongs to the Earth. The whole mission station at *Ho* is on this land which earlier belonged to the *trɔ*. This piece of land consecrated to the Earth stretches three quarters of an hour's walk towards the south up to *Kpalave*. On the southern part of the land there are many palm trees belonging to the senior priest. The land is said to be inherited on assumption of the priesthood and is taken away immediately the individual is no longer a priest. In the days of old, there was a strict law prohibiting setting fire to the grass on the whole of the land of *dudokpo*. *Dudokpo* was therefore then a convenient sanctuary for wild animals when the grass surrounding that area was set on fire. On a particular day, messengers were sent to *Kpeɖe*, *Sɔkɔɖe*, and to *Nuwɛ* (a village of *Adaklu* south of *Ho*) with the order to set fire to the bush. When the grass was burning on all sides, the wild animals fled into the

38 Perhaps because of his size and only in relation to *Tsiagbeto*.

safe bush of *dudokpo*. Later, this land would be surrounded by hunters to drive out the wild animals taking cover there. On such days many animals would have been killed. For the hunters there was the law that all the animals killed must be put on the open street. The priests received a front leg of all the animals killed on *dudokpo*. They ate the meat together with the chiefs. It was only when the priests had secured their part that the rest of the gain of the hunt could be taken home.

In the olden days, it was also prohibited to collect wood at *dudokpo*.

c. Cult performances

α. Regularly Recurring

αα. Late in the year, *kele*

When the grass becomes dry, the priests go alone to do their thing there and when they come back they set a day aside on which the other people go. What the priests cook is: they grind flour from the maize of the second sowing, *masakpeli*, add a fowl and go to the offering place of *Zodzi*, where they cook and eat it. The priest hides whatever is left under the grass at the abode of *Tsiagbeto*, where he eats it on the following day.

Concerning the equipment for the sacrifice, the state of affairs is as follows: on the day before the sacrifice, the senior priest *Adalā* buys on the quiet, red palm oil for 15 to 20 *hoka* as well as salt for 10 *hoka*. A young girl who has not yet menstruated is asked to grind the flour for the sacrifice. The evening before the celebration, the senior priest *Adalā* appoints some strong young men and orders them to be ready on the following morning to accomplish a job for him.

The performance of the sacrifice is divided into two parts, one done at home and the second at the place of the sacrifice. Even before dawn, the two men both armed with cudgels hide behind their fence, waiting for a signal from the priest. As soon as the signal is given, they bring two live fowls which he lifts up to heaven and prays over them thus: *Míanɔ, fua zɔ dzi manɔ*, “Our mother, you do not collapse when an enemy walks over you! We are asking you to take care of us that we remain healthy! Accept what we are about to offer you!”

We pray that nothing evil happens to us, no quarrelling breaks out among us!” At this moment, he throws both fowls with force on the ground and he pounces on them before they could utter a cry. (Just like the sacrificial goat, in the same way, the sacrificial fowl should not utter any sound while dying.) By this act, the signal for a general hunt for fowls is given. The appointed youths rush immediately to the town to hit fowls dead wherever they find them. Other men follow their example, so that a general wild hunt for fowls is generated that is carried out in all the *Ho* towns. A hundred and more dead fowls are brought to the priest, who has them carried together with the goat to *Zodzi*’s place of sacrifice. Women must provide flour, red palm oil, as well as pepper and salt.

The whole populace, men, women and children, under the leadership of the three priests now move to the place of worship of the deity at *dudokpo*. As soon as the priests notice the pot which was put on the tree, they give the people a sign that they must stand still. While the priests move bent forward towards the trees, the people remain reverentially behind. On the way to the forest, the priest shouts repeatedly: *Amegā ago*

lō! “Chief, take note! Chief, take note! They all bend down before you and I also bow before you. My head and my foot are yours; I bow before you. The whole population has appeared in order to cook for you today.” When we are going to the deity and we have a short distance behind us, then we bow down and say: “Chief, take note!” We continue to speak the same words till we get to the place itself. No one is allowed to come to his place behind the deity. Anyone who follows behind the deity to the place where he dwells is said to become mad. When they have arrived at the place of the deity, three stones are laid against each other, on which the fowls are cooked. First some fowls are cook with neither salt nor pepper. This fowl meat is called “unsalted” *makomako* or *ṃṃṃ*. It is the food of the priests. Then other fowls will be cooked and seasoned with salt and pepper. That is the food for the entire people.

Immediately on arrival at the sacrifice place, some men bring the ram, over which the priest prays for a long time. In the prayer, he puts all the evil of the people on the sacrificial animal. Immediately after the prayer, the head of the animal will be pressed into a hole filled with water; to prevent the animal from making any noise from pain or fear, some men press his muzzle and throat closed. If the ram makes any noise, it means a bad omen. As the animal is dying, those present hit it with cudgels and fists until it dies, for the animal should not be killed with a knife. As soon as it is dead, its throat is cut and the blood collected. The meat will then be cooked on three stones laid together by some men.

Charcoal or European matches should not be used for making the sacrificial fire for cooking the meat. Flint and tinder are used for this purpose. A man who is particularly expert at this puts tinder on the spark pan of his flintlock rifle and lights this. This man is therefore called *dzosila*, “fire lighter”. Two other men are assigned to him as his assistants.

The chicken meat must be carefully separated from the bones, for no one is allowed to break the bones.

Only the meat of the animal is permitted to the sacrificers to eat. After the meat has been removed from the broth, flour is sprinkled in and red oil added to it and pap cooked which together with the meat is eaten by those present. Afterwards the bones of the goat as well as those of the fowls are taken together with some maize pap and placed before the deity³⁹ as food. The priest now prays and says: “O *Zodzi*, you who never collapses when the enemy walks over you, let it rain so that we all remain healthy! May the evil sorcerer die and if any one has done something evil and yet has come to take part in your sacrifice, reveal his name before that person cooks! Kill any wrongdoer! Take care of us that we may have many children!”

Those present divide into three groups for the sacrificial meal. To the first group belong the three priests, to the second group the three fire lighters, and the third finally consists of the entire population. The priests receive three of the fowls cooked without spices and a particular part of the goat. Of the people, every participant gets a small piece of the goat meat, which in addition to the fowl he has brought he eats with maize porridge. Nothing should be left over of the food of the sacrifice; meat and porridge must be eaten up at the place. The priests and fire lighters eat their meal away from the people. When the meal is over, each of the participants places four cowries on the ground before the priest. The people move back home; however, the priests

39 The *Eve* expression here is not *Mawu* but *trĩ*.

remain somewhat longer at the place, to eat the remaining goat meat which was left for them.

ββ. Before the burning of the grass

Before the burning of the grass, which takes place in January or February, an offering is made in favour of successful hunting, in which only the priests take part without the people.

In the harmattan, the priests go together to the place of sacrifice where they look for “life”. There they carefully examine, first of all, whether there is a foot print of an animal that has run over the place of sacrifice. If such is the case, it is a bad omen, and they are seized with fear and worry. In this case, the animals have taken their refuge with the deity and have asked him to protect their lives. An animal has got there ahead of the priests and has brought an offering to the deity on behalf of its brothers, the rest of the bush animals, and asked the deity to let rain fall so that fire may not burn their house, the bush. But if it does not rain and the bush burns, may the deity let the guns of the hunters crack. On the whole, may the deity in any way possible let disaster befall the people. With this prayer, the animals “have taken their lives from the hand of the people.” If, on the other hand, no foot print is seen at the ceremonial place, then this is an indication that the people have got there first with their offering before the animals. That is a good sign and with joy they shout aloud, “Our mother has given us life!”

The offerings they bring comprise maize flour mixed with oil and the hind thigh of a grass-cutter, *nukpui*, which is placed on the flour. From the *Zodzi* place the priests move to the place of sacrifice for the deity *Agbasia*.

As a time for offering, only *Asiamigbe* is suitable.⁴⁰

After returning from the place of offering, the priests inform the people what they have seen. If they have to tell the people: “We have seen four feet,” *miekpɔ afɔ ene*, which means foot prints of the bush animals, then the people will be overwhelmed with fear and every family head warns his family to be careful when they are hunting. The warning says, *Ade makpɔ to meda o. Ne biã hẽ megavõ o; ne enyõ vĩ navõ*, “The hunter does not shoot before he sees the ear of the wild animal. If it is red, then do not be afraid; if it is black, on the other hand (i.e. if it is a person), then fear and do not shoot, otherwise, the meat will remain yours!” The hunter must not shoot when he only sees the grass moving, but he must be sure whether he has an animal or a human being before him. The bush animals are all red and not black. People like to buy their meat very much, which makes the hunter happy. Should he, however, shoot at something black, then though the hunter certainly also has meat, it is such that nobody will take it. This prey brings him only debts, disgrace and the name of a murderer.⁴¹

β. During a major drought

When it is very dry, priests and people go together to the place for sacrificing to *Zodzi*. The priest tells the people beforehand that the earth must be given a present; the earth should complain to her husband, the sky, that she has to suffer thirst, and ask him to

40 See “The days”, pg. 312.

41 See pg. 382 “Hunting and Fishing.”

give water. The prayer of the priest is this: *O miatɔ kpã ame ɖuiɔ sa wu, fua zɔ dzi maŋɔ*. “O you who are ours, on whom people dump all rubbish, you who do not collapse when the enemy walks over you. May domestic animals give birth, and animals of the field die! May the black person be born together with the placenta! When a hunter goes to the bush to hunt, may he bring back home the dead and the living! The cock says: ‘I am not worth the honour to be allowed to have a tail behind me,’⁴² *Ye mele bu ɖeke ble ano ye ɖome o*. The ear is not more than the head. I bow down before you and beg you!” The meaning of the prayer is as follows: Blessing is asked for humans and animals alike. During severe drought, animals have no water and must die. The death of a sheep is very painful to the owner. Firstly, it means loss of money to the owner and secondly, he sees in the death of a sheep, that has died in the place of a human being, he himself. Each dead domestic animal died instead of a person; for some evil power took it instead of the person. Now the supplicant prays, may bush animals die instead of domestic animals, that is, through the bullet of the hunter. The hunter gets meat through this. Just like the domestic animals, so should humans also multiply through successful births. The hunter finds in the bush the carcass of an animal torn to pieces by a leopard but not completely devoured. He takes it along and brings it back home. Finding such a carcass is good fortune given to him by the deity (*trɔ*), which the priest is here praying for. But he should also find live animals; this means he should always have hunting luck. When he kills a wild animal, the hunter always sees in it proof of the good will of his *aklama*. Also a prayer is said for the safe return of the hunter from the bush. It is not always a foregone conclusion. Sometimes his gun bursts or he is wounded by a wild animal of some sort or killed. The *gbɔ* therefore includes the request that no such evil happens to the hunter so that he may return home healthy and happy.

The domestic fowl is not its own master, as the clockbird is. The latter has a very beautiful tail and may fly around free in the bush. The domestic fowl on the contrary has not got a beautiful tail, but it has a master. The townspeople are here being compared to the domestic fowl as servants of the deity. They themselves have no ornament, but the deity is their ornament; they are not more beautiful and better than he, they are indeed only the tail while he himself is the head. The head existed before the tail and god was there before the people. It is the language of subordination and dedication.

γ. Service for individual persons

αα. For sick persons

If the priest is called by a sick person, he always finds the origin of the sickness in a chance experience or in the influence of a malignant spirit or a deity. Should the priest believe that the sickness of a person is caused by his deity *Zɔdzi*, then he tells him what he should do. Asked by the sick what the cause of his suffering is, the priest replies: “It is *Zɔdzi*. Probably, you have sinned against him.” Then a concurring answer usually follows from the sick person. Since *Ho* market is specially dedicated to the earth, he specifies this market to him and says which offerings he has to bring. On the eve of the *Ho* market day, the chief priest goes to his two colleagues and informs them that they want to reconcile such and such a person with the *Zɔdzi* the next day. He has already

42 As soon as the fowl begins to grow a tail, his owner cuts it off again.

told the person concerned that this evening he should abstain from drinking palm wine and spirits and furthermore abstain from having intercourse with a woman. The same regulations apply also to the officiating priest.

The next morning (*ne agu dze*), the priests and the person going to make the offering come together to the house of the senior priest before sunrise. The sacrificer brings along a very young male goat, four to five days old, whose navel cord has not yet fallen off. The young animal is still drinking its mother's milk and has no feeling for sex. Besides, he brings along 1 *hotu* and 12 *hoka* cowries, one cock, one hen and maize flour. The chief priest *Adalā* receives the cock, the second assistant the hen and the third some cowries. The sacrificer or his representative carries the animal on the back of his neck in such a way that he firmly holds the fore-legs with one hand and hind-legs with the other hand. With the animal on the back of his neck, he kneels down in front of the priest and says: *Meḍe kuku lõ, meḍe kuku lõ, meḍi fɔ nyemenyae o lõ!* "I beg, I beg. I am guilty but I did not know it!" The chief priest takes the goat from the neck of the petitioner, holds it towards heaven and prays: "O, o... you our earth, you who receives our refuse, you who do not collapse when the enemy walks over you! I am calling you before sunrise; these children are calling you; and the one who is having pains has come to bring you an offering." After this prayer, the priest smears the goat with a porridge mixed from clay and binds it with a cord made from raffia palm fibre with four cowries around its neck. With this external symbol of its belonging to *Zɔdzi*, the animal is sent back to its mother. The he-goat receives no human care. In the night, it lives on its own. The people believe that a he-goat consecrated to the *trɔ̃* will not be devoured by any wild animal. Finally, the priest hands over to the petitioner herbs that have been consecrated to *Zɔdzi*. He cooks them in water, pours the concoction into a big gourd and pours it from this into his bathing water. However, this is said to be effective only in harmattan which is consecrated to the deity *Agbasia*.

ββ. For women in labour

If a birth does not take the normal course, it is *Zɔdzi* who is the cause. The earth holds the child tight so that it cannot be born into the world. When the priest is called to such a woman, he prays over her thus: *Ne wò Zɔdzi le nua wɔm vavã la, ekemã nade asi le ɲu azɔ. Ne adzi nɔ, atu dzawɛ na wò; ne enye atsu ne wòade zi gbɔ me na wò,* "If it is you *Zɔdzi* who is indeed holding the child back, then release it now! If the child is a girl, it will grind your offering flour for you; if it is a boy, he will make noise in the town for you (meaning, beat the sacrificial fowls for you)!"

It is to be noted that, when praying to the deities, *trɔwo*, as well as to the blood people, the face turns towards the east, towards sunrise; for they dwell in the rising sun. If one prays to the ancestors, *tɔgbuiwo*, who have died a good death, one turns one's face to the west, to the sunset.

δ. Expiation for violation of the law

αα. Laws and regulations

The following are the Laws and Regulations:

1. Whoever intends to go to the offering place for the earth should not drink palm wine before, and sexual intercourse with a woman is forbidden to him.
2. The priests of *Zɔdzi* should not go to the farm on the day consecrated to him.
3. The women are forbidden to collect firewood on his piece of land *dudokpo*. However, this prohibition is limited to the actual place of sacrifice and its surroundings. On his land *dudokpo*, *Zɔdzi* does not like quarrelling and screaming.
4. Theft and denial of the theft is forbidden; for *Zɔdzi* will become angry at this. It is strictly forbidden to remove wood placed in the path, that is identified with a stone laid on it, or with a wisp of grass, as property of another person.
5. It is forbidden to burn the bush before the priests have been to the place of sacrifice and brought their offering.
6. It is forbidden to invoke the name of *Zɔdzi* and *Tsigbato* in a quarrel and deceit.

It is significant that these laws do not apply to the men living in *Axɔ̃*; for as personal servants of *Zɔdzi*, they are released from the law. Just as, for example, the personal servants of the king of Peki go unpunished for all the transgressions that are forbidden to other people, so it is also with the personal slaves of *Zɔdzi*. Only the men receive such exceptional status.

ββ. Punishment for violation of the law

The punishment for unlawful collecting of wood at *Zɔdzi*'s place, *dudokpo*, consists of the offender suffering from sleeping sickness, dropsy or insanity. A woman, who is guilty of such an offence, cannot bear children.

The punishment for setting the bush on fire unlawfully is that a misfortune happens to the man when he has gone hunting and, in case of a woman, she cannot bear a child. The gun of the hunter explodes, or his eye becomes uncertain so that he mistakes a man for an animal and shoots at it. A popular saying of such an unlucky person is: *Gbe gblēe*, "The bush has made him unfortunate." If such an unlucky person does not die, then the popular saying is, *Mawu ɖii*, or *Mawu gbee*, "God has helped him", or "God has objected to it (the misfortune)."

Punishment for quarrelling: If someone has made his farm on the land of *dudokpo* and quarrels there with his wife, the man will be bitten by a poisonous snake. If he asks the priest of the reason for the snake bite, he answers him: "You have had a quarrel on *dudokpo*." The woman, on the other hand, will be punished by having a miscarriage. *Zɔdzi* retains the fruit of the womb. If the woman dies, the man will be considered by those in authority as her murderer and must be held answerable for her. In case of a difficult birth, the husband who has something on his conscience hurries to the priest

to confess his wrong doing and to ask him to plead with his deity (*trɔ*) on his behalf. If someone has collected wood at *dudokpo* or taken some from the path, the offender will later be gripped with a fear that will not leave him until he hurries to the priest with gifts in his hand, in order to confess to him and beg for forgiveness.

γγ. Penance

The prayer of supplication which the traditional priest addresses to *Zɔdzi* is: “Here we are bringing to you your cock and your flour. Take care of this man, who indeed is your own child! He did not know when he unlawfully acted against you. Take your hand away from him so that he becomes well again!” Upon this prayer, the sick person becomes healthy. The offering consists of: one goat, 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowries, with flour and palm oil in addition. If someone refuses to fulfil the priest’s demands, he will be cursed by him. Insanity or some other misfortune will befall him! Should any member of the priestly family fall sick, the person who refused to be reconciled with the deity is held responsible. Should the priest himself disobey the laws which apply to him, the deity will punish him with total madness.

d. The oath of *Zɔdzi*

α. The oath formula

If someone is accused of theft or otherwise of doing something wrong, that person will cleanse himself of this suspicion by swearing an oath to the earth. The wording of this oath is: *Meta anyigba, si dzi mele be, nye mewɔe o*, “I swear to the earth on which I live that I have not done it.” Or: *Nyemenya nuka wowɔ anyigba, si dzi mele, o; ne mewɔe nɔwɔ, hele mɔmɔm, ne meɖu anyigba dzi dze*,⁴³ *alɔ efe nane, ekem maku*, “I don’t know what is happening on this earth on which I live. I have indeed done it (what you are accusing me of) but denying it, so may I die if I enjoy anything from this earth.” In saying this, the person swearing the oath touches the ground with his finger and the tip of his tongue.

There is another act that has the significance of an oath. This consists in taking away wood on which the owner has put a stone or a wisp of grass. Stone and grass are the identification for it that the wood is under the protection of the earth until the owner takes it home. If another carries the wood away, then that person has touched the earth or the grass; he has sworn to the earth.

□. Motives for swearing an oath

Cause for swearing an oath is usually given through an accusation of some sort or simply through a pronounced suspicion from which the accused wants to clear himself. If he is accused of theft, then he will say: “No! I have not stolen, and if you nevertheless insist upon it, then see to it!” The swearing of the oath follows this. In all those cases in which the accused cannot prove his innocence through human witnesses, he then resorts to a divine witness to decide the matter.

43 *dze*, salt, is the embodiment of food.

The difference existing between the oaths is the same as that existing between truth and lie. In one of the cases, a man is forced by the violation of his honour to take this step. In the other case, on the contrary, the oath is nothing but a frivolous disregard of the law, in so far as the latter is placed under the protection of the earth. While in the first case the oath is sworn in the presence of witnesses and therefore will be promptly reported to the priest, in the other case the accused usually swears secretly. To this belongs, for example, the theft of the wood, which, of course, only the perpetrator and the offended earth know about.

γ. Limitation of the legal effects of the oath

The oath is allowed for the men in *Axɔ̃e* as personal slaves of the deity *Zɔdzi*. The deity will not be angry with them and will therefore not take revenge on them. *Zɔdzi* is like a good mother, who never sees wrong-doing in her own children but only in the children of other people, and punishes severely. For instance, the earth does not take revenge on a man from *Axɔ̃e* even if he takes away firewood from the path. The same crime, committed by women and people who are not from *Axɔ̃e* is a serious crime.

If a man who comes from *Axɔ̃e* wants to clear himself of suspicion through an oath of *Zɔdzi*, he is not proving his innocence but his guilt; he knows exactly that such an oath has no serious consequences for him. If he wants to prove his innocence through an oath to a deity, he must swear on a deity to whom he does not belong as a personal servant, for example, *Fofie* or another. Only then is his oath convincing proof.

δ. Propitiation for the oath

An oath is reported to the priest through other persons or by the oath-taker himself. The priest then has the duty of pacifying the offended deity. The person concerned must in this case bring the offering necessary for the pacification ceremony. Besides, he must hold himself responsible for the legal consequences of his action, for the priest reports to the local authorities. The offender is prompted to confession through the great fear which overcomes him after the deed. This is so strong that the victim shakes and only after a public confession is he freed from this fear. Should he fail to make the confession, he is still afraid of the anger of the earth; it follows him when he goes hunting, to the farm, to the market and wherever he goes. If he has misfortune during hunting, he himself knows the cause immediately and when asked, he confesses immediately. If he is not feeling well or one of his family is sick, he is immediately certain that it is the punishment from *Zɔdzi*. To ward off something even worse, he goes to the priest himself and confesses, or the priest says to him: "You have done this and that."

If, for example, one spouse has sworn against the other and the one concerned later falls sick, the oath swearer goes to the priest in the belief that the sickness is the result of his swearing an oath, and he tells him that he is afraid because he has sworn against his wife; the priest would tell him what to do. The first payment consists of 2 *hoka* and an egg, then he goes home to get the remaining things for the offering. If the sick person dies he must bear the consequences, because he will be considered a murderer.

e. Consecrated persons and periods

α. The priests

Zodzi has three male priests, among whom there is a strict order of seniority. These are: *Adalā*, the chief priest, *Kwasi*, the priest of *Tsiagbeto*, and finally the junior, *Adali*. (The last two have died long ago). The order of seniority is seen in the procession to the place of sacrifice, where the chief priest leads. Also during the distribution of the offerings, the chief priest has precedence. At the place of the sacrifice he sits in the middle between his two colleagues. He is also the one who declares the feast of sacrifice opened. A right of the chief priest that exists up to this day is his right to game. Whoever kills a buffalo, *to*, a horse, antelope, *lu*, the sabre-antelope, *afia*, or bush pig, *ha*, must give the neck and the chest to the priest of *Zodzi*.

The priesthood is inherited from father to the son. Notably, at times, sons refuse to be their father's successor in office.⁴⁴

Even *Adala*, the chief priest, said that left to him alone personally, he would not have become a priest.

The moral worth of the priest should not be too highly estimated. However, the chief priest declared that he had never been guilty of any ethical lapse, to which all the people of Ho could attest. But despite this strict morality, he has never been reluctant to take the wife of his son to marry her himself. He sees evidence of his morality in the fact that, when he is called to the sick, he prays to *Zodzi* for them and then goes back home.

With regard to the popularity which the individual priests enjoy, there is a certain professional jealousy among them. If someone goes to the priest of *Agbasia* today and comes to the priest of *Zodzi* tomorrow, then the latter will ask him enviously: "Well, what has the other one told you?"

β. The gods' slaves (*Kluwo* and *Kosiwo*)

In the second rank, the children consecrated to the deity belong to the class of consecrated people. Their consecration takes effect even before their birth, where they are presented to the *trɔ̃* in prayer. The outward sign of these children is that their hair cannot be cut until their third or fourth year. The handing over of the child in life is accomplished when the priest shaves the child's hair. For the parents, this ceremony entails expenses. The child's mother brings the priest two fowls, a mat, a new dress, a new knife, a local stool, two new bowls, a woven bag, a sponge, 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowries, palm wine and flour. The chiefs and other traditional priests of the town also attend this ceremony.

Formerly, such children helped the priest on the farm. But since "day has dawned", they no longer do that. The girls had to work on the farm for their priestly master, fetching firewood, grinding flour and bringing fowl eggs. At present, the rights of the priest are to small presents and also the right to give the *Kosi* as a wife to one of his sons or member of his family.

In the broadest sense, all men from *Axɔe* belong to the category of gods' slaves whose rights and duties have already been stated above.

⁴⁴ See pg. 460, a.

γ. Periods

Every third year, a great sacrificial feast is held in the latter part of the year, in August or September, which, however, is not fixed once and for all. The day is always determined by the priests. Mondays and Tuesdays are the days consecrated to *Tsiagbeto*, on which his priest may not go to the farm. Furthermore, he must stay at home on the market day of the people of *Aqaklu*. Infringement of these regulations will result in madness. The *Asiamigbe* is the sacrifice day. On this day, the bush or grass burning begins.

7. *Tsiagbeto*

On the eve of offering a sacrifice for *Zɔdzi*, the priest of *Tsiagbeto* together with his people kills fowls and brings to the place of sacrifice. The ceremonies are performed in the same way as those for *Zɔdzi*.

8. *Dzagee*

a. Names, habitation, form and characteristics

Dzagee, a son of the god *Agbasia*, is like him an earth god and lived under a thick tree at a water source. He is a war god and therefore can never be served by a woman. He is presented as a strong warrior in a black garment with a frightful war cap on his head.⁴⁵ In one hand he has a large sword, and in the other he holds a rifle.

His by-names are: 1. *Awanɔdzagee*, *awa do*, *awakloe do wa*, *klo awa*, *Dzagee* is the lord of war, who when war wants to come, does not let it break out. 2. *Wɔe gamɔ nu*, “If he has done something, he denies it.” From the names we can also ascertain his characteristics. In war it is ascribed to his influence if the enemy’s gun explodes, or if enemy balls are simply shaken off by the protégés of *Dzagee*. In this way, he makes the conduct of war impossible for the enemy and drives him back home. This warrior, however, is also concerned with blessing with children and brings about the healing of the sick.

Closely connected as he is with *Agbasia*, he is also differentiated from him and from *Zɔdzi* in that he does not accept blood sacrifice, but only flour and palm wine as offering. During menstruation, women may not carry water to *Dzagee*. It is also forbidden to fetch water for him in brass bowls, for this would result in the drying up of the spring. This prohibition affecting women has a profound effect on family life. If a woman cannot carry water for four or five days in a month, the husband is forced either to go to the stream himself or get more wives, who can substitute for each other.

b. Cult

α. Cult Objects

As such there is only a tree, *wu*, with a slowly emerging spring under its roots, further an earthen mound that is erected as an altar, two pots and a bowl, as well as some herbs, called *yiɖa* and *sumbe*.

⁴⁵ See picture pp. 32, 36, 37.

The badges of office of the priest are: a blue dress, a chain of cowry shells hanging over his shoulder and strings of cowries that he ties around his arms and feet.

β. Cult activities

When someone goes to the sacrifice place of *Dzagee*, he takes with him two fowls, flour and red palm oil. In addition, two new pots and a bowl are necessary, that are placed at the *wu* tree on an earthen mound. The *sumbe* and *yiḍa* herbs are placed in the bowl and much water poured on them. Then the priest prays and says, “O war chief *Dzagee*, you who drive away war, it is you who let the women get children. If they are boys, they will be your slaves; if it is a girl, she will be your slave to serve you!” After the prayer the fowls are cooked together with red maize porridge and eaten. The priest puts the remainders between the bowls under the tree. He pours water into one of the bowls and palm wine into the other. Children will be bathed in the bowl filled with water, which also contains herbs. He paints the chest of the mother and her child with the mud under the tree and under the bowl. Then he puts water from the bowl three times into his mouth with his hand, blows it three times into the pot and says, “May nothing evil come! Stay with me, so that I may also stay with you!” When the priest has finished everything and wants to go back home, he puts on the blue garment, hangs the cowry chain on himself and ties the two cowry bracelets around his arms. Every day the priest enjoys himself and drinks palm wine.

When the child dedicated to the god has grown somewhat, his hair will be shaved off. The child’s parents buy for this two fowls, a new traditional stool, a garment and two knives, as well as flour, red palm oil and salt. These things are brought to the priest, who keeps them. Then he paints the stool with white clay and lets the child sit on it. He dresses him in the new cloth and says to him, “My child, rejoice, for you have become my child!” If it is a girl he gives her to one of his children or brothers as a wife. When that happens, he calls all the slaves of his deity, drinks palm wine with them and thanks the parents. When he has performed all the customs, he receives 1 *hotu* and 10 *koka* [sic] from the parents.

9. Fofie

a. Origin and dwelling

This god lives in the hut; he comes from *Kratsi* and is the *trõ* of the *Akwamu* and the *Peki*. He descended upon *Nyidukpui* *Ŋku*, who built him a small house, and also made a roof inside the room. He hung white cloth before the door.

b. Cult

α. Cult objects

In the room are found two pots and a bowl. In the two pots are water and palm

9. Fofie

a. *Dzɔfe kple nɔfe*

Trõ siae nye afemetrõ, eye efe tsofe enye Kratsi. Enye Akɔmuawo kple Pekiawo fe trõ. Trõ sia va dze Nyidukpui Ŋku hã dzi, eye wòtu xɔ sue aḍe srã edzi ne, hetsɔ aklala do vɔ ḍe xɔa nu.

b. *Subɔsubɔ*

α. *Subɔsubɔnuawo*

Nu siwo le xɔa me wonye zevi eve kple agba. Tsi kple aha le zevi la me. Flatogã kple sumbe

wine; *flatogã*, *sumbe* and many other herbs are in the bowl, and he pours much water on them. This water the priest takes and washes his face with every day.

β. Cult activities

αα. Expelling evil

If somebody is passing through the town, the priest of *Fofie* says to him, “You must die, in truth you must die!” When the person then asks what this, “you must die”, means for him, he answers, “The *gbetsi* vɔwo assert that you must die!” The one so addressed then asks, “If the *gbetsivɔwo* say I must die, what should I do about it?” The priest answers, “I will present your case, I must have a gift from you to give him.” Then he tells the other that he should bring him twelve clay idols and 25 *hoka*, and with those he will go onto the road and bring him life from there. He then lays the twelve clay idols and 12 cowry shells on a wooden tray, sets it on someone’s head and sets out with him to a cross-roads. The priest himself pours water into a gourd bottle and has a man accompany them with a hoe. When they get to the crossroads, the man with the hoe must raise an earthen mound and arrange the place nicely for the bath. The priest rubs soap on a sponge and bathes the person who has the bad *gbetsi*. Then he rubs a hen’s egg over the person’s whole body and says, “I now pull the bad *gbetsi* that is plaguing you out of your body.” Then he opens the egg at one end and puts it on the earthen mound. He puts a garment on some of the clay idols, others he ties in a head scarf and says, “That is the bad evil and the bad *gbetsi*, that I have drawn out of you, here they are; now you will rejoice.” After that, he dabs the forehead and all the person’s joints with white clay and goes home with him. The parents or the wife of the man

kple gbe bubu fomevi gedewo le agba la me, eye wokɔ tsi de wo dzi fuu. Tsi sia wòkuna ŋdi sia ŋdi nɔa ŋkume klɔm daa.

β. Nuwɔwɔ

αα. Busuyiyi

Ne ame aɖe le yiyim la, Nyidukpui Ŋku nɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Aku, aku kokoko!

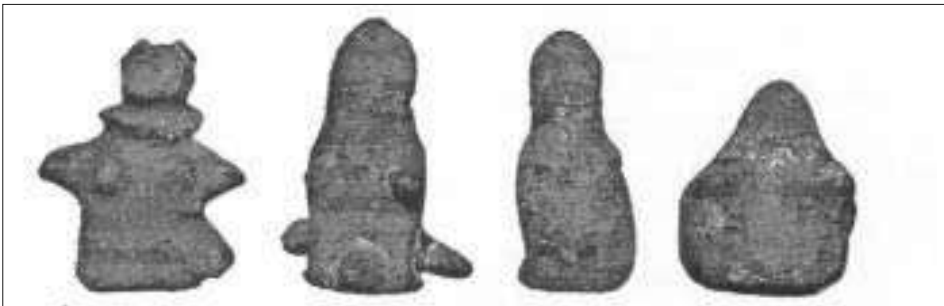
Ne wobiae bena, “aku” la gɔme deɛ mahã la, eɖoa ŋu bena, gbetsi vɔwo bena aku kokoko. Ame la gagblɔna be, esi gbetsi vɔwo bena, yeaku la ate ŋu awɔe mahã? Eɖoa ŋu bena, yeaxɔ nya de enu, eye yeaxɔ nu le esi anɛ. Emegbe egblɔna na ame la bena, wòatsɔ ame meme wuieve kple hoka 25 akpe de wo ŋuti, bena ne yewoayɔ mɔ dzi, ne yeaxɔ agbe ne le afi ma. Wotsɔ ame meme wuieve la kple agaga 12 kɔna de gbɔnu me tsɔna ɖoa ta na ame la, eye woyina de mɔ dogo dzi. Nyidukpui Ŋku ŋutɔ kua tsi de goe me, eye wòna ame ɖeka tsɔ agblenu kpɛna de wo ŋuti. Ne wova mɔ dogo dzi la, ame si tsɔ agblenu la, fɔa dru, eye wòdzra afi ma ɖo nyuie hena tsilele. Eye trɔsi la tsɔa adzalẽ dea akutsa me ale na ame si gbetsi vɔ le eɖu la. Eye wòtsɔa koklozi ɖeka lilina de ame la, fe afi sia afi hegbɔna be, gbetsi vɔ, si le fu ɖem ne la, yehee do go tso eme. Eɖo koklozi la nu tsɔ dana de dru la dzi, eye wòta avɔ na ame meme aɖewo, eye wòbla ta na ɖewo hegbɔna bena: Busu vɔ kple gbetsi vɔ siwo meɖe le mewò la, woawoe nye esiawo, azɔ la akpɔ dzidzɔ. Esia megbe la, wòtsɔa ye ɖoa ame la fe ŋgonu kple efe funuɖefeawo katã, eye wòkplɔa ame la va afe me. Ame si ke wòle nu la wɔm na fe dzilawo alo srɔ adze aha ava ɖo xɔ me ne, eye ne wowɔe vɔ la, wo katã wosɔna de aha la ŋuti nona. Hoka 25 la koe nye efe adzɔ, si wòxɔna le dzilawo si; ame si ke kplɔe yi mɔ dzi la enaa hoka 2, bena wòatsɔ afle atama.

have meanwhile bought palm wine and kept it in the room until the man's return. After their return they all drink the palm wine together. The priest receives in conclusion 25 *hoka* from the man's parents, and the man who accompanied him gets 2 *hoka*, with which he can buy tobacco.

ββ. Release from the consequences of an oath

If occasionally the priest *Nyidukpui Ŋku* has no money or no meat, he goes early in the morning into the house of his god, prays there and says, "Should I serve you and be so hungry from it?" Then he takes his bell,⁴⁶ sounds it before the house of his deity and says, "King's child *Fofie*, *adzrima*, must I serve you and be hungry from it?"

When the priest of *Fofie* has prayed to him thus, in the course of the afternoon someone suddenly comes to him. The arrival says to him, "Things are not going well for my brother, he has had a quarrel with someone and sworn by *Fofie* on it. That is why you are being called." As soon as he hears this, he goes there. He says to him, "If I had not come so quickly you would die immediately!" The priest now inquires about the matter between the two sides, and if the one who called on the name of *Fofie* lies, *Nyidukpui Ŋku* says to him,



Small Clay Idols

"You must first pay me something, then I will free you from *Fofie*; you have offended the deity!" When the priest has received what he requested, he ties magic cords around the man's hands and other parts of his body. As soon as the sick person is healthy again, he buys a pot of palm wine, adds 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowries and brings it to the priest; for he believed that that is why he became ill, because he had called on the name of *Fofie*. In handing over the gifts, the healed person says to the priest, "King's child *Fofie* *adzrima*, I thank you very much; you have helped me; and if I now die it is not of your willing."

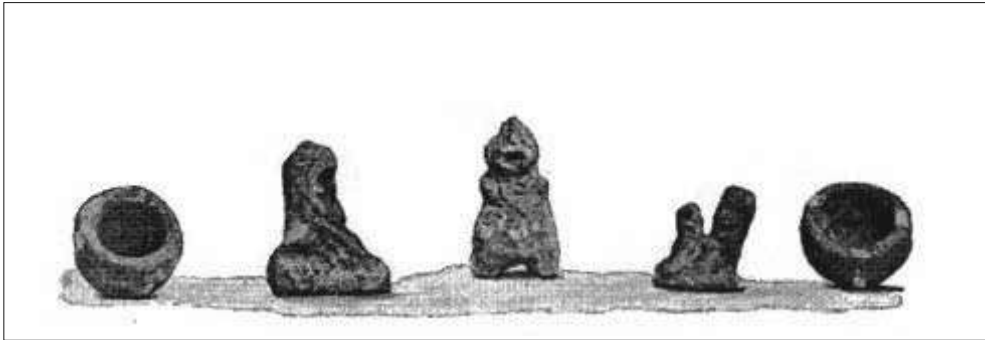
If children are playing on the street and one of them in an argument, as an oath or for any reason, calls the name of *Fofie*, and the one in question falls ill, they say it is his fault, for he has called the name of *Fofie*. However, before the priest goes to the sick person, he demands 24 *hotu*, palm wine and a white fowl. After he has received them, he says, "I will certainly help you and make medicine for you." *Nyidukpui Ŋku* kills the fowl in front of his house so that he tears its head off. But before he kills the fowl, he

⁴⁶ Compare picture pg. 492.

ββ. Fofie fe atam tutu

Gbe si gbe Nyidukpui Ŋku kpɔ be, yedɔ ko, eye hotsui alo lā dudu adeke megale ye si o la, eyia efe trɔɔ me ŋdi kanya, eye wodoa gbe dɔ gblɔna bena: “Manɔ subɔwom, eye dɔ ano wuyem ale gbegebea?” Emegbe la etsɔa efe gakogoe la nɔa fofom kokoko, kokoko, le trɔɔa nu nɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Hlima Fofie, adzrima, manɔ subɔwom hafi dɔ nanɔ wuyem ale gbegebea?

Ne Fofinua do gbe dɔ alea la, yetrɔ me kasia ame ade va egbo xoxo. Ame la gblɔna ne bena: Mele nyonyom na ye nɔvi o tɔ, elabena eya kple ame wole dzre wɔm, eye wota fofie, eya ta wole yɔwom. Enumake, menya be, yease o, etsona yina. Egblɔna na ame la bena, dɛ menye ale neva kaba o la, ne eku fifi laa. Edrɔa vɔnu le wo dome, eye ame si yɔ Fofie ŋkɔ la nɔa avatso kam.



Clay Idols and Offering Bowls

Nyidukpui Ŋku gblɔna na ame la bena, maxɔ adzɔ le asiwo, ekema Fofie ade asi le ŋuwɔ. Èdɔ fo le Fofie gbɔ, eya ta tsɔ alē dɛka kple hotu 6 vɛ ne matsɔ na trɔ la. Trɔnua xɔa nuawo, eye wɔsa dzoka dɛ ame la fe alɔnu kple afi bubuwo. Ne ame la fe lāme sɛ la, edzea aha ze dɛka, eye wɔtsɔ hotu hoka 10 akpe dɛ ɛɲuti atsɔ vɛ na trɔsi la; elabena wosusu bena, esi wɔyɔ Fofie ŋkɔ la dɔ dɔ lāme nɛ. Ne etsɔ nu siawo vɛ la, egblɔna na trɔnua bena: Ahlima Fofie, adzrima esɛ ŋu kakaka, wɔekpe dɛ ɲutinye. Azɔ ne meku la menye wɔ lɔlɔnu o.

Ne dɛviwo le fefem le ablɔ me, eye wo dometɔ dɛka yɔ Nyidukpui Ŋku fe Fofie ŋkɔ le dzrewɔwɔ alo nutata ade me alo nu vivlia ade me la, ekema ne dɔlɛle ade dze edzi la, wogblɔna bena, eyɔ Fofie ŋkɔ, eya ta enyi aka ku. Hafi ne trɔnua nava dɛvi la gbɔ la, ele nɛ be wɔaxɔ hotu 24, aha kple koklo yee. Ne exɔ nu siawo la, egblɔna bena: Makpe dɛ mia ŋu baa, eye mado amatsi na mi. Nyidukpui Ŋku tsɔa koklo la wuna dɛ trɔ la fe xɔ nu, eye wɔtsɔa asi dɛa efe ta dɔ. Gake hafi wɔawu koklo la la, edoa amatsi, eye. amatsi la me wɔwua koklo la dɔ, eye wɔtsɔ tsi la lena na dɛvi si le dɔ lém la, eye eya ɲutɔ tsɔa koklo la dɔana duna.

prepares a medicine with sacred leaves and kills the fowl over the medicine. Then he bathes the sick person with this water, and he himself eats the fowl.

When the child is well again, his parents bring him to the priest and present the priest with palm wine. On the same day, he prepares another medicine for the parents, that they take home. The child bathes with it for eight days, and on the ninth day the medicine is thrown away. However, if the child dies, the priest is not approached again. The priest only says that the bad speech of the child has killed him. Whether the child dies or remains alive, he receives one sheep and 6 or 12 *hotu* from the child's parents.

γγ. The priest's yam festival

When the time for eating new yam arrives, the priest of *Fofie* does not eat any yam with the other people. He waits for his yam festival until the yam harvest. When he wants to celebrate his yam festival, he slaughters a sheep and two white fowls. He cooks the fowl soup separately and puts two fowl eggs in it. When the soup is ready, he puts it on a high pot, so that the soup bowl does not touch the earth. Then he cooks the yam and mixes it with red oil. The priest eats the chicken soup in the company of his children and they don't break any of the legs. After the meal, he collects the fowl bones and lays them together with yam mixed with oil in front of the door of his deity. There he sounds his sacred bell and says, "King's child *Fofie adzrima*! If someone has given you something that you have eaten, then you must also give him something he can eat. Give, that I remain healthy and continue to find food for you!" The special food of the priest is sheep flesh. As soon as the meat is cooked, he dresses in white cloth, ties a white scarf around his head, sits down, divides the meat in (different) bowls and sends them to his relatives and drummers, that on their part invite their relatives to eat. After the meal, they assemble in his house and drink palm wine. After drinking the palm wine the god, *trɔ̃*, seizes him and now there is drumming for him. When he becomes tired, he goes home, changes his white clothes, puts on a chain of cowries, puts on sandals and goes around among the people to thank them; then he goes home again.

This *trɔ̃* does not stay with a person until his old age. If the *trɔ̃* sees that his priest is beginning to go gray, he leaves him and goes to another, no matter whether it is a man or a woman. They say that if the *trɔ̃* wants to leave him, (the priest) he kills him.

10. *Kade*

a. Name and origin

He is given the by-name "*Kade* is not fat", meaning the kernel of the oil palm does not become fat on a creeper.

Kade is a male *trɔ̃* in *Adzɔkɔɛ*. The woman on whom he has settled is called *Kadesi*, "wife of *Kade*". He came and caught *Ametɔnunu* in *Ho*. After the *trɔ̃* had settled on her, she drove away evil from the people, even before she was installed as a priestess.

Ne ɖeɖi la fe lāme se la, efe dzilawo gakplɔne va egbo, eye wogadzea aha ne. Gbe ma gbe trɔ̃si la gadoa amatsi na wo, eye wotsɔne yia afe me. ɖeɖi la lea amatsi la ŋkeke enyi, le asiekeagbe la megatsɔ Nyidukpui Ŋku gbɔ nya aɖeke o, ɖeko wògblɔna bena, eya ŋutsɔ fe nufɔfo manyomanyoe wui. ɖeɖi la ku alo meku o, exɔa alē ɖeka kple hotu 6 alo hotu 12 le dzilawo si.

γγ. Trɔ̃nua fe teɖuɖu

Ne teɖuyi ɖo la, efe trɔ̃nua meɖua te kple ameawo zi ɖeka o. Enɔa anyi va se ɖe teɖuyi hafi eya ɖuna te. Ne eva ɖu ge la, ewua alē ɖeka kple koklo yee eve. Efoa koklodetsi la hā vovo. Ne ele detsi la fom la, edea koklozi eve eme. Ne detsi la bi vɔ la, ekɔne ɖoa zekla dzi, eye ze la gɔme meka anyigba o. Emegbe eɖa te, eye wobakane. Trɔ̃si la kple viawo ɖua koklodetsi la, eye womegbā fu aɖeke ne o. Emegbe la wolɔa fu la kple te bakabaka la va kɔna ɖe trɔ̃ la fe agbali nu, eye trɔ̃nua foa ga kokoko, kokoko, kokoko gblɔna bena: Hlima Fofie, adzrima ne ame aɖe na nu wò nēɖuna la ele be, wò hā nana nui wòadɔ. Na manɔ sesie adi nuɖuɖu na wò. Trɔ̃nua ŋutsɔ fe nuɖuɖue nye alēlā la. Ne eɖae vɔ la ekema ebɔɔ nɔ anyi, eye wòta aklala, gatsɔne blaa ta, eye wòmā nuɖuɖu la ɖe agbawo me ɖona ɖe efomeawo kple efe vufolawo ne woadui. Emegbe wo katā wova foa fu ɖe efe me, eye wonoa aha. Le ahanono megbe la, eya ŋutsɔ glina, eye wofoa vu ne vu. Ne ɖeɖi te eɖu la, eyia afe me, eye wòɖɔa li efe aklala la, eye wòtsɔa hotsui tɔtɔ kplana, eye wòɖɔa atokota me heva ameawo gbɔ, eye wòda akpe na wo. Emegbe la woyia afe me.

Trɔ̃ sia menɔa ame gbɔ va se ɖe ame fe amegā kuku me o. Ne trɔ̃ la kpɔ be, wɔ ɖo ame la fe tame la, ekema edzona la egbo yina ɖe ame bubu gbɔ; ame la ɖanye ŋutsu alo nyɔnu o. Wogblɔ be, ne trɔ̃ la be, yeadzo la ewua ame la.

10. Kade

a. Ŋkɔ kple dzɔfe

Wofoa ŋkɔ ɖo ne bena: Kade meɖa ami o, egɔmee nye de, si nɔ ka dzi la meɖa ami o. Kadee nye ŋutsutrɔ̃ le Adzɔkɔe. Nyɔnu si dzi wòva dze la woyɔne be Kadesi. Eva lé asi Ametɔnnunu le Ho. Esime wòdze edzi la, enɔa busu ko yim hafi trɔ̃ la wɔyi va ɖo.

b. The priestess

α. Installation

On *Asituigbe*, the day before the *Ho* Market, the mother of *H. Kw.*, called *Do*, who attends to the *trõ* customs for the people, came and led her one evening into the house of the *trõ*.



A priestess dressed in her ornaments

While she was in the room, she accompanied this old priestess daily to the place where they fetched water. Nobody was allowed to greet her when she was on the way to the stream or to toilet. Only the old priestess accompanied her. In the night, she banished evil. For that reason, nobody besides the priestess was allowed to speak to her. This lasted for nine days.

b. Ale si Ametɔnunu zu trɔ̃si

a. Eḍoḍo

Esi wova trɔ̃ la fo ge ne le Asituigbe la H. Kw. dada Do, ame si nɔa trɔ̃ wɔm na amewo la, kplɔ Ametɔnunu de trɔ̃xɔ me le fiẽ. Esi wòle xɔa me la, trɔ̃si tsitsi la koe kplɔne yia tɔ me ḍadua tsi.



The Anya tree

with two soku palms in the background, with weaver birds' nests in their branches

Ame aḍeke mekpɔ mɔ adɔ gbe ne le tɔme mɔ dzi o, nenye afɔdzi woyina hã, trɔ̃si la koe kplɔne yine. Enɔa busu yim le za me, eya ta ame aḍeke megafoa nu ne o, negbe trɔ̃si tsitsi la ko ŋkeke asieke ɔɔɔ.

On the ninth day, all the priests assembled in the house of the old priestess to install *Ametɔnunu* as a priestess. On the day of the installation, they sent a man into the bush to shoot two birds, *patipri* and *dzretutu*, which would be prepared for *Ametɔnunu* and eaten by her. The eating of the bird has the following meaning: Since these two birds raise their voices in the morning before dawn, likewise the priestess should raise her voice first thing before dawn. After she had eaten these two birds, she was led by the priests to a termite hill and then to a tree which *Ametɔnunu* had to touch with her mouth. Hereupon, all the priests said: “We have now opened your mouth.” Now she was led by the priests into the courtyard of the old priestess, where she sat down in front of the house from where she could greet everybody, for now her mouth was opened. The assembled priests entertained themselves. And all who had given cowries received palm wine from her. They spent the time entertaining themselves till sunset. Finally, the priests present demanded 12 *hotu* as a reward. However, they said *Ametɔnunu* should not pay this debt, for she is a priestess. Rather she should borrow the money and give one of her children as a pledge for it. The relations of *Ametɔnunu* now all thanked the old priestess.

β. Her lesson

At the end of all this, her family members asked the (old priestess) *Do* to allow the new priestess to remain longer with her and to show her how to go to the room and speak so that her voice is no longer recognized. *Do* had very powerful magical cords. She bound all of them around *Ametɔnunu* and said that now the other priests no longer have any power over her. Then she hung a chain of cowries over her shoulder, put an iron ring with bells on her feet and gave her a broom, so that when she travels far or goes to another town she should put on all these (things) and present herself as a great priestess. After she had done all these for her, the old priestess went home.

c. Cult

α. Cult objects

Now *Ametɔnunu* had a house built for her *trɔ̃*. In it she hung fibre from the raffia palm, *ala*, put two pots whose openings were sealed and other things which she did not want other people to know of. The door of the hut was hung with a cloth of blue material. After all had been put in order, a sacred fence, *trɔ̃kpɔ*, was also made for her, in which two small pots were placed. Water and palm wine are always (again) poured into these pots. The herb *flatogã* is planted all around them. The entrance is closed with a door made from palm branches.

β. Cult activities

αα. The evil bath

If someone is sick, has rashes or cannot see well and wants to take it to *Ametɔnunu* to ask her about the cause, the patient must bring her 2 *hoka* cowries and a hen's egg. While the supplicants sit on the veranda of the hut, she herself goes into the house of the *trɔ̃* and there says, “Your God *Mawu* has said that He has made your eyes dark, and

Le ŋkeke asiekeagbe la trõsiwo katã va fo fu de vɔnusi tsitsi la fe afe me, bena ne woawɔ trõ na Ametɔnunu. Trõ la wɔgbe tututu la, woda tuto deka de gbe me, bena wɔawu patipri kple dzretutu ne woatsɔ aɖa nu na Ametɔnunu ne wɔaɖu. Xevi eve siawo ɖuɖu gɔmee nye: Esi wɔnye xevi siawo trea gbedede na bubuwo hafi ŋu kena la, eya tae de na trõsi la bena, eya hã naɖe gbe gbã hafi ŋu nake. Woda xevi eve siawo ne wɔdu. Emegbe la trõsiawo kplɔe yi de babako kple ati aɖe gbɔ, eye Ametɔnunu tsɔ efe nu tɔ ati la alo ko la. Eye trõsiawo katã gblɔ ne bena: Mievu nu na wɔ azɔ! Emegbe la wogakplɔe va trõsi xoxo la fe me, eye wɔbɔbɔ ko xɔ la nu, be ame siaa ame nate ŋu ado gbe ne; elabena wovu nu ne azɔ. Trõsiawo fo vu le ko ɖim, eye ame siwo katã va na hotsui la, woku aha, si le egbo la na wo wonona. Nenem wole vufɔfo la dzi va se de esime ye do to. Emegbe la, trõsi tsitsi la kple trõsi bubuawo bla fe gã aɖe na Ametɔnunu hotu 12 sɔɔ. Wogblo be, Ametɔnunu nuto mekpɔ mɔ, be wɔaxe fe la o, negbe deko wɔatsɔ via aɖo awɔba hafi axe fe lae. Ametɔnunu nɔviwo katã woda akpe na trõsi tsitsi la bena esẽ ŋu loo!

β. Trõwɔwɔ – sɔsrõ

Eyome Ametɔnunu nɔviwo gaɖe kuku na Do be, wɔaganɔ egbo vee, ne wɔafia ale si ke wɔayi de ko me awɔ nu, ne efe gbe nagadze, eye amewo nadze sii o. Dzoka gagã, siwo le Do si la, esa wo na Ametɔnunu keɔ, bena trõsi bubu aɖeke nagakpo mɔnu de enu o. Emegbe wɔtsɔ agba kpla ne kple afɔga korɔŋkorɔŋ kple xakpo, bena ne eyina de nugbe alo du aɖe me la, ne wɔatsɔe akpla, bena ne wɔafia eɖokui bena, enye trõsi gã. Esi wɔfia nuawoe vɔ la, egatrɔ va eya nuto fe me.

c. Subɔsubɔ

α. Trõnuawo

Tso esia dzi la, eya nuto na wowɔ trõxɔ ne. Etsɔ la ku de ko la me kple zevi eve, siwo fe kɔme wɔbla la do kpakple nu bubu, siwo womelɔna be, ame aɖeke nanya o. Eye wotsɔ abisi tu ko la nu. Emegbe wotsɔ trõkpɔ hã ne, si me zevi eve le. Wokua aha kple tsi de zevi siawo me ɖaa. Woyɔ zevi siawo bena, dɔzi, si wodo flatogã fo xlãe keɔ. Etsɔ vɔ tu kpɔ la nu.

β. Trõwɔwɔ na amewo

αα. Tsi vɔ lele

Ne ame aɖe le do lém, dze akpa (aɖikpe) alo efe ŋku megale nu kpɔm nyuie o, eye wɔbe yeayi Ametɔnunu gbɔ abea eta ase la, ekema ele be wɔatsɔ hoka 2 kple koklozi deka ayi ne. Eye eya nuto ayi de trõxɔ la me, ke amewo anɔ akpata me le xɔa nu. Ametɔnunu gblɔna bena: Wɔ Mawu gblɔ bena, yee do viviti de ŋkume na wɔ, eye wɔ aklama gblɔ be, yee de dzo

your protective deity, *aklama*, says he has thrown fire on you. Your God says that if you want to be healthy again or regain your sight, then you have to make a vow to him. You must give him white cloth for a garment, for an upper cloth and for a head cloth. Your own *aklama* says you give him blue cloth for a garment, for an upper cloth and for a head cloth. As soon as you have given all that, I shall lead you to the rubbish dump and bathe you there. From there I shall take you to toilet and bathe you there.” If the supplicant is a man, she leads him to the men’s toilet, and if it is a woman, she leads her to the to the women’s toilet. When she takes these sick people to the rubbish dump and to the toilet, *Ametɔnunu* takes medicine with her. The names of these medicines are: *amayɪ* (leaves from the indigo plant), *avafatsa*, and roots of the rush, also *yiɖa*, a bush herb, the seeds of a tree called *ayiku*, and *kɔti*, the vomit nut plant. All these leaves and seeds are ground together (on a stone). When *Ametɔnunu* sees that the sun is at its zenith, she has all these leaves crushed on the way to the toilet, as she says, “I crush you, the one who does not like my action. You, you evil *aklama*, you evil *dzɔgbe*, you evil spirit, you evil *trɔ*, it is all of you I crush so that your eyes are darkened!” After crushing the leaves, she puts them on the head of the person concerned and smears him with them down to his feet. Then she pours water over him. This shows that as she has poured water on these, so she has cast it on all evil witches. Hereafter, the priestess accompanies him home.

ββ. The good bath

On one of the following mornings, the priestess says to him: “Bring the things quickly so that when a good morning dawns, on which nobody has died, I can give you the good bath!” Hereupon, she leads him to the well, binds twenty-four individual cowries on a leaf of the wild date palm or on the fronds of an oil palm branch.⁴⁷ A man takes a hoe, soap and eggs and accompanies her. On arriving at the place, the priestess orders an earthen mound to be erected, bathes the man with soap, rubs him with the (whole) egg, then she opens one end of it and places it on the mound. She also leaves the sponge she used in bathing him on the mound. Hereafter, he is bathed with water containing the herbs *yiɖa*, *fla*, *sumbe* and green grain. When she has bathed him, she pours the rest of the bath on the earth mound and she then smears the person with white clay. Then she dresses him in white cloth and binds his head and loins with white material.⁴⁸ Then, she spills maize grains, beans, spinach seeds and grains of the vomit nut on the earth mound and goes back home.

The priestess thanks the sick person, and the sick person thanks the priestess. She says to the people that she wants to go home so he should give her her pay. The man puts 24 *hoka* and palm wine before her feet. The priestess says to him, “I have now finished treating you, everything now depends on you. Do not bathe with hot water! Tomorrow I shall prepare the medicine for you which I used in bathing you, and you must wash yourself with it every morning. You must pour the remainder outside on the way. Not until you have done this, may you use hot water in bathing.”

47 The branch of an oil palm is slit into thin rods and the cowries are put on these.

48 The cloth around the loins represents the place of the belt with which the garment will be firmly tied.

kɔ ɖe ɲuti na wò. Wo Mawu gblɔ be, ne ele didim be, wò lāme alo ɲkume nakɔ la, ekema naɖe adzogbe le ɲkume, eye natsɔ aklala tata ɖeka, alidziblatɔ ɖeka kple tablatɔ ɖeka. Wò la, wò aklama gblɔ be, nadi abisi tata ɖeka, tablatɔ ɖeka kple alidziblatɔ ɖeka. Emegbe la makplɔ wò ayi aɖukpo dzi ale tsi na wo le afi ma. Eyome magakplɔ wo ayi ati dzi ale tsi na wo la afi ma. Nenyɛ ɲutsue la, ekplɔne yia ɲutsutɔ dzi, ke nenyɛ nyɔnue la eyia nyɔnutɔ dzi. Ne wokplɔ dɔwɔ siawo yina ɖe aɖukpo kple ati dzi la, Ametɔnunu ɲutɔ tsɔa atike ɖe asi. Amatsi siawo fe ɲkɔwoe nye: Amayi, avafotsa, keti fe ke, yiɖa, ayiku kple kpoti alo babati. Wotua atike siawo katā. Ne Ametɔnunu kpɔ be, ye ɖo to la, ekema ena wonɔa atikeawo tum le afɔdzi mɔnu, eye wòɔa gbɔgbɔm bena: Wò ame si ke nye nu menyo ɲu wò o la, eyae nye esi tum mele, aklama vɔ, dzɔgbe vɔ, ɲɔli vɔ, trɔ vɔ woawo nye esi tum mele, be wofe ɲkuwo natsyɔ. Ne wotu atike la vɔ la, ekema etsɔne kɔna ɖe ame la fe tame, eye wòalili as ɲu va se ɖe afɔ ɲu ke, eye wòatsɔ tsi la akɔ ɖe edzi. Ekema efia bena, wole tsi ɖe wo dzi wole tsi ɖe adze vɔwo dzi kenken. Esia megbe la trɔsi la kplɔa wo va afe me.

ββ. Tsi nyuie lele

Azɔ ne ɲu bubu va ke la, trɔsia gblɔna ne bena, di nuawo kabakaba, bena ne ɲu nyuie aɖe ke, eye ame meku o la, ekema male tsi na wò. Ekplɔne yia tɔ me, eye wòɔa hotsui blaevɛ vɔ ene ɖe ayedee ɲu alo ɖe fɔ nu. Ame ɖeka tsɔ agblenu kplɔa wo ɖo, eye woagatsɔ adzalɛ kple koklo zi ɖe asi. Ne woɖo mɔ dzi la, trɔsia na wofoa dru, eye wòlea adzalɛ na ame la, tsɔ koklodzi la lilina ɖe ɲuti, eye wòɔɔ enu atsɔ aɖo dru le dzi. Emegbe wògalea amatsi, siwo nye yiɖa, fla, sumbe kple bli mumɔ la ne. Ne ele tsia ne vɔ, eye ɖe susɔ la, etsɔne kɔna ɖe dru la dzi, emegbe esia ye na ame la, eye wòta aklala ne, tsɔ eya ke bla ta kple ali dzi ne. Eye trɔsi la gatsɔa bliku, ayi afumeku kple kpɔtiku akɔ ɖe dru la dzi, eyome wodzona va afe me. Ametɔnunu gblɔna na ame la bena, esɛ ɲu, eye ame la hã gblɔna na Ametɔnunu bena, esɛ ɲu. Azɔ Ametɔnunu gblɔna na ame la bena, yele afe me yi ge, eya ta netsɔ yefe adzɔ na ye. Ame la tsɔa hoka 24 kple aha va dana ɖe efe afɔ nu. Trɔsi la gblɔna ne bena: Mewɔ na wò vɔ, esusɔ ɖe gbɔ wò, megale tsi dzodzoe o. Ne ɲu ke la, mado amatsi, si mele na wò, be nanɔ lelem ɲdi sia ɲdi, eye natsɔ mamlea afu gbe ɖe mɔ dzi. Emegbe hafi nale tsi dzodzoe.

γγ. How Ametɔnunu prolongs life

When someone asks *Ametɔnunu* what he must do to live long, she gives the following answer: “Your type is very difficult. If you wish to live long, bring a black fowl so that it will go in your stead to the place of man’s origin, and there say on your behalf that you will soon return from the world and had only come to the world to see it.



Clay Idol

Decorated with cowries; squatting in a bowl

The *gbetsiwo*⁴⁹ say: “He told us, if he comes (into the world) he will return immediately. But now he has not returned quickly. For that reason we are chasing him, and eagerly await him till he comes back to stay with us.” The priestess herself says: “I will represent you and give the evil *gbetsiwo* who are waiting for you their tax. You yourself can remain without any fear.” Now she orders the man to have a man and woman made out of clay. Then she will go out with him to the bush path, bathe him there and brush his body with a small black fowl. She will tie the fowl with a rope to a palm branch and stick this into the earth mound. If the fowl does not die and is taken home by someone or other, nothing is said against it. The priestess smears his whole body with white clay and she goes home. The priestess receives for all that she has done 25 *hoka* and palm wine.

11. *Gbudugbudusi*

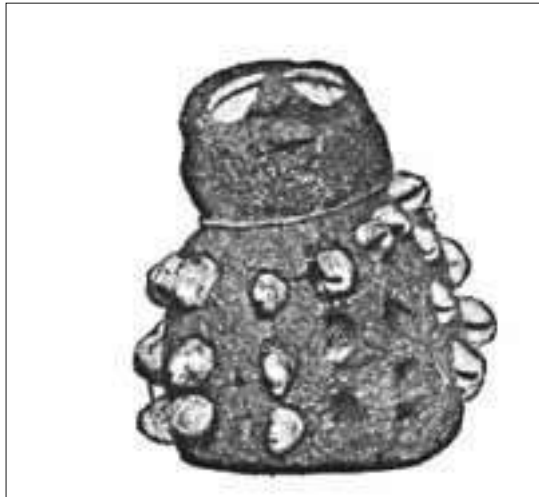
a. Name and origin

The name *Gbudu* means hyena. The woman with whom he (this *trɔ̃*) dwells is called *Afiba*. The *trɔ̃* originates from *Tɔɣu*. He is a *trɔ̃* whose word is harsh and he kills people quickly.

⁴⁹ That is, the being staying at the place of origin and awaiting the return of people.

γγ. *Ale si Ametɔnunu na amewo nɔa gbe*

Ne ame aɔe bia nu Ametɔnunu be, ale yeawɔ anɔ agbe hã la, egblɔna ne bena: Wò dzɔdzɔme sesẽ akpa, eya ta ne èle didim be, yeawɔ agbe la, ekema nadi koklo yibɔe ne wòatsi gbe le dzɔfe bena ne yeva la madidi kura hafi yeagbugbɔ ava o, ɔko yeyi xexeame kpɔ ge ɔa dzro.



Clay Idol
Decorated with cowries and a neck band.

Gbetsiawo gblɔna bena, egblɔ na mì bena, ne yeva la, yeagbɔ fifia, azɔ la megale vavam kaba o. Eya ηuti m̃ele eyome tim, eye m̃ele m̃ɔnu kpɔm ne geɔe bena ne wòava bɔbɔ nɔ anyi. Trõsi la ηuto gblɔna bena: Maxɔ nya ɔe nu wò, eye mana adzɔ gbetsi ṽ siwo le m̃ɔnu kpɔm na wò la; ke wò ηuto yi ɔabɔbɔ nɔ anyi ko. Emegbe agblɔ na ame la bena, wòame ηutsu ɔeka kple nyɔnu ɔeka, eye woakplɔ ame la ayi m̃ɔ dzi ale tsi ne le afi ma, eye wòatsɔ koklovi yibɔe la alili ɔe ηuti. Eye wòade ka koklovi la, atsɔ asa ɔe aɔefɔ ηu ahatu ɔe dru la dzi. Ne koklovi la meku o. eye ame aɔe va lée yi afe mee la, womegblɔa nya aɔeke o. Azɔ trõsi la asi ye ne keη, eye wòadzo ava afe me. Trõsi la xɔa hoka 25 kple aha le nu sia wɔwɔ me.

11 Gbudugbudusi

a. *ηkɔ kple dzɔfe*

Gbudu gɔmee nye agbotui. Nyɔnu, si gbɔ wòle la, woyɔne be Afiba. Trõ la tso Tɔηu, enye trõsi fe nya sesẽ, eye wowua ame kabakaba.

b. How the *trõ* came to Afiba

One day, *Afiba* went to *Adaklu* market and (there) she got possessed of the *trõ*. The market people all said something had happened to her. Was it insanity or did she want to die? She went back to *Ho*. On the way, she scattered everything that she had bought from the market: salt, fish and all other things on the way, also the wood tray which she carried on her head; she threw everything away and came home with empty hand. Her father and her mother took pains to discover what had happened to her. *Afiba* waited for a long time and finally, said that what had happened to her was the child of the *trõ Avakpe*. The *trõ Avakpe* in *Tõnu* has created *Gbudugbudu*. Both are hyena *trõwo*. This *Gbudugbudu* said that he wants to stay with her. Hereupon, the parents asked the *trõ*, whether their daughter would die if he lives with her. The *trõ* replied that he would not kill her, provided she allowed him to dwell with her. The *trõ* said further that he would give her thirteen children to bear. He himself would kill seven of the children so that only six would remain. The husband of *Afiba* is called *Do*. She gave birth to thirteen children. Seven of them died and six remained alive, namely two boys and four girls. One of the sons who died was already married. A son and two daughters live in *Banyakoe*, and two other daughters are in *Tanyigbe*. The *trõ* ordered her husband *Do* to build a house for him and when he had built it, he must leave *Afiba*, the wife, for she would no longer be his wife. The husband agreed and built a house for the *trõ* at his paternal siblings' place in *Dome*. However, the man went back to his old home at *Banyakoe*.

c. How the priestess invokes the spirits

From that time onward, *Afiba* began to invoke the spirits of the dead. People came to her if somebody died in the towns of *Ho* and she invoked him (the ghost of the dead). People even came to her from *Adaklu* with the request that she should invoke the spirits for them. When they came they brought along food, viz spinach, maize porridge mixed with oil, well cooked beans and groundnuts mixed with corn. In addition to the foods, they brought palm wine and 4 *hoka* cowries. *Afiba* herself went into her inner room and hung a blue cloth over the entrance of the door; the people sat outside in front of the house. A deep hole was dug in the earth in the interior of *Afiba*'s room. In the hole were two small pots in which were water and palm wine. The hole was covered over with palm ribs.⁵⁰

If a man or a woman died, after seven or eight days people said, "We want to go to the *trõ*'s place for him (the dead)." *Afiba* would be previously informed that they would come the next morning to invoke the dead at her place. When they came, the priestess went into her room and rang her bell for a long time before the deities' messenger, *trõyovi*, came into the room. The priestess then said to him: "I am requesting from you to go and call the ghost of the person who died the day before yesterday." The messenger goes and if he does not return quickly, the priestess goes to the people sitting outside to chat with them till the messenger returns. Upon his return, the priestess rings again the bell and all the people sitting outside are quiet. The priestess asks them: "What has happened?" They reply:

⁵⁰ This hole was intended as the dwelling place of her *trõ*.

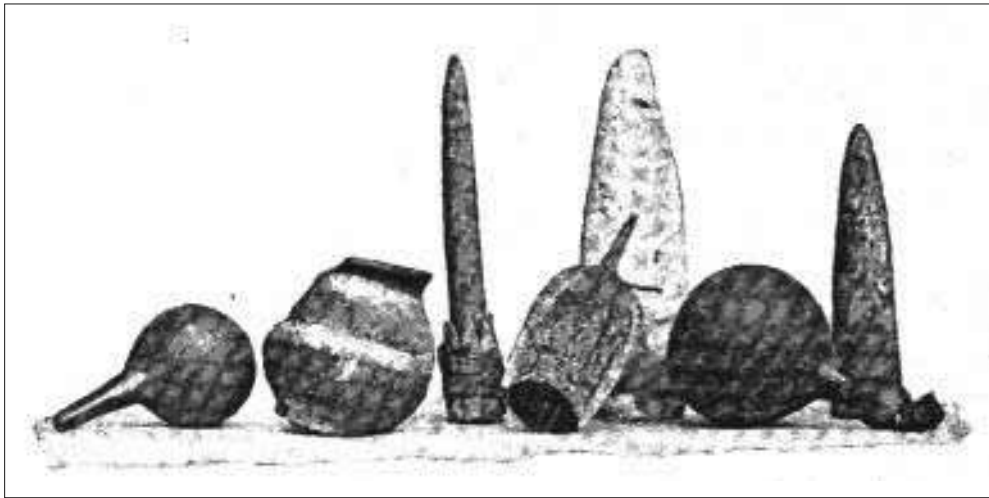
b. *Trõ la xaxo*

Gbe ðeka Afiba yi ðe Aðaklusi me, eye trõ la va dze edzi. Asimetwo katã gblɔ bena, nane le ewom, aɖavae loo alo ðe wòbe yeakua? Edze mo gbɔna va Ho. Le mo dzi la, etsɔ nu siwo katã wòfle le asia me, dze, akpa kple nu bubuwo katã hlẽ ðe mo la dzi. Gbɔnu, si wòtsɔ ðe ta hã etsɔe fu gbe, eye wògbɔ va afe asi fuflu. Fofoa kple dada wodze agbagba le enu, bena yewoakpo nu si le ewom. Afiba nuto no anyi vuu, eye wògblɔ bena nu si le ye dzi la, enye Avakpevi dzidzi. Avakpe dzi Gbudugbudu le Tɔnu, wo kple eve wonye agbotui trõwo. Gbudugbudu sia gblɔ bena, yeano ye gbɔ. Efe dzilawo bia trõ la bena, ne eno egbɔ la, awui mahã? Trõ la ðo enu bena, yemele ewu ge o, ne wona yeano egbɔ ko. Trõ la gagblɔ bena, yeana vi wuietɔ wòadzi, ye nuto yeawu vi adre, wòsusɔ ade ko nɛ. Afiba, srõ nkɔe nye Do. Wodzi vi wuietɔ, eye wo ame adre ku, wòsusɔ ade na wo. Nutsuvi eve kple nyɔnuvi ene. Nutsuvi ðeka tsi, ðe srõ hafi ku, nutsuvi ðeka kple nyɔnuvi eve le Banyakoe, eye nyɔnuvi eve le Tanyigbe. Trõ la gblɔ na Do bena, wòatu xo na ye, ne etu xo na ye vo la, wòadzo le Afiba gbɔ, eye megale srõ nye ge o. Nutsu la lɔ, eye wòtu xo na trõ la ðe nyɔnu la fofoa viawo gbɔ le Dome, eye nutsu la dzo yi Banyakoe le wofe afe xoxo me.

c. *Nɔliɔɔ na amewo*

Tso ekema dzi la, Afiba de asi nɔliɔɔ me. Ne ame ku le Hoduwo katã me la, wova yɔne le egbɔ. Amewo tsoa keke Aðaklu ke hã vaa egbɔ, bena woayɔ nɔli na yewo. Ne amewo va egbɔ la, woɖaa nu de asi. Gboma, dzenkplẽ, ayibɔbɔ kple azikpeli, eye wotsɔa aha hã kpɛna ðe enuti kple hotsui hoka 4. Afiba nuto yina ðe efe xɔgã me, eye wotsɔa bisi doa vo ðe edokui nu, eye amewo bɔbɔ no xo la nu. Le Afiba fe xɔgã me afi si wòndɔna la, woku do gã aɖe ði, eye wotsɔ zevi eve de do la me, eye aha kple tsi le wo me, eye wotsɔ fɔtɔtɔ tsyɔ do la nu.

Ne nutsu alo nyɔnu aɖe ku, eye wòxo nkeke adre alo enyi la, wogblɔna bena, mɔade trõfe nɛ. Woklã Afiba dana ði bena, nu, si ava ke la yewogbɔna ame kuku yɔ ge le egbɔ. Ne wova la, trõsi la yia xo me, eye wòfoa efe ga la vuu, hafi trõyɔvi la ava xɔa me. Trõsi la agblɔ nɛ bena: Madɔ wò ne nayi aɖayɔ ame si ku nyitsɔ la ve nam. Trõyɔvi la yina, eye ne mele vavam kaba o la, trõsi la nɔa dze ðom kple ame siwo le xɔa nu va se ðe esime trõyɔvi la ava. Ne eva la, trõsi la gafoa ga la, eye ame siwo katã le xɔa nu la wozia ðoɖoe. Nɔliɔɔla bia wo bena: “Nana edzo” Egɔmee nye nya ka dzɔ? Woɖoa enu bena: Mɔa nɔvi si ku la eya mɔeva yɔyɔ ge ne mɔana tsii, eye mɔeva asi klɔ ge nɛ, ne mɔade asi dze me. Ame kuku la daa akpe na efomeawo eye wogblɔna na wo bena:



1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 and 6 are priests' rattles; 2 is a consecrated pot; 3 and 7 are cones used in connection with medicine against disease, 3 heals joint pains. The cones belong to the realm of magic. 4 is the *avaga*, bell, with which the *trɔ* is invoked; 5. is a cone-shape painted white and is considered to be the dwelling place of the deity *dente*.

"We have come to call our brother who is dead. We have come to give him water and to wash his hands so that we can also eat afterwards." The dead greets his relations and says to them: "Note, you the inhabitants of the visible, I greet you." The supplicants reply to the greeting by saying: "You are welcome! How is it at home?" Then the dead asks them: "What have you really called me for?" They reply: "Your death distresses us, and that is why we called you that you should come and drink water." The person invoking the ghost now says (in nasal speech): "The dead has now come to the room, say what you have to say." The ghost says to them: "You do not know the cause of my death?" The relatives retort: "We have not yet heard the reason for your death." The ghost narrates: "At the place of origin of mankind, the *gbetsi* or God had already told me that when I have come into the world and have married two women I shall die." Other spirits say: "I have to die when I have married my first wife, or when I have entered adolescence, then I must die." Others say: "The *gbetsi* said that you should not buy any gun for me. I have died because of the gun you bought me!" If the dead was a small girl then she will say something like this: "(It was decided for me) that I shall die when I was somewhat grown and began to walk, or when my breasts began to grow, then I must die." Still others say: "The *gbetsi* had said, "I should not build a house and if others built it, he would buy it from them. On the day I build a house, I must die."

When the ghost of the dead has spoken thus, he begins to weep saying: "I have left my wife, my mother, my children!" Whereupon, the priestess consoles the dead, sympathises with him and says: "I feel sorry for you!" The ghost (of the dead) replies: "Go and expel the evil from my children, for the place where I built my house is not good!" The invoking priestess says to the ghost (of the dead): "Eat now before you go away again!" The priestess then breaks small pieces of the maize porridge and throws them at the side of the path. The rest of the food and the palm wine she puts in the hole



A Deity Hut
with offering bowls at both sides.

Agoo na mi Kodzogbeawo aloo Kodzogbeawo milɔ̃ aye. Woawo hã wolɔ̃n bena, ɖo afe, afetɔwo ɖe? Egabia wo bena nu ka gɔglɔ̃gɔ mieyɔm ɖo mahã? Woɖoa eɲu bena: Wò ku eve mì, eya ta mĩele yɔwom, bena nava xɔ tsi ano. Ɔɔliɔɔla la gblɔna le ɲɔtimegbe me bena, ame la ku vavã, eva xɔ la me, nya, si le mia si la migblɔe. Ɔɔli la gagblɔna na wo bena, ku si yeku la, womenya egɔme o mahã? Woɖoa eɲu nɛ bena, mĩese ku la gɔme o. Ɔɔli la gblɔna bena: Gbetsi le Amedzɔfe aloo Mawu gblɔ bena, ne meva xexea me, eye medee srɔ̃ eve la ne maku. Ɔɔli aɖewo gblɔna bena, nyematsɔ savi o, ne metsɔ savi la, maku alo ne medo ɖekakpui me la, ne maku. Nenyɛ ɖetugbi la egblɔ na be: Ne no ɖo nye akɔta la, ne maku. ɖevi gblɔna be, ne yeti le afɔ ɖem la, ekema yeaku. Ame aɖewo gblɔna be, gbetsi be yemegatu xɔ o, gake ne ame bubuwo tui la, yeaflee le wo si; gbe si gbe yeatu xɔ la, yeaku.

Ne ame kuku la fo nu vɔ la, edea asi avifafa me nɔa gbɔgbɔm bena, medzo le srɔ̃nye, danye, kple vinyewo gbɔ. Trɔ̃si la fa akɔ na ame kuku la, eye wòdoa baba nɛ bena: Baba loo! Ɔɔli la gblɔna bena: Miyi busu na vinyewo, elabena nye xɔtufe menyo o. Ɔɔliɔɔla gblɔ na ɲɔli la bena, wòade asi dze me hafi adzo. Azɔ trɔ̃si la kaa nuɖuɖuawo ta vivivi. Nu siwo ta wòka la, wotsɔa eya yi ɖadana ɖe mɔ to, ke esiwo mewɔ nenema o la, etsɔa wo kple aha la dana ɖe do la me. Ne ɲɔli la le dzodzo ge kenken la, eklã ameawo bena: Kodzogbeawo, meyi afe loo!

Azɔ ɲɔliɔɔla la do ago, eye wòɔna gbɔgbɔm na ameawo bena: Nye ali, nye kɔ! Ɔɔliwo bɔbɔ nɔ kɔ dzi nam, eye wote nye ali ɖe anyi, eye ɖeɖi hã te ɲunye. Ɔɔliɔɔla da akpe na

(made in her room). When the ghost is about to leave, he notifies those present, and says: “You inhabitants of the visible, I am going home!”

The invoking priestess now goes out and says to the people: “My loins, my neck! The ghosts have sat on my neck and have bowed my loins to the earth. I am tired now.” The invoking priestess thanks the people and says: “I thank you” They thank her in return and then go home. Later, the relatives of the dead bring the priestess four small idols made of clay, 24 *hoka*, and some palm wine. The priestess now leads the people out on the way and prays there.

When a child is born, and they go to the place of the *trɔ̃*, it would be bathed by the priestess with consecrated medicine, smeared with white clay and brought home again. Hereupon, the priestess exchanges the arms between father and child. This means that cowries are bound on two cords. Now she binds the cord which she has made for the father on the arm of the child, and the one she has made for the child she binds on the arm of the father. She says in addition: “Today I have exchanged your arms. Now there is no longer any *gbetsi* who does not keep his word. Do what the *gbetsi* has told you!” When *Afiba* has accomplished her work she receives 30 *hoka*.

d. The end of this priestess

Afiba herself was attacked by a sickness. She was suffering from a urinary illness. The priestess who invoked ghosts kept her suffering secret and did not let anybody know about it, for she herself had made this medicine for many people who had the same sickness. Now she had to struggle with it, but in vain! She called other priests and magicians, still in vain! She developed a venereal disease which affected her whole body. The disease developed into insanity and she talked day and night. For that reason, a hut was built for her outside the town, and she never again came back home. She made a farm and planted all sorts of crops on it. When she was possessed by the *trɔ̃*, she behaved like a hyena. She dug up the bones of the dead and gnawed them to pieces. She used to chew up any bone she found. She sang along: “It is alleged that the priests tell lies. Who said that you should speak thus?” When she said that and nobody listened to her, (she continued), “You will atone for it with death.” Occasionally, she went to her farm and asked the banana, the plantain, the yams, the *avadze*, the groundnut, the round beans, the *dzobali*, the *kɔkɔlimakɔɛ*, the beans, the tomatoes and the pepper, “Who told you that you should not bear fruits?” She herself replied, “Because it does not rain.” Thus she asked each individual plant till she was finished.

The drummers brought their *trɔ̃* drums, *adikpo*, drummed for her, smeared her loins with white clay and danced till sunset. When the illness had become so bad that she could no longer leave her place, she had a deep pit dug on her farm, had two forked poles stuck into the earth on both sides of the pit, and palm branches laid on top across it. Then she slipped into the pit, where she was day and night until she died.

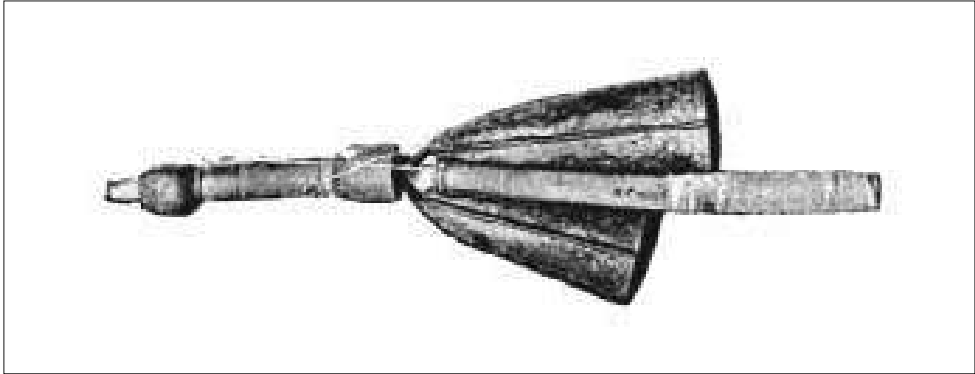
ameawo bena: Misẽ ɲu loo! Ame siwo tsɔ nuɖuɖu la ve la, woawo hã de akpe nɛ, eye wokakana yia afe me. Emegbe la, amesiwo woyɔ ɲoli la na la, tsɔa ame meme ene kple hoka 24 kple aha vi aɖe ava trõsi la gbɔ eye wòakplɔ wo ayi mɔ dzi, eye wòado gbe ɖa le afi ma.

Nenye ɖevie wodzi, eye wode trõfea la, ekema trõsi la doa amatsi na ɖevi la wòlena asi ye nɛ keɲ, eye woatsɔe ayi afe mee. Azɔ trõsi la ɖɔa li alɔ na ɖevia kple fofoa, eyae nye etɔa hotsui ɖe ka eve ɲu. Esi tsɔ ge wòala ade alɔnu na fofoa la, edene na ɖevi la, eye wòtsɔa ɖevia tɔ dea alɔnu na fofoa, hegbɔna bena: Meɖɔ li alɔ na mi egbe, gbetsi mada aɖeke meli o, ale si gbetsi la gbɔ la, nenema woawɔe. Ne Afiba wɔe vɔ la, exɔa hoka 30 le ameawo si.

d. Trõsi sia fe nuwuwu

Dɔlɛle va dze Afiba ɲuto dzi. Nenem dɔlɛle siae nye aɖuɖuɖu. ɲɔliyɔla sia tsɔ dɔlɛle la yla, eye mena ame aɖeke nyae o, elabena eya ɲutɔe nye ame si wɔa ale matsi sia na ame siwo ke le ɖɔ siawo lém. Eya ɲuto dze agbagba le ɲu do kpoe. Eyo trõsi bubuwo kple dzowɔlawo hã, ke wodo kpoe. Ezu abi ɖe ɲu ɖo efe nyɔnu me, eye efe lãme gblẽ keɲ. ɖɔ la va zu aɖava nɛ, eye wòɔa nu fom zã kple kele. Eya ɲuti wowɔ xɔ nɛ ɖe du la xa, eye megava afe me o. Ede agble na ɖokui, eye wòdo nuwo ɖe eme. Ne trõ la va dze edzi la, ekema enɔa nu wɔm abe agbotui ene. Eye wòhoa ame kukuwo fe fuwo nɔa gbagbam, eye fu sia fu si wòkpɔ la enɔa egbam. Enɔa ha dzim bena: “Wogblɔ bena, trõsiwo nɔa avatso kam, ame ka gbɔ bena miagblɔ nenema? Ne wogblɔe mese o ava se ku tsã”. Ye aɖewo yi la eyia efe agble me, eye wòbia akɔɖu, ablazɔ, te, avadze, azi, azinogoe, dzobali, kɔkɔlimakɔe, ayi, tẽ, kuklui bena: Ame ka gbɔ na mi bena, miagatse o mahã? Eya ɲuto gaɖoa ɲu bena: elabena tsi mele dzadzam na mi o. Ebia nukuawo ɖekaɖeka va se ɖe esime woawu enu.

Efe vufolawo tsɔ efe trõvu, adikpo va fona nɛ, eye woata ye afo xlã efe ali anɔ ye ɖum va se ɖe esime ye ɖoa to. Esime dɔlɛle la nu se ale be magate ɲu atso le enɔfe o la, ena woku do globo aɖe nɛ ɖe agblea me, eye wotu gbegblevee eve ɖe do la nu, eye wotsɔ fɔ tu enu. Eya yi ɖe do la me, afi si wòɔna zã kple kele va se ɖe esime wòku.



A double gong

When she died, the people said: “When a priestess has died people should neither shoot, nor weep for her nor sing.” Her children brought a big cloth and covered the hole with it. Then all the chiefs from the towns of *Ho* came together, and the gong of *Ho* sounded among them, *kpon, kpon!* They deliberated how they should bury the dead. They brought 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowries for the dead near the opening of the pit. Then a man stood on the cowries and removed the cloth with which the opening of the pit was covered. Then carriers of corpse descended into the pit, brought the corpse out of the pit and carried it on the way to *Kpeɲɛ*, where she was buried under a big *wu* tree. After the burial, all the chiefs of *Ho* came together and collected a big goat and 12 *hotu* from the children. Nine days later, they destroyed her house, bought palm wine and meat for a meal and expelled the evil. With that everything came to an end.

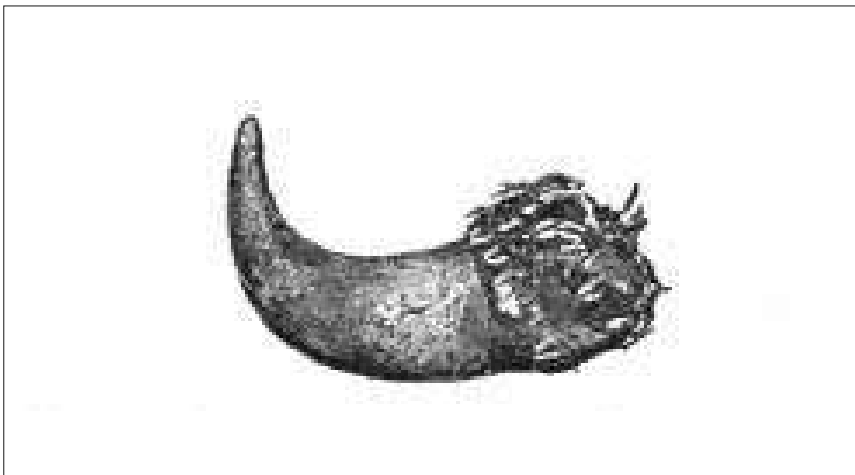
e. *Gbudugbudu* seizes *Ama* by the hand.

Now the *trɔ̃* began to look for a place for himself and said that he wanted to stay with *Ama*, the daughter of *Degbadzo* in *Dome*. But the girl did not want it, so the *trɔ̃* killed her two children. *Ama* gave birth a third time and she surrendered the child to another *trɔ̃* so that the child might stay alive. The *trɔ̃ Gbudugbudu* became very angry about that and said that if she did not bring the child to him he would kill it. She agreed that *Gbudugbudu* could come and dwell with *Ama* only to preserve the life of the child. The *trɔ̃* is on *Ama*, but he has not yet revealed (himself).

12. Other lesser deities, *trɔ̃wo*, are:

1. *Axɔ̃lɔ̃*, a stream that originates from the *Klefe* Mountain. It is only a small *trɔ̃* and he is not specially worshipped.

2. *Gogkpoe*, *Loyi* and *Vivɔ̃e* are also only small *trɔ̃wo* to whom only their priests offer sacrifices. All these *trɔ̃wo* eat at the place of (the *trɔ̃*) *Dzoha*.



A buffalo horn with magical powers

Esi wòku la, amewo gblɔ bena, trɔ̃si mekuna woda tu nɛ aloo fa avi nɛ aloo dzia ha o. Viawo tɔ sakpla gā aɖe heva tu do la nu, eye ame tsitsiwo katã tso Hoduawo me va fo fu, eye afeawo fe ga le ɖiɖim le wo dome kpoŋ kpoŋ, eye wofo nu le eŋu ale si woawɔ hafi aɖii. Wotsɔ hotu hoka ewo va trɔ ɖe ame kuku la gbɔ aloo efe xɔxɔnu. Ame ɖeka lia hotsui la dzi, eye wòɖe avɔ si wotsɔ tu xɔ la nu ɖa, eye ame kukua tsɔlawo ge ɖe xɔ la me hetsɔe va gota, eye woatsɔe yi Kpeŋɔe mɔ dzi le vu gā aɖe te, afi si wodɔii ɖo. Esime wodɔii vɔ la, afeawo katã gava fo fu, eye woxɔ gbɔ gā ɖeka kple hotu 12 le viawo si. Ŋkeke asikeagbe la, wogbã efe xɔ. Wodze aha, eye wofle lāwo ɖa nu ɖu, eye woyi busu nɛ gblɔ bena, evɔ keŋ.

e. Gbudugbudu fe asi lelé Ama

Azɔ̃ trɔ̃ la de asi tefedidi me, eye wòbe, yeawo Ama, si enye Degbadzo fe vinyɔnu gbɔ le Dome. Nyɔnuvi la mele lɔlɔm o, eye wòwu efe vi eve. Ama gadzi vi etɔlia, eye wotsɔe na trɔ̃ bubu bena ɖevi la nanɔ agbe. Gbudugbudu dze agbo ηuto bena, ne wometsɔ ɖevi la ve na ye o la, ekema yeawui. Wolɔ̃ bena, Gbudugbudu neva nɔ Ama gbɔ dzro ne ɖevi la natsi agbe. Ele Ama dzi, gake meɖe eɖokui fia haɖe o.

12. Trɔ̃ kuklui aɖewo

Trɔ̃ bubu aɖewo nye: 1. Axɔlɔ̃, sin ye tɔsisi; edzɔ tso Klefeto ɖome. Trɔ̃ sue aɖe ko wonye, eye womebune nyuiie o.

2. Gogokpoe, Loyi kple Vivɔ̃e wonye trɔ̃ suesuewo ko, wofe nunɔlawo koe ɖea dza na wo. Trɔ̃ siawo ɖua nu le Dzoha gbɔ.

C. Appendix: Necromancy

1. Who can become a necromancer

Only the priest of an earth deity who likes red colour, *de*, may become a necromancer, *dzevusi* or *havusi*. First of all, notice must be given to the chiefs that So-and-so wants to become a *dzevusi*. They fix a day for him on which he will perform the rites pertaining to it. The person concerned declares to the first chief: “My *trɔ* says that he wants to call up the ghosts of the dead and to expel calamity from the people.” With this notice, he gives him a big calabash of palm wine and a goat which will be slaughtered during a public dedication. On the appointed day, he seeks to invite his relations in the vicinity, and also all priests from the surrounding towns. If his deity is a *trɔ* who eats goat meat, he will buy two goats, seven up to ten fowls and arrange for a great quantity of palm wine and brandy. In former times, only palm wine would have been served during such festivals. But since the people have more money, the brandy, which in former times was used at best only as a sacrifice for the terrestrial deity, now also flows abundantly.

2. Consecration of the necromancer

In the evening before the festival, a servant, *ablabu*, will be assigned by the chiefs to the *dzevusi*-to-be who goes with him together with the invited priests into the bush. The people are kept in suspense about the purpose of this procession through monstrous tales. They will be told, for example, that the priest has climbed a tree and is hanging by his feet in the branches so that his head hangs down; suddenly he lets go and plunges headlong to the earth. He seems almost dead and has to be carried home, where he has to lie nine days in his room. On the ninth day, he is well again. The truth is: In the bush, one of the priests who has come with him takes a calabash and puts the iron stone, *ahliha*, in it. The priests call this stone *havu*. Ordinary earth may also be used instead of *ahliha*. Now he kills a fowl, lets the blood trickle on the stone, pours red oil on it and places around the stone maize porridge cooked with red oil and he covers the gourd bowl carefully. Hereupon, a priest holds the *dzevusi*-to-be by the head and presses his mouth nine times against a tree. This ceremony is termed *dze vu*. Then a stick is put in his hand, in the middle of which cords made out of fibre of the raffia palm, *ala*, are bound, which, however, are covered with a piece of something. Now they return home.



Clay Idol in a calabash
smeared with white clay

The new priest carries the calabash in his hand and whistles lightly to himself. This whistling is the sign that he has now become *vusi*. It is also noteworthy that only priests who are themselves *vusiwo* are allowed to install him in office.

After returning from the bush, the actual secret preparation period begins. For this purpose, he must stay nine days in a room which he is only allowed to leave to attend to urgent needs. During these nine days, his relatives must bring him food in his room. He is allowed to accept visits only from priests who themselves are necromancers. During this time, he learns the arts necessary for necromancy, namely speaking through the nose (perhaps also ventriloquism), and receives the necessary magic potions.

3. The necromancer presents himself to the people

After the nine days have passed, all tribesmen are invited to the festival at which So-and-so “wants to go to the open air”. For the feast, each of the invited guests brings along a festival donation comprising palm wine, cowries, also silver money or cooked foods. Some bring 10, or perhaps 20 pfennig and some less. While those participating in the banquet are having a good time, the new priest dresses himself very beautifully. By noon his dressing is complete. He was bathed, anointed and beautifully dressed. Cords are bound over his back and chest. The upper arms are decorated with bands of fibre of the raffia palm and around his forearms five or six strings of cowries are bound. He wears around his head a band to which cowries are sewn. Exactly in the middle of his forehead, a horn is fixed on this band which is called *kpɔŋui*. Dressed in this way, he leaves his room accompanied by his colleagues who had taught him and enters the ceremonial ground dancing. Members of his family dance in front of him on the way to the festival grounds; they wave their cloths towards him, and wave away possible offenses on the way; indeed, they even sweep dirt from the way as they call out, *Mbo... mbo... !* which means something like “well done, well done, well done!” He dances like a chief on the festival grounds. His relatives go before him swinging their cloths and behaving as if they had to clean the dancing ground with their hands.

The guests are well served with palm wine, but the amount is measured according to the size of the donations that they had made. Someone who has brought 10 *hoka* cowries receives four calabashes of palm wine, one who brought only 4 *hoka* cowries receives perhaps two calabashes. Those who have brought cooked food receive each two big calabashes of palm wine. He who donates much receives more, and the one who donates less receives less. Five or six days later, he visits all those who took part in the festival to thank them.

4. The practice of the necromancer

The occupation of the *dzevusi* is to summon the spirits of the dead at the request of their relations and converse with them for a short while. When someone dies a natural death, the half-sisters of the dead on the paternal side go to the necromancer to have him call the spirit of the dead, so that through the intercession of the invoker they may discuss the causes of his death. For a man, this takes place five to seven days after his death, and for a woman, only four days after her death. But the family members may not come empty-handed. If it is about the ghost of a poor man, then they bring around 5 *hoka* cowries; for a rich person, on the other hand, it costs 15 to 25 *hoka*. In addition,

they bring one or two calabashes of palm wine, 5 *hoka* worth of maize flour, maize porridge mixed with oil and a little meat. Two balls are made out of the porridge. The necromancer takes the money and the food immediately into the dark of his *trɔ̃* house, and where he first of all enjoys his meal. After he has strengthened himself, by striking a high pitched iron, he summons the deity's messenger, *fiele*, who arrives on the spot after a few moments and greets the priest in a lively and nasal tone.

Messenger of the gods (on his arrival): "Take care!"

Priest: "Here I am".

Messenger of the gods: "Why have you summoned me?"

Priest (replies in a loud voice): "The brothers of the dead So-and-so came and brought water for their dead sister. She should drink the water and cool her heart with it. Then she should tell them who has killed her, whether an evil *trɔ̃*, an evil *gbetsi* or a sorcerer? The relations have brought flour water into the room."

Messenger goes back to the land of the dead. After a moment he comes back.

Messenger, returns from his journey to the kingdom of the dead: "Take care!"

Priest: "Here am I."

Messenger: "How are those remaining behind?"

Priest: "They are fine! Have you seen?"

Messenger: "I went and I have seen her."

Priest: "What was the spirit of the dead doing when you got there?"

Messenger: "She had just gone to the well and to the bush to collect firewood"; Or: "Her fathers and mothers were just preparing a banquet for her. Her fathers were looking for someone who will accompany her to the house of the *trɔ̃*. They sent me ahead and promised she will come soon later."

Meanwhile, the Priest continues to beat the iron. Suddenly he stops, for the ghost arrives.

Ghost: "Attention!" (it speaks in a high soft nasal voice, like someone who puts his finger in his nose while talking.)

The priest greets the ghost in a loud deep voice: "Welcome, how is it in the land of the dead?"

Ghost: "It is fine."

Priest: "How are your brothers there?"

Ghost: "They are fine. But who has called me here to speak?"

The priest on behalf of the *trɔ̃*: "I said you should come. I invited the petitioner; take the water mixed with flour and drink it to cool your heart. If you have something in your mouth, tell me, so that I can inform your brothers (or sisters) here in the land of the living so that they will know what sort of death you have died."

Ghost: "Nobody has eaten me by sorcery; I had to die because of the doings of my mother and my husband. My mother had given me to a man in *Uegbe* as a wife, but she took me away from him and gave me to another man as a wife. She again took me away by force from that man and gave me to the third man. But this man used to beat me, and upon that my father brought me to the house of my uncle K. Meanwhile, my father's anger cooled down and he instructed me to go back to my husband. The village chiefs also asked me to go back to my husband. But I had meanwhile touched the earth (sworn) never to go back to my husband. But I did not confess that to anybody. In spite of my oath, I went back to my husband, without pacifying the Earth first. My father

went to *Ʋegbe* and left the *trĩ*. He became very angry and sent a snake that bit me and I died. If I had told my father frankly that I had sworn to the Earth that I would never return to my husband's house, death would not have found his way to me. But thank the white man whom my death hurts as though his own child had died. If I had not died through the snake bite, then I would have died in childbirth."

The ghost goes back and the priest eats the food brought to ghost in the same room in which he spoke to the ghost. Then he gives the calabash to the family members of the dead, who meanwhile had listened to the conversation outside in front of the hut. They thought the ghost was the one who ate the food.

III. The Personal Patron Deities

A. The Place of Origin of Man, *Amedzɔfe*

1. Its Location and Nature

East of *Ho* there is a place where man originates from, even now. The place is not on earth but in heaven, *le dzingbe*, and is called *Bome*, *Bofe*, *Dzɔfe*, "place of origin".

In *Amedzɔfe*, it is similar to here on earth. There is land, bush and forest. There are all the sorts of foods there which we have here. Just as man originates from *Amedzɔfe* so do his crops: yams, maize, cassava and cotton come from there. According to their nature, they are not there in their physical form but in the same supernatural form in which human beings also live in that world. In *Amedzɔfe*, there are not only human beings and plants but also animals, like dogs that lick the wounds of the spirit aunt, *ɲɔlimetasi*.

There are towns there that were built and occupied by human beings. *Haɖe be, ne yewoatu xɔ na ame, ke wogbe si va kodzogbe*, "The contemporary said they should build a house for him but they refused and they escaped to the land of the visible." Kings rule there and they live in legal relationships to one another as we do here. A son was born to a rich man in *Kpeɲɔe*, but died soon after birth. A priest explained that the small child was a great king in that land and had come to the land of the visible where he was not accorded due honour. That is why he has left this earth. Kings of whom it is said: *wɔɖoe fia le ɲɔlime, wɔgbe si va xexe*, "He was installed as king in the land of the spirits, but he refused and escaped to this land," such kings do not live long here. Whoever rules long in the land of the visible has received that from God in *Amedzɔfe*. Human beings on earth are regarded in the land of the invisible as the dead, *ɲɔliwo fe adɔfiwo*, "departed from the ghosts", which for them also live in *ɲɔlime*, "in the land of the spirits." The inhabitants of *Amedzɔfe* know about life here, see this world and the people in it.

2. Its inhabitants

A person living in the other world is not called *ame*, "person", but *ɲɔlimevi*, "ghost child". He lives together with others in separate families. The "spirit mother", *ɲɔlimenɔ*, lives there. The *ɲɔlimetasi*, "aunt living in the realm of the spirits", also seems to be of great significance. This is described as a particularly strong *klakla*. "Whoever is disobedient to the strong aunt living in the realm of the spirits and runs away from her in defiance to this world, it is he whom she will soon love again." She sees to it that

he returns to her from this world to *Amedzɔfe*. Besides the already mentioned beings, *Mawu* God himself is there. He is the king, who holds court with the departed before their departure. The spiritual father, the spiritual mother, and the spirit grandfather, spirit grandchild and the *ɲɔlimesɔha*, “youth team”, all live in *Amedzɔfe*.

The *ɲɔlimeviwo* who live in *Amedzɔfe* occupy themselves with farming, hunting, and weaving. “The spirit aunt told him to weave for her a dress; he refused to do so and fled from her into this world.”

3. Departure from *Amedzɔfe*.

a. The public farewell

Departure from *Amedzɔfe* takes place either publicly by the order of God himself or in secret. If a *ɲɔlimevi* wants to leave *Amedzɔfe* and go to this world, he comes first to his aunt and tells her that he intends to go to the land of the visible, *kodzogbe*, to pay the inhabitants a visit. This leads to a public hearing, where God himself is the chairman. The emigrant declares in his presence that he intends to go to the land of the visible. If the said person was specially loved by his spirit mother and spirit aunt, then they are not at all pleased with his departure. In order to get their agreement, the one intending to leave promises that he will spend only a short while there and then come back immediately. This pertains to all those who die in this world in childhood. The promise they have given there is called *gbetsi* or *gbetsitsi*, which can best be translated as “promise given”. If both of them agree, then God and the spiritual mother, likewise the aunt, will extend their hands over the one leaving to bless him. He, on his part, extends both his hands forward and places them together as if to receive something. The blessing is given in such a way that the spiritual mother spits in his opened hands in such a way that her sputum drizzles like rain into them. She does that three times while she says: “Go and come back again!” The departing person accepts the blessing by smearing the sputum of the spiritual mother on his forehead and chest. Before his departure, the spiritual mother makes a formal speech to him. She says, “If you come to the land of the visible, then stay with them. If you marry, then your wife will take care of you. If you farm, the produce of your farm will flourish. If you go hunting, you will kill two animals with one shot: the *woya* in the forest and *nukpui*, the fat grass cutter. If you trade, you will deal with stupid traders, *asisi ɲkutɔ*, *asisi ɲkunɔ*, who will buy something from you for 1 *hotu* and sell it back to you for half the price. Do not give out anything you are selling before you are paid for it! When you go on a journey, you should not step on snakes but on earthworms which will not harm you. No misfortune of any kind should happen to you!” Only a person who collected firewood for his aunt, fetched water at the well for her, visited her daily and greeted her in a polite manner, receives this blessing. Before leaving the spirit world, he is also told the profession he should do in the world of the living. His age will be fixed and the time of his return. The one leaving says something like this: “I shall remain in the land of the visible up to my childhood or my adolescence and then return.” As soon as this period has ended, his contemporaries there send messengers after him. The *gbetsi*, i.e. the promise made to mother in the realm of the spirits, which can be equated to the swearing of an oath, then kills the person. People say about the many types of death, “The *gbetsi*, i.e. the promise made by the person in the other world, has killed him.” The types

of deaths which happen suddenly are mainly the effect of the *gbetsi*. Many emigrants from *Amedzofe* declare there on oath that they are quite sure to be back soon. “If I do not come back”, says someone, “then send a poisonous snake to bite me, a leopard to tear me into pieces, or let a tree branch fall on me, to kill me.” These are *ametsiavawo*, “those who have fallen in war.”⁵¹ All these mishaps are considered as war events, but which the individual person himself has destined for himself in the other world. If the person recovers, then the expression is, “This is not what he has sworn; his time has not yet come, and that is the reason why he has escaped the grave.”

If someone does not come back at his specified time, then *gbetsiwo*, the promises he made there which are thought of as personified, are sent after him. These talk to the person in secret: “Kill yourself with the gun!” or “Hang yourself!” And the person obeys these voices. In committing suicide, he has only done what the *gbetsiwo*, his personified promises, have prompted him. A man near *Agotime* hanged himself and told his friend beforehand that he heard clearly a voice in him, telling him to hang himself. Still other people decide these types of death for themselves and say at their departure: *Mazɔ kɔ me, mado ati me, mazɔ ka me, mazɔ lālɛame* etc. This means: “I am coming back through a hillock, through a tree, through a rope, through a devouring animal.” For example, someone is peacefully at home. All of a sudden, the thought occurs to him that he should get earth from a termite hill. He sets to work. In the course of the work, the termite hill collapses and covers him. The same thing applies to the tree and the devouring animal. The idea occurs to someone to go to the forest. However, in the moment as he goes by a tree, a branch falls down over him killing him instantly. These irrational decisions are promptings of the *gbetsi* or the promise he made in *Amedzofe*.

The people of *Ho* know yet another possibility. Someone has missed his way in the other world. There *Mawu* himself suddenly finds him, takes him and gives him a wife in this world. He tells her, “Receive it, I am handing it over to you completely and shall not demand it back from you. However, I will not be concerned any longer, if someone else demands it from you.” For God reckons with the possibility that it is pursuing his spirit mother, from whom the child had run away. Generally, this handing over, which was initiated by God, is regarded as very favourable. If someone becomes a diligent farmer, blacksmith or a weaver, he says, *Mawu fafa asi le ɲu nam fã*, “God has given it to me.” God can have a child given to a woman, but he does not give the family riches in addition to take good care of the child. If the child dies, the mother will console herself by saying: “God has not given it to me,” or “God has not given me any cowries with it.”

b. The secret escape

Very many people secretly leave *Amedzofe*. It seems that there they had to do all sorts of unpleasant services for their mother and aunt. The aunt has a big sore on the leg which needs daily treatment, which as time goes on becomes too much for the *ɲlimevi*. One day, he is to go to the stream, but he leaves his pot there and flees to the land of the visible where his brothers are living. After the escape of the said person is discovered, *Mawu* will immediately report the case. He convenes a court and lets the woman know that she must look for her child. Upon this, she looks for the fugitive, limping with a stick in this world, where she finds him. Then she says that she does not want to do

51 An *ametsiava* is someone who died a bloody and sudden death.

anything to him further, but she will give him her own sore, whose treatment has been too much for him in the other world. Now he will become full of sores and a cripple who is incapable of doing any work. A fugitive whose aunt had no sore in the other world will not get any such in this world. Anyone for whom it was too much to care for children, because the work seemed to him too dirty, flees to this world, but will be cursed by the spirit aunt. If now such a girl gets children in this world, all of them die. The spirit aunt says that not a single one among her children should remain alive. To make medicine for such children is totally useless. Medicine has only the value of a test. If the sick recovers through the medicine, it is evidence that he had not chosen this kind of death in the other world and brought here. However, if he dies, it is evidence that he decided on this type of death at *Amedzɔfe* and brought it from there. The spirit mother or the spirit aunt comes and kills him.

B. The characteristics of the personal patron deities

1. The Spirit Mother

From the information given so far, it can be discerned who and what the spirit mother is. She sends people into this world, gives them orders and rules of conduct, in short, their blessing. In this world, she frightens children at night. A child who weeps a lot at night is being pestered by its spirit mother. She puts her hand on the child as a sign to show that she considers it as her property because it ran away from her in *Amedzɔfe*. The mother had neglected to pay something for the child and therefore she wants it back. She seems to be of an angry nature, namely when her orders given in *Amedzɔfe* are not obeyed in this world. If, for example, the son of a rich man contracts debts, which the father continually pays, it will annoy the spirit mother. She sends his contemporaries to him from the other world, who kill him. She will not allow that the generous father to squander his riches by continually paying his son's debts.

The question whether there is only one single spirit mother or many is affirmed by some and denied by others. Some claim that the spirit wife is the wife of every individual man living there. As many men as are there, so many spirit mothers are there also. Others doubt this and say the spirit mother is the wife of *Mawu* himself, she gives birth to all the spirits living there, the male and the female. The "spirit children" living in *Amedzɔfe* marry to be sure, but they produce no children.

2. Wife and husband in the other world, *dzɔgbemesi* and *dzɔgbemetsui*

Although there is polygamy in Togo, each married man has fundamentally only a single wife, namely the wife from the other world, *dzɔgbemesi*. The girl that a man first marries is the wife from the other world and her constant companion. She comes into this world with every girl, just as, on the other hand, his invisible companion *dzɔgbemetsui* comes with every man. If the *dzɔgbemetsui* and *dzɔgbemesi* lived peacefully together in the other world, the marriage of their charges in this world will also be a peaceful one. If a wife has a quarrel with her husband and behaves disrespectfully towards him, stretches out her finger against him, her spiritual companion will be angry and inflict illness on the guilty party. The invisible companion of the wife is seen as also a wife of the

husband, and her rival. If the husband is ill, the cause will often be attributed to the anger of the wife in the other world, for whom he has still not built a house. She lets be said to him, “I am with you wherever you go, on the farm and at the market, but you have only built a house for my rival and passed me by.” Her rival is the husband’s real wife. The husband must then erect a dwelling for her.⁵²

The sick wife will be told, “You have pointed your finger at the face of your husband and so slighted your co-wife. Therefore you must pacify your husband.” A young married girl who gets sores must usually be told that her second husband, *dzɔgbemetsui*, from *Amedzɔfe* or *Bome* is angry with her. One day, when he returned from his farm in *Amedzɔfe*, he didn’t find his wife and looked for her in this world. Now he has found her and therefore inflicted this illness on her as punishment.

It is instructive to listen to a conversation that a priest had with a wife seeking help and the *trɔ̃* about the influence of the husband in the other world. The mother of a sick girl comes to a priest and tells him her problem:

Mother to priest: “It is something about my child, I have therefore come to beg you to call the chief for me so that he can go for me to the place where people come from.”

Priest sits down, takes a bell in his hand and sounds: *Kru, kru, kru, kru!* – in the middle of the conversation with the woman he breaks off, turns to the side and says, *Agõ! – Agõ!* – as if he had to answer the call of someone else). He holds his head to the side and acts as though he were listening to the speech of another. In between, he says as though agreeing, “Hm, yes, yes, it is true.”

Priest to woman: “He says, I have come; who called me? Who is calling me to settle between people and angry *gbetsiwo*?”

Priest to the apparent earth god, *trɔ̃*: “Madam So-and-so, mother of child So-and-so, has come and had you called.”

Mother: “My child is sick, therefore I wanted to beg you that you go to the place where people come from and inquire there what is wrong with my child. Please come back and tell it to the priest.” (The words of the mother are conveyed through the priest.)

The priest takes the bell and again rings *Kru, kru, kru, kru!*, suddenly turns his head to the side and listens as though someone is talking to him. Then he says, “Quite right, go and come back!” (The invoked *trɔ̃* now goes to *Amedzɔfe* on the instruction of the priest.)

Priest and woman converse with each other.

Priest, turning to the side in the middle of the conversation, says, “Pay attention!, pay attention!”

Trɔ̃ to priest: “Father, the messenger is coming.”

Priest greets: “How are the people there, how are your brothers? You went on a journey! What word have you brought from the place where people come from?”

Trɔ̃: “When I arrived, they had already laid their hand on the girl’s jaw. The one who killed the girl held her jaw in one hand, the knife in the other and danced. I do not know how I could reverse it, for she is already dead. I had no other opportunity to save her.”

Mother begins to weep.

⁵² This holds only for the wife married first.

Priest consoles her and says, “Do not be afraid, the *gbayawo* (*tr̃wo*) are still there, they will surely help! Let us seek the medicine of my *tr̃*.” Then he takes some leaves, puts them in a calabash, pours water over them and gives it to the sick daughter to drink.

Priest to the mother: “I am not the deity, but I make the deity’s medicine. If she still dies, then her death comes from God’s place.”⁵³ The priest realizes that the child will die and therefore gives her no more medicine.

Mother to the priest after the death of the child: “My child was dying and I begged you for medicine for her, but you refused! I will not call you again, and if you had eternal life, I would never again call you even if I myself must die!”

The matter takes a different course if the priest recognizes that the sick girl will live. In this case he has his deity say the following:

Tr̃: “When I came to the place where people originate from, the gods and death, who wanted to kill her, were wrestling with each other. God, her father, knelt wailing before the murderer, death, and begged him with tears in his eyes, “Just spare the life of this one for me, this one should not die! If only this one remains alive for me, it is enough!” I (the *tr̃*) helped God her father and saved her from the hand of the murderer. If I have now saved her for you, what will you give me?”

Mother answers through the priest: “I give you my child. She shall serve you as a slave. She shall grind the offering flour and keep the calabashes of white clay. She shall smear you with white clay for your dance, and if you go anywhere she shall accompany you.”

The female slaves of deities must dance before the priest, but in such a way that they turn their faces to him and act as though they would sweep the street with their garment for him. While so doing they constantly hum to him the words, *Hinimanbo*, *hinimanbo! Mbo, mbo, mbo!* The deity slaves go to the water place for the priest to fetch water for him and his *tr̃*, which they put in the house of the *tr̃*. But in spite of this service, the daughter later becomes ill again. Again the mother goes to the priest to talk to him.

Mother to the priest: “Chief,” or “Grandfather, my child is ill again.”

Priest takes the bell in the manner described above, rings it and calls, “Be careful!” Then he turns to the woman and says, “The chief has now appeared; tell him what you have to say to him!”

Mother: “My child is not well, and I don’t understand it. If her husband says something to her, she insults him, and if I say something to her, she insults me also. Therefore I beg you to send your messenger to *Amedzɔfe*.”

Priest rings, listens, calls: “Yes, good, come back!”

Priest and woman speak together, but suddenly the conversation is broken off.

Priest: “Ei! ei! how long it takes!”

Mother anxiously to the priest: “Call him, so that he gives me a word of life!”

Priest takes the bell and rings it. Meanwhile, the messenger has returned from *Amedzɔfe* and reports to the priest.

Priest to the messenger: “Welcome! Welcome! How are the people there? Say what word you have brought us.”

53 *Mawufe, Amedzɔfe*.

Priest acts as though he is paying attention and calls from time to time, “Quite right! Quite right!”

Messenger of the gods to priest: “When I came to the land of the other world, some were eating, others were in the garden, or they were occupied with spinning. The girl’s husband explained he had married her and done everything for his wife, he liked her. Her husband said further, ‘The girl was in my house, but she didn’t love me. One day I went to the farm and came in the rain. When I got back from the farm I didn’t find my wife at home. I asked her mother where she was, and she said she had not seen her that day. I looked for her and then discovered that she had fled to the land of the visible. She is my wife and I will get her back from there.’ I then negotiated with him and said, “The right is on your side; you have done much for your wife, but in the land of the visible you will be paid all your expenses that you have made for her. Therefore leave her and do not follow her any more!”

Priest to *trõ*: “I will receive the money for you.”

Priest listens, inclines his head to the side and calls, “So, so, aha, I understand!” (That is supposed to be the answer to what his *trõ* has said.)

Priest to woman: “He says he wants 34 *hotu* cowries.”

Mother to priest: “Who will receive it for him?”

Priest rings, inclines his head to the side and acts as if he is listening to the words of his deity.

Priest to the woman: “He says, I should receive the payment for him. The girl’s husband should bring me the payment, so that I can hand it over to him, the *trõ*, and he will take it to the other world, to *Amedzɔfe*. Do you perhaps still have another word?”

Woman: “No, I have nothing more to say.”

Trõ to priest (heard only by him): “I am going home.”

Priest to the *trõ*: “Good, go and return.”

Priest to woman: “He says he is going home.”

Woman to the priest: “Wife of the *trõ*, you have spoken well!”

The woman now goes home and tells her son-in-law what the *trõ* has told her through the mouth of the priest. He declares that he will gladly pay all. Soon after, the mother-in-law and the brother of her son-in-law go to the priest, bringing him a cock and a hen. A calabash filled with herbs and water is now placed on the head of the girl who has come with them to the priest. The girl runs with it into the bush and the others follow her. There she suddenly stops, moves her head hither and thither and finally throws the calabash to the ground. The priest then prays over her and says, “You⁵⁴ married her in the country of the other world, but she became disobedient and fled to this world. You looked for her and found her. She was here with a husband, but it was not going well for her. Now they want to pay you for the girl, so that you remove your hand from her.” Then the *trõ* answers through the priest.

The *trõ*: “The people in the country of the other world agree to that, but who will receive the payment? Will the god *Fofie* or *Agbasia* or *Dzoha* do it?”

Priest: “You, my *Fofie*, will take the payment. I will receive the 34 *hotu* for you today, so that the girl has peace. If she goes to the market, may it be good for her, and if she goes to the farm, may the farm produce flourish! Let us not hear anything bad about her again! If she gets twins, we will do the customs for them!”

54 By “you” is meant the husband in the other world.

After this prayer the priest lays a bow, cotton thread, and spindles on the earth. If the prayer is for a boy, he lays a musket carved from wood, a cartridge pouch made of maize leaves and a maize cob down on the path. The single maize cob is to represent the powder box. To these items is then added a small basket full of pebbles, each of which is worth 1 *hotu* in the land of the other world.

3. *Gbetsi*, the (personified) promise

The promise that a person departing from *Amedzɔfe* has made there is *gbetsi*. This promise is good as long as the person in this world keeps the promise he made in *Amedzɔfe*. Consequently he must return to the other world at the time that he fixed there before leaving. If the time has passed and the person does not return, the *gbetsiwo* follow him, which will become for him *gbetsi vɔ*, which means misfortune. This causes a fever to overcome him, in which the sick one talks deliriously and begs the *gbetsiwo*, “leave me alone, I am coming!” This talk is evidence that the *gbetsiwo* are after him. The priest will be asked for the reason for the illness and explains that the sick person’s own promise is pursuing him, for in *Amedzɔfe* they intend to break down the house of the sick person if he does not return.

4. *Kpegbɔnɔla*, “Stone Guard”

This name denotes a being that prevents people’s death and struggles with death for the lives of people. *Kpegbɔnɔla* collects a small number of stones, six to eight or more, and lays them together on a mound, or lays one upon the other so that a kind of pillar of stones is created.⁵⁵ Death wants to take these stones away and scatter them. But *Kpegbɔnɔla* immediately builds them up again. If the person has become ill, this being laments, “I struggle for your life and prevent your death; now I am hungry, for you have given me nothing to eat.”

5. *Aklama* and *dzɔgbe*

Kla or *Kra* exists in every person and enters him even before his birth. The name of the day on which a person was born into the world is the name of his *kla* that comes with him. *Kla* is the younger brother of the deity that resides with the person. In *Peki* and *Anum* they celebrate the day once a year with a ceremony called *kla tsilele*, “the bath of the *kla*”. The one involved says, “Today I intend to bathe my *kla*.”

Kla or *aklama* resides in the person and stays with him his whole life long. He is the constant protector of the person, who always pays attention to his well-being. The person gets life and well-being from his *aklama*.

Whoever offends his *aklama* is punished with sickness, madness and other misfortune. It does not impose these sufferings itself, but abandons his protégé to them. Only if he abandons the person to an *aɖava*, “spirit of madness”, can he become mad, sick or be bitten by a snake. In the course of the night, the *aklama* can lay his hand on the breast of his sleeping charge, so that the latter awakens but cannot cry out. Also, powerlessness and other kinds of weakness are signs that *aklama* has relinquished the person to another power. Every suffering comes from an offence of the person against his *aklama*.

⁵⁵ Each small stone means a year of life.

The *aklama* has, for example, certain days on which his charge is forbidden to eat pepper, or on which he may not eat the meat of the antelope or of domestic and wild pigs. These prohibitions are temporary or prolonged. Occasionally, he also forbids his charge to drink palm wine. It can easily happen that the latter forgets the rules of his protective deity and oversteps them. *Aklama*, however, punishes only disobedience against his prohibition.

The individual uniqueness of the person, his *dzɔdzɔme*, nature, character, is determined through his *aklama*. The person comes into this world with a finished, completed character, because of which people excuse their behaviour by their nature. "Every person with his own character", *amesiame kple etɔ*, people often say. The individuality of the person is the individuality of his *aklama*, who imbues his charge with its own character. For example, if the person is thievish, it is not his own fault but evidence that the *aklama* living in him is a thief. If this person inclined towards thievery has a son who is also thievish, it shows that the son is made from the same earth from which God created his father. Some of this earth was left over, and from these remains God made the son. The son has the same *aklama* as the father. Is the son fundamentally the same as him or later became so? The view seems to turn to the latter possibility, for the thievish *aklama* of the son has learned from that of his father.

If the person dies, his *aklama* or his *dzɔgbɛ* has left him. When he goes away from the person, that one dies. After death, the *aklama* goes back to God, yet only to return later in some member of the family of the deceased. If the deceased was a thief, so also will the child that the *aklama* of the deceased has entered be thievish. The expression for this is, "The *aklama* of Kofi has seized his son *Kɔmla*."

At *Aɔaklu* the perception is that the *aklama* dies with the person and is thus destroyed.

In *Ho* and its environs the *aklama* is highly regarded and is honoured more than the *trɔwo*.

Whether there is, in fact, a difference between *aklama* and *dzɔgbɛ*, I leave undecided; but I pass on the views expressed by the natives on this: If a priest is called to a sick person, he says to the relatives of the sick person: "You may do what you want, his *dzɔgbɛ* has weakened and already left him." In this case, his soul has also already left him. But the person is still alive. However, it is a life without content, "an empty life". Whoever for example is in death throes has already been left by his *dzɔgbɛ*. It sits beside the dying person, and when his body is cold it leaves completely. If the body of the deceased is still somewhat warm, "his heart still lives". It is just like when the head is cut off a snake; it is certainly dead, but the tail still moves.

If the person becomes healthy again, it is called "his *dzɔgbɛ* has come back to him." Only *trɔ* priests and magicians can induce a *dzɔgbɛ* to return again to its charge. An ordinary person is entirely powerless in relation to the *dzɔgbɛ*. He can only give gifts and beg him through the priest to come back again. The priest says to the supplicant something like, "Your brother's *dzɔgbɛ* has certainly already left him, but because you force me, I will try to get him back." The priest demands four cowries that have been bored through the back. If two or all four fall on the ground in such a way that the openings of all fall either up or down, it signifies that the weakened *dzɔgbɛ* will return again. If one or three shells fall differently, it is deduced that the *dzɔgbɛ* refuses to return. The ill person must die.

The priests or magicians are said to sometimes give the sick person poison, whose effects and their duration they know exactly. But they also know and use antidotes. Then they tie a cord around the person's head that they call "cord of life", *agbeka*. If the invalid vomits out the poison, the magician knows that he will live. Now he asks the *dzogbe* what he wants, whether a fowl or palm wine? He throws the cowry shells on the ground again. If two of them fall alike, it means the *dzogbe* wants a fowl, palm wine or brandy; for the sick person will live. In this case, the illness was only a *tohehe* or "a pull at the ear" because of some negligence.

C. Worship of the personal protective gods

1. Worship of the Spirit Mother

If the mother of a small child realizes that its spirit mother "has laid her hand on the child", she puts green beans, green maize, pepper and tomato seeds and uncooked yam under her mat. She also ties three small pieces of wood, called *lodzoti*, together and puts it beside her mat. During the night, she lies on this mat. When she sweeps the room the next morning she carries the things under the mat out to the path for the spirit mother. In throwing away the remains she says, "Take and count it! Now leave the child, for today I have paid you for it!" But if the child's condition gets worse, it is realized that the spirit mother will have the child by all means and kill it. In this case, two small clay idols, a man and a wife, will be formed from clay. A watermelon is cut through the middle and one half is smeared with red, the other with clear oil. Beans, maize and other kinds of seeds are added. Accompanied by the priest the mother of the sick child carries these items in a wooden bowl to the path. There the spirit mother will be begged to take these gifts; with this she has paid her standing debt to the "bearer of children", the spirit mother.

The spirit mother must also first buy the children she bears from God. Only then she distributes them to the women in the world of the visible. If a woman has no children, she accompanies her husband to the priest of a *trɔ̃*, who then leads her to its dwelling place. There the priest collects water from the offering bowl, pours it on the earth and mixes a mash of earth. The woman now has her hands tied behind her back. Then she kneels down and licks from this mud, smears her forehead with it, for which she must not use her hands. Others let the woman, also with the hands tied behind the back, kneel down before the offering bowl. With a leaf folded to form a receptacle the priest takes water from the bowls and pours it three times into his mouth. The priest then prays, calls the name of her husband and says, "This man brought his wife who has no child so that she might get one. Give her children! If she gets a boy he will kill fowls for you, if she gets a girl she will grind offering flour for you and sweep your house." Then he ties a cord with four cowry shells around her neck. Further, she is forbidden all sorts of excesses. The *trɔ̃* gives children only in exceptional cases, while the spirit mother is the real divine giver of children.

The significance of the clay idols is as a medium of exchange. A prayer to the spirit mother says, "You bearer and mother of children! For the child that has left you, we bring you here in exchange this earthen person, *kɔ*. Take this and withdraw your hand from the child in the visible world!" To prevent the spirit mother from laying her hand on the child from the very beginning, the child's aunt brings her an offering six days

before the birth. This consists of a maize cob, leaves similar to spinach called *afumee*, and a kind of pepper called *gbɔku*. The aunt says to the spirit mother, “Spirit mother, here you have your gift, do not cheat the child and don’t frighten it, so that it does not cry in the night!”

2. Worship of the wife and the husband from the other world.

In many compounds one sees under the overhang of the roof of the house inhabited by the husband a small white painted cone, that is hollow inside and has a hole in the mid-section. The tip of the cone is also broken through. Both openings are closed with plugs made of clay. The cone represents the dwelling of his wife in the other world. It is hung with a chain of cowry shells and covered with a piece of blue stuff. In the hollow the man from time to time puts cowries for the *dzɔgbemesi*, his invisible companion. Each wife follows the man that she was married to in the other world into this world. As he builds a house for his actual wife in his compound, so must he also erect a dwelling for his wife from the other world. When it is done he gives his actual wife a dress and also gives to his invisible wife from *Bome* living in the clay cone 2 *hoka* cowry shells and a small piece of cloth. However, he needs an intermediary for this. For this reason, he calls a woman to whom he hands over the gifts for the *dzɔgbemesi*, and she must further hand them over to the invisible wife. The woman prays to the *dzɔgbemesi* and says, “Take it and henceforth stay with me! If I go to market may it turn out well for me, and if I go to the farm may the land yield well!”

If the real wife was once guilty of something against her husband, through the intercession of a priestess she brings to her husband from the other world 2 *hoka* cowry shells and flour, with the confession, “I have done this and this and was in the wrong; but I did not know it. I bring you this gift to pacify you.” Then she puts the flour and shells down before the dwelling house of her invisible consort.

The young wife who in the other world ran away while her husband was on the farm must first be reconciled again with her husband there. He demands his marriage expenses back from the woman’s real husband. These consist in twelve baskets of cowry shells valued at 120 marks, two pots of palm wine and seven people. These gifts, however, are paid in a very simple way. One takes two baskets full of small pebbles, that represent the shells, and two halves of a water melon which represent the pots of palm wine. The seven people are made of clay. The mother of the young wife takes them on her head in a wooden tray and has her daughter go before her to show her the place of her husband from the other world. Behind the two follows the brother-in-law of the young wife, whose duty is to call when they have found the place of her husband from the other world. Where she stops, he calls, “We have found the place!” Now the priest and priestess also come, as well as the mother with the gifts. The priest says to the man from the other world, “We bring you here what you gave out for the girl: twelve bags of cowry shells, seven people and two pots full of palm wine. Take this gift and now turn your eyes away from the girl!” After the prayer he bathes the young woman, wipes her entire body with a cock and a hen and says, “You husband from the other world, pull your hand back from the girl! Today we have cleansed her of everything bad.” The cock belongs now to the officiating priest and the hen to the wife, that she takes home as a sign of peace.

3. Worship of the *gbetsi*

If a man, counter to his promise, has stayed too long in this world, he is informed from the other world that they are about to break down his empty house. It must therefore be roofed anew. To this end the contemporaries of the sick man come together and each of them puts a grass stalk on the roof of his house. Thus is the external symbol for the covering of the roof in the other world given, and now the sick man is bathed in the presence of his contemporaries.

It is different with a woman who has become ill because of staying too long in this world. For her, twelve people, a sack of cowry shells worth 10 marks, bananas, yam and two spindles, cotton and two pots of palm wine must be given. These gifts are also prepared by the priest: twelve small clay idols, a bag of pebbles, unripe bananas, yam and two halves of the watermelon represent the desired items. The sick girl goes into the bush with a calabash containing consecrated leaves on her head. Her mother follows her with the offerings on her head. In the bush the young woman suddenly throws her calabash from her head, and the priest standing nearby hands the gifts to the *gbetsi* with a prayer. He says to him, "Today we pay you our debt, now leave her alone, for now we have paid you for the girl!"

If someone who was about to leave the other world first said that he intended to stay longer in the land of the visible, he will not be pursued by any *gbetsi* and will become an old man with gray hair.

4. The worship of *kpegbɔɔla*

Kpegbɔɔla is described as a friend of the *dzɔgbemesi*, who zealously guards the life of her protégée against the invasion of death. If she accuses the person during her illness of neglecting her, maize, beans and groundnuts without shells are roasted for her and a small altar is built for her from stones. The priest lays the offering in a broken pot down before it and prays, "*Kpegbɔɔla*, we bring you your corn! We beg you to strive skilfully for the life of the sick person!" The priest's reward includes 2 *hoka* cowries, plus another 4 *hoka* for the *gbetsi*, 12 *hoka* for the *dzɔgbemetsui* and 2 or 4 *hoka* for the *dzɔgbemesi*.

5. Worship of the hunter, *adee*⁵⁶

Just as the beings mentioned earlier stay with the person, so too does the hunter, *adee*. For a long time, a man has had no luck in the hunt, or he is often sick, gets boils here and there on his body, so he goes to the priest and asks for the reason. The latter tells him that the *adee* has always accompanied him, but he, the hunter, has never given him a stool to sit on. This stool consists of 2 *hoka* cowry shells, which he must keep in his garment sack. But if the hunter has already given his *adee* such a seat, the explanation of the priest is, "*Adee* says he has accompanied you hunting and now he is hungry. You have not erected a home for him. *Adee* has grown big and old with you, and while you have built yourself a house you leave him without a home." The man now cuts a small path into the bush, sets up an earthen mound there and puts two small pots on its top.

⁵⁶ The hunter *adee* who lives among people is his *aklama*. The heading of this section therefore means the same thing as service of *aklama*.

Of course the priest performs this task on behalf of the man. The priest now pours palm wine into the pot and says, "There is the palm wine; if it makes you drunk, fall on a bush cow or on a pig. May the man always remain sober!" He pours water into the second pot and says, "One drinks water when one has eaten." Then he scatters flour before the pots. This offering ceremony is preceded by a meal that the man has taken together with the priest and his people at that place. The priest puts the feathers and bones of the slaughtered fowl down before the pots. After those present have drunk, they also pour palm wine and water as offering into the pots.

Part 2: Magic

I. Magic in private life

A. Name and meaning of magic

Magic, *dzosasa*, is widespread among the entire *Eve* people and has major significance in public as in private life. Belief in the mysterious effectiveness of magic is deeply rooted in men and women. Most *Eves*, therefore, possess magical charms and put them to use in the most varied life situations. *Dzo* means fire, and he who possesses it is a *dzotɔ*, "fire owner". *Sa* means tie, knot, eg. *sa kɔ*, tie a knot, *sa ka*, tie a cord, *sa dzo*, tie the fire, meaning exorcise the power of magic somewhere. Fire, its character and its effects are marvelous. The power of magic can inhabit different kinds of objects and be bound into them to put them arbitrarily in the service of people. The power of magic, *dzo*, can leave an object again, and then it is cancelled, has become a *nu agbɔlo*, "empty object", and will be thrown away.

The meaning of magic lies chiefly in the belief of the owners of magic charms that persons and spirits influence him harmfully in a mysterious manner and can destroy his health, life and prosperity. To secure himself against this influence, he needs *dzo*, "magic". But he does not need magic only to make himself impervious to their influence, but also with their secret help to destroy those who try to do him ill.

B. Magic Charms

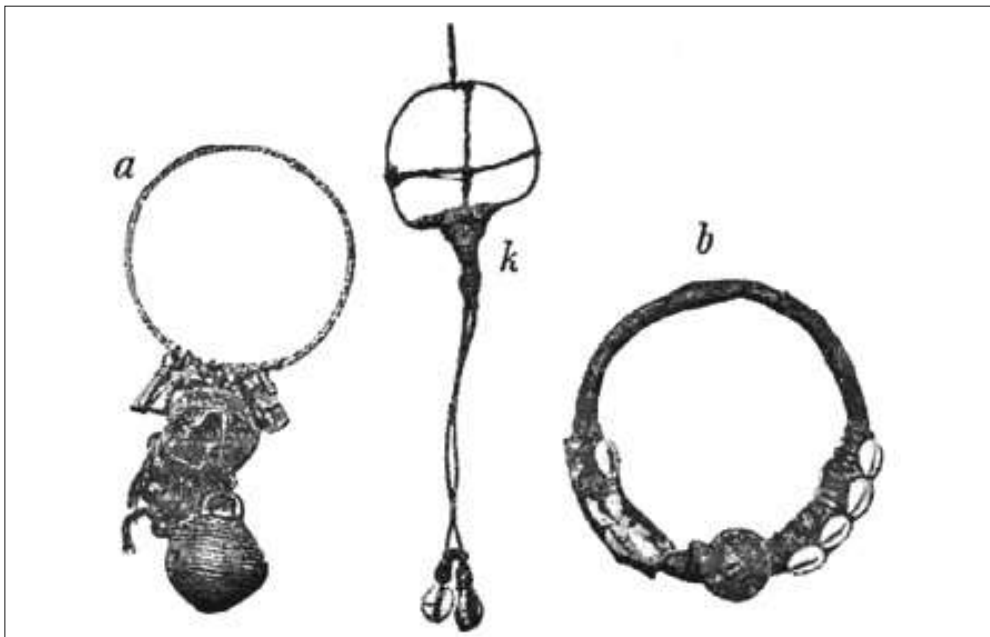
1. Description

Concerning the means used in magic, one must distinguish between the dead objects, such as pieces of wood, bristles, hair, cords and the like and the associated medicines as well as their accompanying speech. To the dead objects belong short sticks, often smeared with red and white clay, also cords smeared with red earth, soot, egg white and so forth, hairs of mice and squirrels, porcupine quills and feathers of various birds, among which the feathers of vultures are especially to be mentioned. The fact comes to mind that among the *Eve* trees and animals can be the dwelling of any sort of mysterious power, so that these can cause harm to a person merely by touching them. Because of this, for example, the odum tree, the redwood, as well as many other bush trees are considered bringers of bad luck and may therefore not be used as firewood. If one considers further that many animals, for example the hyena, the leopard and the snake are dedicated to several *trɔwo* or are themselves viewed as dwelling places of a

trõ, the use of their teeth, hair, claws as well as the skin and the bones in magic ritual is accounted for.

Metals, such as iron, copper and brass, have special significance. Because of this, many have iron rings on their arms, twisted in a spiral form. People also often have spiral-formed rings on their fingers, similar to the arm rings. These are called *dzogawo*, “magic iron”. Like pieces of wood or cords, these are also thought of as dwellings of magic power. The name of one of these magic irons, for example, is *sidoega*, “iron that lends freedom to its wearer”. If someone is put in irons, he slowly removes the *gadodzo* from his arm, puts it under his foot and at the same time pronounces the name of the magic iron. The result is that he can immediately escape from captivity and suddenly finds himself transported to another place. The one who searches for him believes he will see him in irons, but it is an illusion. The prisoner is gone. A brass ring is forged around the left arm of a slave who is not trusted and is of bad character. The ring is called *gagbedusi*, “iron that the right hand rejects”. This ring is supposed to make the slave’s character good.

A very important substance in every magic is human saliva. For the *dzo* has a seat within the person, especially in the will and the mind. A magician said he could treat the sick quite well entirely with medicine, but if he did not spit on it the people would not believe in it. The saliva is in a relation to the heart of the person, so that it is said, *Ta le ame la fe dzi gbõ*, “saliva is at the heart of the person”. As is well known, however, human saliva plays an extraordinarily important role in the whole religion of the *Eve*, because it is an imitation of the rain that falls on the earth from heaven.



Magic objects

- a. A finger ring with little bells. b. an arm ring.
k. is hung on the wall.

Rain is *ta* or the saliva of God. The worshipper of *Mawu* slowly blows out his saliva in giving a blessing, while the magician gives it out intermittently.

The only real remedy deployed in magic is the use of medicinal herbs, the use of which should never be confused with the powder obtained from charred fowl bones, feathers, claws, and moulds and used by the magicians as the most important remedy. The magicians usually have a thorough knowledge of medicinal plants. One of them showed me thirty different curative herbs within a very short time, and indicated the way they are used. He said, they observe sheep and goats, which leaves they eat at certain times, and then use them as medicine. For example, cracked sores on the sole of the foot are washed in an infusion of the fruit of the baobab tree. Also, the bark of the tree is boiled and used for cleaning sores. The juice of a stalk, *alavatse*, with rough leaves and a yellow flower, somewhat similar to our marigold, is dropped into cuts. *Dzogbetroti*, a woody shrub with feathery leaves and a small bowed fruit pod, is boiled and used for washing with pains in the loins. The wild asparagus, *atogbe*, is used against guinea worm. The affected place is washed with the extract and thoroughly rubbed in.

However, all these medicines must be accompanied by belief, by the one who uses the magical medicines as well as the one who prepares them. The people have unconditional faith in the magic, without giving any deeper thought to the medicine itself.

2. Kinds of magical medicine

Certain kinds of magical cure are difficult to distinguish from each other. For one thing, the magical objects resemble each other and there are no noticeable distinctive characteristics to define a difference. Another thing is that their number is legion. There is nothing in human life for which there is no applicable magical medicine. There is war medicine, hunting medicine, playing medicine, illness medicine, magical medicines specifically against thieves, and those used for court cases, medicine against bad people, spirits and gods, some by which priests are moved to dance, and not least, some through the use of which one takes vengeance against an enemy.

a. War medicine

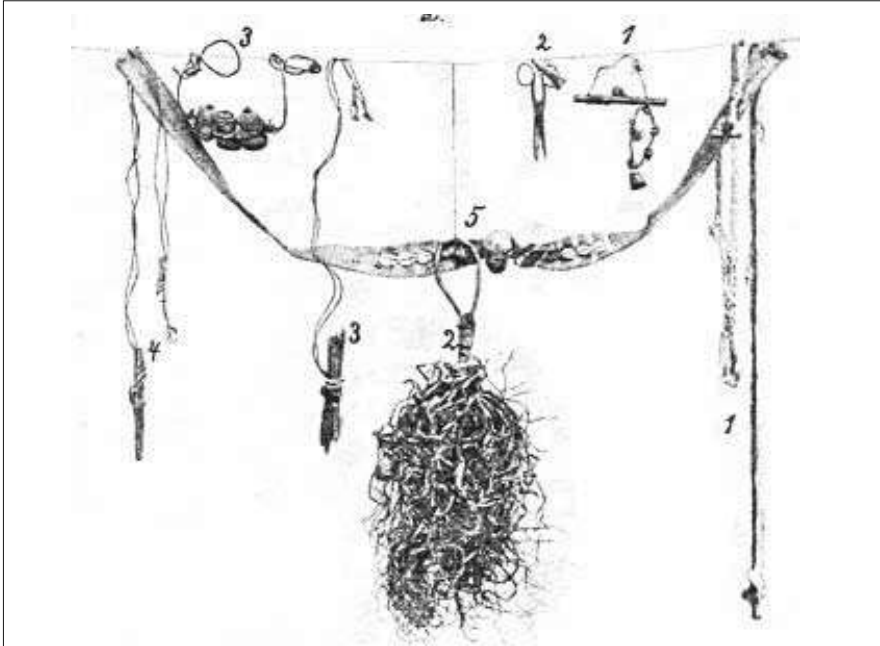
Now let us look at some of these medicines. War medicine in general has the aim of making the warrior safe against bullets, as well as to see to it that the enemy's gun explodes when he fires it and so forth. Some in this class are: *Kabisa*, *Mfodzo*, *Tomligo*, *Damuse*, *Afa*, *Madzẽ*.

Kabisa consists of a hat and a cow or buffalo tail, also the mane of a ram is used for it. Magical medicine is sprinkled into this tail, *awudza*. *Kabisa* guards the person in war, gives him courage and makes his face hard. It is especially to give the warrior a keen eye and prevent any enemy bullet from hitting him.

The warrior carries *Mfodzo*, a fan made of the fibre of raffia palm, on his arm. He must rub his entire body with the medicine that goes with it and will then become bullet-proof.

Tomligo consists of a string smeared with soot and red earth, that the warrior ties into his hair. As soon as he comes near the enemy with it and the string notices him his gun explodes when he shoots it. Because the clock bird, *avese*, has a good understanding

of this medicine, the owner of the medicine is strongly prohibited to shoot this bird. Disregard of this prohibition results in the explosion of his gun.



Magical medicines

Upper row

1. *Dzifli*. An armband with a short stick. The wearer scratches himself with a knife, passes over the wound with the lump of earth hanging on it and then puts the armband on his right wrist and the little stick on the left. In this way he gets the strength to withstand any magic.
2. *Tsyete*. Scissors with the tip of an antelope horn (*asante*) and some hairs of the squirrel. The hunter strikes through the air with the scissors and acts as though he would cut through something. In this way, he acquires open eyes, so that he sees the wild animal.
3. *Tukpui*. It consists of three small containers, each with the magically powerful *ti* on their exteriors. In the middle one is a piece of bamboo pipe. If the hunter finds traces of an animal he sprinkles some powder on the bamboo and leaves it on the animal's tracks; this makes the animal turn back. Then he acts as though he would tie something with the string and says, "Even if the animal is far away, it should turn around and stay still so that I can shoot it."

Lower Row

1. *Kpeui* are two strings, one of which is hung around the neck, the other wound around the left hand. They prevent the gun from exploding.
2. *Alasē* or *alagbatō* is carried on the arm.
3. *Nuke*. The hunter takes this medicine, that consists of pieces of wood covered with grass, ties the string around the pieces of wood, swings them over his head and puts it under a stone. By this, the curses of people who were dissatisfied with the game they received are made harmless.
4. *Kpeui*. If the hunter is threatened by a leopard, he twists the string around the two pieces of wood and calls, *Dza Kpeui!* The result is that the leopard lets the hunter shoot him. By binding the wood he becomes "tied".
5. *Akpoka*. A belt studded with six cowry shells, with a box in the middle containing magically powerful powder and part of a flintlock gun. The belt makes one bullet-proof.

Madzẽ, a war medicine, is carried on the arm. It results in the flintlock gun of the enemy breaking, or the enemy bullet missing the possessor. The medicine also involves a garment. If the medicine is carried under this, the bullet will not go through the garment. However, before he marches off, the warrior must first bathe with the herbs *dzoveti*, *anya* and *akutsa*.

Afa. If someone has cut off the head of an enemy captured in battle, he takes the medicine belonging to *afa* and drops it in the eyes of the captured enemy before he takes the skull away. In doing this he speaks the words, “I have dropped medicine into your eyes, so that your spirit cannot persecute me. Go now to your fathers who died before!” Now he can take the skull home without danger. The medicine that goes with it is *mayi* and *madzẽ*.⁵⁷ While he is dropping the first into the eyes of the captured enemy, he must bathe himself with *madzẽ*. Now he can drink palm wine from his enemy’s skull without danger. (Compare the picture with the accompanying explanation!)⁵⁸

b. Medicine for Illness

Illness magic, *usunukpe*, cures all kinds of illnesses. If lightning has struck a tree and it is later cut down by someone and used for firewood, this wood results in an illness. He gets pains all over his body, that are especially severe in his arms and legs. Against these pains the magician first sticks an iron rod, somewhat in the form of an anchor, on the invalid’s fence. Then the invalid must bathe with the leaves of the *anya* tree. “Lightning stones”, *kpeɲɲɔ*, stones with a hole through them, are put in the bath water. After the bath the magician shaves the hair from some parts of the invalid’s head and thus allows the sick person to be shaved without any harm.

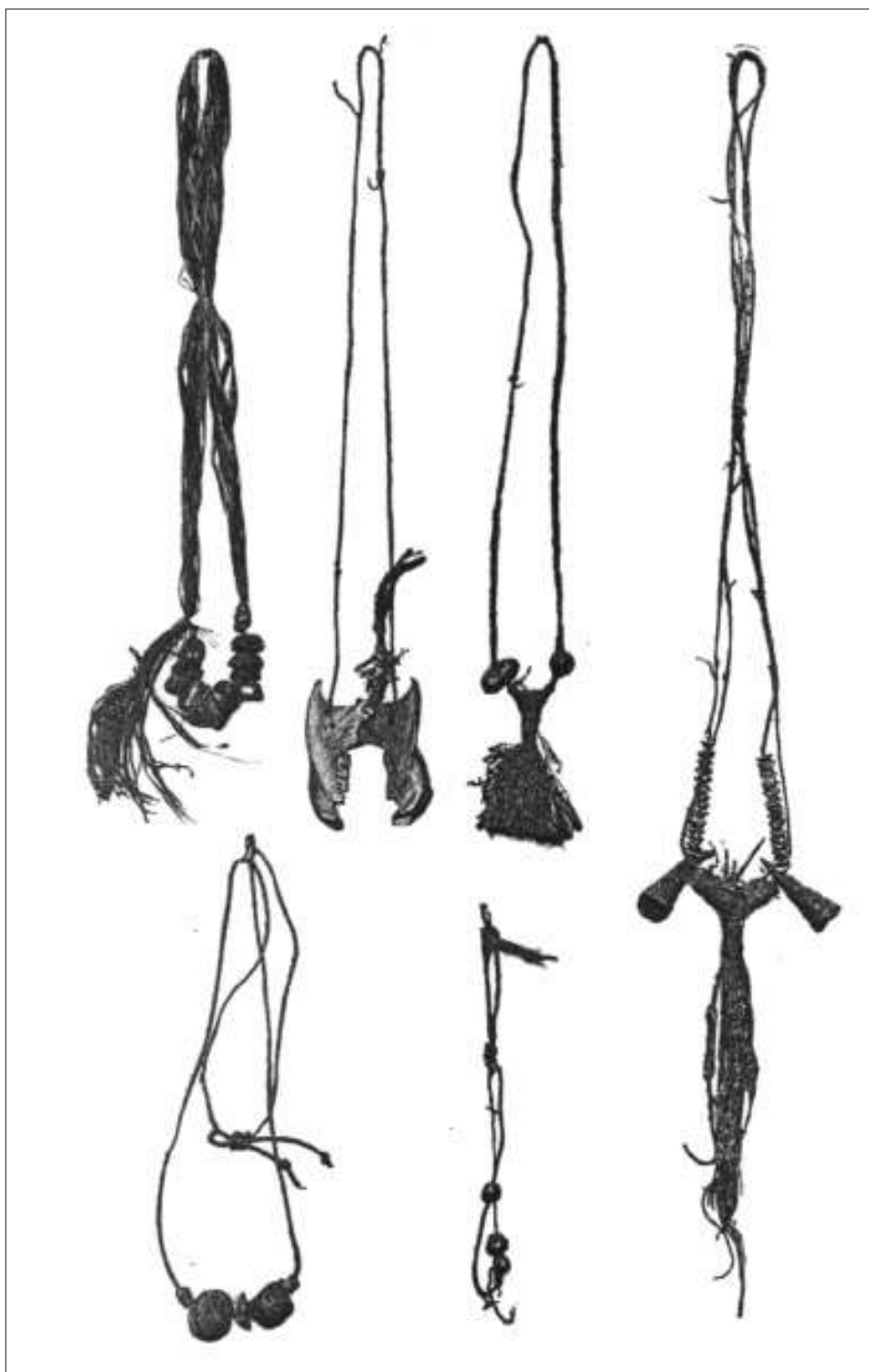
Tetidzo, to which the leaves of the *lɔ* tree belong. If anyone has dropsy, the magician boils the leaves of this tree in a pot, covers a cloth over the invalid and lets him breathe in the vapour of the boiling medicine. Then he chars the feathers of a fowl together with leaves of the *lɔ* tree and smears the invalid with the powder. At the same time, he prays to the medicine. Without fail the illness must then decrease.

Amframa. To this belong the leaves of the *yɔdza* tree. The medicine hangs at two ends of a string, which he hangs around his neck. One part lies on his chest and the other on his back. The magician drums, dances, and smears his face with white earth. The medicine possesses him and sends him into a trance. In this condition he can tell the invalid the cause of his illness, especially if it was caused by a *trɔ̃*. He bathes the sick person with *yɔ* leaves and says, “If the spirit of a dead person torments you, he should go home, and if a *trɔ̃* torments you, he should go home! Today I have driven out the evil from you.”

Kpodzo. Is used against herpes. To this medicine belongs *tɔngɔtetrefe*, “the fresh shoot of the water lily”. This is boiled in a pot.

⁵⁷ That is, black and red *ma*.

⁵⁸ Pg. 65.



Magic strings
to hang around the neck

A cloth is spread over the invalid and he is made to inhale the vapour. For a successful recovery the steam has to engulf the whole body of the patient. After this vapour bath the patient washes himself with the same herbal water. Finally, he roasts the leaves and pounds them to a powder, which he applies to the diseased places.

Kadeve. To this belong the fruits of the baobab, *nyakpekpe*, the fruits of the wild date palm, *ayedee*, and the fresh shoots of the oil palm, *dedɔ*. If a person's illness was caused by the spirit of a deceased person, the sick person will have to smear a new mat all over with white clay and lie on it. To the spirit which is harassing him he says, "Spirit of the dead, it is a long time since you arrived in the underworld, therefore come no more to me! Now stay in the underworld, and do not molest me anymore!"

Medicine for the heart. When a person has pains in the heart, he pounds white clay into powder, mixes it with the appropriate medicine and gives it to the sick person to drink. He says, "The pain in my heart should calm down immediately!" Meanwhile, the magician holds the calabash up and says three times: "May God bless it!", sprays his saliva over it three times and says, "God is the owner of saliva; I don't have saliva in my mouth. May God come and add his saliva to it! May your ailments immediately depart from you, so that you recover completely!"

c. Hunting Charms

Anum. The origin of this charm is *Ŋɔtsie*, and with the help of the herb *ma dzẽ* ensures that the hunter is lucky in the hunt. The relevant herb is mashed and loaded together with the gunpowder into the gun. As a result of this, the hunter's eyes get opened, so that he is now able to see the animals in the bush. The charm calls the wild animals together from the bush for him so that they place themselves in front of his gun. Another effect is to drive black soldier-ants out of rooms. Should soldier-ants be in his room, he only needs to spit into his loincloth, and immediately, the ants clear out of the room.

Alɔkpo is from *Kpime* near *Tovee*. The medicines involved are *ada dzẽ* and *nodzime*. This charm is tied to the gun-barrel. It calls the animals together from the field so that they stand before his gun.

Yi comes from the coast. The medicines involved are the leaves of the odum tree, of the silk cotton tree and of the baobab tree. If the owner sees a snake, he only has to call out the name of the charm, and the snake slithers back into the bush. Whoever has shot a leopard or a buffalo and is chased by the wounded animal only needs to shout the words: *yi, yi yi*, and the animal goes on its way.

d. Charm used in performing

Klamake comes from *Aɲlɔ*. The herb *ma dzẽ* belongs to it. Its effect is that the singers' jaws lock during the evening performance, so that they cannot open their mouths. Two people are drumming in two neighbouring towns, one perhaps in *Axõe* and the other in *Heve*. The singers and drummers who come with the drumming of course, want their songs to be more and pleasing to the people than those of the singers in the neighbouring village. The owner of this charm proceeds to the singers of the neighbouring village, stands behind them and quietly says to himself: "Your jaws should close, so that you cannot open them again!" In this way, the singers of one town triumph over those of the other.



Emblems of Priests and Medicine Men

c. and d. brooms made of palm leaf strips. Bound to d. are cowry shells and a jaw bone.

e. Religious Dancing Charm

Amekuladzaku of *Afando* in *Axõe*.⁵⁹ The charm affects the dancing of a priest. If a priest of an itinerant god dances right across the floor instead of around it, they paint his face with the white clay appropriate to this particular charm. The result should be that he dances correctly. If in spite of this he does not dance or does not dance correctly, they take a broom meant for this and strike him with it on the back. Now he is sure to dance well!

f. Charms against madness

Gbesa originates from *Avatime*. The herbs required for it are *dzoveti* and *ahame*. If someone goes mad through the use of charms by someone else, with the help of these charms he becomes well again. The recovery of the mentally sick is treated as his recovery of “clearer eyes” and of a “bright countenance”. The item connected with *gbesa* is a corn cob which has been retrieved from a latrine. This corn cob together with the herbs is put into water, from which the sick person drinks and his face must be washed, whereupon his ‘face’ becomes clear again. After this treatment, the magician is paid 2 times 7 *hoka* cowry shells. From each *hoka* he removes seven shells and throws them into the latrine. This is seen as paying the latrine for the two empty corn cobs which had been taken from it. If the magician should omit this payment he would go mad himself. The latrine is also given special respect. Very often a magician would tell a patient, *Kpoti le wɔ na wò*, “You are being harassed by the latrine. Look for a goat for us to cook and sacrifice on the road and bring the latrine his offering”. When at the moment of attending to nature’s call it is said, “The King calls me” or, “The eldest is calling me” or, “My father is calling me”, it is not only a matter of experiencing the natural urge but also of the representation of the religious significance that the emptying of the bowels has for the *Eve*.

Fo ati foda is from *Abutia*. The herbs for it are *flatokpoe* and *awusa*. In addition to the herbs are shredded clothing materials and torn mats, parts of which can be found on the street. These items are roasted in a pot over the fire until they turn to powder. If one has pains anywhere, the powder is rubbed into the painful places. This powder, called *ti*, also helps against madness. It is put in a calabash, water is poured onto it, and the disturbed person is made to wash his face with it. Then several different parts of the patient’s body are cut with a sharp knife and the above-mentioned powder is rubbed into the incisions. This medicine completely guards the person day and night, so that no evil spirit, no evil *trɔ* and no evil person can do him any harm, for the magic is like a cloth covering the person, like a shield he holds before him. While the person in possession of this charm is thus fully protected against these harmful powers, trees and snakes in the bush are attacked by evil powers as a result of his activity. They do not kill people, but it is the trees and the snakes that they kill.

g. Revenge medicine

Nutsi. The medicine belonging to this is *denkati*. The effect of this charm is that it can make the blind see, and the sighted blind. If a person has gone blind and washes his eyes with medicine associated with this charm, he will regain his sight. If someone

⁵⁹ Compare picture on pg. 34 No 3: a dancing magician.

has seduced another's wife, resulting in high legal costs for the offended person, he procures the magical charm *Nutsi*. With this, he hides in his room, holds a lemon in his hand, calls out the name of the one who has wronged him and pierces it with a needle. He repeatedly calls the names of his charm and of his opponent. The opponent goes blind soon after this.

Hobenu. If someone is jealous because a neighbour's child is thriving, he carries it in his arms, acts as if he were playing with it, and quietly says the name of his charm. The child soon becomes emaciated. Its mother then comes to the medicine man and prays him to protect the child from the evil. This he does and is well paid for it.

Zādakli, comes from *Tōda*. Its medicine is *dekomekpali*. This causes the speedy death of a hated priest. If two men are quarrelling over a sum of money because one of them will not pay his debt, the creditor goes to *Mafi* or to *Aqaklu* to the priest of an earth god and begs him to recover his money for him. The priest invites the debtor, but he refuses to come to him. The priest sends for him a second time, and secretly has a deadly medicine poured in the debtor's hut. But the debtor has the *Zādakli* medicine, which he takes into the bush, lays a mouse-trap there and puts his medicine under the supporting plate. He then sets the trap, calling the name of his medicine and the name of the priest whom he has come to dislike. Now the trap falls, killing his enemy who has been called under the plate by the medicine under it. He can also lay this trap in his own room. He puts the medicine under the plate, pulls at it and calls the name of the medicine as well as that of the person on whom the plate should fall. It falls and kills his enemy.

Togbexe. This involves the leaves of the pandanus shrub, *kpa*, and the leaves of the oil palm, *blede*. This charm causes the opponent to get floppy ears. When two men are quarrelling, the one who has this medicine spits into his hand, calls the name *Togbexe* and boxes his opponent's ear. Should his opponent be too tall, he only needs to hit his upper thigh, and this would result in his opponent's ears turning so long, that they would hang down like a dog's ears.

Mia tfo yi ho. This medicine includes the herbs *dzoveti* and *ahame*. The effect of this medicine is that a fugitive can easily be caught. If such a one is to be captured but resists the pursuers, one only need carry the cord appropriate to the medicine on his arm and pronounce the name of the medicine, then the fugitive would become lame and willingly follow his pursuers. In war, the owner of this charm holds the medicine high and so causes the bullets of the enemy to deviate from their path and scatter. Another effect is that it brings someone who has fallen unconscious back to the state of consciousness. The medicine man hits the one affected on the head with the medicine and says, "Wake up, wake up, do not sleep!"

3. Acquisition of Medicines

The medicine men refer to the acquisition of charms as *dzosasa*; they refer to the actual practice as *kasasa*, "tying a string". He who wants to acquire *dzo* invariably has to buy individual types, for example, medicine for sickness, war etc. One always acquires individual medicines against particular diseases or hazards. Many are very active in this and seek to provide themselves with as complete a collection of medicines as possible. They sometimes fill entire rooms with them. Thus *T.* in town *A.* built a special room for his charms.

For some, the motive is probably concern for themselves and their families, and for others the desire to go through life as easily as possible. The magician *H.* had a sick brother whom he loved very much. He bought a great many charms for him, so that eventually he had spent not less than 57 marks for this purpose. From each who made medicine from his brother he bought the individual objects, and also the pertinent secrets. There are others, however, who acquire charms only with the intention of cheating their neighbours, ie. to get money as easily as possible. These people's skill is therefore called not *dzosasa* but *kposasa*. This is to say that they have only learnt their art by "seeing", but are not initiated into the secrets of medicine.

The secrets comprise solemn oaths and knowledge of secret formulae. Both buyer and seller swear that they would never entrust the secret to any unqualified person. The oath is in many cases a double oath, sworn on earth gods and on powerful chiefs. For example, in acquiring the *kakaku* charm, the buyer and the seller go together into the bush. There the buyer would first have to swear the oath of the god *Katayre* of *Akyem* and then that of the King of *Peki*, by which he gives the seller the assurance that he would never tell anyone what he will now reveal to him. If he should break this promise, then he has broken the oath of the king, and has mentioned the name of the god in vain, who himself will take vengeance on him. To buy the charm *usunukpe* the buyer had to swear by the four earth gods *Adzeju*, *Kolia*, *Atido* and *Bome*. The seller was so convinced of the power of his charm that he said: "If you employ the things belonging to the medicine to drive out someone's evil, you may demand your money back from me if the evil does not depart from him. If he should recover, however, then he must pay you the amount which you have paid me for the charm."

Once the oath has been sworn, it is time to prepare the charms, as well as their religious rituals. The procedure involved is approximately the following: The seller requests the buyer to bring him a fowl, 25 *hoka* cowry shells, some fibre of the raffia palm, black pepper, squirrel's hair, feathers of the clock bird and other such things. The indispensable brandy must never be omitted. He then directs him to bring the herbs *ahame*, *adefetsui*, and *fagolo*. He twists the fibre into a cord into which he ties the feathers, the hairs and the sweet smelling herbs. Now, the cord will be smeared with red ochre, during which both continuously call the name of the charm and say: "Cord against abdominal pains, if anyone has body pains they must vanish totally." Hereupon the seller chews black pepper and spits it on the cord. By this action, the *dzo*, "magic", has entered the cord; that is what they call *dzo ditsiditsi*. This word can best be translated as "impregnation of the cord with magic". The buyer and the seller now kneel down. The seller chews the black pepper, bends towards the mouth of the buyer and twice spits chewed black pepper into his mouth, which he swallows. With this act, the magic has now actually entered the body of the buyer. The purchaser also then chews black pepper, and spits it on the magic cord, for he has also now acquired the power to impregnate cords with magic. Then, the seller says: "I have handed over to you something that will watch over you in the evil night and during the day." The buyer, *dzosala*, replies: "I have received it." The receipt of the charm is often confirmed by tearing a grass stalk. For the sale of the *Avefu* charm the seller took a blade of grass out of the roof of his house and tied a cowry shell to both ends of it. The seller then took one end of the straw in his hand and the buyer the other. The seller says: "If I have

deceived you, then I should die.” They tear the stalk of grass simultaneously, and then exchange the pieces.

In addition to the solemn declarations on both sides, sacrifices would now be made to the newly acquired medicine. The fowl presented by the buyer will be used for this purpose. Some people kill it with a knife, while others request the charm itself to kill the fowl. They give it something to drink, and then lay it on its back on the head of a boy, who holds it firmly. The buyer and seller, *dzoto* and *dzosala*, call the names of their charm and say: “Kill it, kill it! quickly, quickly!” (If the fowl dies, the cause of death could be found in the fact that a feather had been stuck into the back of its head.) The fowl’s entrails and feathers are put together into a pot and roasted on the fire and pulverized. This done, they take a piece of the unsalted meat and place it as an offering on the charms, with the prayer, “Take it and eat it!” They eat the rest of the meat themselves. The bones of the fowl are not to be broken. These are put into a bowl together with the head and feet of the fowl and roasted over the fire until they also are pulverized. This powder is then mixed with the powder won from roasting the feathers and entrails. The appropriate herbs are finally added to the mixture to complete the preparation of the actual medicine, *ti*, which is preserved in a small gourd box. If anybody suffers from stomach ache, the magician would put a pinch of this powder into hot water and make the sick person drink it. Apart from the meat and blood of the fowl, charms are also offered brandy and flour mixed with water. The seller first spits brandy onto the objects and then flour water. He then calls the name of the medicine, saying: “Take and eat it, remain with me and protect me!” While spraying the flour water, he says: “He who has drunk brandy does not refuse to drink water. What you are drinking now is the water of life; may your breast be cool!” With this act the ceremonial aspect of the purchase is concluded.

The financial aspect of the purchase consists of the seller receiving his payment. This is high or low, depending on the value of the charm. The war medicine, *abisa*, for example, costs 22 marks in silver money. In addition, the buyer has to strip himself and give his cloth and loin cloth to the seller. *Tomligo* costs 2 marks 25 pfg, three fowls, two bottles brandy, 16 pfg. worth of flour, 6 pfg. worth of oil and 4 pfg. worth of salt. The charm against sicknesses, *usunukpe*, costs 12 marks in cowry shells, seven fowls, 1 mark worth of maize, 80 pfg. worth of corn beer, and a cloth worth 4 marks 50 pfg. *Tetito* costs 1 mark 20 pfg. in cowry shells, two fowls, two bottles of brandy, 16 pfg. worth of flour, 4 pfg. of oil, 2 pfg. of salt and 2 pfg. worth of pepper.

4. Effectiveness of the Charms

The effectiveness of the charms is entirely out of a European’s control. The statements of the magicians and the people, however, to some extent give a correct insight. One could clearly infer from what had already been said, that the buyer of a charm would also like to test its genuineness. The fowl killed by the medicine man has already provided a very satisfactory indication of this. There are yet other tests for the authenticity of war and exorcism charms. Buyer and seller go together into the bush, where they prepare maize porridge. The seller spits on the porridge in the usual way, points his finger at it and says: “If you are my shield in war, then make this porridge impervious to the stab of this knife!” He then plunges the knife into the porridge. Should the knife pierce it, then the charm has not yet entered the porridge; but if it checks the thrust, then it is

a sign that it can also withstand bullets, thrusts and blows in war. Another proof of its authenticity is furnished in the following way. Buyer and seller try it against a tree in the bush. The seller calls the name of the charm, makes a small incision in the bark, puts a pinch of the medicinal powder into the cut, points his finger at the tree and says, “When I return here in three days, this tree must be withered!”⁶⁰ Both return to the place after the time agreed upon, to see its success. They claim that they found the tree in fact withered. The statement of another *Dzo* seller contrasts with this. After the buyer of the *kakāku* charm had sworn by the king of *Peki* and by the earth-god *Katayre*, the seller said to him: “All men are blockheads, because they believe that a charm could talk. Only human beings have mouths to talk, not charms! There is nothing in this world which is anything, except God alone.” After he had revealed this to him, he showed him how *kakaaku* is used and the medicines related to it.

The people tell a great many stories, with which they want to prove the wonderful effects of charms. There was a man from *Agotime* called *Kumasi* who was a very famous and feared magician. He is supposed to have lived in *Ho* for a long time, where he undertook all sorts of evil tricks. One day, he met the child of a man from *Axõe* and caused his medicine to be dropped on his head and pointed a finger into his face. The child died at once, and the father came only to find his child’s corpse. The magician had a quarrel on the farm with a man from *Vegbe* and said to him, “If you are not a corpse in three days, then you are not the man I am not talking to.” The man went home, immediately started complaining of a serious headache and died exactly three days later. A man called *Agb.* narrated that he once had one of his neighbours, who was in a drunken condition, arrested. The prisoner shouted continuously: “*nae! nae!*”



Idol huts under Anya trees

⁶⁰ Compare pg. 281 f.

That was the name of his charm. Soon after, *Agb.* felt pains in his arms, and lay sick for two months. There was another man called *Dz.* He was a medicineman and people often called on him to help facilitate births. If he wanted to keep mother and baby alive, he would drop a piece of charcoal into a pot full of water. But if he took the charcoal out of the water and struck it three times on the earth with the intention of killing her, then she as well as her child would soon become sick. Then he would have to make another medicine against this sickness; but so far, nobody has been able to alleviate the effects of the earlier magic.

The grandfather of *L.* was a respectable medicine man. He fell ill one day, and none of his charms could help him. He finally decided to have two large clay idols built for himself in his room.

Two antelope horns were stuck in the earth in front of them. As the grandfather's end was drawing near, the grandson noticed that the horns began to turn in a circle in front of the images, and continued to do so until the dying man had passed away. At the moment of his death, the horns stood still.

K., an eighteen-year old youth living in village *A.*, happened to pass by a house in front of which a magician was demonstrating what his charms could do. At that moment, a fowl was crossing the road. The magician snapped his fingers twice towards it and shouted: "Hen, fall dead!" And behold, the fowl lay dead on the spot. Before his eyes the fowl was plucked, and the owner came to the magician to be paid for the value of his fowl. The same narrator claims to have seen, in the room full of magical objects belonging to *T.*, a magic cord that moved by itself and slithered like a snake.

We add to these pronouncements a few other stories of well observed proofs of such magical actions.

The effects of the war medicine *anjui* include that it can make a person who has washed himself with the relevant medicines bulletproof at nine steps. The authenticity of this claim was put to the test in the presence of many witnesses at the time this charm was being purchased. The seller counted nine steps from where he was standing, put two guns, in each of which three pellets were loaded, into the hands of two of his helpers and gave them orders to aim at him and shoot. He himself held his hands immersed in a calabash standing before him, which had been filled with water containing consecrated leaves. The two men so instructed shot their guns at him and, behold, the medicine man caught the bullets with his hands and showed them to the spectators present. Amid jubilation the spectators carried the medicine man home, where he was presented with many gifts. The secret of his power was that the bullets which were shot at him were simply goat droppings, which had been wrapped in thin tinfoil. Under the consecrated leaves in the bowl he had put the same type of bullets, which he then showed to his unsuspecting spectators.

A famous magician once came to *Ho and Akoviefe*, where he healed many people of their ailments, for which he was richly rewarded. Among the many who visited him was a man who was amazed by the wonderful results of the magician. To become totally convinced of the authenticity of these effects, he took the fibres of a rotten banana plant, placed them on his leg and tied a few leaves on it in such a way that dirty juice issued from under them. Then he limped with stick to the magician priest and said: "I have noticed how much your charms have blessed you. For a few years now, I have had a serious sore on my leg, that refuses to heal." He called the medicine

man's attention to the pus issuing from below the dressing. The magician then began to dance and said: *Mekpɔ agbe vivi!* The questioner asked: "What do you see for me?" He then presented his gift to the magician priest, who repeated: "I see life for you. But your sore cannot be healed; you will have to take it to your death." Invalid: "But can nothing at all be done against it? Behold, I bring you my offering." Priest: "No, you will have to take this sore to your death; you are already a dead man! When you were still in *Bome*, where human beings originate, someone had a terrible wound. When this man came to clean his wound, you threw a stone against the pot containing the water with the medicine. The man, who wanted to clean his wound, took a stick to hit you with, but you fled to find refuge in the visible world. The one afflicted with the wound got very angry about it, and he sent his wound to you in this visible world, which you have to keep." Now the invalid removed the dressing and showed his leg, which was entirely healthy, to the magician priest who stood there shamed as a liar. However, the people were angry with the false patient, because he had "likened himself to God" and had "tempted God".

5. Worship

It has been shown in connection with the acquisition of medicines that the magical objects must be religiously venerated. From time to time, the magician priest has to bring them offerings, to move them to "work". That always happens when he has to perform magic to heal a sick person. About the medicine employed, he says: "If it is *Aɖava* which has brought this sickness, then it should leave him completely as a result of this bath!" At the end of the illness, he gives the magical object blood of a fowl or a goat to drink by smearing it with the blood to signify that he has given it the blood to drink. In the process he says: "Look after me well and give me strength; and when I am called upon again to heal the sick, you will receive an offering from me again.!" It is remarkable to note that, during the invocation of a war medicine, the names of all the famous *trɔ̃wo* would be called and they are invited to come and drink palm wine. Finally the charm itself would be addressed thus: "Now follow me into war and protect me against all enemy bullets, so that I can face the enemy squarely and defeat him!"

C. The Practice of Magic

In contrast to the acquisition of charms, *dzosasa*, the practice of medicine is referred to as *kasasa*, "tying a cord." Depending on the suspected cause of his sickness, different cords are tied around the neck, on the arms and legs of the sick person. They are called "mouth cords", *nuka*, if they are directed against the influence of evil mouths, and "spirit cords", *ɲɔlika*, if they are directed against the ghosts of the deceased. We have to distinguish the private, commercial and secret operations of magic from each other.

1. Private practice

Most pagans have a few charms for themselves and their nearest family members, which for them replace the family medicine-chest. However, these are only used in pressing cases for children, wives and other near relatives.

2. Professional Practice

Others practice magic professionally, and therefore acquire according to their financial capabilities as many charms as possible.

Like the doctor here at home with us, so in *Ho* and its environs the medicine man is called to a sick person, to establish the cause of the sickness and also apply the corresponding charm. If it should be established that the spirit of a dead person is the cause of the illness, then spirit cords are applied. Or if the “the evil mouth” caused it, “mouth cords” with the related medicines are applied. These magician doctors travel with their art from town to town and from clan to clan, thereby earning large incomes. It makes a big impression on the people when they pull objects such as stones, cowry shells and the like out of their body with the help of their magic. The magician interviews the patient about his condition, and lets him describe his pains and the places where it hurts him. He then sends for a bowl full of water. He spits into the water and mumbles some words. He then palpates the diseased parts of the body, bends down, presses his ears against the parts concerned, and behaves as if he heard sound there. After this examination, he takes a piece of cloth, with which he fans the diseased spot. His movements become more and more passionate until, all of a sudden, a cord, a stone or a little piece of wood falls down from the piece of cloth in which he had hidden it. The spectators are firmly convinced that he had pulled the object out of the patient’s body with his wonderful magical power.

A proper magician carries his charms along to wherever he goes, so that he can immediately help anyone who asks him.

3. Secret practice

The “evil” magicians also possess various kinds of magical charms, but they keep them secret. These are the ones who on account of their evil disposition are feared the most, because through their secret activities they are always aiming their charms to cause the death of their neighbours. If a person is rich in money, goods or children, it is a permanent thorn in their flesh, and they are always thinking how they can most easily get the hated person out of their way through their magic. Their most effective means are the poisons, of which they always boast having a whole range of varieties. There is, for example, the poison extracted from the bark of the *Atsa* tree, which they use to get mice and dangerous lunatics out of the way. Another tree, *donu*, also yields them poisons. The roots and bark of the tree are ground up and used in this form as poison. If they have especially targeted someone, they take a pinch of this powder and blow it into the air near the victim, for him to inhale. They say that this inhalation alone is enough to stun him and make him unsteady. Soon after that, the one affected swells and then slowly languishes to death. Other poisons are supposed to be sprinkled on the way. If anyone just steps on it, his feet would swell up, and the poison gets into his blood. The gall of the crocodile is especially feared. This is mixed with the ground up bark of the *to* tree, dried and carried about in a little gourd. Only a few moments after taking in this poison, the person begins to feel pains in his abdomen, becomes drowsy but wakes up intermittently, often with intense pains. Death is supposed to set in abruptly, and the dying person can only tell his relatives who had given him the poison. If the poisoning is recognized early enough, the patient is made to drink a great

quantity, about 1 litre, of warm palm oil, after which he vomits copiously. In every village lying along a stream, there is a law that anyone who has killed a crocodile in the stream should report to the chiefs, and in their presence remove the gall which they should bury somewhere in the bush.⁶¹ The person who fails to report this would be considered a secret magician, and punished.

The way and manner in which they administer the poisons to their victims vary. Some invite them to drink palm wine. When the victim is drunk, pressing with the thumb nail on the inner side of the calabash is sufficient to release the poison hidden under the nail into the palm wine. Yet others mix it secretly into the victim's food, or use the poison dust in the way described above.

The curse is an important method. This involves tying grass into a knot, as the name of the hated person is mentioned, saying: "I have bound *Kofi* into this knot; every evil thing should befall him! When he goes to the farm a snake should bite him; when he goes hunting a fierce animal should attack him; and if he steps into a stream may he be swept away by the water! When it rains may lightning strike him down; the evils of the night should overcome him!" He has bound the life of his enemy into this knot. The curse is not repeated just once, but as often as he goes into the bush. Experienced old people, however, untie such knots. Women especially like getting involved in such things. Other forms of curses consist of taking palm wine and water into the bush on a *Ho* market day and pouring them under any tree, accompanied by the usual curses.

D. Magician Priests/Juuj men

1. Secret magicians/Medicine men

It is interesting that the secret magicians sometimes expose themselves. This is said to happen often through dreams. The one concerned dreams that So-and-so, whom he destroyed by poison long ago, is standing before him. Shocked by this, the magician speaks with him in his dream so loudly, that his wives nearby hear it. They may inadvertently betray him. Typical is the following experience in 1890. A man from *Ho*, called *Agbeli Kofi*, was suspected of secret magic. This man had been telling lies about a woman, who then made a complaint. He was found guilty by the chiefs and was fined an amount of money. The accused paid until 2 marks were left. The woman insisted on getting the money from him. He was infuriated by this and he told her: "If you think that you are protected against every danger, then surely something will happen to your child!" Two days later, her child's legs got swollen, and it died soon thereafter. After her child's death, she again went to *Agbeli Kofi*, but met only his wife at home. She said to her: "Wherever your husband may be, today he must pay me my 2 marks!" The woman retorted: "You know very well that it is because of these 2 marks that your child had to die and you still dare to come here again!" Many months passed, and a famous magician priest called *Kpanga* came to *Ho*, and lived together with this woman. One day, *Agbeli Kofi* went to this *Kpanga* and complained to him that for a very long time, he had never been lucky at hunting. He therefore begged him to exorcise him, so that once again he would see the wild animals. *Kpanga* agreed to this, but took him aside and told him that the reason why he had no more luck in hunting was the ghost of the

⁶¹ I have been an eye witness to this myself.

child he had eaten (killed by magic). He must, therefore, pick an herb, which *Kpanga* described to him exactly, from the fence of the dead boy's father. This was essential for the medicine he was going to prepare for him. *Agbeli Kofi* followed the instruction, crept in the night to the indicated compound, and brought the plant to *Kpanga* the following morning. After payment of two bottles of brandy, *Kpanga* promised he would not reveal his secret to anyone. *Agbeli Kofi* washed his face with the extract of the herb, and *Kpanga* promised him the best of success. However, *Agbeli Kofi* had forgotten that the same woman to whom he owed the 2 marks had witnessed all that happened. In December 1891, she stood up in a Peoples' Assembly and narrated the entire event. *Agbeli Kofi* could not utter a word against it, and the child's parents swore an oath against him, because of which he was compelled to leave *Ho*. The chiefs banned him from the tribe, and he has never returned to *Ho* since.⁶²

Another man called *Dza Dake* was discovered as a secret magician in the following way. During a dance he had laid his hand on the shoulder of another man, who alleged that he felt a strange itching in his body and had not slept the whole night. He went to *Dza Dake* the next morning and declared: "You have eaten me with magic." *Dza Dake* did not like this accusation, and swore that he would go through a trial by ordeal to prove his innocence. In the end, *Dza Dake* was revealed as an evil magician and was executed.⁶³

Those who confessed their guilt were sentenced to death. They would be accompanied by their relatives to the outskirts of the town and given over to the executioners to carry out the sentence. Those who did not confess even after the *aka* trials were misled by telling them that they would be brought to the *Ho* king, who would hear them again. No sooner did he step outside the village than a number of men armed with cudgels attacked him and beat him to death.⁶⁴

2. Public Magic

Like the possessors of *aka*, the magicians also form a close professional union among themselves. What one of them has told a sick person he immediately informs another magician, so that each is in a position to say the same thing if the same person should come to him.

The position taken by the magician in public life already goes to show how magical charms are valued. Even though everyone practices magic, it is likened to "a hand without the thumb, with which one cannot hold onto everything." This is exactly the case with the charms, which sometimes leave one in the lurch. How the people feel about the public magician becomes clear from two songs, in which they allow the magician to excuse himself that his magic was cheating him, and reproach him that he makes medicines for other people, but cannot help himself. The song relevant to these last thoughts runs: *qamanɔ ku, qama mekpɔ etɔ qa o*, "The herb-brewer's mother has died; the herb-brewer couldn't prepare medicine for her himself." While the magician is away preparing medicine for another, his own mother dies at home, because he could not prepare any medicine for her. The idea is that no magician can preserve

62 He was probably executed.

63 They broke his neck. Compare pg. 282.

64 For more about types of death, ref: Death and Burial, esp. pg. 278 ff.

anybody's life. The second song says: *Dzotɔa dɛwo be dzo ble yewo, dzo ble wo loo*, "Some magicians say that their magic has deceived them; yes, the magic has deceived them." If a magician is called to a sick person who dies unexpectedly, he must be feeling ashamed, and as usually happens, shift the blame to his magic, which has deceived him. A third song says that magic is incapable of doing anything against God. It says: *Ati menye, tsonyegbe, zã nado*, "I am a tree, on the day that I will be cut down, the night will fall," before you have done your work. The idea is that a tree with hard wood cannot be felled in a single day. If somebody wants to kill a rich and illustrious man with magic, he will not finish before night falls, which means the magician must die himself, for the god which the rich man serves, will keep the influence of the magic away from him and kill the magician himself. This song is very instructive, for it a priest of a *trɔ̃* who sang it.

The position taken by the magician towards the pagan belief in God is, however not quite in contradiction. At the end of every prayer which they make to their charms, they do add: "If God permits, you will recover from this sickness!"

The entire magical medicine is thus largely based on fraud, but it is otherwise very closely related to their total religious outlook and is thus a strong statement that the Ewes find their gods inadequate.

II. Magic in Legal Life (the *Aka* system)

1. Names and description

Besides juju or magic, trial by ordeal, *aka*, has great power in the lives of the people. *Aka* is also magic. While *Dzo* has its main use in illnesses, *aka* is exclusively used in legal cases. The name *aka* can probably be best translated as "divine judgement". The translation does not correspond with the word, but with the meaning of the word, *aka*, has in the peoples' perception. The people are firmly convinced that in *aka*, the same secret magical power which is operative in *dzo* acts for right or wrong.

There is no possessor of *aka* in *Ho* itself, but in the neighbouring villages *Taviefe*, *Matse*, *Tanyigbe* and at *Aɔaklu*. The citizens of *Ho* mainly call the *aka* possessors from *Taviefe*, *Matse* and *Tanyigbe* for their cases.

I am acquainted with a total of five types of *aka*.

1. *Nyaɖe*.
2. *Amegã dɛkadɛ*.
3. *Amidzoka*.
4. *Adeto*.
5. *Amlatakpo*.

The *Amegã dɛkadɛ*, also called *agɔku*. The procedure during the employment of this *aka* is that the *aka* owner digs two holes approximately 30 cm. deep, into which a person can just stretch an arm. The end of a cord is put into each of the holes in such a way that one is firmly fixed in the hole while the other only lies loosely in it. No uninitiated person is allowed to witness these preparatory stages. When the *aka* owner is finished with the preparation, the people are told, "The *aka* is ripe!" They prevail upon each of the parties to put his head into the nooses tied into the cords. The man whom the *aka* owner wants to pronounce innocent, is made to put his head into the loosely buried noose, the other into the one which had been firmly stuck in the earth.

The *aka* owner then orders both to rise up. The one easily pulls the rope out of the sand, but for the other the cord remains in the earth, and he cannot get up. The latter is the guilty one, and has to pay the *aka* owner 12 *hotu*, a goat and a carton of brandy. He also has to pay the chiefs what they charge him.

In *Matse*, the people mainly use *Amidzoka*. It involves setting a bowl of palm oil on the fire and stirring it with an oily wood called *xe*, so that the oil boils fast. While the oil simmers, the *aka* owner grinds the *adefluid* plant, which contains a viscous juice, in a calabash, pours water on it and beats the leaves until a viscous slime is formed. He dips his hand into this. By this time, a thick cloud of smoke and flames is issuing from the boiling oil. The *aka* owner then spreads the fingers of the hand he had dipped into the mixture and slaps into the fire and the boiling oil, without coming to any harm. He then takes a grain of salt, moistens it with his tongue, calls out the name of the person who is to undergo the *aka* trial, and throws the grain of salt into the oil. If it then bursts, making the oil splash, the spectators start making their doubtful comments, like “He is guilty, he is certainly going to be caught by the *aka*!” If, on the other hand, it does not burst, then they see that as a sign of his innocence. The secret behind this is that either the grain of salt was too small or it already had a crack. The ‘*akator*’ now fetches cold oil out of a nearby pot, holds it in the thick smoke of the simmering oil and acts as though he were going to put it in. Before the laddle containing the oil is really warmed up, he quickly pulls it back and pours it into the man’s hand, for whom the salt did not burst when he was named. This one quietly keeps the oil in his palm, without showing any sign of pain. Into the palm of the other, however, he pours seething oil, making him withdraw his hand quickly. In this man’s case, the *aka* owner (*akator*) actually held the spoon of cold oil inside the seething mass and put that into his hand. He is the guilty party and has to pay the fine set.

Adeto or abika, “the needle prick”. The owner of *adeto* has two needles, each with a thread through it. One of them is pointed and sharp and the other blunt, usually broken off. The men under examination stick out their tongues, and the *aka* owner sticks the sharp needle through the tongue of one of them, who naturally expresses pain, and thereby proves his guilt. The tongue of the other man cannot be pierced with the blunt needle; in any case, it will be so manipulated that he feels no pain, and therefore is not guilty.

Amlatakpo, “the blunt knife”. The owner of *aka* has a short bush-knife with the tip broken off. This is laid in a fire until it glows. After this, he puts the leaves of the plant, *adefluid* on a wooden plate, pours water over it and grinds for a long time, until the water turns into a viscous slime. He then takes out a portion of this slime and smears his leg with it. He then runs the glowing metal over this place, without feeling any pain whatsoever. The metal is once again made glowing hot, and one of the men to be tested is summoned forward. He also has his leg smeared with the viscous slime, and the red hot metal is drawn over the place. He is not guilty if he does not feel any pain; but if his skin gets burnt, then he is guilty. The secret simply lies in the fact that he has smeared less of the paste on this man’s leg, but pressed the hot iron against it until his skin burned.

2. The acquisition of *aka*

Like *dzo*, *aka* is bought, but with the difference that the price of *aka* always remains the same. It costs 12 marks in cowry shells, two goats worth 5 to 6 marks, 4 fowls and four bottles of brandy. In addition there is 1 *hotu* worth of flour, 15 *hoka* worth of oil, 6 *hoka* worth of salt and 5 *hoka* worth of pepper.

The most important custom connected with the purchase is the contracting of blood brotherhood. It is undertaken in the following way. With a sharp knife, the *aka* seller makes three incisions in his forearm and does the same to the forearm of the buyer. They press lime juice into their bleeding wounds and suck the blood oozing out of each other's wounds. The seller swears to the buyer and says: "If you divulge this secret to any uninitiated person, you must die." The latter accepts this solemn declaration and sucks the bleeding wounds of the seller dry. From that time onwards both consider each other as brothers. The whole tribe of *aka* owners consider one another as members of one family. When an alien *aka* owner visits another, he may enjoy his hospitality for the whole day. They are also expected to help one another, if at all possible, when they are in financial difficulty.

From the animals slaughtered at the conclusion of the purchase, the buyer selects several pieces and sends a piece to each of the chiefs of the neighbouring clans. They continue the distribution, sends a portion, plus two cowry shells, to every village chief. If an *aka* owner lives in one of the villages, he receives a special individual portion. The new *aka* owner is thereby recommending himself, and letting it be known that he has bought *aka*, which he intends to inaugurate on such and such a day.

3. Inauguration

A few days before the festive day, the new *aka* owner provides himself with about 4 marks worth of palm wine, and twelve to twenty-four bottles of brandy. He further causes a large quantity of maize flour to be ground and buys enough oil, pepper and salt. The evening before the festival, he has three to four fowls and a goat slaughtered for the feast. On this day, all the invited chiefs appear, or send their representatives if they cannot come. Only men prepare the food. Palm wine and brandy are served in succession after the festival meal, so that all those present are happy and in good spirits.

At the end of the banquet, the new *aka* owner brings all the *aka* charms onto the street, where he spreads them before the assembled crowd, to offer sacrifices to them in the presence of the spectators. The sacrifice consists in smearing the charms with the blood of the slaughtered animals one after the other, and then sticking chicken feathers on them. While doing this, the supplicant says: "Take the blood and drink it, take the food and eat it!" Now he takes a small glass of brandy and sprinkles the consecrated objects with it, saying: "Take the brandy and drink it! If anyone has stolen, let the people come to me and let me perform the trial by ordeal, so that you would get more brandy and meat."

After the dedication is thus completed, he must then administer his first test. During the banquet, the new *aka* owner hoists a garment so that every one present could see it. Soon afterwards, the *aka* owner discovers that the garment has inexplicably vanished. He asks about it, looks for it, and finally turns to the invited guests to ask whether

any of them had not taken the garment. Each of them swears his innocence in the strongest terms. Since the lost article cannot be found anywhere, the thief must now be found through the *aka* which has just been consecrated. The family members of the *aka* owner and the invited guests must immediately undergo a trial. All the latter were called up, one after the other, but none was found guilty. Finally, it came to the turn of the relatives, and behold – one of them was discovered to be the thief! He suddenly cannot see anymore, and has thus given proof of his guilt. The spectators present break out in praises for the *aka* and exclaim, *ye, aka qi! aka qi!* “The *aka* has found him out, the *aka* has found him!” But the *aka* owner takes the discovered thief by the hand and leads him into his room, where he administers the required antidote for his eyes. The secret of the whole test is that the *aka* owner had previously arranged it with the one concerned. With this, the consecration has ended, and the invited guests go home with the consciousness that they have once again experienced “a good day”, and that they have acquired a new security for the administration of justice and righteousness.

4. Utilization

One does not have to wait long for an opportunity to try out the newly consecrated *aka*. One day, A.K. could not find his pig. The owner announced this several times, but without success. Nobody appeared to know anything about it. Soon, however, rumours were heard in town, that I.K. had stolen the pig, and consumed it with his friends on his farm. He had even given a thigh to the man from whom he had got his gun, he had given the head to So-and-so, and the rest of the meat he had sold to So-and-so's wife. Others maintained to the contrary that he had buried the pig on his farm, for they had seen traces of blood there. Nobody had the courage to declare himself a witness. Finally, the owner of the pig called upon an owner of *aka* in *Matse* who used the *amidzoka*. The inhabitants of town A. were first called for the test, but were found innocent. Then it was the turn of the representatives of town H., and they “remained in the *aka*”. Hereupon, the inhabitants of town H. had to come, one family after another, and among them, it fell on the family of K. When the family members of K. went individually to the *aka*, it was I.K. who was caught. He, however, did not recognize the verdict of the trial by ordeal and appealed to the chiefs to interrogate him in the presence of their witnesses. The one who claimed he saw blood on his farm and the one who supposedly received the thigh and the head should speak freely. As far as the authenticity of the trial by ordeal was concerned, just one thing amazed him, that those who were supposed to have got the head and the thigh from him were not found out through the trial. One would surely find the witnesses in the same way that they believed they had found him, the culprit. However, the chiefs did not accept the appeal for a legal investigation, and it rested with the verdict of the *aka*, because *aka* is the means “by the help of which the Blacks recover their lost articles.”

Let us now re-examine the action somewhat more closely. On a particular morning, the chiefs assemble with the village population under the shade trees of the village street. The chiefs sit separately; the *aka* owner also sits at his special place with his companions. The spectators are also allotted a special place. On his arrival at the execution place, the *aka* owner first draws a big circle with his sacred hoe. In the middle of this, he pours a heap of cowry shells worth 1 to 2 marks, and puts a calabash

full of water on it. Near it a second calabash of water stands on the ground. Nearby is a sack over which an umbrella is opened. Out of this sack he takes vulture feathers, spines of a porcupine and a tail whose upper part is streaked with red clay and the other part with white. From time to time, he dips the different articles in the water, lets it drip, and finally shouts: “The *aka* is ready!” The plaintiff gives a long speech, saying that his pig had been lost, and that he had done everything to recover it. Meanwhile, the companions standing behind the *aka* owner shout their support again and again to the plaintiff saying: “O, he speaks well! If he should take the *aka* test, he would surely emerge unharmed. The *aka* will not hurt him!” With these interjections they convey their opinion to the *aka* owner. Then the accused speaks, and even though he might bring convincing evidence to prove his innocence, the men behind the *aka* owner shout over and over, “No, that doesn’t sound right to me. What he is saying is not quite clear! He will not pass this *aka* test.” The plaintiff is the first to be summoned forward, kneels down before the calabash full of water and washes his face three times. The *aka* owner then takes a tail soaked with water and rubs it over his eyes, while telling him to clap his hands together by way of giving thanks. If that happens in an orderly manner, then his innocence has been proved. Because his eyes had not been injured, the one involved does not show any sign of irritation. The guilty person begins to feel pains in his eyes right after washing his face, because pepper has been mixed in the water provided for him. He immediately tries to remove something from his eyes, and cannot clap his hands together in an orderly manner. In addition, his eyes are touched with the tail soaked in water charged with pepper and poisonous juice,⁶⁵ as a result of which he initially loses his sight. The *aka* owner then sets him before him, holds his head, looks hard into his face, and blows a cowry shell which he has been holding in his mouth into each of his eyes. The spectators’ impression is that the cowry shells have fallen from the eyes of the examined plaintiff. The *aka* owner later squirts the juice of the *afla* herb into his eyes, which relieves the effect of the poison. The spectators express their pleasure with the winner with loud acclamation, while they mock the other. “He has remained in the *aka*! Have you seen that? It is he who has stolen the pig!” sounds from all sides.

The *aka* owner’s remuneration comprises 12 *hotu* in cowry shells, four fowls, a goat and four bottles of brandy. He always begins by charging twice this amount and only agrees on the reduction after a long plea by the debtor’s relatives.

5. The position of the *Akator/aka* owner in the national life and among his colleagues

The *aka* owners are very much feared among the people. It is claimed that such a person is superior to any opponent. His superiority may appear in the following manner. One who works seriously in the *aka* system, squeezes the milk-white juice of the poisonous *trodzo* plant into a calabash. He puts a number of little pebbles into this juice and leaves the calabash in the sun, where the juice slowly dries up. He carries these pebbles along in his loincloth wherever he goes. If a person starts a quarrel with him on the way, he would quickly take one of these little stones from his loincloth, put it into his mouth, and so softens the juice sticking to the pebble. (The *trodzo* juice is now mixed with his saliva.) Looking sternly into the eyes of his opponent, he says; “What, do you

65 The juice of the *trodzo* tree, a euphorbia species.

want to beat me, So-and-so?” and spits his saliva, mixed with poison, into his eyes. The opponent is suddenly disarmed, for he can no more use his eyes. His potential helpers flee, leaving their friend behind. Soon after this episode, a small group will be standing in the *aka* owner’s courtyard and plead with him for forgiveness. These are the same people who some days earlier or in the morning of the same day, had stood against him as enemies. Today they are supplicants before him. He should take the *aka* out of their brother’s eyes. He is prepared to comply with their pleas, for 24 *hotu* in cowry shells, eight bottles of brandy, a sheep or a goat. He takes the petitioner into the darkness of his room, and there he drops the juice of the oily plant, *flatogā*, into his eyes, to bring him back with sight to his people. The relatives, thankful that the *aka* owner restored their brother’s sight, pay what he charges, and go home with the lesson: *Mawu kple ame mekea di o*, “God and man do not vie with each other.”⁶⁶

The relationship of an *aka* diviner to his colleagues is of a very intimate nature. It often happens that a man found guilty during a trial by ordeal is not pleased with the judgment and says, “The *aka* of such and such a person is not good. I am going to such and such a person at *Aɖaklu* or *Mafi*.” However, he cannot do that in secret without first getting the approval of the chiefs and his relatives. They send along representatives as witnesses. As soon as the *aka* diviner hears that such and such a person wants to go to his colleague in *Aɖaklu* or *Mafi*, on that same evening he sends a messenger, who brings his colleague a foot shackle, two cowry shells, a piece of charcoal and some white clay. The messenger pronounces a name over each of these objects. The name of the person he had found guilty is pronounced over the charcoal, while the one his *aka* had found innocent is spoken over the white clay, thus giving his colleague information beforehand. The iron sent with it is for the *aka* owner the same as the staff is for a spokesman. It is evidence that the person sent comes on his orders. The two cowry shells mean that he has already declared so-and-so guilty. He has taken the cowry shells from among those on which the calabash with water stood, from which the aggrieved person had taken the *aka*. And so the judgment at *Aɖaklu* and *Mafi* has the same result as in *Taviefe* or *Matse*.

If an *aka* diviner wants one of his colleagues to come to him, he simply sends him the iron, and the person concerned understands that he is being called. This person sends back to his friend the iron with two, five or ten maize grains, from which he knows that the invited person expects to come to him in two, five or ten days. Thus, these persons form a closed society, on which the whole success of their fraudulent operations is based.

6. Some Experiences

In March of the year 1890, the paramount chief of *Tsibu* consulted his sub-chiefs. They were all of his opinion that the many cases of death in their midst were only attributable to the activity of wicked magicians. The chiefs agreed to invite a famous *aka* diviner from *Kpelē* and subject their whole village to a trial by ordeal, to find out for certain who the culprit was. The first chief did not imagine that he himself had already stood accused in a secret court of being a wicked magician. In the normal hearing, it came to his turn. Seven men, among whom was the first village chief, had to undergo a trial.

⁶⁶ Compare pg. 420.

They had to drink God's water. Immediately, three of them lay dead on the spot, and among these three was the first village chief. This event must have made a powerful impression on the inhabitants of *Tsibu*.

Around the same period, the chiefs of the village *Vakpo* came to the conclusion that wicked magicians must be among them. Every morning, they found blood traces on the walls of the huts in their village. In order to find out who had done the dreadful deed, they called an *aka* diviner by name *Adkw.* from *Matse*. He came to *Vakpo* with his magic bag, performed the trial with the people and found the right culprit. This fellow, quite a young man, was subjected to a lot of abuses and some maltreatment. The *aka* owner received 6 *hotu* cowry shells, a goat and some bottles of brandy as remuneration. As the chiefs went through the village on the following morning, they found the earlier blood traces again. That happened several days in succession. Beside themselves with fury that in spite of punishment, the person still pursued his heinous business of "eating human flesh", they now wanted to show him their power. Some among them, however, thought that they must first find out whether what they thought were blood traces actually were. The supposed blood spots were examined and it turned out that it was only the excrement of bats that had eaten red fruits. The man characterized as a secret magician now turned around and wanted to bring a complaint against the villagers. However, they brought him abundant gifts and asked him for forgiveness.

In a tribe neighbouring *Ho*, the people felt that, in the year 1891, the prevailing drought was particularly severe. The high priest there had claimed that their god was very angry with them and was therefore holding back the rain. The chiefs begged him to ask his god for the reason and inform them what he wanted from them. The god let them know that he was neglected too much. His priest should have a man to help him in his service. They should therefore gather some money to buy a man, who would assist the priest to serve him. About 300 *hotu* was raised, which the priest received. But instead of buying the desired man for his god, he spent the money for himself. Now, as the drought did not let up in spite of their efforts, they called an *aka* diviner to find out the cause of the drought. He was instructed to find out whether a god or a black person was the cause of the drought. The judgment was that the priest of the *trõ* was to blame for the great drought because he had embezzled the money entrusted to him. The people wanted to kill him, but he fled and took refuge with the King of *Ho*. Meanwhile, it rained again and he got away with a fine imposed on him by his tribesmen.

In the year 1892, the people of *Ho* suffered very much from a general drought. The cause was to be determined through a trial by ordeal. An *Aka* owner was brought for this purpose. He was given the task of finding out whether a human being was to blame for the drought or whether it came from a *trõ*. He used the simmering oil and found that the *trõ* *Agbasia* had caused the drought. He was very angry because he was no longer receiving goats. Formerly, he was offered sacrifices regularly but now no more sacrifices are made to him. He was so incensed about it that he held onto the rain. On 22nd July, therefore, the two town sections *Axõe* and *Heve* went to the offering place of *Agbasia* and brought him the desired goats. However, the rain did not come as soon as they expected.

In the year 1881, I was an eye witness in the village *Waya* when a man found guilty during a trial by ordeal was executed.

The man was forcibly brought to the edge of his open grave in the bush. Two men offered him palm wine mixed with brandy in a human skull to drink. Then they threw a white cloth over him; two men armed with cudgels fell on him and beat his head and body till he dropped dead into the grave. A chief shot his gun over him. The grave was filled up, and the people went home. On the way home, all those involved washed their feet in the bush in a stream.

Part Three: Religious concepts, of various content

1. Mythological perceptions about animals and about bad harvests⁶⁷

On 28th December, 1891, a man in the town *Tokoe* told me that he had left the town a long time ago to live in a hut on a plantation out in the bush. He had to watch over his farm because animals would otherwise eat up what he planted. After he had presented me with a yam, he said that he would immediately go back to the farm. When I asked him whether he wanted to return there today, he replied with the general saying: “I don’t know; I am in God’s hands”. I: “How then do you know that you are in God’s hands?” He: “God gave us life and gives us our food. He can make me die right now, if He wants. But not only for the human being, but also animals are in God’s hand. If God does not want the animals to die, then the hunter goes hunting for nothing. A wild animal hides in the bush, and no one can find it. However, if God wants it to die, the animal moves until the hunter sees it. It moves in the forest. If the hunter is not there, it runs in the bush and has no rest until it is shot. Animals are cleverer than human beings because they serve God better than human beings do. If a hunter sets a trap, animals go straight up to the tautly drawn rope. However, they do not go over it. The animal holds his leg up but does not tread on the rope, but rather turns around. Why does it not step on the rope? God has told him: ‘Do not step on it, otherwise you must die!’”

Animals break into a plantation and eat the farmer’s crops. He watches over his farm with his gun in the hand. But behold, from now on the animal does not come to this place anymore. God has told him, ‘Do not go there; otherwise you will be shot by the hunter!’ The animals believe what God tells them. That is why they are cleverer than human beings. When you tell a black person: ‘There is danger there, do not go there!’ he will insist on going there because otherwise he would be considered a coward and his comrades would mock him. It is not so with animals. Their comrades do not mock them if they avoid danger. Why is that so? They serve God better than human beings do. One doesn’t see them sacrificing under the trees, only humans sacrifice under the trees, and yet the animals serve God better than humans do.⁶⁸ Currently, animals have retreated to God, so that there are none anymore. Formerly, there were wild animals in abundance, but that is no longer so.

Why? The animals have fled to God. Human beings are much more foolish than cattle.

Formerly, there was plenty of food: yam, maize and groundnuts. In those days yam was bigger than today. Three pieces that now cost 25 *hoka* cowry shells used to cost 1 *hoka*. Three big calabashes of oil cost five cowry shells. Now the soil is no longer any

67 A conversation.

68 Compare pg. 429 and 467.ββ.

good. God sent his child to the earth and charged him to buy yam.⁶⁹ It bought three pieces for 25 *hoka* as well as oil and meat. When it got back again it was asked by God about the price of this foodstuff. He was very surprised and said: “What one formerly bought for 1 *hoka* now costs 25, and for what formerly cost five cowry shells one now pays 5 *hoka*. From what the son of God had brought, the children of God could not eat their fill. Once again God sent his son to earth, and the foodstuff was just as expensive. That is why God ordered yam, maize, beans and all the other farm produce to remain with him and not go to human beings any more.”⁷⁰

2. Belief in Witchcraft

Adze, witchcraft, is one of the most fearful powers in *Eve* land because a person possessed by *adze* is said to be able to do things that are not only impossible for other human beings to do, but which they also abominate. *Adze* loves the night, and is only active when others are asleep. Not only old women and men but also nice looking young men and women can be possessed by *adze*, without even knowing it. When people want to sleep *adze* comes over them, takes them along wherever they go, leads them onto trees and into the air. However, that is not a permanent but a temporary state. *Adze* only takes possession of its victims from time to time and during the night.

Adze appears in the form of a flame that comes out of the mouth and nose of a sleeping person. The flame sometimes resembles a hand that opens and closes. Another time it resembles a snake, that shoots out of the head of the person it has possessed and then disappears again. Young *Foli*’s father in *D* often provides accommodation for Hausa caravans from the interior. *Foli*, who was sleeping in an adjoining room, had to get up during the night and, in order to get outside, pass by his father’s guests. At the sight of one of them he was horrified: the mouth and breath of a young Hausa shone bright. He wanted to shout but he could not, till the stranger left.

Adze goes out mainly for blood and it can enter a bedroom in the middle of the night, even if doors are completely closed, to suck the blood of the sleepers. As they suck the blood of their victim, no one ever wakes up from sleep, even when many people are sleeping in the same room. When the blood-sucking *adze* is satisfied, it goes away unnoticed just as it came. Its victim becomes sick a day or two later and wastes away miserably. The sick person does not know the cause of her or his suffering, but others do. They saw *adze* going to her or him repeatedly in the course of the night.

From the above, it can be observed that *adze* is recognized by its ability to shine like a flame or like a firefly. According to others, it looks like a torch in which the coals die down from time to time and then always flame up again. Whoever has the courage to go towards this light, grasp it firmly and ask after its name, suddenly discovers a person. As soon as a person possessed by *adze* is caught, the light disappears, and the man or woman urgently begs that he or she should not be betrayed. If the request of the person is granted, they consider the person from now on as their friend and do not trouble him. Many persons possessed by *adze* even present plenty of gifts to the person who catches them, to protect themselves from betrayal. In *A*., a man must have been caught not less than five times by a person who was given many gifts by the possessed

69 Compare pg. 558

70 Compare pg. 558

person every time. However, the fifth time he revealed the matter, and the possessed person must have been killed.

The *adze* is always hungry. One can keep it at arms length by giving it a little of one's food. It likes that and when it is satisfied it is entirely happy. At night it also goes for the palm oil in the field, which it is particularly fond of drinking. It pursues persons that it has an eye on until it has quenched its thirst with their blood. *Adze* stays the breath of whoever comes near it. It is, therefore, advisable to hold one's breath oneself as soon as one notices it.

House owners whose houses are frequented by many strangers are in the habit of offering water to arriving strangers before they talk to them, because they do not know whether one of them is not possessed by an *adze*. If it quenches its thirst with the water, it leaves him in peace. Others are in the habit of always setting aside some of their food, to be able to serve immediately any stranger that might come. Should there be someone possessed by an *adze* among them, it can satisfy its hunger with this food and leave the person in peace. The custom that housewives must always see to it that the pots standing in her hut are always filled with water also rests on this belief.

3. Prayers and Speeches

a. Prayers to the palm plantation,⁷¹ directed at the ancestors.

1. Prayer: "O you ancestors of ancestors! I have ordered the children to make a small sacrifice to you. That is why I bring to you (the forest) flour! I pray you, accept it! Let us remain healthy on account of this sacrifice! May the fresh laid egg remain on the breast of its mother!⁷² Because they are coming to fell palms for me, I sprinkling a sacrifice of flour on the mound that they remain healthy. Here is also flour water, drink it in addition, so that they do not get body pains. If they make palm wine, may the palm wine flow copiously, and may the pots overflow! May the sales be good, that I may pay my debts! Then whatever you request from me, I shall give you."

2. Prayer: "O you ancestors! See, I have not come in my own name, but rather I am here in the place of the grandfathers and grandmothers. It is no robbery if they fell the palm trees. May I not have headache and stomach ache when they fell the palm trees. May the palm wine flow, and may the pots overflow!"

3. Prayer: "O you grandfathers and grandmothers! I have been sent by the elders, and I bring you your palm wine! May you please accept it and drink, in order that the palm wine flows and overflows the pots, that I do not have any stomach ache, my body remains healthy and I do not have pain anywhere in my body!"

A sacrifice, which consists of a hen's egg and white flour and flour mixed with oil, follows these prayers. Soil around a thick tree is hoed up, a mound made and the sacrifice put down on it. Apart from that, palm wine for the dead is placed in a broken pot or a calabash at a crossroads leading to the palm wine tapper's. In addition to that, a prayer is said: "O, you the departed, here is your palm wine! You should take it and drink it. Put your hand into it, but do not touch mine!" This palm wine consists of

⁷¹ Before a farmer fells oil palms he prays to the palm plantation and makes a sacrifice to it. However, the prayers and sacrifices are meant for the ancestors.

⁷² The mother is the palm plantation and the freshly laid egg is the descendants of the former owners of the forest, who now want to make palm wine.

foam scooped from the big palm wine pot. As long as palm wine is being made, it must be changed for the ancestors everyday. The palm wine foam meant for them must be scooped from the pot with the left hand.

4. **Prayer:** “O you forefathers of the ancestors of my ancestors! I am hungry and have therefore charged the children to come and crack some nuts for me.” (With these words the supplicant takes a sharp iron digging tool *fitsui* in his hand, makes the first thrust against the roots of a palm⁷³ and continues to pray.) “I have taken the tool for felling palm trees. I have come to thrust it under the palms. I have not thrust it by my own authority, but I have thrust it by the authority that I have received from you, my ancestors. May those who have come to fell the palms not have headache! May my body remain healthy, and may the bodies of those who fell the palms remain healthy! Yes, yes, yes, so be it!”

b. Speeches

α. Before social drinking

“Greetings to you; you are welcome! The elders say that ‘three is life’ (*et̃ enye agbe*). Look, I was at home when *Kwasi* came and asked me to come. I came and he brought a big gourd full of palm wine and requested that I give it to the elders. When I had brought the palm wine to the elders, they consulted and remarked: ‘We must thank the donor of the palm wine.’ After that they charged me to remain by the palm wine and dip it out. And I dipped for a long time, until the palm wine was drunk. But that was not much; let a big gourd full come! And I will stay by it again and dip out for you. Yes, then I will stand up quickly and take the gourd from the fence, to dip for you.”

β. After social drinking

“O you *tr̃wo* of the home land, you, whose number we are not capable of counting! May the one who has given us palm wine remain healthy! And may we, who have drunk the palm wine, also remain healthy! This belongs to you (with that the supplicant pours palm wine on the ground). We beg you, drink! May it rain! When they go into the bush may they capture the dead and capture the living. And may it stink behind the house!”

4. Sneezing

Sneezing is suppressed everywhere because it is considered to be unseemly. The person sneezing says: *Mege le avuwo sime*, “I have escaped the force of the dogs”, meaning I have been delivered from my enemies. In the morning, one should not sneeze in front of an old man. Sneezing on the right side of another person means good luck; a friend will come on a visit or something else will happen that makes the person happy. He gets a gift or hears “any nice word”. If you sneeze on the left side of another person it means something terrible, usually news of the death of a close relative or a friend. It is also a sign that a quarrel would break out on that day. Whoever is about to set off on a journey and hears sneezing on his left, tells himself that ill luck awaits him. Where

possible he goes back, because he says: *Mekli afo vɔ̃*, “I have inadvertently hit my foot,” or “I will be unlucky.”

5. People and events that bring bad luck

A man, who goes on a journey after the birth of his son and meets a man first, has met his luck or an *ame nyuie*, also *alo nyuie*, “a good person” or “good arm”. If he first meets a woman, he has met an *alo vɔ̃*, “an evil arm”, meaning his bad luck. If a couple gets a son again after the birth of their first born son *Kofi*, and *Kofi* knocks his right foot against something, it means he is lucky. On the other hand, if he knocks his left foot, that means bad luck. If *Kofi* has no younger sisters and brothers and knocks his right foot, it means he is lucky. On the other hand, knocking the left foot means ill luck. If a daughter was born after him, knocking his left foot brings good luck, but knocking his right foot brings bad luck.

There are some individual traders who see it as a bad sign, when the first buyer who comes to them is a woman. They would rather wait, until a man appears as buyer.

If delivery by a woman for whom a difficult delivery was feared goes well, that is a sign that the child is a good child, *ɔ̃vi la fe ta fa wu ma*, “The child’s head is cooler than *ma*”,⁷⁴ for it has not caused its mother any pains.

6. Animals that bring good and bad luck

When the crow, *akpavia*, crows near a gathering, that is a sign that somebody has died. The screeching of the owl, *favievuto*, shows that someone has died, or that someone will soon die in the house close to where it is hooting or on whose roof it is. Its nocturnal hooting is a wailing, during which blood falls from its eyes instead of tears. The name of the bird means: “The one out of whose eyes blood drips when it weeps”. Its other name *adzexe* means “witchcraft bird”. *Kanga*, vulture, is also a bird that brings ill luck.

The names of the dog, the cat and the monkey should not be mentioned in the presence of certain people while they are eating. However, if that happens, they leave their food and walk away. By way of precaution, these people keep a blade of grass or a piece of wood between the toes, to avert any possible danger.

Birds of good luck are the clock bird, *avese*, the *vanyivanyi*, the dove, the guinea fowl, the partridge, *tegli* and *adamexe*.⁷⁵

7. Water People

The belief in water people, *loklovi*, is generally widespread in *Eve* land. It refers to the so-called sirens, sea-cows,⁷⁶ also termed bull fish, that live in Lake Chad and in the upper courses of the big West African rivers as well as in the small coastal rivers. The natives say that water people live on the point where two rivers meet, and sometimes show themselves at the surface and then suddenly disappear again. *I.K.* claimed to

74 This means it is a lucky child.

75 *Adamee* is a sparrow-like, dirty brown bird that announces the first dawn, particularly during the rainy season.

76 According to Brehm: *manatus senegalensis*.

have seen in full daylight a woman who was bathing in the River *Tɔdzĩe* and suddenly disappeared into the water when she caught sight of him.

2. Main Section: World View

I. The World as a Whole

According to some indications, the world view of the people of Ho originates from the observation that heaven touches the earth all round its outmost ends. Heaven and earth form together a hollow ball, on whose lower part, the earth rests; the cover spread over it, heaven. The hollow space between the two halves is inhabited by human beings. The lower and the upper part of this hollow sphere are in a conjugal relationship with each other. Heaven is the husband of Mother Earth, and their marriage is the archetype of human marriage. That is why in many prayers the wish is expressed, *Agba kple tre dome nasɔ*, “May the bowl and its cover”, meaning husband and wife, “be in harmony with each other.”

Another, parallel, concept can possibly be related to the first. According to this concept, the world consists of four storeys, one above the other, two of which, heaven and earth, lie next to each other. The other world that is not visible to the human eye is the uppermost and first storey, where God Himself lives with His personal attendants. On the other hand, the lowermost storey is a land below our earth, which is inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Each of the two middle storeys, earth and the visible heaven, is heaven for those living under the storey and earth for those living on that storey.⁷⁷ In the light of this perception, it is understandable that while we were opening a 20-metre deep well shaft in the rock, the people of Ho often begged us to stop because otherwise we would break into the land of the spirits or, as they put it, would “come to the god’s abode”. One day, the chief there stood alarmed at the edge of the well, and when we requested him to look down, he said he could not because he would have “bad dreams”.

⁷⁷ According to this concept, the land that lies under our earth would be the actual earth, while human beings as well as the beings who inhabit the visible heaven or the earth above, and finally God, who inhabits the invisible heaven with his personal attendants each inhabits one storey or a heaven of this world construction.

In a house that consists of one storey and a roof space above it, the storey as well as the roof space above it is called *dzifo*. Only those who live on the earth inhabit the lowest part of the house.



A baobab tree, *adido*

The world is often compared with the *adido*, baobab tree, *xexeme enye adido*, “the world is an *adido* tree” whose mighty trunk cannot be spanned by an individual person. In the same way, the trunk of the mighty world tree cannot be spanned by human beings. It is God, who surrounds the world, knows it and spans it, for heaven surrounds us wherever we live. The human being moves in this space, but never comes to a point where the borders of the world are ascertainable. The world is before and behind him. Based on this fact, he comes to the conclusion, “The world is God and God is the world”.

In spite of that, the people of *Ho*, and with them all the inhabitants of the interior, limited the term “world” in former times to the *Eve* land that they inhabited. That is why that small area with the heaven above it seems to them as a boundless space. In former years, the inhabitants of the interior could never leave their homeland, or only very seldom and with great apprehension. The prevailing tribal hostilities at the time made travelling impossible for them. In this way, they lived uninterrupted on the same piece of land and under the same heaven, whereby they gradually developed the conception that an individual can only live safely under the piece of heaven above his head. When the old king *Kofi* was prevailed upon by the chiefs of *Tovee* to surrender to the *Asante* during the *Asante* war, he refused categorically, on the grounds that here he would not live under his own heaven.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Compare pg. 40.

The world has covered the face of individual persons, so that they are not able to see anything. The world is the place for the human being, where he lives in darkness with regard to the most important things, or like in the dark of night. He lives in the world just like the fish in water who knows nothing about what happens at the bank of the river. It swims happily around in the water; but on the bank of the river the fisherman sets his net, and in the next moment he casts it into water to catch the fish and pull it to the bank. The fowl is cheerful and happy about its life, but does not know that in the next moment its master's knife will cut its throat. Thus the human being also lives in darkness. He cannot fathom the world and does not know what will happen to him in the next moment. "At night you do not see the poisonous snake that lurks to bring your life to a sudden end". Now a person is cheerful and happy about his existence, and the next moment, death stands before him. Only God knows what awaits a person because He encompasses the world. That is why the world is *dza si ame*, "stinging nettle that stings a person". It is further a *batahu* "suffering, misfortune", surrounding a person. "If your husband dies, and you are left behind alone, if your children die or you grieve because you do not have a son, thus you suffer from it. You are stung by the stinging nettle".

II. Parts of the World

A. The Earth

There is nothing else one can know about the origin of the Earth except that it comes from God, for He is the mother of everything that exists, *Mawunɔ*. The whole *Eve* land, including trees, stones and human beings, they all were sent by God. No one can know how it happened. "As little as the son asks his father about how he begot him, just so little should a person ask about the origin of being." His thinking, therefore, is limited to the purely factual, without bothering about cause and purpose. However, where the human heart was moved by the question of where the earth came from, people provided a double answer, that finds characteristic expression in the words *dzo*, "be born" and *wɔ*, "make". The earth suddenly came into being in the form in which we now see it, which is why together with the whole universe it is called *kodzogbe*, "the visible", the earthly. This is in contrast to the one hidden in the dark, *le vivime*. Our earth was also once in darkness, from which, however, it emerged suddenly and unmediated. Beside this notion, one also comes across the idea of an actual creation, whose genesis cannot be conjectured other than that it was accomplished in the way that human beings normally work. When God made the earth, he took a rest from time to time under the *trodzo* tree, a kind of euphorbia.⁷⁹ That was the first tree that came into being at the same time as the earth. The milk-white juice of the *trodzo* tree is very poisonous and is used mainly by organizers of trials by ordeal, to make the guilt of a person clear through its use. Thus a poisonous tree was the first plant that emerged at the same time as the earth, and this tree is the marker of God's resting places during creation.

The course of the creation was as follows: God took stones and placed them one on top of the other. He covered these stones with soil. Rocks in the soil are what bones are

⁷⁹ Compare pg. 540.

for the human body or the beams for a house. They are the firm supporting structure and carrier of the whole. God did His work bit by bit, today a little and tomorrow a little, and, when He had finished one bit, He felt the need to take a rest.

The earth is inhabited by human beings and animals. They are *xexemenu*, “object of the world”. All other things like trees and stones fall under this term.

B. Heavens

1. The visible sky

The visible heaven is called *dzifo*, *dzingbe*, *dzimenyi*, *dzingoli* and *dzingɔ*.

Dzifo. Similar combinations of words are found in *asifo me*, *afɔfo me*, *mɔfo me*. In all these words, *fo* means “strike”. *Asifo me* is the inner, smooth and firm flat of the hand. *Mɔfo me* means the smooth, trodden centre of the path, and *afɔfo me* is the part of the foot between the heel and the toes, thus the sole. *Dzifo* means a smooth and firm area above, from which nothing ever crumbles away because it is firm and robust.

Dzingbe. A similar combination is found in *nugbe*. *Nugbe* means: “distance” or “over land” and is in contrast with *dɛ*, “homeland”. Accordingly, *dzingbe* would be in contrast with the earth and perhaps means “area, land above” that is far from the earth.

Dzimenyi or *dzimenyigba* means: “The earth above”. Thus, heaven is imagined to be an earth just like the earth below, on which human beings live.

Dzingɔ or *dzingoli* is the “front”, visible part “of heaven”, behind which there is an invisible back side, the actual heaven. *Xɔŋɔ* means the frontage of a house, especially what is ‘in front of the house’. What we see of heaven is only its front, that side which is revealed to the eye. To this visible surface of heaven corresponds a side turned away from the eye, a rear, inner or upper side, *dzi*. Heaven thus has a side turned towards the person and a side turned away from the person. The inhabitant of the interior imagines the heaven as earth above, like the earth that is inhabited by him. It is not “something thin”. If it were thin, it would have collapsed long ago through the “shaking of powerful thunderclaps”, and fallen on human beings. Anything that can resist these thunderclaps must be very firm. In heaven there are plains, mountains, swamps and dry land. The visible heaven is inhabited by *trɔwo* and *Mawu Sogblɛ*, who has been installed as chief of the gods. Apart from them, there are beings similar to humans there, among whom some have tails. They celebrate feasts there, but have the desire from time to time to go down to the earth by means of a long rope, to fetch earthly food from the farms of the inhabitants of the earth.⁸⁰ However, they must not eat this on earth because they would otherwise not be able to return to their earlier home, heaven. Therefore take the food along just as it is to their dwelling, heaven, to eat.

Heaven is only venerated under the names *dzingbe* and *ya*. Thus it is clear that the reason for the veneration lies in the infinity of the heavenly space, as well as heaven’s light, splendour and brightness.

The various appearances of heaven are neither ascribed to *dzifo* nor *dzingɔ*, but to *dzingbe*. Just as a human being applies ointment to his body every day, *dzingbe* covers its body with *ye*, light. The dress that it wears is white. Apart from that, it can dress colourfully or in blue (black). The idiom is: *Dzingbe ta klala* or *eta ye*, meaning “Heaven

80 Compare pg. 544 above.

dresses in white” or “in light”. *Dzingbe ta ηota ηota* means: “Heaven dresses colourfully.” *Dzingbe ta bisi (yibɔ)* means: “Heaven dresses in blue, black.”

2. The invisible heaven

The invisible part of it is not described in detail, but only described as *Mawu*’s dwelling.⁸¹

3. Clouds, Rain and Rainbow

a. The clouds

The clouds are called *aliliikpo*. The word *kpo* occurs in the combination *atikpo*, “cudgel”, and in *ame takpo*, “torso”.

Kpo means something short, blunt, and formless. Accordingly, the cloud is something existing in the air that is blunt, short and shapeless. *Aliliikpo* is the cloud formation that is known to us as stratus cloud and rain cloud, “stratus” and “nimbus”. The small white clouds (fleecy clouds) are called *deble* or *debreku* because they contain no water and deceive humans. The big, white cumulus clouds that bear a resemblance to huge cotton balls are termed *srɔ̃* or *sru*. When this cloud moves from west to east, people say: *Srɔ̃ eyi tsiflefe*, “The cloud is going to buy water” or *Srɔ̃ eyi agbe me tsi fle ge*, “The cumulus cloud is going out into the world to buy water.” During the rainy season, it goes its way in the morning and comes back in the course of the afternoon with the water that it has bought. When dark clouds form after a long drought without bringing about rain, the people call that *tsi luvɔ*, “the soul, the shadow of water”. In many places rising steam seems to have acquired this name, too. In the misty rays that are sometimes seen through the foliage of trees, especially when the sun shines brightly on their crowns after a rainfall, the eye of the inhabitant of the interior sees the looms of the spirits of the deceased. In common parlance it is said: *Adifiewo le dɔ lɔm*, “The spirits of the dead are weaving.”

b. Rain

The rain is in a big pot in heaven, which is filled by the sons of God. From time to time, God has his sons scoop water in an *asɔe*, “a strainer”. Others say that the pot overflows by itself, and from that rain follows. From the descriptions given earlier, it can be observed that in rain God’s tears are sometimes seen, which He weeps because *Sogblɛ* and *Sodza* are quarrelling with each other. Yet others say that during a rain, we only have God’s drops of sweat, that fall from His body⁸² to the earth

c. Rainbow

The rainbow, *anyievɔ*, “the big snake of the earth”, is seen by our natives as a living being that immediately devours the people on whom it falls. This belief is particularly professed by hunters, who are often in the bush. The snake of the earth hides in termite

⁸¹ Compare the section “*Mawu*”

⁸² From heaven.

Nb. “*Anyievɔ*”: is that “The python of earth”?

hills and from there usually rises up after a rainfall. The rainbow and termite hills are therefore feared. While hunters hold on firmly to the belief that the snake of the earth devours human beings, on the other hand, they also spread the belief that at both points where the rainbow touches the earth, a lot of precious beads are left. The lucky finder will suddenly become rich through that.

In the year 1858, Missionary Schlegel wrote the following in the missionary *Journal of the North German Mission*:

“The beauty and the fascination of mysterious, hidden treasures, riches and powers of the earth present themselves in a very striking manner in *anyievo*, the rainbow. To be sure it appears in the clouds, but this is only the reflection of the being, the reflected splendour of a power that is on and in the earth. When the giant python that lives in the desert far away in the bush and forest and in the earth mounds goes out and eats grass, it is reflected in the clouds, or expressed in the mind of the *Eve*, “Its soul goes up above the clouds to promenade with the powerful spirits of on high, *dzi*. It visits heaven.” When the rainbow appears in the clouds the *Eve* believes that the giant python is returning from heaven, and the saying goes, *Anyievo dzi*, meaning “the giant python, namely its soul, descends into its body.” By this it is said that the rainbow is shining. Sometimes *anyievo* takes along its wife, which one knows when the rainbow is reflected in the clouds and appears double. Then the saying is: Husband and wife are descending. Because the rainbow is so multicoloured and beautiful, the *Eve* conclude that the giant python must have fine, very beautiful beads on its body, beads that are dug from the soil in the town *Feda* in *Dahome* and are very costly. The red, the dark blue and the light brown beads actually come from the giant python. That is why it reflects so beautifully and multicoloured in the rainbow.

When the soul of *anyievo* is on a pleasure trip and it happens that one who knows about these things shoots it, in the decomposed parts of the corpse are found the above-mentioned beads, the most precious known to the *Eve*. Also connected with this is the fact that the female sex, particularly young women, generally adorn themselves with beads.

Anyievo is mainly venerated as a god in the interior of the *Eve* land to acquire treasures and obtain pleasures of this earth.”

d. Celestial bodies

1. The sun, *ye*

In the perception of the people of *Ho* and the neighbouring tribes, the sun, as a good child of God, is of the greatest importance among the celestial bodies. It is called *ye* and according to some it is “the eye of heaven”. The sun rises in the morning from the interior of the earth, *tso agu me*, at the point where heaven and earth touch each other. It goes up higher and higher, until it “stands above human beings” from twelve noon to two o’clock in the afternoon. The expression for it is *ye do ta*, “The sun is at the zenith.” From two o’clock “it turns”, *ye trɔ*, to set, *ye do to*. “The sun goes deep down (sets)” around six o’clock. After it sets, it shines for the spirits of the deceased that inhabit *tsiefe*, “the underworld”. When it is daybreak for humans, it is night for the inhabitants of the underworld. When it is night for us here on earth, on the other hand, the day breaks there.

The sunset glow occurs when the sun “breaks the oil pot”, *ye gbã amigo*. A particularly strong and prolonged sunset is the sign of impending bad luck, by which the entire will be confounded.

In the olden days, the opinion must have prevailed that each village and each town had its own sun and its own moon. Currently, people have come to the perception that the belief held by the ancient people was wrong, and that only one sun and only one moon shines for all. In view of this fact, they conclude that “God is great, and there is nothing whose might and wisdom reaches up to God’s might and ability.” He surpasses everything.

Contrary to this view, there are others according to whom, during the night, the sun goes back to the east in the same way it travelled during the day. It covers its face with all sorts of filth, which, however, falls to earth on its return to the east. In the morning, its face is then fresh and clear again and shines like the day before. Its return from the west to the east takes place rapidly at midnight. Whoever has the misfortune to see it on the way must die.

A man by name *Kdg.* must have seen it. This informant narrated, “We came from *Bato* and were cooking at night in a village. During this work, I saw the moon at the northern horizon and sun in the east as a yellowish ball. When I drew the attention of my companions to this phenomenon, they were frightened and said that I should be quiet and hold my peace”. That is why the old people seriously warn young people and say, one should not go out around midnight. However, if one has to get up from bed around midnight, one should carefully avoid looking up into the sky and then hurry back as fast as possible into his hut.

The duty of the sun is to illuminate the earth. Human beings and animals are happy with its light. This bright eye of the sky sees everything that happens on the earth and is witness to good and evil. It even sees the inner thoughts of human beings. On its way back from the west to the east it goes in the course of the night to the deity *Sodza* and reports to him about everything he has seen during the day. He is, therefore, also seen as God’s servant and envoy. Just as he is God’s agent on the one hand, he is the agent of human beings on the other; namely, if an afflicted person complains to him in the evening about his suffering or another person expresses gratitude and asks him to report what he has told him during the night to the deity *Sodza* himself.

The actual reason why the sun shines every day and moves slowly from east to west resides in the activity of God’s “sons” or “messengers”, whose duty it is to keep the sun’s face clean daily and to ensure that nothing covers it. They are also the ones that pull the sun very slowly, as at a big wheel, and lead it from its rising to the setting.

The sun is actually the abode of the deceased; at any rate, it is a particular section of them, and, depending on which category of the deceased one wants to pray to, one directs oneself towards the east or towards the west. In the morning, between six and eight o’clock, the spirits that live in the sun (*amalédwo* and *gbetsi vōwo*) want to take a stroll. Both of them join together. During this time, children should not be in the lanes alone, because the evil *gbetsi* would attack and kill them. Whoever prays to an evil *gbetsi* or to the deceased, turns his face towards the morning sun, that is towards the east. The person who is praying stretches out his hands and mentions the name of the dead toward which he turns with the request that he should no longer torture the sick

So-and-so lying at home. A sacrifice of rubbish, burnt yams and burnt maize is brought for them, and placed along the way near the tools of the deceased.

Midday at 11 until 2 o'clock in the afternoon is the time for strolling by blood people, *ametsiavawo*, "those who have fallen in battle". They are buried at this time and come to town and on the field paths at midday. People do not travel when the sun is over head, because, between 12 and 2 o'clock, the spirits of "the fallen in battle" go round.

Eclipse of the sun occurs when God covers the face of the sun as with a veil or dress, so that it becomes dark on the earth. Human beings then get frightened and tremble; for God is angry with humans on account of their many infractions of the law and intends to destroy them all. However, He does not do it, but thinks that He is the "sculptor", *mela*, of man. The sculptor should not smash the vessel he has made. It is said of this manifestation, *Sokpoe do agu dzi egbe*, "Today God's wrath or anger is riding on the sun." This expression is also used in daily life when someone looks angry. God makes the sun shine again out of sympathy for human beings.

Another notion is that eclipses of the sun occur when the inhabitants of heaven wash their dresses and dry them in front of the sun. The shadow of their dresses then falls on the earth.

2. The Moon, *yleti*

a. The phases of the moon⁸³

The different phases of the moon are:

Full moon, *yleti so*, "the moon is proper", is full, it lacks nothing.

New moon, *yleti ku*, "the moon is dead".

Crescent moon, first quarter and half moon, *yleti ele glāle*, "the moon is semicircular". About this shape of the moon it is also said *edze ave dzi*, "the moon falls on the forest", it is low or deep in the horizon.

It will soon be full moon: *yleti de blibo wɔm*, "the moon is about to become whole", it is "waxing".

About the waning moon it is said, *yleti ele kakam*, "the moon is waning." Three days after the full moon, it is said: *yleti ble dɛwo*, "the moon has deceived some people". If town dwellers want to come together for an evening play, the moon deceives them because now it rises again later.

About the last quarter of the moon, it is said, *koklo tso ble yleti*, "the moon resembles the tail of the fowl". Another description of the last quarter is: *yleti ele xexe dɔm*, "the moon is sleeping in the open". What is meant by that is that after daybreak it is still in the sky.

b. The fence of the moon

A big, misty circle sometimes forms around the moon. The *Ho* people call this phenomenon *yleti fe kpɔtɔtɔ*, "the moon's fence". The moon's fence is a sure sign for a year of good rains.

When the moon is covered by clouds, "the water", *tsi*, has "covered the face of the moon".

⁸³ Compare pp. 311, 2.

c. The mythological meaning of the moon

The duty of the moon is to drive away darkness and illuminate the night. Like the sun, he is the messenger of the deity *Sodza*, whose task is to tell everything evil or good that happens at night. He is a witness of all the evil things that are committed at night. Although he covers his face during the new moon, he sees and hears everything that happens on earth. During the day, he stands before the god *Sodza* and reports to him what he saw at night. However, he is thought capable of the wickedness of concealing from God much of what he has seen. After the moon has died, (new moon), he is always allowed to come back to life. But if a black person dies, he never comes back to earthly life. The reason for this phenomenon is that the moon did a job God assigned to him, which man had refused to do.

At one time the moon made a crooked deal with the sun. One day he suggested to the sun that they should kill their children and eat them. The sun agreed with the moon's suggestion and surrendered his children first. They killed and ate them. But when it came to the turn of the moon's children he took and hid them in a big water pot, *zo me*. The next evening he let all of them out of the pot. The sun let himself be deceived and, therefore, since that time, has no children. But the moon's children (the stars) are all there. That is why God is fond of the sun, but not of the moon, the bad child of God.

God's drummer, who is the director and chief of all drummers, lives in the moon. He teaches them how to play drums. The drummers therefore address him in the language of drums before they start playing, as they say: *taflatse, taflatse, megana be, agblo abu dem o*, "Please, please, do not let the drumstick get lost from me (fall out of my hand)!"⁸⁴ Through this prayer the drummers secure themselves against the bad influence of magicians, who clandestinely attempt to kill the drummers by magic.

3. The Stars

The stars, *yletiviwo*, are "children of the moon". For the *Ho* the most important constellations are: "sitting hen", *koklovinɔ*, and the moon's "stool carrier", *zikpuitsovi* that is always close to the moon.

The Milky Way occurs because the stars form a rope together (*yletiviwo gbe ka*).

The "morning star", *ɲukeyleti*, tells the wayfarer that day will soon break. As soon as it appears in the sky, the members of a caravan wake each other up and pack their loads to continue their journey.

According to the observations of the elderly, when a comet appears, one knows that 100 years have passed. The "shooting star" occurs either when the god *Sogblẽ* shoots or when a terrestrial god, *trɔ̃*, has flown down from his abode, the first heaven, onto the earth.

After their death, good people often become shining stars that can clearly be seen during certain periods at night. An example of such is *N.Y.* from *Kpeɲɛ*, whom his elder brother saw as a flaming star coming from heaven to his house.⁸⁵

84 Meaning that I die.

85 A similar case will later be reported by the people of *Aɖaklu*.

3. Main Section: The Human Being

I. The human body

A. Its origin

There are five things that make up a human being, namely the head, heart, ear, eyes and nose. The body of a human being is from the earth and it will become earth again. When a person's grave is opened some years after burial, nothing is found of him other than bones. Blood is the same thing for the body that the sap is for a tree. If the blood of a person is shed, life is cut short: "*agbea nu tso*".

To make the body God needs jaw-bones of people who have died long ago, provided that the jaw-bones came from family members of the dead.⁸⁶ To make his muscles and especially the fleshy parts of the human body, God takes potter's clay (*tsu*), moulds it and creates a human being out of it in the smallest imaginable form. This idea is reconciled with the fact of human conception and birth, as they say that God sends these tiny human creatures in a mysterious way into the human body, through which he is born into this world after a certain length of time.

Apart from these people created by God, there are also those who come directly from the earth. The ancients said that before God created the world, there was only water everywhere. First of all, God sprayed some juice of the *fla* herb under the wings of a bird, so that it could fly. When this bird was flying over the water, the water divided, firm ground appeared, and from this the Black people emerged. Apart from these people who came from the earth, there are also people whose ancestors descended from heaven to the earth by a big rope, to the end of which the inhabitants of heaven had attached a basket or a bowl. All these many existing ideas culminate in the idea that each inhabitant of heaven came to the earth with the intention of looking for earthly food on the farms of farmers,⁸⁷ to take back to heaven. Sometimes they are caught. Some of them are quickly pulled back to heaven on the rope, while others have the misfortune to have to remain on this earth. They are asked about their origin, and explain that they come from heaven or from where the sun also comes, namely from the east.

B. Parts of the body and their meaning

The parts of the human body are: head, arm, nose, mouth, ears, hands and feet. The extent of understanding that a person possesses can be judged externally from the shape of his head. Whoever has a pointed head, shaped like the head of the clock bird, has little understanding. The expression "thick head", *ta lolo*, is often used as an insult. A big head is compared with the fruit of the *wu* tree, but the insult also implies a certain respect because people with a big head are considered intelligent. People say: "There is wisdom in a big head." On the other hand, such people are said to act foolishly sometimes. A high, smooth forehead adds to a person's beauty while a wrinkled forehead gives him an ugly appearance.

The eyes are the light of a person. Their strength of vision is different. The left eye is clearer and sharper than the right. If someone's child dies, that he preferred to his other

⁸⁶ Compare this with the conception of the people of Taviefe.

⁸⁷ Compare pp. 544 and 552

children, he says: *miāme ŋku gbā nam*, “I am blind in my left eye.” The mentality and character of a person can be observed from his glance. A *Ho* person talks about people who have an evil glance, *ŋku manyo*. This includes the glance of a wicked magician, *dzoquametɔ*. Further, people talk of “thief’s eyes”. A person with thief’s eyes lets his eye roam around the different objects in the room while he is talking to someone, and fasten on them with pleasure. A thief does not listen to what another person is saying to him, but looks keenly at everything. The “eyes of an adulterer”, “*ahasiŋkuwo*”, are compared to the thief’s eye. They are similar to the eye of a thief. If you are talking to such a person, he does not listen attentively, but directs his glance towards the women. During a conversation, he begins to falter at the sight of them. Whoever “turns his eyes away from someone” does not respect him. One casts down his eyes before a high-ranking person as a sign of respect. In short, the eye for the person from *Ho* is the mirror of his thought.

The ear includes hearing ability and the external ear organ. Whoever “hears a word”, *se nya*, also “feels” it. If a person no longer has this ability, the ear is either “dead”, *to ku* or “hard”, *to sē*. The term “dead ear” does not apply only to the state of deafness but is also used to describe the behaviour whereby a person acts as if he has not heard anything, thus, indifferent. Whoever hardens his ear, does not do what he is told, is recalcitrant. A person whose ear is “thick”, *tri to*, does repeatedly what he has long been forbidden to do. This expression is taken from the external protruding shape of the ear that is also termed *to zekpe*, “thick, shapeless ear”. A protruding ear is compared with the horn of an animal and is therefore called *to dzrolo*, “protruding ear”.

The nose resembles in shape a stick in which a hole has been bored, and is termed *ŋɔti*. In humorous language it is termed *gbɔgbɔ fe go*, “breath container”. A thick, ugly nose is, therefore, also called *go lolo*, “big gourd”. A deep-set nose that is raised little above the rest of the face disfigures a person and is called *ŋɔti nyenye*, “deep-set nose”. How ugly a nose appears that has rotted away because of a sickness follows from the expression *dze gbagba*, “broken pipe”.

The mouth is “struck” while talking. Whoever screws up the corner of his mouth and puts his thumb between the index and the middle finger has used a nasty and punishable expression. Whoever sticks out his lower lip over the upper lip against another person insults this person, while crooked or low positions of the mouth, *nugɔgbɔ de ame*, mean “contempt”. Physical and emotional pain is often expressed by “biting the lips”, *tsɔ aɖu lé nuyi*. A large broad mouth is called *nu zekpe*, “shapeless mouth”. *Nu fale*, “small mouth”, is like the big mouth with respect to eloquence. With regard to the structure of the mouth, a difference is made between a “protruding” mouth, *nu dzɔdzɔ*, and a “shrunk” or “round” mouth, *nu kpoɖoe*, of which the last one has a resemblance with the snout of a cat. In relation to the structure of the lips a difference is made between *nuyi tetre*, “thick” and *nuyi ye*, “white”, bright lips.

The hands are not only differentiated by greater or less dexterity, but also have different values. The right hand is called the “beautiful” hand, also the “eating hand” because one passes food into the mouth with it. One reaches it out to fellow humans as a sign of affection and respect. The left hand is called *asi nyangā*, “bad hand”. It must do all dishonourable jobs, for example, touch rubbish and clean the body. A “pointed” hand is synonymous with our German expression “be light-fingered” [lange Finger haben].

The case with the feet is similar to that with the hands. Whoever kicks a fellow creature with his left foot brings disaster upon that person because he will get sleeping sickness. The feet have a close relationship with the eyes; they have private conversations, during which the eye says to the foot something like, “The town is still very far.” The foot answers and says, *Mianɔ ɛɲu akpɔ*, “we will try it and see”, meaning we first want to go there and then form a judgment about it.

C. The form of the body and its meaning

What can be said in connection with the size of the body is that people respect a tall person more than a short. Children like to see such people as their own kind. A corpulent person enjoys the same esteem as a tall person. A thin person is not particularly respected. We call someone with a broad face and thick calves, whose body is perfect all over, handsome. But if a handsome and perfect person is miserly, he has no reputation. People insult and despise anyone who lacks physical beauty. The lack of physical beauty can be made up for by kindheartedness towards fellow beings. If such a person is charitable, he enjoys people’s respect in spite of his physical disadvantage.

The difference between a man and a woman is mainly that the woman does not stick to the truth in conversation, while the man does. Men are stronger than women. For us, those who do not drink palm wine and spirits are true people. Other people like what they do. Heavy drinkers and cruel people are bad. They are usually also adulterers and misers. A bad-tempered person begins a quarrel at every little thing, and he uses every little word that he hears to begin a quarrel.

II. Life

A. Life span

Formerly, people grew much older than now. They became so old that they walked bent over holding a stick, and, if they themselves could not walk anymore, they were carried by grandchildren and great grandchildren out of the hut in the afternoon to warm themselves in the sun. Gradually, their strength failed, but they continued to live. They still had only a mouth to speak with. The ancients must have seen eight or even ten generations of their great-grandchildren.⁸⁸

The reason for their advanced age must have been due to their moral strictness and the simplicity of their life-style. “Brotherly love”, *ɲɔviwɔwɔ*, prevailed among the ancients. The ancients did not know brandy. Instead there were only maize beer, *liha*, and palm wine, *deha*. There has always been prostitution and adultery, but they were not so prevalent formerly as now. A man should not sit near a strange woman and talk to her, let alone live or sleep in one place with her; only brothers and sisters were allowed that. The adulterer was sold into slavery. A young man who had defiled the innocence of a girl had to pay a high fine to her parents. Hence the culprit was often held in slavery or bondage. The life of the ancients was simple. There was no affluence, but abundance of food. A big bowl full of maize cost 1 *hoka* cowry shells and a big piece

88 An old man told me that he knew a man in his village T. who had seen seven generations of his grandchildren.

of corn bread 5 *hotsui*.⁸⁹ There were not many garments. Boys and girls were around twelve years old before they tied a piece of cloth around their hips. A girl did not go to her husband before the age of twenty.

The view of an old man is more in consonance with their general world-view. He explained his advanced age by saying, “I was made with good firm clay. Others who were made with softer, bad clay soon died.”

B. The purpose of life

The purpose of life consists in happiness and work. One lives to taste how delicious food is in the mouth, and one works to preserve life. “There was once a big famine, during which people went into the bush to look for food. There they suddenly saw a tree with a very beautiful crown. When they came close to it they found a lot of cooked food under it, which they took and ate. The next morning there was no more food there as they had hoped. They died. The same thing applies with parasites: If you get something today and do not have it tomorrow, you must die. Therefore, work and work again and again. We Blacks go to the farm to get our food.”

C. The aim of life

The next aim of life is death as the “boundaries of life”, *ku enye agbe la fe sefe*. According to the phrase, there is no continuation of earthly life beyond these boundaries. The boundary between two fields is termed *lifo* because behind a field there is another field that is like the first. But if a boundary is termed *sefe*, it means beyond that there is no further continuation. In death the breath of a person goes out just as a flame goes out. His *aklama* and his soul, *luwɔ*, leave him; the person becomes *ɲoli* or *adifɛ*, “spirit”. After a certain time, this goes to its family and tribesmen in the underworld, but not to stay there permanently, but to return to this world whenever possible. The form in which the deceased returns is a different one. After a period of thirty to forty years, many a deceased becomes an antelope or a wild boar. If people speak about a person who died long ago, they say in local parlance, “He has already become an antelope or a wild boar long ago.” Others, however, return to their families in this world and are born again as humans. Their re-incarnation is called *dzo*, “be born”. A man told me that he had already been born for the seventh time, but he could not specify the purpose of his incarnation. The final aim of their lives is, therefore, the continuation of their earthly ways of life in a human body.

III. The spiritual side of the person

A. Knowledge

The knowledge of an individual is only an infinitely small part of the knowledge of all persons living in *Eve* land. If one could combine the knowledge of all people, there would be complete knowledge. But it is not only the knowledge of persons living at present, but also that of the people of the past and future generations that makes the

⁸⁹ Five single cowry shells. It was only at the coast that there was corn bread in former times.

total knowledge of man. Just as an individual cannot span the trunk of a baobab tree, he is not capable of making the knowledge of all people his own. The world is so big that even if someone has seen a lot of it, much still remains that he cannot see and hear. The individual person is not capable of spanning the knowledge of the world.⁹⁰

People are fond of comparing the collective knowledge with a wall, in which each stone adjoins the others, *nunyanya, kpeḍoḍo wònye, ezio ḍe hólóvi nḗgbò nḗgbò*, meaning, “Knowledge is like a wall, in which one stone lies on the other.” No single stone can constitute the whole wall.

B. Soul and spirit

1. Soul, *luwò*

A human being has two souls, of which one is termed *luwò agbetò*, “soul of life” and the other *luwò kutò*, “soul of death”. The soul can be seen in the shadow of the human being.



Baobab tree near Lome

The “soul of life” is visible in his short shadow, the “soul of death” on the other hand in the long shadow, which is why it is also called *luwò kòkò*, “long soul”. Both of them can appear at the same time. The soul of death accompanies a person to the grave and then goes to the realm of the dead. The soul of life leaves the human body directly after death. It goes round sighing and looks for a lodging, but does not find any. It is the *adife* or *ḡli*.

90 Compare the section on “World view” pg. 548.

2. Spirit, *gbɔgbɔ*

According to the people's universal perception, the spirit of a person is nothing other than the person's breath.

3. Activities of the soul

a. Sleep

Sleep, dream and awaking are enigmatic events about which one cannot form a clear picture. During sleep the soul leaves the body and strolls about. As soon as it returns to the body, the sleeping person wakes up. Waking is termed *nyɔ*. The plucking of a feather from a chicken or the hair from a human body is described with the same word. When the soul returns to the body it causes the event of awakening. On its return to the body, it touches it, arousing a certain feeling which causes the awakening of the sleeper.

Apart from that, the awakening is also seen as consequence of a divine influence, which sprinkles medicine on the sleeper to wake him up. It is also ascribed to the spirits of the deceased that talk to the dreamer.

b. Dream

Dreaming is *drɔ̃kuku*, from *ku drɔ̃*, "to dream". The word *drɔ̃* also occurs in other compounds, for example: *drɔ̃ lã dī*, "half cook the meat"; and *drɔ̃ tsu dī*, "soften the sound". *Ku* means to die, *drɔ̃kuku* accordingly means "to be half dead".

If according to what many people from *Ho* say, dream "is the benefit of sleep", that is only to be understood in the sense that the dreamer sleeps deeply and rests.

During a dream the soul goes away from the body to a dream land, *drɔ̃ɛfe*, where one looks at something at one moment and believes he has got it, but it cannot be held firmly. That is why dream is also termed *vɔvɔli kpɔkpɔ*, "seeing shadows". These shadows are believed to be real. For example, whoever sees a long deceased person in a dream, has actually interacted with him. This idea is based on the high value that people generally attach to a dream. Many people claim that on a journey they have seen in a dream what was happening in their homeland. For instance, *M.* in *K.* claimed that he had seen the death and burial of such and such a person. Another person sees in a dream how his wife is unfaithful to him, investigates the matter later and ascertains that she has behaved like that. Dream is the seeing of real things and events, whereby the soul temporarily freed from the body talks and behaves just as it does in the body during the day. The only difference is that it is not in the visible world during a dream, but moves in the invisible world.

Whoever sees a deceased person in a dream goes to a toilet the next morning with an egg and some cowry shells. He passes the egg over his body, moves it around his head three times and says: "You, evil spirits, get away from me! I possess nothing evil. You, wicked souls, go away from me! I possess nothing evil." After that, he throws the egg and cowry shells into the toilet and says: "That belongs to you." At home, he ties a creeper around a stake that has been driven into the ground, mentions the name of the person he has dreamt about and says: "So-and-so go away. I am tying you with this string!" After that is done, he feels safe again.

C. The Heart

1. The Position

During my sojourn in *Ho*, we missionaries were often asked for medicine. Many petitioners complained about pains in the heart, during which they indicated the stomach region with the hand. If one told them where the heart was they answered, “We Blacks think it is here.” Once it was explained to a seriously wounded person that his wound was very dangerous because it was too close to the heart. He said, “Now I know how the situation is. Men have the heart on the left side, but the women on the right.”

The heart is “moved” out of fear, or “the heartstrings break”. It is also “moved” during war or during court proceedings. If you meet your enemy, the heart is set in motion and you want to quarrel with him. At a sudden fright, “The heart leaves its house”, or it “breaks”. The latter happens when perhaps a faithful friend does something wrong that I would not have expected from him. The whole body is affected by the “breaking of the heart”. It becomes sluggish and weak. One no longer feels any joy, and sudden death is brought about.

2. Significance of the heart in the existence of man

In the heart, that “has its seat within the body”, life is preserved like fire in the forge. Apart from the heart, the most important parts of the body are the liver and the gall. When the liver or the heart is injured the person must die. The lungs are the bellows that fan the life hidden in the heart. The air breathed in goes into the heart to fan the life there. With exhalation the air comes out of the heart, where *gbɔgbɔ*, “breath”, resides. Bad “breathing smell” comes from the stomach.

The heart has eyes and ears, it hears and sees. When someone unsuspectingly looks heavenwards, but suddenly and involuntarily looks and sees a snake, “his heart has told him”, so that he can save himself in time. When the heart sees danger it becomes agitated, communicates it to the head, and from here the information goes to the foot; thus, the whole body is informed about it by the heart. The eye looks out for danger and notices a snake, a wild animal or any other danger. If the physical eye does not discover the danger, one goes on slowly, looking anxiously around. If one sees nothing, one says: *mekpe nu*, “I have come across something”. One cannot see it with the physical eye, but “the heart saw” the danger and became agitated. It saw the spirit of a dead person (*ɲoli*) or any other invisible thing, perhaps a “bad *trɔ*” or an “evil witch”. If the eye discovers a snake, a leopard or an elephant, the person concerned gets very frightened, and he feels as if cold water has been poured over him.

Whoever comes across the spirit of a deceased person or any other invisible being complains of headache, stomach ache or pains in the side on his return. He then gets fever, and his body becomes hot.

If he asks the priest or the magician, the latter first enquires about where the sick person has been that day. If he tells him that he has been in a town, he is asked whether he drank palm wine there and had a quarrel with someone. If the question is answered in the affirmative the priest replies, “Good, we have it, someone put something in your palm wine!” But if the sick person had been at the farm, the priest explains to him that

he came across the evil spirit of a dead person there. If the sick person was neither in town nor at the farm, but was at home before his sickness, the priest explains to him that it was his god that made him to stay at home alone, to be able to kill him during the absence of his relatives. According to the priest's statement, if that did not happen then the sick person owed his life to the return of the people from the field. The deity that lives with them immediately brought about peace between the sick person and his god. The cause of it was always the disobedience of the sick person and the negligence of his god that lives with him, to whom he did not bring a suitable offering.

Smell and taste are also connected to the heart. When a bad smell emanates from the bush the nose smells it. It tells the eye, that looks around for the cause, and the eye tells the heart. Appetite also depends on the heart. For example, if the heart is not "clear", *kɔ*, then food does not taste good. If one forces oneself to eat it, one will vomit it up again.

3. The heart as centre of feelings

a. of anger

The heart "blazes up" in anger when someone is accused of having done something of which his heart absolves him. The "blaze" that arises is kindled through the words of the complainer. These are for the heart what wood is for the flame. If the flame in the heart is extinguished through the judicious intervention of another person or an offer of apology, the heart will become "cool" again, *dzi fa*. If no cooling takes place, it leads to the "death of the heart", *dzi ku*. In this condition, a person is no longer afraid of his physical death and does not flinch from suicide. This highest degree of anger can only be cleared before judges. It is only after the one who has caused this state of affairs is punished by the judges and disgraced in public that "the heart becomes cool again". If the vindication is omitted, one swears an oath in any other town, so that the chiefs are compelled to examine the matter. If the complainant is declared in the right, and the defendant is punished, the "heart becomes cool", but if he is denied justice, he sues his antagonist before other chiefs. If these suits are also unsuccessful, he shoots himself; for he says: "I no longer have an avenger on earth." With that, everyone knows that the person who has committed suicide was in the right.

b. of Love

α. Signs of true love

The heart is the centre of love just as it is the centre of anger. Whoever "loves with the heart", loves truly.

If one does not love a person with the heart, you may give him presents and do everything possible for him but it is all in vain. That is so with regard to the heart of many a wife, whom the husband undoubtedly loves, but does not experience her love in return. The heart tells a person whom to love and whom not. When a person says sweet words, but his heart does not mean them, the heart of the other person sees it and withdraws from him. The same thing applies if my friend does something malicious against me which I have not done to him. "The heart falls away and leaves" such a person. "The love is now grown cold."

The forms in which love manifests itself are instructive. Love is consistent only with truth, not with lies. “If you inform your friend about something in anger and he tells you, ‘Brother, do not go before the judge with this matter because you are in the wrong’, he proves thereby that he loves you. He wants to protect you from debts or from death. Whoever says: ‘Do it, you are totally right, carry the matter through forcefully,’ does not love you.”

Whoever loves, whose “heart is cool towards fellow humans”, *e fe dzi fa de ame la gbo*, does not quarrel with him, is not miserly and dishonest, does not commit adultery and does not tell lies. Love is not compatible with these things. A person who loves is also kind. If someone is sick, it distresses him as much as if he himself were sick. If the latter is the case, the people say: *Mawu neḍi, ne e fe lāme nasē*, “May God help him to recover!” or one says, *trō neḍi, e fe lāme nasē*, “May the *trō* help him to recover!”

People’s greeting also testifies to their love. “If you arrive somewhere and they call to you, ‘Welcome! Is that your face?’ ‘How are your wife and children?’ and the persons concerned hurry to bring you water, one says of such a person, ‘he loves people.’ You do not need to give big presents to show your love, for it manifests itself directly.

β. Signs of sham love

True love has its stepsister, termed *wāḍenu* or *fidodo*, “retaliation”. If someone is sick, and you take flour, cowry shells, meat and water to him with the idea that if you yourself fall sick you will get back the testimony of love, that is only calculation. “If a comrade of the village whom I have often given palm wine comes home with a gourd full of palm wine, but does not give me any of it nor invite me to drink a calabash with him, and I let him know later, that shows sham love. The same thing applies in greater measure if I go to him, remind him of the good deeds extended to him and say: ‘If I had palm wine, I would have called you.’”

If a person comes to a town and receives a calabash of palm wine from someone, he always thinks about it and tells his children. If the benefactor later comes to the village of the man to whom he had given the palm wine, he would immediately seek him out to show himself to him. In this case, the greeting only means: “Give back to me what I once gave you before!” If there is no palm wine at home, he is presented with some tobacco as a gift or one apologizes and says, “Ah. If only you had sent someone ahead to announce to me that you would be coming! Now you have taken me by surprise.” Friends expect to get back what they have at one time given to the other: meat in return for meat, palm wine for palm wine, cowry shells for cowry shells.

γ. Types of love

αα. Mother love

Mother love is the greatest. A mother loves her children “absolutely” and more than the father because she cares better for the child than the father does. He never ties the child at his back as the mother does and never goes with it to town. The mother never gives her child as a pledge, but the father does. To protect her children from being pawned she parts with the last thing that she has. If the mother possesses something, the whole

belongs to her children. It is not same with the father because he has still other children who are waiting for the inheritance. If the mother dies, the children are much worse off than if the father were to die, for the father marries another woman, with whom the child does not feel at home. The other wife does not love the child to the same degree that its own mother would have loved it, so that it always remains a stranger to her.

ββ. Child's love

The child's love for its mother is greater than that for its father. If the father beats the mother, he is beaten by his own children. One prefers only the wife to the mother; one saves his wife before one saves his mother. But he saves his wife for his own sake, while the mother is saved out of love.⁹¹ Just as the love for the mother is the purest, the love for the brothers and sisters on the mother's side is tenderest. One can tell them everything. Someone, who has no brothers and sisters, is lonely and deceived. Having brothers and sisters on the father's side is nice, but it does not count for anything.

γγ. Love of homeland

A person from Ho does not know about love for the fatherland, but about the love for the homeland. Just as one loves the mother more than the father, one also loves his place of birth more than other towns of his tribe. A person from *Axõe* does not love *Banyakoe* as much as *Axõe*, for he has nothing to hope for from *Banyakoe*, he has no inheritance there. That is also why it happens that a woman roams outside her own homeland. "A woman is like a small antelope", *ahlõe*, that likes to stay under the tree where she finds fruits; if only she has something to eat, she is happy. The man, on the other hand, only goes abroad when he hears that there is work for him there. He lives abroad half-heartedly and thinks often about his homeland. He sings home-sick songs there, some of which are reported here.

1. The word from the homeland does not kill,
The word from a foreign land kills you.
Is that not so?

*Afenya mewua ame o,
Gbenya wua ame
Nya nene oa?
Tre de kpeli*

2. The bachelor is holding corn
(Unground in his bag);
He is not looking for maize (in his bag)
He is grinding the corn with his teeth
You friends, agree with me
(And say): yes, yes, yes!⁹²

*Media wɔ o,
Yeaɖu aɖuɔ;
Miato wo mi lɔe nam loo,
Yoo, yoo, yoo.*

⁹¹ Compare pp. 62, 3.

⁹² A married man who sojourns in a foreign land has no one to grind his corn for him; he must grind the maize that his wife would grind for him at home with his own teeth.

3. Hurry up We are going home! (Chorus): Yes, yes, yes! Hurry up We are going home! (Chorus): Yes, yes, yes!	<i>Miwɔ kaba</i> <i>Ne mɪayi afe</i> <i>Yoo, yoo, yoo!</i> <i>Miwɔ kaba</i> <i>Ne mɪayi afe</i> <i>Yoo, yoo, yoo</i>
4. The people are saying: Stay with us! (yet) We are going home! (Chorus): Yes, yes, yes!	<i>Duawo be:</i> <i>Ne metsi yewo gbɔ,</i> <i>Mɪayi afe</i> <i>Yoo, yoo, yoo!</i>
5. The beautiful town (in a foreign land) Is not (as beautiful) as the home land Buy palm wine (for yourself) Visit your brothers! (Chorus): Yes, yes, yes! ⁹³	<i>Dume nyuie</i> <i>Mesɔ afe o,</i> <i>Dze aha</i> <i>Naɖakpɔ nɔviwo ɖa</i> <i>Yoo, yoo, yoo</i>

While the heart of a man who sojourns in a foreign land is concerned with the homeland, his father, mother and brothers, a woman lives in a foreign land without this love for the homeland; it does not pull her back to her own. She feels at home wherever she is, “under the tree below which she finds fruits”.

c. Happiness

Just as hatred and love are matters of the heart so is “happiness”, *dzidzɔ*. Good tidings from a distance or homecoming of a brother or a friend occasion it. Happiness is in contrast to that inner anxiety, through which the heart does not achieve a firm position, but rather moves restlessly here and there. With happiness the heart is also “clear”. According to the wording, the expression of joy that is signified by *aseyetsotso*, “jubilation”, has got nothing to do with the heart, but it is an expression of joyous feelings. For example, if a wild animal is killed with one shot, the booty is taken home with “jubilation”.

In a state of joy, there is also peace, in which the heart “rests”, *gbɔ ɖe me*, and is “cool”, free from irritation or anger. As long as one has a “cool” heart, one is not harassed from outside, and the heart rests as if under a shady roof, where the sun does not shine in. Whoever is harassed for a long time by his enemy and hears one day that he is dead, has rest, peace. It is first of all his “exterior” that participates in this peace, that is why he says: *ɲunye fa azɔ*, “my exterior is now cool”.

93 Whoever stays in a foreign land always considers his homeland as more beautiful than the foreign land, even if it is not beautiful. He therefore longs to leave the place and go back to his homeland. However, he does not want to arrive there without gifts and buys palm wine for his relatives.

d. Grief and pain

The heart does not grieve, but it is afraid. Grief, *konyifafa* is actually “lamenting over poverty”. Working without the expected success, without becoming rich, causes grief. Whoever has no sisters and brothers complains, “Why did God send me into this world and gave me no sisters and brothers by my side?” Mockery also causes grief. A poor person feels pain when a rich person says, “I have two or three wives, own clothing and cowry shells, and you have nothing.” But in life grief replaces happiness. *Anidzedze le ngɔgbe na wò hiã le megbewò*, “Pleasure goes ahead of you and the poverty of life is behind you”; poverty follows wealth and quarrels follow marriage, and so grief.

Weeping, *avifafa*, is an expression of pain caused by a sad experience. One mourns the loss of his parents, brothers and sisters or friends. “If someone dies in town with whom I have had no close relationship, because he has not done me any favours, I mourn for him. As I do that, I do not think about this dead person, but rather about my deceased relatives. I do not indulge in food and drink but only in the thought that my father, mother, sister or brother is dead.” One is also reminded of his or her own death: *Ne gbõku, alẽ ku, ne wole koko wò, dze wò kugbe*, “If a goat or sheep dies, and people mock you, you are mourning the day of your own death”. *Dze meɖia fiavi yɔ o, fia kpɔ me ke dze ɖi gbɔna*, “The sound of a whistle does not call the son of a king; the whistle itself comes into the compound of the king,” meaning, ‘If one rejoices over the death of another person, that is foolishness, because death also comes to the hut of the laugher’.

There are also tears that are caused by reflections about one’s past life. For example, a person has a sleepless night in his room and “counts the beams”,⁹⁴ as the saying goes. As he does that, he must reflect on his own life; he thinks about how he had formerly worked and bought slaves but nothing worked out for him. With these sad reminiscences his eyes can suddenly be filled with tears. This unexpected weeping is *ta avi*. The eyes and thoughts of whoever hears sad news become disordered and are no longer where his body is, but rather at the place where the death occurred.

Astonishment is a matter of the face. Whoever should pay a debt and wants to borrow some money, but does not get any, his “face is amazed”, *ɲkume wɔ yaa*. The facial expression becomes like that of a mad person.

4. The heart as conscience

a. The heart before a wicked act

The eyes, ears and hands are the heart’s “children” or “subordinates”. The heart never gives its children a bad task. When a human being does something evil, his heart is apprehensive before, during and after the act. The heart warns the person, but the eye sees the things and longs for them. The temptation proceeds from the eye or from the ear but never from the heart. The heart is the “overseer” or the “father” of the members, and these are its subjects. But if they have done something bad, the heart judges them.

94 The expression “count the beams” is related to the perception according to which the number 10 means completion (wealth), the number 9 to the contrary means insufficiency. What the sleepless counter owns is insufficient for him.

b. The heart after a wicked act

The effects of a wicked act on the heart are described with the expressions *dzi vā*, “the heart moves”, is “restless” and *dzika tso ame fo*, “the strings of the heart are torn in the human body”. When someone does something wrong, “the heart says something to the person”, *dzi tsi nya ne ame*. For example, whoever steals something is apprehensive everywhere, especially when he sees the owner of the stolen object. During this encounter, he feels as if the person robbed sees through him, as if he had seen the deed. He therefore gives him a wide berth. The same thing happens to someone, who covets someone’s wife. He is afraid, “the heart is apprehensive”. Such a person stays out of the way of this woman’s husband because the heart is apprehensive as though he already knew everything. If the person is called by the one offended, his heart tells him the reason in advance; it condemns the person because of his evil act. When the person offended talks about it, the person called answers, “My heart has already told me, I have done something wrong”. Of course, that could only be true of people who understand good and evil.

A person who commits an evil act cannot sleep at night. He must ponder over it and fears the punishment. The day⁹⁵ that he longs for brings him new fear because he must look the people whom he is afraid of in the face. The night is his friend, yet he is afraid of it. If the person robbed calls him and invites him to drink palm wine with him, he fears that he will poison him because he is aware of his crime. Consequently, he does not find the palm wine tasty. The host perhaps asks “Why are you not drinking any palm wine? Are you sick?” The guest answers in the affirmative and says: “Yes, I am not feeling well.” It is his heart that condemns him and spoils his desire for and enjoyment of drinking. The same thing applies with food. Gradually, his/her wives notice that their husband must be something special and are apprehensive of him/her. Many men confess to their wives about what they have on their mind and demand a promise from them that they would not tell anyone. Fear weighs on them for long until they confess their evil act. Many a man listens to his heart and goes to the man, whom he has offended, confesses his act to him, apologizes and offers him palm wine as atonement. The expression for this is *tu vɔ*, “close the door”. As long as that does not happen, it means the door is open, and it is only after it has been closed that the culprit finds peace.

95 Daylight.

4. Main Section: Literature

A. Fables

1. The Fable about the King's Son *Safuḍu Kwaku*

One day, a king lied about his son that he had discussed something with his (king's) wife. His son *Safuḍu Kwaku* told his father he wanted to submit to a trial by ordeal. The king agreed to it and sent some men to *Gẽ* to buy a cutlass and needles for him. When they bought the objects, he had them sharpened for seventeen days. He, then, had the sharpened cutlass and needles fixed in the ground under a high silk cotton tree. Then the king had invited all the people to come and witness the trial by ordeal. The king, his wife and his son, *Safuḍu Kwaku*, were carried in a hammock to the place, where the trial was to be conducted. Once there, the king ordered his son, *Safuḍu Kwaku*, to climb the tree and hurtle down on the sharp cutlass and needles. His mother started crying, but he, himself, was not afraid because he knew that he was innocent.

Safuḍu Kwaku climbed the tree and sang the song: *Dedende manyimatɔ Safuḍu Kwaku; dedende manyimatɔ, sumafa hinibini; dedende samapa wɔ manpa; dedende manyimatɔ*. After he had finished singing the song, he hurtled down the tree, but did not suffer any injuries. The king said he had not seen it because he had been in the bathroom. For the second time, he climbed the tree, sang his song there again and hurtled down on the ground. After that, the king said he had just finished bathing. Therefore, he should climb up the tree for the third time. *Safuḍu Kwaku* climbed up the tree again. However, the king said he had just applied ointment to his body and had, therefore, not looked

Akpa gã enelia: Gli, adzo kple lododowo.

A. Gliwo

1. *Le fia kple srõa kpakple Safuḍu Kwaku nu*

Gbe ɖeka fia ka avatso ɖe via si be efo nu kple ye srõ. Safuḍu Kwaku gblɔ na fofoa be, yewoayi aka. Fia la lɔ, eye wodo ame ɖo ɖe G0, be woafle yi kple abi vɛ. Esi wofle nuawo vɛ la, ena wonyre wo ŋekeke wuiadre sɔŋ. Wotsɔ klante kple abi la tu ɖe vuti kɔkɔ ade te, eye fia la ɖo du amewo katã be woava aka la nyife. Wotsɔ fia la kple srõ kpakple Safuḍu Kwaku ɖe avamaka me heyi ɖe aka la nyife. Fia la gblɔ na Safuḍu Kwaku bena, neyi ɖe ati la me, ne wòadzo ava dze yi kple abi la nu. Dada le avi fam, ke eya nuto mele vɔvɔm o, elabe enyae bena, yemewo nu la o.

Safuḍu Kwaku de ati la me, eye wodo ha ɖa bena: "Dedende manyimatɔ, Safuḍu Kwaku dedende manyimatɔ, samafa hinibini, dedende samapa 573 wɔ mampa; dedende manyimatɔ." Esime wo dzi haa vɔ la, ege dze anyi, gake naneke mewɔe o. Fia la gblɔ be yemekpɔe o, elabena tsi lem yele. Egayi, eye fia la gblɔ be, ami sim yele, eya ta yemekpɔe o. Egawɔe, fia la be yemekpɔe o, elabena yele afɔkpa dom. Safuḍu Kwaku gayi zi atɔlia, eye fia la be, yemekpɔe o, elabena yele a srã dom. Egayi zi adelia, eye fia la gblɔ be, azɔ ko yegbo, ekpɔ gee nye esi, eya ta negayi zi adrelia. Amewo katã xɔ ɖe Safuḍu Kwaku dzi. Egayi ɖe ati la me zi adrelia, eye esi woge gbɔna la, dzingbe*

on. He again ordered him to climb the tree, but again he did not see it because he was wearing his sandals. For the fifth time, *Safudu Kwaku* climbed the tree, but the king did not see him this time either because he was sniffing tobacco. When he climbed up the tree for the sixth time, the king said: “It is now that I can come and see it”. He ordered him to climb up the tree for the seventh time. When he plunged down the heaven, *dzingbe* carried him and lifted him to where the sun rises⁹⁶ When the sun rises and one wants to see its countenance, it hides its face and says: “People have done me wrong seven times.” That is why one does not completely see the face of the sun.

2. The Fable about Spider and its Friend

Once upon a time, there was a great famine during which human beings did not have anything to eat anymore. One day, *Ďetsyɔvi*, spider’s friend, went into the bush and saw how a millstone was grinding, and how honey was flowing near it. *Ďetsyɔvi*, spider’s friend, sat near it, scooped some of the honey and poured it on flour and ate to his satisfaction. After that, he took some of the flour and honey home for his wife and children. That was the only thing they ate and became fat.

One day, spider came to *Ďetsyɔvi* and asked where he got the food that made them grow so well. *Ďetsyɔvi* answered: “You talk too much. That is why I will not tell you.” Spider requested him urgently to tell him. *Ďetsyɔvi* answered him: “We would wait till early tomorrow morning. When the women are going to the well, I will accompany you there. The next day, spider put calabash into a water pot, thereby making a lot of noise, and carried it on his head. It hurried to *Ďetsyɔvi* and

xɔe ɖaɖa ɖe yedzefe. Ne ye dze, eye nebe yeakpɔ efe ŋkume la, ekema emiã asi ŋkume gblɔna be, wowɔ anyrã le ye ŋu zi adre sɔŋ. Eya ta amewo mete ŋu kpɔa ye fe ŋkume ŋutɔ keŋ o.

2. Yiyi kple te

Gli tso vunyavunya dze ɖetsyɔvi kple Yiyi dzi. Dɔ va ŋutɔ, eye womekpɔ naneke ne woɖu o. Gbe ɖeka ɖetsyɔvi yi ɖe gbe me, eye wòkpɔ te le 575 eɖokui tum, eye anyitsi le sisim le egbo. ɖetsyɔvi bɔbɔ nɔ anyi ɖe egbo, eye wòku anyitsi la fo ɖe wo dzi no kakaka ɖi fo. Emegbe ewɔ ɖe yi afe na srɔa kple viawo, nu sia ko woawo nɔ ɖuɖum, eye woklã ŋutɔ.*

Gbe ɖeka yiyi va ɖetsyɔvi gbɔ, eye wòbiae bena, afi ka woawo kpɔ nuɖuɖu le hafi klã alea mahã? ɖetsyɔvi gblɔ nɛ be, efoa nu wu nu, eya ta yemagblɔe nɛ o. Yiyi le kuku ɖem nɛ vuu be, negblɔe na ye, ke ɖetsyɔvi gblɔ nɛ bena nɛnɔ anyi ne ŋu ke, eye nyɔnuwo le tɔme yim la, ne yeakplɔe ayii. Kasia Yiyi ɖatsɔ ze ɖe ta, eye wòtsɔ tre ɖe eme wòle ɖiɖim kplo kplo kplo! Emegbe wòsi du yi ɖe ɖetsyɔvi gbɔ gblɔ nɛ bena, nyɔnuwo le tɔme dem xoxo. Esi ɖetsyɔvi tso la, ekpɔ be, xexeme mekɔ haɖe o, eye wòɖzo ɖamlɔ

96 Compare the sub-heading “Sun” on page 554 ff.

told him: “The women are already going to the water place.” *Ďetsyɔvi* checked and found out that it was still dark. He lay down again and told spider to come again when the women are sweeping the farmstead. They would then go together. After that spider took the broom and swept the farmstead in such a way that it sounded *via, via, via!* It hurried again to *Ďetsyɔvi* and told him: “The women are now sweeping.” Immediately, *Ďetsyɔvi* got up, but it was still not daybreak. He, therefore, told spider to go and lie down till sunrise. Spider quickly went and tied some sticks and torched it, lit it and placed it where the sun rises. Then he said, “*Ďetsyɔvi Ďetsyɔvi*: The sun has now risen”. When *Ďetsyɔvi* got up from bed, he realized that the sun had not risen. Therefore, both of them lay down and slept again till daybreak.

The next day, they went into the bush together and saw how the millstone was grinding and how the honey near it was flowing. The spider shouted and said: “There is food here and we must not go hungry. *Ďetsyɔvi* said to him: “Do not shout like that!” They sat down and drank some of the honey. After that, spider carried the millstone on his head. The millstone began to sing on spider’s head:

Spider, take me back and put me down,
Buy me palm wine from my brother,
Take me back and put me down!
The buffalo eats from me and goes away,
The wild boar eats from me and goes away,
And you, do you not want to come and eat, too?
Take me back and put me down,
Buy me palm wine from my brother,
Take me back and put me down!

However, spider did not want that and went to people from whom he got cowry shells. Some bought some flour for 8, 9 and 10 *hotu* from him. Then spider took the millstone back to its place in the bush. But the millstone did not want to get down and remained on spider’s head and said he would not go away any longer.

If spider had not carried away the millstone, people might be going to the bush in difficult times to look for food there and get satisfied.

3. The Fable about *Sexle*

A married couple had two daughters. One of them was very pretty and was called *Sexle*. All the people came to her and wanted to marry her. She, however, did not want it. One day, *Sexle* went to the well where she suddenly saw a fish that changed into a human being and proposed marriage to her. She agreed and told her mother, who also gave her consent. Whenever she cooked for him, and took it to him, she put it at the bank of the stream. She stood there and sang a song:

“*Adeye*, (silurid), my husband!
Swim over and take your food
Swim over and take your water
Eat and drink, *adeye*, my husband!”

anyi hegblo na yiye be, ne nyɔnuwo le nu kplɔm la, ekema neva ne yewoayi. Enumake Yiye datsɔ xa le nu kplɔm sesie wɔle dɔɖim fia, fia, fia eye wɔsi du yi de detsyɔvi gbɔ gblɔ ne be nyɔnuwo le nu kplɔm. Enumake detsyɔvi fɔ gake ɲu meke o, eye wɔgblo na yiye be, neyi ne wɔamlɔ anyi va se de esime ye nadze. Kasia yiye dɔbla akati, eye wɔdra dzo da de ati me le yedzefe, gblɔ na detsyɔvi bena ye dze. Esi detsyɔvi fɔ la, ekpo bena, ye medze o, eye wo kple eve woyi dɔamlɔ anyi va se de esime ɲu ke.

Woyi gbea me, eye wokpo tea le edokui tum, eye anyitsi le sisim le egbo. Enumake Yiye do yli be, nuɖuɖu le afi hafe yewole hiã nyam alea? detsyɔvi gblo ne be megado yli o, eye wobɔbo nɔ anyi noe kakaka; emegbe la yiye ho te la de ta be:

Nyie gbugbɔm laɖo anyi

Dze aha tsɔ nɔvinye

Gbugbɔm laɖo anyi

To du to dzo

Ha du ha dzo

Wo hã va maɖu hã?

Nyie gbugbɔm laɖo anyi

Dze aha tsɔ nɔvinye

Gbugbɔm laɖo anyi.

Ke yiye gbe, eye wɔtsɔ te la le tsatsam le amewo dzi le ho xɔm. Ame aɖewo flee hotu 8,9 kple 10 gɔ hã. Emegbe la Yiye gagbugbo te la yi etefe ɖo gbe, gake te la li de eta, gbe be, yemegale dede ge o.

Yiye metsɔ te la o la, anye ne dɔ gale ame wum la, ne gbeme ko amewo ayi aɖadi nu aɖu.

3. Gli dze Sexle dzi

ɲutsu aɖe kple srɔa wodzi nyɔnuvi eve ɖeka ɲkɔe nye Sexle, si dze tugbe ɲutsɔ. Amewo katã va bia eta, gake egbe kenken. Gbe ɖeka Sexle yi tɔme, kasia wɔkpɔ adeye aɖe trɔ zu ame, be yeaɖee. Elɔ, eye wɔva gblɔe na dada eye eya hã lɔ. Ne eɖa nu yi ne la, ekema etsia tre de tɔa to dzia ha gblɔna bena:

Atsunye aɖeye,

Tro ɖagba va xɔ nu wɔ aɖu

Tro tsini naxɔ tsi ano,

Atsunye adeye.

Ne edzi ha la alea la, ekema adeye la doa go le tɔa me va ɖua nua, emegbe la egayia tsi la me, eye nyɔnu la hã dzona yia afe me. Alea ko wɔwɔne gbe sia gbe.

Gbe ɖeka Sexle yi avɔ nya gbe, eye wɔtsi na eyomevi bena, wɔaɖa nu ayi na srɔa le tɔme. Esi wɔɖa nua yine la, fofoa tsɔ tu de asi kplɔe ɖo, eye esi wɔɖo la, nyɔnuvi la dzi ha

Whenever she finished singing this song, the fish *adeye*⁹⁷ came out of the stream to eat, and then went back into the water. The girl went home after that and that went on day after day.

One day, *Sexle* went to the stream to wash a dress and instructed her younger sister to cook for her husband. When the sister was taking the food there, her father carried his gun on his shoulder and followed her. When the girl got to the stream, she sang her song after which the fish appeared instantly. Her father shot it, took it home, cooked and ate it. He left the rest for his daughter. When the daughter returned home from the well, she asked her sister whether she had taken the food to her husband. Her sister answered that she had taken it to him long ago. The girl's heart soared when she ate what her father had kept for her. She immediately got up, cooked again and took the food to her husband at the stream. She called him for a long time, but he did not hear him. She sang her song, sang it again, but he did not appear. She waited there for long. Then she went home and wept. As soon as she came home, she sank into the bosom of the earth. The mother spun cotton, and her father wove a dress in the farmstead. When *Sexle*'s sister saw that she had gone into the bosom of the earth, she began to sing a song as follows:

“Mother, *Sexle* dig down deeper!
I have eaten *Sexle*'s property
Sexle digs down deeper!”

When her mother and father heard her singing, they started laughing. Again she sang the same song. Then her mother said: “I hear a song being sung.” Her husband said: “She is lazy; she should spin her cotton.” Again the child sang her song. Then her father said: “I hear a song being sung.” His wife said: “He is lazy; he should weave.” They quarrelled with each other until *Sexle* disappeared up to the neck. The singing made her parents stand up to go to her. Suddenly, they saw that their child had already disappeared and only her hair could be seen. After that, they pulled her by the hair, but only plucked it out. People came hurrying to the scene to pull her out, but the hair tore out in their hands.

Those, who came first got the most beautiful hair. On the other hand, those who came last, got ugly hair. That is why people have different types of hair.

4. The Seven Hunters

Seven men killed a lot of wild animals together. Each of them built a hamlet in the bush. Each of them was married, and did not give his brother any meat when he killed an animal.

One day, the youngest among them went hunting in the bush. On the way, he met someone, who told him to shave his hair for him. He agreed and shaved his whole head. After that, the person⁹⁸ said: “I have forgotten it completely. You have not left any tuft of hair for me. Gather all my hair and get it back in its position!” The hunter answered that he had never heard that after someone had been shaved, the hair could be gathered and placed back in its position. The person said he must die, if he did not have a small tuft of hair on the head, to which he could tie his magic string. The

⁹⁷ Siluroid lives in lagoons and rivers.

⁹⁸ A chimpanzee.

la, enumake adeye la do, ke fofoa fo tui, eye wòtsɔe va afe va ɔa keɲ heɖu, tso ɔe susɔ ɔi na nyɔnuvi la. Esi nyɔnuvi la gbɔ tso avɔnyafe la, egblɔ na nɔvia bena, eɔa nu la yii mahā? Nɔvia gbɔ ba, yedae yi xoxo. Gake nyɔnuvi la fe dzi le tsotsom esime wòle nu si woɔa da ɔi ne la ɔum. Enumake wogaɔa nu tso yi na srɔa le tɔme. Eyɔe vuu mese eɲkɔ o, edzi ha la, gadzii, gake med ova o. Elala vuu, eye wòtrɔ yi afe kple avifafa. Esi wòde afeme ko, ede asi agu me yi yi me. Dada le ɔeti trom, eye fofoa le avɔ lɔm le xexe. Esi Sexle nɔvi kpɔ bena ele agu me yim la, ede asi hadzidzi me bena:

Nana, Sexle ɔo to yie

Enu meɖu

Sexle ɔo to yie.

Dada kple fofoa wose ha la gake wode asi nukoko me vevie. Egadzi ha la sigbe eye dada gbɔ be, yese ha aɔe ke fofoa gbɔ be ele kuvia wɔm, netre ɔeti la. ɔevi la gadzi ha la, eye fofoa hā gbɔ be yese ha aɔe, ke dada gbɔ be, ele kuvia wɔm, nelɔ avɔ la. Sigbe wole wɔwɔm, va se ɔe esime Sexle bu vɔ va se ɔe efe kɔ nu. Hadzidzi la va glo dzilawo, eye wotsi tre yi ɔe egbo; kasia woakpɔ wo vi la bu vɔ xoxo, efe taɔa koe susɔ. Wode asi efe ɔa lele me, eye wole ɔe wo si. Amewo fu du va be woalee, ke ɔa la nyɔ ɔe wo si. woakpɔ wo vi la bu vɔ xoxo, efe taɔa koe susɔ. Wode asi efe ɔa hehe me, eye wòlā ɔe wo si. Amewo fu du va be woahē, ke ɔa la nyɔ ɔe wo si.

579* Ame siwo va kaba la, woawo xɔ taɔa nyuietɔ, eye ame siwo tsi meɓe la, woawoe xɔ manyomanyoa. Esiata taɔa vovovowo li na ame ɔo.

4. Gli dze adela kple azizā dzi.

Ame adre aɔewo wua lā nɔtɔ, eye wova tso kɔfe na wo ɔokui ɔe gbe me wotɔxewotɔxɛ. Wo katā ɔe srɔ keɲ, eye ne ɔe sia ɔe wu lā la, menaa nɔvia o.

Gbe ɔeka wofe ɔevito yi gbe me lā wu ge. Eva do go ame aɔe, si gbɔ ne be, woalū ta na ye. Elɔ eye wolū ta la ne keɲ. Ame si ke wolū ta la na gbɔ be: Nye nku dzo le edzi, meɔe ɔatsoe nam o. Eya ta galɔ nye taɔawo katā kɔ ɔe etefe nam. Adela la gbɔ be yemese kpɔ o, be walū ta agafɔe aɔo etefe. Ame lagblɔ be, yeava ku, ne ɔa vi aɔe li la, ne yeasa dzoka ɔe eme. Adela gbɔ be, yemate nui o. Ezu dzre ɔe wo dome, ame la be nelɔ ɔa la ɔo etefe na ye adela hā be yemate nui o. Ame la be, ne ɔa meli o la, nu ka me yeasa dzoka ɔo mahā? Yeava ku, elabena dzokae nye yefe agbe. Esime wole nya gbɔm la, adela la, si, eye wògbɔ na srɔa hā be nesi. Wole dua dzi va ke ɔe wo nɔvi ɔeka nɔ, ame si fe akɔ nu wòdzo ɔo.

Ame la va do, eye wòxlē nyawo fia wo nɔvi la, ke eya gbɔ be, yemese nya sia tɔgbee kpɔ o. Adela si tso egbo yi ɔe nɔvia bubu gbɔ, eya hā gbɔ nenema. Egadzo yi etɔlia kple enelia gbɔ woawo hā gbɔ nenema. Esi yi ɔe atɔlia gbɔ, eya gbɔ ne bena, nenɔ anyi, ne ame la nava, eye wòva. Adela la to gbea nɔvia, eye ame la hā to efe gbe. Nɔvia gbɔ be ye hā yemese nya sia tɔgbee kpɔ o. Wosi yi ɔe adelia gbɔ, eya hā gagblɔ nenema, ke. Azɔ wosi yi ɔe wofe tsitsito gbɔ, eya hā be, yemese nya sia fe ku kpɔ o gake amea gbɔ be, wòatsɔ ɔa la aɔo etefe na ye kokoko. Ametsitsi la be, netsɔ ɔa la na ye, etsɔe ɔo ta ne, ɔeko wòɔiɔina kɔna ɔe anyigba. Ametsitsi la tso ɔa la ne, eye wògbɔ ne bena, nelɔ ke, si dzi wòzɔ hafi va yefe xɔ me la ɔa, hafi yeatsɔ adela ade asi ne. Elbe keɲkeɲ. Ame tsitsi la gagblɔ ne be, neva

hunter said that he could not fulfil his request. Both of them, therefore, began a quarrel. The person demanded that the hunter should get his hair back in its position, and the hunter said that he could not do that. The person said that if he did not have a tuft of hair anymore on the head, to which he could tie his magic strings, he must die because the magic strings were his life. When they were discussing the matter with each other, the hunter fled and told his wife to flee, too. Both of them fled as quickly as they could, and came to one of their brothers in whose house they took refuge.

The person narrated all what happened to their brother who said that he had never heard of such a thing. The hunter fled again and came to another brother of his who said the same thing. He went to a third brother and to a fourth, and all of them said exactly the same thing. When he came to the fifth brother, he told the hunter to stay and wait till the person himself came. The person came. The hunter told his brother everything. The person also narrated all what happened. This brother also said he had never heard such a thing. After that, the hunter fled to the sixth. This brother voiced the same thing. He fled to their eldest brother. He also said he had never heard such a thing. In spite of that, the person demanded that he must get his hair back in its position in any case. After that, the eldest brother ordered that he should bring him the hair. He put it back on the person's head, but it fell on the ground. After that, the eldest brother gave back his hair to the person and told him to collect all the sand, on which he had stepped when he came into his room. If he did that he would hand over the hunter to him. The person collected the sand for him. After that the eldest brother told him to come along. As the person followed, he stepped on the ground again. The eldest brother ordered him to collect all the sand of his footprints. This continued for a long time until he got tired and fled.

The name of this person is *Tomi*. He is very tall. Whenever he captures someone he devours him at once. The reason why he could not devour this hunter was that, first of all, he had to prove that he was right before devouring him. However, he was wrong and had harassed the hunter for nothing. When the person had gone away, all the hunters held a general meeting and resolved that, henceforth, any hunter, who killed an animal, must share it with his brother. Since then, whenever any of them killed an animal, he must first share it with the chief before giving others because he was the one who gave them the advice. "That is why you must obey elders whenever they tell you something. Failing to do that will cause your death, that is you will be killed by someone."

5. The Spider and the Chief

A spider went to a chief and requested that he lend him 400 *hotu* cowry shells. The chief lent him the cowry shells. The spider wasted the cowry shells and bought only two knives. One day, the chief sent messengers to Spider to inform him to bring back his cowry shells. Spider said he did not have any and the men went back. After that, the chief sent other messengers. When these messengers arrived, Spider asked his children to beat a drum. However, Spider himself was possessed by a *trɔ*, got hold of both knives and began to sing: "I will immediately kill the men who have been sent to demand the money". When the messenger heard this, he ran away to tell the chief that Spider said that he would kill him. After that, the chief sent a leopard with the order to retrieve his

azɔ, esi wòva la, egaɔo afɔ anyi eye ame tsitsi la gblɔ nɛ be, wòalɔ efe afɔɔfowo kenɔ ɔa. Alea ko wòle ewɔmee, va se ɔe esime ɔeɔi te enu, eye wòsi dzo.

Ame la ɔkɔe nye Tomi, eɔi kpe gāgā ɔe. Ne ele ame la, amii zi ɔeka. Nu si ta mete ɔu mii o lae nye ele didim be, yefe nya nadzɔ hafi yeami. Efe nya medzɔ o, hafi wòle fu ɔem na adela dzodzro. Esi wòdzo la, adelawo katā woyi ɔe dalime, eye woɔo be, ame siaa ame si wu lā la, wòakae na nɔvia. Azɔ ne ɔe sia ɔe wu lā la, ena ame tsitsia gbā hafi na bubuawo, elabena eyae ɔo aɔaɔu ɔe enu. Eya ta ne ame tsitsi to nya aɔe na wò la, ele be naɔo toe, ne menye nenem o la, ame aɔe awu wò.

5. Gli dze Yiyi kple amegā aɔe dzi

Ayepa (Yiyi) yi ɔe amegā aɔe gbɔ be, nedo hotu 400 na ye. Edo ho la nɛ wòtsɔ ɔu, negbe hɛ eve pɛ ko wòfle kpɔi. Gbe ɔeka amegā la ɔo ame ɔo ɔa, be woaxɔ hotsui la vɛ; ke Ayepa be meli haɔe o, eye ameawo te dzi. Amegā la gaɔo ame bubu ɔa. Esi ame la va ko la, yiyi tsɔ vu, viawo le fofom nɛ, eye eya ɔuto le trɔ fom, le hɛ eve ɔe asi le ha dzim be: “Ame ke ɔo ɔe hotsui xɔ gbe, mawu wò kple hɛ fififi.” Esi amea se nyaa la, esi ɔagblɔe nu amegā la be, yiyi be, yeawui. Amegā ɔo lākle ɔo ɔa, be wòaxɔ hotsui la vɛ na ye. Ayepa gaɔo vuawo vɛ, viawo le fofom nɛ, eye eya ɔuto le trɔ fom, tsɔ hɛ be yeafɔ ɔe lākle. Lākle hā si va gblɔe na amegā la bena, ayepa tsɔ hɛ, be yeawu ye. Amegā la be, ekema ye ɔuto yeayi azɔ. Esi wòva la, ayepa gaɔo vuawo vɛ, eye wòle trɔ fom hele didim be, yeawu amegā la. Esi va afe, eye wòagblɔ na viawo bena, ame aɔeke megalī fe la azɔ o. Emegbe egade se na viawo bena ame aɔe gava hotsui xɔ ge wo si, ame aɔeke mele ɔɔ nɛ o la, ekema womeganɛ o. Nu si ta Ayepa alo Yiyi mexe fe la nam o lae nye, ame aɔeke mele ɔɔ nɛ o. Ebe, xɔnye yenye, eya ta metsɔe nɛ dzaa, be wòagaɔoe etefe nam dzaa; gake egbe, xɔe aɔifudii ko.

Eya ta ne ame aɔe be, yeado hotsui la, edia ame ɔoa ɔɔgbe, ne menye nenem o la, hotsui la abu.

cowry shells from spider. Again Spider ordered his children to beat a drum while he, himself, being possessed by a *trõ*, danced, took a knife in the hand and said he would kill the leopard with it. When the leopard heard that, it also fled to tell the chief that spider had taken a knife and said he would kill him. The chief said: “Then I will go myself.” When he got there, Spider called for the drum to be beaten again. Being possessed by the *trõ*, Spider danced and wanted to kill the chief. The chief also fled home and told his family members that henceforth, no one should demand the debt from Spider. Besides, he instructed his children that in future they should no longer lend cowry shells to any borrower who has no one to stand surety for him or her.”⁹⁹ Spider will not give my cowry shells back to me because no one stood for him as guarantor when he borrowed the cowry shells. At that time, he said he was my friend, and that was why I gave him the cowry shells in all tranquillity and asked him to do same to give them back to me. But he did not do thus. Instead, he took them like a freeloader does.”

That is why anyone, who wants to borrow cowry shells, looks for a guarantor. The creditor loses the cowry shells, if he/she does not do that. (The lesson is: Do not lend money without collateral).

6. The spider and the Leopard

A leopard took honey and made a blue colour with it. Then he wove a beautiful dress. One day, someone died in another town. The spider came to the leopard and said he should give him his dress; he wanted to go to the burial. The leopard agreed and gave him the dress. When he was coming back, it began to rain. He covered himself with the dress (to protect himself from the rain). It rained very hard and the water gradually penetrated the dress and ran into the spider’s mouth. Then the spider said: “Where does this sweet water come from?” When he licked the dress with his tongue, he found it to be sweet and ate the whole dress on the way. The spider now had no dress.

After that, he went to the elephant and told him to cut off a piece of his ear for him, so that he could cover himself with it. The elephant said that was fine, he would give it to him. He should measure a piece with his arm, as big as he needed. He then cut it for him and the spider covered himself and went home with it. The spider’s wife was cooking when he got home. The spider roasted the ear, threw it in the soup and ate it.

Soon after that, the elephant sent a messenger to tell the spider to send his ear back to him, because the flies were bothering him. When the messengers arrived at the spider’s house, they could not get the ear anymore because he had already eaten it. The elephant himself now came to the spider for his ear. Spider had conspired with his children to flee into the salt box when he tells them to fetch the snuff box. And so, they all went into the salt box. The spider now told his wife to go and fetch the snuff box. And so she also fled into the salt box. Since none of his children came back, spider said he wanted to go and fetch the snuff box himself. But he also hid himself in the salt box. When elephant was left alone, he entered the house to look for the spider, but he found no one. Then he said: “Good, I will take the woman’s salt box. If she wants to cook, she will not have any salt”. Elephant took the salt case without knowing that spider and his wife were in it. The elephant’s town was far, and as it was on its way there, the spider, his wife and children got frightened in the salt box, began to weep and said, “The

⁹⁹ One, who has no guarantor.

6. Gli dze Yiyi kple lākle dzi

Lākle tso anyitsi wo ame hetswo lɔ awo vevi aɖe. Gbe ɖeka ame ku le du aɖe me, eye yeva lākle gbo be, netswo efe awo na ye, ne yeayi kutefee. Lākle lɔ eye wòtswo awo la ne. Esi wòtrɔ gbɔna la, tsi de asi dzadza ma, eye wòtswo awo la wo tsihee da ɖe ta. Tsi la le wuwum kakaka, eye tsi la to awɔa me yi ɖe Yiyi fe alɔ me. Yiyi gblɔ be, afi ka tsi sia tso le vivim ale mahā? Esi wòtswo efe aɖe to awɔa la, evivi enu, eye wòtswo awo la ɖu le mɔ dzi kenken. Azɔ awo aɖeke megale yiyi ŋu o.

Yiyi va tu atiglinyi gblɔ ne bena nelā efe to vi aɖe na ye ne yeagba. Atiglinyi gblɔ be, enyo yeane. Ale si ke wòate ŋu agba la, neva susu abo ɖe eŋu, eye wòlāe ne wògbā va afee. Yiyi srɔ Funɔ le nu ɖam hafi wòva, eya yiyi tso to la me fo detsii heɖu.

Emegbe la atiglinyi dɔ ame ɖa, be woawo to la ve na ye, elabena tagbatsuwo le fu ɖem na ye. Esi ame dɔdɔawo va la, womekpo to la xɔ o, elabena yiyi tsɔe ɖu xoxo. Azɔ nyi ŋuto va to la xɔfe. Ke yiyi ɖo gbe ɖi na viawo be, ne yegblɔ na wo be, woayi aɖatso asrāgoe ve la, ne woasi ayi ɖe dzegoe me. Nenema wo katā woyi ɖe dzogoe me. Eye yiyi gblɔ na Funɔ be, wòayi aɖatso asrāgoe la ve. Esi wòyi la eya hā ɖo dzegoe la me. Azɔ esusɔ atiglinyi ɖeɖe, etso yi ɖatsa le xɔa me, ke mekpɔ ame aɖeke o. Eye wògblɔ bena: Enyo matswo Funɔ fe dzegoe, bena ne eva nu ɖa ge la, ne magakpo dze o. Nyi tso dzegoe la, gake menye be, yiyi kple srɔa le dzegoe la me o. Atiglinyi fe du me didi, eye le mɔ dzi la, Yiyi kple srɔa kpakple viawo de asi wɔwɔ me, eye wole avi fam be, atiglinyinɔ ku. Atiglinyi menya afi ka tututu avi la le ɖiɖim le o, eye wògblɔ bena, fifi laa yedzo le ye nɔ gbo ko, eye wòku xoxoa? Yiyi kple etɔwo gale avi la dzi sesie, eye esi nyi ɖo kpe gbadza aɖe dzi la, etso goe la xlā ɖe edzi, eye Yiyi kple etɔwo si ɖo aga kenken.

Nyi do dɔmedzui ŋuto, eye woyi ɖadi ame bubuwo, be woava lé wo na ye. He ɖaɖe aɖe le Yiyi si, ne tagbatsu dzo ɖe enu la, elāne ɖe tefe adre. Gbeha kple amegaxi wogblɔ be, yewoayi aɖalé Yiyi ve. Ke esi ha yi la, yiyi 585* tso he la kpa efe nu ɖa. Esi lā bubuwo kpɔ be, Yiyi kpa ha fe nu la, wo katā dzudzɔ yiyi. Ale yiyi tsi kpeto me va se ɖe egbe.

elephant's mother is dead". The elephant could not imagine where this weeping was coming from and he said, "I have just left my mother and she must have died already!" Spider and his family wept the more. When the elephant got to a flat rock, he threw the salt box on the rock. Spider and his family fled into the ravine.

Then elephant became very angry, called others for help and said they should come and help him catch the spiders. But the spider had a sharp knife with which he cut the flies that flew past him into seven parts. The wild pig and hyena said they wanted to go and catch the spider for him. But when pig went to catch the spider, he cut off his mouth with the knife. When the other animals saw that the spider had cut off the pig's mouth, they all refrained from going any further. That is why the spider is in the cave to this day.

7. The Woman and the Bird *aloe*

A woman was very old when she gave birth to a very pretty child. Not long after that, the child died. The woman resolved to desist from eating food despite all the pleas from her people. Eventually, the people gave up and did not admonish her anymore. She became very hungry

One day, as she went to the farm with a child, she saw ripe watermelons that had been eaten by the birds. She told the child to go ahead of her. She would remain behind and respond to nature's call and then follow. When the child had left, she plucked some ripe watermelons and ate them. Apart from a bird, no one else saw the act. When the woman stepped out of the bush, the bird sang behind her as follows:

Tsentse's child died;
 She should eat, she was advised;
 I will not eat, she said.
 God Himself came to greet her
 And told her, she should eat;
 But *Tsentse* refused and said,
 Never will I eat!
 Now, the earth greeted her
 And said, she should eat
 But, *Tsentse* said: "Eat? I will never"
 She had an appetite for fufu
 And she, however, said she did not want to eat.
 She had an appetite for pulp
 But she said, I don't want to eat anything
 And in deed, she stole the ripe fruits and ate.

When the woman heard the song, she became apprehensive. She came back to the child and was asked why she stayed away so long. She answered that she had to remain behind to respond to nature's call. The bird followed the woman up to her village, singing the song behind her without break. She became frightened and so ashamed that she hanged herself because she did not think she could live among human beings anymore.

7. Nyɔnu aɖe kple alɔe

Nyɔnu aɖe tsi kakaka hafi va dzi vi ɖeka pe, si dze tugbe ɲuto. Ke etefe medidi o, ɖevi la va ku. Eye nyɔnu la gblɔ be, yemaɖu nu gbedegbede o. Amewo katã va ɖe kuku ne vu, gake egbe be, yemele nu ɖu ge o. Amewo katã ɖe nu le nya la me, eye womegale nu xɔmii o. Azɔ ɖo va de asi nyɔnu la wuwu me.

Gbe ɖeka eya kple ɖevi aɖe woyina ɖe agble, eye wòkpɔ aɖiba didi aɖe, si xeviwo va le ɖuɖum. Egblɔ na ɖevi la be, wòanɔ yiyim, ne yeade afɔdzi gbɔ. Esi wòyi la, egbe aɖiba la heɖu, gake ame aɖeke mekpɔe o, negbe xevi aɖe koe kpɔe. Esi nyɔnu la do go le gbea me la, xevi la le ha dzim le eyome bena:

Tsentsevi ku,
 Wobe, wòɖu nu,
 Eye wobe , yemaɖu nu o.
 Eya Mawu da akpe ne
 Be, wòɖu nu,
 Egbe yemaɖu nu o.
 Anyigba da akpe ne
 Be wòɖu nu
 Eye wòbe, yemaɖu nu o
 Fufu la ɲku biam ne,
 Hafe wòbe, yema ɖu nu o.
 Akplẽ le ɲku biam ne,
 Hafe wòbe, yemaɖu nu o.
 Hafe fi aɖiiba ɖu.

Esi nyɔnua se haa la, ete vɔvɔ. Azɔ eva ɖo ɖevi la gbɔ, eye wobiae bena nu ka wɔm wòle meva kaba o mahã? Nyɔnu la ɖo eɲu be, afɔ dzi dem ye, eya ta yeti megbe. Xevi la gadze nyɔnu la yome yiɖase kɔfea me, hele ha la dzim. Nyɔnu la te vɔvɔ me, eye le ɲukpe ta wòde ka ve na eɖokui gblɔ be, yemaɔ amewo fe ɲkume o.

8. The Spider and her daughter *Yiyisa*

During a great famine, God's children came down to earth. Spider asked them whether or not they had seen his child, *Yiyisa*. Spider told God's children that on their return he would give them something to be delivered to his daughter, *Yiyisa*. Furthermore, he told them that on the cooker was a small parcel which they should take along on their return whether or not he was at home. When God's children arrived, they took the parcel along for *Yiyisa*, although they did not see Spider in the farmstead. Besides, spider further directed that the parcel should only be opened in a room and not out in the open. *Yiyisa* received the parcel and complied as directed only to discover that it was Spider himself who was in it. He said to her: "I am your father. Therefore, do not scream at me!" His daughter, *Yiyisa*, received him kindly and entertained him well. As night approached, she told her father that they should go and look for an overnight accommodation because people only ate their meals in that town but did not sleep there. Spider insisted on sleeping in the town and demanded to know why he could not spend the night in the town. *Yiyisa* replied: "There is a bird here whose beak is so long that it stretches as far as *Tsibu* from Ho, and it will eat us." That is why she did not want them to sleep there. "The bird will not like to eat me, a small gun¹⁰⁰ and me, a gourd¹⁰¹. For that matter, I will like to sleep in this town." The spider remained in the town, sharpened his knife so well that when a fly landed on it, it "desolved into water". During the night, the bird began its journey and sang:

We birds, we birds, eat human flesh.
We birds of the Akyem, we eat human flesh.
We spiders of the free-born, we eat human flesh.
When we shout, no other bird shouts;
When we shout, the grass in the bush withers!

Spider was in his room, and he inspired himself again by chanting his drinking names *Tutukpui*¹⁰² and *Golokpui*¹⁰³. The bird's beak had already reached the town. Its beak was seven hours ahead of it before it slowly entered the town. The spider began stroking its beak for quite a long time till he finally killed it. When the town folks came, they heard spider singing:

We spiders, we spiders we are in a wall
We spiders of *Akyem*, we live in a wall
We spiders of the free-born, we live in a wall
When we shout, no other bird shouts;
When we shout, the grass in the bush withers!

They were happy that the bird had been killed and told Spider that it was not only the bird that harassed them but there was also something else. There was a person afflicted with wounds who would not allow them to sleep in the town. Spider told them to defy the person and sleep in their town again. During the night, the afflicted person with wounds sang again:

100 Its appellation.

101 Its appellation.

102 The same name as 1 and 2.

103 The same name as 1 and 2.

8. Gli tso vuu dze Yiyi kple Yiyisa dzi

Dɔ va; eye Mawuviwo va anyigba dzi, eye Yiyi bia wo bena, ye vi Yiyisa le afi ma mahā? Yiyi gblɔ na Mawuviwo be, ne wole afe yi ge la, ne yeatsɔ nane na wo, ne woaxɔ ayi na ye vi Yiyisa. Egagblɔ na wo be, ne wova, 587* wokpɔ ye o, womekpɔ ye o, nubabla la le mlekpuito ne woatsɔe ayii. Kasia Mawuviwo nava la, yiyi mele kpɔ la me o, eye wotsɔ nubabla la yi na Yiyisa. Yiyi gblɔ kpe de nubabla la ŋu be, megatui le xexe o, Ke boŋ woatui le xɔ me. Yiyisa tsɔ nubabla la yi xɔ me, eye wɔtui le afi ma. Esi wòle etum la, ekpɔ Yiyi le eme. Eye wògblɔ ne bena, nyee nye tɔwo, eya ta megado yli de tanye o. Yiyisa wɔ amedzro ne keŋ, eye fiẽ me la, egblɔ na tɔa bena, nena yewoayi aɖaɖo yewofe dɔfe. Elabena yewomedɔa afi sia o, negbe nu ko yewoɖuna le du sia me. Yiyi bia via be, nu ka ŋuti wodɔa afi bubu mahā? Ye la du sia me kokoko dɔ ge yeala. Yiyisa dɔ eŋu ne bena, xevi aɖe li, efe dɔ didi tso Ho eva Tsibu, eyae dua yewo, eya ta yewo melɔna be, yewoadɔ afi sia o. Yiyi dɔ eŋu ne bena, nye tutukpui golokpui medzro xevi la ŋutɔ gɔ hā o, eya ta yeado du la me. Yiyi tsi du la me, tsɔ efe he, nyri keŋ, ale be, ne tagbatsu dzo de edzi ko ezu tsi. Le zā me. Xe la dze mɔ dzi le ha dzim be:

Yewo xewoe, xewoe xe, ɖu amelā,

Yewo Atsemuawo fe xe, xe ɖu amelā

Yewo ablɔɖeviwo fe xe, xe ɖu amelā.

Yewo mexlɔna xewo gafana o.

Ne yewo fa la, gbe kuna yurururu.

Yiyi le xɔa me ko, eye wògafo ŋkɔ dɔ na eɖokui be, nye tutukpui golokpui. Azɔ xe la fe dɔ dɔ dua me xoxo. Efe dɔ nɔ ŋgɔgbe gafofo adre hafi eya ŋutɔ ɖoa dua me. Yiyi le dɔ la lām, va se de esime wòwu xe la.

Duametɔwo va dua me, eye Yiyi le ha dzim be:

Yewo yiyi, yiyiwo le gli me,

Yewo Atsemuawo fe yiyi le gli me,

Yewo ablɔɖeawo fe yiyi le gli me,

Yewo mefana xe aɖe gafana o,

Ne yewo fa la, gbe kuna yurururu.

Wokpɔ dzidzɔ ŋutɔ le xe la fe wuwu ŋuti, eye wogblɔ ne be, nu bubu aɖe gali, nenyee xe la deɖe koe ɖea fu na yewo o. ke boŋ abito aɖe hā li si nana be, yewomedɔ du la me o. Gake Yiyi gbe bena yeagado du la me. Le zā me la, abito la lé ha me bena:

“Aḍo says: ‘The angry person should come and kill me!’”

When he was singing his song, Spider danced till daybreak. Then he asked the person to return the next morning to sing a song for him. When the town people came back again (the next morning), spider ordered that no one should leave the town because they and the afflicted person would dance. The townsfolk assembled, and the afflicted person began to sing:

“Aḍo says: Whoever is angry should come and kill me!”

As he sang his song, Spider danced so much that the wounds were passed on to him.

During the past, God did not create wound in the world. However, when spider became afflicted it spread among human beings. Formerly, wounds were confined to God. Now, it has spread throughout the world because of what Spider did.

When I went to the fence, a child told me this story and I am also telling it to you.

9. Fable about God, the Antelope and the Hyena

Once upon a time, there was such a great famine that there was no food in the world. Therefore, a small wild antelope, went to God to solicit rain to enable the grass to grow again so that there would be food to eat and be fattened. When God is celebrating his yam festival, He should catch and slaughter them for His feast. God let it rain, the grass grew well and the antelope fed well. God sent a messenger to catch and bring the antelope to Him. The antelope grazed well and was fattened. The antelope said to the messenger: “Look at me, I am not fat. Go and come back later to catch me.” Later, God sent another messenger and ordered him to bring the

Aḍo be, dɔmedzuitɔ neva wum.

Esi wòle ha la dzim la, ɔi ye vuu va se ɔe ɔu fe kekeme, eye wògbɔ nɛ bena, ne ɔu ke la, ne wòagava adzi ha la na ye. Esi dua metɔwo va la, 589 yiɔi gblɔ na wo bena, ame aḍeke nagadzo le dua me o, elabena ye kple abito yewole ye ɔu ge. Dua metɔwo katã va kpe ta, eye abito la le ha dzim bena:*

Aḍo be, dɔmedzuitɔ neva wum.

Esi wòle ha la dzim la, yiɔi le ye ɔum ɔutɔ, eye abi la hã le ɔeɔem ɔe ɔu.

Tsã la, Mawu mawɔ abi ɔe xexea me o, ke esi yiɔi xɔ abia la, etsɔe hlɛ ɔe ameawo dome. Tsã la, ele Mawu gbɔ ko, ke azɔ la ele tsatsam le xexeame, to yiɔi fe nuwɔwo sia me.

Esia meyi gbɔto le afim, eye ɔevi aḍe tso blem, eye nye hã metsɔ ble mi loo.

9. Gli dzo vɛ dze Mawu dzi hedze Kodzui kple agbotui dzi

Dɔ gã aḍe va, eye gbe aloo nuɔɔɔ aḍeke megale xexeame o. Eya ta kodzui tso yi Mawu gbɔ bena, wòana tsi nadza, ne gbewo nagato, ne yeaɔu ada ami. Eye ne ele te ɔu ge la, ne wòale ye atsɔ aɔu tee. Mawu na tsi dza, gbewo wɔ nyuie, eye kodzui ɔu da ami. Azɔ Mawu dɔ ame ɔa, be woalɛ kodzui ve, ke kodzui gblɔ be, woakpɔ ye ɔa, yemelolo o, woayɔi, ne ye bubu yi hã woava lé ye. Etefe didi vie, Mawu dɔ ame bubu, be woalée ve, etsi aloo metsi o. Wolée, eye wode kɔɔkɔɔ, hekpɔe yina ɔe Mawu gbɔe.

antelope, whether he had grown fat or not. The messenger caught the antelope, put him in chains and led him to God.

On their way there, they came to hyena's village and found him cooking maize. The chain around antelope's neck was very long. Antelope called hyena and told him that God wanted to celebrate His yam festival and demanded that he should quickly come, but he had no teeth. He asked hyena: "Don't you want to accept the invitation in my stead?" Hyena immediately tied a chain around his neck and asked where his teeth were. He should go home. When hyena was brought to God, he was locked up in a stall, while palm nuts were being cooked on fire outside. Close to hyena's stall, a woman was grinding flour as her child cried. The woman said: "Do not weep! Your father will soon slaughter a big animal for you." Hyena heard that. As the people came to catch him, he fled to the antelope in his village. He told the antelope to go for pepper and firewood, so that he would be cooked for meals. Antelope retorted: "Will I not be allowed to say a word (meaning will no court be held) before I am cooked and eaten?" Hyena answered: "There is nothing to say anymore. Just go and chop firewood!" He said, as he chopped the firewood in the bush, "How come then that for no reason an order is given for a person to be cooked?" Hyena answered: "What are you talking about?" Antelope retorted: "Nothing", and he went on to chop the wood: "ko, ko, ko, ko. How come, for no reason an order is given for a human being to be cooked?" He went on to chop the wood. Ko, ko, ko, for no reason whatsoever an order is given for a human being to be cooked and devoured? Hyena commanded him to hurry up with the chopping of the wood for making fire to cook him and devour. Antelope said: "I have said nothing other than the fact that

Esi woyina la, wova le agbotui gbɔ le efe kɔfe me, wòle bli dām. Kɔsɔkɔsɔ si wode agbotui la didi nɔtɔ. Kodzui yɔ agbotui, eye wògbɔ nɛ bena: Mawu le te dɔ ge, eye wògbɔ bena, yeava dɔ fu, gake aɔ mele yefe nu me o, ale kee maxɔ dɛ ye tefe o mahã? Agbotui xɔ kɔsɔkɔsɔ la de kɔ enumake eye wogbɔ nɛ bena, aɔ ka aɔ nu me nɛ le? Neyi afe kabakaba.

Wolé agbotui va de xɔ, eye woɔ de dzoe. Nyɔnu aɔ le wɔ tum le agbotuikpo la gbɔ, eye via le avi fam. Ke nyɔnu la le gbɔgbɔm bena: Megafa avi o, fofowò le lã gã aɔ wu ge na wò fifia. Agbotui se nya la, eye esi wòva ele ge la, esi vuu va efe kɔfe me le Kodzui gbɔ. Egbɔ na Kodzui bena, neyi dɔɔ atadi, eye wòafɔ nake vɛ na ye, ne yeaɔa Kodzui aɔ. Kodzui gbɔ nɛ bena, megagbɔ nya aɔke na ye hafi aɔ ye aɔ oa? Agbotui gbɔ be nya aɔke gbɔgbɔ megali o, neyi dɔlã nake la vɛ ko. Esi wòle nake la lãm la, ele gbɔgbɔm be, womewɔ naneke o hã, wobe yewoada ame. Agbotui be: Èbe ale ke? Kodzui gbɔ be yemegbɔ 591 nya aɔke o, Kodzui le nake la lãm ko, ko, ko, ko womewɔ naneke o hã, wobe yewoada ame, ko, ko, ko, ko, womewɔ naneke o hã, wobe yewoada ame. Egale nake la lãm ko, eye agbotui gbɔ nɛ bena nelã nake la na ye kabakaba ne yeaɔae aɔ. Ko Kodzui gbɔ be, womewɔ naneke o hã, wobe woalé ame aɔ. Agbotui bia be, èbe ale ke? Kodzui gbɔ be, yemegbɔ nya aɔke o, negbe Mawuviwo koe gbɔna, be yewoalée, eye yele gbɔgbɔm nɛ. Zi dɛka kpugu, agbotui de afɔ du me, neto afii, Kodzui le eyome le gbɔgbɔm be, Mawuviwo le eyome. Ale agbotui si dɔ gbe. Tsã la afe me wòle.*

God's children will come to get hold of you (hyena), and I will disclose it to you." All at once, hyena took to his heels and ran as quickly as he could and went far away. Antelope chased after him saying: "God's children will pursue you!" That is how it came about that the hyena now lives in the bush. In former times, he used to live in a home.

The other day, I went into the bush and met an old man who told me this story which, I am telling to you now.

10. Death and the Spider

There was once a great famine, during which hunters could not find any animals to kill anymore. Then death went and made a broad path that was like from here to *Sokɔde* (two hours walk) and put traps on it. Every animal that walked on that path was caught. That is how it came about that death had a lot of meat.

One day, spider came to death and said: "You have a lot of meat!" Spider wanted to take some home. Death allowed it. Spider made a basket that was as long as the distance between *Ho* and *Akɔviefɛ*¹⁰⁴, put the meat into it, and carried it home. That is why spider gave her daughter *Yiyisa* to death in marriage. Now spider was fond of coming to death, from whom it got meat and carried it home.

When *Yiyisa* was with death,¹⁰⁵ he said to her that she should not go by the broad path he had made, but he should go by the footpath that he had not made. Whenever she wanted to go to fetch water, she should go by the narrow path only. Sometime later, it rained a little. The grass was wet and *Yiyisa* wanted to go and fetch water. When she took the narrow path and went (through the high grass), she got wet. She, therefore, said that in future she would

Nyitsɔ meyi gbe me, eye amegã xoxo aɖe blem, eye nye hã metsɔ ble mi loo.

10. Gli tso vuu dze ku kple yiye dzi

Dɔ va ɣutsɔ, ale bena adelawo megakpɔ lã gɔ̃ hã le wuwum o. Eya ta ku yi ɖaɖe mɔ, si fe kekeme atso afii ade Sokɔde, eye wòtre gamɔwo ɖe edzi fũu. Ne lã sia lã va to edzi yina ko la, eɖene; to esia wɔwɔ me lã bɔ ɖe ku si fũu ɣutsɔ.

Gbe ɖeka la. yiye va ku gbɔ, eye wògblo nɛ bena, lã pɛe nye esia bɔ ɖe asiwò alea, eye yiye le didim be, yealɔ ɖewo ayi afee. Ku ɖe mɔ nɛ, eye yiye fo kle atso Ho ayi Akɔviefɛ, fɔ lãwo ɖe eme hetsɔ yi afee. Le esia ta yiye tsɔ via Yiyisa na ku wòɖe, eye wòvɔna va nɔa lãwo fom nɔa afe yimii.

Esi Yiyisa le ku gbɔ la, ku gblo nɛ bena, megato mɔ si yeta la o, ke boɲ neto esi yemeta o. Ne ele tɔme yim hã, neto me xexea ko. Ɔkeke aɖe dzi la, tsi vi aɖe dza, eye gbewo ɲu fo tsi, eye Yiyisa yina tɔme. Esi wobe, yeato mɔ xexea la, ekpɔ bena, efo tsi akpa, eya ta wòbe, yeato mɔtata la dzi. Afɔ ko wòbe yeato mɔtata dzi la, mɔ la fe

104 A distance of eight kilometres.

105 As its wife.

only go by the broad path. Hardly had she set her feet on the beautiful path when she got caught in a trap and died immediately. When death came to the trap and saw that Yiyisa had died in it, he cut it into pieces and smoked it on fire.

One day, spider, again, visited death, who entertained him. After he had eaten to his satisfaction, he sought permission from death to go home. He enquired about his daughter. Death said: “If you take the meat (from the fire), you will see her. Spider was so much amazed about that and said: “If a person is smoked on fire, will he not die?” Death answered: “I have told you.” When spider was taking the meat from the fire, he saw his child. Spider took leave of death and said: “I am going home now and will come back. I will not take you by surprise. I will fight against you.” When spider got home, he made his knife very sharp. He threw a stone into the air and it fell on the knife and got divided into two pieces. Spider said: “The knife is still not sharp enough.” He sharpened it again and put it on the earth. Whenever a fly settled on it, it was cut into pieces. He then went to confront death. When death saw him, he shot an arrow at him, but he dodged it, and the arrow flew into the bush and the forest. The forest and bush were set on fire by the arrow. Then death sang his hunters’ song:

“When an arrow hits a buffalo
The buffalo dies
When an arrow hits an elephant
The elephant dies.”
After that, spider also began to sing:
“Funo, (my wife!), Funo, (my wife!),
Is there a place where one cannot go to?
I am going, whether I arrive or fall
Fire and sword are coming,
Funo, (my wife!), Funo, (my wife!)

After they had ended their singing, spider threw his sharp knife that cut fan palm trees and all other trees in the surroundings. After that, spider flew home. The knife cut everything wherever it came. When spider got nearer to his house, he flew into it. Death waited for him at the borders of the town with the intention of killing him as soon as he came out. In the morning, the women went to the well to fetch water, and conversed with one another on the way. Suddenly, death shot an arrow at them and killed several of them. The others fled home and gave distress signals saying: “Such and such a woman is dead!” When death came and saw the corpses, he said: “These are nothing but animals. That is why I do not need to go into the bush anymore.” This is the way and manner through which death came into the world. If spider had not done that, death would not have come into the world.

An old woman told me this story and I am also telling you.

dee, eye wòku enumake. Esi ku va mɔ gbɔ la, ekpɔ be, yiyisa ku dee, eye wòtsɔe fli ken heyiyi.

Eva eme bena, yiyi gaɖi tsa va ku gbɔ, ku na nuɖuɖui wòɖu vɔ ken, eye emegbe la, edi bena, ku nado mɔ ye. Eyome la, ebia via ta. Ku gblɔ nɛ bena, ne ele lāwo fɔm ko la akpɔe. Nya la wɔ nuku na yiyi ɲutɔ, eye wògblɔ bena, ale ke ame anɔ agba dzi maku o mahā? Ku gblɔ nɛ bena, ye la, yegblɔe nɛ xoxo. Esi yiyi le lāwo fɔm la, eke ɖe via ɲu, eye wògblɔ na ku bena, yeyi afe ne yeava, yemele elili ge o, ye kpakpli yewoawɔ nu kokoko. Esi yiyi va afe la, enyre afe hɛ wòle ɖaɖam ɲutɔ, eye woda kpe ɖe dzi, tsɔ 592 hɛ la ɖo ete wòlāe ɖe eve. Ke yiyi gblɔ be, mele ɖaɖam nyuie o, eye wòganyrii vuɔ tsɔe da ɖi, esi tagbatsu va dzo ɖe enu la, ɖeko wòtrɔ zu tsi ɖe enu. Azɔ eyi kpekpe ge kple ku. Esi ku kpɔe la, eda afe aɲutɔ la dze gbe me heɖo ave. Tete ave la kple gbe la lé dzo, eye ku le efe adela dzim bena:*

Agboɖuga fo nyi

Ne nyi ku

Agboɖuga fo to

Ne to ku

Eye yiyi hā do efe ha ɖa bena:

Funɔ loo, Funɔ loo

Afi aɖe li womedena?

Meyi ne magbɔ, aloo matsi

Dzo kple yi wogbɔna

Funɔ loo, Funɔ loo!

Emegbe yiyi hā da efe hɛ la, eye wòlā agɔti kple ati siwo katā le afi ma la. Ke yiyi le sisim le afe me yim eye afi si yiyi fe hɛ to la, ele nu sia nu lām ɖa. Esi yiyi te tu afe la, esi yi ɖe afe me, eye ku le gbɔto la elalam, be nedo go ne yeawui. Le ɲdi la nyɔnuwo do go yina tɔme tsi du ge, eye wole nu fom le dze ɖom. Enumake ku da atrɔ ɖe wo dome, eye wòwu ɖewo ke ɖewo si yi afe, eye asifunu dzo be, ame si kple ame si ku loo. Ku va kpɔ ameawo, eye wògblɔ 593 be, lā sɔɲ enye esi le afii, eya ta yemegale gbeme yi ge o. To ale mɔ dzi ku va xexea me. ɖe menye yiyie wɔ nu sia o la, anye ne ku mava xexea me o.*

Esia nyagā aɖe tsɔ blem, eye nye hā metsɔ ble mi!

11. Yam installs a King

One day, it happened that a type of yam, *Kasanti*, came to *Klevu* to converse with him about the ranking of the types of yam. *Kasanti* asked whether it was true that he is said to be the King among all the types of yam. *Klevu* responded: “Do people not say that I have been King from time immemorial?”

Kasanti: “O, *Klevu*, what a word have you spoken, you, who lives today and tomorrow you are no more! You could die off from us tomorrow or the day after tomorrow and leave us behind as orphans.”

Klevu: “What you are saying is only jealousy that disapproves of my royal dignity; or do you perhaps think that there is someone in this world who must not die? Show me such a person so that we install this person as king over us!”

Both of them brought this quarrel before the governor and asked him to decide between them and install a king.

Governor: “Where are your other brothers?”

Kasanti: “They are staying behind.”

Governor: “Go and call them!”

After that they came to the governor, who asked whether they had appeared in full number. The types of yam answered: “Yes sir, all present in full number!”

Governor: “Why have you brought your quarrel to me?”

Types of yam: “Because you are the King.”

Governor: “But I am not one of you Blacks. How will I know which type of yam can reign over you?”

Klevu: “Sir, ask each individual among us which special merits he has. From that you will know who among us is capable of being a king.”

Governor: “Well, I will do that and install a king for you. But tell me first who the smallest among you is. He should tell me what he does.”

After that, the types of yam looked at each other and found out that *Biansa* was the smallest and youngest among them.

Biansa stood up and asked: “Why do you consider me as the smallest among you? I am not quarrelling over the king’s throne.”

Governor: “I do not want any quarrel here. Tell me your word calmly!”

Biansa: “Sir, I hear your word. I will talk peacefully. I do not even want to talk much. I am a type of yam which is very tasty for people, and it is known to everyone that I am a genuine type of yam, become very long and get beautiful leaves. I become strong and the fufu that is prepared from me is firm. Women also love me so much. However, they do not like me as fufu. If there was someone from *Leklebi* among us, I am certain that the kingdom would be assigned to me. Those ones know for how many meals one can use me. I have a lot to say, but, because my village comrades have called me the smallest, I must hear (keep quiet) willy-nilly.”

Governor: “Good. Go and sit down!”

Nyagasi gets up and says: “I do not want to be jealous of anyone. However, *Biansa*’s claim that it is tastier than all other types of yam annoys me very much. I have a lot to say. *Biansa* vituperates us when he says he is more palatable than all other types of yam. Go and ask the towns people, which yams they sacrifice to the *trōwo*. That is me, *nyagasi*. If these court proceedings would take place before the village chief, I know

for sure that the kingdom would be mine. But I do want to talk any further before the governor.”

Yrapa: “Which of you, other types of yam, grows as big as I? No one is equal to me. That is why the dominion should be mine.”

Governor: “I do not like to hear the word of a braggart, go and sit down. Humility is not found among you, but a lot pride, jealousy and hatred are found. I know that you have learnt this demeanour from your countrymen, the Blacks. Why have you come to me without *dzobali* and cassava as well as all that grows in the soil?”

Klevu: “Sir, it is true that no one has the right to talk before you, but I beg you, please allow *Kasanti* to say something.

Kasanti: “Ao! Things are going badly for me. If I were in Avatime, I would not have asked for permission to speak. This is because I am more popular than any other type of yam. My goodness, with which I save the life of people, goes to my credit. I have made efforts in vain. But that does not matter.”

Governor wants to reprimand *Kasanti*, but *Klewu* pleads on his behalf.

Klevu: “Sir, allow him to finish his submission!”

Governor: Speak quickly, so that I do not waste my time in vain!”

Kasanti: “I like where the ground is soft. I am at home wherever the ground is soft. Even in the dry season, I stand firm and I grow big. I existed long before all other types of yam and I am very popular in Avatime. However, because the Governor says I am taking too much of his time, I would thus like to end my submission here.”

Dika: “Sir, I am a stranger here. It is not quite long when I came to the land of the Eve people, and many of them do not know me at all. I do not understand the Eve language either because I came from Akwapim. The people understand my language there, and I understand theirs.”

Klevu asks the governor whether he may be allowed to talk. “Permission granted but I admonish you to make your submission short”, the governor said.

Klevu: “Go and ask the farmers themselves which yam they like most!”

Governor to Klewu: “Do not trouble yourself any longer; you are the King among all types of yam. And whoever rises up against you rises up against me. And whoever loves you loves me”.

B. Parables

1. The Three Orphans

A woman gave birth to three children and all of them died. The children were with their grandmother for a long time, till they were of age and, because they thought that they were born by their grandmother, they called her “mother”. One day, the children went to the street together to play there. However, a quarrel broke out between them and their playmates. Their playmates insulted them and they told them, of course, that their mother had died. When the children came back home,

B. Alobalo

1. *Tsyñevi etñawo*

Nyɔnu aɖe dzi vi etɔ, esia megbe la, eya ɣutsu ku, eye ɖeviawo nɔ wo mama gbɔ tsi. Ke wo mama la ko woyɔne be dada, elabena wosusu be, eyae dzi yewo. Gbe ɖeka ɖeviawo yi fefe ge le ablɔ me, eye dzre dzɔ ɖe woawo kple ɖevi bubuwo dome. ɖevi kemeawo dzu wo bena, wofe nɔ ku. Esi ɖeviawo va afe me la, wode asi wo mama yɔyɔ me azɔ be mama. Wo mama bia eta se, eye wogblɔ nya la kata nɛ. Wobia wo mama be, ne wɔafia yewo dada fe yɔdo yewo; ke eɖo ɣu na wo

they no longer called their grandmother “mother”, but rather “grandmother.” When the grandmother asked them for the reason for calling her “grandmother”, they told her what transpired. The children asked the grandmother to show them their mother’s grave. However, the grandmother said that their mother had died long ago and the way to her grave has disappeared because the path to the grave had overgrown into bush. Thereof, she pointed her finger to a different direction telling them that that direction might be the right way to the grave. After that, the children went away, and one of them said he knew the way. (Their mother was buried in a stream) A second child among them said that he wanted to drink up the water in the stream (for the stream to dry up). And the third child said that he knew the bones of their mother. Now, which of these children did the biggest job? One of them showed the way, the second drank the water up, and the third collected the mother’s bones.

Answer: The child that drank up the water performed better than the other two.

2. The Mender, the Hunter and the Thief

Once upon a time, an eagle carried the daughter of a king to an oyster bed (in a lagoon). The king looked for people to save her (from the talons of the eagle). But he found no one. Suddenly, a thief, a mender and a hunter came and said they wanted to go. The thief said he would steal the girl from the eagle. The hunter explained that when the eagle comes to carry her away again, he would shoot him down. The mender gave the assurance that when the eagle, that had been shot falls into the boat, and the boat breaks into pieces, he would mend it immediately.

be, eku etefe didi, mɔ la hã bu. Ke efia asi mɔ bubu aɖe na wo be, ɖewohi anye mɔ lae nye ekema. ɖevawo kple etɔ wodzo, ɖeka be yeanya mɔ la. (Woɖi wo nɔ la ɖe tome). ɖeka be, yeano tsi la le tɔa me, eye etɔlia be, yeadze si ye dada fe fu. Esi woyina la, ɖeka fia mɔ la wo, evelia no tsi la, eye etɔlia fɔ dada fe fuwo kpe. Wo dome ame ka wɔ wu mahã?

ɖevi si no tsi lae wɔ wu wo katã.

2. Alobalo le nuheha, adela kple fiafi ŋu

Gbe ɖeka hɔ va fo fia fe nyɔnuvi yi ɖada ɖe adzakpo aɖe dzi. Fia la di amewo be, woaxɛ le esi na ye, gake mekpɔ ɖeke o, kasia fiafitɔ, nuhela kple adela wodo va gbɔ na fia la bena, yewoayɔ. Fiafi be, yeafi nyɔnuvi la le hɔ la gbɔ; adela be, ne hɔ la gbɔna, be yeagafɔe la yeadzae; nuhela be, ne hɔ la ge dze fua me wògbã la, yealee enumake.

They entered the boat and went to the oyster bank. The thief lay in wait and stole the girl from eagle's talons. When they were returning, the eagle wanted to snatch the child again, but the hunter immediately shot it down. The eagle fell into the boat and the boat broke into pieces. The mender mended it immediately, and they all reached the bank safe and sound. Which of these three has done the greatest job?

Woḍo vu yi adzakpo la gbɔ. Fiafi la be dza ḍafi nyɔnuvi la le hɔ la kɔme. Esi wodzo gbɔna la hɔ la va be yeafo nyɔnuvi la, enumake adela dae, eye wòge va dze vu la me wòfli tsayatsaya. Nuhela he vu la enumake, eye wo katã wode go dedie. Ame etɔ siawo dometɔ kae wɔe wu?

C. The Language of the Bird

Matchmaking

The pigeon *akpakpa* and the pigeon *voli* were courting a girl. Each of them wanted to marry her. The matter was put before the elders of the town for them to decide. These elders first asked the bird *akpakpa* to justify himself as the rightful person to marry the girl. He said: “*zi eve mede hotsui hotu, zi eve mede hotsui hotu*,” “I went two times and brought her 1 *hotu* of cowry shells; I went two times and brought her 1 *hotu* of cowry shells.” After that, the bird *voli* began to speak. He said: “*etsɔ tse hoka, etsɔ tse hoka*,” “yesterday 1 *hoka* and tomorrow 1 *hoka*.” (The view is that he has brought her 1 *hoka* of cowry shells everyday, never a lot at a go, but something everyday.) The elders then withdrew for consultation and decided to give the woman to *voli* in marriage. Even if he has brought a little at a time, he has done it everyday and taken care of the girl. *Akpakpa* has brought a lot at a go, but has since stopped taking care of the girl.

D. Riddles, *adzowo*

1. *Alẽ nu kpo ḍu gbe memie*

Egome: Afɔ

A sheep with a blunt mouth grazes down the grass.

What is that? Answer: The foot.

Explanation: The foot is blunt and has no mouth; but, when it steps on the grass often, it will become short as if a sheep had grazed it down.

2. *Meto du gome de Asante*

Example: *Alɔḍɔḍɔ*

What is that? Answer: Sleep.

Explanation: Whoever wants to go to Asante in the presence of his senses must go through the towns that are on the way. But whoever comes to Asante in a sleep, is suddenly there without having seen a town on the way.

3. *Fofonye fle godoe gãa ðe nam mede edo ge do kpoe.*

Example: *Mowo*

My father has bought a big loin-cloth for me. I wanted to wear it but could not.

What is that? Answer: The way.

Explanation: The loin tie consists of a long, narrow strip. Likewise is the African path narrow and long. But one cannot cut this long strip of cloth and tie it around the loin.

4. *He maɖaɖa sim le adzɔge*

Example: *ŋku*

The blunt knife cuts me at a distance

What is that? Answer: The eye

Explanation: Whoever throws a blunt knife at someone will hurt him, but it does not cut. The eye is also blunt but strikes a person who is at a distance, meaning it sees him

5. *Uudu gbɔ̃*

Example: *Ne, agɔ, aɖiba*

Fall and Noise

What is that? Answer: The nut, fan palm fruit and pawpaw

Explanation: Heavy fruits fall quickly from a tree and make noise with the fall. The names of the fruits must be given by the doer of riddles.

6. *Mí katã miedo kuku sɔ̃ŋ*

Example: *Fɔ̃yi*

We all have hats on.

What is that? Answer: The fruit of the Foyi tree

Explanation: The fruits of this tree have at one end a core similar to a hut, the calyx stuck.

7. *Mí katã miede ava xɔ tukpebi sɔ̃ŋ*

We all went to war and were wounded with bullets.

What is that? Answer: Perforated maize grains

Explanation: The small maize beetles bore into the maize grains; this is similar to all wounded persons, who were hit in war with a bullet.

8. *Lãwo mlɔ̃fe fu mavɔ*

Example: At the lair of animals, one always finds hair

What is that? Answer: Ashes

Explanation: You will find ashes wherever fire burns.

9. *Hũ, hũ, hũ.*

Example: *Ame tamenya*

What is that? Answer: It is the groaning of a person showing that she or he is thinking about something deeply.

10. *Avugbe nu yibɔ fo xlã kɔ*

Example: *Talũhe*

The antelope with a black mouth goes around the hill.

What is that? Answer: The razor

Explanation: The hill is the head. The black antelope is the knife, which goes all round the head. Just as the black antelope grazes down the hill, the razor also makes the head bald.

11. *Kpokpoku masia de xɔta*

Example: *Dzo*

There is a kind of *kpokpoku* that one cannot dry on roof top

What is that? Answer: Fire

Explanation: A certain type of fish, named *kpokpoku*, is dried on roof tops. However, if one takes fire onto the roof it rather burns than dries the house.

12. *Ga gɔdɔe le gli ŋu*

A bent iron on a wall

What is that? Answer: Ear

13. *Zevi tukui ɖa nu du ɖu*

Example: *Sakpli*

The whole town eats a meal cooked in a small pot.

What is that? Answer: Talkativeness

Explanation: If someone is let into a secret and the person concerned blabs out; again, if you share a secret with a talkative, soon the whole town knows.

14. *Atiwo katã lu xe, guduglului melua xe o.*

Deti alo aɲutiti

All trees lose their foliage, but *guduglului* does not lose its foliage.

What is that? Answer: Oil palms and citrus tree.

Explanation: *guduglului* is an invented, fictitious name for trees that do not lose their foliage.

15. *Mekpɔ tɔwo katã me kpa kpɔ, gake nyemekpɔ Haho me tɔ kpɔ o.*

Example: *Ame dada fe ɖetugbui me.*

I have seen the fish from all rivers but have not as yet seen those from the Haho river.

What is that? Answer: My mother as maiden.

16. *Fofonye tsɔ agbo yibɔ tsiditsidĩa de nam, mefo tome nɛ wɔtrɔ zu agbo ye.*

Example: *Anane*

My father gave me a completely black ram. It became a white ram when I slapped it.

What is that? Answer: The oil palm nut

Explanation: The husk of the oil palm nut is deeply black. The kernel that is inside is white. When one cracks the husk the kernel appears.

17. *Tɔ gãa dɛ li, xeviwo dzo dɛ eto fũ, gake dɛke medea nu eme o.*

Example: Adaba

There is a big river on whose banks many birds perch, but none of them puts its beaks into the water (in order to drink water).

What is that? Answer: Eyelashes (birds); eyes(river)

Explanation: The eyes are the big river; the eyelashes are on the banks, but none of them drinks water from it.

18. *Fofonye tu xɔ gãa dɛ nam, fesrẽwo le ɛɲu fũ.*

Example: Dɔ

My father built a big house for me, in which there are many windows.

What is that? Answer: The fishing net

19. *Ku dɪ kpekpe tsi mavɔ le Anyakotɔ me o.*

Example :Atoto (abable)

However severe the drought, the water in the *Anyako* lagoon never dries up completely.

What is that? Answer: Pineapple fruit.

Explanation: Even if it is very dry, there is a lot of juice available in the pineapple fruit.

20. *Dɛ nyemesesẽ o la, ne nyemele betedalawo dome o.*

Example: Aɖe

If I were not strong, I would not survive among those who throw the dagger.

What is that? Answer: The tongue

E. Proverbs, *lododowo*

1. *Ayroe medɔa golowo dome o.*

The bird “ayroe” does not sleep among the ostrich.

Explanation: This type of bird is very small and does not sleep in the company of ostriches.

Use: A poor person cannot be in the company of the rich.

2. *Ahl̃ɛ medoa nyifɔkpa o.*

The antelope does not wear the hoof of a cow.

Explanation: A small ‘fish’ cannot get involved in things that are beyond his powers.

Use: A poor person should not behave like a rich person.

3. *Ame kuku meɖoado gbɔ dzea agl̃a o.*

A dead person who is being taken to the grave does not resist.

Explanation: A man finds himself in situations in which he can no longer baulk.

Use: Whoever travels to another town to be present at some difficult court proceedings must stay there throughout. She/he should not turn back.

4. *Agbe metia agbeduḍḍetɔ o.*

A weak person does not get tired of life.

Explanation: Even if someone is in small, miserable circumstances, she/he likes to live.

5. *Ale gbo nya metso gbo gbo nya o*

A quarrel among sheep is no business of the goat.

Explanation: When family members are quarrelling among themselves, that is no business of another family.

Use: Do not meddle in other people's affairs!

6. *Agbonyila medɔa akɔlɛ o.*

Whoever rears rams should not doze.

Explanation: One should not leave a ram on its own.

Use: Whoever has a disobedient son should not slumber, but rather monitor him painstakingly.

7. *Amea deke melia afi ŋu le kɔ gbɔ o, ne tɔgbuia mele eme o, ekemã viawo le eme.*

Whoever abuses a mouse at a termitarium should be sure that when its grandfather does not hear it, its child surely does.

Explanation: Whoever insults someone and thinks there is no one present, who can hear it, deceives himself. Any member of the family will hear it.

“The field has ears.”

8. *Agbenɔ xevi metsia fu mato o.* A fledgling bird in the nest grows feathers in the end.

Use: If a child develops itself healthily, it can gradually do hard work.

9. *Ame nɔvi vlo la agɔbayae, womegbene o, elabena tsi dzagbe li.*

A bad brother is like the branch of the fan palm tree. You do not refuse him completely because the rainy season is coming.

10. *Amedzro ŋku lolo menya xɔ dome o.*

A stranger with big eyes does not know inmost part of the house.

Use: Even if a person knows a lot, there are secrets that she/he does not know.

11. *Avu kpɔ gɔme nya wɔna.*

Only the one who knows the cause of a quarrel understands how to quarrel.

Use: Do not meddle in a quarrel the cause of which you do not know.

12. *Amenuvela meḍoa yɔ kple ame o.*

No matter the extent of grief, the mourner does not accompany the corpse into the grave.

Use: No one substitutes oneself with another person in grave situations no matter the love.

13. *Ayroewo sɔ ta pepɛpɛ, gake fia le wo nu.*

The birds, *ayroewo*, are all equal, but they have a king.

Use: Even if human beings live under equal conditions, they still need a leader.

14. *Axa ko wotsɔna dia tefee.*

Explanation: If a person wants to lie on a crowded mat with others, he squeezes himself in sideways before lying on his back.

Use: It is with tact and shrewdness that one achieves a goal.

15. *Avɔme mewɔ dɔa dɛke o, nya ko wɔwɔna.*

The throat does not work but it forms words.

Use: Even if an old man cannot work, he does a lot with his good advice.

16. *Ame tre kuku, ngɔgbɛdodoe.*

Whoever dies first has only taken the lead.

Use: When your enemy dies, do not behave as if you will not die. It is also used in the sense: Whoever works hard will gradually become rich.

17. *Avlimeyigbe enye demagbɔ nugbe.*

Whoever goes to the underworld goes on a journey of no return.

18. *Akpagbɔnɔla megbea akpa dzedze o.*

Whoever cares for a person with an infectious disease will also be infected sooner or later.

19. *Asi megbea wɔɖu ŋu o.*

Whoever wants to have a meal must use his/her hand.

Use: Without hard work one does not get any food, or “hard work is rewarded.”

20. *Avĩ tsatsae dzia ha dea nu na ame.*

It is the wondering dog that puts a song in the master’s mouth.

Explanation: A principal singer intones the song that the other singers sing along.

21. *Anyi dɔ dɛ fiati ŋu dɛdɛ meli o.*

One cannot remove a swarm of bees from a tree that belongs to a king.

Explanation: Whoever wants to harvest honey in Togo must always destroy a swarm of bees beforehand. However, if the tree on which it has settled is in the farmstead of a king, one cannot harvest the honey because of fears of the king.

Use: When a high-ranking person lays his/her hands on something, there can be no quarrel over it any longer.

22. *Agata-kese, wole ye kom, eyewole etsɔla hã kom.*

If one teases a caged monkey, one also derides its carrier.

Use: Whoever has to deal with a foolish person is also derided together with him/her.

23. *Adela ŋkɔ mevona le adelã ŋu o.*

A hunted animal is eternally identified with the name of the hunter.

Explanation: Whoever eats the meat asks of the person who has killed the animal.

Use: Whoever sees the behaviour of a boy asks of the name of the father. If the father is bad, one should not expect anything better from the son. “An apple does not fall far away from the stem”.

24. *Ame dzɔ na ku dzɔ na agbe.*

A human being is born for life and death.

25. *Agbaka glɔ̃, te meglɔ̃ o.*

Only the rows of yam are crooked, but not the yam.

Explanation: The farmer plants his yam in a row. But if these are crooked, that has no effect on the thriving of the yam itself.

Use: One must differentiate between the external form of a thing and its substance.

26. *Avɔ foɖi menye ɖe wofie o.*

One does not burn a dirty dress (but rather washes it).

Use: “One does not throw away a child with the bath water”.

27. *Agɔ mefoa nu dzro o.*

A fan palm tree does not speak for nothing.

Explanation: When the leaves of the fan palm tree rustle, the reason for it is that the wind is blowing.

Use: Whoever speaks has a reason for speaking.

28. *Amenɔŋu menya nyɔna o.*

One cannot awaken a person who is not sleeping.

Explanation: It is not easy to penetrate the thoughts of a pretender.

29. *Amedzro metsɔa amekuku fe tagbɔ o.*

A stranger does not carry the head of a corpse.

Explanation: When the deceased are carried to the grave the head goes first. The pall bearers must be family members because they are the only ones who know where he/she will be buried.

Use: A stranger should not behave in a town as if he/she were a leader if he/she does not know the norms of the place.

30. *Agaga lolo mevlea eve fe nu o.*

One cannot buy any object worth two shells with a big cowry shell.

31. *Dusiadu kple efe koklo koko.*

Each society has its own way of dressing a chicken.

Use: Each society has its own mores.

32. *Ne tre dze anyi la, agba mekoa nu o.*

When a calabash falls on the ground, a bowl does rejoice. Explanation: A calabash breaks when it falls, and when a bowl falls, it also breaks.

Use: One should not rejoice when another person is unlucky because one can also be unlucky.

33. *Nè evlo le afe la womevlona le gbe o.*

Whoever is naughty back home is careful in a strange land.

Use: If one perpetrates all sorts of bad disposition towards his/her own people, one must not carry that to a foreign land.

34. *Ndi menyona na ame wokoa nu o.*

No one should rejoice over a good tiding in the morning.

Use: “One should not praise the day before sunset.”

35. *Siamea ɣlɔe be, abitɔ fe ŋku le edzi.*

Whoever inflicts a wound may forget but the victim never does.

36. *Tsi fo di eklɔ nu meli o.*

Dirty water cannot be washed clean.

Use: When a mess is made of something, one cannot repair it. There is no solution to an irreparable damage.

37. *Babaa mefaa nu o.*

No expression of sympathy can erase pain.

38. *Bliku fe nya medzɔna le koklowo de o.*

The maize grain cannot be acquitted in the homestead of chickens.

Use: You cannot be set free in a court presided over by your enemies.

39. *Dzigbɔɔɔɔ enye xoxo na adā.*

Explanation: Patience is a rare virtue and surpasses impulsive anger.

Use: With patience one achieves more than with anger.

40. *Dɔwɔvi megbea nɔ wu o.*

A hungry child is evidence of a hungry mother.

Explanation: A mother cannot let her child starve while she is full.

41. *Dadi mū aha meɣlɔa afi kuku be o.*

An intoxicated cat does not forget the dead mouse.

Use: Under no circumstances does one forget what he/she considers important.

42. *Dzɔgbɔɔɔɔla tɔe trea bibi.*

Whoever sits close to the fire eats first before others.

43. *Ge tutɔ meɖua nu, ge tutɔ vanã o.*

When a bearded person eats, it is his beard that moves and not that of another person.

Use: Whatever one does he/she does it for herself/himself

44. *Hotakpotɔ meɖua nu tea hokatɔ o.*

Whoever has half a Pfennig cannot spend more than the value of one Pfennig.

45. *Klu gā menye vi gā o*

A big slave is not a big son.

Explanation: Even if someone is distinguished as a slave, he/she is still a slave and not a free-born.

46. *Kokloxɔ mekpea ŋu na koklo o.*

A chicken is not ashamed of its coop.

Use: A son does not need to be ashamed of his father even if the father is poor.

47. *Avayifo sɔna, avagbofo mesɔna o.*

People go to war with one another, but return one after the other.

Use: When two persons do the same work on their farm they have different harvest.

48. *Afenya mewua ame o.*

One is never overwhelmed by the events of one's homeland.

Explanation: A quarrel that has broken out in the homeland will never be so terrible that one is ruined by that because one is supported by his/her people. However, in a strange land one may not have that support.

Use: Whoever stays at home does not suffer any damage.

49. *Amesi ke kè ɖe kutsi ŋu, eya trea edudu.*

Whoever finds water first during dry period draws it first.

Use: Whoever discovers wealth first owns it before others.

50. *Ku fana, dɔ mefana o.*

The pain of death may subside but not hunger.

Explanation: When someone dies, he/she feels no pains anymore. But whoever eats always gets hungry again.

51. *Kpetsɔla mefa kɔ fe avi o.*

A stone carrier does not bewail his/her neck.

Explanation: Whoever carries stones knows that his/her neck will hurt and must not cry of pain.

Use: Whoever commits an offence willingly must not complain about the punishment.

52. *Koklovi be yedze ɲe na avako.*

The chicken says it lies on its back for the bird of prey.

Explanation: The weaker person says that is helpless against the powerful and, therefore, awaits his/her inevitable fate.

53. *Lovi meyina ɖe tɔ me xa nu o.*

The young crocodile does not grieve on its way into water (because water is its element).

Use: One does not worry about the consequences of an action if one is already aware of them.

54. *Lokpo ɖu bli madokpo ava*

If the bird lokpo eats maize; it will not spare a whole barn.

Use: Whoever gathers one thing after the other unscathed will progressively become rich.

55. *Mɔ didi megbɔa du ɲuti yina o.*

No matter how long a path might be, it does not by-pass a village.

Use: Whoever searches for something long enough will finally find it.

56. *Né dɔ̃ li la, womefoa yi ɖe ata o.*

If the stomach is available, one does not thrust a dagger into the thigh.

Explanation: Do not dance around the truth when it is so obvious.

Use: Whoever has work to do should not do the secondary matter before the main thing; otherwise he/she does not attain the goal.

57. *Numanyomanyo kple efe dzree le.*

A bad action always gives rise to its attendant quarrel.

58. *Nyowɔla hoa fu.*

A benefactor always reaps hatred.

59. *Nyae wua ame wolɔa aɲutiti.*

It is out of desperation that one climbs a citrus tree.

Explanation: A citrus tree has thorns which prick when it is climbed.

Use: Faced with a dangerous life, one likes to bear a little pain, if life may be saved through that.

60. *Ne èbe, tsi gɔmetɔ megage o la, tsimetɔ akɔ ɖe mo nawò.*

If you do not want that the soup (under the ladle to) trickle down, you spill the whole lot in the face.

Explanation: While the cook wants to lick up the trickles that hang under the ladle, she spills what is on the ladle in the face.

Use: Whoever does not want to bear a little misfortune must often live with a bigger one.

61. *Ne dusisi mele ηuwò o la, nanya bebe.*

If you cannot run, you seek to hide.

Explanation: If one lacks protection from problems, one must avoid them in the first place.

Use: Whoever has no money at the market is careful with shopping.

62. *Numanyamanya dzea agbagba ame.*

Ignorance necessitates unnecessary extra effort in a task.

63. *Ne agɔnu nɔ anyi la, eya ko afɔ nya dzɔna.*

The legs can only be stretched when the buttocks are seated.

Explanation: Whoever walks or stands cannot make herself/himself comfortable.

Use: Only the rich person can lead a comfortable life.

64. *Nɔvi baɖa dzi ha de ame.*

It is only a bad sibling that sings songs of derision about his/her own.

Explanation: Whoever knows the secret of his/her friends und sings of her/him proves with that that he/she is a bad person.

65. *Nu gāwo gbɔ vɔvɔ tsoa afe ɖo.*

Fear builds its home where there is wealth.

Explanation: People fear those who are powerful.

66. *ηɔ̃kula fe agble nue ɖune.*

It is the farm of an envious person that gets destroyed by creatures.

Explanation: Whoever is envious of others has no friends, therefore, receives no assistance in times of trouble.

67. *ηɔ̃li mefiaa nunya vi o.*

The ghost of the dead does not teach a child any wisdom.

Use: Whoever is more stupid than her/his fellow human being cannot teach her/him.

68. *Nyifutue gbana de ahlɛe ηu.*

The gun that hunts elephants bursts on the antelope.

Explanation: The big gun of a hunter of elephants can explode with a shot at a little antelope.

Use: A weak person can also harm a strong person.

69. *Ne ede belefe wòle klonu, ekemā megabia zi o.*

If you see frogs squatting in their homeland, do not ask of a chair.

Explanation: All frogs squat; with them there are no chairs.

Use: People must act according to the mores of a people in whose land they live.

70. *Nusi wɔ kpete fe ta èya wɔ ɖaɖi fe ble.*

Whatever made the vulture's head bald is what happened to the partridge's tail.

Explanation: The vulture has a bald head, the partridge has no tail.

Use: If a person is blind while the other person is an amputee, both of them are handicapped; none of them has an advantage over the other.

71. *Ne amea ɖe ku anyrã ku, anyrã nu wowɔna ɖine.*

If one pretends to be dead, one would be accorded an equally phony burial.

Use: A person who commits suicide is buried without sympathy.

72. *Nufiamela fe asi nu wokpɔna.*

It is at the outstretched finger of whoever shows someone something that one looks at.

Use: Whoever wants to learn must pay attention and follow what he/she is taught.

73. *Sakplitɔ melɛa avu dzudzɔna o.*

A gossip cannot intervene to break a fight completely.

Explanation: Whoever gossips about two people, inciting one against the other, can only pour oil on troubled waters if they consequently quarrel. This is because he/she is the cause of the quarrel.

74. *Tsi yɔ ze, gake nu to egbo fiãna.*

Food can still burn in a pot filled with water.

Use: The rich can also commit an offence.

75. *Tsi le tsi tɔ nu, agba hã le agba tɔ nu.*

The ladle carries out its work; the bowl also does its work.

Explanation: Everyone has his/her functions to perform in society.

Use: Each person works according to the measure of his/her strength and his/her understanding.

76. *Tsiamee gbã du, eya kee ɖɔne ɖo.*

The chief's linguist can ruin a town, but can also restore it to favour.

Explanation: An unreasonable chief's linguist can cause a lot of damage; a reasonable chief's linguist can contribute just as much.

77. *Tegli be, yefe lɔlɔ fe agble yeɖua nu le.*

The partridge says it only eats on the farm of its loved ones.

Explanation: When the partridge is eating maize on the farm, it lets the farmer come very close to it before it flies away.

Use: You are hurt mostly by those who pretend to love you.

78. *Tegli nya nu kaka gake la kokɔko wowona ne.*

The partridge understands how to gather in coveys but still gets shot on the head.

Use: A very clever thief is finally caught.

79. *Tòtamexe be, yemedoa to fe ku o, tò nenɔ agbe ne yeafɔ axĩ le ɛɲu aɖu.*

The bird that sits on a buffalo does not want the death of the buffalo, but that it must live in order that it can feed on its ticks.

Use: The freeloader does not want the death of the rich person because he/she must subsist upon him/her.

80. *Dɔdɔɖokuitɔ meyoa mo o.*

Whoever does a piece of work out of one's own free will does not pull a wry face over it.

Use: Do not grumble over a chore you assigned yourself.

81. *Dokpɔɖi afi ɖona*

The mouse flees into the hole that it has earlier discovered.

Use: Whoever looks around for a place of refuge before a war flees easily to safety.

82. *Dzodzo haha menye vɔvɔ o.*

Trembling is not tantamount to fear.

Explanation: Caution and cowardice are not synonymous.

83. *Dzre mele ŋku kple alĩ dome o.*

The eye and sleep have no quarrel with each other.

Use: Faithful friends do not quarrel.

84. *Dumenyo mesɔa afe o*

A beautiful foreign land is not comparable to one's homeland/a common parlance says: "home sweet home".

Use: There is nowhere like home.

85. *Dzo meblea vi o.*

One does not play with fire.

86. *Dɔ ɖi fo kple nukokoe sɔna.*

Filled stomach and laughter go together.

87. *Dzoti xoxo mesea dzo leleo.*

A piece of firewood lights again without much effort.

Use: It is relatively easier to reignite a dormant relationship than start a new.

88. *Dɔ mewua ame wotɔa dzo texɔ o.*

One does not set a yam barn ablaze because of hunger.

Explanation: A hungry person only roasts a piece of yam, not the whole yam barn.

Use: One can satisfy her/his hunger with one single tuber of yam.

89. *Dɔku menɔa dzre wom koklo dea nu eme o.*

The chicken does not meddle in the quarrel of turkeys. Compare No. 5

90. *Domeyee-nyitsu memua agɔ o.*

A hungry bullock does not fell a fan palm.

Explanation: A hungry person is easily angry and says more out of anger than he/she can carry out.

Use: Whoever talks out of anger says more than he/she can do.

91. *Edila fe ŋku wodona.*

It can be noticed in one's face, if one wants to speak.

Use: You will notice it in the face if a person wants to speak.

92. *Ehiā kpɔ wòdu gbe.*

The leopard eats grass out of necessity.

Explanation: As long as a rich person is at home, he/she does not eat things that he/she must eat on a journey.

93. *Fiafitɔ fe ŋkume metoa gbe o; negbe deko woafi nu la hafi woadze sii.*

No grass grows in the face of a thief; he/she must have stolen before one recognizes him/her.

Use: Outwardly, the thief resembles other people; he/she differentiates himself/herself only through his/her actions.

94. *Fiafitɔ mawu agbletɔtɔ o.*

Whatever the thief steals cannot be more than what the farmer possesses.

Explanation: Even if a thief steals a lot, it is not more than what the farmer has on the farm.

95. *Fufukɛ deka gbɔ fufu tia ame le.*

A small lump of fufu can make one dislike fufu.

Explanation: Whoever has eaten to her/his satisfaction cannot manage the small remaining fufu that is still in the dish anymore. However, if one is forced to eat one dislikes fufu.

Use: Even the greatest level of tolerance can be exhausted by an insignificant thing.

96. *Gbɔ mesea tini o, de neɖe eme nee esee xoxo.*

If you say to a goat: "Go!" it does not listen until you explain it with a stick; only then does it understand it.

Use: A disobedient child only listens to beatings.

97. *Gbolo nɔvi enye kpe.*

The stone is the sibling of the prostitute.

Explanation: One must strike the whore to compel her to quit his/her evil deeds.

98. *Gbɔ medɔa lāklē fe agbo nu o.*

The goat does not sleep at the gate of the leopard.

99. *Xɔfi be, yeadɔ alɔ vie hafi dzo nabi gbe.*

The porcupine says that it wants to sleep a little before the burning of grass begins.

Explanation: The porcupine lives in burrows and sleeps the whole day. Through the burning of grass its burrow is exposed and it can no longer continue to sleep undisturbed.

Use: The lazy person uses good days for sleep; he/she thinks bad days are coming, on which he/she cannot sleep anymore.

100. *Hiātɔ medona le xɔ me o.*

The poor person does not (often) leave his/her room.

Explanation: The poor person does not have beautiful clothes to show off in town. Therefore, he/she stays at home. He/she expressed of his/her poverty in this proverb.

101. *Hotsuitɔ mɛflea agbe le ku si o*.*

The rich person cannot buy life from death.

Use: The rich person must also die.

102: *Kotɔ mɛdɔnɛ, kotɔ lɔna o.*

A poor person does not sell to another poor person.

Explanation: When a poor person sells, he/she has need of the money. Therefore, he/she can only sell to someone who pays him immediately.

Use: The poor person cannot lend.

103. *Kpɔ vuvue dzɔa dzi na gbɔ*

The goat is happy about a torn fence.

Use: The thief is happy about an open house.

104. *Kpɔvi meɔna na azɔli o.*

The cub leopard does not hasten to walk.

Use: one should not crave for something that awaits one, or within one's reach eventually anyway.

**"Ku gbe adzɔ"* meaning, "death does not accept a bribe". *Kugbeadzɔr* is also an insinuation name (Comment from lead translator).

105. *Koe gblɛa ɲutsu me ne ame.*

Poverty destroys the essence of manhood.

Explanation: Even if a poor person is handsome/beautiful and strong, he/she does not enjoy the respect of others.

106. *Trɔsi metoa nugbe avaga tsia afe o.*

The priest (of a tro) does not go to the field without a bell.

Explanation: The bell is the priest's tool and they are both inseparable.

Use: The farmer does not go to the farm without his/her farm implements.

107. *Tsi fo kɔ medea kɔ tume o, negbe bele ko wòado nɛ.*

Rain does not seep into the interior of a termitarium, it only makes its outside wet.

Use: It is applied to an insult that does not stir one.

108. *Tɔmedela menoa ba o.*

The water carrier does not drink mud.

Use: One must enjoy the fruits of one's labour.

109. *To eve mesea eve o.*

Two ears do not hear two different messages at the same time.

Use: One can only do one thing at a time.

110. *Ta menɔa anyi klo dɔa kuku o.*

The knee does not wear a hat while the head is around.

Use: One does not ask a young person for a piece of advice where there is an older man.

111. *Tsɛvi medɔa alɔ dɛ yaylafe o.*

An orphan does not sleep in seclusion.

Explanation: An orphan should not sleep in a secluded area, for neither the father nor mother is around to seek him/her out.

Use: Just as the orphan is recognized by his/her sleeping place, one recognizes a poor person by his/her clothes.

112. *Tsi kplɔ nu mekplɔa kpe o.*

Water washes away a lot of things, but cannot wash away stones.

Explanation: There is a limitation to everyone's capabilities.

113. *Tsi fo kpɔ mesea xɔ fofo o.*

When it rains on a fence, the house cannot be spared.

Use: Whoever insults a son, insults the father, too.

114. *Vedzila memlɔa axa dzi o.*

A mother of twins does not lie on her side.

Explanation: A mother of twins has a child on each side that she must feed.

Use: A father must treat all his children equally; he should not prefer one to the other.

115. *Vi dɪ tɔa mewoa tɔa nugbe o.*

A child may resemble the father but not behave like him.

Use: Exterior resemblance is not conditioned by resemblance of character.

116. *Visɛŋu meŋlɔa toggle vɔna o.*

An industrious son never finishes hoeing of his father-in-law's farm.

Explanation: Each year he must hoe anew.

Use: A paterfamilias responsibility is an endless task.

117. *Vinɔ mefoa vi dɔme o.*

A child is never struck in the stomach by the mother.

Explanation: Hitting someone's stomach means denying him/her food.

Use: A mother never punishes her child by depriving it of food.

118. *Womelena ɖe tɔ sia tɔme o.*

One does not bathe in every river.

Explanation: A river may be too deep or dangerous because one does not know what is lurking underneath.

Use: Do not delve into a matter about which you know nothing.

119. *Womekã nu ɖe xexeme ŋu o.*

One cannot make up one's mind to do evil to the world.

Explanation: The human being is too small and the world too big for him/her to harm it.

Use: A weak person can do nothing against a strong person.

120. *Womeyɔna na nugbe detsi o.*

One does not hurry to embark on a journey of no return.

Explanation: Before one goes to a distant place, from which he/she does not return, he/she reflects and takes all that he/she needs along.

Use: Whoever constructs a house should think it over beforehand because he/she cannot demolish it later when he/she finds a mistake with it. One should not rush into a decision with far-reaching implication that cannot be corrected.

121. *Wometoa fɔ ŋu sia deta o.*

Whoever wants to harvest a bunch of palm nuts cannot bypass the palm branches.

Use: Whoever wants to come to a chief cannot bypass his linguist.

122. *Womeɖea deglefetsu ɖe anyi, na aɖi o.*

One cannot snap the fingers without the thumb.

Used like no. 121.

123. *Womeɖea ka le sãnde gbɔ o; enyae be, ye bla ge woala.*

One does not cut a creeper in the presence of the antelope; he knows he will be tied with it.

Use: Do not disclose your intentions in the presence of the one affected.

124. *Ʋu le akɔta hafi womia ta toa dzi.*

There is blood in the chest but one still swallows saliva over it.

Explanation: There is laughter even in the moments of grief.

Use: Even if one is angry, one can say a friendly word.

125. *Yɔkula be, ɖe ava ku kokoko.*

Grave diggers say: "Someone will die again soon."

Explanation: When someone dies, the grave digger gets a job and income.

126. *Zāblukɔ dzɔa dzi na fiafi.*

A thief is happy about the night.

127. *Zɔ medea tɔme o.*

A big water reservoir does not go to the river.

Explanation: One only goes with small pots to the water place and fills the big pot with it.

Use: It is not old people that are charged to fetch something, but rather children.

128. *Zekɔe menɔa ame ŋu woflea gbagbā o.*

When someone needs a pot, one does not buy a broken one.

Use: Whoever needs maize buys no dress, but rather what he/she needs. One must prioritize one's needs.

2 Akɔviefɛ

Akɔviefe

Introduction

The name *Akɔviefe* is derived from the name, *Akɔe*. *Akɔe* was the progenitor of the people of *Akɔe*. He had built their town. The whole town “town of *Akɔe* or *Akɔevifo fe kofe*”, meaning hamlet of the sons/daughters of “*Akɔe*” was named after him. *Akɔviefe* comprises three towns. These are *Atsiati*, *Gadza* and *Avejui*. *Atsiati* and *Tokɔ*, together form a town. The people, therefore, give it the appellation “*Atsiati gbɔ lebe*” meaning, “*Atsiati* the long town”. A man named *So*, who set up a special cult for the inhabitants of this town, lived in this town. The name of the deity, *trɔ* is *Anyadi*.

Chapter 1: The Human Being

I. Birth, Naming and Child Education

1. Birth

A successful birth is one during which not many people must come to assist, a birth during which the woman in labour should not bear a lot of pains and a birth about which nothing is heard. As usual, the traditional birth attendants have to wash their hands in a special medicine. This medicine is made from *flatoga* and *ma dze*. It is only after they have washed the hands with the medicine that they may roast maize. If they do this with unclean hands, the child would fall sick. As soon as the child is born, cotton threads with the hair of a squirrel, feathers of a bird that sings hourly, as well as the phloem of a raffia palm are tied around all joints of the child to ward off anything evil from the child so that it may survive. If someone wishes to carry the child in her or his arms, the person must also wash her or his hands in this medicine before carrying the child. Women in childbed have to observe the practice of not sitting on traditional stools anymore. They must turn them upside down and sit on their wide foot. No other practice is prescribed for the father of the newborn child apart from the one that he must not hoe on the farm, until the umbilical cord of the child has fallen off.

If a woman, who had already given birth to twins herself, notices that twins will be born, she leaves the woman in childbed when one child is born. The reason why she goes away is that she will otherwise contract tuberculosis or an incurable cough that does not leave the person till death. It is forbidden for any woman after delivery to

Akɔviefɛ

Woɔɔ ɲkɔ Akɔviefɛ la tso Akɔɛ fe ɲkɔ me. Akɔɛɛ nye wofe tɔgbui, si tso du la, eya ta woyɔa du la bena Akɔɛ fe du alo Akɔɛviwo fe kɔfe. Akɔviefɛɛ nye gbɔta etɔ: Atsati, Gadza kple Avenui. Atsati kple Tokɔ wonye gbɔta ɔɔka, eye wofoa ɲkɔ ɔo na wo ɔokui bena: “Atsati gbɔ lebe” ɲutsu aɔɔ na gbɔ sia me, si ɲkɔɛ nye So. Eɔo subɔsubɔ tɔxɛ anyi na dua metɔwo. Woyɔa wofe trɔ la bena: Anyadi.

Ta Gbɔtɔ: Ame

1. Vidzidzi, ɲkɔnana kple ɔɛviwo hehe

1. Vidzidzi

Vidzidzi nyuietɔɛ nye, ne ameaɔɔ ɔzi vi, eye ame aɔɔke mekpena ɔɔ ɲɔɔ o, alo amewo mesenɛ o, alo fu meɔunɛ geɔɔ o. Vixelawo fe kɔnu, si, wowɔnee nye woado amatsi akɔ asi, nu siwo wotsɔna doa amatsi lae wonye flatogã kple (ma dzẽẽ. Ne wokɔ asi vɔ la, eya ko hafi woate ɲu atɔ bli, ne menye nenema o la, ekema ɔɛvi la fe lãme masẽ o. Ne wodzi ɔɛvi tetee la, wotsɔna ɔɔtika kple aɔɔfu, avesefu kple la sa dzoka ɔɔ ɔɛvi fe funuɔɔfeewo katã, bena ɔɛvi la nanɔ agbe alo ne vɔ aɔɔke magadzɔ ɔɔ edzi o. Ne ame aɔɔ va be yeakɔ (yeatsɔẽ ɔɛvia la, ele nɛ be, woade asi amatsi me hafi. Vinɔwo fe kɔnuwɔwɔɛ nye, womeganɔ kpukpo fome o, ke boɲ wonɔa emegbe. Kɔnu aɔɔke mele vitɔ ɲu o, negbe ɔɔko ne efe fofolĩmege o la, mekpɔ mɔ aɲlɔ nu o.

Ne ame aɔɔ ɔzi eve kpɔ,, eye fu le nɔvia ɔum wòle eve ɔzi ge la, ne ekpɔ be edzi ɔɔka ko la, edzona le egbɔ hafi wòdzia evelia. Nu si ɲuti wodzona ɔo lae nye: Ne amea meɔo o la, axɔ kpetre si enye kpe aɔɔ fomevi, si meɔna o, va se ɔɔ ame fe ku me. Vidzila sia vidzila, ne edzi vi la, mekpɔ mɔ be, wòade didife o, bena magadɔ afɔ koklomi ɔzi o; elabena ne eɔo afɔ edzi la, via fe lãme masẽ akpɔ o. Womesa dzo na veviwo o, womedoa dzomatsi hã na

go far away, so that she might not step in the faeces of chickens. This is because she would fall sick if she did. One does not tie magic strings around twins. Neither is magic concoction made for them. Pieces of different field crops such as yam, maize, cassava, beans, groundnuts, plantain and banana are put in water with which the children were bathed. Only one prohibition is prescribed for the father of the child. He should not eat the leftovers of such crops on which monkeys have already fed. He is also forbidden from eating monkey meat.

The twin rites vary between the birth of boys and girls. Twenty five days and twenty days are observed for boys and girls respectively within which a meal is cooked with the acquisition of about ten demijohns of palm nuts to cater for visitors from surrounding towns. Should anyone wish to present a gift, such presents must be made to both twins and not one alone. Additionally, the presents must be given at the same time. At the end of the feasting and carousal, the parents of the twins dance to drumming at the marketplace as part of what is traditionally known as *venuwoɔwo*, or “rites for twins”.

Deliveries, during which labour lasts eight or ten days before a child is born, are known as bad deliveries. Children, whose mother or father dies immediately after their birth, are *adzeviwo* or “children who are possessed by witchcraft”. It happens that the womb usually gets impaired during the third or fourth month.

2. Naming

a. Birthday Names

The word *dzɔgbe* means “destiny”. Children are given names in accordance with the days of birth. People believe that, among the birthday names, *Yawoɔa* and *Memleɔa*, i.e. Thursday and Saturday, are the best. Sundays (*Kwasidɔa nkekeawo*) existed since the beginning of time but had different designations. In former times, each day of the week derived its name relative to farm activity, hence: 1. *Agble eveagbe*, *Kwasidɔa*, Sunday. Furthermore, they said: 2. *Agble etoagbe*, *Dzoda*, Monday, [3. *Agble enegbe*, Tuesday, 4. *Agble atɔagbe*, Wednesday, 5. *Agble adeagbe*, Friday, 6. *Afenɔegbe*, Saturday or day for staying at home.¹] However, these designations have been abandoned and replaced with the following: *Kwasidɔa*, *Dzoda*, *Braɔa*, *Kuɔa*, *Yawoɔa*, *Fidɔa* and *Memleɔa*. Children get their birthday names according to these names.

b. Death Names of Children

The word *dzikudziku* literally means, “birth-death-birth-death”. This implies that after a family loses a number of children at birth, one survives and giving it a *dzikudziku* name identifies it as a survivor.²

Some of these names are as follows: *Tsɔwu*, “death should only come and kill this child, too”, *Kuwɔtsɔ*, “it does not matter if death takes away this child, too”, *Yɔɔwu*, “the number of children that die is higher than the number of those that survive” or “the number that belongs to the grave is more”, *Yɔglanu*, “the grave preserves all dead persons, in order that the owners come and can receive them (there)”, *Kufede*, “am I owing death?” The person who gives the name is asking whether he or she

1 *Agble eveagbe* means: second working day; *etoagbe*, third and so forth.

2 These names should have a characteristic that protects a child from dying.

wo o. Wotsɔa nuɖuɖu vovovowo dea tsi me lena na wo abe te, bli, agbeli, ayi, azi, abladzo, akɔɖu kple bubuwo ene; wo dada hã lea tsi la. Kɔnuwɔwɔ aɖeke mele vito ɖuto si o, eya koe nye bena, ne abladzẽ ɖu nu susu la, mele eɖu ge o, eye womedua abladzẽ fe lã hã o.

Kɔnuwɔwɔ, siwo wowɔna wonye, ne wodzi via wonye ɖutsu ɖeɖe la, woɖoa ɖeke blaevɛ vɔ atɔ, (25) eye nenye nyɔnu ɖeɖe la, ɖeke blaevɛ (20). Le ɖeke siawo dzi tututu wodzea aha abe adzafi ewo ene. Eye woɖa nu na ame siwo tso duta va la. Ne wobe, woana nu veviwo la, womena ɖeka gblẽa ɖeka ɖi o. Ele be, woana wo ame eve la katã sɔsɔ. Le nuɖuɖu kple ahanono megbe la, wofoa vu na vedzila woɖuna le asi me, nuwɔwɔ sia woyɔna be venuwɔwɔ.

Vidzidzi si woyɔna be manyomanyotɔɔ nye, ne fu le ame aɖe ɖum ɖeke enyi alo asieke hafi ame la dzi vi la. Vi, siwo woyɔna be adzeviwo wonye esiwo ne wodzi wo ko wo dada alo wo fofo ku, ɖewo wofe fu ge. Fugegee nye, ne ame aɖe fɔ fu wɔnɔ ɣleti etɔ alo ene ko, eye wɔdzi ɖevi la, alo ne vu le dodom le ame la ɖu.

2. ɖɔkɔnanawo

a. Dzɔgbɛɖɔwɔ

Dzɔgbɛ ɖɔmee nye ame fe dzigbe. Wona ɖɔ ɖeviwo ɖe wofe dzɔgbɛ nu. Wosusu be, le dzɔgbɛɖɔwɔ dome la, Yawoɖa kple Memleɖae nye nyuitɔ. Kwasiɖa ɖekewo li tso ɖɔmedzedzea me ke, gake tsɔtɔwɔ meyɔnɛ abi fifi ene o, ke boɖ woyɔnɛ be agbleveagbe = Kwasiɖa agble etɔgbɛ = Dzɔɖa, nenem heyi dzi, gake wole asi ɖem le ɖu veveve, eye wole eyɔm ɖe fifitɔ nu be Kwasiɖa, Dzɔɖa, Braɖa, Kuɖa, Yawoɖa, Fiɖa kple Memleɖa. ɖɔkeke siawo nu wotsɔa ɖɔwɔ hã ɖo.

b. Dzɔkudzikunɔwɔ

Dzikudziku ɖɔmee nye, ne edzii menɔa agbe o. Ne ame aɖe le vi dzim wɔle kukum la, etsɔa dzikudzikunɔ nɛ. ɖɔ siawo dometɔ aɖewoe nye: Tsɔwu, egɔme nye ku neva tsɔe wu dzro. Kuwɔtsɔ, egɔmee nye ku netsɔ ɖevi la yii mewɔ naneke o. Yɔtɔwu, egɔmee nye ame siwo katã le kukum la, wosɔ gbɔ wu esiwo le agbe, eya ta yɔdo tɔ wu. Eyɔyɔ nyuitɔɔ nye Yɔmetɔwu. Yɔylanu egɔmee nye yɔ, le ame siwo katã le kukum la dzram ɖo, bena nuatɔ nava xɔ. Kufedɛ, egɔmee nye ɖe yefle nane le ku si hafi wɔle fu ɖem na ye mahã? Alo kufe aɖe yenyi mahã? Kuyɔvu, egɔmee nye ɖe ku enye nu si le vu yɔm ɖe ye nu, ɖe menye nenem o la, ne ye hã yeakpo nanɛ abe ye hawo ene. Amewo na ɖɔ siawo amewo, le susu sia nu be, ɖeviwɔ anɔ agbe. Eya ta wogblɔna bena, mana ɖɔ sia ɖevi, ne wɔnɔ agbe. Dzɔlɔwɔ, fometɔwɔ, xɔlɔwɔ kple nɔviwo na ɖɔ siawo ɖeviwo.

owes death and for that matter, is she or he being constantly punished? *Kuyɔvu*, “death blows the bellows over me.”³ “If it did not behave like that, I would also have children like my contemporaries”. Children are given these names in the belief that they will survive. That is why one says: “I give the child this name so that it may survive”. Parents, family members and friends are the ones who give names.

c. Insinuation Names

A person who always grumbles about another person is said to be: *Ele ahama sim ɔ ɔ ame ɲu*, “He insinuates against another person”. Some of these names of insinuation are: *Agbewu*, “life is more”, meaning in the whole world life is something big on which everyone depends. The name corresponds with the other name *Agbenyega*, meaning, “Life is big”. *Tɔwɔnubu*, “yours is lost”. When two persons buy something together to share, and one loses his or hers, the other person insinuates and says: “Yours is lost, but mine is not lost.”⁴ *Afetoɲu*, “the house is weedy”. If many people die in a family, and a child is born and given this name, it is because the family members are no longer as numerous as before and weeds grow now where there were houses; *Kumakɔ*, “no one can carry death away, but death can carry man away”; *Seleɲu*, “he is bound by law”. People do not gossip about those from large families but about those who do not. The whole name should have read: *Ametɔwo fe nya se le ɲu*, “There is a law around the word of people with large families”. *Fomeyi*, “the family members are gone” (or dead), and none of

c. *Ahamanɔkɔwo*

Ame si ke le livilivi lim ɔ ɔ ame ɲu ɔ ɔ la, eya wogblɔna be, ele ahama sim ɔ ɔ ame ɲu. Ahamanɔkɔ adewo nye: Agbewu, egɔmee nye bena, le xexeame katã la agbee nye nu gã, agbe ɲu ame sia ame ɔ ɔ ame ɲu ɔ ɔ. ɲkɔ sia esɔ kple Agbenyegã. Tɔwɔnubu. Ne ame adɛ kple nɔvia wofle nane mã, eye nɔvia tɔ bu la, ekema ame si tɔ mebu o la sia ahama gblɔna bena tɔwɔ bu, ke tɔnye mebu o. Afetoɲu. Eyae nye, ne wodzi ɔ ɔ le ke ɔ ɔ adɛ me, eye amewo ku le ke ɔ ɔ la me, womegasɔgbɔ abe ale si wole tsã ene o la, ekema wosia ahama gblɔna bena, afe la to ɲu alo to gbe. Kumakɔ. Eyae nye ame adɛke mate ɲu ako alo atsɔ ku o, negbe eya ko ate ɲu ako ame. Seleɲu, egɔmee nye ame si fe fomeawo sɔ gbɔ la, womegblɔa wofe nya o; ke ame si amewo mesɔ gbɔ le ɲu o la, wogblɔa efe nya le ame sia ame gbɔ. ɲkɔ la ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ nyuietɔ nye Ametɔwo fe nya se le ɲu; gake edidi akpa eya ta woyɔne kpuie ko be Seleɲu. Fomeyi. Egɔmee nye yewofe fomeawo katã ku, woyi, ɔ ɔ ke megali azɔ o. Amenutuwo. Eyae nye bena, ame si tsoa ame nu la, menɔa agbe o, alo enye ame si dia ku na ame bubuwo.

- 3 Death considers the woman as fire it blows. During the blowing of the fire the bellows must work very quickly. In the same way death takes away newborn children quickly.
- 4 For example, if a man has two wives, each of whom gives birth to a child. Now, if a child of one of the wives dies, while the child of the other lives, the latter, therefore, insinuates against the former by giving her child the name *Tɔwɔnubu*.

them is alive now.⁵ *Amenutuwo*, “whoever takes legal action against another person does not survive”, or also, “he or she is wishing the death of others”; *Axanuwo*, “he has done it for nothing” meaning, if someone makes a lot of efforts to acquire riches but dies, he or she must go alone without her or his riches; *Fuexlenu*, “grief counts”. It is suffering that compels one to take account of life. On the contrary, a successful happy-go-lucky person enjoys life without hindrance. That is why one says allusively: Only in suffering does one list things. *Etɔnuwoe*, “His time to say it has come”. Let him say it! No one should meddle in it. *Nɔnu*, *Ahewu*, “The number of poor people is bigger than the (number of) rich people”. *Nɔfeanyo*, “the place of abode is comfortable”. The parents of a child have lived in a deprived abode and lived in great sorrow. When their child was born, they felt the time had come to reverse the situation and be happy. *Buwomekpɔ*, “Before you do something, think about it!” Or, “Think about what I have told you”.

The reason why they give their children such names is that they do not forget the quarrel that arose between them and their neighbours. It is also common to hear such names given to domestic creatures as insinuation after quarrels.

d. Remembrance Names

The following names indicate the number of children born in a given family: 1. Boys’ names: First born - *Foli*, *Feli* or *Foe*; second born – *Dza*; third born – *Mensa*, also *Bansa*; fourth born – *Anan*. 2. Girls’ names: Firstborns – *Agoe*; second born – *Gbo*; third born – *Biansa* or *Bia*; fourth born – *Nyogāvi* or *Nyogā*.

Names that remind one of special events including war are: *Avasi*, “Flight”, *Avanutsɔ*, “War load” (or that burden that an escapee must bear during a flight), *Avadzi*, “born during a war”. Names that remind one of the death of close family members are: *Yɔgbe*, “born on the day of death”, *Yɔxɔe*, “in a house of mourning.”⁶ Other names like *Gedze*,

Amenutuwo mena wonɔa agbe o. Axanuwo. Eyae nye ne ame aɖe dze agbagba le xexe sia me vuɔ, kpɔ kesinɔnu fomevi gedewo la, ne eku la, eya dɛɖe koe ayi. Fuexlɛnu. Ne ame aɖe le fukpekpe gā aɖe me la, eɔa tame gedɛ, eye wɔxlɛa nya siwo dzɔ va yi la, ɖekadeka, ke nɛnye dzidzɔ me wɔle la, mabu naneke ɲu o. Eya ta wosia ahama gblɔna bena, fue xlɛa nu ɖe tame na ame. Etɔnuwoe. Egɔmee nye etɔ gblɔyi eɖo mina wɔagblɔe dzro, ame aɖeke megade nu eme nɛ o. Etɔnuwoe sɔ kple Nɔnu. Ahewu, egɔmee nye ame dahewo sɔ gbɔ wu kesinɔwo. Nɔfeanyo. Eya nye afi si ke nenem ame sia fe dzilawo le la, menyo o, wole fukpekpe gā aɖe me. Eya ta esi wodzi nenem ɖevi sia la, wogblɔ bena, yewofe futɔwo fe nɔfe enyo na wo, eya ta wofe ani le dzedzem. Buwomekpɔ. Hafi nawɔ nane la, bu tame hafi nawɔe. Alo nya si megblɔ na wɔ la, bu tame le ɲu kpɔ.

Nu si ta amewo yɔa ahamanɔ na wo viwo lae nye: woyɔa wo, be nya la magabu ɖe wo, alo dzree, si le wo kple nɔvia dome la nanɔ ŋku dzi na wo. Amewo tsɔa ahamanɔ sia na alɛwo, avuwo, afehawo kple koklowo, le nya si le wo dzi la nu.

5 One expresses a feeling of nostalgia and loneliness in these names.

6 It is the name of a child that was born after the death of a father, and actually during the period, which the widow is still mourning and must stay in her room.

“red beard” remind of particular, prominent personalities. (The name reminds one of a European, who was well-known in the interior whom people called ‘red beard’ everywhere); *Mɔmefia*, “king of the fortress”, commissioner. (The name reminds one of a visit of the commissioner to the interior, during which time the child was born.) Another group of names reminds people of difficult times and means, at the same time, to comfort the bearer of such names⁷ and not the person to whom the name has been given, e.g. *Yevuvi*, “white man’s child”, (This does not mean that an European is father of the child in question but is a child of a native who might have been judged wrong in a dispute but unto whom a child was born at that same time. Being happy at the news of having a new dispute born baby, they said: “Even if I have lost this case, I now have a child who will later be strength”).



A Woman Carrying Her Child on the Hip

⁷ The parents of the child.

The father or brother of the child is dead. The lonely mother consoles herself over that and says, “I now have a replacement”. *Funu, Fusi*, “Child of sorrow” (The child was born during a particular difficult period that is now past); *Afeti*, “*Pillar of the house*”; *Afefa*: “Peace of the house” (With this child, new hope and new peace have come back); *Alifo, Alifosi and Alifodzi*, (Perhaps the mother was escaping, or she was travelling. In short, she was not in her home country). If a father or mother dies during the birth of a child, the child is given the name of the father or the mother. People also give children the names of grandparents.

e. Drinking Names

Many persons consider themselves as honourable people and chiefs when it comes to the drinking of palm wine. That is why they give themselves names that are bigger than their personalities at the drinking spot. Others use such names as a scare measure against their enemies.⁸ The meaning behind some drinking names can be very frightening. For example, *wolé tutɔwo, kpotɔwo si ɔo ave*: “Persons armed with guns were captured, while those with cudgels fled into the forest”, meaning, if those with guns can be captured what will those with cudgels do? *Dadiveku afi matee kpɔ*: “The mouse does not play with the testicle of the cat”. The cat and mouse are not playmates.

f. Play Names

During plays children call each other names that they, however, drop at a later age. When the people of *Anlo* killed some men from here, the people of *Ho* also came to the funeral. Among them were two men, whose names were *Asemnyra* and *Agbo Nku*. People respected the strength of these men so much that they gave their names to two children. However, when they grew into adulthood, they no longer bore those names. Other names include: *Ɖokpo*, a certain type of pepper; *Alegeli*, “rat”; *Amegālolo*, “Great chief”; *avlavla*, “fast runner”. (Many of these names, however, remain with these children until their old age.)

g. Religious Names

Such names include: *Mawusi*, “in the hands of the Creator”; *Mawuena*, “As gift from God”; or “God’s gift”; *Mawufe*, “it has come from God’s abode”, namely the child; *Senaye*,⁹ “God establishes justice”; *Senanu*, “God has given it” or “Gift of God; *Senahiā*, “God gives poverty”; *Seleɲu*, “God is with him”. Names that remind one of adherence to certain deities trɔwo are: *Bunyomi Kosi*, “*Bunyɔmi*’s slave”; *Bunyɔmi yawa*, “who was born on Thursday after *Bunyɔmi Kosi*”; *Tsogbe*, “day of justification” (by the god); *Dzawɔe*, “sacrifice” that the parents of the child make to the god as they leave the child to him.

8 Whoever meets her or his enemies is fond of shouting her or his drinking name.

9 Se: a name of God apart from *Mawu* is used mainly at the coastal area.

e. Ahanɔŋkɔwo

Ame aɖewo buna be, yewo nye bubumewo kple amegãwo le ahanono me, eya ta wotsɔa ŋkɔ gã, siwo kɔ wu wo la, le ahanofe. Ame aɖewo tsɔ ŋkɔ sia ɖe wofe futɔwo ŋu, bena woanɔ wo. Ahanɔŋkɔ siawo dome ɖewo sesẽ ŋutɔ. Le kpɔɖeŋu me: Wòle tutɔwo, kpotɔwo si ɖo ave. Egɔmee nye, ame siwo tsɔ tu yi ava wɔ ge la, wòle wo kple tu la; esime kpotɔwo kpɔ wo la wosi ɖo ave. Dadiveku afi matee kpɔ. Egɔmee nye bena, dadi kple afi menyina o. Ne dadi kpɔ afi la, alée aɖu. Ne wodɔ afi ɖa bena, ne wɔayi aɖate dadi fe veku akpɔ la mate ŋui o.

f. Fefɛŋkɔwo

Ne ɖeviwo le fefem la, wona ŋkɔ wo nɔewo, gake ne wotsi la, wotsia enu. Le esime Aŋlɔtɔwo wu ame aɖe le afi sia, eye wole efe nu wɔm la, Hotɔwo va. Eye Ahlihatɔ eve le wo dome, siwo fe ŋkɔwoe nye Asemnyra kple Agbo Ŋku. Ame siawo fe sesẽ dze amewo ŋu ŋutɔ, ale be wotsɔ ŋkɔ siawo na vi eve gake esime wotsi la; womegatsɔ ŋkɔ sia na wo o. Ŋkɔ bubu aɖewo nye: Dokpo, Aleli (Alegeli), Amegãlolo, Ulavlavla.

g. Subɔsubɔŋkɔwo

Subɔsubɔ me ŋkɔ aɖewo nye: Mawusi, Mawusinu, Mawuena, Mawufe, Senaye, Senanu, Senahiã, Seleŋu, Bunyɔmi, Kosi, Bunyɔmi, Yawa, Tsogbe kple Dzawɔe.

3. Education

a. Work, Admonition and Punishment of the Children

Fathers usually pass on the job they do to their children, too. The most important handiworks or jobs we do here at our place are: Weaving of mats and baskets, weaving of clothes, and making of traps for hunting and fishing. As children go through the process of acquiring these skills, they are scolded, beaten and often treated with anger. It is obvious, when a child is hardworking or lazy. Teaching boys to acquire skills is more difficult than imparting these skills to girls because boys must learn a lot more than girls. In the same way, training a boy is more difficult than training a girl.

Girls must, as much as possible, stay around their parents, so that they can focus their attention on whatever their parents are doing and thus learn from them. The following are activities and house chores in which women engage: They go to the farm, spin, cook, and go to the well for water, sweep the farmstead and make soap. A mother must teach her daughter how to do all these things. In the course of learning, the daughter is often scolded and beaten by the mother. At the age of six, the mother gradually begins to impart all these skills to the daughter. At the age of twelve, the girls are left to work on their own because they are normally betrothed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. They need less than two years to acquire these skills which are not difficult to learn or acquire. Many of these girls acquire this knowledge or these skills without being taught. Here in *Akɔviefɛ*, no parents ever show their children how to concoct medicine because some of these can be harmful to humans and the parents will have to bear the responsibility if such a thing happens. For this reason, people do not impart what they know to their neighbours. The fact that there is no development here can be attributed to the greed of the people. Children, who do not want to work, or steal, whore around, insult other people, disdain other people and are disobedient, are admonished. If they are involved in any one of these things, they are called early in the morning and admonished thus: "Take a look at your contemporaries. They are hardworking and obedient and they do not take anybody's property, instead, they work in order to acquire something for themselves. Therefore, we beg you. Don't be lazy. Work hard. Then you will succeed in everything and you will be like your contemporaries. If you do everything, people will like you!" The admonition of each individual varies. Many people admonish their children at noon, in the evening or whenever they have time. However, the best and most valuable admonition takes place in the morning because it is believed that this is the best time to pay attention to advice.

Parents, or any person who likes the child, has the authority to admonish children because what is good for the child is also good for the one who admonishes it. Some words of admonition, which are usually used, are: "Do not insult anyone; do not steal; do not appropriate the properties of others when you come across them; buy what you need, don't steal it; listen to what people tell you; do not associate yourself with all people! Don't call the wife of others! Not everybody is good; don't overindulge in drinking palm wine¹⁰; young men should associate with young men and girls with girls; do what you can do with joy; learn how to deal with wicked spiritualists; if not, you will have a short life; you know what people say about your ancestors, and how they

10 One can easily mix poison in the palm wine of a drunken person.

3. *Ɖeviwo hehe*

a. *Dɔwɔwɔ nuxɔxlɔ kple tohehe*

Dɔwɔwɔ, si wofia ɣutsuwoe nye, dɔ siwo katã wo fofo ate ɣu awɔ ko. Dɔ vevietɔ le mia gblɔe nye abalɔ, Kelɔlɔ, agbledede, adedada kple xalɔlɔ. Ne wole dɔ siawo fiam Ɖeviwo la, wodzua wo, foa wo, eye wodoa dɔmedzui geɖe ɖe wo ɣu. Ne Ɖevi aɖe ava nye kuviatɔ alo veviedonula la wodzea sii. Dɔwɔwɔ fɔfia ɣutsuwo sesẽ wu nyɔnuviwo tɔ; elabena ɣutsuviwo fe nusɔsrɔ sɔ gbɔ wu nyɔnuviwo tɔ. Nenemake ɣutsuwo fe hehe hã sesẽ wu nyɔnuviwo tɔ.

Ale si dzilawo fia dɔwɔwɔ nyɔnuviwo lae, nye woheɔ nyɔnuviawo ɖe wo ɖokui ɣu, ne wole dɔ wɔm la, wonana nyɔnuviawo nɔa ɣku lem ɖe ɣu bena woanya ale si nyɔnuwo wɔa dɔe. Nyɔnuwo fe dɔwɔwɔ le mia gbɔ afi sia wonye: Agbledede, ɖetitotro, nuɖaɖa, tɔmedede, Aɖuɖɔkpɔkplɔ kple adzalɔɖaɖa. Ele na vɔnɔ be, wɔafia dɔ siawo katã vianɔnu. Nyɔnuwo hã fia dɔ sia wo viwo to fofo, dzudzu kple dɔmedzui geɖe me. Ne nyɔnuviwo xɔ fe aɖe la, wodzea nufiafia wo gɔme vevɛve. Ne woxɔ abe fe wuiɛve la, woɖea asi le nuawo ɣu na woawo ɣutɔwo wowɔna, elabena ne woɖo fe wuiatɔ alo wuiade me ko la, woyia wo srɔwo gbɔ. Womefia nu siawo wo wɔɖea fe eve gɔ hafi wonyanɛ o. Mía gbɔ dɔwɔwɔ mesesẽ o. Ame aɖewo womefia wo hafi wodzenɛ o. Dzila aɖeke mele mia gbɔ, si fia atikewɔwɔ via o; elabena ne wofia atike, si nye amewutɔ wo la, woava tsɔe awu ame ɖe ako na wo. To egbo la, ne mia dometɔ aɖe nya nane la, melɔna be yeafia nɔvia o. Ɔkɔkuku enana be, naneke meɣia edzi le mía gbɔ o.

Nu si Ɖeviawo wɔna hafi woxlɔa nu wo lae nye, ne womewɔ dɔ o, wofi fi, wɔ ahasi, dzu ame, womebu ame alo meɖo to ame o. Ne wowɔ nu siawo dometɔ aɖe la, ekema woyɔa wo ɣɖi kanya gblɔna na wo bena: Kpɔ mia tɔwo ɖa, ale si wole dɔ wɔmii, ale si wole to ɖomii, wometsɔa ame aɖekefe naneke dzro o, ke boɣ wowɔa dɔ be woakpɔ nu na wo ɖokui. Eya ta mieɖe kuku na wɔ bena, wo hã megawɔ kuvia o, dze agbagba, ekema nu sia nu ayi dzi na wɔ, nena nasɔ kple mia tɔwo, awɔ nu sia nu wɔɖadze ame ɣu. Ame sia ame fe nuxɔxlɔ le vovovo. Ame aɖewo xlɔa nu ame le ɣɖɔ kple fiẽ alo ye sia yi, si wonya kpɔ vovo ko; gake nyuietɔ kple vevietɔe nye ɣɖi, elabena ɣɖinya dea ame fe to me.

Ame si kpɔ ɣusẽ axlɔ nu ame lae nye Ɖeviawo fe dzilawo, alo ame si kpɔ be, Ɖevia ava zu nane na ye la, ate ɣu axlɔ nu Ɖevi la, bena ne enyo nɛ la, ne woanyo na eya hã. Míafe nuxlɔamenya aɖewo nye: Megadzu ame o, megafifi o, ne ekpɔ ame aɖe fe nu la, megatsɔe o, ne nane mele asiwɔ o la, nɔflee, magafifi o. Ne ame aɖe gblɔ nya aɖe na wɔ la, nasee. Megabo ha kple amewo katã o. Magayɔ ame aɖeke srɔ o. Menye ame siaa amee nye ame nyuiẽ o, megano aha fuu o. Tsɔ ɖokuiwo bɔbɔ nɔ mia tɔ, ɣutsuwo kple nyɔnuwo dome. Nu si nate ɣu awɔ la, wɛe kple dzidzɔ. Nya zɔzɔ kple dzodɔu ametɔwo; ne menye nenem o la, manɔ agbe didi aɖeke o. Wɔ ɣutɔ enya ale si wogblɔ le tɔgbuiwɔwɔ ɣu kple ale si wonɔ agbee, eya ta wɔ hã nato wofe afɔtofewo pɛ, ekema anyo na wɔ.

Míedoa ɣɔɖzi na Ɖeviwo bena: Ne meɖu nua o la, ekema mafo wɔ, aloo mado adzuvɛe na wɔ, ekema ele na Ɖevi la be, wɔabe ɣɔɖzi dodo nya sia eye wɔaɖu nu la; ke ne meɖu nua o la, woafɔe alo woado adzuvɛe nɛ vavã. Wofoa Ɖeviwo, dzua wo bla wo ɖe ka me; gake wometea nuɖuɖu wo o. Wogblɔnɛ, gake womewɔnɛ o, elabena ne wowɛ la, woagblɔ be, wole nuɖuɖu tem wo viwo, alo wole ɣlɔmii wɔm le wo viwo ɣutɔ hã ɣu. Ame aɖewo meheɔ to na wo viwo o; elabena wosusu be, aku; negbe nya ko wohena ɖe wo ɣu. Vitɔwo kple

lived. That is why you must also walk in their footsteps, and then everything will be alright for you!”

We instil fear into children as we threaten them: “If you do not eat, I will beat you or rub pepper into your eyes!” They must listen to these threatening words and eat. However, if a child does not eat, it gets beaten or pepper is rubbed into its eyes. Children are beaten, scolded, and tied with rope. However, they should not be denied food. You may feign by saying what you want to do, but you do not actually do it. If you do, people would say that you have denied a child his or her food. You are cruel to a child. There are people, who do not punish their children at all because they think these children might die as a result. Such people usually scold them. Only the father, mother and such people, who love children, have the right to punish children. When parents are not at home, children are looked after by their close relatives, for example, an elder and younger brother of the father, the grandmother or the mother’s sister or their elder brother.

b. Play of Children

When children are a year or two old, they usually play with each other, but no one understands the meaning of their words. As they play, they often engage in fights. From the third year onwards, they begin to play on the village road. They quarrel and exchange blows there, but they do not hate each other. When I was a child, we often quarrelled. On each day, we would quarrel with each other six or seven times before night falls. However, after we had quarrelled, we immediately uttered friendly words to each other. We set traps and do all kinds of things with each other. That is the sweetness of childhood.

Many children are also spoilt by their parents.

4. Circumcision

It is an established custom in Ewe land that each boy is circumcised. If a boy is not circumcised, he becomes an object of ridicule. Uncircumcised boys do not remain healthy either. If a boy is healthy, he is circumcised during the third year. However, if he is not healthy, one waits till his ninth year.

If a boy is to be circumcised, a deep hole is dug across which he is placed. The circumciser pulls up the prepuce a little, cuts it off and buries it. Formerly, circumcisers got 2 *hoka*. But currently, they get 12 *hoka*.

After the circumcision, a child is held in higher esteem than before because everyone knows that he has now become a man. As soon as the wound heals, the parents are happy and prepare chicken meal for the boy to which he may invite his contemporaries. This is to celebrate his entry into manhood. He is provided with two ells long piece that he wears around his loins.

vinɔwɔ ko kpɔ ɔ, bena woahɛ to na wo viwo, kple amɛ siwo lɔa ɖeviwo. Ne dzilawo meli o la, ekema dzilawo fe fometɔwɔ kpɔa wo dzi, abɛ ɖevi la fe tɔɖɛ, fo, tɔgã, mama, tasi ene.

b. ɖeviwo fe Kɔɖiɖiwo

Ne ɖeviwo xɔ fe ɖɛka alo eve la, wonɔa fefem kple wo nɔewo, gake amɛ aɖɛke mesea wofɛ nyawo gɔmɛ o. Le kɔɖiɖi sia me la, wofoa wo nɔewo faa. Ne woxɔ fe etɔ alo atɔ la, wonɔa fefem le ablo me, ne wowɔ dzɛɛ fo wo nɔewo hã la, womelɛa fu wo nɔewo o. Esime menɔ ɖevi me la, mía kple amɛ si wɔa dzɛɛ la, mía kpɛ kokokoe zɔna. Egbea vuɔ míawɔ avu abɛ zi ade alo adre ene hafi zã nado, ne míewɔ avu la, kasia míedo nu xoxo. Mɔtetre, azãtetre, do sia do mía kpɛ kokoko wɔnɛ na mía nɔewo. Alee nye ɖevimenɔwɔ fe vivi.

ɖevi gɛɖewo li si wo dzilawo gblẽ tame na wo.

4. Avatsotso

Ele be wotso ava na ɲutsuvi sia ɲutsuvi le mía gbɔ, elebena enye kɔnu na mí. Ne wometso ava na wo o la, ekema enye koko na wo, eye ɖevi, si wometso ava na o la, fe lãme mesɛna hã o. Ne ɖevi aɖɛ fe tame sɛ la, wotsoa ava nɛ, ne exɔ fe etɔ gake ne efe lãme mesɛ nyuie o la, axɔ fe abɛ asieke ene hafi wotso ava nɛ.

Ne wole ava tso ge la, woɖea do wògoglona vie, eye wotsɔa ɖevi la ɖoa do la nu eye wolɛa ɖevi la fe avanuyi hena tɔ hɛ lãne, wotsɔ ayi lalã la dea do me heɖina. Tsã la, avatsolawo xɔa hoka eve, ke fifi la woxɔa hoka 12.

Ne wotso ava na ɖeviawo vɔ la, amewo bua wo wua tsã, elabena amɛ siaa amɛ dze sii bena, woɖo ɲutsu me azɔ. Ne avabi la ku la, dzilawo kpɔa dzidzɔ ɲutsu, eye wotsoa koklo ɖa nu na ɖevi la, bena wòayɔ wo tɔwo ne woadui, elabena eɖo ɲutsu me. Emegbe woflea avɔ abɔ ɖɛka na ɖevi la, bena wòanɔ dodom.

II. The Physical, Spiritual and Moral Aspect of Man

A. The Physical Aspect

1. The Body as a Whole

People believe that the body of a person comes from *trɔ*. By eating and drinking, a person lives, grows and feels pains. As long as someone grows and feels pains, she or he also has to endure agony. One knows that growth comes from God. After death of the body, man returns to earth.

The stature of man varies. People, who remain small, are called, *akɔtia*. One calls persons with a big body volume, fat. One calls people, who are not fat but are tall, slim. The structure of the body does not earn anyone insult. What earns someone praise is when another person likes his/her words. “When you like someone’s words, you will not insult her or him”.

2. The Organs

Many people have big heads. On the other hand, others have small heads. The head may be flat and long; others have big and knobby heads. Many people have large ears, while others have small ears. It is the same with the eyes of human beings. Some have red eyes and others brown eyes. Many people have broad mouth, while others have small mouths. The mouths of many people are peaky, and those of others are big and broad. There are also big, small, and high noses and such noses that are flat.

3. The Sexes

There are many differences between a man and a woman. When one sees a man, one immediately identifies him (as man). He does not need to be identified by anybody. One recognizes a man mainly from his speech, knowledge etc.

B. The Spiritual Aspect¹¹

The spirit *gbɔgbɔ* is the breath or the *pneuma* in human beings. The soul, *luwɔ*, is the one that lives with the human being. One also calls the soul *kpegbɔncɔla*, *adee* and *aklama*. One says that *kpegbɔncɔla* places stones on each other to form a heap. It watches over these stones for long, and, when it leaves them, the person must die. We Ewe people call *aklama*, *kpegbɔncɔla*, *dzɔgbɛ*, *dzɔgbemesi*, *dzɔgbemetsui ɲunu*, meaning, “the one that is with the human being”, the human guardian god.

The spirit mother is the one that gives people children that they bring forth. She first brings forth children into the world. To the mind of many people, she is the one who creates the human being and kills her or him again. Her abode is called *Bome* (farm, field). One also calls it *Vivime*, meaning in darkness, in the unconscious mind. Many people also say she lives at the back of the house. Sacrifices are offered to her there. Her duty is to provide children. It is usually said, when children cry, it is their mother in the spiritual world who is molesting them. Leaves of the *Ahala* tree, seven snail shells, wood of the *Lɔdzɔ* tree and twelve cowry shells, that represent the value of 12 *hotu*, are

11 Compare: the Personal Guardian Gods, page 502.

II. Ame fe dzedzeme, efe gbɔgbɔ kple nuwɔnawo

A. Dzedzeme

1. Ame blibo la

Amewo susuna bena, ame fe ɲutilā edzɔ tso trɔwo gbɔ. Nu si na ɲutilā le tsitsim eye wòle veve sem lae nye nuɖuɖu kple nunono. Ɔkeke ale si ame aɖe le tsitsim eye wòle veve sem ɖaa la, nenemake fukpekpewo hā va edzi ɖaa. Wonya be tsitsi la tso Mawu gbɔ. Le ku megbe la, ame la fe ɲutilā azu ke alo anyi.

Ame si ke le kpui la, woyɔnɛ be ame kpui akɔtia. Ne amea lolo la, woyɔnɛ be ame lolo. Ame si melolo hafi kɔ o la, woyɔnɛ bena ame tralē. Nɔnɔme aɖeke mena dzudzu ame o, ke boɲ amegbetɔ ɲuto fe vlododo amee nye nu si na dzu ame alo dea dzu ame ɲu. Nu si na kafukafu ame lae nye ame nunyo ame ɲu. Ne amea fe nu nyo ɲuwò la, mele vlo dogee akpɔ o.

2. Ame fe ɲutinuwo

Ame aɖewo fe ta lolo, eye ame aɖewo tɔ melolo o. Ame aɖewo tɔ le bakpā, gladzā kple bubu fomevi vovovowo. To hā le nenema, ame aɖewo tɔ lolo eye ɖewo tɔ le sue, eye ɖewo tɔ le vedomesi. Ɔku hā nenemake, ame aɖewo tɔ biā, eye ɖewo tɔ fu tititi. Nu hā ame aɖewo tɔ keke, eye ɖewo tɔ le sue alo bui, ame aɖewo tɔ le tsutsɔ, eye ɖewo tɔ le gbabā. Ɔti hā ɖewo lolo wu ɖewo, eye ɖewo kɔ, ke ɖewo mekɔ o, aloo wogbā ɖe anyi me.

3. Fomewo

Vovo le ɲutsu kple nyɔnu dome le nu geɖewo me. Ne ekpɔ ɲutsu la, adze sii enumake; ame aɖeke mafiae wò o. Nu vevietɔ, si me wodzea si ɲutsuwo le lae nye nufɔfo, nunya kple nu bubuwo.

B. Gbɔgbɔ gome

Gbɔgbɔe nye fufu alo ya le ame me. Luwɔe nye nu si mevɔna gbɛɖegbede o. Wogayɔa ɲkɔ bubuwo na luwɔ siwo nye kpegbɔnɔla, adee kple aklama. Kpegbɔnɔla, wobena etua kpe ɖi alo elɔa kpe lia kɔ ɖi, eye wɔnɔa nenem kpe mawo dzɔm va se ɖe esi wɔadzo le egbɔ, ne edzo le kpe la gbɔ la, ekema ame la aku. Nu si mí Eweawo míeyɔna be ɲunu la wonye, aklama kple kpegbɔnɔla dzɔgbɛ, dzɔgbemesi kple dzɔgbemetsui.

Ɔɔlimenɔe nye ame si na vi wodzina. Eyae nye ame si dzi vi ɖe xexea me gbā, alo eyae nye ame si wɔ ame le ame geɖewo fe susu nu. Eya ke gawua ame hā. Efe nɔfee nye Bome. Nenem Bo sia wogayɔna hā be Vivime. Ame aɖewo hā gbɔ be efe nɔfee nye xɔdome afi ma wonaa nui lena. Efe dɔwɔwɔe nye bena, ena vi amewo wodzina. Ne ɖewiwo le avi fam la, wogbɔna bena ɲɔlimenɔ le fu ɖem na wo. Ekema wowɔa ahalatingba (ɖukuɖukui), abɔbɔga adre kple lɔdzɔti kple agaga wuieve, si woyɔna bena hotu 12 la tɔ ɖaɖoa mɔ dzi ne, bena wɔagabi dzi o. Nenem nu siawo wotsɔna fa akɔ na ɲɔlimenɔ.

placed at the crossroads to propitiate her. The spirit mother is thus appeased with the offering of these things.

You can discern whether the man or the woman from the other world is pestering a person when a mother cannot breastfeed her child. The woman from the other world is said to be responsible for abnormalities in the menstrual cycle of women on earth, especially if menstruation is not over at expected time. The man and woman from the spirit world pinch the person with finger nails, but the victim is not aware of it. To exorcise the spirit out of the person, leaves of the *dukudukui* shrub, with seven snail shells and seven torches are taken to the crossroads for the rituals to supplicate them. Such people are also taken to a stream for cleansing. It is believed that the tormenting spirit departs from the victims following this cleansing.

C. The Moral Aspect

By definition, “a good person is the one who obeys, honours other persons, humble, hardworking in the field of her or his profession and does evil to no one. She or he does not insult anyone, does not appropriate property belonging to others and does not burgle anyone”.

Bad people are those “who do not respect other people, disobey others and cannot pass by other people’s property without stealing it. A bad person calls strange women, does not honour her or his parents and is a person who tells lies”.

We call those who do not give other people anything, misers.¹² A greedy person is one who craves the property of others when he or she sees it, and says to herself or himself: “Take this, so that it becomes yours!”

People who are quick-tempered are called murderers. It is even said that angry people are persons who are just like the forest devil (chimpanzee). We call people who take to flight as soon as something difficult happens to them as fainthearted persons or cowards.

If one steals or bewitches someone and it is known that he or she is responsible but denies it, such a person is called a liar. When someone steals, kills or bewitches and admits the offence openly when confronted, such a person is said to be someone who speaks the truth. People who speak the truth are respected because they themselves also respect other people and look out for their best. One calls people whose pieces of advice others like and those who do whatever they do in the right order, wise persons. Foolish people are those whose utterances are publicly unacceptable.

Heroes are those who do not give up in war; they are also people who endure every kind of suffering. A hero encourages herself or himself when she or he is in great difficulty. He rescues any person (from danger) who might be attacked by a leopard or a hyena.

12 Although s/he possesses a lot, s/he does not use her/his possessions and even goes round in dirty clothes.

Nu si amewo wɔna hafi dzea sii bena dzɔgbemetsui kple dzɔgbemenɔ le ame aɖe gbɔ lae nye: Ne ame aɖe dzi vi, eye tsi mele efe no me wɔna via o la, wogblɔna be, dzɔgbemetsui le nyɔnu la gbɔ. Ne nyɔnu aɖe gblẽ ɲui, eye megbɔ kaba o la, ekema wogblɔna be, dzɔgbemesi le egbɔ. Dzɔgbemetsui kple dzɔgbemesi wodzea fe amewo hã, si ame si wɔdzee la menyana o. Nu si wowɔna hafi wodzonaɛ nye wotsɔa ɖukuɖukuingba, abɔɔga adre, akakati adre yia mɔ dzi ɖadoa gbe ɖa na wo. Aloo wokplɔa amewo yia tɔ me lea tsi na wo, si gɔmee nye nu siwo le fu ɖem na wo la, bu le wo ɲu.

C. Amewo fe nuwɔwɔmewo

Ame si woyɔna be ame nyuie lae nye ame si ɖoa to, bua ame, bɔɔa eɖokui ɖoa vevie nu le ɖɔwɔwɔ me, eye mewɔa vɔ aɖeke ɖe amewo ɲu o. Medzua ame o, mebiã ɲu o, mefia fi o, kple bubuwo. Ame si mɛyɔna be ame vɔɖie nye ame si mebuwa ame o, meɖoa to o, metoa ame fe nu gbɔ yina o, alo efia fi. Ne ekpɔ ame aɖe srɔ la, wɔyɔnɛ, mebuwa efe dzilawo o, eye eka avatso.

Ame si mɛyɔna be ɖomeveveeto lae nye ame si mena nu ame o. Ɔɔkulaɛ nye ame si kpɔa nɔvia fe nu wɔdzone, alo wɔgbɔna bena, xɔ nu sia ne wɔazu tɔnye.

Ame si dzi kune kabakaba la, wosusuna bena, ame la nye amewula, ame aɖewo gblɔna be, enye azizãmee alo gbedemee. Ame si ne hiã alo nya aɖe dzɔ ɖe dzi wɔsina la, eyae nye nyɔnɔnɔ.

Ne ame aɖe fifi, ɖu dzo ame, wonya bena ame la wɔe, gake wobiae, wɔbena yemewɔe o, wɔnye eyae wɔe hafi la, woyɔa ame la be avatsokala. Nyatefetotoe nye, ne ame aɖe fifi, wu ame, ɖu dzo ame kple bubuwo, eye wobiae wɔgbɔ bena ẽ, nyee wɔe, mehe ɖe megbe o, hafi eɖo ɲu bena, nyee wɔe la, eya wogblɔna be, enye nyatefetoto. Ame si nye nyasãto lae nye ame si nya nu, eye efe nufɔfo kple aɖaɲuɖodo dea ame siaa ame fe to me, eye wɔwɔa nu sia nu ɖe ɖodo me. Bometsilae nye ame si fe nufɔfo mesɔa tome na ame o.

Kalɛtɔe nye ame si doa dzi le nu sia nu me; le ava me, le fukpekpe bubuwo me. Edea dzi fo na eɖokui le hiã gã aɖe me. Ne lãkle alo amegãxi dze nɔvi aɖe dzi la, eɖene le eme.

II. Death and Rites of the Dead

A. The “Good” Death

1. Sickness and Death

Sickness is something that kills men, it is something whose symptoms can outwardly be detected on the body of a human being. If someone is sick internally, we usually say that that person will die, because such people may become bedridden or may not become healthy again and may die. People lose hope for such persons when they are attacked by a disease. Therefore, people say such a person may die. The agony of death is the last struggle in human life. A person in agony of death may behave as follows: If a weaver, for example, is struggling with death, he behaves and talks as if he were weaving in the weaver's loom. People in other professions behave likewise. If someone has a friend, who is on the verge of death with whom he used to drink palm wine, he must once again drink palm wine with him before he dies. For example, if *Kofi* and *Yawo* were friends, and *Yawo* is on the verge of death, *Kofi* must buy palm wine and drink it together with his friend before he dies. They say, that is the last palm wine that they are drinking together.

All relatives normally abandon their family members, who are about to die, because if they do not, and the dying persons see them, the spirits of the persons on the verge of death would molest them and kill them. Many people mention the name of a person closely associated with them and who is a very close friend of them before they die. They say that it hurts them so much that they must leave them. When a spiritualist is at the point of death, all those whom he had killed through the medium of magic, appear to him saying: “We thought you will not die. Where are you going (now)?” In order to stop calling the names of the people he had killed in life and thereby bringing disgrace upon his relatives, they gag him with a piece of cloth. When a dying person is molested by ghosts, magical powers are used on him or her. After the agony, he closes his mouth, i. e. he dies.

2. Preparation of Corpses and their Burial

When someone dies, she or he is bathed, rubbed with ointment, laid on a mat, on which there are no borders, and then wrapped in his or her most beautiful clothes. Before the corpse is laid in state, he or she is shaved, and women are adorned with pearls. Thereafter, they begin to fire muskets and weep, and that is an indication that the corpse has been prepared for burial. Before the dead is laid in the room,¹³ messengers are sent to tell family members and friends of the dead: “Your brother or sister no longer exists!” When these friends view the corpse, they swear before it: “Had we gone to war together or had a wild animal attacked you, I would have done everything I could to rescue you; but now, it is death that has snatched you away and there is nothing I can do now!” They express these words in grief, weeping with red eyes and in a strong masculine tone. They speak to the deceased as their last conversation with him/her. Many people tell the dead to extend their greetings to their brothers or sisters, asking them to come and take them, too, to their tenement.

¹³ *Do xɔ* means announcement of a death.

III. Ku kple kunuwɔwɔ

A. Ku nyuie kulawo

1. Dɔléle kple ku.

Dɔlélee nye nu si wua ame, eye míkpɔa efe dɔwɔwɔ le gota ye aɖewo yi. Dɔléle le ame me. Nu si ɲuti ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém míegblɔna be, ele kukum lae nye, ame aɖewo ne wole dɔ lém la, womegafona alo wofe lāme megasēna o, eye wotoa eme kuna. Ne amewo d ze dɔ la, womegaɖoa ɲu ɖe wo ɲu o; eya ta wogblɔna ko be ele kukum. Kudowɔwɔe nye ame la fe agbemedɔ mamletɔ. Aleɛ wowɔ kudoe nye si: Ne ame aɖe nye avɔlɔla la, ekema enɔa kudo wɔm le avɔlɔfe. Nenemae nye dɔ bubu wɔlawo hã. Nu si ɲuti wonoa aha le kudowɔla gbɔ lae nye ne ame aɖe kple ame aɖe wonye xɔlɔ, eye wonoa aha la, ekema ele bena, woagano aha mamlea hafi xɔlɔa naku le egbo. Le kpɔɖeɲu me, ne Kofi kple Yawo wonye xɔlɔwo, eye Yawo le kudo wɔm la, ekema ele na Kofi be, woadze aha ayi egbo ano le afi ma; eye wɔagblɔ be, esiae nye yewofe aha mamlea, si nom yewole.

Nu si ɲuti amewo dzona le wo gbɔe nye, ne womedzo le wo gbɔ o, eye kudowɔla kpɔ wo la, ekema awo ɲɔli wo, eye wɔawu woawo hã. Kudɔfola aɖewo yɔa wofe ame veviewo kple xɔlɔ veviewo fe ɲka hafi kuna, eye wogblɔna bena, ele yewo vem ɲutɔ, esi yewole wo gblēm ɖi. Ne dzotɔ aɖe le kukum la, ekema ame siwo katã wòɖu dzoe woku la, va egbo gblɔna bena, yewosusu be eya mele kuku ge o; afi ka wòyina mahã? Bena wòaga nye ɲukpe na ame si le kudo fom fe fometɔwo o ɲuti la, wotsɔa taku alo avɔ vuvu dea nu me na wo, bena wɔadzudɔ amewo fe ɲka yɔyɔ. Ne ɲɔliwo le fu ɖem na wo alea la, wowɔa dzo na wo. Le kudowɔwɔ vɔ megbe la, womia nu alo wokuna.

2. Ame kuku dzadzraɖo kple eɖiɖi.

Ne ame aɖe ku eye wole tsi nɛ vɔ keɲ la, wotsɔa ami hesina nɛ, eye wotsɔnɛ mlɔ aba mafoto dzi, hetsɔa efe avɔ vevietɔ tsyɔna nɛ. Hafi woatsɔe amlɔ anyi la, wolua ta nɛ, nenye nyɔnu la wodoa dzonu nɛ. Ne wowɔ nu siawo katã vɔ hafi wodea asi tudada me, eye wonɔa avi fam, sie nye dzesi bena wodo xɔe azɔ. Hafi woado xɔe la, wodɔa ame ɖe nɔvia, siwo le dua me la gbɔ, eye wogblɔna na wo be, wo nɔvi la megali o loo!. Ne wova egbo la, ekema woka atam na ame kuku la bena: “Ɖe wònye ava míeyi alo lā aɖee le wò la, ne menye nyee axɔ na wò o fí; gake kue va wɔ nua wò, eya ta nyemate ɲu awo naneke o!”. “Wogblɔa nya siawo kple veve, avifafa, ɲku dzie kple ɲutsugbe. Wofoa nu kple ame kuku la, abe nufɔfo mamlea ene. Ame aɖewo gblɔna na ame kuku la bena, wɔagblɔ na ye nɔviwo bena, yebia wo nyuie, ne woava kplɔ ye hã ayi wo gbɔe. Wona hotsui ame kuku la, bena wòatsɔ adze aha ano le mo ta. Wona wɔtsi wo, bena wofe dzigbo nafa.

The dead are given cowry shells to buy and drink palm wine on the way. They are also given water mixed with maize flour to cool their hearts.¹⁴

The dead are buried either in the bush or at home. An elder, who dies a “good” death, is buried in the house. However, he is buried in the bush, if he does not die a “good” death. All women as well as children are buried in the bush because women and children do not have their own houses. In olden days, there were special graves. But now, anyone can make a grave for the deceased. The grave diggers, as demanded by custom, are not allowed to go home until they have completed digging the grave. Before they go home, they must bathe in the bush. On arrival at home, they place their hoes and cutlasses, which they have used in digging the grave, behind a house by the roadside, sit and wait until people come to greet them and thank them before they disperse. They are presented with chicken and a big pot of palm wine as compensation. After that, they tie strips of cloth that each of them had torn from the cloth of the dead around their loins.

Graves dug for the rich and kings are alike. Their graves are deeper than those of the poor. That is why a people insult others by saying: “He has a face as deep as the grave of distinguished people!” The graves of kings and rich people are dug in such way that, first of all, a round, narrow hole is dug, after which the hole is made broad underground like a room.¹⁵ The corpse is buried there together with the mat, on which she or he was laid and other possessions. Broken pots, that serve as cooking utensils, are placed on the grave.

When the death of an adult is announced, the village elders come together to meet and advise the relatives of the deceased among other things; the relatives are advised to provide the following: gun powder, meat, clothes, mats and other petty things for the sympathizers who will come around to avoid any embarrassment. People do not mourn the deceased, who has just died, but their own relatives, who died long ago. Songs of sorrow and dirges are sung for the deceased. They console each other with firing of muskets and drinking. People put on their most beautiful clothes and adorn themselves on these occasions.

A funeral ceremony is a big feast that is celebrated during which a lot of money is expended. The second funeral ceremony is held five months after the death of the deceased. People who have no children do not participate in the funeral ceremony. When the day on which the second funeral celebration is to be held draws near, hundred to three hundred palms trees are felled to provide enough drink at the celebration grounds. On the final day, animals are slaughtered and cooked for sympathizers. But this day is not a day for mourning, but a day of jubilation. Eating and drinking of a lot of palm wine is the order of the day, at the end of which usually a quarrel ensues, during which many people sustain injuries. During this celebration, the tattered clothes (of the dead) are placed on the fringes of the village road. The rational for this act is to protect the spirit of the deceased from haunting them if these objects are left behind. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased is prevented from re-entry as a result of this ritual.

The invocation of the spirit of the dead requires that the relatives of the deceased provide palm wine and red maize pulp to the presiding priest, who, after eating the

14 One thinks that dead persons are sad.

15 In which s/he is buried.

Woɖia ame kukuwo ɖe gbe me kple afe me. Woɖia ame tsitsi si ku ku nyuie la ɖe afe me, ke ne meku ku nyuie o la, woɖinɛ ɖe gbe me. Nyɔnu sia nyɔnu la, woɖinɛ ɖe gbe me. Woɖia ɖeviwo hã ɖe gbe me, elabena afe mele wo si o. Tsã la, woɖo yɔɖoɖelawo ɖi koŋ; ke fifia la ame siaa ame koe ɖea yɔ na ame kuku. Kɔnuwɔwɔ si le yɔɖelawo si lae nye, womeva afe me o, va se ɖe esime woawu yɔ la ɖeɖe nu hafi; gbe me ko wolea tsi lena, hafi va afe me. Ne wova afe me la, wotsɔa agblenu kple klante, siwo wotsɔ ɖaɖe yɔa la, dana ɖe ablɔme le xɔ ɖome, eye wotsyɔ ako ɖe wo gbɔ, va se ɖe esime woado gbe na wo, eye woado akpe na wo hafi wodzona le afi ma. Fetu si woxɔnae nye koklo ɖeka kple deha ze gã ɖeka. Emegbe la, wogaxɔa avɔ si wole ame la ɖi gee fe nuɖeɖee tsɔna wɔa godoe.

Kesinɔwɔwɔ kple fiawo fe yɔɖo le ɖeka; woɖea wo wogoglonu wu ame dahewo tɔ. Eya ta wodzua amewo bena: Ɔkume abe ame veviewo fe yɔɖo ene. Woɖea fiawo kple kesinɔwɔwɔ fe yɔɖo abe vudo ene gbã, emegbe woɖenɛ le ete wòkekɛna abe xɔme ene. Wotsɔa ame kuku la kple aba, si dzi wòmlɔ kple nu siwo le egbo la dana ɖe afi ma. Wotsɔa ze gbagbãwo hã ɖina ɖe efe yɔɖo dzi, si enye wofe nuɖanuwo.

Aɖaŋu si ame tsitsiwo ɖona le kunuwɔwɔ ɣue nye be, kutɔwo nadi ɖu, lã, avɔ, aba kple nu kuklui bubuwo ada ɖi na amedzrowo, bena womegaxaxa o. Amewo fa avi, menye le ame si ku fifia ɣuti o; ke wofe ame vevie, siwo ku xoxo la ta. Wodzua veve kple konyifafaha na ame kukuawo. Tudada kple ahanonoe nye nu si wotsɔna fa ako na wo nɔewo. Le nu siawo wɔwɔ me woɖea wofe nu veviewo tana, eye wowɔa leke na wo ɖokui.

Kunuwɔwɔe nye ɣekeke nyuie, si woɖuna eye wogblẽa nu geɖe le eme. Kunu eveliae nye esi wowɔna le ame la fe kuku yleti atɔ megbe. Ame siwo medzi vi o la, womewɔ kunu na wo o. Ne ɣekeke si woɖo be woawɔ kunu evelia le ɖoɖom la, wohoa de abe alafa ɖeka alo alafa etɔ ene, bena woano le kunu la wɔfe. Ne ɣekeke la ɖo dzi la, wowua lãwo eye woɖa nu na amewo. Ɔkeke sia ya meganye konyifafa ɣekeke o, ke boŋ wokpɔa dzidzɔ. Woɖua nu eye wonoa aha geɖe. Nuwɔwɔ sia fe nuwuwue nye dzre geɖe wɔwɔ, eye ame aɖewo xɔa abi le eme. Ne wole kunu wɔm la, ekema wofoa ame kukua fe nu vuvuwo ɖadana ɖe mɔ to. Nu si ɣutie lae nye be, ne egale yewo dome la, ava wɔ ɣoli yewo; eya ta wodanɛ ɖe mɔ to nɛ be, ne ekpɔe la, ne wòagbugbo. Ne ame aɖe ku, wobe, woadɛ efe ɣoliyɔfe la, wotsɔa aha kple akplɛ dzẽ yina na trɔnuu bena, wòayɔ yewo nɔvi si ku la, ne wòava fo nu ne yewoase.

Trɔsi la ɖua nuawo eye emegbe la, edea asi ɣɔtimegbe dodo me, alo edea asi ame si ku la fe gbe dodo me. Ekema ame siwo le xɔa nu la nɔa susum bena, ame kuku la ɣutɔe va le nu fom. Nɔviawo bianɛ bena, nu ka wɔe wòku mahã?

Eye ɣoli la gblɔa nu si wɔe la na wo.

3. Tsiɛfenɔwɔ

Wobena, tɔsisi gã aɖe le tsiɛfemɔ dzi, si wotsona hafi yia egodo. Tsiɛfe gɔmee nye tsife, afi si ne woyi la, womegagbɔna o. Wogblɔ bena, ne ame yeyewo va wo gbɔ la, wodina tso wo si bena, woawɔ wofe kɔnyinyiwo alo sededewo dzi.

Wobiaa ame la be, wòagblɔ ale si wònɔ agbe le xexeame kple ɖɔ siwo wowɔ la keŋ. Nuɖuɖu kple tsi mele afi ma o, ɖe wònye nuɖuɖu le afi ma la, anye ne womaganɔ nu ɖam anɔ dadam ɖe mɔ dzi na wo o.

meal, begins to speak in a nasal tone thus imitating the voice of the deceased. Those who sit outside in front of the hut actually believe that it is the voice of the deceased to which they are listening. They ask the deceased about the cause of the death which the spirit often reveals to them.

3. Sojourn in the Underworld

It is said that there is a big stream, which one¹⁶ has to cross to get to the opposite bank. The meaning of the word *tsiefe* is “tenement of the dead”, where no one goes and returns. A newcomer, upon arrival there, is said to be advised to comply strictly with the practices and regulations of the people living there. The newcomer is asked how he or she has lived in the land of the living and what work he or she has done there. There is no food and water there. If there were food there, it must not be cooked for them¹⁷ and deposited on the road.

A person who dies is said to come again. That deceased is said to have come back to live as a human being again, when a child born in the family of the deceased bears similar physical features. When this happens, the child is given the name of the deceased.

B. The “Bad” Death

The types of death that are called “bad” are: soldiers killed in action, dying from smallpox, leprosy or during childbirth and suicide. Those who die from any of these types of death are called *ame tsiavawo*, which means, “those who are killed in action”. “Those who die in action” are not buried like those, who die from normal causes. Their burial place is somehow far from town. Those who die a “bad” death are not supposed to remain at home, but are sent immediately into the bush and buried. There is no display of musketry at home in honour of such people, but the shooting is done along the road. When the corpse is being taken to the grave, prayers are said that this type of death should never occur in the town again. On returning from the burial, the elders are given 12 *hotu* and a ram by the relatives of the deceased, to cleanse the town and thereby restore cosmic harmony in the town. When someone dies a “bad” death in any town outside home, the people do not assemble anymore until the funeral ceremonies have been performed for the deceased.

The tenement of a person who has died a “bad” death is said to be totally different in the underworld. These people do not have the permission to be among those who have died a “good” death. It is said that a person who dies a “bad” death is stained with blood and he wanders without finding a place to rest.

16 The dead person.

17 The deceased.

Míesusuna be, ne ame ku la, egadzɔna, eyae nye ne ame aɖe ku, eye efe fometɔ aɖe dzi vi wòdii la, ekema wogblɔna be, ame la gatɔ dzɔ. Eye wotsɔa ame si ku xoxo la fe ŋkɔ na ɖevi la.

B. Ku manyomanyo

Ku, siwo míeyɔna be ku manyomanyo la, woawoe nye: avatsitsi, dɔvɔléle kple dɔdzielele, ne nyɔnu aɖe ku kple fo kple kadeve. Ame siwo ku nenem ku siawo la, woawo woyɔna be, ame tsiavawo. Womeɖia ame tsiavawo abe ale si woɖia ame siwo lé dɔ ku ene o. Wofe ɖife hã le vovo, eye wòdidi tso dua gbɔ vee. Ne ame tsiavawo ku la, womeɖea mɔ wonɔa afe me o; ke boŋ wotsɔa wo yia gbe mee. Womeda tu le afe me na wo o ke boŋ woda tu na wo le mɔ dzi. Ne wotsɔ ame la yi yɔdo gbɔ la, wodoa gbe ɖa gblɔna bena, ku siawo fomevi nagadzɔ le yewofe du me gbedegbede o. Ne woɖi ame la trɔ gbɔ la, woxɔa hotu 12 kple agbo ɖeka le ame si ku la fe fometɔwo si, hena gbome kpɔkplɔ alo, be woadɔ nu si gblẽ le dua me la ɖo. Ne ame tsiava aɖe ku le du aɖe me la, womegafoa vu o, va se ɖe esime woadza ati na ame kuku la hafi.

Wogblɔ bena, ame tsiavawo hã fe nɔfe le vovo le tsiẽfe. Womekpɔ mɔ be, woanɔ ame siwo lé dɔ ku la dome o. Wogblɔ bena, ne ame tsiavawo ku la, vu sɔŋ nɔa wo ŋu wonɔa tsatsamii, womekpɔa tefe aɖeke o.

Chapter 2: Religion

1. Heaven/ Sky and Heavenly Gods /Sky deities

A. Heaven

1. Names and Structure

The names that are given to heaven (*dzifo*) are *alilĩ* or *dzingɔli* and *srɔ̃*. *Dzingɔli* is very far from us, human beings. *Srɔ̃* are the clouds that go in the air across the face of the stars. *Dzingbe* is the earth above and it is very far (from us). It is said that there are seven heavens, and in each of these a special language is spoken. It is also said that this first heaven is a surface, on which there are mountains and forests. Heaven does not consist of soil; it rather consists of soft stones.

2. Inhabitants of Heaven

People who have tails like monkeys, are said to be in heaven. They do not wear clothes. They know what happens on our earth. They do have famine there as we do have here. The types of work that men and women do are spinning, farming and making of baskets. When famine breaks out there, they buy food from our earth. To be able buy food from earth, they drop a rope from heaven to earth. After buying the food, they do not eat any of it before leaving earth again because we have salt¹⁸ in our food. It is said that they cannot leave the earth, should they eat some of it here. Inhabitants of heaven are said to have descended in *Akpɔsɔ* to buy food. But because they prepared and ate the food the rope got torn and they could not go back. The man from who they bought the food caught them, cut off their tails and made them become his children. Inhabitants of heaven do not die, but change their skin like snakes. The man, who narrated that said he saw the people in *Akpɔsɔ*. They look just like Blacks.

18 Compare the forms of cult. There should be no salt in the food offered to the gods.

Ta Evelia: Subɔsubɔ

I. Dzifo kple dzifomawuwo

A. Dzifo

1. Ŋkɔ kple wɔwɔme

Ŋkɔ siwo woyɔna na dzifo wonye: Alilɛ alo dzingɔlikple srɔa. Dzingɔlie nye nu si didi tso mɔa gbo. Srɔe nye alilikpo siwo nɔa zɔzɔm le ya me le yletiviwo ŋkume. Dzingbee nye anyigba si le dzi me, eye wodidi nɔ. Wogblo bena, dzifo adree li, eye wogbloa gbe tɔxɛ le wo dome de sia de dzi. Wobena, dzifo gbɔtɔ siae nye gbadzafe, eye towo kple avewo le edzi. Dzifo menye anyi o, ke boŋ enye kpe bɔbɔe ade.

2. Dzifonɔlawo.

Wogblo bena amewo le dzifo hã, siwo asike le agɔme na abe Kesewo ene. Woawo metaa avo o, wonya nu si le mɔafe anyigba dzi. Dɔwuame vaa woawo hã gbo abe mɔa gbo ene. Wofe dɔwɔwɔ, siwo nɔsuawo kple nyɔnuawo siaa wɔnae nye deitotro, agbledede kple tsyokpofofɔ. Ne dɔwuame va wo de la, wova flea nuɖuɖu le mɔafe anyigba dzi. Ale si wowɔna hafi flea nuɖuɖu le mɔa gbo lae nye, wotsia ka tsoa dzifo, eye wozɔ edzi va anyigba dzi. Ne wofle nua la womeɖune hafi dzona o; elabena dze le mɔafe nuɖuɖuawo me. Wobe, ne woɖui la ekema woatsi anyi. Wobena, le Akpɔɔ la, woɖi va fle nuɖuɖu, eye esi woɖa nua ɖu la ka la lã, eye wotsi anyi. Ame si fe agble me wofle nua le la, lé wo, eye wolã wofe asike, eye wotro zu viawo. Womekuna o, ke boŋ wotea awu abe da ene. Ame si gblo nya siawo la gblo bena, yekpɔ ame siawo tɔgbe deka le Akpɔɔ deko wole abe ame yibo ene.

B. Heavenly Gods

1. The God *Sodza*

The appellations of *Sodza* are as follows: 1. *Hagbenɔ*, meaning, “mother of palm wine.”¹⁹ 2. *Lāgbenɔ*, meaning, “Mother of meat”. On the day on which one gets meat, *Sodza* is the mother (giver). 3. *Nam, mana wò, tem, mate wò*, meaning, “Give me and I will give you; by-pass (ignore) me and I will by-pass (ignore) you!” 4. *Nyagānyagāvu*, meaning, “Ship, in which there is a great variety of goods in abundance”. 5. *Kufia, dufia*, meaning “King of death” and “King of towns”. The meaning of the word *Sodza* is: “The lightning that comes during rainfall”.²⁰ Some explain the name as: “The red lightning”. The meaning of *Mawu* is *mewu*, meaning, “I am more; I surpass everything that exists”.

2. The God *Sogble*

Sogble is the lightning that destroys. It is the god of the people of *Anlō*, which destroys trees and human beings. It is the one that thunders very powerfully. He is also called *Sogblā*, which is the *So* that forges. It has no appellations. Its abode is at the top of a tree and within a fence. People say that *Sodza* is just like *Sogblē*. It is the god of the smithy, which destroys trees and human beings. People say *Mawu* (God) is older than *Sogblē* and is his master because He is the one who made everything.

3. The God *Sowlui*

Sowlui is the god that gives, the one with whom it leaves riches as a present. People say that he is the one that glitters like gold. His appellations are: *Sowlui bowlui*, meaning “It is above all other human beings”. *Nam, mana wò, tem mate wò*, meaning, “Give me and I will give you; by-pass (ignore) me out and I will by-pass (ignore) you!” The abode of *Sowlui* is in a room. Its stature is like the stature of a human being; it wears a completely white material. Its work consists of giving the one, with whom it is, riches, so that this person becomes a rich man.

II. The Gods of the Earth /Terrestrial Deities (*trowo*)

The names of these gods are: *Anyadi, Abali, Ati, Nana, Kɔbie, Atsiati, Asive, Dzonutɔe, Zɔdzi, Asi, Asaman.yawu, Tsidzē, Tsiye, Atando* and *Sonkpe*.

The meaning of *trɔ* is that which confuses a person. This means when a goat is taken to him, he says he does want to have a goat, and, when you take a sheep to him, he wants a chicken.

19 It also means: “Mother of meanness” or “Sojourner with the great meanness”, meaning with a human being.

20 *Sodza* is also the lightning that shines during rainfall.

B. Dzifo Mawuwo

1. Mawu Sodza

Ŋkɔ, siwo wofona ɔ na Sodza wonye: 1. Hagbenɔ, egɔmee nye ahagbenɔ 2. Lāgbenɔ, egɔmee nye gbe si gbe wokɔ lā la, eyae nye dada na yewo. 3. Nam mana wo, tem mate wo. 4. Nyagānyagāvu 5. Kufia, dufia; Sodza gɔme nye so si dzana. Ame aɔewo ɔea egɔme be, enye “so dziɛtɔ” Mawu gɔmee nye mewu. Nu siawo li la mewu wo.

2. Mawu Sogblɛ

Sogblɛ gɔmee nye so si gblɛa nu. Enye Anɔtɔwo fe Mawu, si gblɛa atiwo kple amewo. Eyae nye nu si ɔea gbe sesɛ ɔtɔ. Woyɔnɛ hā be Sogblā, eyae nye so si tua nu. Womefoa ŋkɔ aɔke ɔ na o. Efe nɔfee nye ati tame kple kpɔtɔ me. Wogblɔ be ale si Sodza le la, nenemake Sogblɛ hā le. Eyae nye nutulawo fe Mawu, eye wògblɛa atiwo kple amewo. Wobe, Mawue nye tsitsi na Sogblɛ, elabena eyae wɔ nuwo katā.

3. Mawu Sɔwlui

Sɔwlui nye Mawu, si na kesinɔnu ame si gbɔ wòle. Wogblɔ be enye nu si nyɛna abe ale si, sika wɔna ene. Sɔwlui bowlui, eyae nye be eɔ kpo ɔe ame bubuwo katā dzi. Nam mana wo, tem mate wo. Sɔwlui fe nɔfee nye wɔ me. Efe nɔnɔme le abe ame fe nɔnɔme ene, eta aklala, si fu tititi. Efe dɔwɔwɔe nye be, wòana kesinɔnu ame si gbɔ wòle la, be wòatrɔ azu kesinɔ.

II Anyigbamawuwo (trɔwo)

Wofe ŋkɔwo nye: Anyaɔi, Abali, Ati, Nana, Kɔbie, Atsiati, Asive, Dzonutɔe, Zɔdzi, Asi, Asamanyawu, Tsidzɛ, Tsiye, Atando kple Sonkpe.

Trɔ gɔmee nye nu si trɔa ame, eyae nye ne wotsɔ gbɔ nɛ la, ekema egblɔ be yemele gbɔ dim o, ne wotsɔ alɛ nɛ la, ebe koklo dim yele.

1. Anyaɖi

a. Belief and Concept

The appellations of *Anyaɖi* are: 1. *Kotokunyaɖi*, *kakraɖa*. The meaning of these names is unknown. 2. “Break off the maize that has been eaten by beetles and taste it”. (You will find that it tastes badly). 3. “A drunken person does not sleep it off on top of a roof”. (In spite of his drunkenness, he knows that he would fall and harm himself.) 4. “Pepper cannot be ground well without salt”. 5. “One does not tie a stone around the loins”. (It is heavy and it will pull you down.)

Anyaɖi comes from *Toŋu* in *Mafi*. It was first venerated there. It is a hereditary *trɔ̃* because it came to *Akɔviefɛ* in the olden days. His priest says that it was already in existence before all Ewe people were made. The tribes that still venerate him are: *Mafi*, *Tsɔme* and *Gɛ̃*. When *Anyaɖi* came from *Toŋu*, people knew nothing about him, until he began to kill them. Seven persons were said to have been killed by him, before people knew him. Ever since the time of his arrival till now, it has had five priests whose names are *Komla*, *Dake*, *Akpatsa*, *Dase* and *Komla*. Women are not allowed to become his priestesses. *Anyaɖi* is strong and one calls its priests *volusi*.

Anyaɖi is the chief of all *trɔ̃wo* from *Akɔviefɛ*. This means he kills human beings and is a hero in the field of war just like an army commander. He prevents any kind of ill luck that threatens to happen in the town. *Anyaɖi* is a malvolent as well as benign *trɔ̃*. It is malicious because he quickly gets angry. He spoils everything that he is given to preserve. If it is a human being, he kills him because it does not like him. When he gets hold of a human being, he kills him on the sixth or seventh day; he cuts off the neck. If his name is sworn on people in other towns,²¹ he kills them. What particularly angers him is when you do not fulfil what you have promised to give him, or when you set your face against his order and you do what *Anyaɖi* forbids. He also gets angry when you utter a bad word against him.

Anyaɖi is also a benivulent *trɔ̃* because he rescues people from their troubles. He gives them presents and when someone has a child, he watches over it, so that no ill luck befalls it. It is a great *trɔ̃*. That is why people are so much afraid of him. He watches over people who venerate him, do everything that he likes and do not lie to him. He makes sick people recover and guards them, so that they do not die. When he heals someone, the recovered person takes flour and chickens to the priest, who shares these gifts with his colleagues. He then tells them everything and says they should request their *trɔ̃wo* to withdraw their favours from him. After that, they thank those *trɔ̃wo*. *Anyaɖi* is also a good *trɔ̃*. *Anyaɖi* watches over the people of *Akɔviefɛ*, so that neither death nor terrible ailments can ruin them. *Anyaɖi* forbids the eating of the meat of dogs, leopards and wild cats. He also does not like the rearing of pigs. Women should not come to his shrine during menstruation. He forbids his priest from attending to his farm on *Asitui* day (on the day preceding Ho market day). He must also avoid conjugal intercourse with his wife. It is forbidden that his other servers mention his name without any due cause. When someone mentions his name unduly and does not come to plead with him with two chickens, palm wine and cowry shells, he kills such a person. If his name is invoked for someone to die, the person who swears his name

21 Laying the name of the *trɔ̃* on someone means demanding from the *trɔ̃* that it kills the person concerned at a particular time.

1. Anyaɖi

a. Nu siwo wosusuna le ɛɲu

Ŋkɔ, siwo wofona ɖo na Anyaɖi wonye: 1. Kotokunyaɖi, kakraɖa; womenya ŋkɔ siawo gɔme o. 2. Takpoekpeli klēe ɖu kpɔ. 3. Ame kuaha mekua aha ɖe xɔta o. 4. Dzeɖle menya tuna o. Egomēe nye, atadi fuflu menya tuna o. 5. Kpe mesana ɖe ali o, hikpikpli tsɔe yi tsɔe gbɔe.

Anyaɖi dzɔ tso Mafi le Tɔɲutɔwo gbɔ, aɖi si wosubɔe le gbã. Enye tɔgbuitrɔ, elabena le blema ke wòva Akɔviefɛ. Enunɔla ɲutɔ gblɔ be, eli hafi wowɔ Evemetɔwo katã. Du, siwo gasubɔnɛ, wonye, Mafiawo kple Tsyometɔwo, eye Gētɔwo hã subɔnɛ. Esi Anyaɖi tso Tɔɲu va tetee la, womenyae o, va se ɖe esime wòde asi amewuwu me hafi. Wobe, ewu ame adre sɔɲ hafi wova dze sii. Tso efe vava me va se ɖe fifi la, ame ene nɔ enu; wofe ŋkɔwoe nye: Kɔmla Ðake, Akpatsa, Ðase kple Komla ame si le enu fifia. Ke womeɖe mɔ na nyɔnu be, wòanɔ enu o. Anyaɖie nye ɲutsu sesẽ aɖe, eye woyɔa enunɔla be vɔnusi.

Anyaɖie nye trɔwo katã fe asafohene le Akɔviefɛ. Eyae nye bena, ewua ame, ewɔa kalē le ava me abe asafohene ene, eye ne nu vɔ aɖe gbɔna dua me la, melɔna be, wòava o. Anyaɖie nye trɔ vɔ kple trɔ nyuie. Enye trɔ vɔ elabena edoa dɔmedzui kabakaba. Ne wotsɔ nu sia nu da ɖe egbɔ la, egblēnɛ nenye amee la, ewunɛ, elabena nu medea ɛɲu o. Ne elé ame la, ekema ewunɛ le ŋkeke adeadreagbe. Etsoa hlo ame la. Ewua du bubu me tɔwo hã ne woyɔe da ɖe ame dzi. Nu si ganana wòbia dzie nye, ne egblɔ be, woawɔ nane na ye, eye womewɔe nɛ o, alo ne egbe na ame aɖe be wòagawɔ nane o, gake ame la sɛ to wɔe alo ame aɖe gblɔ nya vlo aɖe ɖe ɛɲu.

Enye trɔ nyuie, elabena exɔna na wo le wofe fukpekpewo me; ena nu wo eye ne vi le ame aɖe si la, ekpɔa edzi be, vɔ aɖeke magawɔe o. Enye trɔ gã eya ta amewo vɔnɛ ɲutɔ. Ekpɔa ame siwo ke bunɛ, wɔa nu sia nu, si dzea ɛɲu, eye womeka avatso nɛ o la, dzi. Ehaya ame tso dɔléléwo me; ekpɔa ame dzi hã, bena ame la nagaku o. Ne ekpɔa ame aɖe dzi, efe lāme sɛ la, ekema etsɔa wɔ kple koklo yi ɖana trɔnua, eye eya hã yɔa etɔwo woɖua nu la. Emegbe eka nya la ta na wo be, woaɖe kuku na wofe trɔwo ne woaɖe asi le ame la ɲu. Emegbe woda akpe na trɔ kemeawo hã. Anyaɖi gadzɔa, Akɔviefɛ tɔwo ɲu be ku kple ɖo vɔ magagblɛ wo o. Nu si Anyaɖi tsrie nye melɔ be woaɖu avu, lākle kple dzogolo o. Melɔ be, woanyi ha hã o. Ame si gblɛ ɲui la medea efe me o. Nu si wòtsri na enunɔlae nye be, mekpɔa mɔ ade agble le Asituigbe o. Mekpɔa mɔ be, wòadɔ nyɔnu gbɔ gbe ma gbe o. Nu si wòtsri na efe subɔla susɔeawoe nye be, womagayɔ efe ŋkɔ dzodzro o. Ne ame aɖe yɔ yefe ŋkɔ, eye meva ɖe kuku na ye kple koklo eve, aha kple hotsui o la, yeawu nenem me mawo. Ke ne woyɔe da ɖe ame aɖe edzi bena, wòaku la, ekema ame si yɔe la, woxɔa alɛ ɖeka hotu 12 le esi hekpata trɔ la. Ne ame aɖe meɔye kpɔ o, wònye ema nye zi gbãtɔ wòyɔe la, woxɔa wɔ, aha, amidzē, hoka ā kple agaga ā na trɔ la. Akɔviefetɔwo susu bena, Anyaɖi fe atabue nye, ŋkeke adeadreagbe tututu la awu ame. Ale woka efe atam gblɔnae nye si. Ne mewu ame alo fifi alo wɔ ahasi alo ɖu dzo ame aɖe la, ekema ŋkeke adeadreagbe la Anyaɖi nawum. Ne ame la melé avu le wo dome o la, ekema awui kokoko. Ame si yɔe le adzame dzaa la, ena dɔlélé va edzi, eye esesẽ ɲutɔ hafi ame la nanɔ agbe. Dumegawo metsɔ

must go to placate the *trɔ̃* with a sheep and 12 *hotu*. If the person concerned has called him for the first time, he must present the deity flour, palm wine, palm oil, 7 *hoka* and 7 cowry shells. The inhabitants of *Akɔviefɛ* believe that the oath of *Anyadi* has the power to kill a person on the sixth or seventh day. His oath is sworn in the following manner: “If I have killed a person, stolen, committed adultery or bewitched someone, *Anyadi* should kill me on the seventh day!” If no one makes peace between both parties, he will surely kill him. If someone swears an oath secretly, it makes him sick, and a lot of effort²² is required for the person to survive. It becomes, first of all, the concern of the paramount chiefs of the town when the sick person dies. The priest eats all of the sacrifices he receives alone. He may only give some, at his pleasure, to the king and the paramount chiefs.

b. The Cult

The priest prays to his *trɔ̃* everyday. Before he eats something, he first throws some of it on the ground for the *trɔ̃* because it is he, as he says, that has given him the power to get all that he needs.

Each year, before the yam festival, he cuts tubers of yams into pieces, mixes them with palm oil, places them on the ground for the *trɔ̃* and slaughters a fowl. He then adorns the fence, in which the *trɔ̃* resides. The priest prays earnestly before the sacrifice is taken to him. The actual abode of *Anyadi* is an earth mound, on which there is a pot. The herb *fla* is planted in this pot. The earth mound is completely surrounded by a fence in which sacrifice is made to the *trɔ̃*.

When smallpox breaks out, people assemble and go to his abode to ask him to drive away the smallpox, so that their town will not be destroyed by it completely. *Anyadi* does not want to be at places that are exposed to the sun. It lives in a cool place under seven trees, namely, three silk cotton trees, two oil palms, an acaju nut tree and a kidney tree. During famine or drought, people assemble in *Anyadi*'s abode to appeal for rain for the crops to thrive. When war is about to break out, the people of *Akɔviefɛ* go to the priest (to ask him) to plead with his *trɔ̃*, so that he would not allow the enemies any victory over them. He should rather come to their aid, so that they rout their enemies. They take along a present that he should give to his *trɔ̃*. When we were fighting at *Kleviesinu*, *Anyadi* rescued us from the hands of the *Asantes*. That is why *Anyadi* is very popular with the people of *Akɔviefɛ*.

c. Consecrated Persons²³

The duty of his slaves lies in being sent by him to deliver his messages to people. They are the servants of the *trɔ̃*. When *Anyadi* wants to carry out something, he first sends his servants, before he comes.

One becomes *Trɔ̃klu*, “slave of gods” in the following way: When someone loses children over and over again, the person seeks protection from the *trɔ̃* for his new-born child, so that nothing happens to it. If it is a girl, they call her *Kosi* and, if a boy, *Klu*. Children consecrated to *Anyadi* are called *Anyadi Klu* and *Anyadi Kosi*. If a child is taken

²² Religious expiatory acts are understood by this.

²³ The *hienkuawo*, royal slaves as well as *Kluwo* and *Kosiwo*, its personal slaves belong to this class of people.

ḑeke le nya la me o, negbe ne ame la ku hafi. Trɔ̃nua ḑeka koe ḑua nuawo katã, ne elɔ̃ la, eya ko wɔ̃ana ḑe dumegawo kple fia.

b. Esubɔsubɔ

Trɔ̃sia ɣuto doa gbe ḑa ne gbe sia gbe. Ne ebe, yeaḑu nu sia nu la, eka ḑe dana ḑe anyi na trɔ̃ la gbã, elabena egblɔ be eya na ɣusẽ ye yete ɣu kpo nu siawo katã. %e sia fe le teḑurɔli la, wofea te me bakane kple ami dzẽ tɔ̃na fona ḑe anyi ne, eye wotsoa koklo hã. Emegbe wogaḑoa atsyɔ na kpɔtɔtɔ, si me wòle la nyuie. Hafi woatsɔ nuḑuḑu ve la, wodoa gbe ḑa vevie na Anyaḑi la ɣuto le kpo aḑe si dzi woḑo zee la me. Nu si le kpo la dzi le ze la mee nye fla eye wotɔ kpo fo xlã kpo la. Kpo sia me wotsɔa nunanawo dana ḑo.

Ne dɔ vɔ̃ va la, ekema wofoa fu yia efe me, bena woaḑe kuku ne, ne wɔ̃anyã dɔ vɔ̃ la ḑa, bena magagble wofe du o. Anyaḑi menɔa ɣɔ̃ɔgbe o, ke boɣ fafefe le ati adre, siwo nye vuti etɔ̃, deti eve atsiati eve la te. Ne dɔ̃wuame va alo ku le ḑiḑim la, wofoa fu yia Anyaḑi fe me, bena wɔ̃agana tsi na dza. Eye nukuwo na vã. Ne ava va la, Akɔviefetɔ̃wo yina ḑaḑea kuku na trɔ̃nua, eye wotsɔa nunana ne be, wɔ̃atsɔ na trɔ̃ la, ne magana yewofe futɔ̃wo nasi yewo o, ke boɣ trɔ̃ la nade yewo dzi, bena yewofe futɔ̃wo nasi. Esime miekpe ava le Kleviesinu la, Anyaḑie ḑe mí tso Asantetɔ̃wo si. Eya ta Akɔviefetɔ̃wo melɔ̃a nu le Anyaḑi gbɔ o.

c. Efe ame tɔ̃xewo

Trɔ̃ la fe ahienkuawo fe subɔsubɔe nye bena, wodɔa wo ḑe dɔ̃gbe bena, woagblɔ nya na amewo. Ahienkuawo nye trɔ̃ la fe dɔ̃tsɔlawo. Nu sia nu si hiã Anyaḑi wòbe yeawo la, edɔa efe ahienkuawo ḑa gbã hafi eya ɣuto vana.

Trɔ̃klu zuzue nye bena, ne ame aḑe le dzikudzikui dzim, ekema ne edzi vi la, etsɔ̃ne ḑana trɔ̃ la be, wɔ̃akpo edzi, bena naneke nagawɔe o. Nenyɛ nyɔ̃nu la woyɔ̃ne be Kosi, ke nenyɛ ɣutsu la, woyɔ̃ne be Klu. Nenyɛ Anyaḑi wotsɔ ḑeviawo na la, woyɔ̃a ɣutsueviwo be Anyaḑi Kluwo eye nyɔ̃nuwo be Anyaḑi Kosiwo. Ne wotsɔ ḑevi aḑe yi ne la, woatsɔa wo kple aha yina na trɔ̃nua. Kluwo fe subɔsubɔe nye, ne wole trɔ̃kpɔ tɔ ge la woafɔ fɔ̃, eye wɔ̃atso ati ve, emegbe wotsɔ̃na hotsui hã ve na trɔ̃nua be, woatsɔ na wo fofo Anyaḑi. Ne wole te ḑu ge la, ekema Kluwo kple Kosiwo fe dzilawo kplɔ wo yia trɔ̃nua gbɔ be wɔ̃atɔ te nu na wo. Trɔ̃nua fea te me hetsɔ̃na tɔa wofe afɔ̃fome, ɣɔ̃nu kple nu si fia bena woate ɣu aḑu te azo faa. Tsã ne wometɔ te nu na woo la, womekpɔ mɔ aḑu te o. ɲkeke ale si ḑevi siawo metsi o la, wofe dzilawo nɔa dɔ wɔ̃m na trɔ̃nua abe agbledɔ ene, va se ḑe esime

to *Anyadi*, the priest gets flour and palm wine. The duty of these slaves is to provide sticks when the deity's fence is to be made. They carry the sticks and make the fence. After this, they take cowry shells to the priest with the request to give these to their father, *Anyadi*. Before people eat new yams, parents bring their children that belong to *Anyadi* to the priest for him to touch their lips with the new yam. The priest cuts the yam into pieces and touches their heels, forehead and lips with the new yam. That means that they now have the permission to eat new yams. In former times, before their lips were touched with (new) yam, no one had permission from them to eat the new yam. As long as these children are small, their parents work on the farm for the priest, until they become adults, and can work by themselves. When the children become adults, they help the priest in the discharge of his different tasks.

When *Anyadi* came from *Mafi*, he possessed some particular people, who became his priests. The following is the account of how a person is consecrated in the service of the *trɔ* or how he is "brought out from the room": The one, with whom the *trɔ* dwells, fixes a day for the people. (For this purpose) he buys meat, palm wine and other foodstuffs, in order to perform the rites on the day he has fixed. If the person concerned will be installed as a priest, he wears a blue dress. On this day, they drum for him, to which he dances.

Apart from the duty in the service to the *trɔ*, the most important duty of the *Anyadi* priest is performing magical feat for the people. Failing to do this, the *trɔ* does also not help him.²⁴ The priest must see to it, that no one surpasses him (meaning that no one has greater magical powers than he himself). The priest also goes to the farm to do all sorts of the work as other people do.

The priest of *Anyadi* dresses in blue and ties the same material around his head. His objects that are consecrated to the *trɔ* are as follows: A sword, on whose handle many fringes made with the phloem of the raffia palm are fixed and seven cudgels that he carries when he is recovering debts. When a town is indebted and does not pay it, he puts these heavy sticks in the house of a distinguished personality of that town, swears to him and says that if the debt is not paid, he himself and with him, the whole town, must die. Apart from that, he has the magical powers of *Kpanga*, in which there is something esoteric, but about which not everyone has insight.

d. *Anyadi*'s Children

The name of *Anyadi*'s son is: *Amekuku medoa godzo o*, "A dead person cannot stoop anymore", meaning, it is the *trɔ* that kills pregnant women. The name of its second son is: *Anyadi Kɔmla*.

e. Oath

The inhabitants of all surrounding towns usually come to *Anyadi* to swear in his temple. His priest gets large amounts of cowry shells from them. People do not swear in his place without reason. It is only when someone owes another person and the party liable does not want to pay is the person (only his name and not the person himself) taken to *Anyadi*. The plaintiff swears before *Anyadi* urging him to collect the amount from the debtor for him. The priest then sends a messenger to the debtor, summoning

24 It is a proof that the *trɔ* belongs to the class of new gods of the earth.

ɖeviawo ɲutɔ natsi aɖo dɔwɔwɔ me. Ne ɖeviawo tsi la, ekema wokpena ɖe trɔnua ɲu le dɔ bubuwo wɔwɔ me.

Esime Anyaɖi tso Mafi va la, eva lé asi ame tɔxe aɖewo si trɔ zu efe nunɔlawo. Ale si wokɔa ame ɲuti na trɔ alo ale si woɖea trɔ le xɔ mee nye: Ame si gbɔ trɔ le la, ɖoa ɲekeke na amewo. Eɖlea lã kple nuɖanu vovovowo kple aha, eye wowɔa nua nɛ le ɲekeke, si wòɖo la dzi. Nenyɛ trɔsi ɖo ge woala ame aɖe la, ekema edoa blusiwu, eye wofoa vu nɛ wòɖuna le ɲekeke sia dzi.

Anyadɔnua fe dɔ vevietɔe nye be, wòasa dzo geɖe akpe ɖe trɔ la ɲu, ne menye nenem o la, trɔ la maɖi o. Ele na trɔnua bena, wòanɔ ɲudzo be ame aɖeke nagaɖu edzi o. Trɔsia dea agble, eye wòwɔa nu siwo keɲ dua metɔwo wɔna.

Avɔ si wòtanae nye blusi, eye wòɖa blusi kuku hã. Nu siwo le Anyadɔnua si abe trɔnuwo ene wonye: yi ɖeka, si ɲu wosa ala ɖo vluya kple kpo adre si wotsɔna liã fee. Nenyɛ be, du aɖe nyi fe, eye mele exem o la, ekema wotsɔa kpo adre siawo ɖafua bubume si le dua me la fe afe me, eye wokaa atam nɛ bena, ne mexe fe la o, ekema aku, eye menye eya ɖeɖe ko o; ke boɲ du blibo la katã. Hekpe ɖe nu siawo ɲu, Kpanga fe dzo hã le esi si me nane le, gake menye ame siaa amee kpɔa eme o.

d. Anyaɖiviwo

Anyadɔ fe vi ɲkɔe nye Ame kuku medoa godzo o. Eya nye trɔ, si wua funɔwo. Evia bubue nye Anyadɔ Kɔmla.

e. Tamkaka nɛ.

Dua metɔwo katã vaa Anyadɔ gbɔ nɔa atam kam nɛ, eye trɔsi la xɔa ho gã le wo si. Gake la, menye ɖe wova nɔa atam la kam nɛ dzodzro o. Ne ame aɖe nyi fe le nɔvia si, gbe bena yemele fe la xe ge na ye nɔvi o la, ekema wotsɔa nenem fenyila sia yi ɖaka atam na trɔ Anyadɔ bena, ne wòaxɔ fe la le esi na ye. Trɔsi la dɔa ame ɖona ɖe fenyila la gbɔ bena, neva ye gbɔ fifi, elabena wotsɔe ka atam na Anyadɔ. Du sia du vɔna na trɔ sia. Eya ɲuti la, ne ame aɖe ayo wò ɲkɔ na trɔ sia la, ele na wò bena, natso kaba aɖale afɔ na trɔnua kaba!. Eye ale si ale si fe la le la, natsɔe ana trɔnua. Trɔnua hã yɔa fetɔ la vɛ, eye wòatsɔ fe, si wòxɔ la atɔ ana fetɔ la. Ne exɔ fe la na fetɔ la vɔ la, egblɔna nɛ bena: Azɔ la amegã Anyadɔ xɔ wò fe la na wò vɔ, eye wòle hotsui hotu 12, kple aha akɔsibavi eve hã dim tso asiwò me. Elabena exɔ wò fe la na wò vɔ. Emegbe nava xɔ fla le Amegã Anyadɔ si ne wò lãme nafa loo!. Emegbe la trɔnua gagblɔna na fenyila la hã bena: Wò ha tɔ hotsui blade vɛ, eyae nye hotu ɖeka kple hoka 10, ne nava xɔ amatsi fafe, bena ne malé mi ame eve la fe asi awɔ ɖeka ne mi ame eve la, miawɔ nɔvi Kusie, kusie miheyi le ɲutiifafa me, eye amegã Anyadɔ aɖi na mi loo!.

him to appear immediately before *Anyadi*, because he has been sworn against before *Anyadi*. The inhabitants of all towns are afraid of this *trɔ̃*. That is why when someone mentions your name before this *trɔ̃*, you must quickly go to beg the priest (“hold his foot”). Notwithstanding how big the debt may be, you must pay it to the priest who then summons the creditor to hand over the amount to him. After the priest has handed the amount to the creditor, he says to him: “*Anyadi*, the chief, has recovered the debt for you and now demands from you 12 *hotu* cowry shells and two demijohns of spirits (Schnapps). You will then get from *Anyadi*, the chief, the herb *fla* to make you remain in good health.” After that, he says to the debtor: “You must bring 1 *hotu* and 10 *hoka* cowry shells to receive the peace herb. I will interlock your hands and you could become close friends again. Go in peace, and may *Anyadi*, the chief, bless you!”

2. *Abali*

a. Belief

The names given to *Abali* are: 1. *Abali madogongo*, “*Abali* cannot be attacked by anyone and rolled up (disabled). 2. *Zɔkpa meɔa aha nu o*, “You cannot put a big water pot under palms; (you can only put small pots).”²⁵ *To gā womegbāe kple bè o*, “One does not cover a high mountain with thatch’ (it is too big). 4. *Abali kotoe, lāko gonyo meɔa te o*, “One cannot grind a mill with a big piece of meat”.

Abali is a local deity. It was there from the beginning. It is believed by many to be the one that made the world. On the other hand, others are of the opinion that he was not the one who made world.

Abali is both a malignant and benevolent *trɔ̃*. He is a bad *trɔ̃* because he kills children. He is a good and great *trɔ̃* because he gives children to all those who adhere strictly to his precepts. It is believed to have power to provide rain, children and life. He heals especially the sick. However, *Abali* is wrathful. People identify his wrath in things that now happen in the town but which, in the past, had never happened, such things as drought, murder and the like. When that happens, he is said to be angry. They propitiate, “cool” his anger by offering a he-goat, flour, red oil and fowls. The bones and blood of the animals are the actual meal of the deity. *Abali* is a man with a turgid phallus.

Abali is a big rock, and its abode is under big shady trees on the summit of the *Taviefe* Mountain, where it is pleasantly cool. Its abode is not far from *Taviefe*. Pots and bowls are placed there.

He forbids his priests to eat snakes and tortoises. Apart from that, he forbids the people dedicated to his service to go to the farm on the day of *Asiame*.

People say that when prayers are offered to *Abali* during severe drought, water comes out of a big well (bore hole) for people to see. But when someone who violates his precepts comes to the water hole to fetch water, the water returns. When people went there one day, they are said to have seen how water gushed out and wanted to flow into a stream but returned. Thereupon, the priest immediately shouted that those, who were having their menses (those who were unclean) should step out of the crowd. Those people went away immediately and the water gushed out again and flowed into the stream. This prevails, it is said, till the present day.

25 Compare picture on page 397.

2. Abali

a. Ale si wobuna le ɛɲu.

Ɔkɔ, siwo wofona ɔo na Abali wonye: Aba madogonyo 2. Zɔkpa meɔoa aha nu o 3. To gã womegbãe kple bè o, 4. Abalikotoe, lãkɔ gonyo mefua te o. Adanfutoɔgbe. Adanfutoɔgbe, eyae nye womate ɲu atso lãkɔ lolo afu te o.

Abali medzo tso afi adeke o; ke boɲ eli tso gɔmedzedzea me ke. Ame aɔewo susuna bena eyae wo xexeame, ke ame aɔewo susu bena, menye eyae wɔe o.

Abalie nye trɔ vɔ kple trɔ nyuie. Enye trɔ vɔ, elabena ewua ɔeviwo. Enye trɔ nyuie kple trɔ gã, elabena ena vi. Ame siaa ame bua efe sededewo pɛpɛpɛ. Ɔjusẽ si wosusu bena, ele esi lae nye, ena tsi, vi kple agbe; vevietɔ ehaya ame tso ɔlɛlewo me. Gake Abali doa ɔmedzui kaba akpa. Nu si wotsɔna dzea sii bena, ele domedzui dom enye: Ne nya aɔe meɔina le dua me tsã o, abe kuɔiɔi kple ɔkuiwuwu ene, hafi wole dzɔdzɔm la, ekama wogblɔna be, dzi le ekum. Nu siwo wotsɔna fa efe dziku nu wonye: Gbɔtsu, wɔ, amidzẽ kple koklo.

Trɔ la ɲutɔ tɔ duɔuwu nye vu kple fuawo. Abalie nye ɲutsu eye vo gã aɔe le egɔme. Abalie nye kpe gã aɔe, eye efe nɔfee nye ati gãwo te, afi si fa nyuie le Taviefeto tame. Tso efe nɔfe yi Taviefe medidi o. Nu siwo le afi ma wonye, ze kple agabawo.

Nu si wɔtsri na ame siwo le enu lae nye, womeɔua da kple klo o. Kpe ɔe esia ɲu la, megatsri nu geɔe na efe subɔlawo o, negbe agbledede le Asiamigbe ko wɔtsri na efe subɔlawo.

Wobena, ne ku le ɔiɔim, eye woyi gbe do ge ɔa na Abali la, ekema tsi la dona tso vudo gã aɔe me wokpɔna. Gake ne ame aɔe gblẽ kɔ ɔo hafi de la, ekema tsi la gatɔna. Wobe gbe ɔeka esime yewo yi la, tsi la do tso vudo la me gbɔna hoo, esime wɔbe yeakɔ ɔe tɔyoa me la, tete wɔgbugbo. Enumake trɔnua do yli gblɔ bena, ame si gblẽ ɲui la nedo le ameawo me!. Enumake amea dzo hafi tsi la gado va tɔyo la me. Wobe, egawɔna va se ɔe egbegbe.

b. Subusubɔ.

Abalie nye trɔ, si ke wo tɔgbui Akɔe buna vevie ɲutɔ wu trɔ bubuwo katã keɲkeɲ, eye efe subɔsubɔe nye kɔ, si ke Akɔe do ɔi na viawo va se ɔe fifi. Du si me ko wosubɔa Abali lee nye Akɔviefɛ, elabena wosusu bena, eya wo Akɔviefetɔwo, esiata woyɔa wo be Abaliviwo. Wosubɔne le afe me kple gbe me kura. Nu si trɔ bia tso Akɔe si mee nye gbɔ. Ne wobe, woɔɔa gbɔ ne la, ekema du blibo la katã yia gbe me, eye wotsɔa wo kple ami dzẽ ɔe asi. Ne woɔɔa nua du vo la, wotsɔa vuawo yi ɔadana ɔe trɔ la kɔme kple akplẽ dziẽ aɔewo. Le Asiamigbe la, dukɔ la katã tsia afe, eye womeyia agble o.

Le teɔugbe hã wodoa gbe ɔa ne. Trɔnua fea te me hedana ɔe dzi zi etɔ, emegbe la, wɔtsɔne dona ɔe anyi. Wobaka te ɔaɔa kple ami dzẽ, ke womebaka ɔewo o, eye wotsɔne dana ɔe agbawo gbɔ. Ne kuɔiɔi kple ɔvɔ va la, wodea Abali fe ɔea kuku ne be, wɔana nu mawo nadzo, bena nu nyuie ɔɔɔ nava yewofe anyigbe dzi. Nenemake woɔea kuku ne ne ava va. Ne wole efe me yi ge la, ɲuigbegblẽtɔ medena o, womedɔna kple nyɔnu hã dena o. Gbe si gbe ya gã aɔe fo, eye wole didim be woanya nu si ɲutie la, wogblɔna na enunɔla be,

b. Cult

Abali is a *trɔ̃* that was worshipped by their ancestor, *Akɔɛ*, more than all other *trɔ̃wo*, and his service is a dedication that *Akɔɛ* had instituted for his children. *Abali* is worshipped only in *Akɔ̃viefe*, for he was believed to have made the people of *Akɔ̃viefe*. That is why they are also called “*Abali*’s children”. It is worshipped in the homes and in the bush. The *trɔ̃* demanded a goat from *Akɔɛ*. If a goat should be cooked for it, the whole town goes into the bush. They take along flour and palm oil. After they have cooked and eaten, they put the bones and some pulp, cooked in the same oil, on the *trɔ̃*’s laps. On *Asiame*’s day, all the people do not go to the farm.

Prayers are offered to him at the yam festival. The priest cuts a piece of yam into pieces, raises them up three times and then lays them on the ground. Some boiled yam is put in bowls together with white yam mixed with oil. During drought and small pox epidemics, people go to the abode of *Abali* to propitiate him to drive the drought and ailment away and to allow in their stead only good things. In the same way, prayers are offered to him when war is about to break out. When people go to his abode, women in their period are not allowed to enter. Neither are men, who have had sex the previous night with their wives, allowed. When a violent storm rolls along, people want to know the cause and they go to the priest to find out the cause. If the cause of the storm was attributed to be the anger of the *trɔ̃*, he orders people to stay at home in order to make a propitiatory offering for *Abali*.

The slaves of *Abali* collect firewood, which is used for cooking the sacrifice for *Abali*. They are the people who repair the fence of the *trɔ̃*, should there be the need for it. The female slaves grind flour which they take with palm wine and palm oil to the priest. The flour is then cooked for the *trɔ̃* and the men who work on the fence.

3. *Ati*

a. Belief

Some names of this *trɔ̃* are: 1. *Ati blabu*, meaning, “*Ati*, whom one sends as messenger to perform some functions”. 2. *Teduwola*, meaning, “While walking it kills animals”. The people of *Akɔviefe* brought *Ati* from the people of *Ho* when many people were bewitched in *Akɔviefe*. When they brought him, he was enshrined along the path, so that anyone who bewitches another person again will fall and die instantly upon arriving at the abode of *Ati*. The tribes that still worship *Ati* are: *Kperɔɛ*, *Ho*, *Sɔkɔɔɛ*, *Abutia*, *Awudome* and *Peki*.

The place of veneration of *Ati* is the tree that is outside the town by which people pass directly before entering the town. The *trɔ̃* himself lives in a bowl in a grove. *Ati* is an itinerant *trɔ̃* because he does not stay at one place. He is a male *trɔ̃* that is sent out on missions. He runs very fast. He is worshipped by a man called *Wonusi*. He does not wear any special dress and has no (priestly) insignia.

Ati is a benevolent *trɔ̃*. He gives rain during drought. He gives life and, when other *trɔ̃wo* want to kill people, he calls them together and asks them not to act in that manner. He does not allow the people living in the town to be pricked by a thorn. *Ati* gives no children. If someone is sick and a propitiatory sacrifice is made to him, he makes the person recover. No bad people get to his abode because *Ati* is a good *trɔ̃*. For example,

wòabia nu si ɲuti ya la fo ɔ. Nenye dɔmee le evem hafi ya la fo la, ekema wodea se be, amewo natsi afe, ne woawɔ nu na Abali.

Abali fe Kluwo kple Kosiwo fɔa nake hafi woɔaa nui. Nenemake ne wole trɔkpɔ tɔ ge la, woawoe wɔa dɔ le ɛɲu. Kosiwo tua wɔ, eye wotsɔa aha kple ami kpena ɔe ɛɲu na trɔnua. Nu siawo woɔana na trɔ la kple kpɔɔlawo.

3. Ati

a. Xɔse

Efe ɲkɔ aɔewo nye: 1 Ati blabu alo ati, si wodɔna ɔe dɔ gbe. 2. Tedufolā, eya nye be, ele, du fum hafi le lā fom le anyi fum. Wofle Ati tso Ho, esime wole ame ɔum le Akɔviefɛ akpa la, eya ta woflee vɛ va da ɔe mɔ dzi bena, ne ame aɔe gaɔu ame, eye wòto efe me la, ne wòaku adze anyi enumake. Du siwo subɔa Ati wonye: Kpeɲɔe, Ho, Sɔkɔɔe, Abutia, Awudome kple Peki.

Trɔ la subɔfe le dua xa. Eyae nye ati ma si le dua xa, si ne èto ɲu tetee la, naɔo gbɔa me. Trɔ la ɲuto le agba me le avegoe la me. Atie nye tsatsatrɔ, elabena menɔa afi ɔeka o. Enye ɲutsu, si wodɔna ɔe dɔgbe, eye wòɔea abla ɲuto. Ame si le enu lae, nye ɲutsu, si woyɔnɛ be vɔnusi. Meta avɔ tɔxɛ aɔeke o. Naneke hā mele esi abe trɔɲutinu ene o.

Atie nye trɔ nyuie. Ne ku le ɔiɔim la ena tsi. Ena agbe, eye ne trɔ bubuwo le didim be woawu ame la, eya wo fɔa fu, eye wòɔea kuku na wo be, womegawɔ nenema o. Ati mena vi o. Ne ame aɔe le dɔ lém, eye wona nui la enana efe lāme sēna. Esi Ati nye trɔ nyuie la, eya ta ame vɔɔiwo meva efe me o. Le kpɔɔɛɲu me, ne ame aɔe ɔu ame eye wòva to efe me yina la, ekema edzea anyi kuna sãa. Ne ame aɔe do domedzui nɛ la, enana efe lāme gblɛ na. Aloo ne dɔme le evem ɔe amewo ɲu la, enana kuɔiɔi va anyigba la dzi.

Metsri naneke na efe subɔlawo hā o, negbe adudzɛ ko melɔna, be, woade dzo me o. Alabu mele esi o. Esi wofle trɔ sia le Ho la, wotsɔ Amafu Kɔmla ɔe enu. Esi wònye ɔe wofle trɔ sia la, eya ta ɲusɛ geɔe mele ɛɲu o.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne ati le dɔmedzui dom la, ekema wofoa koklo fɔu wua blaene gɔ hā haɔana nɛ le trɔfe. Ne woɔafe kokloawo la, ekema efolawo tsɔa eveve na trɔnua bena, wòaa na trɔ la, ke woawo ɲuto tsɔa mamlea yi ɔamena le gbea me. Hafi woayi la, wotua atadi ɔe asi, eye womea kokloawo heɔuna. Nu si ta womewɔnɛ le afe me o lae nye be, vɔawo kura nado akplɔ wo ɔ. Trɔnua ɲuto meɔo ɲekeke aɔeke ɔi na esubɔsubɔ o. %e sia fe le teɔuyi la, wonɔa afi ma, eye wofea te me dana ɔe kpɔɔɔ la me; emegbe wobaka te dana ɔe mɔ dzi kple ati te bena, trɔ la naɔu. Wotsɔa ati aɔe, si woyɔna be adudzɛ la dana ɔe mɔ dzi, si ame siaa ame nɔa ata damee. Woyɔa afi ma be atidevɔmefe. Ne ame siaa ame tso agble gbɔna eye wòva ɔe afi ma la, nenye kuɔiɔilie la, atsɔ te, agbeli, ablazɔ, avadzɛ, bli, mankani, tɛ, ɔokpo, kuklui, ayi, azi kple nu kuklui bubu fomeviwo ada ɔi, sie nye efe nunana be, wòana tsi nadza ɔe nukuwo

if someone bewitches another person and the evil doer passes by the abode of *Ati*, the witch suddenly falls on the ground and dies. If someone makes him angry, he makes that person sick. If he is angry with the people, he makes them experience drought.

Apart from burning of red wood, the *trɔ̃* does not forbid his priests nor his worshippers from doing anything. He has no oath. When the *trɔ̃* was bought from the people of Ho, *Amafu Komla* was assigned to him as priest. The *trɔ̃* does not wield a lot of powers because he was bought from outside.

b. Cult /Worship

When *Ati* is angry, lots of chicken, more than forty, are slaughtered and cooked for him at his altar of sacrifice. When the chickens are slaughtered, those who slaughter them give two each to the priest to cook for the *trɔ̃*. They, themselves, take the rest of the chicken to be grilled in the bush. They go there with ground pepper, with which they season the chickens. The reason why the sacrifice is not performed at home is that every evil should leave the town and follow them to the place of sacrifice. The priest, himself, never chooses a day in advance on which the *trɔ̃* should be worshipped. Every year, a place of sacrifice is cleared with a hoe before the new yam is eaten. The priest cuts the yam into pieces and places them in the fence. After that, he mixes mashed yam with palm oil and sprinkles it along the path and under the tree for the *trɔ̃*. Twigs of red wood are laid across the path for everybody to walk across. The place is called “Place of door lock.”²⁶ Everyone, who comes to this door lock during a big drought, presents yam, cassava, plantain, *avadze*, maize, cocoyam, tomatoes, pepper, beans, groundnut and other petty items to mollify the *trɔ̃* for rains for the crops. During drought, war and small pox epidemics, people call upon this *trɔ̃* to intervene, together with other *trɔ̃wo*, to liberate the town. As the time for building the fence for the *trɔ̃* approaches, male and female slaves of the *trɔ̃* must work together. The male slaves build the fence and do other jobs while the female slaves grind flour and cook for the *trɔ̃* and the men who work on the construction.

Ati is a messenger for the other *trɔ̃wo*, but he also has his own messengers working under him.

4. *Nana*

a. Belief

The meaning of the word *Nana* is: *Nam*, *mana wò*, *tem*, *mate wò*, meaning, “Give me and I will give you”! If you by-pass (refuse or ignore) me, I shall also by-pass (refuse or ignore) you. His abode is between the towns *Gadza* and *Aveɲui*. It is a cool place, where wild fig trees, shady trees and the tree *anya* grow. In former times, he was only worshipped in *Akɔviefɛ*. He is an itinerant *trɔ̃* because he does not remain at one place. He is, therefore, called an adulterous *trɔ̃*. Two earth mounds are erected – one on the right and the other on the left – at his place of sacrifice. On top of both mounds are pots which are filled with fresh water every year.

²⁶ What the bolt is for the door are the twigs on the path for the town.

dzi. Ne dɔ vɔ alo kuɖiɖi alo ava va la, woɖea kuku na trɔ sia bena, wɔɔyɔ etɔwo afo fu, ne woade nu siawo ɖa le du la me. Le kpɔtɔyi la, ele na Kluwo kple Kosiwo bena, woado vevie dɔ la awɔ. Kluawo tɔa kpɔ la, eye wowɔa dɔ bubuwo, ke Kosiwo tua wɔ ɖa nu na trɔ la kple trɔkpɔtɔlawo.

Atie nye dɔla, gake dɔlawo gale eya hã te.

4. Nana

a. Xɔse

Nana gɔmee nye nam mana wɔ, tem mate wɔ.

Efe nɔfe le Gadzatɔwo kple Avenyitɔwo dome. Ele tefe fafe aɖe, afi si voti, anyiti kple anyã le. Wosubɔe le Akɔviefɛ gbã. Enye tsatsatrɔ, elabena menɔa afi ɖeka o. Le esiata woyɔnɛ hã bena ahasitrɔ. Wofu kpo eve ɖe enɔfe, ɖeka le nuɖusi me, eye ɖeka le mia me, eye wotsɔ zevi ɖo wo tame. Fe sia fe wokua tsi yeye kɔna ɖe zeviawo me.

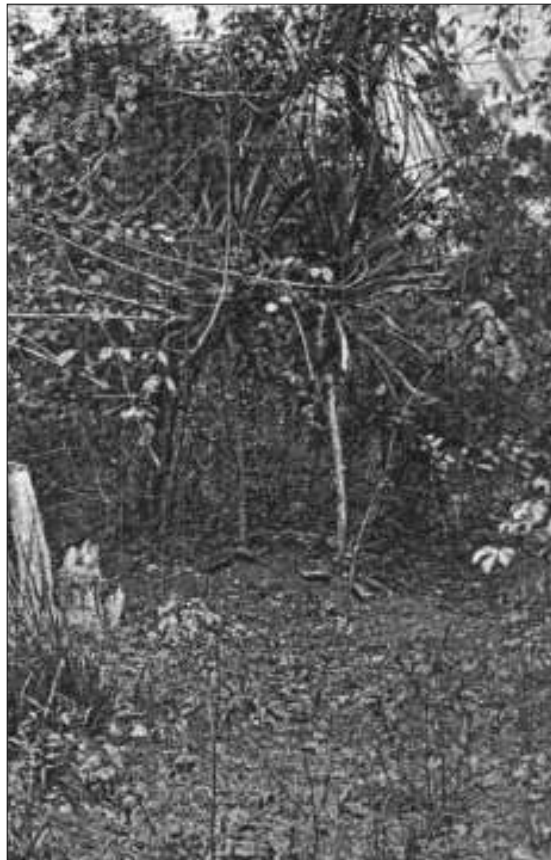
Nanae nye nɔtsu, eye woyɔa ame si le enu bena, vɔnusi, enɔ nɔtsu nye Adzo Kwasi. Efe trɔnuwo nye hotsui, si wɔsa ɖe alɔnu; hoka 2 le ɖusi, eye hoka 2 hã le mia.

Nana enye trɔ nyuie, elabena ena tsi amewo kple lãwo siaa. Enye trɔ gã, elabena wowɔa nu sia nu nɛ abe Anyaɖi kple Abali ene. Ena vi hã. Ne vi mele ame aɖe si o, eye wɔgbɔ na trɔnua bena, vi mele ye si o, eya ta yeɖe kuku nɛ bena, wɔaɖe kuku na amegã Nana be, wɔana vi ye yeɖe, alo yeɖe kuku, nena yeakpɔ koklovi ɖeka pɛ aɖo yeɖe abɔwo dome wɔana tsi kum na ye la, ena vi lae vavã. Nana la gblɔna na amea bena, wɔatsɔ koklo, ami kple wɔ vɛ, bena yeɖe nu siwo le enu la ɖa, be eya hã nakpɔ koklovi ɖeka adzi. Ne wowɔ nu siawo la wodzia via vavã. Nana haya dɔlɛle hã. Nana doa dɔmedzui, eye wɔwua ame. Ne egblɔ be, woana nane ye, gake amewo sɛ to gbe be yewo manae o, alo ame aɖe gbe be, ye mawɔ efe nu o la, ekema edoa dɔmedzui, eye wɔna nya vɔ aɖe dzɔna kokoko. To kuɖiɖi kple dɔlɛle fe vava me, wodzea sii be, dzi le Nana kum. Eye ele na wo be woafa efe dziku nu.

Nana is a male, and his priests are called *vɔnusi*. His actual name is *Adzo Kwasi*. Its priestly insignia are cowry shells, on which he ties 2 *hoka* around the right arm and 2 *hoka* around the left.

Nana is a benevolent *trɔ̃* because he gives human beings rain and meat. He is also a great *trɔ̃* because he is worshipped just like *Anyadi* and *Abali*. He gives children. Those who do not have children ask the priest to intervene on their behalf and appeal to the *trɔ̃*, *Nana*, to give them children. Or he or she may pray as follows: I am begging him to give me only a single chick (child) to hold in my arms who can fetch water for me. He (the *trɔ̃* listens to this request and) really gives a child to her or him as a present. *Nana* tells the person to bring a fowl, oil and flour, in order to exorcise the (evil) that is against him or her, and then she or he can have a chick.²⁷ After having done that, the person really gets a child.

Nana also cures diseases, and when he is angered, he kills people. When *Nana* demands something, which people refuse to give, *Nana* gets angry and makes misfortune happen. People notice when *Nana* is angry; when there is drought or an epidemic, he must be placated.



A Place of Sacrifice

With two Anya trees, under which are lying bottles of spirits

²⁷ Chick is favourite word for children. For example, parents, who are away from home, say in view of their children that they have left behind: "The chicks are alone at home".



A Place of Sacrifice
of a trɔ̃ with anyã trees

Wometsɔa ame kuku toa efe me o, ne wowɔe la, ekema wogblẽ ƙɔ ɔ. Menye Nana ɖeɖeko fe me wometsɔa ame kuku tone o, ke ele nenema le trɔ̃ bubuwo hã gbɔ. Ame si le Nana nu la, meɖua klo, da kple alegeli o. Ame si gblẽ ɣui medea vɔnusi la fe o. Ne wole ame aɖe ɔ ge vɔnusi la, womewɔa nu geɖe o, negbe hotsui ko wosana ɖe alɔnu ne.

Nana forbids that dead persons are carried through his abode. If that happens, it shows a complete disregard for his orders by the people. But it is not *Nana* alone who forbids this. All other *trɔwo* also forbid that the dead are carried past their abode. *Nana*'s priest should not eat tortoise, snakes or rats. Whoever is "unclean" should come to the priest's house. A lot of rites are not performed during initiation into the priesthood. Only the priest must tie cowries around his arm.

b. Cult

When *Nana* is angry, people must "cool" or mollify his anger and worship him. Flour, palm wine and fowls are brought to him at his place of sacrifice. The flour is mixed with oil and sprinkled on the ground for him to eat. Those who make the sacrifice also partake in the meal. Consequently, they "cool" his anger by this propitiatory sacrifice.

Chiefs and children (town people) are not allowed to go elsewhere, if an actual sacrifice is to be offered to *Nana*. All the people – children and adults alike – go to the abode of the *trɔ* in the morning. They take along flour, palm oil and palm wine. They light fire and cook red maize pulp, some of which they themselves eat there. After they have finished eating and drinking, they serve *Nana* some red maize pulp. The priest prays over it and says: "*Nana bonbui*, "give me and I will give you; leave me out and I will leave you out! You, ship full of yam and you, ship full of *Ule*, here are many things that have been brought to you! Let it rain for the crops to thrive!" If it does not rain and people offer you sacrifice, it certainly rains."

The priest should not worship the *trɔ* everyday. It is only during the yam festival that yams are cut and placed on his mound and flour and cowry shells offered to him. During small pox epidemics and drought, people go to his priest and propitiate *Nana* to clear away the small pox from the land.

The duty of its male and female slaves is to bring along gifts that are offered as sacrifice to *Nana*. Sometimes they themselves go to the place of worship, pour water on the ground, scrape mud together, and knead it into one piece to hang around his neck.

5. *Kobie*

a. Belief

Some of *Kobie*'s appellations are: 1. *Adeye kotsoe*, meaning, "dried *silurid*". 2. *Gbāze megbā tme o*, meaning, "One can break a pot but not a water place". 3. *Tsivi tukui nɔ vu me meblɔ o*, meaning, "The little water in a well does not dry up". We draw the little water that we have at our place even during drought. 4. *Noka blayi duwo kata va no*, meaning, "All the towns drink from large breasts".²⁸

Kobie does not come from outside, but she is a local deity who has always been in *Akoviefe*. She lives in a big forest that people call *Kobie*'s forest. She is one of the female *trɔs* inherited from the ancestors. The *trɔ* is said to be as old as the forest itself. Both of them emerged on the same day. The *trɔ* already had many priests who have lived in succession. The priest has no special attire to wear. He dresses just like any other person. He has no priestly insignia.

²⁸ Long breasts are the sign of a mother blessed with a large offspring. The inhabitants of *Akoviefe* see themselves as *Kobie*'s children, who are all breast-fed by it.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne dzi le Nana kum la, ele be, woafa dzikua nu, asubɔɛ. Wotsɔa wɔ aha kple koklo yia Nana fe me, abakae afo ɔe anyigba, bena wɔaɖu. Gake ame siwo yi ɖawɔa nu sia la, woawo hã qua nua ɔe. Esiae nye efe dziku nu fafatu.

Gake ne woɔo be, woawo Nana fe nu ɣutu la, ekema ame tsitsiwo mekpɔ mɔ ade afi aɔeke o, nenemakee nye ɔeviwo hã. Ne ɣu ke ɣɔɔ la, amewo katã yia trɔ la fe me, ɔeviwo kple ame tsitsiwo siaa. Wotsɔa wɔ, ami dzẽ kple aha ɔe asi, doa dzo ɔe trɔ la fe, eye woɔa akplẽ dzẽ le afi ma, si fe ɔe woawo hã ɖuna. Ne woɔu nu, no nu vɔ la, wotsɔa Nana fe akplẽ dzẽ la nane eye vɔnusi la doa gbe ɔa gbɔna bena: “Nana boɣbui, nam mana wɔ, tem mate wɔ, tevu, vlevu, wo nyaganyagãvu, nuwɔe nye si wona wɔ egbe loo! Nana tsi nadza na mí, eye nukuwo navã” Ne tsi mele dzadzam o, eye wowo efe nu la, tsi dzana kokoko.

Trɔsi la ɣutu fe gbe sia gbe subɔsubɔ meli o. Ne teɖuyi ɔo la, wofea te me dana ɔe efe kpo dzi, eye woɔa dza nɛ. Le ɔo vɔ kple kuɖiɣɔliwo la, woɔa vɔnusi sia gbɔ be, wɔaɔe kuku na Nana, ne wɔaɔe nu vɔ mawo ɔa le anyigba dzi.

Kluwo kple Kosiwo fe subɔsubɔɛ nye bena, woana nu woatsɔ asa vɔ na Nana. Woa ɣutuwo hã dena, eye woɔa tsi anyi wɔbɔbɔna wohanu ɔe nane alo avɔ me, eye wotsɔne kple abi hede kɔ me.

5. Kɔbie

a. Xɔse

Kɔbie fe ɣkɔ aɔewo nye: 1. Adeɣe kotsoe 2. Gbãze megbã tɔme o. 3. Tsivi tukui nɔ vu me meblɔa o. Eyae nye tsi vi si le dua me la, eya ko yewo duna ne ku le ɔiɖim hã. 4. Noka blayi duwo katã va no.

Kɔbie medzo tso afi aɔeke o, ke boɣ Akɔviefɛ wɔle; ele ave gã aɔe me, si woyɔna be Kɔbieve. Kɔbie enye nyɔnu, eye wɔ nye tɔgbuitrɔ hã, elabena wogblo be, gbe sia gbe ave ma dzo la, gbe ma gbe eya hã dzo. Ame geɖewo nɔ enu kpo le wo nɔewo yomedzedze me. Enunɔla metaa avɔ tɔxe aɔeke o; ke boɣ etane abe ame bubuwo ke ene. Naneke hã mele esi abe trɔnu ene o.

Kɔbie fe nɔfe le zevi eve kple agba ɔeka me. Wotsɔ wo da ɔe de kɔkɔ aɔe si woyɔna be akɔnde la, te. Kɔbie enye trɔ nyuie, elabena eya hã xɔa Klu kple Kosiwo, bena wo magaku o. Ena tsidzadza amegbetɔwo kple nuwɔwɔwo katã eye wɔna vi amewo hã. Ne vɔ aɔe be yeava amewo dzi la, evlia wo ta vevie, be vɔ magava dua me o. Ke enye trɔ vɔ hã, elabena ena kuɔiɔ, wua ame, eye wobia dzi hã. Ne dzi le kɔbie kum la, enɔa ga fom zã keli. Ne nya vɔ aɔe medzo le dua me kpo o, azɔ wodzo la, wogblo be, dzi le ekum. Nu si trɔa tsri tsae nye zebalixe medea efe o. Tsã ame, siwo nɔa efe la, womedua da, klo kple alegeli o; gake fifia la woɔune faa. Magatsri naneke na esubɔla mamleawo o. Atabu hã mele esi abe ale si wɔle trɔ bubuwo si ene o.

Kobie's abode is in two pots and in a dish that are placed under a tall palm tree. *Kobie* is a benign *trɔ̃* because she gets children as slaves, so that these do not die. She gives rain to human beings and all other creatures. She gives human beings children as presents. She fights for the people and protects against any misfortune that may invade the town, should there be such misfortune lurking around. But she is also a malignant *trɔ̃* because she brings about drought, kills people and she is wrathful. When *Kobie* is angry she rings a bell day and night. *Kobie* is usually said to be angry if any terrible incident occurs in the town, about which people have previously heard nothing. In former days, the *trɔ̃* did not allow sooty pots to be brought to his abode. Similarly, her followers were not allowed to eat snakes, tortoises or rats. But now they are allowed to eat everything. The rest of the servants are not forbidden anything. Unlike other *trɔ̃wo*, she has no oath.

b. Oath

When people observe that *Kobie* is angry, they propitiate her by worshipping her. Palm wine is poured in a pot and water in another one and the leaves of the trees that are in her grove are placed in a bowl. After the sacrificial meal, a prayer is offered, during which her particular names are invoked: "Here is your sacrifice. Receive it to please your heart!"

Before people eat new yam, they go to her place of sacrifice to clear the place with a hoe and place her sacrifice on the ground. The priest pours libation on the ground as he says: "After eating, people usually drink palm wine." After that, people disperse and go home. When small pox breaks out, or when there is severe drought, people pray to her in the same manner as described above.

She has no *trɔ̃* children. Neither does she have personal worshippers. She, however, has male and female slaves. When these slaves are about three or four years old, half of their head is shaved leaving the other half. Before shaving the hair of the child, food is prepared for her to eat and to make the child happy. If the hair of these children is not shaved, they are not allowed to eat snakes, rats or tortoises. The parents of the children must work for the priest on behalf of the children till they are of age (to be able to work on their own).

6. *Atsiati*

a. Belief

The appellations of *Atsiati* are: 1. *Atsiati kukruku*, 2. *Matafi madahe*, 3. *Vinɔ dzi vi ga golo*. 1. (Name inexplicable). 2. "If I stop stealing I will become a poor man". 3. "The children's mother has money in the basket; meaning, children are wealth."

The abode of this *trɔ̃* is *Akɔviefe*. He is not worshipped in other towns. The children (people of the town) are said to be consecrated to his service on their return from the Asante war. They made a playground under trees. They say they want to go to *Atsiati's* playground on their return from farm. They did that for a long time. The trees, under which they made the playground, said to the children: "We are your father, we take care of you. In this way, the chiefs gradually began to serve the *trɔ̃* of the ancestors, too. This *trɔ̃* is said to have built the town *Atsiati* in *Akɔviefe*. The *trɔ̃* lives under trees.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne wokpɔ bena, Kɔbie le dzi bim la, wosubɔnɛ heɖea kuku nɛ. Wokɔa aha ɖe ze me, eye wonɛa efeme tiwo katã fe aɲgbawo dea eme. Le nuɖuɖu vɔ megbe la, wodoa gbe ɖa yɔa trɔ la fe ɲkɔwo, eye wona dzawɔe bena efe dzigbo nafa.

Le teɖugbe hã woyina ɖaɲlɔa trɔ la fe keɲ, eye woɖea dza kɔna ɖe anyigba nɛ. Wotsɔa tsi fona ɖe anyigha, gblɔna bena, ne woɖu nu vɔ la tsi wonona. Emegbe wofoa aha ɖi gblɔna bena, ne woɖu nu vɔ la, ahae wonona. Eyome wodzona yia afe me. Ne dɔ vɔ va aloo ku le ɖiɖim la, ekema wodoa gbe ɖa nɛ alea ke.

Trɔvi mele esi o, gake Klu kple Kosiwo le esi. Ne Kluawo kple Kosiawo tsi xɔ fe etɔ alo ene la, ekema wol[a ta na wo. Wol[a akpa ɖeka, eye wogblɛa akpa ɖeka ɖi. Hafi woal[ta na ɖevawo la, woɖa nu, eye wokpɔa dzidzɔ ɲuto. Ne womel[ta na wo o la, womekpɔ mɔ aɖu da, alegeli kple klo o. ɖevawo fe dzilawo nɔa dɔ wɔm na trɔnua va se ɖe esime ɖevawo natsi.

6. Atsiati

a. Xɔse

Ʋkɔ, siwo wofona ɖo na Atsiati wonye: 1. Atsiati kukruku. 2. Matafi mada he; eyae nye ne metasi fi la ekema mada ahe. 3. Vinɔ dzi vi ga golo.

Akɔviefɛe nye trɔ sia fe dzɔfe; du bubu aɖeke megasubɔnɛ o. Wobe, esi wogbo tso Asante va la, eyae ɖeviwo ɖoe anyi. Wonɔ le tefe aɖe gbadzaa, eye wonɔa fefem li. Ne wotso agble gbo la, wogblɔna bena, yewoyi Atsiati fe fefefe. Alea wonɔa wɔwɔm vu, eye ati, siwo te wonɔ la, gblɔ na wo be yewo nye wo fofo, yewo le wo dzi kpɔm; to ale mɔ dzi ame tsitsiwo hã de asi trɔ la subɔsubɔ me, eye wotrɔ zu tɔgbuitrɔ na wo. Wogblɔ bena, trɔ la wɔ Akɔviefɛe gbo ɖeka, si woyɔna be Atsiatitɔwo. Trɔ la le atiwo te, eye wonɔ la afi ma wòkeke nyuie ɲuto. Ele zevi ɖeka kple agba ɖeka me, nu siawo ganye efe tsinonuwo hã. Wokɔa tsi kple aha ɖe agba siawo me ɖaa. Wodo fla hã ɖe afi me keɲ. Trɔ la ɲutoe nye ɲutsu, eye woyɔa ɲutsu, si le enu la be Agali.

Atsiati enye trɔ nyuie, elabena ewɔa ame, eye wokpɔa eta le nuɖuɖu me. Eya kpɔa Atsiatidu la hã dzi. Enye trɔ nyuie vavã, elabena ena vi amewo, gake womedea egbo ɖabia vii o, elabena wosusu be, ɖevi sia ɖevi, si wodzi la, enye via xoxo; eya ta woyɔa ɖevawo bena Atsiativiwo.

Ne dɔme le Atsiati vem la, enana be, ame si le enu la fe tɔgbuiɲɔvi ɖeka kua fenyi. Ne eva eme alea la, wobia Anyɔsi, si hã nye trɔsi la bena, wɔagblɔ nu si le ame la wɔm. Egbɔna bena: Atsiati bena, yemegale nu ɖum alo womegale nuɖuɖu nam ye o, eya ta dɔme le ye vem.

A beautiful, broad place has been made for him there. He lives in a pot and in a basin. These receptacles are at the same time his drinking vessels. This is a male *trɔ̃* and is worshipped by a man called *Agali*.

Atsiati is a good *trɔ̃* because he made the man and provides him with food. He is also the one that guards the whole town of *Atsiati*. He is truly a good *trɔ̃* because he gives human beings children. But no one goes to him to ask for children because every child that is born is believed to be his child. That is why all children are called *Atsiati*'s children.

When *Atsiati* is angry, he puts a grandchild of the priest into a state of unconsciousness. Whenever this happens, people consult *Anyo*'s priest to tell them what has happened to the child. The response is that *Atsiati* is angry because he does not have anything to eat.

b. Cult

When someone is sick because *Atsiati* is angry he placates him by serving him. Whenever someone is sick and goes to the *trɔ̃*, he says he is the one that kills people. That is why they should placate him in order that he withdraws his favour from her or him. They will then take flour, palm wine and two fowls to mollify his anger. The priest takes 12 cowry shells of 4 *hoka*, gives them to the *trɔ̃* and prays: "*Atsiati kukruku*, if I stop stealing, I will become a poor man. The riches of a mother are her children. We bring your gifts to you here. Receive them to cool your heart again! Let us have many children! May the wild animals die, and may every man kill two or three animals!" Whenever the usual service for the *trɔ̃* takes place, all families contribute fowls. The priest does not serve the *trɔ̃* everyday. Currently, he does not care any longer about dedicating his service to the *trɔ̃* and his dwelling is completely weedy.

Atsiati has no slaves and he forbids his priest and the rest of his servers nothing. He has no oath. His priest is not specially ordained like the priests of other *trɔ̃wo*.

7. *Tsive*

His appellations are: *Avatutu xe dzẽ, se ava ŋkɔ madɔ avaxɔmee*, meaning "He is a hero like *tutu*, the red bird". When he hears about war, he does not sleep in a room anymore, but stays awake ready for all eventualities.

Tsive is a forest like *Kobie*. He did not come from outside. He is an inherited *trɔ̃* (*trɔ̃* of the ancestors) that sings mourning songs. He emerged together with the forest.

Tsive and *Abali* are neighbours that live on the *Taviefɛ* Mountain.

He does not live in a pot or in a basin. People say that he moves around in the forest. No special place has been reserved for him as his abode. His priests are not known. People even say that he has none. He is a good *trɔ̃* because he is a warrior. When war approaches, he says he is there. No one can conquer his children because he fights for them. He is a great *trɔ̃* because people say that he built the town *Gadza* in *Akɔviefɛ*. He gives life. He is not angry with anyone but he loves everyone. He does not allow any misfortune to happen to the people in the town. He cures the sick. But there is no *trɔ̃* that does not kill any human being. When someone does something very bad against him, he kills her or him or makes her or him fall seriously sick. But he is not an angry *trɔ̃* because he does not want anything other than roasted beans mixed with maize.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém, eye wònye Atsiati le dzi bim ɖe eɲu la, wosubɔnɛ, eye woléa avui. Ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém, eye wòyi trɔ̃ la gbɔ la, egblɔna bena: Yee nye ame si le ame la wum, eya ta ne woava ɖe kuku na ye, hafi ne yeaɖe asi le ame la ɲu. Wotsɔa nunana, siwo nye, wɔ, aha kple koklo ene nɛ hafi efe dziku la nu bɔbɔna. Wotsɔa hoka 4, si ɲu woɖea agaga 12 le tsɔ na trɔ̃ la, eye wodoa gbe ɖa: Atsiati kukruku, matasi fi mada he; vinɔ dzi vi ga golo! Wò nuwoe nye si nàxɔ, bena dziwo nafa. Na míadzi asɔ gbɔ; adela naku, eya nye be, amewo nawu gbemelā evetɔ evetɔ. Ne wobe woawɔ efe nu dzro ko la, wodzɔa koklo le sãme sãme hewɔa nu lae. Trɔ̃si la ɲuto mesubɔnɛ gbe sia gbe o. Le ɲkeke siawo me la, womegale fĩ lém ɖe eɲu o, eye efe nɔfe to gbe kenken.

Atsiati mexɔa klu o. Metsri naneke na enunɔla kple subɔla susɔewo o. Eya ɲuto ha metsri naneke o. Atabu mele esi o. Ame si le enu la womekɔa eɲuti abe ame bubuwo ene o.

7. Tsive

Tsive ɲkɔwo nye: “Avatutu xe dzẽ, se ava ɲkɔ madɔ avaxɔmee” Avatutu xe dzẽ gɔmee nye bena, enye kalẽtɔ abe xevi, si woyɔna be tutu ene. Se ava ɲkɔ madɔ avaxɔmee, eya nye, ne se ava ɲkɔ la, megadɔa xɔme o, boɲ ele ɲudɔ na nu sia nu fe vava.

Tsive enye ave abe Kɔbie ke ene. Medzɔ tso afi aɖeke o, ke boɲ enye tɔgbuitrɔ̃, si fa avihe. Esi ave sia dzɔ tete la, eyae eya hã dzɔ.

Tsive kple Abali wote ɖe wo nɔewo ɲu vee le Taviefeto tame. Mele naneke me abe ze alo agba me o, ke boɲ wogblɔ bena, ele ave la me le yiyim. Womeɖo tefe tɔxe aɖeke hã ɖi be, enɔfe tututu nye esi o. Womenya enunɔla o, eye wogblɔna be ame aɖeke mele enu o. Enye trɔ̃ nyuie, elabena ewɔa ava. Ne ava gbɔna la, egblɔna bena, yeli, womele ye viwo dzi ɖu ge o, yeawɔ ava ɖe wo nu. Enye trɔ̃ gã, elabena wogblɔ bena eyae wɔ Akɔviefɛ gbɔ ɖeka, si woyɔna be Gadzatɔwo. Ena agbe, eya ta mebia dzi ɖe ame aɖeke gbɔ o, elɔa ame siaa ame, eye melɔna be, vɔ aɖeke nawɔ dua metɔwo o. Ehaya ame tso efe dɔlélewo me. Gake trɔ̃ aɖeke meli, si gbea ame wuwu o, ne ame aɖe wɔ vɔ gã aɖe ɖe eɲu la, ewua ame la, alo hea dɔlele sesẽ aɖe vaa edzi. Menye dzikutrɔ̃ aɖeke o, elabena meɖua naneke o, negbe kelemebli ko wotɔna nɛ wòɖuna.

Womedoa vevie subɔnɛ o. Ne dɔ vɔ, kuɖiɖi alo ava va la, womedea efe o. Trɔ̃vi, Kluwo kple Kosiwo kpakple ahinkuawo mele esi o. Nu si eya ɲuto tsrie nye, ɲuigbegblẽtɔ medea efe o, eye zebalixi hã medea efe o. Ame si wòlɔna la, eyae wòna tsii. Nenye ame aɖe du tsi gbɔ efe, eye nɔvia hã yi la, makpɔ tsi aɖeke o, elabena efe nu menyo trɔ̃ la ɲu o. Dewo ana wòakpɔ tsi la tete wòamie le egbɔ. Atabu mele esi o.

People are not eager to either worship him or seek refuge at his shrine in the event of small pox outbreak, drought or war. He has no male or female slaves and servers of kings. People who are “unclean” should not go to his abode. No sooty pot should be taken there either. The *trɔ̃* gives water to whoever he loves and denies those he dislikes. He may let water flow for those he likes but dry up for others. He has no oath.

8. *Dzonutɔɛ*

His appellation is: *Dzonutɔɛ do vo, ebe yede dzu ame nu*, meaning, “*Dzonutɔɛ*, the evil says it is he who he insults people”. When the *trɔ̃wo* cure someone, they insult him by saying: “Your big head, your small foot, your small face!” etc. The *trɔ̃* does not come from outside because he dwells in a forest which is generally identified as his own. He lives in an empty forest like *Tsive*. He is a male *trɔ̃* that is (however) slow in his movements. It is for this reason that people do not request anything from him. He gives no children, does not cure diseases and does not protect human beings because he has no powers. He also has a reputation among the rest of the *trɔ̃wo*.

9. *Zɔdzi* (Earth)

a. Belief

Her appellations are: 1. *Fuwo zɔ dzi*, “The enemies aim at that”, meaning, even if you hate her priest, you must walk on the earth. 2. *Kpogbɔnyowui*, meaning, she is better at the termitarium”. (The name is an insult to the earth that is not arable in many places. In contrast to that, it is said that a dry termitarium is still better.) 3. *Anyiekonyi*, meaning, “The earth requires good soil”. 4. *Gbologbolo meha wɔ o*, meaning, “The beautiful crops did not grow by themselves”; they got their growth from the earth.” Crops cannot grow at their own will, but rather at the pleasure of the earth.

All towns worship the earth. The inhabitants of *Akɔviefɛ* worship her in a forest near the town. *Zɔdzi* is a woman because people say heaven is her husband. This earth lives in two small pots and in a bowl that is on top of two earth mounds in her residence. The pot on the left is filled with palm wine and the one on the right with water. On the other hand, herbs like *sumbe*, *ma*, and *aflatoga* are planted in the bowl. Apart from that, the leaves of the tree, under which she is, are in it. Water is poured on these plants.

On a day on which sacrifice is made to her, everyone washes his or her face from the bowl to enable him or her see clearly. White clay is smeared on those who wash their faces.

The priest who is dedicated to her service is known as priest of the earth. He is often dressed in blue but also wears other clothes. He does not care much and has no priestly insignia.

Zɔdzi is a bad *trɔ̃* because she devours human beings. She is also a great *trɔ̃* because she gave birth to all creatures and all other *trɔ̃wo* that are on earth. Since she is the one that gives life, the sick go to her priest. They take along two fowls, palm wine, palm oil and 4 *hoka* cowry shells to him so that *Zɔdzi* can make them healthy again. Furthermore, the earth is a good *trɔ̃* because she gives children. However, there is also a lot that is bad about her. Should someone call her name in vain, and does not propitiate

8. Dzonutɔe

Ŋkɔ si wonaee nye: Dzonutɔe dovo be, yede dzu ame ɲu. Eya nye bena, ne trɔ̃ wo ame vɔ la, eya dea dzu wo ɲu gblɔna bena: Ta gā wo, afɔ vi wo, ɲkume tukui wò kple bubuwo. Trɔ̃ sia medzɔ tso afi aɖeke o, elabena eya hã nye ave. Eya hã le ave fuflu me abe Tsive ene. Enye ɲutsu mevana o; eya ta womebia naneke hã tso esi o. Mena vi o, mehaya dɔlɛlewo o, mekpɔa amewo dzi hã o, elabena ɲusẽ mele esi o, ɖeko eya hã xɔ ɲkɔ le trɔ̃wo dome dzro.

9. Zɔdzi (Anyigba)

a. Xɔse

Ŋkɔ siwo wofona ɖo ne wonye: 1. Fuwo zɔ dzi. Egɔmee nye ne elé fu ame si le enu hã ele edzi zɔ ge. 2. Kɔgbɔnyowui 3. Anyiekonyi 4. Gbologbolo mehaa wɔ o. Egɔmee nye nuku siwo katã wofã, new ole nyonyom hã la, menye woawo ɲuto fe lɔlɔnu o, ke boɲ enye Anyigba fe lɔlɔnu.

Du sia du subɔa Anyigba. Akɔviefetɔwo subɔne le ave me le dua xa. Enye nyɔnu, elabena wogblɔna bena, Dzingbee nye srɔ̃a Anyigba sia le zevi eve kple agba ɖeka me le Kprofufu aɖe, si le efe me la tame. Zevi si le miame la wodea aha eya me, eye zevi, si le nuɖusime la me tsi le. Nu siwo wode agba la me wonye sumbe, ma, flatogã kple ati, si te tututu agba le la, fe angbawo, eye wokua tsi fona ɖe wo dzi.

Gbe si gbe wowɔ nu siawo la, ame siaa ame kua tsi la fua moe, bena woakpɔ nu nyuie. Ne woklɔ ɲkume vɔ la, wotsɔa ye sisina ɖe ɲkume.

Woyɔa ame si le enu la be Anyigbanua. Etaa blusi, egataa avɔ bubuwo hã, gake medoa vevie woawo o. Hekpe ɖe esiawo ɲu la, naneke megale esi abe trɔ̃wɔnu ene o.

Zɔdzi enye trɔ̃ vɔ̃, elabena emia ame. Enye trɔ̃ gā, elabena eya dzi nuwɔwɔwo katã le, eye trɔ̃ bubuwo hã le Zɔdzi dzi. Esi wònye eyae na agbe la, eya ta ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém la, eyia enunɔla gbɔ, eye wògblɔna bena: Xɔ koklo eve, aha kple ami kple hoka 4 na amegã Zɔdzi, bena wòana ame la fe lāme nasẽ. Ke enye trɔ̃ nyuie, elabena ena vi, gake efe vɔ̃ɖinyenye sɔ gbɔ akpa. Ne ame aɖe yɔ efe ɲkɔ dzodzro, eye meva ɖe kuku kple gbɔtsu ɖeka o la, ewunɛ.

Ne woxɔ gbɔ̃ la, womewunɛ o, va se ɖe esime wòatsi nyuie hafi. Ne amewo le fenyi kum la, ekema wogblɔna be, dzie le Anyigba kum.

her, she kills him or her. The he-goat offered for the offence is slaughtered when it is completely grown. The earth is said to be angry when someone becomes unconscious.

b. Cult

When the earth is angry with someone, the supplicant takes palm wine, flour and 12 *hoka* cowry shells to the priest to mollify *Zɔdzi* to leave the supplicant unmolested. Her priest does not worship her everyday, but only when someone is sick or when something out of the ordinary happens. As a sign of his priestly office, the priest wears cowry shells around his arms. Before people eat new yam, a type of yam, *nyagasi*,²⁹ is cooked and part of it mixed with oil. The priest places the yam that is mixed with oil and that which is not mixed with oil, on the ground for her to eat. He places the yam in front of a bowl and cleans the bowls painstakingly. Before he makes the sacrifice to her, he prays while others clap their hands and strike a piece of metal that has been consecrated to the *trɔ̃*. People make sacrifices to her before the burning of the bush requesting from her to hold up the rain to enable them kill a lot of wild game. During small-pox outbreak, a law is imposed prohibiting people in the town from pounding fufu at night. Apart from that, all cocks and spotted goats must be removed from the town. During drought, *Zɔdzi* says she has ordered rain not to fall any longer on her. Then the people go and plead with her. In times of war, libation is poured and prayer is offered to *Zɔdzi* to let them triumph over their enemies.

c. Consecrated Persons, Laws and Oath

She has no special devotee, but she has male and female slaves. The service is just like that of the *trɔ̃wo*.

Her precepts are that people should not whore in the bush. Should the culprit be a woman, she would die in childbirth. Until the priest is supplicated, *Zɔdzi* will kill the person in any case. When her priest becomes “possessed” by her, he drinks six calabashes full of water and palm wine. Her priest is forbidden from eating snakes, tortoises and rats. The same sanction applies to her male and female slaves.

The swearing of *Zɔdzi* involves an act of striking the ground with bare hands and invoking the deity to prove one’s innocence or guilt. The swearing implores *Zɔdzi* to kill the offender should he/she eat any produce of the earth. But should the culprit beg for forgiveness, the deity accepts the sacrifice, and her anger is placated. Anyone who is to be consecrated to the priesthood of the earth, is not specially ordained and people do not perform any special ceremonies for him.

10. Asi

a. Belief

Asi is wherever goods are sold and purchased in a market. The people of *Akɔviefɛ* were already worshipping him in (their ancestral home) *Hogbefe*. His appellations are: 1. *Asifiagadze*, which means that everyone must purchase his or her goods at the market. 2. *Tsa asi fle ame*, meaning, “Whoever is engaged in trading can buy slaves”. Apart from

29 Compare page 330: Types of yam.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne dzi le Zɔdzi kum ɔe ame aɔe nyu la, ekema etsɔa aha, wɔ kple hotsui hoka 12 yi ɔanaa enunɔla be, wɔatsɔ na amegã Zɔdzi, bena wɔaɔe asi le ame la nyu. Ame si le enu mesubɔne ɔaa o, negbe ne ame aɔe le dɔ lém alo nya gã aɔe dzɔ hafi wodea efe. Enunɔla hã sa hotsui ɔe alɔnu, bena ne ame aɔe kpɔe la, wɔadze sii be, vɔnusia. Le teɖuyi la, wɔɔa nyagasi bakana kple ami, eye ɔewo nɔa yeye, wotsɔna fona ɔe anyi na amegã Zɔdzi, bena wɔaɔu. Wofone ɔe ze la gbɔ, eye wogadzra agbawo me ɔo nyuie abe ale si wowɔe tsã ene. Hafi woatsɔ nuawo ne la, wodoa gbe ɔa, eye ame aɔewo nɔa asikpoloe kple gakogoe fom. Wowɔa efe nu hafi wotɔa dzo gbe, eye wogblɔna bena, tsi megawu o, bena yewoakpɔ lã geɔe awu. Ne dɔ vɔ va la, wodea se bena, womagato fufu le dua me le zã me o, eye wodea koklotsuwo kple gbɔ ɔotobowo (ɣɣɔɔ) le dua me. Ne ku le ɔiɔim la, Zɔdzi gblɔna be, yee bena, tsi megadza ɔe ye dzi o. Eya ta amewo ɔea kuku ne. Ne ava gbɔna la, wodoa amatsi fona ɔe anyi na Zɔdzi bena, wɔana yewoakpɔ yewofe futɔwo dzi.

c. Viawo, efe sewo kple atam

Dɔla tɔxɛ aɔeke mele esi o. Exɔa Klu kple Kosi hã. Wofe subɔsubɔ le abe ale si wɔle le trɔ bubuwo gbɔ ke ene.

Efe sewo nye: Womewɔa ahasi le gbe me o. Ne ewɔe hafi be, yeadzi vi la, ekema aku. Ne womeɔe kuku na enunɔla o la, awu ame la kokoko. Ne egli la, enoa tsi tre ade kple aha. Meɔua da, klo kple alegeli o; nenemakee nye Kluwo kple Kosiwo hã. Metsri naneke na efe subɔla susɔawo o.

Efe atabue nye, na ame aɔe fu asi anyi gblɔ bena, ne yedzu ame alo yefoe la, yeaku, ne yedɔ anyigbadzinu. Ame si wɔe vavã la, ekuna. Gake ne wobe, woaɔe kuku ne la, woxɔa nunana le ame la si, eye efe dziku la nu fana. Ne ame aɔe be, yeazu Anyigbanunɔla la, womekɔa enu o, eye womewɔa nu tɔxɛ aɔeke hã o.

10. Asi

a. Xɔse

Asie nye afi si woflea nu lena. Tso Hogbefe ke Asi le Akɔviefawo si. ɲkɔ, si wofona ɔo ne enye: 1. Asifiagadze; eyae nye be, afi ma ko ame siaa ame flela nu le. 2. Tsa asi fle ame. Du, siwo subɔne wonye: Tanyigbe, Hɔdzɔ, Aɔaklu, Amedzɔfe kple du bubu, siwo katã nɔa afe le asigbe. Enye tɔgbuitrɔ. Wosubɔne le afe me. Trɔ la le ze vi eve kple agba me. Tsi nɔa ze la ɔeka me, eye gbe kple amatsi nɔa evelia me. Tsi kple aha siwo le zeawo me lae nye efe nunono, eye tsi, si le agba me la, eya wɔlena.

the people of *Akɔviefɛ*, the towns that serve him are: *Tanyigbe*, *Hɔɔzo*, *Adaklu*, *Amedzɔfɛ* and many other towns, all of which remain at home on the market day. *Asi* is a *trɔ̃* that is inherited. He is worshipped in the home. The *trɔ̃* lives in two small pots and in a bowl. In one of the pots, there is water, and, in the other, grass and herbs. Water and palm wine are his drinks. He bathes with the water in the bowl.

The name of the priest is *Ayika*. He wears a blue fabric. The entrance to the fence of the *trɔ̃* is also draped with a blue fabric. If anyone is snatched away at the marketplace, the culprit must give 12 *hotu* and a goat. *Asi* is a good *trɔ̃* because many good things are sold at the market. At the *Akɔviefɛ* market, yam, cassava, maize, plantain, *avadzɛ*, meat, salt, groundnuts, beans, pepper and many other little things are sold. He is a great *trɔ̃* because he is honoured by everyone and no one goes anywhere on a market day. The market gives children. The way and manner in which he gives children are as follows: If he sees someone whom he likes, he tells the person he wants to give him or her children, which he does give, too. He cures diseases only when people come to him. They take presents to the priest and he shows them herbs that they prepare for the cure of the sick. He usually says it is none of his business if the condition of the sick does not improve. He kills villains and murderers. When *Asi*, meaning “the market”, is angry, he does not take care of anything any longer, thus making the people fall sick.

b. Cult

When *Asi* is worshipped or placated, a propitiatory offer of sacrifice is made to him to calm his anger. Part of the sacrifice is placed on the ground and prayer said over it: “*Asifiagadzɛ, tsasi vle ame!*” Here is a present for you. Let people come and buy from you! May wild animals die, and may the earth be calm! You are right Do not be angry anymore!” The manifestation of his anger is evidenced by low patronage of the market. His priest does not worship him everyday, except when the *trɔ̃* demands that a fowl be sacrificed for him. The market is beautified in preparation for the yam festival, for a sacrifice of the new yam is made to *Asi* as part of the celebration. People do not go to his shrine when there is an outbreak of smallpox.

c. Laws and Oath

Asi, Market, has male and female slaves. His priest as well as his slaves are forbidden from eating snakes and tortoises. If someone is bewitched, a fowl, with shaggy feathers is grilled on a stone tripod at the marketplace. The fowl is grilled so long till it burns into black powder (*ti*). It is then placed in a receptacle. The fowl is not eaten. Neither is the powder put into palm wine and drunk. After the powder has been made, the red wood tree is felled and its twigs are laid across the path. Some poles of this tree are also planted in the ground on both sides of the path. The priest then sprinkles some powder on the path and says: “Whoever bewitches someone and steps on it should die!” People who step on it must die and they do indeed die.

The oath sworn to him is that no one should snatch another person away on a market day. The meaning of snatching away is this: if someone from another town becomes indebted in another town and refuses to pay back, he or she (the creditor) snatches away the debtor from the other town when he or she finds the one. If a debtor is snatched away on a market day, the culprit must give 12 *hotu* and a he-goat to the

Woyɔa ame si le enu be Ayika. Avɔ, si wòtanae nye blusi, esia ke nɔa trɔ̃ la fe kpɔtɔtɔ nu. Ne ame aɖe lé ame le asigbe la, woxɔa hotu 12 kple gbɔ̃ le esi. Asie nye trɔ̃ nyuie, elabena wodzra nu nyuie geɖewo le eme. Nu siwo wodzrana le Akɔviefesi me wonye: Te, agbeli, bli, abladdo, avadze, lã, dze, azi, ayi, atadiwo kple nu kuklui bubu fomeviwo hã. Enye trɔ̃ gã, elabena ame sɔa ame bune ɣutɔ, eye womedea afi aɖeke le asigbe o. Asi na vi. Ale si eya na vie nye bena: Ne ekpɔ ame aɖe, si fe nu nyo ɛɲu la, egblɔna be, yeana vii, ne wòadzi, eye wòna ne hã vavã. Ehaya dɔlɛlawo, ne ameawo nya de egbo ko. Wotsɔ nunanawo yina na trɔ̃si la, eye wòfia gbe wo be woawo na dɔɔ la. Ne dɔ la nu metso o la, egblɔna bena metsɔ ye gbɔ nya aɖeke o. Ewua nuvlowɔlawo kple amewulawo. Ne dzi le Asi kum la, megabua naneke o, eye wona dɔlɛle vaa ame dzi.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne wole, woasubɔ Asi alo woafa efe dziku nu la, wotsɔa nuwo sa vɔ ne. Ne woɖa nu vɔ la, wotsɔa ɖe fona ɖe anyigba doa gbe ɖa gblɔna bena: Asifiagadze, tso si fle ame; wò nu enye si, naɖi, amewo nava fle nu le gbɔwò; adelã naku, anyigba nafa, towoe nye dzɔdzɔe loo, megabi dzi o. Ne womegale asi flem o la, eyae wòbia dzi. Enunɔla mesubɔne gbe sia gbe o, ne gbe ne ebia koklo la, eya ko wònanɛ. Wona tee le teɖuɲoli, eye wogadzra asia me ɖo nyuie. Womedea efe le dɔ vɔ ɲoli o.

c. Sewo kple atam

Asi hã xɔa Klu kple Kosi. Enunɔla meɖua da kple klo o, nenemakee nye Kluwo kple Kosiwo. Se, si le esie nye ne ame aɖe le ame ɖum la, woléa koklo, si woyɔna be adzake eye wokpea kpe ɖe asia me, tɔ koklo blibo la katã tɔa tii. Koklo la fiana kenken, eye wolɔa dzowɔ alo afi la fona ɖe nu me alo dzrane ɖo. Womedene aha me nona hã o. Ekema wolã adudzẽ xea mɔ vivi alo wotsɔa adudzẽ aɖewo fona ɖe tome, eye woɖea ti la fona ɖe mɔwo dzi gblɔna bena, ame si ɖu ame to edzi alo to eme la, naku. Amewo toa esiawo me kuna.

Efe atabue nye, ame aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ alé ame le asigbe o. Amelɛlee nye be, ne du aɖe me tɔwo nyi fe le ɲuwo gbe be yewo maxee na wo o la, ekema ne ekpɔ dua metɔwo la, alé wo ɖe fe la nu. Ne elé amea le asigbe la, woaxɔ hotu 12 kple gbɔtsu ɖeka le asiwò, alo woagbã wo amelɛla fe xɔ, ne meɖe asi le amea ɲu o. Fe, si woxɔ le amea si la, fe ɖe wotsɔna flea wɔ, ami dzẽ kple dze, eye woɖa nu na trɔ̃ la le asia me. Ne womexɔ nu le amea si o la, ewua ame la. Ne éka efe atabu la, dumegãwo wotalé (wò) lãwo alo woagbã wo xɔ.

paramount chiefs. His or her house is destroyed, if the prisoner is not released. Part of this money is used to buy flour, palm oil and salt, which are cooked at the marketplace for the *trɔ̃*. The goats and sheep of the person who has sworn the oath of “market” are taken away by the chiefs or his or her house is destroyed.

11. Asamanyawu

His appellations are: *Aheyɔɔ medoa gidi o*, meaning, “Not many people assemble at the funeral ground of poor people”. 2. *Dade bodade katamaku*. (Name is inexplicable.) The *trɔ̃ Asamanyawu* comes from Ho. The people of Akɔviefɛ bought her from there. People worship her in their homes. She lives in a pot, around whose neck is tied phloem of the raffia palm. The pole of an “odum” tree, which is hollowed out at the upper end, and a limonite are placed on top of and it is planted in the ground. Another “odum” pole is hollowed out and the small pot is put on it. It is said that *Asamanyawu* is a female *trɔ̃*. The *trɔ̃* is clothed in white fabric and the entrance of her shrine is also draped with a white fabric. The priest is not required to wear any special attire but whatever he chooses.

Asamanyawu is a good *trɔ̃* because she guards the town against all sorts of ill luck. She is not a great *trɔ̃*. She gives life and heals the sick, meaning, if someone suffers protracted sickness and cannot be cured, the person goes to the priest of this *trɔ̃* for his intervention, thus: “I have a wound, or I have been sick for long, and have consulted all priests, searching for a cure, but none of them is able to help me. Therefore, I am pleading with you to refer my case to your head priest to ensure that I get the requisite cure to heal my ailment. I would also then be able to appear among my contemporaries as a healthy colleague”. The priest then prepares some concoctions for his use. Some do recover but others die in the process. He even makes barren women fertile when they request for it. In times of small pox or drought, people go to her for consultation.

The priest of this *trɔ̃* may not eat the *Kelenge* beans. She has slaves, male and female, and any mention of the *trɔ̃*'s name is tantamount to swearing an oath.

12. Tsidze

a. Creed

The names conferred on him are: 1. *Tsidze manomusa aha tɔ̃gbe*. i. e., if someone drinks water from “*Tsidzẽ*, the person will get intoxicated as if he had drunk palmwine”. 2. *Kpalikpalideve ame nya enu nɔɔ*. This means that if the ownership of an oil palm plantation is in many hands, then the head of the family in charge will have to be wary, lest they put a spell on him. The worship of *Tsidze-trɔ̃* is by inheritance since his worship started from the moment the forest originated. He cannot be found in any other town. He is worshipped in the bush. This *trɔ̃* is a male and the priest is also male. He lives in a bowl and two pots, one of which contains water and the other, palm wine. The priest does not wear any special attire, neither does he have any priestly emblems. It is a good *trɔ̃*, because people say he never kills. He gives rain and protects people from misfortunes. He does not give children nor heal the sick.

11. Asamanyawu

Ŋkɔ, siwo wofona ɔo nɛ wonye: 1. Aheɣɔɔ medoa gidi o. Eyae nye, ne ame dahe ku la, amewo meva efe ɣɔɔ me geɖe o. 2. Ðaɖe boɖaɖe, katamaku. Asamanyawu tso Ho; afi ma Akɔviefetɔwo flee tsoe. Wosubɔnɛ le afe me. Ele ze me, eye wosa la ɖe zevi la kɔ me. Wotsɔ oɖumti ɖe ekɔ me nyuie hetsɔ ahliha da ɖe eta me, nenemake wogaɖe oɖum ta me tsɔ zevi la ɖoe. Wobena, Asamanyawu nye nyɔnutrɔ̃; wota ataye nɛ, eye wogatsɔ eya ke ta efe vɔ nu. Nunɔla taa avɔ sia avɔ, meta avɔ tɔxɛ aɖeke o.

Asamanyawu nye trɔ̃ nyuie, elabena eya le du la dzi kpɔm. Menye trɔ̃ gã aɖeke wònye o. Ekpɔa dua dzi, bena vɔ aɖeke nagava wo dzi o. Ena, agbe ehaya ɖɔlɛlawo, eyae nye bena, ne ame aɖe le ɖɔ lém, eye wodze agbagba vuu, efe lãme mesɛ o la, nenem me ma ava trɔ̃ sia fe nunɔla gbɔ agblɔ nɛ bena: Medze abi, mele ɖɔ lém xoxo, eye mede trɔ̃si sia trɔ̃si gbɔ bena woawɔe nam, gake womete ŋu wɔe nam o. Eya ta meɖe kuku na wò, bena nàɖe na wò amegã be, wòadi amatsi aɖe nam, ne nye hã nye lãme nasɛ le hatinyewo dome. Trɔ̃nua wɔa amatsi nɛ, bena wòanɔ enu ɖɔ wɔm, ɖewo hayana vavã, ke ɖewo toa eme kuna. Ena vi ame siwo bianɛ la hã. Ne ɖɔ vɔ alo kuɖiɖi va la, woyina ɖaɖea kuku nɛ.

Ame si le enu meɖua kelege o. Exɔa Klu kple Kosi. Efe atabu enye, womeyɔnɛ dzodzro o.

12. Tsidzẽ

a. Xɔse

Ŋkɔ, siwo wofona ɔo nɛ enye: 1. Tsidzẽ manomu sa aha tɔgbɛ. Eyae nye be, Tsidzẽ enye tsi, gake ne enoe la, amu wò abe aha ene. 2. Kpalikpali deve ame nya enu nɔnɔ. Eya nye bena, ne amewo sɔ gbɔ ɖe ave aɖe ŋu la, ekema ele na ame si le enu la bena, wòadze aɖaŋu ɖe amewo ŋu, ne menye nenem o la, woaɖu ame la. Tsidzẽ enye tɔgbuitrɔ̃, elabena tso esime ave sia dzo la, eya ke wode asi esubɔsubɔ me. Megale du aɖeke me o. Wosubɔnɛ le gbɔ me. Nu si me trɔ̃ la lee nye, agba ɖeka kple zevi ene. Wokua tsi ɖe zevi ɖeka me, eye aha ɖe evelia me. Trɔ̃ lae nye ŋutsu; ame si le enu hã enye ŋutsu. Meta avɔ tɔxɛ aɖeke o, eye naneke hã mele esi abe trɔ̃nu ene o. Enye trɔ̃ nyuie, elabena wogblɔ bena, mewua ame o. Ena tsi, eye wòkpɔa amewo ta be, nya vɔ aɖeke magadzɔ o. Mena vi o, eye mehaya ɖɔlɛla hã o.

b. Worship

People usually visit his shrine only during the yam festival. On that day, all chiefs bring gifts and offer prayers, saying: “*Tsidze!* Anyone who drinks your water gets drunk, as if he had drunk palm wine. Truly, the owner of an oil-palm plantation, which is shared by a big family, must be very intelligent. Here is your gift, come and take it. May our hunters kill more wild animals and may the palm trees yield more wine!” He has no male or female slaves and his servants have no taboos.

13. *Atando*

a. Creed

The appellation of *Atando* is: *Atando brikisibri*. This means: “*Atando*, the pool of water”. The origin of this *trɔ̃* is in *Hɔdzɔ*, from where he was bought. A house has been built for him containing an idol in which the *trɔ̃* resides. The priest in charge, *Abuga*, always wears a white cloth called *lugudɔ*. (greybaft).

This *trɔ̃* can be both good and bad. *Atando* is very malicious; for he is quick tempered, and very difficult to pacify. One can tell his anger especially whenever someone is sick or dead, because he claims he is responsible for the imposition of this fate on human beings. He is also a good *Trɔ̃*, because he is the god who watches over the town, and drives away any misfortune that may threaten it. The fact that many people go to his sacrificial altar shows that *Atando* is a great *trɔ̃*. People claim that he could make people die as well as bring them back to life again. You will only need to go to him to beg for a child and he will make it happen.

b. Worship

The sacrificial items required for his worship are: two fowls, palm wine, palm oil and cowry shells. A red paste is prepared, with the oil and the flour, some of which is sprinkled before the *trɔ̃*. They also present him with cowry shells and palm wine. People present him with yam during the yam festival and also offer their prayers. The mashed yam, mixed with oil, is laid on the ground as a sacrifice to him, followed by the following prayer: “*Atando*, you water pond! Behold, your present; come and receive it for us to enjoy good health and for farmers also to enjoy their labour from the fields!”

People go to *Atando*’s shrine during periods of small pox or famine, and pray to him to deliver them from the impending predicament. He never denies his followers any favours.

c. Consecrated People

Parents who have continuously lost their children surrender subsequent children to *Atando*. The priest washes these children with cold water and claims he has taken them out of the hands of the evil one. When, in spite of this, these slaves of *Atando* continued to die, the people stopped giving him their children. The messenger of this *trɔ̃* is called *Kofi Amevɔ̃*.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Womedea efe ɔaa o, negbe le teɖugbe ko. Gbe ma gbe amegāwo katā tsɔa nunanawo yina ne, eye wodoa gbe ɔa le afi ma bena: Tsidzẽ manomu sa aha tɔgbe, kpalikpali deve ame nya enu nɔnɔ, wò nu enye si nàxɔ, be adelā naku, ne woho de la, wòadzi aha. Mexɔa Klu kple Kosiwo o, eye metsri naneke na efe subɔlawo o.

13. Atando

a. Xɔse

Atando ŋkɔe nye: Atando brikisibri. Trɔ sia dzɔ tso Hɔdzɔ, eye afi ma woflee tso. Wotu xɔ ne ɔe afe me, eye wowɔ legba ɔe xɔa me, si me trɔ la le. Wotsɔ lugudɔ hetu xɔ la nu. Woyɔa enunɔla be Abuga. Etaa lugudɔ gbe sia gbe.

Enye trɔ nyuie kple trɔ vɔ. Atando vɔɖi, elabe dzi kune kabakaba, eye ne wolé avui hã mesenɛ o. Wodzea sii bena, dzi le ekum, ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém alo ame aɖe ku; elabena trɔ la gblɔna be yee na nu siawo dzɔ ɔe ame la dzi. Enye trɔ nyuie, elabena eyae le du la dzi, kpɔm, bena ne vɔ aɖe gbɔna la woanyae ɔa. Atando, enye trɔ gã, elabena ame gaɖewo dea efe nuwɔfe. Wobe, ena ame kuna, eye wòna wogagbɔa agbe. Ena vi amewo, ne wode egbo ɔabiaɛ ko.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne wole efe nu wɔ ge la, wotsɔa koklo eve aha kple ami dzẽ kple hotsui yia efe mee. Woɔa akplẽ yi ɔafona ɔe egbo, eye wokɔ hotsui kple aha la hã ɔe egbo. Le teɖuyi hã wodoa gbe ɔa ne, eye woɔa dza ne kple te. Ne wofo te bakabaka la ɔe anyi vɔ la, wodoa gbe ɔa gblɔna bena; Atando brikisibri, wò nue nye esi nàxɔ, bena lāme nanɔ sesie, agbledelawo nado vevie wofe agbledede.

Ne dɔ vɔ alo dɔwuame va afe la, wòdea efe, bena woade yewo atso vɔ siwo katā gbɔna la me. Metsri naneke na efe subɔlawo o.

c. Viawo

Dzikudzikudzilawo dea egbo, eye wotsɔ wo viwo dea asi ne. Atando nunɔla kua tsi fafe lena na ɔevawo, eye wògblɔna be, yeɖe wo tso vɔawo si me. Ne exɔ Kluwo alo Kosiwo alea la, womenɔa agbe o, eya ta wodzudɔ etsɔtsɔ ne azɔ. Dɔla le esi, si ŋkɔe nye Kofi Amevɔ eya hã enye trɔ.

III. Ordeal, Magic, Witches, Forest devils and Mermaids

A. Ordeals

1. General

The appellation attributed to *aka* is: *Dzimla, woe malɔ, mawɔmawɔ metsia akame o, wɔwɔe tsia aka me; ŋku meli ne o, to li ne*, This means: “The heart that fears; the guilty person should confess; the innocent does not get caught in the *aka*: it is rather the guilty one; *aka* has no eyes, but it has ears.” *Dzimla* means: “Your heart (the guilty conscience) trembles when you have done something wrong but you deny having done it.”

Aka does not originate from anywhere; it is nothing but magic. One who continues to acquire many magical objects progressively becomes an *akatɔ* ; however, not all who possess magical powers want to become *akatɔ*. People go to consult the *akatɔ* for many reasons, including theft, adultery, murder or slander, requesting him to put them through the trial by ordeal. The offended party accompanies the accused to the performance of the ordeal. At the end of it all, people jubilate with the one who comes out of it innocent while scorning the guilty party. They also smear the victor with ashes. The guilty party will have to pay 100 to 150 *hotu*. At the end of the ordeal, the *aka* is put away for safe keeping. A person pronounced guilty in such an ordeal is not liked by the *akatɔ* any more.

Anybody who would be taken through the trial by ordeal would have to tell the *Akatɔ* the whole background of the case first. This would help the *akatɔ* prepare adequately for the performance.

The various *akatɔwo* maintain a special relationship with one another. When someone, for example, has gone through an ordeal and has been found guilty, the *akatɔ* responsible would immediately send a metal ring to another *akatɔ* to inform him that the one with the ring intends to undergo an ordeal, and that this person has already been found guilty in his court. He does this to prevent people from discovering the fraudulent nature of this practice. *Aka*-owners are regarded as people to whom secrets are revealed. Any one who commits a crime and keeps it secret can be exposed, thanks to the *aka*. One can learn how to use the *aka* from any *akatɔ*; it is only an art and is easy to learn.

2. Types of Aka

There are different types of *aka* with equally different types of applications. Some of them are: *Amidzoka, nyadɛ, and amlatakpo*.

a. Amidzoka

Before someone is taken through the trial by ordeal using oil, the person will first have to narrate everything he knows about the case to enable the *akatɔ* to have an insight into the problem brought before him. The *akatɔ* then usually tells the parties that it is not necessary to resort to the *aka* for the solution of the case; it is a matter which can easily be looked into. It is only when the parties still insist that they want to undergo the ordeal by all means that the *akatɔ* agrees to perform. He then brings the objects needed for the performance to the street. A crowd quickly gathers around him to see

III Aka, dzo, adze, aziza kple lokloviwo

A. Aka

1. Nya aɖewo le wo ɲu

Ŋkɔ si wofona ɖo na akae nye: Dzimla, wɛe nalɔ̃, mawɔmawɔ metsia aka me o, wɔwɔe tsia aka me; ɲku meli nɛ o, to li nɛ. Dzimla, eyae nye, ne ewɔ nua hafi le avatso kam la, ekema wò dzi anɔ tsotsom.

Aka medzɔ tso afi aɖeke o, ke boɲ enye dzo ko. Ne ame aɖe le dzo xɔm vuɔ la, eva zua akatɔ; gake menye ame siaa ame lɔ̃na be, yeanye akatɔ o. Nya, siwo ɲuti amewo yia aka gbɔ la wonye: Ne ame aɖe fi fi, wɔ ahasi, wu ame, dzu ame vevie alo ka avatso. Ne ame la wɔ nu siawo hafi gbɔ be yemewɔe o la, wokplɔne yia aka gbɔ. Ame si ɲu wòwɔ nua ɖo la, eya kplɔ ame yia aka gbɔe. Ame si nyi aka gbɔ la, wokpɔa dzidzɔ le eɲu ɲutɔ, ke ame si tsi eme la, womekpɔa dzidzɔ le eɲu o. Ne wonyi aka wɔ wota dzowɔ na ame si nyii gbɔ la. Nu alo fe, siwo katã woxɔna le akametsila si la, tsoa hotu 100 va se ɖe 150. Le akanyinyi wɔ megbe la, wogatsɔa aka le dzrana ɖo. Ne ame aɖe nyi aka kpɔ ku la, megalɔa akanala fe nya o.

Gbã hafi woanyi aka la, wogagblɔa nyawo katã le akatɔ la gbɔ, bena eya hã nase nya la fe nɔnɔme, ne wòana aka ɖe eɲu.

Nya, si le akanala kple akanala dome enye: Ne ame aɖe va nyi aka le akatɔ ɖeka gbɔ, eye wònyii ku la, etsɔa efe alɔnuga ɖona ɖe akatɔ bubu bena, ame si gbɔna aka nyi ge le egbɔ la enyi aka ku xoxo, bena womaga dze si alakpanu, si wònye o. Amewo bua akanalawo abe ame siwo tea ɲu kpɔa vivimenuwo ene. Ne ame aɖe wɔ nane ɣla la, akanala ate ɲu aɖee ɖe go woakpɔ. Wosrɔ̃ aka le akanala gbɔ, gake menye dɔ sesẽ aɖeke o, aɖaɲunu ko wònye.

2. Aka fomeviwo

Akawo li hame hame, eye wo nyinyi hã li vovovo. Dewo fe ɲkɔe nye: Amidzoka, nyaɖe kple amlatakpo.

a. Amidzoka nyinyi

Ne wobena, woanyi amidzoka la, ekema amewo gagblɔa wofe nyawo keɲ, eye akanala dzea si nya la fe nɔnɔme keɲ. Egblɔna na amewo bena, aka aɖeke mele nya la me o, yewoakpɔ nya la me ɖa. Ke ne amewo gbɔ be, yewoanyii kokoko la, akatɔ la hã lɔ̃na, eye wòtsɔ aka la dana ɖe ablɔ me; ɖeviwo kple ame tsitsiwo va foa fu ɖe eɲuti, be woakpɔ ame si anyii aku la ɖa. Wokpea kpe ɖe ablɔ me, doa dzo ɖe eme, eye akatɔ dɔa ame si le aka nyi ge la ɖa be,

who the guilty person would be. Three stones are brought together in the middle of the street to form a fire place. When the fire is ready, the *akatɔ* requests the parties to go and buy oil. The seller never gives more than is required to a person who is buying oil for an ordeal. When the oil is brought, an old bowl is put on the fire and the oil is poured into it. Once it begins to boil, the *akatɔ* smears his hand with the viscous slime of a mixture derived from the *adeflu* plant or from the Kaschokel. With the smeared hand, he strikes into the hot oil, causing it to splash into the fire and giving rise to a blaze. He then strikes his hand again into this blaze. If the fire flares up again, he withdraws his hand while reciting the appellations of the *aka*.

He then calls upon the men, who have come to undergo the ordeal, to receive the judgment. The *akatɔ* then fetches a little oil from the edge of the bowl, where the oil is a little cooler, and drinks it, giving the general impression that he has drunk the hot oil. After this, he takes a grain of salt and shows it to all on-lookers. He explains the significance of the grain, and says: “Kofi, if you really are not the one who did this, then, the grain should remain in the *aka* for you to suck”. The person undergoing the ordeal also replies: “If, truly, I am the one who did this, then the *aka* should find me guilty.” When the salt, which is dry and without blemish, is then dropped into the oil, it remains whole and does not crack. With a ladle, the *akatɔ* then fetches the hot oil, dips it into the cold oil to render it cold before pouring it into his palm. The man then asks the *akatɔ*, what he should do with the oil. The *akatɔ* replies that he should wash his hands with it. When he does this, the on-lookers conclude and jubilate that he has come out from the *aka*, without guilt.

After this, the plaintiff also takes his turn to say: “Verily, if you are not the man who did this against me, then I should remain in the *aka*. “The *akatɔ*, then, takes a piece of porous salt, spits on it and casts it into the hot oil. With the ladle, he scoops the hot oil, and without dipping it into the cold oil, pours it into the man’s palm. No sooner does the oil touch his palm than he lets go of it amid jeers from the crowd that he has been found guilty in the ordeal. People mock and jeer at the man, and he goes home in shame while the man who comes out clean goes home triumphant.

b. Nyade

All the other *akawo* are just like the *amidzoka*; it is only the process which varies. When people come to perform the ordeal of “*nyade*”, they are sent to fetch water. On their return with their calabashes full of water, the *akatɔ* assembles the *Nyade*-items, namely, the magic wand, vulture-feathers and horse tails beside them. All these items are then brought to the public arena where the suspects repeat their stories. All the on-lookers cheerfully repeat the saying: “The innocent man is never caught in an ordeal”. After this, the *akatɔ* dips the horse-tails into the water in the calabashes. The *akatɔ*, himself, stuffs ground pepper into his long nails, which are worn by all his type for this purpose. The subjects, then, kneel before the calabash and wash their faces from it, after which they rub their faces with the horse tail. The *akatɔ* dips one horse tail into the specially doctored pepper-water and uses it to wipe the face of the one he suspects to be guilty, while assuring him that, he is going to remove the *aka* from his eyes. At this juncture, the *akatɔ* opens his eyes and introduces the pepper from his nails into the (alleged) culprit’s eyes. Meanwhile, he had kept one cowry hidden in his mouth, and as he tries

wòadze ami vɛ, ne wòdze ami la, womedea edzi o. Ne etsɔ ami la vɛ la, woatsɔa agba kake aɖe ɖoa dzo dzi, eye wokɔa ami la ɖe eme wònɔa fiefiem; ekema wotsɔa angba aɖe, si da ade abe adeflu alo fetri tɔ ene fua ami la me ale be, ami la flana, eye akanala tsɔa asi fua eme, ne dzo la gbugbo la, ekema egaɖea asi ɖa, eye wònɔa ŋkɔ fom ɖo nɛ.

Emegbe wogblɔna bena, ame siwo va aka nyi ge la, nate va azɔ, bena woaxɔ wofe akawo. Akanala kua ami la xa afi si fa la nona, ale be, ameawo gblɔna be, eno ami dzodzo. Eyome akatɔ tsɔa dze fia amewo katã, eye wòfoa aka gblɔna bena, Kofi tututu, ne menye wòe wɔ nu sia o la, nenɔ aka me na wò nanyi, eye akanyila hã gblɔna bena, nenye nyee wɔ nu sia la, ekema nenɔ aka me nam ne manyi. Ekema wotsɔa dze, si `u ta alo mɔ aɖeke mele o la, dea ami la me, eye wònɔa anyi kpoo mefona o. Emegbe wogatsɔa gatsi kua ami dzodzo la xa dea ami fafe la me, be wòagame ame la o, eye wòtsɔ ami la fona ɖe asi me nɛ. Ame la bia akatɔ be, nu ka yeawɔ kple ami la mahã. Akatɔ gblɔna nɛ bena, ne wòatsɔe aklo asi. Esia wɔwɔ amewo gblɔna bena, ame la nyi aka gbɔ.

Le esia megbe ame si be, wowɔ nu ɖe ye ŋu la hã vana gblɔna bena, ne menye wò tututue wɔ nu la ɖe ŋunye o fi. Akatɔ tsɔa dze, si ŋu mɔ le, eye wòɖe ta ɖe eɲu la dea ami dzodzo la me. Emegbe wògatsɔa tsi kua ami dzodzo la, gake medene ami fafe me o, eye wotsɔne fona ɖe asi me na ame la. Kasia wòbe yeaka efe asifome la, eɖea asi le eɲu, eye amewo doa yli bena, ame la nyi aka ku. Wokoa ame la ŋutɔ, eye wotsoa aseye, ɖe eta, eye wòyia afe kple ŋukpe. Ke ame si nyi gbɔ la yia afe kple dzidzo.

b. Nyadɛ

Ale si amidzoka le la, nenema ko aka bubuwo hã le, negbe wo nyinyi koe to vovo.

Ne wobe woanyi nyadɛ la, wodɔa ame siwo va enyi ge la ɖe tsi ku ge. Wokua tsi la ɖe tre me, eye wofɔa nyadɛ nuawo fona ɖe egbo, siwo nye dzoka akangafu kple awudza. Wofɔa nuawo katã yia ablɔme eye wogagblɔa nyawo keɲ. Ameawo katã tsoa aseye gblɔna bena: Mawɔmawɔ metsia aka me o! Emegbe akanala fɔa awudzawo dea tsi la me keɲ. Akanala ŋutɔ dea atadi fe me, esia ta akatɔwo fe fe tona ɖo. Ekema ame si le aka la nyi ge la, dzea klo ɖe akatre la gbɔ, eye wòkua tsi, si le tre la me la fua ŋkumee. Ne woklo ŋkume la vɔ la, wotsɔa awudzo lia wofe ŋkume, eya yome akanala tsɔa awudza la dea ataditsi me helia ame si nyi ku la fe ŋkume, eye wògblɔna bena, yele aka la ɖe ge le ŋkume nɛ. Akanala kea efe ŋku, eye wòdea atadi si le efe fe me la ŋkume nɛ. Ede hotsui ɖeka nu me, eye ne be, yeado fufu ɖe efe ŋkume lo, ena agaga la gena ɖe anyi, eye wògblɔna be, ege tso ame la fe ŋkume. Woxɔa ho gã ŋutɔ le ame si nyii ku la si.

to blow the *aka* from his eyes, he lets fall the cowry, and the people conclude that it fell from the eyes of the guilty man. A heavy fine is imposed on the supposed loser.

c. *Amlatakpo*

Before the “*amlatakpo*” ordeal is performed, all of the implements required for its performance are assembled, after which fire is lit. The men involved are then summoned to submit themselves to the trial. Each of them narrates his version after which the *akato* explains the process and meaning of the *aka* to them as he *akato* looks sternly into their eyes to see which of them is shivering. He then shoves the *amlatakpo*³⁰ into the fire and blows at it with the bellow until the iron glows. He then pulls it out of the fire, shows it to the man on whose body it is to be applied and shoves it back into the fire. The person undergoing the trial then draws close and presents his case. After that, the *akato* rubs the man’s shin three times with the glowing metal, and not a hair on his leg would be burnt if the man happens to be innocent. If, however, the man should be guilty of the misdeed, but was refusing to acknowledge his guilt, he would not even allow the *akato* to come near him with the glowing metal.

Whenever a guilty person emerges from an *aka* trial as “not guilty”, it goes to confirm the suspicion that he has secretly gone to bribe the *akato* to change the outcome in his favour. The gifts usually presented to the *akato* as bribe are: sheep, palm wine, brandy and money. The one who presents such gifts is always invariably given the verdict, though such a person might have incurred a lot of debt.

B. Black Magic

1. The Permitted or Public magic

a. Preparation of charms

The *Dzo* (fire, magic) has been in existence since the days of our forefathers. The general belief is that, magic is an intergral part of every *trɔ̃*, and that everybody, who wants to become a priest, must first be an expert in magic. The preparation of charms requires all sorts of items, such as, the hair of the squirrel, feathers of the *avesé* (a bird) and of the parrot, and other assorted items. A cord is woven out of the bark of a particular tree, called ‘*bo*’ smeared with red ochre. Finally, the hair is bound tightly to the cord so that they may not fall off.

b. Acquisition of the Charm

People become magicians for several reasons, one of which is the threat of evil intentions by another, or when one is plagued by diseases; a lot of money is spent on the purchase of these charms. The seller teaches the buyer everything connected with the trade. Both chew black pepper together as an act of covenant after which the teacher hands over the charms thus: “I have given it to you,” and the novice responds: “I have received it.” Finally, the seller takes an amount of 2 or 3 hotu from the buyer.

30 An old, blunt cutlass.

C. Amlatakpo

Ne wobena woanyi amlatakpo la, wofɔ abo, siwo nye amlatakpo ɲuti nuwo la va ɔɔa anyi hafi woava do dzo la. Wodzea nake hedoa dzo lae, emegbe woyɔa ameawo, bena woava nyi aka la azɔ. Gbã la wofoa aka, eye akanala léa ɲku ɔe wo ɲu nyuie, be wɔakpɔ ame si le fofom. Emegbe wotsɔa amlatakpo la dea dzo me, eye wonɔa vu yɔm ɔe ɲu va se ɔe esime wɔbiãna nyuie. Ne ebiã keɲ la, woɔenɛ fia ame si fe akpaligbe wole etiti ge ɔo la, eye wogadenɛ dzoa me. Ekema ame si le enyi ge la tena va hefoa aka la, eye wɔtsɔa amlatakpo la titina ɔe efe akpaligbe zi etɔ. Ne ame la mewɔ nua o la, ekema fu pɛ hã mafia le efe akpaligbe o. Ke ne ame la wɔ nua hafi le avatso kam be, yemewɔe o la, malɔ ɔɔ hã woatiti amla dzodzo la ɔe ɲu o.

Ne ame aɔe fe nya medzɔ o hafi wɔbena, yeanyi aka agbɔ la, ena zãnu akatɔ bena wɔatrɔ aka na ye. Nu si wonana fe ɔewo nye: alẽ, deha, yevuha kple ga. Ne amea xɔ nu siawo la, ekema efe nya adzɔ kokoko, eye ame si fe nya dzɔ la trɔna zua fenyila.

B. Dzo

1. Dzo, si ɲu mɔ le

a. Ale si wosane

Dzoe nye nu si li tso mía tɔgbuiwo fe ɲɔli me ke. Wogblo be, dzosasa ekpe ɔe trɔ sia trɔ ɲu, eye hafi ame aɔe nanye trɔsi la, ele nɛ be, woasa dzo gbã. Ne wole esa ge la, wotsɔa nu vovovowo abe adɔfu, avesafu, akofu kple nu bubuwo atɔtɔ, eye woatsɔ ati aɔe, si woyɔna be bo la agbi kae, atɔ ade alili ɔe ɲu, eye woatsɔ fuawo abla ɔe ɲu sesie, bena womate ɲu age o.

b. Nu si na wozua dzotɔ

Nu si nana bena amewo zua dzotɔwo lae nye: Ne wokpɔ bena amewo ava wɔ anyrã le yewo ɲu alo ne ɔlɛle aɔe le fu ɔem na wo. Woflenɛ le wo nɔviwo si kple ho ɔã ɲutɔ. Eya nye bena, amewo fia nenem nuwɔwɔ sia wo nɔviwo; woɔua aduve na wo nɔewo gblɔna bena, mena wɔ, evelia bena, mexɔe. Woxɔa hotu 2 alo 3 le exɔla si.

c. The rites associated with Charms

The rites associated with magic charms are as follows: For some, squirrel meat and beans, especially the *kelenge* beans, are strictly forbidden. Some do not enter their wives' premises during their menstrual period, let alone eat the food prepared by them. Others do not allow people to pass behind them while they have their meals. Still others also would not allow the mention of 'cat' or 'moon' during meals, or pass behind them with a hot pot and several others. Unlike the *trõwo*, magic has no oaths.

d. Types of Magic

The various types of magic include: magic for hunting, fishing, trading, quarelling, court cases, winning competitions, against sickness, safe birth, bullet magic (*tukpui*), against ghosts, evil eyes, foul mouth, against evil magicians. No single person possesses all these charms; every magician has his specialties.

2. How to charm a person

One of the main reasons for the juju against others is jealousy. If one possesses an item that the jujuman envies but cannot afford, one can be a target. The juju-man, therefore, puts a charm on this man and kills him. Juju-men often make friends with one another and are collectively able to do evil things to other people. Those among them who want to test their capabilities first test their magic on animals and trees. One can recognize a secret magician from the fact that he always washes himself only at night, using all sorts of herbs, or if his instep is always swollen. People are usually afraid of such people that they might kill them.

Good magical charms are those with which people help each other during births and in sickness. The bad ones are those which are used to kill others. The priest and the magician are the same type of people: they eat and drink together. Magicians (Juju-men) are respected, because they have the largest part of the population under their power.

C. Witches

A witch is a creature that sucks the blood of people, a person who spiritually sucks people's blood. It appears in the form of a large firefly, and, when you look at it, it glitters before your eyes as if you were looking into the sun. Witches shine in the night to prevent people from recognizing them. The witch resides in human beings, and if someone manages to catch one of these shining persons in flight, that person is said to be able to change himself back into the human form, and would then beg her captor never to reveal the incident. She promises to pay some money for his silence, which she does by giving him a lot of cowry shells. This money would disappear, however, if he should betray her.

A witch would descend on someone and suck out his blood without his knowledge but the victim will later die of it. A witch, upon seeing a little child whom she likes, would continue to suck out its blood until it dies. Witches are very much feared, because their most preferred activities are: sucking blood, coconut-water and drinking palm oil.

c. Kɔnu si le ɛɲu

Dzo fe kɔwo nye: Ame aɖewo meɖua ayi o, womeɖua kelege o, womeɖua aɖo o. Ame aɖewo ne nyɔnu lé gbe alo yi xɔɖome la, womeɖea efe o, alo womeɖua wofe nuɖaɖa o. Ame aɖewo ne wole nu ɖum la, wometoa wofe megbe o. ame aɖewo menɔa nu ɖum woyɔa dadi alo yleti fe ɲkɔ le wo gbo o. Ame aɖewo wometsɔa ze dzodzo toa wofe megbe o kple bubuwo. Atabu mele dzo ɲu abe ale si wòle trɔ̃ ɲui ene o.

d. Dzo

2. Dzoɖuɖu ame

Nu si ɲuti woɖua dzo amewo nye: Ne avɔ alo nu nyuie bubu aɖe le nɔvi si eye wòbiã ɲu na wò la, ekema woɖua dzo ame la wòkuna. Dzɔtɔ kple dzotɔ wodzea xɔlɔ̃, bena yewoawɔ vɔ̃ ɖe ame bubu ɲu. Ne ame aɖe le didim be, yeado yefe dzo akpɔ la, etene kpɔ ɖe lāwo kple atiwo ɲu. Nu si wotsɔna dzea si ameɖula ye: Ne ame la lea amatsi le zã ɖaa, alo ame la fe afɔta nɔa tetem ɖaa. Wovɔa ame siawo bena, woava wu yewo kple dzo.

Dzo nyuietɔe nye esi wotsɔ kpena ɖe ame nɔewo ɲu le vidzidzi me loo alo ɖɔléle me. Vɔ̃ɖitɔe nye esi wotsɔna wua amee. Trɔ̃siwo kple dzotɔwo le ɖeka, woɖua nu ɖeka, eye wonoa nu hã ɖeka. Amewo bua dzotɔwo, elabena woawoe lé du la fe akpa gãtɔ ɖe asi.

C. Adze

Adzee nye nu si nyia ame. Efe nɔkɔme le abe zãdzoe gã aɖe ene. Ne ekpɔe la ele abe ale si wokpɔa ye ame fe ɲkume wɔna ene. Le esi amewo magakpɔe o ta la, eklēna le zã me. Ame me adze la nɔna. Wobena, nee le keklēm nenema, eye ame aɖe do dzi léle la atrɔ zu ame ɖe esi, eye wòagblɔ na ame si léle la bena wòagagblɔe na ame aɖeke o; yeana adzɔe. Ekema adzɔtɔ la tɔɔa hotsui geɖe na ame la, bena magblɔ nya la o, ke ne ame la gblɔe la, ekema hotsui la agabu le esi.

Ne adze va dze ame aɖe dzi la, ame la ɲutɔ menyanɛ o, eye adze la noa vu le lāme nɛ; esia wɔna be, ame la kuna. Ne adze kpɔ vidzīe aɖe si nyo ɛɲu la, enyine va se ɖe esime wòkuna. Adze fe nu lɔlɔewoe nye, vunono alo amenyinyi, ne kple aminono. Esia ta amewo vɔne ɲutɔ.

In order that one is protected against the activities of a blood-sucking witch, one would assemble seven torches, seven snail shells, a black fowl, a small gourd of palm wine and a frog. The rite involves rubbing down the whole body of the afflicted person, with these items thereby making it impossible for the witch to remain on any part of his body. People who spend considerable time in the bush are usually believed to be possessed by witch-craft, and some others claim that witches and dwarfs are one and the same entities. A witch would not suck a person's blood if that person has not done anything against him. If a person insults them or does something bad against them, they come together and suck him out. They are said to like coconut very much, and if you harvest coconut without fresh fruit in it, that gives you a sure sign that it has been eaten by a witch. It is very dangerous to deny a witch if she requests something from you; she will definitely suck your blood out if you do not comply with his request.

D. Dwarfs³¹

Dwarfs have the same structure like human beings. They are as short as three to four year-old children. They are as black as charcoal and have very brushy, bushy hair. They reside in the bush, mainly under big trees in the wilderness, especially, where there are ant hills, and at crossroads. The dwarf is also called *Adee* and *Gbede*, meaning: the hunter and bush hunter.

As one goes through the bush, one comes across a heap of small pieces of fire-wood and collects it, the dwarf would come and take them back. The person may also lose his way in the bush, and it would take three or four days to find him and bring him back home. Once a while, when a dwarf meets a hunter in the bush, it would capture him and force him to stay with him. The dwarf would provide him with plantain and ripe bananas for food, and also teach him many different magical arts. Such hunters remain in the bush for periods ranging from ten days to one whole month before they are seen again. The dwarf reveals a lot of secrets to the hunter but he is forbidden to reveal them when he goes back home. He would surely die if he should go contrary to this directive. The hunter, who has undergone this experience, is subsequently able to hunt and kill many more animals.

A person who works with dwarfs does not drink palm wine on market days. He does not go to farm and does not eat anything that is forbidden him by the dwarf. Such people become very nervous on the day preceding the Ho-market day since that is the day on which the dwarfs worry them most.

Dwarfs lay firewood on ant-hills or under *nowoe* trees. When anyone chances upon it, the dwarf warns him: "You are a stranger, please, don't step on them!" If the man concerned is aware of it, and yet does step on it, he falls foul of the dwarf and, as a result, loses his way in the bush. The dwarf's feet are made in such a way that the toes point backwards while the heel goes forward and it is believed that one should never step into their foot prints.

Some dwarfs' names are: *Kwasi*, *Kukukrede*, *Agbanyevɔ*, and others.

31 *Aziza*, dwarf, is considered to be that monstrous creature, which is translated as 'devil of the forest' (dwarf) any time one tries to give the mythological description of the creature. It is believed that *aziza* exists in human form but with feet turned backwards, short and completely covered with curly hair; possesses magical powers unmatched by humans.

Ne wobe woade adze le ame ɲu la, wotsɔa akati adre, abɔɔga adre, kokloyi, fetokpo alo lubu kple akpɔkplɔ lilia ame la fe afi sia afi, bena adze la maganɔ efe afi adeke o. Wogblɔ bena, ame si lɔa gbemenɔɔ la, eya ɲu adze nɔna. Amewo gblɔna bena, azizã kple adze wonye nu deka. Adzetɔwo melɛa adze ame dzodzro o, ne womewo naneke wo o. Ne ame ade dzu wo vevie, alo wowo nu vevie ade wo la wonyia wo. Wogblɔ be, woɖua yevune hã. Le esia ta ne wogbe ne, eye lã adeke mele me o la, wogblɔna be adze ɖu lã le eme. Adzetɔ mebia nu ame wotense o, ne etee la ava lé adze wò le zã me.

D. Azizãwo

Azizã fe nɔɔme le abe ame tɔ ene. Menye ame kɔkɔ adeke o; ke boɲ ele kpui abe fe etɔ alo ene vi ene. Enyo yibo abe dzoka ene, eye wòde dagbo de ta. Efe nɔfe nye gbe me le ati gãwo te, kɔgbewo dzi kple mɔdzeveewo nu. Woyɔa azizã be Adeɛ alo Gbedzee hã.

Nenye bena, ame ade le yiyim le gbe me eye wòkpɔ nake suesue si woɲe fo fu, eye wòtsɔe la, ekema azizã ava xɔe le esi, alo ame la abu de gbe la me woadi abe ɲeke etɔ alo ene ene hafi akpɔe. Ne ame ade nye adela nɔa gbe me, eye azizã kpɔe la, eléne wònɔa egbo. Azizã la nɔa abladzo kple akɔɖu ɖiɖi tsɔm ve ne wònɔa ɖuɖum, eye wòsa dzo bubu fomevi gedewo na ame la. Adela siawo nɔa gbe la me abe ɲeke ewo alo yleti deka gɔ hã ene hafi wogakpɔa wo. Azizã la gblɔa nya sia nya fomevi na adela la, ke ne adela la va gblɔe le afe me la, aku. Ne azizã wɔ nu na adelawo la, wowua lã ɲutɔ.

Ne azizã le ame ade gbo la, menoa aha le Asigbe o, medea agble o, eye meɖua nu siwo azizã la tsri ne la o. Azizãdzɛlawo mekpɔa vovo le Asiatuigbe o, elabena azizã la nɔa wo nyamam ɲutɔ menye fefe o.

Azizãwo fɔa nake dana de kɔgbewo dzi kple ati ade si woyɔna be nowɔe la, te. Ne ame ade kpɔ nake la dze to eɲu la, wogblɔna be, amedzro wònye, eya ta meɖo afɔ edzi o. ke ne enyae hafi ɖo afɔ edzi la, ekama azu azizãdzɛla, eye wòabu de gbea me. Wobe womedɔa afɔ wofe afɔɖofe hã o. Wofe afɔ le ale, ɲɔgbetɔ trɔ de megbe, eye megbetɔ trɔ de ɲɔ.

Azizã adewo fe ɲkɔ nye Kwasi, Kukukrede, Agbanyevɔ kple bubuwo.

E. Water men

It is claimed that the profession of the people who live under the sea is the weaving of clothes. Their clothes resemble those of the Europeans. They do not meet each other face to face when they are trading clothes. They only agree on a particular place where the dress would be displayed for sale. The buyer then comes and puts it on to see whether it fits him or not. He buys it if it fits him; but, if it does not fit, he writes a note that it is not long enough for him or that it is too big. Therefore, the tailor should make the necessary alterations. He then lays this on the fabric and leaves.

They were said to emerge unto the beach if they wanted to wash their clothes and, if they saw people approaching while washing, they would immediately rush and vanish into the water. People claim that there is only a single way through which they can come onto our earth (dry land). They do come to fisher folk in the night, carrying very small lanterns but even they cannot see them.

E. Tsimemewo

Wobe, ame siwo le tsi dome la fe dɔwɔwɔe nye avɔlɔlɔ, wofe avɔ la ɖi yevuawo fe avɔ. Wogblɔ bena, ne wobe, woafle avɔ le wo nɔewo si la, womekpɔa wo nɔewo o. Ke ne wobe woafle avɔ la, wotsɔne dana ɖe tefe si woɖo la, ne ame la va, eye wòtsɔ avɔ la sɔ eɖokui kpɔ, eye avɔ la sɔ amea la, eflene; ke ne mesɔe o la, enlɔa agbalẽ dana ɖe avɔ la gbɔ gblɔna bena, avɔ la melolo na ye o, alo elolo akpa, eya ta woagaka ɖe le enu alo wòatɔ ɖe ɖe enu loo!

Wobena, ne wobe yewoanyã wofe avɔ la, anyigba sia dzi wovana. Ne wole nuawo nyãm, eye wokpɔ amewo gbɔna la, ekema wogadzea tɔa me dzona. Wobe mɔ ɖeka koe le wo si wotona va míafe anyigba dzi. Wobe, wowɔa fiafikaɖi ɲu dɔ dea ame siwo le kplɔm la gbɔ le zã me gake woawo mekpɔa wo o.

3. Крeнџe

Kpeɲɲe

The name, Kpeɲɲe, derived from the name of its *trɔ̃*, *Kpetsu*. They sometimes call themselves ‘Children of Kpetsu’, just to excite themselves.

Chapter 1: The Social Life

1. Marriage

1. Courtship

When a person wants to get married, he goes to the parents of the girl to ask for the hand of their daughter in marriage. The parents, then, question the man to find out the genuineness of the request. The man earnestly assures them of the purity of his intentions. Such parents do give their daughters’ hand in marriage in her childhood to the man, although she does not understand anything about marriage. From that time onwards, the man works for the girl’s family. He weeds their farm two or three times every year. From time to time, he weaves a cloth for them, especially when they need it.

Once the girl matures, her parents inform the bridegroom that the girl is now an adult and that he should come and take her home. The bridegroom then proceeds to buy a customary stool and two mats. He then strings 10 hoka cowry shells which he ties to the foot of the stool¹, and sends to the girl’s parents. The parents will then call their daughter and give her the gifts, saying: “Take what your husband has sent to you.” The girl takes the stool and sits on it. The mat is reserved until she moves to her husband’s home. The groom buys a gourd of palm wine for the girl’s father after which he also buys the same quantity for the girl’s maternal uncle. His next task is to weave a ten, twelve or sixteen hand broad cloth, which he sends, together with European material and 60 hoka cowry shells, to the parents of the bride. The presentation of these items implies: “I have today completed the marriage.” After giving her a day’s grace, the groom dispatches two men to his mother-in-law, to request her to allow them lead the bride to her husband. The mother-in-law calls her daughter and tells her: “Your husband is calling for you.” If the girl has nothing against this, she follows the two men to her husband’s home where she spends the night. She goes back home the next morning to her mother. If the girl so pleases, she would go everyday for the next five nights to sleep with her husband. After the fifth night, the husband sends palm wine to

1 Compare picture on page 77.

Kpeɖe

Ɗɔ Kpeɖe tso wofe trɔ̃ Kpetsu fe ɲɔ me. Woawo ɲutwo yɔa wo ɖokui ye aɖewo yi bena Kpetsuviwo. Esiae nye dzideforɲɔ na wo.

Ta Gbãtɔ: Du Me Gbenɔɔ

I. Srɔ̃dɛdɛ

1. Asitabiabia

Ne ame aɖe le didim bena, yeadi asi la, ebia vitɔ kple vinɔ bena woatsɔ wofe vi na ye ne yeaɖe. Dzilawo bia ɲutsu la bena ate ɲu aɖe yewofe vi la mahã? Eɖoa ɲu bena, yeate ɲui baa. Nenem dzilawo tsɔa wofe vi la nanɛ tso ɖevime ke, le esime ke ɖevi la mele naneke nyam o. Tso ɲekeke ma dzi ɲutsu la dea asi ɖɔwɔwɔ me na dzilawo. Fe sia fe wonɔ bofo ɲɔm na wo, ɖewo zi etɔ le fe ɖeka me. Ye aɖewo yi elɔa avɔ na wo, ne ele wo hiã.

Ne nyɔnu la tsi vɔ la, dzilawo gblɔna na ɲutsu la bena ɖevi la tsi vɔ, eya ta ne wɔava kplɛ ayii. Azɔ ɲutsu la flea zikpui alo kpukpo ɖeka kple aba eve kple hoka 10, eye wòɲɔa hotsui la ken tɔna ɖe ka ɲu hetsina ɖe zikpui la ɲu, ɖona ɖe nyɔnuvi la fe dzilawo. Dzilawo yɔa wo vi la vɛ, eye wotsɔa nuawo nɛ gblɔna bena: Nu siwo srɔ̃wo ɖo ɖe woe nye si. Nyɔnuvi la xɔnɛ, eye wòtsɔa kpukpo la bɔbɔ nɔa edzi, eye wòtsɔa aba la dzrana ɖo na atsufe yi. Ɗutsu la gadzea aha go gã aɖe yi ɖana vitɔ la. Emegbe wògadzea aha la nenemake ɖana nyɔnuvi la nyɔnuvi. Esia megbe la, ɲutsu la lɔa avɔ (ɖo) aba wuiade kple aba wuiave kple aba ewo, kple yevuvɔ ɖeka kple hotsui hoka 60, eye wòdia ame wotsɔa nu siawo yia safe, eye wogblɔna na nyɔnuvi la fe dzilawo bena, srɔ̃a gblɔ be, egbe la yedi nyɔnuvi la vɔ loo. Ɗutsu la galalana ɲekeke bubu, eye wòɖɔa ɲutsu eve ɖona ɖe lɔxoa gbɔ bena, ne woakplɔ ye srɔ̃ la vɛ na ye egbe. Vinɔ la yɔa via, eye wògblɔna nɛ bena: Srɔ̃wo le yɔwɔm. Ne nyɔnuvi la lɔ la, evana kple ameawo, eye wòtsia srɔ̃ gbɔ ɖona. Ne ɲu ke hafi wògatɔna yia nɔa fe me. Ne nyɔnuvi la lɔ le ɖɔfe dem vu ɲekeke atɔ la, ɲutsu la dzea aha ɖona ɖe vinɔa, eye wògblɔna nɛ bena efe vlitaha mamlea nye esi loo. Azɔ la, nyɔnuvi la dada atɔ akofu asa ka geɖe fuu aɖo na ɖevi la ken. Emegbe wokplɔa ɖevi la tsana le gbɔdome, be wòada akpe na ame siaa ame, eye ameawo nɔa hotsui dzɔm nɛ. Ne etsa da akpe na amewo vɔ la, egatɔna vaa tɔa kple nɔa gbɔ, eye wonɔa wo gbɔ ɲekeke aɖewo. Emegbe ɲutsua gadɔa ame eve ɖa,

his mother-in-law with a message that this was the “final courting wine”. The mother now fastens parrot feathers onto strings and binds them around the girl.² People then come to accompany her into town where she moves around, greeting everybody, and, in the process, she receives gifts of cowry shells. After these greetings, she goes back to her father and mother with whom she remains for a few more days. The bridegroom then sends two men to accompany the bride to his house. It is now her turn, the next morning, to prepare a big meal for her husband’s brothers. A meal they really relish. She does not have to perform any special task again apart from cooking for her husband and herself.

2. Relationship between husband and wife

After bringing his wife home, it is the responsibility of the man to look after her, and she has to take care of her husband. In the whole of Eweland, it is a pleasure for any husband, when his wife goes with him to the farm and is industrious in field work, and, when the wife also has any task in which she needs support, he always too ready to lend her a helping hand. The husband would not leave the yarn, spun by the wife, lying about; he would take and weave her any cloth that she would like. If a woman accompanies her husband to the farm and industriously helps him to cultivate the land, her husband gives her two large tubers of yam after the harvest. She may sell them and buy what she pleases with the money. If the husband really loves his wife, he would not let her walk around in tattered clothes.

If husband and wife have been living together for a long time, and it happens that the wife’s father or her mother dies, the wife leaves her husband’s house and goes to sleep in the house of the deceased. For five or six months, the woman does not return to her husband’s house, and would not even cook for him until the funeral rites are completed. Some men, who love their wives very much, move together with them into the house of mourning. A woman who recognises this demonstration of love by her husband prepares a good meal with chicken soup for the husband and tells him: “This is to thank you for remaining with me through the funeral.” Some women never return to their husbands once they departed for the house of mourning. Women who behave in such a way towards their husbands are charged 16 hotu if found guilty; and, if her relatives do not have the money to pay, the woman would be sold to the Anlos or to the Gas, and becomes totally lost to the community. The reason why it is very important for the wife to sleep in the house of mourning is that, the other women in the community would be casting aspersions, saying: “If you were a real woman, you would have come to live in the house of mourning when your father died.” Men, however, never abandon their houses to live in the house of mourning, on the death of a parent.³

Men subject themselves to their wives simply because they would not like the women to leave them. If a man would not want to subject himself to his wife, she would desert him and move into his enemies’ town, where he can never go to bring her back.

2 Compare Picture page 184.

3 If members of her family die..

wova kplɔa nyɔnuvi la yia atsufe azɔ. Esi wɔɔa atsua fe ɲu ke la, eɖaa nu geɖe na ɲutsu la nɔviawo, eye woɖune kple dzidzɔ. Ne eɖa nu siawo na atsua nɔviawo ko la, ekema dɔ vɔ le ɲu, eye nu sia nu, si ke wɔɖa la, eya kple atsua nu ko wɔɖaɖe ɖo.

2. Atsu kple asi fe anyinɔɔ

Ne ɲutsu kple srɔa woli la, ele na ɲutsu la bena, wɔalɛ be na nyɔnu la, eye nyɔnu la hã nalɛ be na ɲutsu la. Vevietɔ ne nyɔnu la doa vevie bofo dena la ekema enyea dzidzɔ na ɲutsuwo katã le Ueme, eye ne dɔ aɖe le nyɔnu la ɲu la, ɲutsuawo hã wɔne na wo kple dzidzɔ. Ne nyɔnu la tre ɖeti la, metsia anyi o, ke boɲ ɲutsu la wɔne lɔa avɔ sia avɔ, si nyo ɲu la ne. Nyɔnu si dea bofo kple esrɔ vevie la, le nuɲeyi la, ɲutsu la kua teti eve na nyɔnu la, bena wɔɖadzra na ɖɔkui, atɔɔ afle nu si ke nyo ɲu. ne ɲutsu la lɔa nyɔnu la vavã la, melɔna be avɔ navuvu le ɲu o.

Azɔ ne nyɔnu kple srɔa woli vuu eye wɔɔa ve eme bena, nyɔnu la tɔ alo nɔ ku la, ekema nyɔnu la vuna le srɔa ɲutsua fe me, yi ɖanɔa ɔɔɔ me dɔm alo kutefe dɔm. Azɔ magava srɔ fe me aɖa nu ne o, va se ɖe ɣleti atɔ alo ade megbe, ne wowo kunu la vɔ hafi. Ne ɲutsu la hã lɔa srɔa la, evuna yia egbo le ɔɔɔ me.

Ne nyɔnu la kpɔ be, elɔa yefe nya alea gbege, eye wowo kunu vɔ la, elɛa koklo wuna ɖa nu na srɔa nyuie, eye wɔɖlɔna ne bena, Wɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ nam loo!. Ke nyɔnu aɖewo ne woyi ɔɔɔ me la, womegagbɔna va wo srɔwo gbɔ o, ke boɲ wogbena keɲkeɲ. Nyɔnu, si wɔ alea la, wolɛne flena hotu 16, eye ne ga mele nyɔnu la fe fometɔwo si woaxe fe lae o la, wɔɖzra ne na Aɲlɔwo alo Gɛawo, eye wɔɖbuna keɲkeɲ. Nu si ta ɔɔɔmedɔɔ le vevie na nyɔnuwo lae nye, ne womewɔe o la, ekema wo tɔ bubuwo koa wo gbɔna be, :De wɔnye nyɔnu wɔ hã nenyɛ la, ne esi wɔwɔ alo tɔwɔ ku la, ne wɔ hã ɛnɔ ɔɔɔ me”. Gake ɲutsuwo mevuna le wofe ɔɔ nu yi ɖanɔa ɔɔɔ me dɔm o. Mía gbɔ la, ɲutsuwo ɔɔɔ wo ɖokui na nyɔnuwo le esiata ko be, woagagbe yewo o. Ne ɲutsu aɖe be, yemabɔɔ ye ɖokui na srɔa o la, ekema nyɔnu la sina yia efe futɔwo fe du me, afi si magate ɲu ayi aɖakpɔe o.

II. The Family

A. Birth

1. The efforts of Magicians /Medicine Men during difficult births

The intervention of a traditional priest is sought when a woman experiences difficult labour and delivery. The priest is invited by the relatives of the woman to perform the rites necessary for safe delivery. When the priest arrives, he stares for some time at the woman after which he utters the following : “The baby is entangled in the womb, and that is why it is difficult for the child to be delivered.” The relatives then appeal to him earnestly to do everything possible to ensure safe delivery. The priest assures them that he would do everything, including loosening the bond that is holding up the baby. He requests a particular creeping plant called *akatsa*, from the forest. He binds the feet and the hands of the labouring woman behind, with the string from this plant, takes a knife and calls out her name. She responds with a “Yes!” He cuts through the strings as he says: “Today, I cut through the rope which is binding you and your child.” He cuts the creeping plant into pieces, and places them into a wooden receptacle containing water with which he bathes the labouring mother. He ensures that the rest of the water is reserved for washing the baby. After the latter has been done, they throw the remaining water on a rubbish dump.

If the woman cannot deliver the baby after all this, the priest would pick a herb called *dzemado*, which he mashes in his hand. He chews black pepper, spits it on the mashed leaves and presses the juice of the mixture into the woman’s mouth to swallow, and, truly, she will deliver a child when she swallows it. The medicine man never stays around at the moment of the birth. A medicine man, who wants to do something evil, would say to unborn child: “The heavens are bound up, it cannot rain; the fruit of the womb is bound, it cannot be born.” After saying these words, he departs for his farm, or leaves for another town and the woman dies thereafter.

2. Midwifery

Midwives are called in only after the departure of the traditional priest. Midwives have to be adult, i.e. grown up women, and not young girls. When the midwives arrive, they collect some herbs out of which they prepare a viscous juice. In the absence of these herbs, they pound cashew into pulp and squeeze its juice into water. They smear the belly of the expectant mother with this juice to make it soft in order to hasten the birth. When the baby’s head appears, the midwives get hold of it, lest it hits the floor and is soiled with blood. The medicine man may have to be invited again if the placenta does not fall sooner. Upon arrival, he gives the same drugs, which he had earlier prepared for her. Sometimes, they do even give her a bottle to blow into until she completely delivers the baby.

The inhabitants of Kpeɖɖe have a lot of sympathy for one another. They would never leave a pregnant woman unattended to when she is in labour. People, who know of it, would not go to their farms; they would all remain at home to hear of the latest development. As soon as they hear that the mother has successfully delivered the baby, they all jubilate and congratulate the mother, saying: “Thanks be to your protective gods; Thanks be to your protective gods!”

II. Fome

A. Vidzidzi

1. Dzotowo fe nuwɔwɔ na Kulélawo

Ne fu le nyɔnu aɖe ɖum eye mele vi dzim o la, ekema woyɔa ame si ke nye dzosala gā nɔtu la ve bena, wɔdaze agbagba le funɔ la nɔ na yewo. Eye ne dzotɔ la yi funɔ la gbɔ la, ekpɔne kakaka gblɔna bena, ɖe wobla ɖevi la le dada fe dome eya ta mete nɔ le edzim o. Nyɔnuvi la, dadawo léa afo ne bena, newɔe na yewo, bena wɔadzi vi la. Eye dzotɔ la gblɔna na wo bena, mawɔe alo matu ka lae wɔadzi vi la. Eye wɔgblɔna na wo bena midi akatsa ve nam (akatsae nye ka aɖe le ave me, le abe adzɔka ene, gake adzɔka lolo wui vie). Wotsɔa wo bla funɔ la fe abɔwo ɖe megbe kple efe aɔwo keɛ. Ne eblaɛ vɔ la, etsɔ he yɔ funɔ la fe nka, eye wɔtɔna be: Ye!. Eye wɔtsɔ he, si wɔlé ɖe asi la dea kawo me hegbɔna bena, metso ka wɔ kple viwɔ egbe. Emegbe la, dzotɔ la tsɔa keawo sɛna kpuikpui, hede tsi me le gbɔnu me helena na funɔ la keɛ. Eye tsi, si ke wole na funɔ la fe mamlea wodzrana ɖo va lena na ɖevi la hã. Eyome hafi wotsɔa tsi la fua gbe ɖe aɖukpo dzi.

Ne wowɔ nu siawo na kuléla la vɔ gake mete nɔ le vi la dzim o la, ekema dzotɔ la wɔa amagba aɖe, si woyɔna bena dzemaɖo, tuguna le asifo me, eye wɔɖua ataku tenɛ hefiãna ɖe nyɔnu la fe nu me bena, wɔamii. Ne emii la, edzia vi la vavã. Gake ne via dziyi ɖo la, dzotɔla meganɔa anyi o. Ke dzotɔ, si le didim be, yeasɛ nɔta la, ne eva la efo nka ɖo na fu la bena: Wobla dzifo wɔtsi madzadzadza, wobla fu, wotsi madzimadzi” Ne egblɔ nya siawo vɔ la, edzona yia agble alo du aɖe me, tete funɔ la kuna kple fu la vavã.

2. Vixexe

Ne dzotɔ la dzo vɔ megbe la, woyina ɖayɔa vixelawo ɖa. Nyɔnu siwo nye vixelawo la, womenyea ɖetugbiwo o, ke boɛ wonyea ametsitsiwo. Ne vixelawo gbɔna la, wowɔa amagba, si ke da ade la ɖe asi. Ne womekpɔe o la, wɔɖea fetri ɖe asi, eye wotone keɛ tsɔna fana ɖe tsi me. Eye wotsɔne nɔa sisim ɖe funɔ la fe fodo dzi, bena fodo la nabɔɔ, ne wɔadzi vi la kaba. Ne ɖevi la do ta ɖa la, ekema vixelawo léne, be magadze anyi o, eye vutsi nagafo ɖe enu o.

Ke ne vidada mele dodom o la, woyɔa dzotɔ la ɖa, eye wogawɔa amatsi ma ke ne, hafi wɔdzia amenɔ la. Alo wotsɔa abɔɖiabo na vɔna la bena, wɔaɖo fufu ɖe eme, ekema adzi vi la.

Kpeɖɖetowo nye ame siwo vea wo nɔewo nu nɔtu. Ne wokpɔ be, wo dome nyɔnu aɖe le ku léme la, womedzona le egbo o. Ame siaa ame, si ke nya se nya la ko, mele bofo yi ge o, wo katã woanɔ wofe aɖewo me anɔ to ɖomii. Enumake wose be, edzi via loo, ekema wo katã wokpɔa dzidzɔ. Eye wonɔa gbɔgbɔm na vidzila bena: “Wo nu wɔ nu, wo nu wɔ nu”

3. Customs Relating to Births

a. On the Birth of a Baby

While delivering the baby, it is the custom of the midwives to handle the baby in such a way that it does not touch the ground. They wash the baby immediately after birth and bury the placenta. The midwives are served with palm wine after their duties. In the olden days, they were given 4 *hoka* cowries in addition to the palm wine; however, these days, they are paid 25 *hoka* and a bottle of brandy. The child's father does not have to give anything more than these gifts.

b. On the Birth of Twins

The customs surrounding the birth of one child are about the same as those surrounding the birth of twins; after all nobody could predict that the woman would give birth to two babies. Once twins have been born, husband and wife may not leave their room until the customs for twin-children have been performed. The customs are as follows:

They wait for fifteen to twenty-five days after the birth, before proceeding to perform the twins' customary rites. On this day, they buy a lot of palm wine and anyone who drinks of it makes a donation with some cowry shells. On that day, many guests come from the surrounding villages to partake in the sumptuous meals prepared for the occasion. As the celebrations last, people can buy one calabash-full of palm wine for two cowry shells each. Only those who have had twins before may take part in the performance of the rites, and only parents who had male and female twins are qualified to perform the rites for the products of a similar birth. At the end of the meals and drinking, they all assemble in the house of the twins' parents, where they make music, drum and dance in the street in honour of the couple. Finally, both twins are outdoored for everyone to see that customary rites for twins are being performed. With that the celebrations are over. It is very difficult and costly to perform these rites; no doubt, people often look distressed after the performances. The twin children have to wear perfectly identical clothes until they reach adulthood.

B. The Naming Ceremony, Infant-education and Circumcision

1. The Naming Ceremony

a. Birthday Name

The word *dzɔgbe* refers to the day on which one is born. One names children according to the day of the week on which the child was born. This ensures that one does not forget the birthday of the child. There are people who would not go to work on their birthdays; there are others who come to present sacrifices to their guardian-gods on their birthdays. On Sundays, many people do not go to work; it is thus the best day. These birthday names are not ours; we adopted them from the *Akan* people at a later time. The names are the following:

3. Vidzidzi ɲu kɔwo

a. Vi ɖeka ɲu tɔwo

Enye kɔnu na vixelawo bena ne wodzi ɖeɪ la tetee la, ne woatsɔ, bena ɖeɪ la magafo ke o. Emegbe wolea tsi na ɖeɪ la, eye wotsɔa voloa ɖaɖina. Eyome wodzea aha na vixelawo. Tsā la woxɔa hoka 4 kple aha. Ke fifi la, woxɔa ahaturkpa ɖeka kple hoka 25. Ne vitɔ la na nu siawo ko megawɔa naneke o.

b. Veviwo

Kɔnu siwo le vi ɖekawo fe dzidzi ɲuti la, eya ke le esia hā ɲu, elabena ame aɖeke menyae be, ele eve dzi ge o. Ne wodzi eve la, nyɔnu la kple ɲutsu la megadoa go o, va se ɖe esime woawɔ eve avɔ hafi.

Ewɔwɔe nye bena, le vidzidzi la megbe la, woɖoa ɲekeke abe ɲekeke wuiatɔ va se ɖe blaeye vɔ atɔ ene bena, woawɔ eve la. Ekema wodzea aha ɲeɖe ɲutɔ, bena woana ame siwo le hotsui na ge la. Le ɲekeke ɖoɖo la dzi la, amewo vana tsoa dutawo, ekema woɖa nu fuu na amedzroawo. Ne wole nua wɔm la, wodzea aha la hotsui eveve. Ame si dzi eve kpɔ la, eyae wɔa nua na amewo. Ne edzi ɲutsu kple nyɔnu kpɔ la, ekema awɔ nu na ame si dzi ɲutsu kple nyɔnu. Le nuɖuɖu kple ahanono megbe la, wofoa fu va vidzilawo gbɔ, eye wofoa vu na wo woɖua ye le ablɔ me. Ekema wotsɔa ɖeɪ eveawo ɖoa kɔ dzi, bena wɔanye dzeɪ bena, eve wɔm wole. Esia megbe la, wodzudzɔa nu la kɔwɔ. Nu sia kɔwɔ esesẽ ɲutɔ elabena woglea ho geɖe ɖe eme ɲutɔ, si na veve amewo emegbe la. Avɔ ɖeka fomevi wotsɔna kpa ɖeviawo, va se ɖe esime woatsi aɖo ɲutsu kple nyɔnu me.

B. ɲkɔnana, ɖeviwo dzikpɔkpɔ kple avatsotso

1. ɲkɔnanawo

a. Dzɔgbɛɲkɔwo

Dzɔgbɛ gɔmee nye ɲekeke, si dzi wodzi ame aɖe. Wona dzɔgbɛɲkɔ ɖeviwo, be womanɔ wofe dzigbe la be o, ame aɖewo mewɔa ɔ le wofe dzigbe o. Ame aɖewo ɖea dza na wofe dzɔgbɛ Mawuwo le ɲekeke ma dzi. ɲekekeawo fe nyuietɔe nye Kwasiɖa, elabena eya dzi ame geɖeawo mewɔa ɔ o. Dzɔgbɛɲkɔ siawo mele mia si tsā o, ke boɲ miekpɔe tso Bluawo gbɔ. ɲkɔ siawo nye:

Names.⁴

Day:	male:	female:	complimentary names:
<i>Kwasidɔ</i> , Sunday:	Kwasi	<i>Akɔsia</i>	<i>Awusi</i>
<i>Dzodɔ</i> , Monday:	<i>Kwadzo</i>	<i>Adzoa</i>	<i>Adzo</i>
<i>Braɖa</i> , Tuesday:	<i>Kwamla (Kɔbla)</i>	<i>Abra</i>	<i>Abla</i>
<i>Kuɖa</i> , Wednesday:	<i>Kwaku (Aku)</i>	<i>Akuwa</i>	<i>Aku</i>
<i>Yawoɖa</i> , Thursday:	<i>Yawo</i>	<i>Yawa</i>	<i>Awo</i>
<i>Fidɔ</i> , Friday:	<i>Kofi</i>	<i>Afiwa</i>	<i>Afi</i>
<i>Memleɖa</i> , Saturday:	<i>Kwami</i>	<i>Ama</i>	<i>Ami?</i>

b. Infant Mortality Names

When a woman loses her children again and again after birth, the phenomenon is termed *dzikudziku*. Thus, the parents of such children are called *dzikudzikudzilawo*, (i.e.) the parents whose children always die at birth or when they are very young. Some names given to such children are: *Amevɔ* (i.e). “The children I’ve given birth to are no longer with me”, and I have lost all members of my family. *Kutsoxa*, “death has waylaid me”; any time I bring forth a child, he takes it away. I can not do anything about it, because death is lying in wait for me. *Kutame* or *Kutɔame*, “death does cheat man”; because it has killed every one around me, so that my voice has no more weight in the community. *Gbegbe*, “Denial”. The children of this woman have always died soon after birth and this one is, therefore, not recognized by the parents and by the relatives. They have refused to acknowledge the birth. Therefore, when, this *Gbegbe* child was born, nobody would take any interest in him, because he would not live anyway. They would not look after him well until he grows up.

The children are given such *dzikudziku* names, with the consent of friends and family members in order to make them stay alive.

c. Insinuating Names

When a quarrel between two parties has ended but one of them remains aggrieved, he/she continues by insulting the other party indirectly if, for example, their livestock, sheep or chicken, strays into their domain. The insult may be directed ostensibly at the animal, but, in reality, it is directed at the person. This is termed, *Ahama*. Women are especially noted for such quarrels. The following are a few of such allusive names:

Nyagba gble, “The first word is bad”, i.e. What he first said was bad enough. But what he is now saying, is worse. *Megbenya*, “What was said behind somebody’s back”, i.e. When two people are quarrelling and one leaves the scene while the other continues to say things in his absence, the one who has left would say that it does not matter, because one does not hear what was said behind one’s back. Other such names are, *Ameza do*, “Human- Onight has fallen,” (i.e). time during which no more humans come into being. *Ameɖuke*, “The day has broken for human beings.” Thus, as the sun sets in the evening, so falls the night for some families that they can no more expect to have any children. As the sun rises in the morning, so breaks the day for individual families to have children. *Ekedzu*, “He endures insults”, *Veveabɔ*, “What inflicts

4 During greetings, one always mentions the birthday name of the other. But instead of Kwasi, one would say Awusi; and instead of Kwadzo, one says Adzo etc.

Ŋkɔwo:

Ŋkeke:	Ŋutsu:	Nyɔnu:	Dzedzewo:
Kwasidɔ	Kwasi	Akɔsiba	Awusi
Dzoɔɔ	Kwadzo	Adzoba	Adzo
Braɔɔ	Kwamla (Kɔbla)	Abra	Abla
Kuɔɔ	Kwaku (Kɔku)	Akuwa	Aku
Yawoɔɔ	Yawo	Yawa	Awo
Fidɔ	Kofi	Afiba	Afi
Memledɔ	Kwami	Ama	Ame

b. Dzikudziku ŋkɔwo

Dzikudziku gɔmee nye, ne ame aɔɔ le vi dzim wole kukum. Eya ta woyɔ edzila be dzikudzikudzilawo. Dzikudziku ŋkɔ aɔɔwo nye: Amevɔ, Egɔmee nye, ame siwo dzim mele la, woyɔ le ŋunye, eye fome hã vɔ le ŋunye. Kutsoxa, eyae nye bena, ku ɔɔ ha ɔɔ ŋunye, ne medzi vi ko la, wɔaku. Ku tso xa ɔɔ ŋunye, eya ta naneke menyona nam o. Kutame alo Kutame. Egɔmee nye, ku wu amewo le ŋunye keɖ, bena nyanye alo nye nyagbɔgbɔ megaxɔa asi le amewo gbɔ o. Gbegbe. Eyae nye bena, esime wodzi nenem ɔɔvi sia la, efe dzilawo kple fometɔwo gbee, elabena vi menɔa agbe na wo o. Bebli hafi wokpɔa nenem ɔɔvi sia dzi wɔtsina.,

Wotsɔa ŋkɔ siawo na wo viwo bena, ɔɔwɔhɔanɔ agbe. Dzilawo, xɔlɔwo kple fometɔwo nye ame siwo na ŋkɔ sia ɔɔviwo.

c. Ahamaŋkɔwo

Ahama gɔmee nye bena, ne nɔvi kple nɔvi wole dzre wɔm, eye wodzudɔ, nya la, gake nɔvia evelia galé nya ɔɔ anyi kokoko. Ne ame evelia fe alé alo koklo va egbo la, edea asi edzudzu me, alo enɔa nu fom le ame la ŋu abe lã lae wɔle egblɔm na ene. Nyɔnuwo nye ame siwo foa ahama vevie.

Ahamaŋkɔ aɔɔwo nye:

Nyagbegblé. Eyae nye, nya gbãtɔ si wogblɔ la, eya gblé, eye wole esi me nyo o la gblɔm. Megbenya. Eyae nye be, ne mia kple ame aɔɔ miele dzre wɔm, eye nɔɔzo le egbo hafi wɔgale nu fom le megbe wɔ la, eya menyɔ nya aɔɔke o, elabena megbe mesea nu o. Ŋkɔ bubuwo nye; Amezãla, Amenjoke, Ekedzu, Veveabɔ, Ametɔwoxa, Melɔɔɔwo, Lɔmegbe, Nɔvinya, Melɔfe, Manɔɔɔwoɔ, Ehiãmese. Nu si ŋuti wotsɔa ahamaŋkɔwo ɔɔe nye bena, dzre, si wowo gbe aɔɔ gbe la fe nyawo nagabu ɔɔ wo o. Wona ŋkɔ siawo ɔɔviwo kple lãwo.



Carved calabash,

serves women as receptacle for keeping their trinkets

pain is more than what brings you joy.” *Ametɔwoxa*, “Mind your own business!” *Melɔdewo*, “My love is selective (and hates others)”. *Lɔmegbe*, “Loving somebody in his absence”! (This is good). *Nɔvinya*, “something said between brothers (does not concern anybody else)”. *Melɔfe* “The place where people say: I agree it is okay”. There are people who always agree to things in the presence of others, but they do the opposite, once they leave. *Manɔdewoɲu*, “I will remain linked with them”. *Ehiānese*, “I hear of it only when he is in trouble”. The reason, why people give such insinuating and abusive names, is that one does not want old quarrels to be easily forgotten. Such names are given to children as well as to animals.

d. Nicknames⁵

Some of these are: *Aba enyi bena, yelolo wu aba bla eve*, “The eight-yard wide cloth says it is wider than the twenty-yard wide one.” *Golo vuvu srɔnyiwoɖe*, “The torn fan palm bag is rejected even by the heirs.” That is what a man says when he feels shunned by everybody. *Wole kpotɔwo, betetɔwo si ɖo ave*, “When those armed with clubs are defeated, then those armed with daggers run into the bush”. *Nu mewɔna ati ka kona o*, “The creeping plant should not laugh at the tree when something bad happens to it.” The creeping plant which rises with the tree into the sky will surely, slowly die when the tree dries out; or, should the tree be felled by a storm, the creeping plant, which used to rear high on it, cannot jeer at the tree for being weak, for they have both fallen down. *Baba ɖunu meɖuna kpe o*, “The termite may eat up everything but not stones”. As stone is harder than wood, so is the Governor stronger than the village chief; the latter is able to molest his subjects, but not the Governor. *Nuglo ze go maɖa*, “One cannot replace a pot with a gourd”. One can cook in a pot but the gourd will not be able to stand the fire. If the pot should now lie broken, the gourd would be a useless substitute. Here, the relationship of the rich in contrast to the poor, and between the strong in contrast to the weak, is being emphasized. *Uu le tɔ dzi baba ɖu*, “The boat is on the river and yet it is being eaten up by termites”. The idea is that even the famous magician must die.

e. Proverbial names

Some of these are: Agama, “Chameleon”. *Atime kuklui be, yele konɔwo dzrom*, “The pepper in the tree says barren women would yearn for it in vain”. This is a mockery of childless women, because a mother can request her son to go up the tree to harvest a handful of pepper for her use; a childless woman has nobody to send. *Sanake be yele konɔwo dzrom*, “The firewood presented by the suitor to the mother-in-law says that barren women are longing for him”. This name is also making an allusion to the childless woman, because she will not have any son-in-law to bring her *Sanake*. *Akpa gbazā meɖa na nu le dze meɖe o*, “Nobody would prepare a dish with the flat, white fish without adding salt”, i.e. Even if someone is as good as the beautiful white fish, one would still have to add the insignificant salt to make it tasty. *Koklofo Meɖea heku o*, “One cannot make the scabbard of a dagger from a hen’s foot.” *Agboɖaze meɖana nyi o*. “The pot, in which one cooks a ram, is not big enough for cooking a cow”. i. e. He who thinks he is strong should remember that there are people who are stronger than

⁵ The words set in spaced type are part of the name.

him. *Ŋkumegobuitɔ medea aha me biana tre o*, “A person with a sunken face should not ask for calabash to drink from when he goes to tap palm wine”; his face is already like one. *Alavi tukui sakɔ manya tui*, “It is not an easy task to untie a knot made in a thin raffia string.” i.e. He may be a very insignificant looking person, but he has a lot of power. *Ahosi makɔ dɔ ɖenu be, yesɔ nu vem yele*. “It is a lazy widow who says that she is mourning her husband.” This alludes to lazy bones, who would want to excuse their idleness by saying, for example, that they cannot work because they do not have hoes. “*Akpiligbe melolona wua ata o, ne elolo wu ata, nanyẽ bena zibo le eme*”. The shin cannot be bigger than the thigh; if it should be bigger, then its presence is of the elephantiasis disease.” *Zibo*, elephantiasis, results in the leg growing fat and thick. This proverb is used for children, when they want to be bigger than their parents. *Aɖu mele gbɔ fe nume o, wobena yeale avu*, “How can a goat bite a dog, if it has not got teeth in its mouth?” i.e., nobody should try to perform a task for which he does not have the strength.

2. Child Education

a. Acquisition of skills

It is the man's responsibility to ensure that his sons learn some trade. The professions available are: Weaving clothes, weaving baskets and fish traps, farming etc. The children pay good attention to the work their parents do. After some time, they also begin to try their hands at it until they become experts in their chosen trades. Women, likewise, teach their daughters their skills. Their activities include spinning, fetching water, cooking, sweeping the house among others.

b. Admonition and Punishment of the Child

When children misbehave or do something bad, like showing disrespect to others, they are admonished to start with. If a child scratches his/her father with his/her nails, he is given a serious warning or a beating. It is believed that midnight or the morning hours are best suited for counselling and admonishing children; this is the time that people understand and absorb what they hear better. It is only a person who is not guilty of a similar crime that may help the parents in the counselling process. The usual things

2. *Deviwo dzikɔkpɔ*

a. *Dɔwɔwɔ fiafia ɖeviwo*

Enye ɣutsuwo fe dɔ bena, woafia dɔwɔwɔ wofe ɣiɣutsuwo. Wofe dɔwɔwɔ nye avɔɔlɔ, xalɔlɔ, agbledede kple bubuwo. Ne dzilawo le dɔ siawo wɔm la, ele na ɖevawo be, woalɛ ɣku ɖe eɣu, eye woawo hã nɔa etem kpɔ va se ɖe esime wɔdama wo. Nenemake nyɔnuwo hã fia wofe dɔwɔwɔwɔ wofe vinyɔnuwo. Woawo fe dɔwɔwɔwɔ nye: Detitoto, tɔmedede, nuɖaɖa, afemekpɔkplɔ kple bubuwo.

b. *Nuxɔɔlɔ kple tohehe*

Ne ɖeviwo wɔ nu vlo aɖe, womedɔ to o, alo mebu ame o la, woxlɔa nu wo gbã. Ne ɖevi aɖe nɔa fe ɖem na fofoa la, wohea nya gedɛ ɖe eɣu, eye wofone ɔ hã. Yeyiyi si woxlɔa nu ɖeviwɔe nye ɣɖi kple zã titina; elabena yeyiyi siawo me nya yina ɖe tagbo na ame nyuie. Ame si ke mewɔa nu siawo o la, eya ko kpɔ mɔ axlɔ nu ɖevawo hekpe ɖe wofe dzilawo ɣu. Wofe nuxlɔmenya aɖewo nye bena: Megawɔ kuvia o, nado vevie dɔwɔwɔ, bena wɔadze edzi na wò, bena ame aɖeke nagaɖu fewu le ɣu wò o. Ne ɖevi le xexeme

which one hears are: “Don’t be lazy! You have to be hard-working if you want to be successful, lest people greet you with mockery! In this world, it is wrong for children to insult people; children who do are put under a spell and they die. Do not attend functions organized by your enemies! If you go, they will put a spell on you!”

They put fear into the children to prevent them from doing bad things. Generally, children are punished by beating, lashing, rubbing pepper into their eyes etc.

c. Relationship between Children

Children do not easily take offence against one another when they are playing together. They may get agitated but not irritated. If a quarrel should arise between two playmates, they discuss it and immediately start talking together again. They plan and execute all their plans together.

3. Circumcision

Boys are circumcised because, without that, they do not stay healthy. Some boys are not happy if they are not circumcised, and some of them may grow to be three to four years old before they are circumcised.

la medzua ame o, ne wodzu ame la, ɖe woɖua dzo ame wokuna. Ne wo futɔwo le nane wɔm la, megade wo gbɔ o, ne éde la, woaɖu dzo wò.

Wodoa ɲɔdzi na ɖeviwo, ne womagawɔ nu vlo aɖeke o. Mɔ si dzi wohea to na ɖeviwo le la, eyae nye, wofoa wo, doa aduvee na wo, kple bubuwo.

C. ɖeviwo fe nuwɔwɔwo

Ne ɖeviwo le fefem la, womebua naneke vɔ na wo nɔewo o. Ke wowɔa wofo nuwo le dzigboɖi me. Ne wo dometɔ aɖe wɔ dzre fifia hã wogadoa nu. Ne wobla nane be, woawɔ la, wowɔne kokoko.

3. Avatsotso

Nu si na be wotsoa ava na ɖeviwo lae nye bena, ne wometso ava na wo o la, wofo lãme masẽ o; ame aɖewo ava matsomatso menyoo wo ɲu o. ɲutsuvi aɖewo xɔa fe etɔ alo ene hafi wotsoa ava na wo.

III. Death and Burial

1. Preparation of the Dead for Burial

On the death of a person, his corpse is first washed with soap and a piece of cloth is shoved into his rectum. They then dress him in the loin cloth, which he usually wore when working on his farm. The relatives of the deceased then call in his wife (or if it is the wife, who has died, her husband) and ask for his duffle bag.

She remains at some distance and points to the bag requested; if she should touch it, she would contract consumption. A prayer is said before any one touches the sack. One of them then gathers courage to open the sack, takes the most beautiful piece of cloth out of it, and lays it at his feet. It is only then that he empties the bag. The first cloth removed becomes his bona fide property and no one can contest it. The corpse is then covered with some of these clothes. They take one cowry shell, which they bind to unripe lemons, and tie to the dead man's arm. The reason informing this is that the deceased is embarking on a journey, and would need the cowry shell to buy palm wine on the way.

2. Obituary

After they have made all these preparations, they send a message to the relatives, living in all the neighbouring villages, to inform them that: "Our brother is no more; we want to bury him." After this, the paternal brothers announce his death by firing three of four gun-shots into the air. If the deceased has stored sufficient gunpowder for his funeral before his death, the number of gunshots will reach eighteen or twenty. At this juncture, every body knows that a death has occurred.

3. Funeral Repast and the Grave-digger

Sheep are slaughtered to prepare meals for visitors to the burial. If the deceased was a rich man, many animals would be bought; if he was poor, they would only manage to buy two sheep. The meat would be shared in such a way that his maternal brothers and sisters would receive one half, while those on the father side would also get the other half. The father of the deceased gets the head, and his maternal uncles receive the stomach (viscera) parts. After completing all these, the dead body is washed again and a grave is dug for him. In the olden days, that would be the work of a grave-digger; now, however, it is the paternal brothers of the deceased who do this. The men who dig the grave for a dead chief in his hut receive 10 to 60 hoka, yam and a fowl for their efforts. If, on the contrary, that grave has to be dug in the bush, then they only get paid 20 to 30 hoka. They only take 2 hoka for a child's grave. The chiefs in the village demand 60 hoka and a goat from the relatives of a person who commits suicide.

4. Burial and Funeral.

When the time approaches for the burial, his parents buy a piece of cloth, which is sewn together in such a way that two men can carry the corpse hanging from a pole.¹⁾ Before the corpse is carried out for burial, the chiefs assemble to inspect all the clothes with

III. Ku kple ɖiɖi

1. Ame kuku dzadzraɔ

Gbā, ne ame ku tetee la, wolea tsi kple adzalē ne nyuie, eye wotsɔa ɔvɔu tena ɔe efe mefihetsɔ ɔe agbledegodoe dona ɔe dzi nɛ. Eyome ame kukua fe fometɔwo yɔa ame si ku la srɔ ɔa, nenyɛ nɔtsu alo nyɔnu, bena wɔfia ame kuku la fe ɔkevi yewo. Ame la nɔa adzɔge ke, eye wɔfia asi efe ^{703*} ɔkevi la be, eyae mē ɔa; elabena ne ede asi enu la, aɔ kpetri kpem ɔaa. Hafi ne ame bubuwo nade asi kevia nu la, wodɔa gbe ɔa. Ame si do dzi tu kevia la, ne ekpɔ aɔ nyuie aɔ le eme la, etsɔne ɔa anyigba da aɔ ɔe edzi hafi aɔ nu bubuawo. Aɔ, si wɔtsɔ da ɖi hafi ɔ nuawo lae nye eya nɔtu tɔ, eye ame aɔke mekpɔ mɔ axɔe le esi o.

Aɔ, siwo le kevia me la, fe ɔewo wotsɔna tsyɔna na ame kuku la. Emegbe wonɔ hotsui hoka tɔna ɔe ku nu, eye wotɔ aɔutigbui ɔe enu hede aɔlɔnu na ame kuku la, si gɔmee nye: Netsɔ hotsui la, ne wɔazɔ mɔe aɔadze ahae le mɔ dzi.

2. Amewo kaklā.

Ne wodzra ame kuku la ɔ vɔ keɔ la, woɔa du ɔe nɔvia, siwo le du bubuwo me la bena: Mía nɔvi la megali o, míva miadii. Emegbe tɔviawo ɔea gbe fāe le du la me kple tuti etɔ alo ene. Ke ne ame la dzra ɔu ɔ hafi ku la, wodane zi wuienyi alo blave gɔ hā. Azɔ ame siaa ame nyae be wodee xɔ alo woɔe gbe fāe.

3. Kutefe nuɔaɔa kple yɔkulawo

Wowua lā, eye womane na amewo be, woaɔa, nui na amedzro. Ne ame kuku la nye kesinɔtɔ la, ekema woflea lā geɔe hā, ke nenyɛ ame dahe la, wodzea agbagba flea lā eve ko. Woma eme, akpa afā na nɔawo, eye afā na tɔviawo. Ame si ku la tɔ xɔa lā la fe ta eye nyuiawo xɔa anyinɔ la. Ne wowɔ nu siawo katā vɔ la, wogalea tsi na ame kuku la, eye woɔea yɔdo nɛ keɔ. Tsā la, woɔ yɔdoɔelawo ɖi keɔ, ke fifi la, megali o, negbe ame kuku la fe tɔviwo koe ɔea yɔdo la. Nenyɛ ame tsitsi yɔdo la, eɔelawo xɔa hoka 10 alo hoka 60, te kple koklo; nenyɛ afe me woɔee ɔ; gake nenyɛ gbemee la, woxɔa hoka 20 alo 30 ko. Ne ɔevi aɔe ku la, yɔdoɔelawo xɔa hoka 2. Ke ne ame aɔe wu eɔokui la, dutɔwo xɔa hoka 60 kple gbɔ le nɔviawo si.

4. Eɖiɖi kple tsitseɔɔɔ

Ne amediiyi ɔ la, ekema ame si ku la nɔ kple tɔ woflea aɔ tɔa sakpla nɛ. Hafi woakɔ ame kukua la, ame tsitsiwo foa fu, eye wofia aɔ, siwo katā wole ame kuku la ɖi gee la wo keɔ, eye amewo da akpe na nua nalawo, eye wofa aɔwo gbana na ame kuku la. Nenyɛ kesinɔtɔ la, wogbā aɔ wuiade nɛ hafi ɔine, ke nenyɛ ame dahe la, mesɔa gbɔ nenema o. Emegbe wotsɔa ame kuku la yi ɔaɔina. Le nkeke ene (nenye nyɔnu) alo atɔ (nɔtsu) megbe la wofoa tsi ɔe yɔ dzi nɛ. Egɔmee nye be wona tsi ame kuku la, bena efe dzita nafa ne magava wu, ame aɔke o. Gbe ma gbe womea abladzo bakana kple ami dzē helɔna ɔe tre kake me, mlia wɔkɔe ade dana ɔe dzi tɔna yia yɔdo la gbɔ. Wɔkɔe ade la gɔmee nye, esusɔ

which the dead is going to be buried. They thank everybody who contributed towards the success of the burial before the body is wrapped up. A rich man would be covered with sixteen pieces of cloth before he is buried; not that many cloths would be used in the case of a poor man. The corpse is then carried away to be interred. Four days later, in the case of women, and five days later in the case of men, they return to the cemetery and pour water on the grave of the deceased. The significance of this action is that they are bringing water to the deceased, so that he would remain quiet and would not come back to kill anybody. On that day, they roast plantain, mash it with red palm oil, serve it in a broken calabash and lay six balls of maize-flour on it. They then go and place all these on the grave. With the six balls, they mean that in five or six days, they would be rolling the mat of the deceased. This means that the man's grave (which is often in a room) will be compacted and the floor of the room will be levelled out. If the deceased happened to be a chief, his mat would only be rolled after five or six months. On that day, a lot of palm wine would be bought for the entertainment of the strangers who would be coming, for it is a happy day on which there would be drumming and dancing until night falls. If, in the course of the celebrations, a quarrel threatens to erupt, the chiefs step in to separate the strangers from the rest and cause two gunshots to be fired, by which they mean: "We have completed everything. The celebration is over". If, after this, anybody does anything bad, it would not be considered as a problem of the bereaved family. Some time after the funeral, the properties of the deceased would be shared among his relatives. They throw away all things that are torn or are of no use onto the street for the deceased to take away.

ɲkeke atɔ̃ alo ade woaɲɔ ame kuku la fe tsitse alo woafɔ ɲɔ alo woali asi ɲɔ dzi. Ke ne ame la nye ame gã la, woɲɔ afe tsetse le yleti atɔ̃ alo ade megbe. Gbe ma gbe wodzea aha, eye wowɔa amedzro na ame siwo tso duta va la. ɲkeke mae nye dzidzɔɲkeke gã ɲutɔ, eye wonɔa vu fom vu va se de zã fe dodo me. Ke ne dzre le didim be, yeadzɔ de wo dome la, ame tsitsiwo dea amedzro le wo dome eye wona woda eve, si gɔmee nye, miewu nu sia nu. Le kunuwɔwɔ megbe la, wofɔa ame kuku la fe nuwo na nɔviawo. Esiwo nye nu vuvuwo la, wofɔa wo dana de mɔ dzi, bena ame kuku la nava tsɔ ayii.

Chapter 2: Economic Life

I. Domestic Work

Weaving is the most important work which one can do at home. People ridicule those who cannot weave; they are considered as lazy bones and debtors, and nobody would like to give his daughter's hand to them in marriage. There are several other petty jobs in addition to weaving.

II. Agriculture

The most important work of all is fieldwork. When the time comes to till the soil, those who want to make large farms first go to clear and stump the forest before the actual yam planting time begins. People, who do not want to clear the forest, wait until the time comes for clearing the grass to make their yam farms. If the farmer is married, then the wife also starts preparing a plot on which she can plant her groundnuts. Husband and wife are usually very happy together and show their love for each another during this time when they are tilling the soil together. Whenever the man sets off for the farm, his wife would quickly fetch her wooden bowl and go ahead, carrying the bowl on her head, heading for the field on which the yam seedlings are soon going to be sown. Wives have to accompany their husbands to the farm. Some women do not want to go with their men to the farm, and this attitude results in many domestic quarrels when the men return from the fields. Women who go with their husbands to the field are given a part of the field to cultivate for themselves. A woman is not permitted to make yam mounds, nor is she allowed to place seed-yams into the mounds, because some women cannot identify the eyes of the seedlings, and may, therefore, plant them upside down.

When the field has been prepared, ready for planting the yam seedlings, the farmer shares the farm in two parts. He gives one part to his women and reserves the other part for himself. When the time is ripe, he plants palm fronds beside the yam-climbers both on his farm and also on his wives' side of the field. The women mostly plant cotton on their portion of the field.

The first hoeing of the yam field is referred to as 'hoeing the vengeance grass', and the second is called 'hoeing the younger brother of the vengeance grass'. It is after the second hoeing that they begin to sap the yams. As this is done, and should there be double-growth in any mound, they break one off and bring the pieces home for twins to eat. People say that twins should eat the new yam before all other people. If they

Ta Evelia: Dɔwɔwɔwɔ

I. Afemetɔwɔ

Wofe afemedɔ vevietɔe nye avɔlɔlɔ. Ame si menya avɔlɔlɔ o la, woɖua fewu le eɲu, eye wobunɛ kuviatɔ kple fenyila, eye amewo melɔna be yewoatsɔ nyɔnu nɛ wɔɖaɖe o. Hekpe ɖe avɔlɔlɔ ɲu la, ɖo kuklui bubuwo gali

II. Bofotɔwɔ

Míafe ɖɔwɔwɔ vevietɔ, si fo wo katã tae nye bofodɔ. Ne agble le dzɔdzɔ ge la, agble gã delawo dzea ɲgɔgbe yina ɖanɔa ave fom hafi tegbesiyi va ɖona, eye ame si nyae be, yemele ave fo ge o la, nɔa anyi va se ɖe esime tegbesiyi ɖona. Ne nyɔnu le esi la, eya hã dzea azigbesisi gome. Ne ɖɔwɔyi ɖo alea la, ɲutsuwo kple nyɔnuwo dome wɔna nyuie, eye womelɔna nu le wo nɔewo gbɔ o. Zi ale si ɲutsu la tso la, ele na nyɔnu la hã bena, wɔatso kple efe gbɔnu anɔ ɲgɔ na ɲutsu la woayi tegbesife lae; mele na nyɔnu la bena, woatsi afe o. Nyɔnu aɖewo la, womelɔna dea bofo kple wo srɔwo o, eya ta ɲutsuawo nɔa avuwɔwɔ dzi kpɛli wo, ne ɲutsu la gbɔ tso bofo ko. Ke ne nyɔnu la wɔa ɖo kple srɔ la, ɲutsu la ana ayae. Womeɖea mɔ na nyɔnuwo be, woafɔ tedru o, eye womena wodea te la dru la me o, elabena ɖewo nyɔnuawo manya te la fe ɲku o, eye woatrɔe ado ɖe anyi me.

Ne wosi tegbe vɔ la, ɲutsu la ma tegble la me ɖe akpa eve me, eye wɔma akpa ɖeka na srɔawo, eye eya ɲutɔ hã xɔa akpa ɖeka. Le fɔtuyi la, ɲutsu la, tua fɔ na teawo, eye wɔtune na srɔwo hã tɔ. Aya si ke nyɔnuwo xɔ la me wofã ɖetikuwo ɖo.

Tebomeɲɔɲɔ gbãtɔ woyɔna be hlɔgbɛ, eye evelia bena hlɔgbɛtse, eye ne wonɔlɔ hlɔgbɛtse vɔ la, eya me wonɔa te la te kam. Ne wole ekam eye wokpɔ te aɖe dze eve la wofline le eɲuti. Esi ke wofli le eɲuti la, wotsɔa eya na veviwo. Wogblɔna be, ele be, veviwo natre teɖuɖu na ame bubuwo, ne menye nenema o la, veviawo aku. Ne wona veviwo ɖu te la, yleti ɖeka megbe hafi ame bubuwo ɖua te. Azɔ hafi tetayi ɖo, eye ame sia ame ɖua te. Le tetayi ɲutsu la ata te blaati le nyɔnu la fe aya me nɛ, esiae nye eya hã fe nunana. Ne wota te vɔ keɲ la, egale na wo be, woaganɔl tegble la me zi ɖeka; esia woyɔna be bomefofo.

Te, siwo katã woku la, wotsɔna wo kɔna ɖe texɔ, si wowɔ la me. Womekɔne ɖe anyigba ko o, ke wonyene ɖe texɔ ɲu keɲ. Ne wonyɛe vɔ la, ɲutsu la ma eme ɖe akpa eve, eye wɔgbɔna na srɔwo bena, migade asi akpa sia ɲu o; ke boɲ minɔ akpa keme tsɔm nɔ ɖadam, eye esia la miatsɔe anɔ dzadzram nam. ɲutsu aɖewo la ne wota te blaati na

do not, will they surely die. The rest of the people may also eat yam a month later, though people already start eating yam before they start trimming the yam-heads. A man trims about fifty yam-heads⁶ on his wife's part of the farm as a special gift to her. After trimming the yam heads, the whole farm must be cleared once again; however, this time it is with the cutlass instead of the hoe, and this is referred to as levelling the farm.

When the yam has been harvested, the tubers are brought into the yam barn. They are not just laid there on the ground but are bound to special poles installed for the purpose.⁷ After binding up the yams, the husband divides the yam barn into two, and tells his wives: "Please don't touch the yams on this side of the barn. You may only take yams from the other side for the kitchen; but you will have to sell some of these here for me!" In addition to trimming the fifty yam-heads for their wives, some men would go further to present them a few more tubers of yam afterwards. He keeps the income he gets from the sale of the yams for himself or he may buy his wife a gift to make her happy.

6 One can see the yam-head clearly depicted in the pictures on pages 341 and 349. It comprises the thick end of the climber out of which thin roots grow. With a cut under the roots, the farmer cuts the yam tuber from the thick end, digs the tuber out, and plants the climber back into the mound. Little seed-yams then develop on it before the harvest. One can see a farmer holding one and another on the mound in front of the woman on page 337.

7 Compare picture on p. 346/347.

nyɔnua la, emegbe wogana teti adewoe. Tehoa la, ηutsu la dzranɛ ɔo alo etsɔa de flea nu si dze nyɔnu la ηu nɛ.

Chapter 3: Religion

I. Heaven and the Heavenly Gods

1. Heaven/The Sky

There is only one heaven, and this is the residence of God. Just like the earth, the form of the first heaven is flat. People say that all those who live with God have tails.

2. The Sky Gods

A. *Mawu Sodza*

Mawu Sodza is the God who gives cowry shells to human beings. *Mawu* is explained as follows: It happened that one day, a man appeared, carrying something in his hand, and, when his brothers asked him where he got that from, he answered: "A man who lives over there, in the distance, gave it to me." They concluded that since that man provides everybody with an over-abundance of gifts, he is the one who excels in the provision of gifts and other favours. That is why they refer to that great man as *Mawu*. That is what my grand father once told me.

Some other names of Sodza are: *Hagbenɔ*, *Lagbenɔ*, i.e. He is the owner of everything, of animals as well as palm wine. The figure of Sodza is that of a human being. They believe that he is the one who made the world and everything that is in it.

b. *Mawu Sɔwlui*

Mawu Sɔwlui is the God who showers gifts of cowry shells on the people with whom he lives. He is also called: *Wɛ ne madzo*, 'Hasten with it so that I may quickly depart.' The one, on whom he showers cowry shells, does not live long. The name *Sɔwlui* means: Giver of Wealth.

II. The Terrestrial Gods (*trɔwo*)

1. *Kpetsu*

Kpetsu is the most important *trɔ* of the Kpeɖe people. Its priest is a man, because the *trɔ* would not tolerate a woman priestess.

Ta Etõlia: Kpeɲɔeawo Ʒe Subɔsubɔ

I. Dzifo kple dzifomawuwo

1. Dzifo

Dzifo ɔɔka koe li, si enye Mawu Ʒe nɔƷe. Dzifo gbãtɔ Ʒe nɔnɔme le gbadza abe anyigba ene. Wogblo bena, ame siwo katã le Mawu gbɔ la, asiketi le wo ɔme.

2. Dzifomawuwo

a. Mawu Sodza

Mawu Sodzae nye Mawu, si na hotsui amewo. Mawu gɔmee nye: Gbe ɔɔka la eva me bena, ɲutsu aɔe tɔ nane ɔe asi va yinae, eye nɔvia biaɔ bena, ame ka na nu wo mahã? Egblo bena, ɲutsu aɔe le aƷi mee ɔa nam. Esi wòle nu nam amewo vuu la, wova gbɔgblo ge be, ɲutsu ma na nu akpa alo ema nu wu nu. Le nya sia ta wotsɔ ɲkɔ na nenem ɲutsu gã ma bena Mawu. Ale tɔgbuinye gblo nam enye si.

Sodza Ʒe ɲkɔ aɔewo nye hagbenɔ, lãgbenɔ, Egɔmee nye: Eyae nye nu sia nu tɔ, lã kple aha sia. Sodza Ʒe nɔnɔme le abe amewo Ʒe nɔnɔme ene. Wogblo be eyae wɔ xexeme kple nu siawo katã le eme.

b. Mawu Sɔwlui

Mawu Sɔwluiɔe nye Mawu, si na hotsui ame si gbɔ wòle. Woyɔnɛ hã bena, wɔe kaba ne madzo. Eyae nye bena, ne ele hotsui la lom ve na amea la, medidina hafi ame la kuna o. Sɔwlui gɔmee nye kesinɔnunala.

II. Anyimawuwo (Trõwo)

1. Kpetsu

Kpeɲɔeawo Ʒe trõ vevietɔe nye Kpetsu. Trõ sia Ʒe nunɔlae nye ɲutsu elabena trõ la tsri nyɔnu.

Ne ku le ɔɔɔim la, gbã wotsɔa wɔ sa wɔ na Kpetsu. Ne ena tsi dza la ekema ebia gbõ. Gbõ sia la, womewune enumake o, ke boɲ woɔɔne ɔi va se ɔe esime wɔdalolo nyuie. Ne trõsi la

Whenever there is drought, a sacrifice of maize powder would first be brought to Kpetsu. Then, he demands a goat, if he makes it rain. The goat would not be slaughtered; they wait until it is properly grown. As the goat becomes well developed, the priest invites the other priests of the town, the chiefs, the youth company, as well as the women and children, and leads them out of town into the bush to assemble at Kpetsu's arena of sacrifice. It is there that the goat will be slaughtered.

The manner in which the goat is sacrificed is special: The priest digs a hole, which he fills to the brim with water. He then holds its head and presses it into the water, while the executioners of the *trɔ* hold the goat's feet and neck. They maintain this hold until the goat dies, after which the priest rises and loudly proclaims: "Take this goat, oh! great father of ours, and eat it!" At this juncture, the priest orders the front leg of the goat to be cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone. The bone is then hanged onto a pole at the place of sacrifice. The rest of the goat is cut into small pieces and cooked at the site. It is not permitted to take any remaining meat home, and nobody is allowed to break any bones, which are collected and brought to the priest. He makes two mounds of mud and packs the bones between them. The festival palm wine is then brought to the priest. He scoops some of it into a calabash and recites the appellations of the *trɔ*, *Kpetsu*. He says: "The boulder⁸ cannot be brought to sit on a trap⁹; if it is done, the trap would break and the pots on the roofs would be destroyed." i.e. the stone is too big for people to move from its location. 'The pots on the roofs' signify the town itself. He then says a long prayer while pouring libation with the palm wine. Everybody is then allowed to drink the palm wine. All are ordered to bring him a leaf from a particular tree. He puts these leaves into the water and requests all those present to wash their faces with the water. That done, they all thank the *trɔ* happily, saying: "We thank you, our chief, we're now going home!"

2. Avavikpe

a. Belief and Conception

Avavikpe is also a big and very broad stone. The priest himself says: "*Nyenko enye Avavikpe avanɔtɔwo. Nye ɲutsu sese; xefu manyakplɔ gbɔme dedee*," I, strong man of the battle field, nobody can sweep away feathers of a bird. Even if one attempts it, the wind will bring them back into the village. He lives in a big cave, found in this rock. Here he makes a muddy slime, which the people apply to their temple and forehead. There is a shrine for this *trɔ* both in the bush and in the house.

This *trɔ* does not originate from anywhere; for he is said to have created the *Kpeɲɛ* people. He is, therefore, an ancestral god.

Apart from the *Kpeɲɛs*, it is only the *Takla* people who worship *Kpetsu*; for *Kpeɲɛ* and *Takla* are, actually, one and the same town. *Kpetsu* is a male *trɔ*, and his wife is called *Kpedomi*. The priest in charge does not have any particular outfit; there are no particular religious insignia. It is a good *trɔ*, for, people claim that it is their maker. Just as people say that their *trɔwo* help them to have children and to stay healthy, so do the worshippers of this *trɔ* also claim.

8 Kpetsu: the big rock.

9 Traps set for grascutters are weighed down with heavy stones.

kpɔ bena, gbɔ la lolo la, ekema eyɔa etɔ trɔsi bubuwo kple dumegãwo kple sɔhewo (nyɔnu kple dɛviwo) va kpea ta dɛ egbo le gbe me le tefe, si Kpetsu le la, eye wowua gbɔ la.

Ale wowua gbɔ lae nye si: Trɔsi la dɛa do eye wòkɔa tsi dɛ eme taɲ. Emegbe woléa gbɔ la fe ta dea do la me, eye trɔ la fe blafowo nɔa gbɔ la fe vehlo lém nɔ tetem dɛ do la me, bena wòaku. Ne gbɔ la ku la, trɔ la doa yili bena: Mia tɔ gã xɔ gbɔ sia nàdu loo!. Ekema trɔsi la nana bena wodɛa abɔ dɛka le gbɔ la ɲuti, eye wokpa lã le fu la ɲuti kenken, eye wodɛa ka fu la tsina dɛ trɔfea.

Wotsɔa gbɔ mamlea flina heɖana le trɔ la fe me. Ke womeɖea mɔ ame aɖeke tsɔa lã la va afe mee o, eye womegbã fu hã nɛ o. Wogafoa fuawo nu fu yina na trɔnua eye wofoa drukɔe eve tsɔ fuawo fona dɛ wo dome. Emegbe wofɔa aha siwo katã wodze la yina nɛ. Eyome trɔnua kua aha la dɛ tre me, eye wofoa ɲkɔ dɔ na Kpetsu bena: Kpetsu meɖoa azã dzi o, azã gli duawo fe xɔta ze gbã. Azɔ trɔsi la doa gbe dɔ kakaka, eye wòtsɔa aha la fona dɛ anyi. Emegbe la, eɖea mɔ le aha la ɲuti, bena ame siaa ame nanoe faa. Eyome egblɔna bena, ame siaa ame nanɛ atɔngba vɛ na ye. Aɲgba siawo trɔsi la dea tsi me, eye wòna amewo kua tsi la fua moe. Le esia wɔwɔ megbe la, wo katã da akpe kple dzidzɔ bena: “O amegã esẽ ɲu loo, míeyi afe!”

2. Avavikpe

a. Susu aɖewo le ɲu

Avavikpe hã enye kpe gã aɖe si keke, eye wòlolo hã. Eya ɲutu gblɔ be, ye ɲkɔe nye: Avavikpe avanɔtɔfo, ye ɲutsu sesẽ; xefu manyakplɔ gbɔmededee. Egɔmee nye ame aɖeke mate ɲu akpɔ xefu o, ne wole ekplɔm kasia, evu ya yi gbɔ me xoxo. Do gã aɖe le kpe la me, eye afi ma wònkɔna. Do ma me wohaa ba le dɔa ɲgɔnu kple tonu. Wowo trɔ sia fe nɔfe dɛ gbe me kple afe me siaa.

Medzɔ tso afi aɖeke o, elabena wogblɔna be, eyae me Kpeɲɔeawo, esiata wonye tɔgbuitrɔ.

Du bubu aɖeke megasubɔnɛ o, negbe Taklatɔwo ko; elabena woa kple Kpeɲɔetɔwo nye du dɛka. Enye ɲutsu, eye srɔ fe ɲkɔe nye Kpeɖomi. Ame si ^{715*} le enu la, taa avɔ sia avɔ fomevi. Nanke hã mele esi abe trɔnuwo ene o. Enye trɔ nyuie, elabena wogblɔna bena, eyae nye yewo fe wɔla. Abe ale si míefo nu le trɔwo fe vinana amewo hayahaya kple nu bubuwo ɲu la, nenemake nye trɔ sia hã ɲutinya.

b. Worship

When frequent deaths occur, and people begin to die, one after the other, it is attributed to the anger of *Avavikpe*. They consequently bring sacrifices of flour, palm wine and a fowl or a goat to him. They take these into the bush to cook, and those who follow the priest there feast on them. After the feast, they again smear themselves with slime, just like those who decorate themselves with white clay. They sew little portions in pieces of cloth and wear these around their neck.

The priestly worship is not a daily affair. It occurs only when something bad happens. It is an obligation to present tubers of yam to him every year, and it is only after this that the people are permitted to eat the new yam. This *trɔ̃* is a *war-trɔ̃*, - a hero.

c. The Ordained Personalities and the Servants of the deities

The devotees of this *trɔ̃* are his body-servants, his male and female slaves. To become a slave of the *Avavikpe*, one will have to undergo the same process that the other *trɔ̃wo* prescribe. The *trɔ̃* does not prohibit his priests or other followers from doing anything. If a person curses another in the name of this *trɔ̃*, the cursed always dies.

3. *Kpemdomi* and *Dameteflolu*

It is said that both of these *trɔ̃wo* are also rocks and that their worship is about the same as that of *Avavikpe*. As a chief sends messengers ahead before embarking on any trip, so do these two *trɔ̃wo* go ahead of *Avavikpe*, as his messengers; after all, their worship is the same. They do not have slaves, nor are they worshipped ardently, knowing that they are not very powerful. They both have one priest. They have no oath. Strangely, people from other villages worship them more than those in town.

4. *Avaditsawoe*

This is also an important *trɔ̃* in *Kpeɲɛ*; for he is their drinking water. They go to his sacrificial altar only once in a year to cook for him. The *trɔ̃* lives in a grove at the source of the water. If the water is flowing and nobody collects it, the *trɔ̃* fumes and storms, and questions why people are not drawing water from it. Once the people start collecting from it, everything calms down. He does not have any slaves.

5. *Atiblabusagã*

This *trɔ̃* is the linguist of all the other *trɔ̃wo*. This is why one has to go to his place of sacrifice first before going to the altar of the other *trɔ̃wo*. Just as there is a mouthpiece in every town, so also is he found in every town.

He is worshipped in the bush. If the people cannot bring his father any offering, they cook the same for *Atiblabusagã* with the instruction that he should give the offering to his father. *Ati* is an itinerant *trɔ̃* and the servant of *Avavikpe*. The rest concerning this *trɔ̃* is in general agreement with how it is in *Akɔviefɛ*. Before the yam festival they go first to his sacrifice place, to bring him food (and ask him) to precede them to the offering places of the other *trɔ̃wo*.

b. Subɔsubɔ

Ne amewo de asi kuku me kabakaba la, wogblɔna bena, dzi le ekum alo ele dzi bim. Ekema trɔ̃nua tsɔa wɔ, aha kple koklo alo gbɔ̃ yina ɖaɖana le gbea me, eye ame siwo de la, woɖua nu. Le nuɖuɖu vɔ megbe la, wotsɔa ba ɖona abe ye ene, ne ba la susɔ la, wotɔne ɖe avɔ kake aɖe me dea kɔ.

Trɔ̃si la mesubɔne gbe sia gbe o, negbe ne nya vɔ aɖe dzɔ ko wosubɔne. Fe sia fe ele be woatsɔ te ne, hafi ame bubuwo nakpɔ mɔ aɖu te. Trɔ̃ lae nye avawɔtrɔ̃, elabena kalɛ̃tɔ wɔnye.

c. Trɔ̃ la fe amewo

Trɔ̃ le fe amewo nye: Ahinɔkuawo, Kluwo kple Kosiwo. Mɔ si dzi wozua Klu kple Kosi ne la, esɔ kple trɔ̃ bubuwo tɔ pɛ. Trɔ̃ la metsri naneke na nunɔla kple ame bubuwo o. Ne ame aɖe yɔ efe ɲkɔ da ɖe nɔvia dzi la, ekema aku.

3. Kpeɖonu kple Dameteflolu

Wogblɔna be trɔ̃ siawo kple eve hã wonye kpewo, eye wofe subsubɔ hã sɔ kple Avavikpe tɔ. Abe ale si ne ame gã aɖe yina ɖe afi aɖe ele be, dɔlawo nanɔ ɲɔ la, nenemake trɔ̃ eve siawo hã nye Avavikpe fe ɲɔnɔlawo. Ale si tututu wowɔa Avavikpe fe nu la, nenemake wowɔa trɔ̃ eve siawo hã fe nui. Gake womexɔa Klu kple Kosi o. Womedoa vevie subɔa wo o, elabena ɲusɛ mesɔ gbɔ le wo si o. Ame ɖeka koe le wo kple eve la nu. Afi sia tɔwo medoa vevie wo subɔna abe du bubumetɔwo ene o. Atabu hã mele wo si o.

4. Avaɖitsawɔe

Trɔ̃ sia hã enye trɔ̃ vevie aɖe le Kpeɲɔe, elabena eyae nye tsi, si wonona. Ne wole te ɖu ge la, eya ko wodea efe ɖa nu ne. Trɔ̃ sia fe nɔfee nye ave me afi si tsi le. Ne tsi la le tɔa me, eye womele edum o la, ekema trɔ̃ la bia dzi gblɔna bena, nu ka ɲuti womele tsi la dum o mahã?. Ne wogade asi tsi la dudu me la, ekema efe dziku nu fana. Mexɔa Klu kple Kosi o.

5. Atiblabusagã

Eyae nye trɔ̃wo katã fe tsiami, eya fe wodena gbã hafi dea trɔ̃ bubuwo fe. Ele du sia du me abe ale si tsiami le du sia du me ene.

Wosubɔne le gbe me. Ne amewo mate ɲu ade fofoa gbɔ atɔ nuwo ne o la, ekema wotsɔa nuawo ɖana Atia, bena wɔatsɔ ana fofoa. Fnye tsatsatrɔ̃ kple Avavikpe fe dɔla. Nenem trɔ̃ sia fe ɲutinya sɔ kple esi le miãfe Akoviefɛ. Hafi woɖu te la, wodea efe, bena woatsɔ nuɖuɖu anɛ, eye wɔnanɔ ɲɔgbɛ na wo hafi woayi trɔ̃ bubuwo fe ana nu wo.

Wowɔa trɔ̃ sia fe nu le Asiamigbe si enye duawo katã fe afenɔgbɛ. Metsri naneke na enunɔlawo o; negbe ne ame aɖe dɔ alo dzi la, mekpɔ mɔ be wɔade efe o.

They sacrifice to this *trɔ̃* on *Asiamigbe*, which is the day on which the inhabitants of all towns stay at home. He forbids his priest only one thing, that he may have no intercourse with his wife before he goes to his offering place.

6. *Anyigba makonu* (the earth)

a. Name and characteristics

The name ascribed to this *trɔ̃* is *anyikonyii*, “the earth that has no power to nourish, needs the earth”! *Anyigba* is served by one man. He did not originate elsewhere, but is an inherited *trɔ̃*, who is always worshipped only by a section of one family. He has two offering places, of which one is in the bush and the other in the house. The offering place in the house is set up with a fence within which stand two pots filled with water. Invalids who are brought to this *trɔ̃* are bathed with this water. *Anyigba* is feminine and is therefore with one husband, ie. is served by one man.

Anyigba makonu is a good and a bad *trɔ̃*. If someone in a quarrel with his brother strikes the earth with his hand saying that the earth should kill him, then she will in fact kill him if he has done that (of which he is accused). *Anyigba* can reveal truth and lies. She gives children, gives life and also heals the sick. If women are childless and are brought to the priest, he bathes her (from the dishes) and then she gets children.

b. Cult and laws

When the earth is enraged, they bring her two fowls, a hen and a cock, to soften her anger. She is not served daily, only once a year. Before the yam festival she is not brought any offering, but only if smallpox, war or drought torment the land.

The earth has many male and female slaves. Nothing is forbidden to them. There is only one rule, that women may not go to her offering place during their menstruation, and that she does not take any offering from their hand. Striking the earth with the hand is her oath. Anyone who has done that must give her a goat.

c. Dedicated persons

If the priest has died, the earth herself chooses another with whom she will stay. The person is led to the shrine of the *trɔ̃*, where they perform the necessary ablutions, and they clothe him with the usual ‘blusi’ cloth to signify that he has been properly initiated into the priesthood.

III. The Breath (ɲunuwo)

There is something in man which we refer to as spirit. The soul is that which surrounds a person. That which is around man and guards and watches over man is destiny. Some people say that their mothers in the spiritual worlds are worrying them. When a baby weeps, apparently without cause, they interpret this as a sign that his ghost mother is worrying him. Therefore, they pacify her by presenting her with drinks along the path.

What makes people realize that they possess *dzɔgbemetsui* and *dzɔgbemesi* is, when they wake up in the morning to find a scratch on their body, and can not explain the

6. Anyigba makonu

a. Ɗkɔ kple nɔnɔme

Ɗkɔ, si wofona ɔo nɛ lae nye: anyikonyi. Ɗutsue nye ame si le enu. Medzɔ tso aƒi aɔkeke o. Enye tɔgbuitrɔ, elabena to ɔɔka kokoko nɔa enu. Efe subɔfe evee li, ɔɔka le gbe me, eye evelia le afe me. Esi le afe me la, wotsɔ zevi ɔo kpɔtɔtɔ me, eye woku tsi ɔe wo me. Tsi sia wolena na ɔnɔ, si wotsɔ ve la. Enye nyɔnu, eya ta wɔle ɲutsu gbɔ.

Anyigba makonu enye trɔ nyuie kple trɔ vɔ. Ne ame aɔe kple nɔvia wole dzre wɔm, eye wɔfu asi anyigba gblɔ be, anyigba newu ye la, ewune vavã, nenye eyae wɔ nu la. Anyigba tea ɲu fia nyatefe kple avatso. Ena vi, na agbe, eye wohaya ɔlɛlɛwo hã. Ne nyɔnuwo tsi ko, eye wokplɔ wo yi enuɔnɔla gbɔ la, elea tsi na wo, eye wodea asi vidzidzi me.

b. Subɔsubɔ kple sewo

Ne anyigba makonu le dzi bim la, wotsɔ koklo eve atsu kple asi yi ɔanane, bena magabi dzi o. Womesubɔne gbe sia gbe o, ke boɲ wosubɔne zi ɔɔka le fe ɔɔka me. Ne wobe, woadu te la, womedea efe o, negbe ne ɔo vɔ va ko alo kuɔɔi va. Kluwo kple Kosiwo le esi.

Ne nyɔnu aɔe yi ɔe xɔɔme la, medea efe o. Metsri naneke na Kluwo kple Kosiwo o, negbe ɲuigbegblɛtɔ ko mexɔna le wofe ɔevime o, eye womedua efe nuɔɔa hã o. Efe atabue nye bena, ne ɔfu asi anyigba la, woaxɔ gbɔ le asiwɔ.

d. Trɔsi ɔoɔo

Ne trɔnua ku la, ekema trɔ la ɲutɔ tia ame bubu be, yeaxɔ egbɔ. Wokplɔa ame la yia trɔfe lea tsi nɛ, eye wotsɔa blusi tana nɛ, si fia benad ezu trɔsi.

III. Ɗunuwo

Nu si le ame me mɛɣɔna be gbɔgbɔ. Luwɔe nye esi le ame ɲu. Nu si le amewo ɲu nɔa wo ɲu dzɔm enye dzɔgbɛ. Ame aɔewo gblɔna be, ɲɔlimenɔ le fu ɔɔm na yewo. Wobena, edoa ɲɔɔzi na ɔeviwo wonɔa avi fam. Ne ele wɔwɔm nenema la, wotsɔa aha ɔanane le mɔ dzi, bena efe ako nafa.

Nu si na wodzea sii bena, dzɔgbemetsui kple dzɔgbemesi le ame gbɔ lae nye, ne wodze fe ame aɔe le zã me, eye ame la menya ame si wɔe o la, wogblɔna be, dzɔgbemesi kple atsu le egbɔ ta wowɔe nenema. Wodzea aha nane, bena wɔadzudzo fuɔɔe na ame la. Trɔsiwo kple dzɔtɔwo nye ame siwo wɔne bena wɔadzɔ.

reasons, they conclude that the male and the female destinies that reside with them are responsible. They consequently buy drinks to pacify them. It is the responsibility of priests to perform this rite.

IV. The Ordeal and Magic

A. The Ordeal.

1. Things worth knowing about the *Aka*

Aka is a magic, which did not originate by itself. It is not learned like other types of magic, and there are no special rituals involved in its performance. Nevertheless, one should not do what the *aka* forbids, lest one offends its taboos. Those who have been found guilty by the *aka* never remain on good terms with the *akatɔ*. When a group of arbitrators sends a suspect to the *akatɔ*, they always relate the whole case to him and how it was handled thus far, so that he may give judgement accordingly. They add that they had found this person guilty, but he refuses to accept his guilt, hence their action. The *akatɔwo* then gives his judgement as expected.

All *akatɔwo* are friends. When one gives a judgement, he quickly sends word to all the others, relating the details of the case so that their judgement may not vary from the one he had given should they consult with them. People fear and respect the *akatɔs* a lot, because they believe that they are privy to their hidden secrets.

A new *akatɔ*, upon arrival in any town, offers drinks by way of introducing himself to the chiefs, the elders and the community groups, so that they could support and help him in any development concerning the *aka*. The materials connected with the *aka* are: *trɔdzotsi*, pepper, cowry shell and the horse-tail whisk. The regulations binding the *aka* include the prevention of women entering the *akatɔ*'s premises during their menstrual period. People living adulterous lives are not allowed to step close to the *akatɔ*. Any one who contravenes any of these rules is fined a goat, a fowl and palm wine in restitution. Generally, people who commit murder, burglary, adultery or any other evil deed and deny it are brought to the *akatɔ*. The suspect will have to be accompanied to the trial by his paternal brother to witness the type of death which would soon be prescribed for his brother. Even the best of friends do lead one another to the trial by ordeal.

2. The *Aka* Process / The Application of *Aka*

When the hot oil process is going to be administered in a case, three stones are brought onto the village street, and installed as tripod fireplace. Firewood is laid between these stones and is set ablaze. They put a bowl on this fire, into which they pour oil. In the meantime, people assemble around to witness the impending spectacle. Once the fire begins to burn properly, the one who intends to undergo the trial is called to step forward. The *akatɔ* must first carefully examine and analyze the case brought before him before he dares perform the trial.¹⁰ Just before the ordeal, the *akatɔ* says: "The guilty one should confess his guilt; the innocent is never caught in the *aka*; only the guilty one gets caught. It has got ears, but eyes he has not got." By this he means that he has earlier heard (of things) but not seen (anything yet). The *akatɔ* then smears

¹⁰ So that he can take his bearings from it.

IV. Aka kple dzo

A. Aka

1. Nya aɖewo le ɛɲu

Amewo mesrɔ̃a aka abe nu bubuwo ene o. Akae nye dzo, eye medzɔ le eɖokui si o. Ʒudo wɔwɔ tɔxɛ aɖeke mele ɛɲu abe trɔ̃ ɲu ene o. Ke nu si aka tsri la, womewɔa wo, be woagblẽ ko ɖo nɛ o. Ne ame aɖe nyi aka ku le ame aɖe gbɔ la, megakɔa ɲkume dee o. Ne vɔnudrɔ̃lawo dɔ ame ɖo ɖe aka gbɔ la, wogblɔa nyawo katã na akanala, be wɔana aka la ɖe ɛɲu. Wogblɔna na akanala bena: Míedrɔ̃ nya sia, ale kple ale míekpɔ le emee nye si. Ame sia fe nya medzɔ o, gake egblɔ be yefe nya dzɔ, eye wòdi be, yeanyi aka. Nya siawo nu akanala hã na aka la ɖo.

Akanala kple akanala wonye nɔviwo. Ne ame aɖe nyi aka le ame aɖe gbɔ tsi aka me la, ekema akatɔ dɔa ame ɖona ɖe nɔvia akatɔ bubu gbɔ, eye wògbɔa efe nyawo nɛ be, ne ame la va egbɔ la, ne wɔana akae ɖe ɛɲu. Amewo bua akanalawo ɲuto, eye wovɔa wo. Wosusu bena, akae nye nu si ɖea amewo fe vivime nuwɔwɔ fiana.

Gbã ne ame aɖe ɔ̃ aka va dua aɖe me la, edzea aha na dumegãwo kple fiawo kple asafoawo, bena ne nya aɖe dzɔ ɖe aka ɲuti la, ne woanɔ ye yome, alo woakpe ɖe ye ɲuti le nya la me. Amatsi, siwo le aka ɲuti wonye: tro dzotsi kple atadi, hotsui kple awudzawo. Se, siwo le aka ɲu wonye: Nyɔnu, si gblẽ ɲui la, mevaa akatɔ fe me o, womewɔa ahasi va akatɔ fe me o. Ne ame aɖe wɔ nu siawo la, woxɔa gbɔ, koklo kple aha le esi. Ne ame aɖe fi fi, wu ame, wɔ ahasi, ka avatso alo wɔ nu vɔ̃ bubu aɖe la, wokplɔne yia aka gbɔ. Ametɔviwo nye ame siwo kplɔa ame yia aka gbɔe, bena woakpɔ ku, si fomevi wotɔvi la le kuku ge. Ame fe ame veviwo hã kplɔa ame yina aka gbɔe.

2. Ale si wonyia akae

Ne wobe woanyi amidzoka la, ekema wotsɔa kpe etɔ̃ kpena ɖe ablɔ me, abe ale si wokpea dzoti ene. Wodoa dzo ɖe eme tsɔa agba ɖoa dzo la dzi kua ami kɔna ɖe eme. Eye amewo va foa fu ɖe ablɔ me nɔa nu siawo kpɔm. Ne akadzo la de asi bibi me la, ekema wogblɔna na akanyilawo bena wɔava nyi aka la. Gbã hafi wɔava ɔ̃ aka la, ele na akanala be, wɔadzro nya, si ta wɔva aka gbɔ ɖo la me akpɔ nyuie, bena wɔana aka la ɖe ɛɲu. Hafi wɔaxɔ̃ aka la la, wofoa ɲko ɖo nɛ bena: wɔa nalɔ̃, mawɔmawɔ metsia aka me o, wɔwɔe tsia aka me. To line, ɲku meli nɛ o. Eyae nye to wòsea nui, ke mekpɔ nu la hafi o. Ekema wotsɔa nu, si de ade la sisina ɖe asi henɔa asi lim agba la me. Ami la nɔa bibim flaflafla hafi wonɔa asi lim eme. Wotsɔa dzekɔ eve dea ami la me. Ne ame aɖe fe nya dzɔ la, dze le mewona o, ke ne ame la wɔ nua vavã la, ekema dze la wona. Nu si ta dze la wonae nye be woɖea ta ɖe ɛɲu hafi dea ami la me.

his hand with a mucous secretion from the kaschokel plant, and dips his hand into the bowl. When the oil becomes very hot and begins to burn, he slaps the surface of the oil with his palm.¹¹ The *akatɔ* throws two grains of salt into the oil. If it does not burst, then the party is not guilty. But if he has really committed the offence, the grain of salt actually bursts. The reason why the salt cracks is that the *akatɔ* has earlier moistened it with his saliva before throwing it into the oil.

The next stage in the trial ensues when he scoops the hot oil with a laddle and pours it into the palm of the person undergoing the trial. He leads the one whose palm is not scalded by the hot oil around the spectators and asks them what they expect him to do with the oil. They respond that he should wash his hands and face with it. When he pours this oil into the palm of the guilty person, it burns him and he flings it away. All the on-lookers spontaneously jeer and mock amid great jubilation to the shame and discomfiture of the guilty person and his followers.

After the completion of the trial, all the utensils and articles used are gathered together and taken to their original places. The person found guilty should later pay a fine of 12 *hotu* and a goat to the *akatɔ*. Some others demand more, while others request something less. The people jubilate with the one whose innocence has been proved. They prepare a sumptuous meal for him and they drum, sing and dance to his honour.

In addition to the *Amidzoka*, the oil test, there are also *Nyade* (?), *Abika*, the needle prick, *Amlatakpo*, the test of the blunt cutlass, and *Agɔku*, the test with the fan palm nut.

B. Magic

Dzo, “Fire, Magic or *Juju*”, has been in existence since the time of our forefathers. All *trɔ-priests* also deal in magic, since that is the beginning of the whole of their trade.

1. Why a person becomes a Magician

It is fear that makes people take to practicing magic and to cast spells on others. If a person intends to put a spell on another, he will have to ensure that the other man’s magical charms would not have any influence on him. Earlier, one could buy juju items in Ve, for 1 or 2 cowry shells. Ordinarily, such items are mutually exchanged. Somebody in possession of a good magic would try it on his neighbour, and this one would also give him his magic. Some of them get paid as high as 24 *hotu* for selling a charm to another. The magnitude of the amount represents the quality of the magical charm.

2. Magical Rites

Every magic has its own special rites. Some magicians do not allow women in their menstrual periods to come close to them. To some juju-men, marital relationship with wives is prohibited. Every magic forbids its followers something special; some prohibit more, some less. The swearing of an oath is part of it. The seller says: “If I sell this magical charm to you, please do not reveal it to anyone that I have sold it you. You have to inform me if you happen to tell anyone, so that I don’t sell charms to you again.

¹¹ To put out the fire.

Le esia wɔwɔ megbe la, wotsɔ gatsi kua ami la hefona ɔe ame siawo fe asifo me. Ne wokui na ame si anyii agbɔ la etsɔnɛ tsana le ameawo dzi gblɔna bena, nu ka yeawɔ kplii mahã? Wogblɔna nɛ bena, wɔatsɔe akɔlɔ asi alo nkume. Ke ne wokui ɔe ame si wɔ nua fe me la, emɛnɛ woɔɔa asi le enu. Amewo yrua nu la wɔla hoo kple aseyetsotso gã nuto, si enye nukpe na akakula kple efe fometɔwo.

Ne wonyi aka vɔ la, ekema wogafɔa akanuawo dzrana ɔo ɔe etefe. Ne wonyi aka vɔ la, woxɔa hotu 12 kple gbɔ le akukula si me. Ame aɔewo xɔna wua nenema, ke ame aɔewo to medena o. Wokpɔa dzidzo le ame si nyi aka gbɔ la nu. Woɔa nu nyuiewo nɛ wɔɔuna, eye wofoa vu nɛ.

Aka fomeviwo nye: amidzoka, nyade, abika, amlatakpo kple agɔku.

B. Dzo

Dzo enye nu si li tso mia togbuiwo fe noli me ke. Trɔsi sia trɔsi sa dzo, elabena eyae nye wofe nuwɔwɔ blibo la fe gɔmedzedze.

1. Nu si na amewo zua dzotɔwo

To wɔvɔ wɔ dzi amewo zua dzotɔwo kple amedulawo. Alo ne ame aɔe be, yeaɔu wo la, ne dzo la magate wo nu o. Tsã la woflenɛ le Ve, le aɔi ma wogblɔ bena, wodzranɛ le tso agaga dzi. Amewo ɔa li dzo na wo nɔewo. Ne dzo aɔe le ame aɔe si nyo la, esanɛ na nɔvia, eye nɔvia hã saa eto nɛ Ame aɔewo ne wosa dzo na ame bubu la, woxɔa hotu 24 alo ame ɔeka. Dzo la fe nyonyo nu fe la xɔxɔ le ɔo.

2. Kɔnu, siwo le dzo nu

Dzo sia dzo kple efe kɔnuwɔwɔ. Dzotɔ aɔewo ne ame aɔe gblẽ nui la, medea egbo o. Dewo medɔna kple wo srɔwo o. Dzo sia dzo kple efe nutsitsri; ɔewo metsri nu geɔe o; ke ɔewo tsri nu geɔe. Atabukaka le eme. Wogblɔna bena, ne mesa ka sia na wɔ la, megavu eme na ame aɔeke bena, nyee sae na ye o, ne agblɔe la, nagblɔe nam ne madzudzo esasa na wo loo!

3. Putting a Spell on a person

Wizards, especially those who practice evil magic, make friends with one another. They buy and sell evil charms among themselves with the intention of destroying other people's livelihood. They take pleasure in charming others and thereby making them sick and losing their riches. These juju-men put spells on people in the following ways: Some put poison into the the palm wine of their neighbours, some lay poison in their neighbours' farms, while, some bewitch their fellow beings by simply touching them with their foot, or by just giving them the hand. If one notices that he has been charmed, one goes to another magician for a counter-charm, which one buries in his yard to render his enemy's charm impotent. One recognizes evil magicians by the way they often wander through the town till late into the night, or how they stray into other people's farms in order to bury objects there. People fear the bad magicians because they destroy others' lives and livelihood.

Magicians, *juju-men* and *trɔ̄-priests* are mutually one with another since they exchange magic charms with one another. And since they see each other as brothers, they do not quarrel among themselves. Magicians try their charms on others, just to test the efficacy of their power. Others try them out, so that they are sure they can heal their relatives, when they fall ill.

4. Types of Magic

There are several types of juju, some of which are magic for hunting, for trading, quarrelling, winning cases, winning games, healing the sick, safe delivery of babies, the short-gun magic (*tukpuidzo*), magic against leprosy, the ghosts of the dead, evil glance, evil tongue, witches, madness, magic to cause the opponent's drum to tear and one to cause the opponent's jaw-bone to break; magic to induce excessive bleeding of the opponent, make the opponent blind, render the opponent impotent, enable one to deceive other people, and others.

5. Witches

It is a fact that there are witches. They appear as big, bright glowing fire and are attached to humans. There are two types of witches: the one sucks human blood and the other does not. The witch can still suck your blood from outside, and from behind his bedroom while you are sleeping in your room. While doing this, she can be caught by hand, by people who discover her. If this happens, the witch-possessed person does not want to be exposed. To avoid exposure, she bribes the one who caught her with many cowry shells. There are witches who cause people's cowries to be progressively and completely depleted. People believe that there is an antidote against witchcraft. The man believed to have possessed this antidote was called Kwasi.

3. Ale si woɖua dzo amee

Dzotɔ kple dzotɔ wodzea xɔlɔ, vevietɔ amedula kple amedula. Wosa amedudzo na wo nɔewo, bena woatsɔ agblẽ wo haviwo fe agbe. Ne wole ame dɔm la, edzɔa dzi na wo ɲutɔ; elabena ne ame la nye kesinɔɔ la, ekema nuawo avɔ le esi, eye wòazu dɔɔ. Mɔ, si dzi woɖua dzo amewo le lae nye: Ame aɖewo tsɔa amatsi dea aha me na wo nɔviwo, ame aɖewo dea amatsi agble me na wo nɔviwo; ame aɖewo ɖua dzo ame to afɔtutu ame kple asinana ame me. Ne ame aɖe kpɔ be, wole ye dɔm la, woyia dzotɔwo gbɔ ɖaxɔa amatsi va ɖina ɖe wofe afe me, bena ne wova wɔ nu sia nu wo la na magate wo ɲu o. Nu si na bena, wodzea si dzo ɖuametɔwo lae nye, ne ame aɖe le zã me nɔm ɖaa, alo wole ame bubuwo fe agble me dem le nuwo dam ɖi. Amewo vɔa dzo ɖuametɔwo, elabena wogblẽa amewo fe agbe.

Dzotɔ kple trɔsiwo fe gbe le ɖeka, elabena wosa dzo na wo nɔewo vevie. Womewɔa dzre o, elabena wobua wo ɖokui abe nɔviwo ene. Ne dzotɔwo le didim be, woado wofe dzo akpɔ la, wotsɔne ɖua ame kpɔna. Ame aɖewo done kpɔna, ne wo nɔviwo le dɔ lém, be woagahaya.

4. Dzo fomeviwo

Dzo fomevi aɖewo nye: Adedzo, asifledzo, dzrewɔdzo, vɔnudrɔdzo, kɔɖidzo, hayaha-yadzo, vidzidzo, tukpuidzo, kpodzo, ɲolidzo, ɲkuvɔdzo, numedzo, adzedzo, gbesa, vugbãdzo, glãfedzo, vu gbã ɖe ame ɲu dzo, ɲkugbãdzo, ametudzo, amebledzo kple bubuwo.

5. Adzewo

Adze nya li vavã. Efe nɔɔme le abe dzoxi gãwo ene, wonɔa ame ɲu. Adze fomevi evee li. Ɖewo li, siwo nyia ame ke ɖewo menyia ame o. Ne ame aɖe le xɔ me la, adze la ate ɲu anɔ xɔ megbe anyii. Ne ele wɔwɔm nenema la, amewo ate ɲu alée kple asi; gake adzetɔ la melɔna bena, ame si lée la nana amewo nanyae o. Ekema ena hotsui geɖe ame si lée la. Adze aɖewo li siwo vɔa hotsui le ame si. Wobe, adzematsi le amewo si, si wowɔne wòɔna. Ame si nya atike sia lae, nye Kpeɲɔe aɖe, si ɲkɔe nye Kwasi.

The Matse Tribe

Chapter 1. History

I. Ancestral seat / Home, Migration and Founding of Homesteads

1. Ancestral Home

Oral history has it that there is no questioning the fact that the ancestral father of the *Matse People* hailed directly from *Amedzofe*, where the forebears of the *Matse* and the Akwamu people had earlier lived. The ancestral father remained behind because of hunger, while the rest of the tribes moved away. The story continues that, upon his arrival on a certain mountain, he insisted that he wanted to eat unripe palmnuts (*ajane*), before continuing the journey. The ancestral father of the Akwamu people was supposed to have left him there, and moved onwards to the Volta. The mountain, on which the ancestral father remained, was, therefore, named *Ajanefa*. “The *Ajane* Mountain”.

Yet other people claim that the ancestral father of the *Matse* people had lived earlier at a place west of the Volta before coming to live in the present settlement.

2. The Migration

a. Reasons for the Migration

A man had three children, two sons and one daughter. It happened that the children of the daughter ceaselessly engaged in wars with the sons’ children. Finally, the elder son told his younger brother: “I would like us to wander and find a new place of abode, where we can avoid the inconvenience of wars and where we can enjoy our peace...” Both men fled from their people and relatives and came to settle on the *Ajaneto*, where they remained. The elder brother who initiated the move was the ancestral father of the *Matse* people. This is why his off-spring are called “*Children of Matsa*.” The younger brother became the ancestral father of *Nusita* and the *Aveme* people. Therefore, the *Matse*, *Nusita* and *Aveme* people are brothers.

One of the fathers of *Matse*, who had also lived in its ancestral home, was *Kpebidoe*.

This man once contracted the *Matses* to go and cultivate a beans farm for him. When the workers returned from the farm, he gave them nothing to eat. He and his wife ate the entire beans-dish they had prepared, refusing to give any of it to the workers. When he sent them again the next morning, they went and hid their tools in the sand and

Ta Gbãtɔ: Ȩutinyawo

I. Hogbefe, uvu kple afetsotso

1. Hogbefe

Wogblɔ bena, Matseawo tɔgbui metso dukɔ bubu aɔke me o, ke boȨ Amedzɔfe tututu wodzɔ tso. Afi ma Matseawo, Akɔmuawo kple dzigbe me du aɔewo fe tɔgbuiwo nɔ tsã. Esime wodzɔ gbɔna la, Matseawo tɔgbui tsi megbe le dɔwuame ta. Wobe, esi wɔva dɔ to aɔe dzi la, egblɔ be, yeazi aȨane aɔu hafi adzo. Ke Akɔmutɔwo tɔgbui dzo le egbo yi ɔe Amu tɔsisi la Ȩuti. To, si dzi Matseawo tɔgbui tsi la, xɔ Ȩkɔ bena AȨanɛtoe.

Ke ame aɔewo be, Matseawo tɔgbui nɔ Amu tɔsisi fe yetɔɔɔfe lɔfo tsã hafi dzo va afi sia.

2. Uvu

a. Nu si na wovu

Ȩutsu aɔe dzi vi etɔ, Ȩutsuvi eve kple nyɔnuvi ɔeka. Nyɔnuvi la fe viwo nɔa ava wɔm kple Ȩutsuviawo fe viwo enuenu. Eya ta Ȩutsu tsitsitɔ gblɔ na nɔvia bena; Mayi aɔatsa kpɔ, adi nɔfe, bena mɔadzudzɔ tso fudɔɔe kple avawɔwɔ me. Wo kpakple eve la wosi tso wo nɔviwo fe Ȩkume, eye wova nɔ AȨanɛtoe dzi. Xoxoetɔ, si gblɔ bena, “mɔayi aɔatsa kpɔ adi nɔfe la”, eya nye Matseawo tɔgbui. Eya ta woyɔa viawo bena: Matsaviwo. Ke nɔvia ɔevitɔe nye Ȩusitatɔwo kple Avemetɔwo tɔgbui. Tsã la, Matseawo, Ȩusitatɔwo kple Avemetɔwo nye nɔviwo, eye wonye dukɔ ɔeka.

Matseawo fofɔ Ȩkɔ nye Kpebidɔe, ame si hã nɔ Hogbefe la. Kpebidɔe dɔ Matseawo be, woade ayigble na ye. Esi wogbo tso agblea la, meɔa nu na wo woɔu o. Eya kple srɔ wotsɔ ayi si woɔa ɔi na wo la, ɔu te wo. Esi Ȩu ke la, egadɔ wo, gake ameawo yi ɔatsɔ amlawo ɔi ɔe kɛ me trɔ gbɔ va afe. Esi wogale edzi le fu ɔem na wo la, dɔme ve wo, eye Kpebidɔe vi, si Ȩkɔ nye Dzonu la, na be, wotu le egbo.

came back home. *Kpebiɖoe* did not stop there but continued to molest them. The people became fed up and, led by *Dzonu*, the son of *Kpebiɖoe*, they deserted the town.

b. The crossing of the Haho River

On their journey, they arrived at the banks of a big river called *Haho*. Because they could not cross it, they all stood helplessly on the bank of the river. *Dzonu* and *Nusenu*, his father's son, then conferred together: "What shall we do now? I don't want to go back to that wicked man. Let's, therefore, wade across the river." The story has it that *Nusenu*, the ancestral father of the *Dzolo* people, took an iron rod and, with it, he struck the surface of the river, dividing it into two. After they had crossed the river, it resumed flowing again. That was how all the tribes were able to cross the river. The iron rod, with which *Dzonu* performed the miracle is there, and can be seen today. The people refer to it as the *akplɔsu*.

We cannot tell the exact time the *Matse* people came to this location. People only claim that the *Matses* came before the *Taviefe* and the other tribes.

3. Establishment of Homesteads

The arrival of *Dzonu* with his royal stool, sword and the iron rod at the location, where *Matse* occupies today, was preceded by that of his two brothers, who had gone ahead. Their names were: *Fiawodetsi* and *Aɲanɲkotso*. They went before them, and with the *Matses* they spread out onto the grassy plains. They could not enter the forests between the mountains, where the *Matse* people are living today. Upon the arrival of *Dzonu*, he enquired about the occupants of the forest. They replied that it was inhabited by so many beasts of prey that they feared going into it. He then took his whistle, bow and arrow, and went into the forest. After roaming for a long time, he took out his whistle and blew it, whereupon a small animal, called *woe*, emerged from the forest toward him and he shot it down. He blew the whistle again, and this time the *nukpui* appeared, and he shot it likewise. Soon afterwards, he whistled again and, this time, an antelope came and he shot this, too. When he whistled the fourth time, it was a leopard which came rushing at him, and he shot it immediately. He came back after this and led his brothers there; this is where they are still living today.

The place where the *Matse* people now live was formally called, 'forest of rapacious animals', because of the many wild animals that lived there. When the forebears of the *Matses* came down from the mountain, they waged war with the forest, just like humans do against one another. They drove all the wild animals out of the forest, razed it down, and made their home.

II. The Relationship between the *Matses* and the other Tribes

Matse is the head of all the tribes lying around it. *Lume*, *Dzolo*, *Tanyigbe* and *Taviefe* are tribes belonging to *Matse*. Others are: *Sia*, *Avee*, *Nyive*, *Holuta*, *Dodome*, *Akɔme*, *Saviefe*, and *Tsyome*. Anytime a calamity befalls them, they all come to *Matse* to deal with the problem.

b. Wofe Haho tsotso

Esi wogbɔna la, wova ɔo tɔsisi gā aɔe, si woyɔna be Haho la, gbɔ. Ameawo va tɔ ɔe tɔ la nu, elabena womate ɲu atsoe o. Tete Dzonu gblɔ na fofoavia ɲusɛnu be: “Ale ke mɔ́awɔ? Nyemelɔ́ be mɔ́agatrɔ́ ayi ɲutsu ɲlɔmeeto ma gbɔ o, eya ta na miatso tɔ la!” Wo bena ɲusɛnu, si enye Dzolotɔwo fofo la tɔɔ gatizɔti aɔe fo tɔ la woma ɔe eve. Esi wotsoe vɔ la, egaɔo efe nɔnɔme. Eya na duawo katā tso tɔ la. Gatizɔti, si Dzonu tɔ ɔe ɲu vɛ la gali va se ɔe egbegbe; woyone be akplosu.

Yeyiyi, si dzi tututu Matseawo tɔgbui va la, mɔ́menyae o. Wogblɔ bena Matseawo tɔgbui tre vava na Taviefetɔwo kple du bubuwo.

3. Afetsotso

Hafi Dzonu nava aɔi si Matseawo le fifia kple efe fiazikpui, dzangbe kple akplosu la, nɔvia eve do ɲɔɔ nɛ. Wofe ɲkɔwo nye Fiawodetsi kple Aɲɛnekotso. Woawo do ɲɔɔ va kple Matseawo, eye wo kaka ɔe dzogbewo. Womete ɲu ge ɔe aveawo me le toawo dome aɔi si wole fifia o. Esime Dzonu va la, ebia wo bena, ame kawo le evea me mahā? Wogblɔ nɛ bena, lā vɔ́woe li, eya ta yewo medena o. Tete wɔtsɔ efe dze, da kple dati hege ɔe ave la me. Esi wɔyina la, eku dze la, kasia lā vi aɔe, si woyɔna be wɔe la, va kpea eye wɔtee. Esia megbe wɔgaku dze la, eye nukpui do wɔtee. Etefe medidi o wɔgaku dze la, tete sande do, eye wɔwu eya hā. Egaku dze la zi enelia, eye lākle do va kpee, ete eya hā enumake. Esia megbe la etrɔ yi ɔakplɔ nɔviawo va. aɔi si wole fifia.

Woyɔa aɔi si Matseawo le fifi la tsa be Lālɛameve, elabena lā wɔadāwo sɔ gbɔ le eme. Esi Matseawo tɔgbui ɔi tso toa dzi la, ewɔ ava kple ave la ɲutɔ, sigbe ale si dukɔ kple dukɔ wɔa avae ene.

Enyā lā wɔadāwo katā le ave la me, eye wɔna wofoa ave la kenken, hetsɔe wɔ wofe nɔfe.

II. Matseawo kple du bubuwo dome nya

Matseawo nye du, siwo fo xlā wo la fe ta. L[meawo, Dzulowo, Tanyigbeawo kple Taviawo nye du ɔeka le Matse ɲuti. Bubuwɔ nye: Siā, Avee, Nyive, Hɔl[ta, Dodome, Akɔme, Saviefe kple Tsyome. Nenye be, vɔnu gā aɔe dzɔ la. Matse wovana hafi drɔne.



Carriers crossing a river.

1. *Matse, Nusita and Aveme*

What made the *Nusita* and the *Aveme* people depart from the *Matse* people was as follows: When *Matse* was fighting a war against *Todome*, *Nusita* and *Aveme* refused to join the battle against the common enemy.

The people of *Matse* went ahead to fight the war leaving them behind. They had planned to retaliate accordingly upon their return from the battle field. Before the *Matse* army could return from the war, the *Nusita* people had fled their settlement. The *Avemees* also later fled to join their brothers, the *Nusitas*.

The general opinion is that the *Matse* people have always been fighters. They do not like working, but have been lazying around since the time of their forebears, and that they were constantly fighting wars in order to get something to eat.

2. *Matse and the Avatimes*

When the *Avatime* people were still living with the *Matses* on the mountains, they had no good drinking water; they consequently had to go down hill into the *Dedeme* valley, where the *Matses* lived, to fetch water. One day, an *Avatime* girl came to *Dedeme* to fetch water. On her arrival at the well, she was holding a piece of roasted yam on which she was nibbling. There were also two *Matse* girls there with their little brother. The *Avatime* girl begged them for water and offered to give them a bite of her roasted yam but the *Matse* girls refused to allow her. Notwithstanding her pleas, the girls refused her. She laid her yam beside her, and waited for the *Matse* girls to fill their pots before she fetched hers. The little brother of the *Matse* girls began weeping for a piece of the roasted yam. His sisters tried to calm him down, promising to roast yams for him upon arrival back home, but the boy was relentless and would not be comforted. He suddenly took hold of the *Avatime* girl's piece of yam and bit off a portion of it. She grabbed the yam back from him and he began to weep more profusely than earlier. The *Matse* children confronted the *Avatime* girl to intervene on behalf of their brother. They beat up the girl and broke her pot. Naturally, the *Avatime* girl went home and reported the matter to her father, who got up immediately and set off for *Matse* to ask for an explanation. Upon his arrival, the *Matse* people pounced on him and killed him. Consequently, a war broke out between *Matse* and the *Avatimes*.

When people from other *Avatime* towns later went to this same well to fetch water, the *Matse* people captured and held them as prisoners. The *Avatime* towns concerned sent to *Matse* to tell them that they were not at war with them on the side of their brothers, and as such, they demanded the release of their people. The *Matses*, however, refused to release the people, stressing that all *Avatime* men were the same. From then onwards, the *Avatime's* never went to fetch water from the well again.

Finally, there existed the problem of bush burning: every year, when it was time to do so, the *Matses* would set fire to the bush and direct the fire to the *Avatime* area, leading to the burning of their villages. They harassed the *Avatimes* so much that they decided to relocate to create a distance between them; and that was why they moved to where they are living today.

1. Woawo kple Ɔusitatɔwo kpakple Avemetɔwo

Nu si ta Ɔusitatɔwo kple Avemetɔwo dzo le Matseawo gbo lae nye: Matsetɔwo ɔo ava yina ɔe Todometɔwo si ge, eye Ɔusitatɔwo kple Avemetɔwo gbe bena, yewo meyina o. Matseawo gblɔ na wo bena, ne woano anyi ko, yewoagbo tso ava la ava fia nane wo. Ke esi woyi ɔe ava la; Ɔusitatɔwo si dzo hafi wogbo. Emegbe Avemetɔwo hã dzo yi ɔewo nɔvi Ɔusitatɔwo gbo.

Wogblo be, Matseawo nye awawɔlawo tso wo tɔgbuiwo ɣoli ke. Womewɔa ɔo o, akuviatɔwo wonye tso wo tɔgbuiwo ɣoli ke, eya ta wonɔa ava wɔm enuenu, bena woakpo nu aɖu.

2. Woawo kple Avatimeawo

Esime Avatimetɔwo ɔ towo dzi le Matseawo gbo la, tsi nyuie aɔeke mele wo si bena woano o, eya ta wonɔa abu ɔim va nɔa tsi dum le Matseawo gbo le Dédeme.

Gbe ɔeka Avatime nyɔnuvi aɔe va tsi ku ge le Dedeme, eye wòtsɔ tememe ɔe asi tso afe be, wòava ɖu le tɔa me. Matse nyɔnuvi eve kple wo nɔvi ɔeka, si metsi nyuie o la wole tɔa me hafi wòva. Avatimevi la bia tsi wo, bena wòatsɔ aɖu efe tameme la, ke Matseviawo gbe. Eɔe kuku na wo vuu keke, gake wote tsi lae. Avatimevi la tɔo efe te da ɔi hele wo lalam va se ɔe esime woaku tsi la vɔ, ne ye hã yeakui. Tete Matseviawo nɔvi ɔevito de asi avi fafa me be, yeaɖu tememe loo. Nɔviawo gblɔ ne bena, ne yewoyi afe hã yewoame te ne xoxo. Ɖevi la gbe kenken, zi ɔeka la wòtsɔ Avatimevi la fe tea de asi ɖuɖu me. Avatimevi la xɔe le esi, eye ɔevi la gade asi avifafa me ɔe dzi wu tsãtɔ. Matseviawo bia Avatimevi la bena, nu ka ɣuti wòxɔ tememe la le yewo nɔvi si mahã? Eye wokpli ɔe Avatimevi la ɣuti fo, gbã efe ze hã. Avatimevi la yi ɔagblo na fofoa, enumake fofoa dze mɔ va Matse, bena yeabia nya la ta ase. Esi wòva la, Matsetɔwo lé hewu. Esia na Matseawo kple Avatimeawo wɔ ava.

Esia megbe Avatime duta bubutɔwo gayi tɔ ma ke me tsi du ge, eye Matsetɔwo lé wo. Ke woawo ɔo ɖu ɔe Matsetɔwo gbo gblɔ bena, yewo la, yewo mele yewo nɔviwo fe ava la me o, eya ta woade asi le yewofe ameawo ɣuti na yewo. Ke Matsetɔwo gbe gblɔ bena, Avatime siasia Avatime ko wonye, yewo mele asi ɔe ge le wo ɣu akpo o. Tso ekema dzi la, Avatimetɔ aɔeke megava dua tsi o.

Nya bubue nye: Fe sia fe ne dzobiyi ɔo la, Matseawo nɔa dzo tɔm nɔa ɔoɔom ɔe Avatimeawo gbo wòɔa wofe dutawo fiã, ale bene, Avatimeawo mekpɔ ɣutifafa aɔeke kpo o. Esia na bena, wodzo le Matseawo gbo yi ɔe afi si wole fifia.

3. *Matse* and the *Akwamus*

The *Matses* and the *Akwamus* are paternal brothers. When the *Matses* left their ancestral home, *Hogbefe*, also known as *Agbome* or *Gbogbome*, the *Akwamu*'s remained there for a long time. When they also finally moved out to join them, the *Matse* people received them most cordially. The *Akwamus* decided to remain with them, plant beans, and continue with their migration only after harvesting their crops. They cultivated the farms, and, when the time came for harvesting the beans, the *Akwamu*-sword carriers arrived and carried the *Matse* people's sword away. That was how *Akwamu* sword got exchanged with the sword of the *Matses*. When the *Matse* people realized that the *Akwamus*, their paternal brothers, were fighting on the side of the *Asantes* during the *Asante* wars, they also joined the fight on the side of the *Asantes*, and not of the *Hos*.

III. The Names of the *Matses*/*Matse* People

1. Their real Name

The origin of the name, *Matse*, is that, from ancient times down to the *Taviefe* war, the *Matse* people never went anywhere, but perpetrated base acts against the surrounding tribes, and were always at war with them. In those days, they were constantly at war with *Saviefe*, *Ziavi*, *Taviefe*, *Tanyigbe* and *Lume*. If a *Matse* woman should go and live with a man in any of these towns, her husband in *Matse* would organize his compatriots, give them gunpowder and flint, and they would immediately move to the farm and lie in ambush against the inhabitants of that village. They would kill those people, slash off their heads and bring these home. The skulls were then kept and later hung onto their drums,¹² while the jaw bones were tied to their trumpets. Some of them used these skulls as calabashes.¹³ In this way, they killed all the inhabitants of these towns who came their way. If any person from any of those tribes happened to stray into their towns, they would seize him, cook his flesh and eat it up. This type of life rendered it impossible for them to travel and to visit citizens of other tribes. They became hemmed-in, restricted between their mountains and could not move out. They, therefore, became *du matsawo*, meaning: "a tribe of people who do not wander" and this name evolved to become *Matse*.

2. Their Nickname

The names which they confer on themselves in drum language are: *Matse peteprebi okumatsem*. Earlier, when the *Matses* were attacked by the *Akemes*, the *Matse*'s defeated them and slaughtered their illustrious captain and many warriors. They captured one of their drums called *agrobia*, and a war-horn, which they still have in their possession today. That is the reason why they gave themselves this grandiloquent name, meaning: "Chief of time immemorial". The *Matse*'s have human skulls from almost every town in their possession.

¹² See pictures on p. 33, 63, 99.

¹³ See picture on p. 65.

3. Woawo kple Akɔmuawo

Matseawo kple Akɔmuawo nye tɔvi. Esime Matseawo dzo le Hogbefe (woawo yɔnɛ be Agbome alo Gboghome) la, Akɔmuawo tsi anyi. Emegbe esi, ^{735*} woawo hã dzo, wova to Matseawo gbɔ, eye woxɔ wo nyuie nɔ. Akɔmuawo tsi wo gbɔ gblɔ bena, yewoade ayigble, eye ne ayi la ɖi yewoxa vɔ la, ne yewoatsɔ ɖe asi azɔ mɔ. Wode agble la, eye esi ayi la ɖi woyi xaxa ge la, eva eme bena, Akɔmutɔwo fe dzangbetsɔla tre gbɔgbɔ va tɔ Matseawo fe dzangbe. Afi sia wɔtso be Matseawo kple Akɔmuawo fe dzangbe ɖɔli.

Esi Matseawo kpɔ bena, wo fofoviwo siwo nye Akɔmutɔwo de Asantetɔwo dzi la, eya ta womekpe ɖe Hoawo nɔ le Asante va me o, boŋ woawo hã de Asanteawo dzi.

III. Matseawo fe ŋkɔwo

1. Wofe ŋkɔ nɔ.

Nu si ta woyɔa fome sia bena Matse lae nye: Tso blema va se ɖe Taviefeva dzi la, wometsana dea du bubu aɖeke me o. Le wofe ame vɔ ɔwɔ ta wo kple du, siwo fo xlã wo la, le avawɔwɔ kple dafidada dzi kple wo nɔwɔ ɖaa. Le Blema la wo kple Saviefetɔwo, Ziavitɔwo, Taviefeawo, Tanyigbeawo kple L[meawo ɔwɔ ava. Ne Matsenyɔnu aɖe yi nenem du siawo me yi ɖaɖe atsu, ekema Matse nɔtsu, si fe asi wɔnye la, ka atam na nɔviawo, eye wɔna ɖu kple kpe wo. Enumake woyina ɖadaa dafi du sia me tɔwo le wofe bofo. Wowua wo tsoa wofe ta tɔna va afe. Wodzra ametawo ɖo tɔna dea vu nɔti, eye wotsɔ glãwo blana ɖe kpewo nɔti. Ame aɖewo tɔw ameta wɔ ahanotre nɔ aha nom le eme. Ale wowu du siawo katã me tɔwo kpɔ tim. Ne du sia du me tɔ aɖe va wofe la, wolɛnɛ, eye woɖoa efe ŋuilã ɖuna. Nuwɔna sia xe mɔ na wo keŋ, ale bena, womate nɔ atsa ade du aɖeke me kulɛ o, eye woxaxa ɖe wofe toawo domii kokoko, womeɖia xexe o. Eya ta woyɔa wo be, du matsawo, si trɔ zu Matseawo egbegbe.

2. Ŋkɔ si wofona ɖo

Ŋkɔ, si wofona ɖo na wo ɖokui le atumpani me enye: Matsea peteprebi okumatsem". Le blema la, Atsemtɔwo va ɔwɔ ava kple Matseawo. Ke Matseawo ɖu wo dzi, wu wofe asofohlīgã aɖe kple avawɔvi geɖewo. Woxɔ wofe vudodo aɖe, si woyɔna bena agrobia kple kpɛ hã. Wole mɔ si va se ɖe fifi. Esiata wotsɔ adegbenɔ si ɖo, si gɔmee nye: Ame nye amegã tso ŋlɔbeawo. Du sia du klofe fe ta le wo si kple egbe.

Chapter 2: The Social Life

1. Main Paragraph: Marriage

I. Marriage Rites

A. *Marriage Contracted in Infancy*

1. Wooing

a. Asking for the brides hand in marriage

In this tribe, what one can call a marriage does not exist. One can only say that girls are born. There is a reciprocal interchange of girls for marriage between members of families, notwithstanding whether they are maternally or paternally related. In the olden days, they say, when a woman got pregnant, a man would accost her and tell her: The girl you bring forth shall be my wife; but if you bring forth a boy, he will be my brother. That used to be the custom of all Ewes in the olden days but no longer being followed these days. It is no more so, even in this tribe, where a girl is given to a man to marry as soon as she begins to walk.

b. Obligations towards the Bride

When a girl is given to a man as his future wife, he must first go, accompanied by his paternal brothers, to thank his father- and mother-in-law with two yards of European cloth, one bottle brandy, and 60 hoka cowry shells. From that time onwards, the man gives foodstuffs to the girl, especially during the yam festival, when people are harvesting and some others are planting yam. If he fails to do this, that is, sending foodstuffs on these three occasions, the girl would be taken away from him by his mother- and father- in-law.

When the time comes to cultivate the field, the young man goes with two or three colleagues to weed the farm of his father-in-law. He goes once or twice in a similar way to work on the farm of his mother-in-law also. He continues to do this work yearly until the girl is grown up and ready to marry. It is referred to as “Performance towards Conclusion of Marriage”. He does other work like weaving, tapping of palm wine and running errands to other villages for the mother- and father-in-law.

As the girl is old enough to be able to move to the husband’s home, he buys four pots of palm wine which he brings to his father- and mother-in-law. Two pots go to

Ta Evelia:Du Me Gbenɔɔ

Akpa gbāto: Srõdɛdɛ

I. Mɔ si dzi woɔea srõ le

A. Srõdɛdɛ tso dɛvi me

1. Asi ta biabia

a. Ale si wobiane

Srõdɛdɛ le du sia me enye nu si magblɔ bena, menye srõdɛdɛ kulẽ o, ke boŋ enye nyɔnuviwo dzizizi. Ele na kɔ dɛka me tɔwo bena, woatsɔ wofe nyɔnuviwo ana wo nɔewo kokoko woɔdɛ, eɔanye tɔ gome alo nɔ gome o. Tsã le blema la, wobe, ne fu le nyɔnu aɔe fo la, wolẽne dɛ be, nenye nyɔnu la ye srõ, eye nenye nɔtsu la, ye xɔlẽ. Esia nye Evemetɔwo katã fe kɔ tsã, ke wole asi dɛm le eŋu le afi aɔewo. Le du sia me hã megale nenema fifia o, ke boŋ ne nyɔnuvi la tsi de asi azɔlizɔzɔ me pe la, wotsɔne na nɔtsu xoxo.

b. Srõdɛnu wɔwɔ

Ne wotsɔ nyɔnuvi aɔe na atsu be, wɔdɛ la, nu gbãto, si nɔtsu la awɔe nye, atso yevuɔ abɔ dɛka, yevuha atukpa dɛka kple hotsui hoka 60, eye tɔviawo akpe dɛ eŋu woayi aɔana toa kple lɔxoa. Tso esia dzi nɔtsu la anɔ nuɖuɖu nam nyɔnuvi la dɔa, vevietɔ le teɖuyi, tekuyi kple tefayi. Ne meɔ nuɖuɖu dɔ le yeyi etɔ siawo me o la, ekema toa kple lɔxoa woaxɔ nyɔnuvi la le esi.

Ne agbledɛyi dɔ la, ekema nɔtsuvi la aɔa ame eve alo etɔ akpe dɛ eɔkui nɔti woanɔ agble na toa zi dɛka. Eye ne agbledɔ le lɔxoa nɔ la ekema ayi aɔawɔe ne zi dɛka alo zi eve. Anɔ nenem dɔ sia wɔm va se dɛ esime nyɔnuvi la atsi. Woyɔ dɔ sia bena sagbledede. Ne dɔ bubu aɔe le toa kple lɔxoa nɔ abe avɔɔlɔ, dumedede alo ahamedede ene la, awɔe na wo. ^{737*}

Azɔ ne nɔtsuvi la kpɔ be, nyɔnuvia tsi dɔ atsufe yiye me la, adze aha alɔe ene ana vitɔ kple vinɔ. Alɔe eve enye vitɔ kple efometɔwo tɔ. Emegbe agadze aha mamletɔ alo mletahe. Nu si asidila wɔna na nyɔnuvi la wonye: Gbedetɔ enye hotsui hoka 7, avɔ abɔ dɛka, adzalẽ hoka 7 nu kple mɔfɛ tre dɛka kpakple zikpui. Egbetɔwo fe nunanawo nye: Uevɔ dɛka,

the man and his relatives, and two to the mother and her relatives. He buys one pot-full, especially for the girl's parents. That is the final presentation of palm wine. In the past, the husband was required to present the following: 7 hoka cowry shells, two lengths¹⁴ of cloth, 7 hoka, soap, one calabashfull of lemon and a local stool. What one presents these days are: a national (local) dress, two arm-lengths of European cloth, three scarves, an European comb, a mirror, one jug, a wooden tray full of yam and a wooden tray full of plantain.



1 2
A plantain farm

1. A boy carrying a bunch on the head and another in the hand.
2. A man about to cut down a plantain shrub.

The parents share the yam and the plantain; the father gives part of his share to members of his family, and the mother does likewise to her family members. The girl is allowed to visit the man's farm, even before she is led to his house. She is, however, not allowed to eat anything there until she begins to live with him as his wife.

¹⁴ 1 abor comprises two arm-lengths.

yevuvɔ abɔ eve, akɔgbatse abɔ ɖeka, tablatse etɔ̃, yevuyiɖa, ah[hɔ̃e, kplu, te gbɔnu ɖeka kple abladzo gbɔnu ɖeka. Vito kple vɔ woama teawo kple abladzoawo me.



1 2

A banana plantation

1. A bunch of bananas with flowers at the tip. 2. a matured bunch of bananas

Vito ama etɔ na efomeawo, eye vɔ hã ama etɔ na efomeawo. Nyɔnuvia kpɔ mɔ anɔ ŋutsu la fe bofo dem va se ɖe esime wɔakplɔe; ke ne eva la, maɖu nu akpɔ va se ɖe esime wɔakplɔe hafi.

2. Taking the bride home

a. Fetching the cornwine

After the husband has completed the construction of a house, it is now for his wife to be led home. The bride mixes corn-flour with water in a pot and another type of dough, with which she prepares porridge-balls all of which she brings together to the man's house. The man then summons all his paternal brothers. The oldest among them prays over the corn-wine and says: "When the house mouse hates the house owner, he may not even hear or know of it," meaning, "When the girl goes into labour, nobody should hear of it till she delivers the baby". After this, he blesses the girl, saying: "May you bring forth boys and girls, and may there be peace in the house, and on the farm!" He then breaks off a piece of the porridge ball, puts it into his mouth and drinks a bit of the corn wine over it. All those present at the ceremony drink the rest of the corn wine. This is the process referred to as "Fetching of the corn wine." When people say that a man has fetched corn wine for his wife, they mean that she has started going to her husband.

b. Adorning the Bride¹⁵

When the time approaches for the maiden to move finally to her matrimonial home, the girl's mother bathes her daughter, clothes her with the most costly dress, and ties the best of pearls around her waist and legs, topping it up with parrot feathers strung around her ankles. The girl goes through the whole town, accompanied by her age mates. They visit every house and greet the people during which they are given gifts of between 2 and 4 hoka cowry shells. This is referred to as 'kadodo'. If a mother could not perform this custom for her daughter before she transfers to her husband's home, she is insulted and ridiculed.

c. Taking the Bride Home

After she has been adorned, the bridegroom buys a goat or two he-goats if he is capable. These are slaughtered, prepared and sent to the bride's parents, accompanied by red *Akple*. (*Akple dze*). All the members of that family come together to inspect, and to feast on this food. As a follow-up, the man dresses a fowl, divides it into and serves one half on a meal to the girl. He then sends a delegation to his father- and mother-in-law, requesting his wife to be brought to him. This happens two times. On the third round, the girl is allowed to be brought to the husband's home usually in the evening.

The above-mentioned ceremony may only take place on good days, like on the Ho-market day or on the *Asiami day*.¹⁶ These are the days on which one may engage in marriage or on which a woman may be led to her husband's home after which two gun-shots are fired into the air publicly to inform everyone that a marriage has been concluded.

Even women, who would love to be led to their husbands, flee on two occasions and quietly submit on the third occasion. If a woman does not do that, the others would laugh and mock her.

¹⁵ See picture on p. 184.

¹⁶ See page 112. 'The days.'

2. Nyɔnuvi la kpɔkplɔ

a. Litsikuku

Ne asidila tu xɔ na srɔ̃a, eye ekplɔyi le dɔdɔm la, ekema nyɔnuvi la atu wɔ eye wɔdado wɔtsi de ze me. Emegbe wɔagatu liwɔ afo kɔe noganogoe akpe de wɔtsi la ɲu atso ve na srɔ̃a le efe me. ɲutsu la aɔɔ tɔviawo katã, ɔa. Ame si nye ametsitsi le wo dome la ado gbe de wɔtsi la ɲu agblɔ bena: “Ne afevi le fu xɔtɔ la mesee o” Egɔmee nye, ne nyɔnuvi la de vi dzi ge la, ame aɔeke magasee hafi wɔdadzii o. Emegbe woayɔ nyɔnuvi la be: Nefɔ nɔa, nefɔ atsua, afe nefa, agble nefa nɛ. Eye wɔaka liwɔkɔe la ade nu me aku wɔtsi la ano de edzi. Ame siwo katã va la, noa wɔtsi la kenken. Esia nye litsikuku. Ne wogblɔ be ame me ku litsi na srɔ̃ la, ekema wonyae bena ele atsufe yi ge.

b. Kadodo

Ne ɔetugbui la fe atsufeyi le dɔdɔm la, ekema vɔnɔ la lea tsi na vianyɔnu la, eye wɔdado dzonu nyuiwɔ nɛ, atso akofukawo ade afɔdome nɛ, atso avɔ nyuie siwo fe asi me sɛ la ata nɛ. Nyɔnuvi la fe hanuwo akplɔe atsa le gbɔ me. Woyia ame siaa ame fe me ɔadɔa gbe na wo. Woyɔa nuwɔwɔ sia bena, kadodo. Nyɔnuvi, si nɔa mete ɲu do ka nɛ hafi wɔyi atsufe o la, enye dzu kple koko nɛ.

c. Nyɔnu la kpɔkplɔ va afe me

Le kadodo megbe la, asidila flea gbɔ ɔeka, ne ɲuse le ɲu la gbɔtsu gã eve. Ewua gbɔwo ɔa akplɛ dzɛ ɔo na de nyɔnuvi la dada kple fɔfoa. Nuɔaɔa sia la, kɔ ma me tɔwo pete le ekpɔ ge, eye wo katã le eɔuge. Emegbe ɲutsu la gawua koklo ɔeka, eye woma eme de eve, atso go ɔeka ada de nuɔɔɔu dzi aɔo de nyɔnuvi la. Eyome enɔa ame dɔm nɔa dɔdɔm de toa kple lɔxɔa gbɔ bena, woakplɔ ye srɔ̃ nɛ na ye. Ne amedɔɔa de zi eve, etɔlia wɔɔea asi le ɲuti nɛ, eye wɔakplɔe ava na srɔ̃ le fiɛ me.

Menye ɲkekewo katã dzi wokplɔa nyɔnu yia atsufe o, boɲ le ɲkeke nyuietɔwo dzi abe Hosigbe kple Asiamigbe ene. ɲkeke eve siawo nye ɲkeke ^{743*} siwo dzi wɔɔea nyɔnu alo kplɔa nyɔnu. Ne wokplɔ nyɔnu la yi srɔ̃ fe la, woda tuti eve. Eya nye gbefadɛde bena, ame aɔe de srɔ̃.

Nyɔnu si lɔ kpɔ wokplɔe yi de atsua fe la, sina zigbɔ zi eve, etɔlia hafi wɔdzɛa kɔ anyi. Ne nyɔnuawo mewɔ sigbe o la, enye koko na wo le wo tɔ nyɔnuwo dome.

B. Vengeance Marriage

Vengeance marriage is a very difficult thing among all Ewe tribes. If it happens that somebody kills his neighbours and has been found guilty by a court, the family of the guilty person will have to give a girl from their family to the eldest of the victim's family. This eldest gives the girl to a man in his family to marry. This marriage will not be presided over by her parents but by this eldest, who acts *in loco parentis*. The husband does not care for her, nor does he satisfy her personal needs. A woman who has to go into vengeance marriage does not get any respect nor regard from her husband.

II. Marriage life

1. The Wife's House

When a man marries his first wife, he builds a house for her. This house is constructed in such a way that it faces west, turning its back side to the east. The belief is that, when a man is quarrelling with his first wife and she curses him while pointing to the east, this curse gets irremovably stuck to him and he dies. That is why the open side of the first wife's house never faces eastwards.

2. Regulations between husband and wife

There are no regulations between husband and wife. It is not permitted to close the door when the man or the woman goes first to sleep. If the man does that, then the wife goes to sleep in town; and, should the wife do that, the husband also sleeps in town. This is because they believe that closing the door in that way brings misfortune; it can even lead to the death of one of them.

A second one is that, the husband is not allowed to kick his wife, just as it is a taboo for the woman to do the same to the husband. It is believed that one would contract drowsy if one does that. Wives may not spin cotton when their husbands go to war or to hunt. Even unmarried women are not allowed to spin cotton during the period that their sons or brothers are on the battlefield.

3. Husbands' Love for their Wives

If a husband has two, three or four wives, he becomes more closely attached to the one with whom he best agrees. He places everything into her hands. Such wives are fondly called: "darling wives".

III. Denial of the Husband by the Wife (DIVORCE)

1. Causes of Divorce

A girl, growing in the town, may take one or two boyfriends if she pleases. If the boy who decides to marry her gets to know any of her former boyfriends, he would insist on getting paid in atonement by the man involved. The man may decide to forgo the

B. Hl̩sidede

Hl̩sidede nye nya sesē le Eveawo dome afi sia afi. Ne ame aḑe wu nɔvia fe ame, eye wodr̩ hl̩nya la vɔ la, ekema ame siwo ke nye amewula fe fometɔwo la, woatsɔ nyɔnuvi aḑana ame tsitsi si le ame si wowu la fe fome me. Ame tsitsi sia tsɔa nyɔnu la naa atsu le wofe fome la me. Womeḑea nyɔnuvi siawo tɔgbe le tɔ kple nɔ gbɔ o, boŋ ame tsitsi la zu abe tɔ kple nɔ ene. Atsua meléa be nɛ pɛpɛpɛ o. Mekpɔa edzi le efe nuhiāhiāwo me o. Nyɔnu, si woḑe hl̩si la, bubu aḑeke menɔa eŋu kura le atsua gbɔ o.

II. Sr̩ gbenɔɔ

1. Nyɔnuwo fe nɔ

Ne ŋutsu ḑe sr̩ gbāɔ, eye wòle nɔ tu ge nɛ la, ekema atrɔ nɔ la megbe ade yedzefe, eye wòatr̩ eŋkume ade yetoḑofe. Elabena wogblɔ be, ne ŋutsu la kple efe savi alo nyɔnu, si wòtre ḑeḑe wole dzre wɔm, eye wòfia asi yedzefe hefo fi de ŋutsua la, ekema ŋutsu la kuna alo fifode la ḑia eŋu. Le esiata wometrɔa nyɔnu gbāɔ fe nɔ dea yedzefe gbēḑegbēḑe o.

2. Ḑoḑo le atsu kple asi dome

Ḑoḑo gobi aḑeke mele atsu kple asi dome ale o. Ne ŋutsua alo nyɔnu tre anyimɔmlɔ la, mekpɔ mɔ be wòado vɔa o. Ne ŋutsu la wɔe la, ekema nyɔnu atsi gbɔ me aḑ, eye nenyɛ nyɔnu wɔe la, ŋutsua hā atsi gbɔ me aḑ, elabena wobu be, enye busu ne wodo vɔ la, eye wohea ku va ame dzi.

Evelia, sr̩ŋutsu metsua afɔ sr̩a o, eye nyɔnu hā mekpɔ mɔ o, eḑa nye le fefe alo dzrewɔwɔ me o. Wogblɔ be, ehea ḑl̩léle, si woyɔna be gudɔ la vaa ame dzi. Ne ŋutsuwo yi afanyafe alo avagbe dzi alo woyi dzogbewɔfe la, ekema nyɔnu, siwo le atsufe la mekpɔ mɔ atre ḑeti o. Ne nyɔnu aḑe mele atsufe o, gake via alo nɔvia le wo dome yi la, ekema mekpɔ mɔ atre ḑeti o.

3. Ŋutsuwo fe wo sr̩wo lɔl̩

Ne ŋutsu aḑe ḑe nyɔnu abe eve kple et̩ ene la, wo dometɔ si fe gbe sɔna kple ŋutsu la fe gbe la, eya ŋuti ŋutsu la miā eḑokui ḑo. Ŋutsu la atɔ efe nu sia nu ade nyɔnu mā si. Nyɔnu siawo tɔgbe woyɔna be asil̩l̩.

III. Asigbegbe

1. Nu si ta wogbenɛ

Ne nyɔnuvi tsi le gbɔ me la, ekpɔ mɔ ado asike faa dzro. Ke ne ame si ḑe nyɔnuvia nya ame si do asike nɛ la, aɔ fe le esi kokoko. Ḑeko ne sr̩tɔ nyae kroŋ be, esi nyɔnu la va ye gbɔ la, ŋutsu sia megayɔe kpɔ o la, atɔ fe bubuawo akee.

payment of this debt if he is absolutely convinced that his wife is no more involved with that man since she got married to him.

In *Matse*, a woman is not punished for committing adultery. It is only when the adulterous life of the wife, who is living with her husband, leads to the husband's death that she would be brought before a court of the chief in town, where she would be charged for 'committing evil adultery' and would be requested to pay a penalty of 24 or 36 hotu.

Very often, it is when women start committing adultery that they rebel against their husbands. The husband of the adulterous wife whispers seductive words to her, thereby instigating her to become unruly and decides to leave her husband. Most *Matse* women do not respect their husbands and do not even cook for them.

2. Penalty for Women who Divorce their Husbands

In the past, a woman who persistently refused to live together with her husband was sold to traders; today, she would be forced to remain with him. If she still refuses to go, she would then be given to the husband's paternal brother to marry. In that case, the parents of the woman were expected to pay 16 hotu to the husband; today the husband would demand 110 Mark from them because he claims his performance is more today than it used to be a couple of years ago.

IV. Relationship between Husband and his Parents-in-law

If a girl is living in her husband's house, her parents-in-law may not eat in his house, and the son-in-law may also not eat in their house. It is considered a disgrace. It is even said this sometimes renders the girl barren.

Tohehe aḍeke meli na nyɔnuwo le ahasiwɔwɔ ɲuti le Matse o. Negbe ne nyɔnu aḍe le atsufe, eye to nyɔnu la fe ahasiwɔwɔ me ɲutsua ku la, dumegãwo ɖia ɔnu ɖe nyɔnu la ɲuti, eye woxɔa hotu 24 alo 36 le esi. Esia ko woyɔna be ahasi manyomanyo.

ɲutsuwo mehea to aḍeke na nyɔnuwo le ahasiwɔwɔ ta o, ne wonya xɔ asitsuho le ɲutsu, si wɔ ahasi kple la si ko, evɔ.

Enuenu to ahasiwɔwɔ me nyɔnuwo dzea aglã ɖe wo srɔwo ɲu elabena ɲutsu, si le aha si wɔm kpli la, gblẽa to nɛ, ale bena, wɔdzea go be yemegale atsufe yi ge o. Matsenyɔnu geḍeawo mebuwa wo srɔwo o, womeɖaa nu na wo hã o.

2. Fe, si woxɔna le atsugbela si

Nyɔnu, si gbe keɲkeɲ be, yemanɔ atsufe o la; tsã wotsɔnɛ flena na asitsalawo. Egbe la, wozia edzi be, wɔnɔ anyi kokoko. Ne egbe godoo la, wotsɔnɛ na srɔtɔ fe tɔvi bubu be wɔaḍe. Tsã ne nyɔnu gbe srɔ keɲ la efe dzilawo xea hotsui 16 na ɲutsu la. Egbe la woxɔa m 110 le wo si, elabena wowɔa nu geḍe fifi wu tsã.

IV. Ale si ɲutsu léa eḍokui ɖe toa kple lɔxoɔ ɲu

Ne nyɔnuvi le afewò me la, ekema towò kple lɔxowò maɖu nu le afewò me o, eye wò hã maɖu nu le wo feme o; ɲukpe wònye. Ame aḍewo gblɔ bena mena vi nɔa ame si o.

Chapter 2: Child Education

1. The Work of Children

At home, boys must plait the edges of the mat woven by the adults. Those, who cannot do that, have no work. The work of little girls is spinning.

Matse children, who are old enough, make their own farms and usually help each other in doing this. They also help their parents on their farms.

2. Punishment of Children

Matse children do not respect their elders; they do not call them by their usual titles, such as, uncle, Grand-pa, Auntie or Grand dad. They call everybody by his name.

The *Matses* do not punish their children. The mother would not accept that the father punishes the child, and would quarrel with him and accuse him of venting his spleen on the child. Should the mother want to scold the child, the father would not understand it. He would admonish her as to whether or not it is necessary to talk so much if an innocent child misbehaves. Against this background, the *Matse* people grow to become ill-bred and anti-authority.

Children are not whipped when they disobey their parents. Should a parent cane his child, other people, especially those who do not have children, would comment: "And you, X.X., be very careful! You are beating this child and when he dies, you would be free to make another." For this reason, *Matse* people do not whip their children. However, if a child steals or insults anyone, they rub pepper into his eyes to start with. If this happens often, his family members would intervene and enquire if he is fostering the child so much because he is spending money on him. If the child should die, he would have to bury him, single-handedly. They ignore everything that their children do.

Akpa evelia: Deviwo hehe

1. Deviwo fe dɔwɔwɔwɔ

Dɔ, si ɲutsuviwo wɔna le afe mee nye abatofofo, ke esiwo mate ɲu afoe o la, ɔeko wonɔa, anyi sigbe ko, eye womewɔa dɔ aɔeke o. Nyɔnuvi suewo tɔe nye ɔetitotro.

Ne Matseviwo ate ɲu aɲɔ nu la, ekema wodea woawo ɲuto fe agble tɔxɛ. Wofoa fu dea agble na wo nɔewo. Ke wokpena ɔe wofe dzilawo ɲu le agbledɔwɔ me hã.

2. Tohehe

Matseviwo metsɔa bubu na amega xoxowo o. Ale si wobua ame tsitsi yɔnɛ bena: Tɔgã, tɔɔi, nyruɪ, tɔgbui, nɔgã alo mama la, Matseviwo mewɔna nenema o, boɲ woyɔa ame siaa ame fe ɲkɔ faa.

Matseawo mehea to na wo viwo le naneke me o, elabena ne vito he to na via la, dada melɔna o, ebia atsua bena ele dɔme vevee wɔm le ye kple ye vi ɲuti.

Ne vito la hã be, yeahe nya ɔe ɔɔvia ɲu la, vito la melɔna o, eye wobia nɔa be, ne ɔɔvi manyanu wɔ eke ɔee, eye wonɔa nu wɔm le eɲu alegbegbe mahã? Esiata Matsetɔwɔ vlui, eye womelɔa dzizizi fe nya o.

Ne ɔɔviwo meɔo to dzilawo o la, womefoa wo o. Elabena ne dzila aɔe fo via la, ekema ame bubu, si medzi vi o la gblɔna bena: Woa ɔe nekpɔ dzi, eya ta nele efom bena, neku ne yeagadzi bubu. Esiata dzilawo mefoa wo viwo o. Gake ne ɔɔvi aɔe fia fi alo dzua ame la, wodoa aduvee nɛ, zi ɔeka aɔe ko. Ne ele edom nɛ ɔaa la, ekema efometɔwɔ adze agbo abiae bena: ɔe wòkpɔ dzi eya ta wòle fu fiamii, ne eku la, ne eya ɔeka naɔii. Wozi kpi kpɔ wo viwo wole nu sia nu wɔm ko.

Chapter 3: Sickness, Death and Burial

1. The “good” Death

A. Sickness

When someone falls sick in the family, relatives visit him every morning and evening; they greet him, saying: ‘Are you (still) alive?’ Some of them bring him water and firewood. Nobody talks about drugs for treatment, because that is the sole responsibility of his father or his mother. They call in the magician to bind magic wands for him, and the *tro*-priest to drive away evil spirits from him.

If the sickness gets worse, they go to the priest, carrying an egg, 2 hoka cowry shells and flour, in order to enquire into the cause of the sickness. They request him to treat the sickness if it is within his power to do so. They enquire whether his god is angry with him and abandoning him, whether his deceased mother or father was haunting him, or whether or not he has been charmed by a juju-man. The malady can only be cured after the cause of the sickness is determined by the priest.

If the sickness comes from his God, they invite all those who are privy to the service of that God to receive the offerings from the patient for the pacification ceremony. If it is his deceased parents who want to kill him, then magicians would be called in to neutralise the ghost of the deceased, using magic wands. Some of them are bound round the neck and the arms of the patient. People who are experts in the preparation of drugs are called in to prepare the medicines until he recovers or dies. If they recognize that their efforts are not effective, and that the patient would definitely die, they abandon every effort.

B. Death and Burial

1. Dying

a. The last words of the Person on the verge of Death

When a man notices that death is imminent, and he knows that his properties and riches would not be given to his children or to his successors, he determines, himself, how things should happen after his death. If he does this, then there would be no quarrels after his departure. Some people also talk of their burial and predetermine the way and manner in which they should be interred.

Akpa etõlia: Dóléle, ku kple òìdì

1. Ku nyuieto

A. Dóléle

Ne ame aḍe le dɔ lém le kɔ alo fome aḍe me la, wovana ɛ̃di sia ɛ̃di va na ɛ̃dii be: Ele agbe dza? Fiẽ hã wogavana. Ne ame aḍe lɔ la, adu tsi alo afo nake vɛ nɛ. Ke ame aḍeke megbɔa atike nya o, negbe tɔ alo nɔ koe adze agbagba siawo. Woyɔa dzotɔwo bena, woasa ka ɔe ɛ̃uti nɛ, eye woyɔa vɔnusiwo bena, woayi busu nɛ.

Ne wokpɔ be, dóléle la nu le sesẽm la, wotsɔa koklozi ɔeka kple hoka 2 kpakple wɔ, bena woadabia nu na dɔnɔ la. Wobia nu le trɔsiwo gbɔ bena: Nu ka tɔ dóléle la vɛ mahã? Ne wɔwɔ aḍe li la, ne yewoawɔ. Nenyɛ efe Mawue bi dzi ɔe ɛ̃uti be, mewɔ nane na ye o, alo tɔ alo nɔ kukua be, yeawui alo dzotɔ aḍe le dzo ɔumii la, ne yewoase. Ne trɔsi la gblɔ nya aḍe, eye wose dóléle la gɔme keɛ la, eya hafi woyia busu.

Ne dóléle la tso efe Mawu gbɔ la, ekem woyɔa ame siwo wɔa Mawunu la be, woaxɔ adzɔ le dóléle si akpata efe Mawu. Nenyɛ tɔ alo nɔ, siwo ku xoxo be yewoawui la ekema woyɔa dzotɔwo wova bla ɛ̃li la kple dzoka, eye wotsɔa dzoka la dea dɔnɔ la fe kɔ kple abɔ. Emegbe wodia ame siwo nya amatsiwɔwɔ la, wonɔa amatsi wɔm nɛ va se ɔe esime dóléla fe lãme nasẽ alo wòaku. Ne wokpɔ be viḍe aḍeke mele busuyiyi la me o, eye ame la le kuku ge la, wodzudzɔa nu sia nu wɔwɔ.

B. Ku kple òìdì

1. Ku

a. Kudɔfonyawo

Ne ame aḍe kpɔ bena, yele kuku ge, eye wònya be, le yefe megbe la womele yefe kesinɔnuwo tɔ ge na yefe domenyila alo ye viwo o la, ekema eya ɛ̃uti gblɔnɛ ɔi bena, ne ye ku la, woatsɔ nu si kple esi na ame si. Emegbe ne eku la, viɔli aḍeke megale eme o. Ame aḍewo foa nu le wofe ɔiḍi ɛ̃uti be, ne yeku la, ale kple ale woadi ye alo nu si kple nu si woatsɔ ɔi yee nye si.

Others caution their children and members of the family, that: “This or that person did not show any love to me; therefore, you are to be careful of him, lest you die young.” Some confess the evil they had done. Evil magicians would confess that they had charmed this or that person to death. Others may say that they are dying because of this or that evil which they committed, and that they could have lived longer if they had not committed that sin. Some may inform their families about their debtors and creditors. When he died, they should pay so much to his creditors, or collect so much from his debtors.

b. How the Wishes of the departing are fulfilled

The wishes of the dying man are scrupulously followed, especially those concerning him personally, such as how he should be buried. His relatives believe that he would kill them if they do not follow his demands to the letter.

2. The Interment

a. The Dressing of the Corpse

It is a general requirement, i. e. to see to it that there are many clothes and a lot of gunpowder kept aside to ensure a fitting burial of the deceased. The people buy goats or sheep and fatten them for the funeral.

When death occurs, the body is washed and clothed with the loin cloth which he wore to the farm. They tie a beautiful loin cord over the cloth and adorn his neck with strings of beads, lay him on a new mat in front of the house and finally cover up the body with new cloths. If the deceased is a man, they leave him lying in front of his house until his burial; but if it is a woman, her paternal brothers would take the body out of her husband's house and lay it in state in a family home until her burial.

The *Matses* bestow great care on the funeral of their departed. On the death of a person, members of his family assemble around him. The family, as well as individuals, acquire gun powder for the burial ceremony. If the family is an old one, i.e. if there are old folks in that family, one of them would buy strips of cloth and sew them together to cover the body before burial. This is the cloth known as the ‘Family cloth’, the *afetimedo*.¹⁷ At a meeting before the funeral, the paternal brothers would be asked whether or not they would be able to bury the one who had died that day. Messengers are sent to relatives living away from home. They buy meat to cater for visitors. Grave-diggers are paid 60 hoka and drummers get 2 hoka cowry shells for their efforts.

b. Mourning the Dead

It is time to mourn when death occurs. It is for men to fire muskets and for women to wail. But before all this begins, an announcement is made whereby men dance around the village street and fire muskets into the air. It is only after this that the women are allowed to wail. They wail, gesturing with their arms in the air. They troop into the neighbouring town, compelling the women there to come together and join the wailing.

17 Afeti denotes the family, from the oldest to the youngest, hence the family tree. The *afetido* is therefore a cloth donated to the deceased by the whole family.

Ame bubuwo xl̄sa nu wo viwo kple wofe fometɔwo bena: Ame si kple ame si mel̄sa nye nya o, eya ta mianya zɔzɔ na wo, ne menye nenema, o la, mianɔ agbe didi aɖeke o. Ame aɖewo ne wole kudɔ fom la, ekema wovlia nu v̄ɖi, si wowɔ la me. Dzoɖuametɔwo gblɔna be, yee ɖu dzo ame si kple ame si wòku. Dewo gblɔna be, nuke kple nuke mewɔ, eya ta mele kukum ɖe menye nenem o la ne ye h̄a yeawo agbe vi aɖe. Ame bubuwo gblɔna na wofe fometɔwo bena, yewo fe fe le ame si ɲu, ne yewo ku la, ne woaxɔe. Alo ame si fe fe le yewo ɲu, ne woaxee na wo.

b. Nyawo dzi wɔwɔ

Wowɔa kudɔfola fe nyawo dzi kple vɔv̄ɔ, vevietɔ ne egblɔ nya aɖe le eɖokui ɲu. Le kpɔɖeɲu me, ne ye ku la, ale woadi yee nye si. Elabena wobuna be, ne womewɔ efe nyawo dzi o la, awu yewo.

2. ɖiɖi

a. Ame kuku dzadzraɖo

Godoo la, ame siaa ame doa vevie dzra avɔ geɖe ɖo, eye wɔflea ɖu h̄a dana ɖi bena, ne yeku la, ne woatsɔ aɖi ye. Woflea gb̄ alo al̄ nɔa nyinyim bena, woatsɔ awɔ yewofe kunui.

Nu ame aɖe ku la, gb̄a wolea tsi n̄e, eye wotsɔa efe agblegoe dona n̄e; emegbe woatsɔ efe godotse nyuietɔ ado ɖe dzi n̄e. Wodoa kɔdzonu n̄e, eye wotsɔn̄e ml̄a aba yeye dzi le xɔ nu, atsɔ avɔ yeyewo atsɔ n̄e. Nenye ɲutsue la, anɔ efe xɔ nu va se ɖe esime woadi: ke nenye nyɔnue la, tɔviawo atsɔe tso sr̄o fe me aɖo wo dometɔ ɖeka fe me halase esime woadi.

Metsetɔwo doa vivi, ɖe ame kuku ɲu ɲutɔ. Ne ame aɖe ku la, ekema efe fometɔwo foa fu ɖe egbo. Efe fometɔwo flea ɖu, eye ame siaa ame, si l̄o la afle ɖu akpe ɖe ɲu bena, woadi: Ne ame tsitsiwo le kɔ ma me la, ekema ɖeka afle avɔwo atsɔ aɖi ame kuku la. Avɔ siawo woyɔna bena ^{751*} afetimedɔ. Efomeawo tsɔa ɖo ava ɖii. Le ame la fe ku megbe la, wobia tɔviawo bena, yewoate ɲu aɖi ame si ku egbe la mah̄a? Wodoa ame ɖona ɖe adzɔgefomeawo. Azɔ woflea l̄a, bena woawɔ amedzroe. Ele na kutɔwo be, woatsɔ hoka 2 ana vutɔwo, eye woagatsɔ hoka 60 h̄a na yɔkulawo h̄a.

b. Ame kuku fafa

Ne wowɔ nu siawo vɔ la, wofana na ame kuku la. ɲutsuwo tɔe nye tu dada, eye nyɔnuwo tɔe nye avifafa. Gb̄a hafi woadze nu siawo gɔme la, wodoa xɔe. Eyae nye wodaa tu foa xl̄a abl̄ me. Azɔ nyɔnuwo kpɔ mɔ afa avi. Wonɔa avi fam seš̄e anɔ ya me l̄em alo fom. Nyɔnuawo nɔ avi la dzi tsona le gbɔta bubuwo me, si nye dzesi bena woawo h̄a nafa avi. Gbɔta nyɔnuawo h̄a foa zi va faa avi.

The contemporaries of the deceased buy animals, which they slaughter for the funeral. They drop a bit of the blood of the slaughtered animal onto the tongue of the deceased, declaring: "These are all the animals which we have once eaten together." Finally, they all buy palm wine, pour some of it as libation on the ground before him and tell him that it is his last palm wine.

c. Beating the Farm Drum

If the deceased had been a hard-working farmer, they play a type of music called: *agblevu*, 'the farmer's drum', in his honour. It is a special honour for a person if the farmer's drum is played for him. While it is being played, the wives of two or three of his paternal brothers put on the man's clothes, take a calabashful of water mixed with flour, go round and serve the people with the words: "Take the water and drink it! May your heart be comforted; we'll bring back the dead to life, presently." They take 10 cowry shells from each person who drinks of the mixture. This custom is called: "the testimony of conjugal love."

d. Visiting the Farm of the Deceased

Later, a paternal brother of the deceased and seven women would be chosen to go to the dead man's farm. The man goes ahead of them with a gun in the hand, and, upon arrival, he fires his gun into the air, calls out the name of the deceased and says: "May the deceased, to whose farm I have come, grant that I remain healthy and strong, and may you stay out of my dreams! May you not look with angry eyes at the people who come to your farm." These are the words with which one announces oneself to the deceased before harvesting from his farm. Upon their arrival back from the farm, they cut some yam into pieces and lay them before the corpse and share the rest among the paternal brothers. People say that if this custom is not performed, the ghost would continue to haunt the people left behind.

e. The Adornment and Burial of the Dead

Members of the deceased's family throw about 20 hoka cowry shells onto the ground, and all women arriving from the surrounding towns take 2 to 10 cowry shells to add to these. They are divided into two parts. The shells on one part are tied to strings and are bound to the arms and knees of the corpse to indicate that he is no more allowed to remain at home. If the corpse remains in the house till the next day after this adornment, the relatives will have to pay a penalty of 12 hotu and an animal to the senior chief of the town.

At the end of all these, his paternal brothers pour some palm wine into his mouth, and the firing of muskets begins. This continues also in the other villages, until the afternoon when the corpse would be buried.

3. Places of Burial

In *Matse*, every man who has an own house is buried there, whether he is a chief, rich or a poor man. The burial place of a man is called *trevaga*, which means: "Their house

Ehanuwo flea lā ɖeka wuna le edo me. Wotsɔ lāvu la fe ɖe gene ɖe ame kuku la fe aɖe nu gblɔna bena: Lā, siwo katā yewo kpɛi yewo ɖu tsā lae nye si. Efe zɔɔlɔseawo katā dzea aha va fona ɖe egbo bena, efe aha mamlea nye si.

c. Agblevufɔfo

Ne ame la doa vevie agble dena hafi ku la, ekema wofoa vu aɖe, si woyɔna be agblevu la ne. Enye bubu ɣutsɔ ne wofo agblevu na ame aɖe. Ne wole vua fom la, ame kuku tɔviwo, srɔwo dome ame eve alo etɔ woaku tsi ɖe tre me, aku wɔ akɔ ɖe eme, eye woatsɔ ame kuku la fe avɔ ata. Emegbe wonɔa wɔtsi la kum nɔa mamam na amewo bena: “Xɔ tsi no, wò dzi gbɔ nefa mɔafo ame kuku la ɖe tsitre na wò fifi laa!” Ne wole ewɔm la, wonɔa hotsui ewoewo xɔm le wɔtsi la nɔlawo si. Woyɔna nuwɔwɔ sia bena atsunkɔviwɔwɔ.

d. Kubofodede

Emegbe woɖea ɣutsu ɖeka la ame kuku la fe tɔviwo dome kpɛna ɖe nyɔnu wo ame adre ɣu. ɣutsu la tsɔa tu ɖe asi, eye wòanɔ ɣɔ na nyɔnuawo woayi agble la me. Ne woɖo la, eda tu la, ayo ame kuku la fe ɣkɔ agblɔ bena: Ku bofo si meva la, nana ye lāme nasẽ, ne magaku drɔe wò o; womeva kubofɔ wokpɔa ame kpɛ ɣku vɔe o. Nya sia wotsɔ do agoo na ame kuku la hafi atɔ agblemenu aɖewo. Ne wova afe la, atɔ nu aɖewo ado ɖe ame kuku la gbɔ eye tɔviawo ame nu mamlea. Wogblɔ be, ne womede kubofɔ o la, ame la awɔ ɣoli ame.

e. Ame kuku sasā kpɛ eɖiɖi

Efomeawo tsɔa hotsui abe ho blaevie ene kɔna ɖi, eye nyɔnu siwo pete tso duta va la atɔ hotsui eve alo ewo akɔ ɖe dzi. Woma hotsui la me ɖe eve. Akpa ɖeka wotɔna dea alɔnu kpɛ klo na ame kuku la, si fia bena, megale afe tsi ge o. Ne wosā ame kuku hafi wòanɔ anyi ɣu ke ɖe dzi la, ekema dufia axɔ hotu 12 alo lā ɖeka le kutɔwo si.

Ne wowu nu siawo katā nu vɔ la, tɔviawo kpɛa aha ne, eye wodea asi tudada me ne. Gbɔta bubutɔwo hā nɔa tu la dam va se ɖe yetɔ me, eye wotsɔa ame kuku la ɖina.

is under the house”.¹⁸ Those who did not have their own houses before their death are buried in the bush.

Women are always buried in the bush because women do not build houses of their own. They say that female ghosts haunt the bereaved more than do male ghosts. Children are also buried in the bush for similar reasons. Children’s ghosts inspire special awe, because it is believed they would not listen and they would not obey.

C. The Funeral

1. Exorcism/ Necromancy

Five or seven days after the burial of a person, the relatives cook *akpledze*, a maize porridge mixed with palm oil, roast dry corn on cob, and deposit this on the road for the deceased. From there, they go to a priest to communicate with the dead. The priest imitates the voice of the deceased and speaks with the brothers, as follows: “I’ve died the death which my own God has ordained for me,” or: “I’ve died, because of this or that.” This is the procedure called: “going to *Trɔfe* (*trɔ* house)”.

2. The Celebration

After the visit to the *trɔfe*, a team of relatives visits the farm of the deceased and brings home farm produce. If he had an oil palm plantation, they would harvest one ripe and one unripe bunch of palm fruits. These would be shared among the grandchildren living in the other towns. The rest are used for meals for the celebration when there would be drumming and dancing till nightfall.

3. Rolling the Mat. (The Closing Ceremony)

The deceased’s mat will be rolled one month after his death if he was a young man, and six months thereafter if he was an old man. They cook and share the food among those who sleep in the house of mourning. They sweep his room clean, bring out his property, which are still available, and share them among the relatives. They now weave a little mat, about two to four feet long, and lay it on the road under the grass. The mat is thereby rolled.

4. Time of Mourning

a. The Duration of Mourning

There is no definite time laid down for mourning. If the deceased was the oldest man or woman in the family, the mourning would continue for five or seven months. And if he was not so old, and there are people who are currently older than him, the mourning lasts for one or two months. The absolute duration of mourning is one year and no one, who had lived happily together with his married partner, would mourn for two years.

¹⁸ Because they are buried in the house.

C. Kunuawawo

1. Ɔliyawo

Ne woɖi ame vo Ɔkeke atɔ alo adre megbe la, ekema efometawo ɖa akplɛ dzɛ, eye womea kpeli fufu ati ɖeka kpɛna ɖe eɲu aɖo mo dzi na ame kuku la. Emegbe woyia trɔsi gbɔ bena, wɔdaye na yewo, ne yewoase efe numegbe. Trɔsi la doa ame kuku la fe gbe foa nu na nɔviawo bena, ye ɲuto fe Mawuku wu ye alo nu si kple nu si ta yeku ɖo. Woyɔa nuwawo sia bena akpɔdzɔfofo alo trɔfedede.

2. Plasiwawo

Emegbe woyia ame kuku la fe agble atɔ bofonuawo ava afe. Ne ave le esi la, wosia aɲone ta ɖeka kple debiabiã ta ɖeka. Nu siawo womana na tɔgbuiavi siwo le duta. Ekema woɖa nu mana na nyɔnuwo kple ɲutsuwo, eye wowɔa plasi vuɔ va se ɖe esime zã nado.

3. Tsitseɲɔɲɔ

Ne ame kuku la nye ɖekakpui la, ekema le yleti ɖeka megbe woɲɔa efe tsitse, ke nɛnye ame tsitsi la, exɔa yleti ene alo ade. Woɖa nu mana na ame siwo do yɔɔ me nɛ. Emegbe woakplɔ efe xɔ me, eye woafɔ efe nu susɔeawo amã na fomeawo. Wolɔa tsitse vi aɖe abe afɔ eve ene ada ɖe gbe te le mo dzi. Ekema woɲɔ tsitse vo.

4. Ahowawo

a. Ahowawo fe didime

Ahowawo fe yeyiyiwo le vovovo. Ne ame aɖe nye ame tsitsi le efe fome me eɖanye ɲutsu alo nyɔnu o hafi ku la, wowɔa aho na wo yleti atɔ alo adre. Ke ne ame la metsi akpa o, boɲ ame bubu tsi wui le fome ma me la, wowɔa aho nɛ yleti ɖeka alo eve. Ahowawo ɲuto fe sefee nye fe ɖeka. Ame siwo kple srɔa dome nyo hafi wòku la, awɔ aho abe fe eve ene hafi woadee le eme.

b. Regulations governing the Widow

A widow must lie on the mat on which the deceased had laid until he is buried. The widow must live in an inconspicuous corner of the room. Instead of a chair, she should sit on a stone. Her clothes must be of the same material as that with which her husband was buried. Her head-gear must be of the same material as that of her dress. She is not allowed to put on one dress in the morning and another in the evening.

A widow does not greet; she should be greeted. It is not allowed for a widow to freely engage in conversation with other people. It does not behove a widow to be seen walking through the town. If she has to visit someone, then she has to choose her way through the outskirts of the town. A widow should not be going in and out of her room too often. She should mostly remain indoors. She should have a piece of corn-husk between her toes when she wants to go out.

She must reduce the price of everything she has prepared for sale, for it is believed that if a widow does not finish selling what she has to sell, a serious misfortune would befall her. For example, if she should decide to sell after the mourning, nobody would buy from her.

It is believed that if a widow fails to observe these customs to the letter, the mourning would “eat her” up¹⁹ or remain stuck to her. She may get crazy as a result, and go about hallucinating. For this reason, widows respect and follow the regulations very closely.

II. Burial of *Trõ*-Priests

There is a special place in the bush called *dadi-bluvu*, where the *Matses* bury their priests. People who fall in war or who die in accidents are also buried there. When a priest dies, he is not laid in state in his house; his body is sent into the bush, as fast as possible, where his colleague priests come to perform the requisite *trõ* – rites. The relatives of the deceased have to present goats to the chiefs of the town before they are allowed to bury the priest. The funeral procession is accompanied by women wailing, and the firing of musketry. The performance of the widowhood rites for a priest does not last long. It lasts for only eight days. The chiefs are again presented with a goat from the relatives before commissioning people to destroy his shrine. This brings the entire burial ceremony to an end.

III. People who die in war and accident Victims

a. General Remarks

1. The Types of Accidental Death

A person who dies after being hit by a stray bullet in the bush, someone who dies of snake-bite, or who is killed by a falling tree, one who is struck dead by lightning, one who falls down from a height (to the ground) dead; when one drowns in water or burns in fire, all these are described as having “died in war”.

¹⁹ *Aho*, The widowhood is hereby personified and therefore takes revenge, if the regulations are not properly observed.

b. Ahowawo ɲu sewo

Aba, si dzi ame kuku la mlɔ hafi wotsɔe ɖi la, eya dzi ahosi la mlɔna. Ahosi fe nɔfee nye ɣaylefe le xɔ me. Menɔa zikpui dzi o, ke boɲ kpe dzi wɔnɔna. Avɔ, si wɔdatae nye avɔ, si wotsɔ ɖi ame kuku lae. Eya wɔdata, eye eya ke wɔatsɔ abla tae. Mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔdata avɔ bubu aɖeke le ɲɔ alo zã me o.

Ahosi mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔado gbe na amewo o, negbe ame bubuwo koe ado gbe nɛ. Nenemake mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔado dze kple amewo o. Medze be, ahosi nato du titina ayi o. Ne edi be yeayi ame aɖe gbɔ la, ekema ele nɛ be, wɔato gbɔxa mɔ ayi. Ahosi mekpɔ mɔ ado le xɔ me enuenu o, negbe xɔ me ko wɔanɔ. Ne ebe, yeado la, ekema atsɔ blitikpui ade afɔ tame.

Ele na ahosi bena nu sia nu si, wɔawɔ be, yeadzra la, awɔe wɔaɖi. Elabena wobe, ne ahosi wɔ nudzadzra aɖe wɔto la, ezu busu nɛ, ale bena, ne edo le aho me, eye wɔwɔ nudzadzra la womaflee nɛ akpɔ o.

Wogblo bena, ne ahosi melé be na eɖokui le kɔnyinyi siawo katã me o la, ekema aho aɖui alo aho agbã ɖe ɲuti, eye wɔatrɔ zu tsukunɔ anɔ nu fom ɖaa. Le esiata ahosiwo léa be na kɔwo katã nyina pepɛpɛ.

II Trɔsiwo fe ɖiɖime

Matseawo hã ɖia wofe trɔsiwo ɖe gbe me le tefe tɔxɛ aɖe si woyɔna be dadibluvu. Afi sia woɖia ame tsiavawo hã ɖo. *Ne trɔsi ku la wometsɔnɛ toa xɔ nu o; enumake wotsɔnɛ yia gbe me, eye trɔsiwo katã va nɔa trɔvu fom nɛ. Dufiawo xɔa gbɔ le trɔsi la nɔviwo si hafi woaɖe mɔ bena, woadii. Ne woyina eɖi ge la, wonɔa tu dam, eye amewo nɔa avi fam. Womewɔa aho na trɔsi ɲekeke gedɛ o, negbe ɲekeke enyi ko wowɔnɛ. Dufiawo gaxɔa gbɔ ɖeka le nɔviawo si hafi woadɔ amewo woagbã efe xɔ, ekema wowɔ efe nu vɔ keɲ.

III Uumemewo alo ame tsiavawo

A. Nufɔfo le wo ɲu hayoo

1. Ku, siwo fomevi nye avatsitsi

Ame si tu fo le gbe me, etsi ava; ame si da ɖu alo ati fo wòku, etsi ava. Ame si dzi ɖe gbe ɖe dzi wòku etsi ava. ne ege tso dzi va ku, etsi ava. Ame si tsi lé alo dzo fiafe wòku, etsi ava.

2. Preparing Accident victims for burial

The body of anyone who dies in any of the above-mentioned situations, is not brought into the house. They carefully wash and lay him in state in the bush. Any person who goes to view him must carry white clay, sprinkle it on him and say: "Have our sympathies." Accident victims are not smeared with pomade; they are only smeared with white clay and covered with white calico. The firing of musketry goes on only in the bush and never in the house.

3. Their Burial

No restraint is shown in the burial of accident victims. Everything is done hastily. The procession of the pall bearers includes the grave diggers. Wherever the procession stops, the grave is dug there, for, they believe that it is where he himself wants to be buried. A very small and narrow grave is dug and they all flee back home after the burial, because an accident victim's ghost is often said to have thrown stones at people if they did not hurry back home; and whoever is hit by such a stone surely dies.

4. Taking the soul from the place the fallen victim "Lubutsotso"

Nine days after the burial, people go to the location of the accident. They must arrive there before sunrise, carrying two little unused pots. They scoop the soil from the site of the incident into one of the pots, which is wrapped with a blue cloth. After this, they make a mound and install the second pot on it up side down. If the deceased was killed as a result of a snake-bite, they would search the location and catch a snake. If the victim had been killed by a falling tree, the tree would be hacked to pieces. As this goes on, everybody keeps silent; no one opens his mouth. One of the people involved in the action calls out the name of the dead and says: "We have come to accompany you to the house; come, let us go home!" The pot which had been filled with soil and wrapped closed with the cloth is now placed on someone's head and two shots are fired into the air. They then set off back home amid loud wailing and shouting. On the way back, they set the pot on the grave of the deceased, and proceed to break and burn down his house.

5. Mourning

There is no mourning for a victim who has fallen in action. The surviving husband or wife only has to remain in-doors for nine days. The mourning period ends with the breaking down of the deceased's house. In spite of this, the widow or widower has to wear a special ochre-red cloth which has been dyed in a concoction of some red roots that yield a blood-red sap wherever he/she may go - at home or in the bush, so that every one knows that he/she is mourning.

2. Ame tsiavawo dzadzraḡo

Ne ame aḡe ku ale ku sia tḡbe aḡe la, wometsḡne va afe me o, ke boḡ wolea tsi ne le gbe me keḡ atsḡe aḡo agba ḡu le afi ma. Ame siaa ame, si yina ḡe ekpḡ ge ḡa la, atsḡ ye ḡe asi avuvu ḡe edzi agblḡ bena: Ḃue, ḡue, ḡue, si ḡḡmee nye baba na wo! Womesia ami na ame tsiavawo o, negbe ye ko, eye wotsḡa aklala tsyḡna na wo. Womeda tu na wo le afe me o, negbe le gbe me ko.

3. Wo ḡiḡi

Womeḡia ame tsiavawo kple dzigbḡḡi o, boḡ wowḡa nu sia nu kabakaba. Ne wokḡ ame kuku la yina ḡiḡi ge la, ekema yḡkulawo kplḡa wo ḡo; afi si ametsḡlawo tḡ ḡo la, afi ma wole do la ḡe ge ḡo, elabena wogblḡ be, afi ma eya ḡutḡ be woaḡi ye ḡo. Yḡkulawo ḡea do sue aḡe ko, eye ne woḡi vḡ la, wo katā sina va afe me. Wogblḡ be, ame tsiavawo fe ḡḡli ḡe wḡda kpe ame, ne womedzo kaba o, eye ame si kpe la dze la eya hā aku.

4. Lubutsḡtsḡ

Ne ame la fe ḡiḡi xḡ ḡkeke asieke la, ekema woyia afi si nu la wḡ amea le la. Ameawo yina hafi ye nadze. Wotsḡa zevi yeye eve ḡe asi, aka anyigba le afi si nua wḡe le la ade ḡeka me abla blusi ḡe enu; emegbe woafḡ dru ḡe afi ma atsḡ zevi evelia abu edzi. Nenyē dae ḡu amea la, ekema woatsa le afi ma adi da ḡeka alé. Alo nenyē ati dzi ame la ge tso, ekema wḡatso ati la afu anyi.

Ne wole nenem nu siawo wḡm la, ekema ame bubuawo zia ḡoḡoe, ame aḡeke make nu o. Nuwḡlawo dometḡ ḡeka ayḡ ame kuku la fe ḡkḡ agblḡ bena: Wḡ kplḡ ge mḡeva, va mḡayi afe loo! Wotsḡa zevi, si me woka anyigba ḡo, bla avḡ ḡe enu la, ḡoa ame ḡeka ta, eye wodaa tu kpeḡkpeḡ. Tete boboe kple avifafa dzḡna hoo kple tudada tso gbea dzi va se ḡe afe me. Zevia la, wotsḡne ḡadana ḡe ame kuku la fe yḡ dzi. Emegbe wogbā ame la fe xḡ atsḡ atḡ dzoe keḡkeḡ.

5. Ahowḡwḡ

Womewḡa aho na ame tsiavawo o; ke wo srḡḡyḡnu alo ḡutsu anḡ anyi matsa o ḡkeke nyiḡe sḡḡ. Ne wogbā ame kuku la fe xḡ ko evḡ. Negbe nu si ko wḡawḡe nye wḡatsḡ efe avḡtata ḡeka aḡe kḡbḡ wḡabiā sigbe vu ene anḡ tatam. Eḡale afe me alo wḡle gbe me yi ge o alo eyina du me o, eya ko wḡanḡ tatam. Ame siaa ame si akpḡe ko adze sii bena, ele fu nyim.

B. The “Bloody” types of Death

1. Women who die during Pregnancy

It is the custom not to weep for a woman who dies in pregnancy; neither should there be any firing of muskets for her. It is considered to be a very bad action, that can lead to the occurrence of more other calamities. For the burial of such a person, the relatives would have to buy a plot from the chiefs. As soon as the woman passes away, people go about in search of goats to buy (one for the village chief and another for the leader of the grave-diggers). Meanwhile, the body is carried out of the town into the bush, and women follow it there to wail for her till evening. The cost of the goats is borne by the inhabitants of that part of the village, who contribute to pay for the purchase. As this continues, the chiefs and the grave-diggers slaughter their goats and feast on the meat. It is only after they have finished feasting that the grave-diggers go to dig the grave. They call for the corpse, and, when it is brought, they split-open her belly and take out the foetus. If it happens, as it sometimes does, that the baby is still alive, the grave-diggers smash its head against a tree so that it dies. They proceed to bury the woman, together with all her belongings at the end of which there is wailing and firing of muskets. If someone's musket misfires, he quickly shakes the gun-powder out onto the ground and takes to his heels. Nine days after the burial, they come together to break down her house and crown it all with eating and drinking.

2. Death by Snake-bite

If, in spite of all curative efforts, a person dies of snake-bite, they carry the person, amid musketry firing, in the town, where the body is washed, adorned and smeared with white clay. They pour palm wine into his mouth and continue the firing of muskets for a long time. His house will be broken down nine or eleven days later, but, before that happens, they take a little pot with its cover to the place, where the man was bitten. There, they dig up the soil, fill the pot with it and close it up. The oldest woman of that family is made to carry it on her head, and, followed by the entire village population, amid drumming and the shooting of muskets, until the pot is placed back on the grave. After a long spell of shooting, during which the deceased's age-mates break down his house, the people of that clan entertain the visitors until night falls.

3. People who die of Smallpox

A person who dies of this disease is not prepared in any special way for burial. They carry him to the outskirts of the town where he is washed. A few people, not everybody, weep for him. Nobody shoots for him, and they do not leave him lying long but rush quickly to bury him. Even this is done in his own clothes, not among others, but at a burial place reserved for such people. Once the smallpox epidemic is over, they organize one funeral for all those who died of it. People then wail for them, and there is drumming and shooting of muskets. People come from all the villages around and make merry and enjoy themselves as much as they can.

They are not mourned as such, but the spouse of the deceased must remain indoors for up to nine days. The deceased's house would then be broken down. If it was a woman, only her hut would be destroyed, leaving the husband's, but, if it was a man,

B. Efomeviwo

1. Nyɔnu, siwo ku kple fo

Ne nyɔnu aɖe ku kple fo la, enye kɔ bena, womefa avi na wo o, eye womeɖaa tu hã o. Wobu be, enye busu, nu vɔlɔvɔlɔ ɲutu. Woflea anyigba le fiawo si hafi ɖia ale nuwo. Ne nyɔnu la mia nu kasia wodea asi gbɔ didi me xoxo. Ne wokpɔe la, wotsɔa ɖeka na dufia, eya wotsɔa ɖeka na yɔfia. Enumake wokɔa ame la yia gbe me, ekema nyɔnuwo yia egbo nɔa avi fam va se ɖe fiẽ. Kɔmetɔwo dzɔa nu le amewo si, eya wotsɔna xea lã, si wofle la fe fe. Ne fiawo ɖa nu ɖu eye yɔkulawo hã wu wotɔ nu vɔ la, yɔkuawo yia yɔkufe. Ne woɖe yɔ vɔ, wodoa yli bena, woatsɔ ame kuku la vɛ. Ne wotsɔe vɛ la, wosẽa efe yɔ nu gɔme, bena ɖevia nado go. Ye aɖewo yi la ɖevia nɔa agbe ke yɔɖelawo tsɔ efe ta xlãna ɖe nu wòkuna. Nu siwo keɲ le nyɔnua si la, wotsɔa wo ɖine. Emegbe wo katã doa yli, eye woda tu. Ame si fe tu meɖi o la, atrɔ ɖu la akɔ ɖe anyi asi adzo. Ɔkeke asieke megbe woagbã efe xɔ, aɖa nu aɖu, ano, aha kakaka.

2. Daɖuawo

Ne d a ɖu ame aɖe wowɔe kakaka wòku la, wotsɔa ame la nɔa tu dam ɖe ejuti va se ɖe gbɔ xo me. Afi ma woale tsi nɛ asãe kura atɔ yɛ ata nɛ. Eyome woakpe aha nɛ, eye woada tu le afi ma kakaka.

Ɔkeke asieke alo wuiɖeke megbe wogbãa efe xɔ. Gake hafi woawɔ esia la, wotsɔa zevi yeye kple nutuvi yia afi si kekeake da ɖu ame la le. Woka anyigba le afi ma dea zevi la me, eye wotua nu enu. Nyɔnu si nye tsisia le fome mã me la, eya tsɔnɛ. Duawo kura le eyome le tu dam le vu vɔwo fom atɔ ze la abu efe yɔɖo dzi. Woda tu kakaka, eye ame kuku la hatiwo gbã efe xɔ. Kɔmetɔwo wɔa amedzro na wo, eye woɖia kɔ va se ɖe zã me.

3. Sakpatelélawo ɖiɖi

Ne ame aɖe ku ku sia fomevi la, dzadzraɖo gobi aɖeke menɔa eɲu o. Wotsɔnɛ yia dua xa, eye wolea tsi nɛ le afi ma. Menye amewo katã fa avi o, negbe ame ɖekaɖekawo ko. Womeɖa tu na wo o, eye womena wofe ame kuku nɔ anyi etefe didina o, boɲ woɖia wo kaba. Woawo ɲutuwo fe avɔ ko wotsɔna ɖia woe. Womeɖia wo ɖe ame kuku bubuwo dome o, ke boɲ ɖife tɔxe li na wo. Ne ɖolélé la nu yi vɔ keɲ la, wowɔa yɔfe na wo katã zi ɖeka. Woda tu, foa vu, eye wofa avi na wo azɔ. Amewo tsoa duta bubuwo, eye wowɔa plasi geɖe.

Womewɔa aho na wo o, negbe srɔɲutsu alo nyɔnu koe anɔ xɔ me va se ɖe ɲekeke nyiɖeagbe. Emegbe woagbã ame kuku la fe xɔ. Nenyɛ nyɔnue la, woagbã efe xɔ ko, ɲutsua tɔ nanɔ anyi wɔnanɔ eme. Nenyɛ ɲutsue la, woagbã xɔ siwo katã le afea me, eye nyɔnua avu ayi ame bubu fe.

then all the buildings in the house would be destroyed, and the wife and the others would have to find some other place to live.

IV. *Amedilawo* (People who preside over Burials)

There used to be a lot more of “burial-presidents” in *Matse*, in the olden days than there are today. From about twenty, the number has been reduced to about seven, since no one is ready today to fill the vacancies that may be created.

When the *amedilawo* bury a child, they charge 7 ½ *hoka*; 15 for a woman and 30 *hoka* for a man, in addition to palm wine. For burying a rich man, they are paid 60 *hoka*, a goat, and a large gourd of palm wine. These *amedilawo* also have their own chief.

IV. Yɔfiawo (amedɔlawo)

Yɔfiawo sɔ gbɔ le Matse tsā wu fifia, woade ame blaeye sɔɛ. Ke fifi la, wole ame adre ko, elabena womegale ame kpɔm le wo tefe ɔm o.

Ne yɔfiawo ɔi ɔvi la, woxɔa hoka 7 bamfā; nenye nyɔnue wonye hoka 15; ɲutsuwo hoka 30, eye wogakpea aha ɔe ɛɲu na wo. Ke nenye kesinɔtɔe la, woxɔa hoka 60, gbɔ kple aha go ɔka. Amegā ɔka le yɔfiawo nu keɲ.

Chapter 3: The Profession of *Matse* people

I. The Profession of Men

A. General Description

The *Matse* people have pursued mat-weaving, hunting, construction of houses, and metalwork as their profession from the olden days till today. The mat-weaving profession is flourishing these days more than it used to be. Earlier, each ward in town had its own special profession. Some wards specialised in metalwork, producing swords, hoes, rings and chains; others forged only brass objects, and others specialised only in jewellery. Other clans were hunters, living mostly in the bush while only a small group of people devoted themselves to farming.

Unfortunately, most of these people were lost after the Asante war, and the whole population now devotes itself only to mat-weaving, since, according to them, they earn more from this activity. They do not take care of their farming activities any more. At the start of the farming season, they only cultivate small subsistence farms, and that is why there is always hunger in these towns. As early as two or three months after the yam festival, one sees the women carrying wooden basins on the head to look for yam from other towns to buy. The people of *Taviefe*, unlike the *Matses*, pursue both mat-weaving and farming assiduously, and that is why they are able to feed themselves and the *Matses* as well.²⁰

There are not many foodstuffs in the *Matse* towns, because the *Matses* do not engage in serious farming. The days on which they stay at home, one can see them on the street, sharing jokes, laughing and pursuing all sorts of base entertainments till late in the afternoon. When they receive information that someone is tapping palm wine, they all troop there to drink; the people of this tribe love palm wine and brandy very much. One man is able to drink as much as twelve calabashes of palm wine on a single day. This is why it is impossible for a visitor to have a drink of palm wine among this tribe.

²⁰ That means, the *Taviefe* people can feed themselves as well as the *Matse* people.

Ta Etõlia: Ɖɔwɔwɔwɔ

I Ɔutsuwo ɛ

A. Nufɔfo le ɛɲu hayoo

Ɖɔ, siwo Matseawo wɔna tso gbede va ɔo egbe wonye: agbledede, abalɔɔ, ɔwɔwɔ, adedada kple nututu.

Matseawo melɔa aba gedɛ le blema abe fifi ene. Kɔ vovovowo nɔ du sia me tsã. Dewo nye nutulawo, ame siwo tua, dzangbe, ɔawlata, kodzi, asige kple ɔwɔwɔwɔ; dewo tsɔa ga dzẽ koɲ tua nui, dewo nye dzonuwɔlawo. Kɔ bubuwo nye adelawo, ame siwo nɔa gbe me ɔaa, eye kɔ ɔka ya nye agbledelawo.

Ke le Asantevu megbe la, nenem nu siawo fe gedɛa bu le wo dome, eye dukɔ blibo la va tsitse lɔ ge, elabe wobu be, yewoakɔa hotsui le eya me wu ɔo bubuawo. Womegalɛa be na agbledede kura o. Ne wole agble de ge la, wodene sue ko, esiata ɔo hã le wofe dua me. Ne woɔu te ɔo yleti eve alo etɔ megbe pɛ wofe nyɔnuwo lé gbɔnu ɔe ta yi du bubuwo me, be woafle te ava dzra na wo. Ke Taviefetɔwo ya doa vevie tsetselɔɔ kple agbledede siaa, eya ta woawo koe nyia Matseawo.

Esi Matseawo melɔa agbledede o la, eya ta nuɔɔɔ mebo ɔe dua me o. Gbe si gbe nye wofe afenɔgbe la, akɔ wo woanɔa anyi ɔe ablɔ me anɔ dze vlowo ɔom anɔ kokom va se ɔe yetɔ me. Ne ame ɔe le aha kpam wonya la, wo katã woyia aha me aha no ge. Deha kple yevuha vivia du sia me ɔwo nu ɲutɔ. Ame ɔka ate ɲu ano deha tre wuieve gbe ɔka. Eya ta amedzro mekpɔa aha dzena le du sia me o.

B. Farm Work/Farming

1. Yam farming

a. Clearing the Forest

The first thing to do, when one wants to make a farm, is to cut down the forest. The trees are hacked and allowed to dry up after which they are burned down. The larger branches are also cut down and taken home as firewood.²¹

Those who do not want to cut down a virgin forest, weed the grass, set fire to the bigger trees, so that they become dry, and no more keep the farm under shadows.

b. Planting Yams ²²

At the beginning of the yam planting season, yam mounds are made and, in them, the seed-yams are sown. Some people first make a hollow in the ground before making the mound over it. Some others do not make this pre-mound cavity, and their yams do not turn out as beautifully as those of the farmers who do.



Picture of ‘The Village Street in Akpafu’

c. Treatment of the Yam Plant

When the planted yam seedlings begin to grow, oil palm branches are cut and stuck into the ground beside the mounds and close to the seedlings. Later, when the young

²¹ See Picture on p. 336.

²² See picture on page 337.

B. Agbledwo

1. Te

a. Avefofo

Hafi ame aḑe nade agble la, gbā efoa ave, eyome wòatso aveti, eye ne ɲuḑo qui wòfu la, ekema atɔ dzoe. Emegbe wòalā atilwo atɔ awɔ nake. Ame siwo mefoa ave o la, wosia gbe, emegbe wokpea dzo ḑe ati, siwo le boa me la ɲuti woaku, ne agble la me magatsɔ o.

b. Tefafā

Ne tefāyi ḑo la, wodzea dru hafi fāne ḑe eme. Ame aḑewo ḑea do hafi foa dru la, ke ḑewo fone ḑe anyigba fuflu ko. Gake ame siwo kua do la fe te ḑona wu.



Idols on the village street in Akpafu

c. Asitɔtro le teawo ɲu

Ne teawo de asi miemie me la, ekema woflɔa fɔ alo sii va trɔna na wo; emegbe ne teḑwo wu fɔwo la, ekema wotua ati na wo. Azɔ wodzea boa me ɲɔɲɔ gɔme. Woyɔa ɲɔɲɔ gbātɔ bena hlɔgbe, evelia nye hlɔgbetse, eye woyɔa etɔlia be bomefofo alo mamletɔ.

climbers begin to out-grow the palm fronds, the farmers erect poles near them. That is the time to do the first weeding, termed *hlõgbẽ*, or “vengeance grass”; the second is called *hlõgbetse*, ‘the younger brother of the vengeance grass’; the third and last weeding is “*bomefofo*,” “smoothening the farm”.

After all of the above, the time has now come to dig holes under some of the yams, to help them grow bigger and nicer. This is what they refer to as “undermining of the yam”.

d. The Yam Harvest²³

Some time after the holes are dug, they begin to harvest the tubes. But before that, some of the tubers are cut off from the roots in such a way that these would, in time, yield new appendages for subsequent planting. All the good and mature tubers thus removed are buried in a hole to prevent them from going rotten. They are called *kpasi*, *taḍi* or *tafuanyi*. ‘*Taḍi*’, because it is buried just after harvesting so that it does not go bad; ‘*kpasie*’,²⁴ because it is so soft that after cooking it, one has to spread it out for the wind to cool-harden it before pounding it into fufu; and ‘*tafuanyi*’, because when one is harvesting, one has to gently hit it on the ground to let the soil fall off it.



At the palm wine bar

The actual yam harvesting time begins when all the climbers dry out. The props, which helped the climbers to creep high up, are first pulled out and are used for building the yam barn.²⁵ The yam tubers are then harvested and brought to the yam-house, where they are bound in rows along the props. Care is taken to ensure that the tubers from each row on the farm are bound to one pole in the yam-house.

²³ See picture on p.341.

²⁴ The word is “*kpazie*,” a foreign word.

²⁵ p. Ref. picture on page 346/347.

Le atitutu megbe wokua do ɔe ɔewo te, bena woado awu, esia woyɔna be teɔomekaka.

d. *Tekuku*

Ne woka te ɔome vɔ etefe didi vie la, wokua te. Gbã wota tea adewo, bena woate ɲu afo ta. Telã, siwo katã wota la, wotsɔa wo ɔina ɔe do me, bena wo magavo o. Woyɔa wo bena kpasiɛ, taɔi alo tafuanyi. Kpasiɛ fe fufu mesesẽna o, eya ta ne wofae la, wosiane, bena ya nafo ɔee vie hafi woatoe. Esia ɲuti woyɔnɛ be kpasiɛ. Woyɔnɛ be ta ɔi, elabena ne wotae la, woɔine ɔe do me, bena woagavo o.



A palm wine market

Nu si ta woyɔnɛ be tafuanyie nye, ne wotae la, wotsɔnɛ fua anyi, be ke nadudu le enu.

Ne teawo katã ku la, ekema tekuyi ɲuto ɔo. Gbã wohoa ati, siwo wotu na teawo la wɔa tɔxɔ. Emegbe wokua teawo lɔna ɔe eme; eyome wonyẽa wo ɔe xɔ la ɲu ɔe agbaka agbaka me. Agbaka ɔekae nye teti ɔeka.

e. The Yam Festival

On the day of the Yam Festival, tubers of yam are cut into pieces for the *trɔwo*. On that day, everybody slaughters a fowl or a goat and pounds yam-fufu. Everybody invites his paternal brother and friends to take part in the feasting. Palm wine and brandy are provided in abundance for the occasion. The festival is capped later in the evening with drumming and dancing. That is the day on which the chiefs celebrate the Yam Festival for their stools. The other tribes, however, choose a special day on which this event takes place. A lot of palm wine is provided; the chiefs sit in state in full regalia, and they are carried around in palanquins with pomp and pageantry, while the whole population follows and pays homage.²⁶

f. Nicknames for Yam

The following are the nick names that the *Matses* give to yam: 1. “Supporter of *Kpobi Kwasi of Akwamu*”. An *Akwamu* man, who had come to *Matse*, was once seen holding a slice of boiled yam in the hand and was eating it, while a pot of yam meant for pounding fufu was cooking on the fire; additionally, he had put another piece into the fire to roast. The people asked him why he was eating boiled yam, when he had already started cooking yam for *fufu*, and, at the same time, roasting yet another piece of yam in the fire? He answered: “Yam is my supporter (*ma*).” This is why *Matse* people call yam by this nickname²⁷. 2. “It is the white hill that can be seen from a distance.” By this, they mean that any yam farm can be recognized even from afar. 3. “The lazy man has no yam to harvest and no yam to eat.” 4. “I would not have refused you if you had bent down (to work).”²⁸ 5. “He who wants to keep his feet clean should not plant yam”.²⁹ 6. “It is yam which has turned the jungle into woodland.”³⁰ 7. “Yams do not bind themselves up on the pole for those who stay at home.” 8. (The lazy man says :) “I shall begin, and I will be doing it.” 9. “It is the one who has not planted any yam that makes friends with the one who has planted many.” 10. “The son who has gone to war, will not forget the martial law.” 11. “The well-developed yam breaks during the harvest.” Beautifully developed yam very often breaks while being un-earthed, because it ranges deep into the earth. This name is thus in praise of well-developed, i.e. beautiful tubers of yam.

26 See picture on p. 100 No. 6.

27 *Kpobi Kwasi* was the man’s name, *Akwamndee* is any *Akwamu* man; ‘*ma*’ is supposed to mean helper or supporter. The nickname therefore means: Supporter of *Kpobi Kwasi of Akwamu*.

28 That is what the hard-worker tells the lazy man.

29 Farm workers get their feet and hands dirty.

30 When there is war, every able-bodied man must go to the battlefield; those who cannot go, must pay. It is the same with agriculture. The lazy man remains at home, and must therefore pay for the yams he eats.

e. Teḍuḍu

Le teḍugbe wodzea te na trõwo katã. Gbe ma gbe ame siaa ame wua koklo alo gbõ ato fufu geḍe. Ame siaa ame ayɔ tɔvia woadu nu le efe me. Emegbe wodzea deha alo yevuha ayɔ xɔlõwo woava no. Le yetrɔ wolea tsi, ta ḍo nyuiewo, eye wofoa fu dua ye.

Gbe ma gbe ke fiawo dua te na wofe kpukpo. Ke le du bubuwo me la, fiawo ḍoa ŋkeke tɔxe na nu siawo wɔwɔ. Wodzea aha kpan, eye woḍoa atsyɔ heḍoa apaka me, eye duawo ḍia kɔ na wo.

f. Te ŋkɔwo

Matseawo foa ŋkɔ ḍo na te bena: 1. Akɔmuḍee kpobi Kwasi wo ma. Akɔmutɔ aḍe va Matse, eḍa tegba (tekɔ) le ḍuḍum, gaḍo bubu dzo ta, esi wòle fufu togee, eye wògade bubu dzo me. Wobiae bena, nu ka wɔ wòle sigbe, le tegba ḍum, ḍo fufutɔ dzo dzi haḍi galã mum[a de dzo me mahã? Eḍo ŋu bena te la nye yefe ma (kpedeŋutɔ). Eya ta Matseawo foa ŋkɔ ḍo na te bena “Akɔmuḍee Kpobi Kwasi wo ma” 2. Kɔ yie nɔ ge kɔ. 3. Nɔ afe meḍine o, metsɔ kɔe ḍu o. 4. *bɔbɔ godzo meḍui te wò? 5. Afɔtoge lālētɔ meḍāne o. 6. Oḍie krɔku dzogbe zu ave. 7. ame nɔ afe tɔ meléa ati o. 8. Mato mawɔe 9. Mafomafātɔ dze xɔlõ fafātɔ. 10. Vi te ŋu de ava metsia avase me o. 11. Nu kpo kuawo loo!. Ame si fe te ḍo gã, eye wòle ete kam la, efe nugbɔ nɔa ŋeŋem ḍe do la me. Eya ta wofoa ŋkɔ ḍo na teḍoḍotɔwo bena “Nu kpo kuawo loo!.

2. Maize

a. Cutting down the Forest

The work on the maize farm is not as tedious as the labour on the yam farm. They begin by setting fire to the forest, followed by cutting down the trees and the branches into pieces. They wait for the leaves to dry properly before burning the branches and twigs. All the unburnt pieces are collected, heaped together and burnt again.

b. Sowing and Handling

The farmer hires labourers to dig the holes while others sow the maize. When they sprout, he hires children to scare the birds away from destroying the seedlings. This continues until the seedlings out-grow this danger. The first weeding is done as the plants grow knee-high. It is now the turn of children to keep watch on the farm everyday so that wild animals, especially rodents and birds, do not destroy the crop. They have to do this until the maize matures.

c. Maize Harvest and Nicknames

The maize is taken down from the stems when it is mature and dry. It is then preserved on a scaffold³¹ where it remains till it is taken to the market for sale. If the maize is doing beautifully on the farm, this transient phenomenon is termed: 1. "Only the beautiful is tall, and not the thin one." 2. "One cannot steal this with the hands only." (For that, one needs the help of a cutlass). 3. "*Anani's Jaw will break*" (because the grains of this healthy maize are so large and hard).

3. Cassava

After the land has been prepared for planting, the cassava sticks are cut into short pieces and stuck into the soil. They continue to weed among them, whenever necessary, until they are mature. Some people do not cultivate any special farm for cassava. They just plant the cuttings among the crops in the maize and yam farms. Cassava is pounded into fufu for meals or eaten boiled. Some names given to cassava are: 1. "You cannot carry the liquid material in a basket".³² 2. "The skin has been removed from the eye of a crazy animal".³³ 3. "The tough *koto*". 4. "A baby ripped out of the womb is not brought home; it only belongs to the wild animals."³⁴

4. Cotton

Farmers choose an area on the yam farm, on which yam has not been planted, to sew cotton. The cotton pods burst open during the period of bush fires; that is when they are hand-picked and brought home. They are first laid to dry after which the selection

31 See picture on p.332.

32 A white, sticky, & milky juice flows from the fresh cassava.

33 The skin of the cassava peels off very readily.

34 See p.278. A baby ripped from its mother's womb may well be buried with its mother; but since the grave might be too shallow, it could be possible for hyenas to salvage it and feed on it.

2. Bli

a. Avefofo

Bli ɲu dɔwɔwɔ mesesẽ abe te tɔ ene o. Gbã la, wofoa ave, emegbe wotsoa avetiawo fua anyi, eye woadzae keɲ. Emegbe ne aɲgbawo fu la, ekema wotɔa dzoe. Ne ho la mebi nyuie o la, ekema woalɔe afo fu atɔ dzoe.

b. Efafã kple asitɔtrɔ le eɲu

Avefola dɔa doɖelawo kple blifãlawo wova fanɛ nɛ. Ne womie la, ekema ɖeviwo ɖadzɔnɛ, bena xeviwo nagahoe o, va se ɖe esime wogbɔa xeviwo fe hohome hafi ɖeviawo vuna. Ne bli kɔ ɖo ame fe klonu la ekema wota eme. Ke ne lãwo va le fu ɖem nɛ la, agbledzɔviwo yi ɖanɔa edzɔm ɲkeke sia ɲkeke va se ɖe esime wɔafu.

c. Eɲeɲe kple ɲkɔwo

Esia yome woɖonɛ dzrana ɖo ɖe agbati dzi alo ava me. Afi sia wotsɔnɛ tsona nɔa dzadzram.

Ne bli vã ɖe bo dzi nyuie, eye amewo to eɲu le yiyim la, wofoa ɲkɔ ɖo nɛ bena:

1. Ablokɔtɔtsi, maɖimaɖi mekɔa o. 2. Asi ɖeɖe mefinɛ o. 3. Anani wo glã gbã!

3. Agbeli

Ne wosi agbeligbe vɔ la, ekema woɖalɔa agbelitiwo va lãna kpukpui dona ɖe agblea me hɛnɔa eme ɲlɔm va se ɖe esime woado. Ame aɖewo medea agble tɔxe na agbeli o, boɲ wodonɛ ɖe tegblewo kple bligblewo me. Wotsɔa agbeli toa fufui alo ɖunɛ kɔ hã.

Agbeli fe ɲkɔ aɖewo nye: 1. Tsatra medee golo me o. 2. Lãvi tsukui ɲku titre 3. Koto bantsi 4. Kpeme media afe o, keke gbelã ke.

4. Ɖeti

Wofã ɖeti ɖe tegble me kple agbanagbe wo (bofo fe akpa si womefã te ɖo o). Le dzogbeɲɔli la, ɖetiawo kena, eye woɖaɖenɛ va afe. Gbã wosiane, fɔa aɖuɖwo kple dziɛtɔwo le eme. Emegbe wolɔa wo ɖe golowo me hedzrana. Ale si golo la loloe la, nenema ɲu asi la hã anɔ ɖo. Ɖewo xɔa hotu 3, hotu 5 kple hotu 7. Ne ɖetifu le vevem la, ekema ɖewo xɔa hotu 9 gɔ hã.

exercise begins; the impure and rusted particles and portions are carefully removed after which they are packed into baskets and sold. The selling price is determined by the size of the basket; some baskets sell for 3, 5 or 7 hotu. The price may even rise to 9 hotu during the lean season.

D. Domestic Works

1. Building a House.

The most important work which men do at home is house construction. If a person intends to build a house, first he cuts hay for roofing. He hires men to help cart the hay home while others fell wood for the building. Some are paid for their labour and others entertained with palm wine. When all building materials have been assembled, he commissions his paternal brothers to help him prepare the site and erect the building. The people also help him with other jobs, such as binding the palm buttresses on the roof and side-walls.³⁵ In the process, these and other people in town help him with only a “Thank you!” for their reward.

2. Processing the Cotton.

There are three ways of winding the yarn: the first is *kadzigo*, a coiled hank, consisting of several single threads. This is then washed with soap, hung on a post and weighed down with a stone. Two days later, they take it down and wind it on a spool (*nyre*).



The house of an affluent native.

The second type is those cords which come in blue. They are not long, but some of them are about two arm-lengths long. It is called: the yarn which is made for the

³⁵ Ref. pictures on pp. 374 & 375.

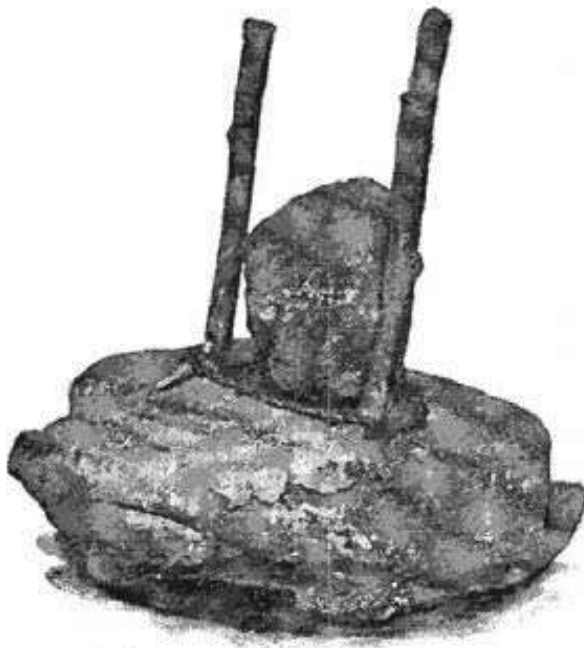
D. Afemetowo

1. Xɔtutu

Ŋutsuwo fe dɔ vevietɔ si wowɔna le afe mee nye xɔtutu. Ne ame aɖe dɔ tame be, yeatu xɔ la, ewua bè gbã. Edzea aha drɔ amewo be, woawu bè na ye. Esia megbe wɔdɔ amewo wɔatso xɔti nɛ. Ne esu te le xɔwɔnuwo didi me la, ekema aɔ tɔviawo wɔadzra xɔtefe dɔ nɛ, eye wɔatsɔ xɔ la atu nɛ. Le eta kple ekɔgbɛ yẽyẽ me hã amewo kpena ɖe enjuti. Dua metowo awɔ xɔdɔwo katã nɛ faa fe aɖeke manɔ eme o; negbe akpe ko wɔdada na wo.

2. Ɖeti ŋu dɔwɔwɔ

Kaɖeɖe etɔ fomevi li. Ɖeka nye kadzigo, si woɖena wosɔa gbɔ geɖe. Eme gbe woklɔnɛ kple adzalẽ hehena ɖe sege me. Le ŋkeke eve megbe la, wofanɛ ɖe nyre ŋuti. Esi woɖena tsɔna doa ama me la, womeɖe gã vuyɔ o, boŋ woɖenɛ sue, wɔdidina abe abɔ ɖeka ene, si woyɔna be amadoɖeti.



Lateritic stone, as guardian of the house (Afeli)

Kaɖeɖe etɔlia nye afɔɖeti, eya la nyɔnuwo koe ɖenɛ. Efe didimee nye afɔ eve, eye woxlẽ nɛ ŋu eveveve tefe blaetɔ. Wodzranɛ na ŋutsuwo woflena hoka atɔ. Ne ame aɖe be, yealɔ avɔ efe ŋkume nanyo la, eklɔ kawo gbã hafi atsi avɔ lae.

colour. The third method is called *afɔdɛti*, “foot yarn.”³⁶ It is only women who make this type; it is two feet long and each foot has thirty pairs of the threads. They sell them to their men who pay 5 hoka for each. A person who decides to weave a cloth with a beautiful facial look would first wash his yarn before winding it.

3. Mat weaving

a. Preparation of the *Kpa* for Work

Kpa is the name of the plant used for weaving mats, and that is why mats are referred to as *kpabe*. *Kpa* is planted along river banks which are considered as inherited property till today. *Kpa* is a plant with long thorny leaves. A person who wants to weave a mat first goes to the *kpa*-forest to harvest as many leaves as he wants. The thorns are removed with a knife and dried for a while to make them wilt a little. Care must be taken to remove them early enough from the sunlight so that they do not get burnt and lose their value. They are collected and taken to the processing yard, where two long poles have been erected. These two poles firmly bracket a long bamboo pole, one side of which has been filed to the sharpness of a knife. This contraption is called *kpadoti*. The *kpa* is shredded into strips with it, until they become very soft. The soft strips are then bound together, carried into the sun and laid to dry well. The desired dryness is achieved after two or three days, and, when it has been rendered soft by the dew, it is folded up. This action of folding after the night's dew is called *kpatsihe*. Short *kpa*'s are called, *kpakpui*, while long ones are referred to as *kpadzi*. The long one is used for weaving the mat whilst the short ones are used for cross-weaving. When it finally comes to the actual weaving, a short, pointed stick is fashioned with which the *kpa* is shredded into fairly equal sizes. The mat-weaving begin.

b. Mat-weaving

It is very difficult for a person to weave a mat single-handedly. A single person, working at it, has to weigh it down with a stone before proceeding slowly with it. For an optimum rate of production, one needs a group of two or three persons. These have to work at a quick tempo to be able to weave ten small or five or six large mats per day. A single person, working extra- hard at it, can only make two mats a day.

Though adults also do hem, the work of hemming the mats is mainly for children. Children, who are industrious, can complete ten mats a day for which they are paid 2 hoka per mat.

c. Pricing the Mat

In the past, one could get a mat from the manufacturers for 1/2 hoka, and retail it for 3 hoka. The current prices are: 25? hoka for the small size, and 45? hoka for the large size.

Mat-weaving is the most important work of *Matse* people. Other towns which take mat-weaving seriously are *Tanyigbe* and *Taviefe*.

³⁶ The yarn is made to wind like the figure eight around both feet which are held apart.

3. Tsitselɔlɔ

a. Kpa Kple enu dɔwɔwɔ

Kpa wotsɔna lɔa tsitse aloo abae, eya ta woyɔa aba sia fomevi bena kpabe. Wodoa kpa ɖe tɔwo to, eye wonye ametɔ ametɔ ken. Tɔgbuinu wɔnye na wo va se ɖe egbegbe.

Kpae nye ati aɖe, si ɖea to legbɛlegbɛ. Woɖea ɲu le wo ɲu ken kple he, eye wosia wo ɖe ɲɔgbɛ, bena woayɔ vee menɔa ɲɔ gbe didie o, ne menye nenem o la, efiāna, eye wɔgbɛ na. Emegbe wolɔne va dona le abɔ me. Wotu ati legbe eve, eye wotso pampɔ si wokpa go ɖeka na wɔle ɖadam abe he ene la, bla ɖe wo titina sesie. Woyɔa ati sia bena kpadoti. Azɔ wodoa kpawo wobɔɔna bɔkɔbɔkɔ. Ne wowɔ esia vɔ la, woblane kɔkɔ siana ɖe ɲɔgbɛ, bena ɲɔ naɖui wɔafu nyuie. Le ɲeke eve alo etɔ megbe efuna vie. Ne zāmu foe wɔbɔbɔ la, wonlɔne. Woyɔa ɲɔɲɔ sia be kpatsihe. Kpa aɖewo medidina o, woyɔa wo be kpa kpui, ke ɖe wo didina si woyɔna be kpadzi. Wotsɔa didito ɖoa aba, eye wotsɔa kpuitɔ lɔa eme. Ne wole ɲɲu dɔ wɔ ge la, wokpa ati sue aɖe abe atiba ene hedzea kpa la. Azɔ woate ɲu atsɔe alɔ tsitse.

b. Abalɔlɔ

Ame ɖeka metea ɲu lɔa aba kabakaba o, eye ne ame ɖeka le elɔm la, ekema atɔ kpe aɖo edzi hafi wɔate ɲu alɔe. Godogodo la, ame eve alo etɔ lɔne. Ne wole elɔm la, ekema wofe asiwo le abla ɖem kabakaba, ale be, wolɔa tsitse suetɔ wo ame ewo le ɲeke ɖeka dzi; ke lolotɔ wo ame atɔ alo ade. Ne ame ɖeka le elɔm, ne edo vevie nu la, eya ko wɔalɔ eve le ɲeke ɖeka dzi.

Abatɔfofoe nye ɖeviwo fe dɔ geɖea, ke ame tsitsiwo hā wɔne. Ne wofo aba ɖeka to la, woxɔa hoka eve. ɖevi siwo doa vevie nu la, tea ɲu foa ewo to gbe ɖeka.

c. Aba fe home

Wogblɔ bena, tsā woflea aba le elɔlawo gbɔ, hoka bamfā, eye wodzane le afi si womelɔne le o haka 3. Azɔ la woflene hoka 25, eye nenyɛ aba sue la hoka 15.

Abalɔlɔe nye Matseawo fe dɔ vevietɔ. Du siwo lɔa aba vevie wu wonye Tanyigbe kple Taviefe.

4. Metal Work

There are many blacksmiths in *Matse*. This trade is not pursued by a whole family unit but only by an individual in each family. Smiths are highly respected, and any one who needs the services of a blacksmith has to go and work on the smith's farm before the needed object would be forged for him. Yet, if a blacksmith wants to build a workshop, all and sundry come happily around to help him with the construction.

It is believed that the smith's tongs can cause people's death. If lines are made across a road with these tongs, and an evil magician strides over them, he would certainly die. If two or more people enter into a secret agreement, they make these stripes on the road with this metal so that should any of them break the agreement, he will die if or when he walks across the stripes. Secret agreements and betrayals are avoided, thanks to this iron forceps.



A hunter's hat

In earlier times, blacksmiths of *Matse*-towns would just indiscriminately catch many fowls, slaughter, cook and eat them in their shops. They did this each year, believing that the forge would get angry if they failed to do that. As a result, some smiths would die while others would fall so ill that there would be no more smiths that year to make their tools for them. Nowadays, they no more catch other people's fowls; they rather buy and cook them in front of the forge.

D. Hunting

The *Matses* are very hard-working when it comes to hunting. The customs relevant to hunting are: When a large game is killed, it is carried homewards. Upon nearing home, they would start singing hunting songs, and, at the end of each, they fire a shot,

4. Nututu

Nutulawo sɔ gbɔ le Matse, gake menye kɔ blibo ɖeka nye nutulawo o, keboŋu ame ɖeka koe nyea nutula le kɔ ɖeka me. Amewo tsɔa bubu na nutulawo ɣutɔ. Ne ame aɖe le didim be, woatu nu na ye la, ekema ele be, wɔade agble na nutula, eya ko hafi wɔatu nu la nɛ. Ne nutulawo le yɔɔ tu ge la, ekema amewo katã kpena ɖe ɛɲu kple dzidzɔ.

Wobua nututu aɖe, si woyɔna be atsã la abe amewuwu ene. Wotsɔnɛ tea fli ɖe mɔwo dzi bena, ne amedulawo zɔ eme la, ne woaku. Ne wobla nya yayla aɖe le adza me la, ekema wotsɔa atrã tea fli ɖe mɔwo dzi bena, ne ame si afi tofi nuwɔwɔ sia, eye wɔato eme la, naku. Atrã sia wotsɔna tea nya yaylawo ɖe to, ale bena, ame aɖeke mesenɛ o.



Local straw hat

Tsã la nutulawo léa koklo geɖe le dutawo dzro, eye wodanɛ le yɔɔ nu ɖuna, eya nye yɔɔ subɔsubɔ. Wowɔa nu sia fe sia fe. Wogblo be, ne womewɔ nu sia o, la, yɔɔ bia dzi, eye wowua nutula alo na efe lãme gblẽna, ale be, magate ɲu atu nu le fe ma me o. Egbegbe la, womegalea ame bubuwo fo koklo o, boŋ woagutwo flea koklo ɖuna le yɔɔ nu.

ᐃ. Adedada

Matsetɔwo doa vevie adedada ɣutɔ. Kɔnu, siwo le wo si wonye: Ne woyi adegbe wu lã gã aɖe, eye wogbɔna va gogo afe la, ekema wodea asi adeha dzidzi me anɔ tu ɖekaɖeka dam va

until they enter the town. When they have all finished eating their meals, they gather together in the hunter's home. They would play the hunters' music and dance in his honour.

The customary ritual is performed after four weeks for a hunter who killed a large female animal; if it was a male animal, it would be done after five weeks. (There are four days in a week.) The customs performed for hunters are as follows: First, the one who killed the animal provides a lot of palmwine. All the hunters in town come together, eat and drink. Members of the hunter's family contribute cowry shells; some give 5, 10, and others give 25 hoka. Men from the other towns donate 2 hoka each. Indeed, everyone, who comes to the celebration, must pay 2 hoka for a calabash of palm wine.

E. Trading

Mats are the single most important trading commodity of the *Matse* people. They mainly sell to the people in the coastal areas and buy brandy, salt, gunpowder and guns with the proceeds.



Women pounding fufu

They later trade these goods among themselves. Trading in salt is an especially lucrative business for these mountain dwellers. The only limiting factor is the fact that, even today, the *Matses* do not like traveling since they do not feel secure among the people whom their fore-fathers had earlier capriciously killed.

se ɖe afe me ke. Emegbe ne woɖu nu vɔ la, adelawo keɲ woakpe ta ɖe lāwula fe me alo kpɔ nu, eye woafɔ adevu aɖi kɔ nɛ.

Ne ame aɖe wu lā gā, si nye lānɔ la, wowɔnɛ nɛ le asi ene megbe. Ke nɛnye lātsu la, wowɔnɛ nɛ le asi atɔ megbe. (Asi ɖekae nye ηkeke eve). Lā wɔwɔe nye: Lāwula adze deha geɖe ηutɔ, eye woaɖa nu ano aha. Lāwula fe fometɔwo dzɔa hotsui nɛ. Ame aɖewo na hoka 5, ɖewo hoka 10, eye ɖewo hoka 25. Gbɔmetɔwo hā na hoka eveve. Ame siaa ame, si va lāwɔfe, eye wòno aha tre ɖeka la, ana hoka eve.

E. Asitsatsa

Matseawo fe asitsanu vevietɔ nye aba. Wotsɔnɛ ɖadzɔana na futatɔwo, eye woflea yevuha, dze, ɖu kple tu va afee. Woawo hā gatsɔa nu siawo dzɔana na wo nɔewo, vevietɔ dzee nye viɖenu gā aɖe na tomeduawo.



Fufu eaters

Gake esi tsatsa nye ηɔdzinu na Matseawo va se ɖe egbegbe, elabena wo tɔgbuiwo wu du geɖewo kpɔ la, eya ta ame geɖewo metea ηu tsana gobi o.

II. The Work of Women

A. Domestic Work

1. Domestic activities

The first task of the women is to fetch water for the house from the river or pond. A woman who allows her pot to get dry is considered to be lazy, and is insulted and called many nicknames by her colleagues. A woman must get up early in the morning to sweep the whole house; some even sweep it in the previous evening. In addition to this, they prepare breakfast for their husbands. If it is a fufu meal, then husbands usually help their wives with the pounding. The women also work hard at keeping their walls beautiful and clean by smearing them with white clay. People look down upon women who do not keep their houses tidy.

2. Cotton spinning

The women first remove the stones and seeds from the cotton, proceed to loosen it and make it fluffy with a bow-like contraption called *da*. With another instrument called *kike*, a flat round piece of calabash into the center of which a slender piece of bamboo or palm frond is stuck, they spin the thread, as it were, on a bobbin. Cotton spinning is the most important job of the women here.



African potter

II. Nyɔnuwo fe dɔwɔwɔ

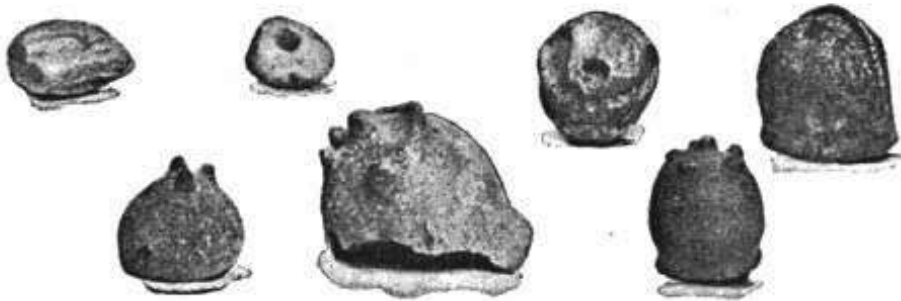
A. Afemetɔwɔ

1. Afe me dzadzraɔo

Tɔmededee nye nyɔnuwo fo dɔ gbɔtɔ. Nyɔnu, si ke dzɔ, tsi menɔa ze me ne o la, ehavi nyɔnuwo na kuvia- ɲkɔɛ. Ne nyɔnuwo fɔ ɲdi la, wokplɔa wofe afewo me ken; ɔewo kplɔne le fiẽ dana ɔi. Hekpe ɔe esiawo ɲu la, woɔa nu na wofe atsuwo. Ne nye fufue la, ekema atsuawo kpena ɔe wo ɲuti le etoto me. Wodoa vevie wofe xɔwo hã lina, eye wodzranɛ ɔo nyuie. Nyɔnu si medzra efe me ɔo o la, wokone

2. Ɖetitetre

Ne nyɔnuwo ɔe ku le ɔeti me vɔ la, wotɛne kple da. Woyɔa da sia bena ɔetitɛda. Emegbe wotsɔ kike trea ɔeti la. Kikee nye tre kake, siwo wokpa tso fɔ fo ɔe wo me. Ɖetitotroe nye afi nyɔnuwo fe dɔ vevietɔ.



1 5 2 6 3 7 4

“Thunder-stones” and Pots as Objects of Worship.

1. a stone hatchet. 2. a holed stone. A stone with a hole through it. i.e. the so kpe. 3.4.5.6.7. Unfired clay pots. Of interest are the bases of these, which have been fashioned after those of termite hills. One can clearly notice the snake form of 4. and 6. The pots are of coastal origin.

3. Pottery

Women who are industrious acquire other skills in addition to cotton-spinning. One of these skills is pottery.

A potter first goes down into the clay pit to dig and bring the clay home. She forms a circle with big stones in the centre of which she heaps the clay. She pounds it with a wooden pestle until it forms a soft smooth paste. She forms her clay objects which she leaves to dry for a period. When the pots are well dried, she fires them. Meanwhile, she has pounded or ground the bark of a tree called *huhoe*. This mash is then boiled, and the pots are painted with the liquid before they are taken to the market. This is referred to as “smoothening of the pots”: *zelili*.

The pit, from which the clay is dug, is referred to as “*tsukpe*.”³⁷ Glass materials are not allowed down there, and neither is it allowed to eat or drink anything in the pottery. It is also believed that all the pots would break if anything salty is introduced into the clay pit or if anybody eats or drinks anything while pots are being made. Finally, the potters have to be “chaste.”

4. Soap-making

A few women engage in soap-making. They first break off chippings from the silkcotton tree and burn them into ashes. The caustic soda solution won from this is mixed with palmoil and put on fire to boil. They ceaselessly stir the mixture until it is done. Soap-making is a difficult and enervating job. A weak caustic solution may have to be boiled for two or three days; concentrated solutions set so quickly that one would be able to brew two concoctions in one day. When the brew achieves the desired consistency, it is pounded in a mortar after which it is hand-formed into uniform round balls. These are sold for 1 hoka per ball. Nobody is allowed to fetch fire from or to roast anything in the fire, as long as the soap is on it. There is a proverb which says: The pot in which the soap is boiled may be dirty but it is a beautifying agent which is being brewed in it.

B. Farm Work

Matse women cultivate their own farms, and plant cotton, cassava, groundnuts and maize on them. When the crops mature, the women enjoy the harvest with their husbands. Husbands are, however, advised to eat less often with wives as they do with them. The women cook the produce of their farms for the house and sell the rest at the market. Unmarried women plant their own yam; they eat their own produce and do not like selling the crops from their farms.

37 *Tsukpe* literally means clay stone. The potter’s clay down in the pit, where it is mined, is as hard as stone.

3. Zememe

Nyɔnu veviedolawo srɔa dɔ bubuwo kpea dɛ dɛtitotro ɲuti abe zememe ene.

Ne wobe, woame ze la, woyina dakuwa tsu, eye woadi kpewo godoo alo tsu la afo dɛ eme atoe kple ati wɔame nyuie. Ekema woatsɔe ame ze, eye ne womee vɔ la, wonɔa esiam va se dɛ esime woafu kenɛ. Eyome wotsɔa huhɔe (ati) fe tsro tona le kpe dzi hedana. Esia wotsɔna sina dɛ zeawo ɲu hafi dzrana. Woyɔa esiwɔ bena zelili.

Afi si wokua tsu le la, woyɔnɛ be tsukpe me. Dzenu adeke medea afi ma o. Ne wole ze mem la, womenoa tsi o, eye womeɖua naneke hã o. Wogblo be ne dzenu de tsukpe la me la ole ne wole ze lim, eye wono tsi alo du nu la, ekema zeawo agbã kenkenɛ. Zemelawo nye ame ɲui kɔkɔtɔwo.

4. Adzalẽdɔɔa

Nyɔnu adewo fe dɔe nye adzalẽdɔɔa. Gbã woyina daka vuti mea adi. Emegbe wotsɔa aditsi la kple amidzẽ afo dɛ adzalẽdɔɔe me dɔa dzo dzi, eye wonɔa eblum va se dɛ esime wɔabi. Adzalẽdɔɔae nye dɔ sesẽ, eye wɔdɛa fu na edalawo. Ne aditsia menyɔ o la, ekema woɖanɛ ɲkeke eve alo etɔ sɔɲ; gake ne enyo la, woɖa ha eve nu gbe dɛka. Ne woɖae vɔ la, wotone le to me, eye wofone nogoe dzrana dɛka hoka.

Ne adzalẽ le dzo dzi la, ame adeke mekpɔ mɔ be, wɔadɛ dzo le edome alo wɔame nu le edome o.

Wodoo lo be: “Adzalẽdɔɔe be ye le bliba, ke tugbewɔnu yenye.

B. Agblemetɔwo

Matse nyɔnuwo dea agble tɔxe na wo dɔkui, si me wofã dɛti, agbeli, azi kple kpeli dɔ.

Ne nukuwɔ vã la, eya kple srɔ woadui; gake menyɛ dɔa abe ale si woɖua ɲutsu tɔ ene o. Nyɔnuwo tsɔa wofe bofonuwɔ dɔ dɔfle. Ne kpeli le wo si woatsɔe adɔ akplẽ adzra. Nenyɛ azie woakui adzra. Nyɔnu, siwo srɔ mele wo si o la, wofã te gɔ hã; nyɔnu siawo dɔa wofe bofonu eye womelɔna dzranɛ gobi o.

Chapter 4: Public Announcements and System of Inheritance

I. Announcements

Gong beaters are chosen from only one particular clan. They beat the gong to inform everybody when anything occurs.³⁸ If somebody is bitten by a snake, any misfortune that may occur, or if sacrifices are to be made to a *trɔ*, the gong is beaten to caution everybody about the impending danger and not go anywhere. They should remain at home for four local weeks, i.e. 8 to 16 days, before venturing again to their farms. While making the announcement, they invoke the names of all the big gods, for they believe that the misfortune could be due to the anger of these gods. Therefore, they make sacrifices to them before resuming their normal daily activities. Anybody who goes to the farm during those days would be punished.

II. The System of Inheritance

1. Inheritance of Royal Property

There are two families in *Matse* who are entitled to accede to the throne. The off-spring of two women exercise sovereign power alternately. After the death of the rulling off-spring of one of the women, the off-spring of the other woman must take

I. Gaḏoḏo

Woḏo kɔ aḏe koŋ, woawo nye ganuawo; ame siawo ḏoa ga ne nya aḏe ḏzɔ. Ne da ḑu ame, nya vɔ̃ aḏe ḏzɔ alo wole trɔ̃nu wɔ ge la, woḏoa ga bena, ame siaa ame megayi aḑi aḑeke o. Wotsia aḑe abe asi eve ene hafi gate kplea bofo dede.

Ne wole ga ḑom la, woyɔa trɔ̃ gāwo xlēa wofe ŋkɔ ḑekaḑeka. Elabena wobu bena, trɔ̃siawo bi dzi, eya ta ale nya siawo ḏzɔ. Woḑea ḑo na wo hafi dea asi ḑɔwɔwɔ me. Ke ne ame aḑe de bofo le ŋkeke siawo dzi la, woflene.

II. Domenyinyi

1. Fianuwo domenyinyi

Fiaḑuḑu le Matse mā ḑe akpa eve me. Nyɔnu eve fe fome nɔa li ḑom fiaḑuḑu la. Ne nyɔnu gbāɔ fe fome ḑu fia, eye fia la ku la, ekema nyɔnu evelia fe fome hā gaḑua fia. Le esiata womā deve, si kpe ḑe kpukpo la ŋu la hā ḑe eve.

³⁸ See page 109, 4 and picture on p. 496.

over the occupancy of the stool. For this reason, even the oil palm plantation of the stool is divided into two. The chief, who currently occupies the stool, has authority over the portion of the plantation which belongs to the stool. His grandchildren will inherit what he himself inherited from his paternal forebears.

2. The System of Inheritance relevant to the common People

A person's personal properties, like those he acquired himself, such as guns, gunpowder, clothes and plots are all inherited by the maternal nephews. If the deceased has sons, then they may join the maternal nephews, though the larger portion must go to the latter. His stool, cutlass and hoe go to his paternal brothers. The younger brother of the deceased, and the children of the elder brother (in case he is no more), look after the children of the deceased.

When a person marries a woman from another family and have children, these children will call their mother's family *srɔnyi*; i.e. cousins. It must only be the *srɔnyi*, who shares the deceased's properties.

Ame si va zia dzi la awɔ etɔ ɲu dɔ. Nu si nye tɔgbuɪnu la, tɔgbuiyɔviwo nyia edome. Ke ne fia la ɲutɔ fle fiawɔnu aɖe abe apaka, dzangbe, sɔsi, atam kple nu bubuwo ene la, ekema viawo anyi nu siawo dome; ame bubu aɖeke mekpɔ mɔ anyi nu siawo dome o.

2. Domenyinyi le dukɔ la dome

Nu si ame ɲutɔ fle hafɪ ku abe tu, ɖu, wɔ, agble ene la, wo katã nye nyruiaɔvi fe domeniyinuwo. Ne novɔɲutsu le ame kukua si la, akpe ɖe nyruiaɔvi la ɲuti woanyi do la me. Gake nyruiaɔvi la tɔe nye kpekpeafe.

Ame kuku la fe kpukpo, klante kple agblenu wonye tɔvia tɔ. Ame kuku la viwo nyila nye tɔɖia kple tɔgãɔviwo.

Srɔnyi gɔmee nye: Ne ame aɖe ɖe srɔ le fomea ɖe me, eye wodzi vi la, ekema ɖevi la aɔɔ dada fe fometɔwo be srɔnyi. Domeniyinuwo mālae nye Srɔnyi kokoko.

Chapter 5: Religion

1. Main Chapter: The Gods

I. The Heavenly Gods

A. The Religious Belief

1. The God *Sodza*

a. Names

Adumangama (*Odomankama*) and *Mawu Sodza* are one and the same name. One can mention the name *Adumangama* with the drum, but not *Mawu Sodza*. When a traveller receives a gift from a person, the receiver first mentions the name of *Sodza*, gives him his appellations, and then enunciates his thanks to the giver. He calls *Mawu Sodza*, and not the others, because this name is easier to pronounce. His appellations are: “God *Sodza*, mother of palmwine, ship full of yam, ship full of *vle*, the left hand that brings luck; God, who created man, and who feeds mankind.” It is only for him that special places of worship are fenced in. The God who created everything and who possesses everything is called *Bowlui*.³⁹

Akpa Gbãtɔ: Mawuwo

1. *Dzifomawuwo*

A. *Susu aɖewo le wo ɲu*

1. *Mawu Sodza*

a. *ŋkɔwo*

Adumangama kple Mawu Sodza la, ŋkɔ ɖeka wonye. Le fufofo me wotea ɲu ya Adumangama, wometea ɲu ya Mawu Sodza o. Le mɔ dzi nunanawo me la, woyɔa Sodza ŋkɔ, eye wofoa ŋkɔ ɖo ne gblɔ nyawo ɖe eɲu, elabena eya tsɔ ɖe míafe nuyiwo gbɔ. Wofoa ŋkɔ ɖo ne bena: “Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ tevu, vlevu mísi mí, wɔ ame nyi ame” Eya kokoko wotɔa kpɔ na. Mawu, si wɔ nuwo katã, eye nuwo katã le esi la ŋkɔ nye Bowlui.

³⁹ The wisdom here would be that the farmer should plan his sowing and harvesting time to agree exactly with the weather pattern.

b. Characteristics

The God Sodza is the owner of life. He gives life to Human beings, plants and animals of the field; he provides all human needs. Our ancestors had always testified to the wisdom of God, and they wondered about his great deeds. There is life in the tree, life in the stone and in the grass of the field. God has made everything with his own hands for the instruction of man, and for him to know that there is an Almighty; but alas, human beings would not learn.

Whether it is aridity or drought, lightning or rains, which come from heaven to have effect on everything on earth, all these show evidence of the power of God. It only remains for human beings to organize themselves accordingly; everything would then proceed orderly. I have heard that God is avaricious, just like human beings. People envy my riches; surely, even God who lives in heaven, envies me, because he is afraid that I would come to be equal to him. That is why he caused the lightning to strike my coconut farm. If my own god had not taken care of me, the people around me and the heavenly God would have made me a poor man before long.

Adumangama is the only great God; there is none besides him. Everything that happens today was done by him; it would not come to pass if he does not will it.

c. The Works of God

The first creations of God are the *trɔwo* and the second are human beings. God sent the *trɔwo* into the world to take care of human beings. They say that God *Adumagama* first created two people, and put them into a rocky cave. He then told the *trɔwo* to go ahead of men, and bring them out of the cave. No sooner had a man come out of the cave than the *trɔwo* began to claim that they had created it. God then spoke out and said: "Never

b. *Nɔnɔme*

Mawu Sodza si me agbe le. Eya na agbe amewo, kple nukuwo le bo dzi; eya na nu sia nu, si hiã ame lae. Mía tɔgbuiwo foa nu le Mawu fe nunyanya ɖuti, elabena wole efe nuwɔwɔwɔ kpɔm. Ati agbe le eme, kpe hã agbe le eme, gbe le gbe dzi agbe le eme; nu sia nu agbe le eme. Mawu wɔ aɖaɖunuwo katã tso fia amewo, bena amewo nanya be, nusẽto aɖe li, hafi amewo gbe nunyanya kuraa.

Kuɖiɖi, tsidzadza, dzikedzo, si klẽna tso dzifo wɔ do sesẽ le anyigba dzi la, wo katã wonye Mawu fe nusẽ. Ke nu si susɔ koe nye amewo hã nadze aye ɖe ɖɖuti, ekema nu sia nu asɔ. Mese bena, Mawu nye ɖɔkula abe amewo ene. Nye kesinɔnuwo le ɖɔ kum na ame ken, eye Mawu, si le dzifo hã le ɖɔ kum le ɖunye be, mava sɔ kpli; eya ta wɔna dzi ɖe gbe ɖe nye neti dzi. Ɖe menye nye Mawu le be lém nam o la, anye ne amewo kple dzigɔ me Mawu wona meda ahe xoxo.

Mawu Aɖumangama koe nye gã, nu bubu aɖeke megali o. Nu sia nu si wɔ agbe la, eyae wɔe, ne melɔ o la, mele wɔwɔ ge o.

c. *Mawu fe nuwɔwɔwɔ*

Mawu fe nuwɔwɔwɔ gbãto nye trɔwo, eye evelia nye amewo. Mawu ɖo trɔwo bena, woanɔ amewo dzi kpɔm. Wogblɔ bena, gbã Mawu Aɖumangama wɔ ame eve da ɖe kpeto me, eye wògbɔ na trɔwo bena, woanɔ ɖɔgbɔ na ame ne wòdaɖi xexe. Esi ame ɖi xexe la, trɔwo gblɔ bena, yewo wɔ ame. Mawu gblɔ bena, gbede yee wɔ ame, eye trɔ kple dzo wonye yefe fielewo. Esiata trɔwo gblɔ bena, yewo

had the *trɔwo* created anything, but he, God, had done that!” The *trɔwo* and juju were all his messengers. Because of this misunderstanding, the *trɔwo* decided that they would kill the humans if God would not endorse their claim to the creation of man.

No person would dare to say that he would not have anything to do with God or that he hated him, for God is our grandfather. God is our grandfather because he sent the *trɔwo* into the world and they sent humans. Thus the *trɔwo* became the father of humans, and God became their grandfather. Now, just as the child finds it easier to mention the name of the father than that of the grandfather, so it is that it is easier for men to mention the name of the *trɔwo* than to mention the name of God. Yet, while making sacrifices to the *trɔwo*, because God is our grandfather, we pray to him first, before praying to the *trɔwo*.

My mother once told me a story about what happened between God and man: When God created mankind, he had some objects bound in similar bundles before him, and asked man to choose the one he wished. The first bundle contained the riches of the world; the second contained stones and the third contained salt. God then commanded Man to lift the bundles to see which of them he would like to choose. The one which contained the world's riches was very light. Man then chose the one containing salt and God asked him whether he liked that. The human answered: “Yes, I like it.” When he opened it at home, behold, it contained nothing but salt! The human brought the sack back to God and said: “The bag only contains salt; please, let me exchange it for another.” And God answered: “Mankind cannot exchange what he has received at his place of origin with anything else. He must retain that, which he has originally

me ame, eye Mawu mele lɔlɔm o, yewoawu amewo kokoko.

Ame aḍeke meli ado dzi agblɔ be, yegbe Mawu alo ale fui o, elabena Mawu nye mía tɔgbui. Nu si ta Mawu nye amewo tɔgbui ɖoe nye, Mawu ɖo trɔwo ɖa, eye trɔwo hã ɖo amewo ɖa. Esiata trɔwo zu fofo na amewo, eye Mawu zu wo tɔgbui. Sigbe ale si tɔɣkɔ ɣɔɣɔ tɔɔ nu gbɔ na ɖevi wu tɔgbui tɔ la, nenemake trɔwo fe ɣkɔ tɔɔ nu gbɔ na amewo wu Mawu fe ɣkɔ. Gake esi wònye Mawu nye mía tɔgbui la, eya ta ne míele nu na ge trɔwo la, míekla Mawu gbã hafi na adzɔ trɔwo.

Mese nya xoxo aḍe tsã le Mawu kple ame ɣuti tso nɔnye nu bena: Esi Mawu wɔ ame vɔ la, ebla nu ɖe nu ɖeka nugbee me be, ame nakpɔ eme ne wòatsɔ. Nu gbãtɔ, si Mawu blae nye xexeame fe kesinɔnuwo, nubabla evelia la, Mawu tɔɔ kpe de eme, eye wòtsɔ dze de etɔlia me. Mawu ɣɔ ame ɖa, eye wògbɔ nɛ bena, wòakɔ nubabla siawo kple etɔ akpɔ ne wòatsɔ ɖeka. Esi me wòtsɔ kesinɔnu de la, eya le wodzoe ko. Ame tɔɔ dzetɔ, eye Mawu biae bena, eya dze eɣu mahã? Ame la gbɔ be, eya dze ye ɣu. Esi wòtui le afe me kpɔ la, kasia dze sɔɣ koe le eme. Tete amegbugbɔ kotoku la va Mawu gbɔ, eye wògbɔ nɛ bena: “Dze sɔɣ le kotoku la me, eya ta ɖuɖɔe nam” Mawu ɖo eɣu na ame bena: Ame aḍeke mate ɣu aɖuɖɔ nu si nexɔ tso dzɔfe xoxo o. Nu si ame aḍe xɔ tso dzɔfe la, eya kokoko anɔ esi”. Tso ekema dzi amegbetɔwowo dzɔ kple hiã, elabena wogblẽ dzidzɔ kotoku ɖi hetsɔ hiãtɔ.

Ame bubuwo toa nya bena: Eva me gbe ɖeka bena, Mawu tɔɔ akpakuvi eve da ɖi. Eɣlɔ ɖeka nyuie, eye wòsi ye nɛ wòfu tititi, ke evelia la esi ba nɛ, wofo ɖi ɣutɔ. Mawu tɔɔ agbalẽ kple agbalẽɣlɔti, nyasã kple kesinɔnuwo de akpaku, si fo ɖi la me, ke metsɔ nu nyuie aḍeke de esi wòɣlɔ nyuie la me o. Azɔ Mawu gbɔ na ame yibɔwo kple yevuwo fe tɔgbuiwo bena, woayi aɖatsɔ nuawo. Esi wònye ame yibɔwo tɔgbui nye

chosen.” From that day on, every human being is born together with want; for, he had chosen the sack of want and left the bag of happiness.

Another story goes like this: One day, God placed two gourds on the ground. He made beautiful marks on one, and painted it beautifully with white clay. He painted the second one with mud, so that it looked rather dirty and ugly. He filled the dirty gourd with paper, pen, wisdom and affluence, while he left the beautifully painted one rather empty. God called the forebears of the white and the black race and requested them to make their choice. The black ancestor was the elder and was allowed to choose first. He took a long look at the two gourds and chose the white, beautifully decorated one. After that the white ancestor picked the dirty muddy one. When, finally, the ancestors opened their gourds, they saw that the beautiful one contained only dirt, while the dirty one contained all sorts of beautiful things. That was why the white race has pleasure, while the black has the bad things of the world and remain ignorant people.

There is yet another version which depicts another scenario: God is right, because human beings have eaten two different things which are giving them stomach-ache. These two things are always fighting with each other in their stomach and causing so much discomfort that they fail to appreciate anything good.

God shared the breath in man into two parts. He retained one half with himself, and left the other part with the *trɔwo*, tasking them to watch over human beings. Whenever the breath of man, which is the possession of the *trɔwo*, is exhausted, the *trɔwo* would go to God to ask for the other part of the breath. If God withholds additional supply, then the person must die. Although it is God who has made all

xoxoa la, eya ta eyae tre etsɔtsɔ. Ekpa akpakuawo kple eve d[ɔ, eye wɔtsɔ, esi wonɔ si ye ne wɔfu nyuie. Eyome yevuawo tɔgbui tsɔ esi wosi ba na. Esi wova vui la, ame yibɔwo tɔgbui kpa be ɖi alo ke koe le ye tɔ me, ke yevuawo tɔgbui la nu nyuiewo sɔɔ le eme. Eya ta yevuawo kpa xexeme fe vivi, ame yibɔwo kpa xexeme fe tātā, eye wozi ame manyanuwo.

Ame bubu gblɔ bena, Mawu tɔ dzɔ, elabena ame kodzogbeawo ɖu adzɔ evee, eye wɔtrɔ zu fogblɛ na wo. Nu wɔwɔ sia le ava wɔm le lāme na wo ale bena, wofe nu nyuiewo katā bu ɖe woo.

Mawu ma gbɔgbɔ, si le ame me la ɖe akpa eve. Etsɔ afā dzra ɖo ɖe eɖokui gbɔ, eye wɔtsɔ afā de trɔwo si me bena, woanɔ amewo dzi kpɔm. Ne amewo fe gbɔgbɔ, si le trɔwo si vɔ la, ekema trɔwo yia Mawu gbɔ, bena woaxɔ gbɔgbɔ fe akpa evelia. Ne Mawu gbe be womaxɔe o la, ekema ame la kuna. Trɔwo nye amenuvelawo le mɔafe ŋkume wu Mawu, wɔnye eya wɔ nu sia nu hafi. Esi medina be, amewo nanɔ agbe o la, eya ta wɔzu fɔɖila.

things, we can see that the *trɔwo* are more charitable than God. We blame God for refusing to let human beings have eternal life.

d. The Residence of God

1. The native teacher, S. Anku, went to the priest of the “great God”, *Mawu gã*. The priest said to the teacher: “The God I serve is called *Tsadzẽ* (*Tadzẽ*), and his father is the ‘great God’. *Tsadzẽ* receives everything, be it rain or children, from the hands of his father and gives them to *the trɔwo*. For this reason, all the *trɔwo* have to come to *Tsadzẽ* in order to receive the gifts to be brought to the *Matse* people.”

The father of *Tsadzẽ* is called *Mawu Sodza*, who is totally surrounded by flaming fire with him sitting in the middle. Only *Tsadzẽ*, and no other *trɔ*, can go unharmed to his father through the burning ring of fire. When he goes, he gets gifts which he brings to the *trɔwo*. It is important to know, however, that *Tadzẽ’s* father is no more alive; he has died, leaving only his son *Tadzẽ* still alive. Therefore, he is the only one we have to worship.

This same priest had three fenced-enclosures in his courtyard. The man explained that the big fence belonged to the great God. The fence of his spokesman stands in front of the large fence, and, here, before the entrance lives his guardian. Anyone intending to go to the big God must first report to the guardian, the watchman. The soul of the person, who is reporting, is taken by him to the big God’s spokesman, who then brings it to the big God himself.

2. The God, Sogblẽ

Sogblẽ hadzẽ is the *great* spokesman and messenger of God; he hears the prayers of men and informs his father God accordingly. His name is *Anuyra dayra*. *Sogblẽ dayra* has a bow and an arrow, which he shoots into the midst of human beings when he is angry, and hits anybody who has *haemotoma*. He also goes, with bow and arrow in hand, ahead of hunters and kills the animals for them. An animal, which has not been shot by *Sogblẽ*, can also not be killed by the hunter. He would, otherwise, just shoot in vain. In the lightning, he shoots his arrows and wants to be adored by man. A sharp peal of thunder is called *atsu*, the man, and the soft one that follows it is called *nɔ*, the woman. She is thereby appealing to her husband: he should go at it slowly to avoid disaster.

B. Worship

1. Times of Worship

Once in a year, before the yam festival, they go to the altar of the *Mawu*. When they experience a long drought, they approach the altar and sacrifice a white ram.

Sogblẽ and *Mawu* are worshipped on Saturdays. The worshippers of God are clad in white, and those of *Sogblẽ* wear blue materials. They cut three palm fronds, one of which is longer than the other two, tie a blue and a white cloth to their ends, and finally stick them into the soil. A pot containing herbs is then placed before them. *Mawu* worshippers do not go to the farm on Saturday. (End of the two columns)

2. Mode/ Act of Worship

The mode of worship comprises a prayer, presentation of sacrifices and the sacrificial meal. The prayer runs: O God *Sodza*, Mother of palm wine and mother of all animals! You give to men, when you will, and you neglect them when you want to. I extol you to the skies, O most high; Thy will be done. You, giver of rain, you, Saturday-born! You are the ship full of colourful abundance. You are a terror to traders and joy to farmers!

O Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ, lāgbenɔ, na ame, na ame; te ame, te ame. Woe kɔkɔ mekɔ; woe lɔlɔnu melɔ̃; Ðoɖo ayoyo, Kwami ame!. Tevu, vlevu, nyagānyagā, asiwo, agblewo; asitsa fe nu ṽɛ, agblede fe nu nyuie.

As the supplicant speaks, another man stands on his left hand side, carrying a ram around his neck. He brings the animal down and raises it up and down three times.⁴⁰ After the prayer, the animal's head is shoved into a hole filled with water, while others turn its scrotum round and round until it dies. It is not permitted to kill the animal with a knife or with a gun-shot, because the blood of the animal must remain in the flesh. After they have removed the skin, the meat is cut into pieces and boiled without salt and pepper. A little of the meat soup is poured into the big sacrificial bowl before the fence as the priest says: "Here is the one without spices!" After this, the pepper and salt to the soup which, meanwhile, continues to boil. The priest then pours some of the spiced soup into the sacrificial bowl and says: "You have eaten of the one without spices; now eat also of the spiced!"

Before the sacrificial meal or feast, the priest throws a little piece of liver and stomach into the bush. The meat would then be shared among the chiefs present in such a way that each would receive a definite part of the animal. Particular chiefs lay a special claim to the muzzle of the animal as their prerogative. The rest of the participants only satisfy themselves with the meat in the porridge, which has been cooked with the meat-broth. No bone is to be broken but they should be carefully salvaged and laid in a heap along the road. It is most strictly forbidden for women in their menstrual periods and for men, who have had sexual relation with women the previous night to the function

3. The Mawu Congregation

In a narrow sense, the Mawu-congregation comprises the children, who have been dedicated to the god. If one gets a child, one brings it to the priest who bathes it out of the bowl in the god's enclosure. These children automatically become the slaves of God. This ceremony is performed only on Saturdays. When such a consecrated girl grows up, she either marries the priest or is given to one of the priest's sons to marry. A boy dedicated to the God becomes the servant of the priest when he grows up. The priest assembles the children and touches their tongue with the new yam before the yam festival. Thereafter, the children are now permitted to eat the new yam. At the start of the season, it is these children, of course, who work on the priest's yam farm.

⁴⁰ A sacrificial goat for a *trɔ* is swung five, seven or nine times. By order of this God, the sheep brought for sacrifice may only be swung high three times. Hence the expression: "Three is great" and: "Three is life." This is also the reason why the Matse people never buy four, but only three yams or three plantains. (The narrator's comment).

4. The Moral Value of the Belief in this God

One says of a forbearing person: He is as peaceable as *ma*. Such a person does not get angry, nor say any evil word. He may look serious in special circumstances but his patience is admirable. He, who is able to control his actions, is the one who will live long, and will only meet the death that his own God has ordained for him. It is only the death of his own *dzogbe* that would take him away. One, who does evil things to his neighbours, must die a bad death. One says: “God will pay you your wages!” When someone dies a sudden death, the general opinion is that his deeds have not been good, hence he was killed.

II. The Terrestrial Gods/Deities (*Trɔwo*)

A. Introductory Remarks

Zēdo of *Matsē* said: The *trɔwo* are God’s generals on earth. God has given them the power to rule over human beings. If any one should fall into trouble, he goes to the *trɔwo* that they should save him. The *trɔwo* are God’s commanders-in-chief and soldiers. The commissioner gives guns to his foot soldiers and teaches them how to fight, but the soldiers are thieves and do what they like with impunity. In the same way, the *trɔs* are also bad but they are still God’s army leaders.

The *trɔwo* are thieves, for, when we pay them sufficiently, they go to steal from God and give it to us. Yet God himself gives us gifts everyday. This is why though we cannot leave the *trɔwo*, we cannot turn away from God either.

When the judgement of a *trɔ* is invoked upon a person, it hurries to kill him, and that is why we give the *trɔwo* very high respect. Should a person be afflicted by a disease, the *trɔ*’s priests get possessed and claim that they would save the life of the sick person. We insist that it is the *trɔ* who has kept him alive if the person does not die.

At the beginning of the farming season, the town-criers proclaim the imposition of a one-week ban on farm activity. The

II *Anyigbamawuwo* (*Trɔwo*)

A. *Nufɔfo le wo ɲu hayoo*

Zādo le Matse gblɔ bena: Trɔwo nye Mawu fe asafohlīwo. Mawu tsɔ ɲusē na wo, bena woaɖu amegbetɔwo dzi. Ne hiā tu ame aɖe la, eyia trɔwo gblɔ bena, woaxɔ nɛ. Trɔwo nye Mawu fe asafolilīwo abe asrafowo ene. Amlaɖo tsɔ tu de asi na asrafowo, eye wɔfia avawɔwo wo. Eɔ wɔnye asrafowo nye fiafitɔwo, eye wowɔa nu sia nu dzro faa hafi. Nenemake trɔwo hā nye ame manyomanyowo, gake woawo koe nye Mawu fe asafohlīwo.

Trɔwo nye fiafitɔwo; elabena ne míena adzɔ wo la, wofia nu le Mawu gblɔ vɛ na mí, hafi Mawu ɲutɔ hā ganɔa ɲu agbugbɔ le trɔwo yome o, eye míate ɲu agbe Mawu hā o.

Ne woyɔ trɔ ɖe ame dzi, ewua ame eya ta míebua trɔwo nu gāwo. Ne ɖlɛle va amewo dzi la, trɔsiwo glina, bena yewoaxɔ ame la tso ɖlɛle la si me, ne magaku o. Ne eva eme be, ame la meku o la, míegblɔna be, trɛ xɔ ame la ɖe agbe.

Ne wodze ɖawɔwo gome la, ekema ganuawo doa kpo bena, ame aɖeke megade agble o, ame si de agble la woaflee. Amewo tsia afe Kwasiɖa ɖeka eye wowɔa trɔnuwo.

people remain at home and observe a one-week holiday in honour of the *trɔ*.

B. The Inherited

1. The big *Trɔwo*

a. *Dadi*

Dadi is a big *trɔ* which enjoys a high reputation in this tribe. He lives in a large cavern on the high mountains east of *Matse*. The *Dadi* Mountain got its name from this. The *Dadi* is considered to be the greatest of all *trɔwo* and their king. He is the *trɔ* of agriculture who looks after the whole tribe.

Earlier, at the end of the year, the *Matse* people would go drumming, and carrying many foodstuffs to a cave in the rock on this mountain. They all had enough room, and more, in the cave. Once there, they cooked, ate and drank palm wine to their hearts' desire; they then drummed, danced and rejoiced. At the end of all these, they went back home while the priest sacrificed to the *trɔ*. They then noticed that whenever they came back home after this celebration, many of the old men and young boys among them died. After two such celebrations, since they feared that it was the *trɔ*, who was killing them, in spite of the fact that they were worshipping it so ardently, they decided not to return there ever again. They constructed a big enclosure around a silk cotton tree at the foot of the mountain and made this place the residence of the *trɔ* which they named: "Dadi's Brothel." They still worship him there today.

The *trɔ* is worshipped twice yearly, and the name of his priest is *Dedzo Kwami*. At the beginning of the farming season, the king goes out with the priests of the earth and all other priests, to sacrifice to the *trɔ*, and "to buy the hoe out of his hands", before anybody is allowed to cultivate his

B. *Tɔgbuitrɔwo*

1. *Gãtɔwo*

a. *Dadi*

Dadie nye *trɔ* *gãtɔ*, si wobuna le du sia me. Ele to *kɔkɔ*, si le *Matse* fe *yedzefe* la dzi, le agato *gã* aɖe me. Eya ta woyɔ to la be *Dadito*. Wobua *trɔ* sia be, eya nye *trɔwo* *katã* fe *gãtɔ* kple fia. Eya nye agbleɲɲɔ *trɔ* si *kpɔ* wofe du la dzi.

Tsã le blema, ne fe *trɔ* la, *Matsetɔwo* *pete* dzona kple vuwo kple nuɖuɖu geɖe, eye woyina ɖe *nenem* to la dzi ɖe agato la me. Wo *katã* *kpɔa* tefe le agato la me, eye *gã* la tefe *hã* gatsia anyi. Afi sia woɖa nu ɖuna, noa aha, eye wofoa vu fena. Ne wowo nu sia nu vɔ dzo va afe la, ekema *trɔwo* ɖea dza na *trɔ* la. Ke ne wowo esai vɔ heva afe la, ame tsitsi kple ɖekakpuiwo dome ame geɖewo kuna. Esi wowo zi eve la, woɖe asi vɔvɔ me na afi ma yi yi. Wogblo be, esi yewole *trɔ* sia subɔm nyuie hafi wòle yewo wum la, eya ta yewo magade e5e o. Va se 2e egbe womegadana o. Wot4 kp4 2e vuti *gã* aɖe ɲu le to la dome tɔɔ afi ma wo *trɔfee*, si woyɔna be *Dadi* xɔlɔfe. Afi ma wosubɔne le va se ɖe fifi.

Wosubɔne zi eve le fe ɖeka me. Enea ɲko nye *Dzedzo Kwami*. Ne agble to la, fia la kple amegã, siwo le amenyigba nu kpakple *trɔnuawo* *katã* woyina ɖaɖea dza na *trɔ* la, eye woflea agblenu le esi hafi ame siaa ame *kpɔ* mɔ ayi bofo. Nenemake wotrea te *fafã* ne drukɔe ene alo ade. Ne ame siaa ame *kpɔ* be, woɖe dza ne, eye wofã te ne la, ekema wotea kple agbleɲɲɔ me, eye wofã te. Nenemake woɖua te na *trɔ* la gbã hafi amewo *kpɔa* mɔ ɖua te.

farm. The people only begin to weed and to plant their yams when they see that the priests have sacrificed and have planted yam for him. In the same way, they first sacrificed yam to the *trɔ*, before the people were allowed to eat the new yam.

b. *Dzokplo*

Dzokplo is a big and fearful *trɔ*, which is regarded as the war-king. His priest is Klu Kwasi. If anything bad happens, which can pose a threat to the security of the town, it is he who takes the lead to hunt down and chase out the threat of danger.

At the inception of an unusual occurrence, the whole town take up their arms and ammunition and move to the *trɔ* shrine, where they pile up the muskets and ammunition pockets, and proceed to make sacrifices to him with the hope that he would drive off the danger. They offer sacrifices to him before the annual yam festival; they go to *Dzokplo* first before going to *Dadi*. His day is the *afenɔe* day, a day on which the people do not go to their farms.

b. *Dzokplo*

Enye trɔ̃ gã ɖeka, si wovõna vevie. Enua nye Klu Kwasi. Wobua trɔ̃ sia abe avafia ene. Ne nya vɔ̃ aɖe dzɔ alo du gbegblɛnya aɖe dzɔ la, eyae nɔ̃ ngɔ nyã nenem nya vɔ̃ siawo ɖa, eye woɖea nenem nya mãwo ɖa.

Ne sigbe nya aɖe dzɔ, ekema dua metɔwo katã ɖoa tu kple agbadza me yina ɖe trɔ̃ la fe, eye woɖea tuawo kple agbadzawo kɔna ɖi ɖea dza nɛ, be wɔɔnya nya vɔ̃ la ɖa.

Woɖea dza nɛ fe sia fe le teɖuyi. Dzokplo sia gbɔ wodena gbã hafi dea Dadi gbɔ.

Efe asigbee nye Afenɔegbe. Amewo nɔa afe womede bofo o.

c. Mianor Gbe, the Earth

α. The Religious Belief

It is believed that when a woman is direly in dire need of bearing a child, the Earth has the power to help her have one if she is bathed in her shrine. The new-born child will be dedicated to her and would, accordingly, be named *Gbesi* or *Gbeklu*. Occasionally, sick children are sold to the Earth, if they fall sick soon after their birth so that they remain alive. They also automatically become the slaves of Earth. If a person strikes the earth with his palm and swears that he should die if he does this or that again, or if he should eat with this or that person again, but breaks his word, the Earth kills that person. If the person breaks his word, he would swell up or be devoured by a wild animal. If such a person rushes to the priest to confess his misdeed, after breaking his word, the priest would treat him with the medicine consecrated by the *trɔ*, and he will be saved consequently from death.

The python is dedicated to the Earth. Nobody, apart from the priest, is allowed to set fire to the Sasanutoe Mountain, which is considered to be the python's head. It is not permitted to kill the python and to eat its flesh. When it is killed, it should be wrapped in a piece of cloth and buried. The facts of the case are that, many years ago, anyone who killed a python could eat it; but the people who enjoyed this meal died sooner than later. As a result, they became convinced that the python is a very bad *trɔ*, and therefore, it was, forbidden to kill it. Nowadays, anyone who comes across a

python must make a report to the Earth-priest, and present him with a piece of white cloth and a few cowry shells. If he happens to have killed it, then he must pay 3Mark 50Pfg and a goat in atonement for his misdeed. He who sees a python must step aside at once and exclaim: "My respects, chief!" If anyone sees a dead python, he must make a report to the Earth-priest and give him 12 hoka cowry shells. The priest and the local chief will also, collectively, raise the same amount plus two small bottles of gunpowder towards the burial. The messengers, the hunter and a representative of the chief, go together to the site and as they immediately see the snake, they shout: Due, due, due!⁴¹ "Have our sympathies!" They string cowry shells, tie these round the body of the snake, and lay it ceremonially with this ornament in its grave. After firing two gun-shots in his honour, they go back home, where the chief and the priest of the python receive them with palm wine.

β. Worship

The worship of the Earth occurs during the Yam festival (September), the maize harvesting time (November), and the bush burning and weeding time (February). Apart from this, the worshippers go to pray for rain in times of serious drought. Three times in a year, hunters go to the shrine of Earth, which they refer to as *mianɔ fe ave*, "Our mother's forest". Led by the chief-hunter and the chief priests, the hunters go together to the farm, in the month of November, to harvest maize. They prayerfully lay the new maize on the altar in the forest while taking care to retain the best for themselves. After making this sacrifice to the Earth, the rest of the groups from the town exercise their right to take the sacrificial corn home. Every person is now permitted to harvest corn from his farm.

On a particular day in January, men would be sent to go through the whole town, and catch any fowl they might see. They often returned from their trips with 50 to 100 birds. In the very early hours of the next morning, women would be informed that they should not sweep either their yard or their fire place; it was only allowed to draw water from the well. Oil palm farmers may go for palm wine and hunters may go hunting, but they should submit the fore legs of any animal they kill to the chiefs. A messenger of the chiefs goes quietly to the palm wine tapping grove and brings a pot-full of palm wine costing 10 hoka cowries. Farmers are forbidden to work on farms with a hoe, and weavers are not allowed to peg any pointed stick into the earth, for hoes and pointed wood would injure the earth and cause her a lot of pain. Neither human nor animal blood may be sprinkled on the earth on this day. Therefore, one had to slaughter animals on the preceding days or kill them on that day, without a knife. For this reason, the fowls caught on the day before the day of sacrifice are not killed with a knife but are strangled. Domestic and public quarrels are most strictly prohibited on the day of sacrifice because blood could flow as a result.

The procedure of killing the sacrificial fowls starts with the priest holding a fowl in the air and praying: *O, mianɔ nayra ɖe dzi na mi, ne miafe ŋui nafa*, "O, our mother, shower your blessings on it so that we could live in peace." After cooking the fowls, the priest starts the sacrificial meal with the announcement that nobody should break any bone, but they should be brought, whole, after eating the meat and piled up in one

⁴¹ See page 274 b.

heap. These solid components belong to the *trɔ*, who would, together with other *trɔwo* and other invited guests, crack and feast on them.

The preparation for bush burning begins when a chief hunter brings two bundles of hay from the bush. They use one to roof the *trɔ*-house in town; the other is carried through the town until an old woman buys it for 2 to 3 hoka cowry shells. The *Matses* would be prohibited from mending their own roofs for three years, if they fail to mend the roof of the *trɔ*-house. This ceremony thus signals permission for all to collect hay from the bush. After the *Matse* people have furnished themselves with sufficient thatch, the Priest of the python puts some fire into a snail shell and lays it down on the *Sasanu Mountain*. The grass is thus expected to start burning by itself. Setting fire to the grass in any other way is strictly disallowed. There is a strong similarity between the burning down of the grass on the *Sasanu Mountain* and the cutting down of the human hair. It is consequently referred to as “shaving the hair off the head.” Nobody is allowed to roast new maize in fire before *Sasanu Mountain* gets its head shaven. The people enter a new year with the general burning of the bush. It is this act that signals the start of a new year all over again.

γ The Pagan Laws

There is a large number of customary laws, most of which have to be kept for only a few days. New laws are promulgated at the beginning of the year, when the new grass begins to grow after the bush fires. Once the harmattan winds blow over the fields in December and January, the laws cease to be in force. The laws apply mainly to forbidden foods and types of wood which may or may not be burnt, as well as the treatment of particular animals.

Should anyone strike the Earth with his palms during a quarrel, it is tantamount to swearing her oath, and must pay a fine of one he-goat to the Earth-priest. Such a goat is not slaughtered; it is allowed to run freely around until it meets its natural death, and the whole town would immediately be officially informed of the important occasion. The town crier says: “Our mother’s fat house-steer has died.” The *trɔ* had external visit from other *trɔwo* and needed meat for the general feast, hence the killing of her goat. The town-crier gives a litany of the names of all the *trɔwo*, which are worshipped in *Matse*, as proof that the goat has died indeed. The meat of the dead animal is then cooked and eaten in honour of the *trɔ*.

δ About Kluwo and Kosiwo

The male slaves of the *trɔ* do not work for the priest; it is rather the female *trɔ*-slaves who bring him eggs and flour. All the slaves bring him a gift of one yam each before the annual yam harvest. The priest cuts a piece off one yam, dabs his hands and feet with it, and touches their tongues to signify that they may now eat the new yam. He offers a prayer: *Nu yeye va gbɔr me egbe, trɔ nedɪ ne efe lɪme nasɪ*, “Something new has come to town today, may the *trɔ* grant that it remains healthy!”

The hair of a three to four year old *trɔ*-slave would be shaved off by the priest. For this purpose, the child’s parents would have to buy two new razor knives, eggs, some white clay, a cock and a hen, some white cloth and 5 hoka-worth of palmwine. They also add an amount of 12 hoka cowry shells to all these gifts, which are meant for the

priest. The priest shaves off the hair on the child's head with one of the knives, places some grains of maize on his head and lures the hen to come and pick them up. If it picks both grains, then it proves that the child would stay alive. Until this moment, the *trɔ*-slaves are not allowed to have their hair cut; it hangs down from their head in long strands with lice sometimes crawling through. The woman must not sleep with her husband for the whole period of three to four years. She may have intimacy with other men, but if the child should die, the fault would be laid squarely at the door-steps of the man, who has had an affair with her.

2. The Lesser *Trɔwo*

a. Place of Execution

1. *Kpetuwɔe*

1. *Kpetuwɔe*, the commander-in-chief of all lesser *trɔwo*, is an execution place, where all the most important matters of the tribe are discussed and settled. It is here that war decisions and decisions about blood feuds are taken. The case of a hunter, for example, who has been shot while out hunting, can only be settled in this place. When it comes to the installation of a new king, *Kpetuwɔe* is the only place where that can happen; thus a tree has been planted here for every king who has ruled. The place is demarcated from outside with stones which have been piled, one upon another, in a big circle. At the death of a king, this stone circle is destroyed, and as soon as a new king has been installed, they hurry to re-install the stone circle. Once in *Kpetuwɔe*, all differences between quarrelling factions must be put aside, and everything must go on peacefully.

Kpetuwɔe is the meeting place of all the *trɔwo*, especially the *war-trɔwo*. They are always in attendance as invisible advisors, advising the judges. That is why a heavy punishment is imposed on any action which goes against the order prohibiting quarrels. *Kpetuwɔe* is the abode of the royal stool, *kpukpo*, whose priest is the king himself. Sacrifices are brought to him there every year. And since *Kpetuwɔe* and *Kpukpo* belong together, the sacrifice is made for both simultaneously.

b. Mountains

2. *Uatsakpe* (on the *Sasanu* Mountain) is only considered as a *trɔ*, but has no priest and no one makes sacrifices to him.

3. *Nutidzrale*; *Klu Kwasi* is his Priest.

4. *Fiakpe*; *Gbedro Kofi* is his priest.

b. *Esiwo nye towo*

2. *Fatsakpe*. *Wobunɛ abe trɔ ene ko, gake ame aɔke mele enu o, eye womedɛa dza nɛ hã o.*

3. *Ŋutidzɔale*; *enua nye Klu Kwasi.*

4. *Fiakpe*; *enua nye Gbedro Kofi.*

c. Rocks

5. *Kpedzengɔ*, depicting husband and wife. His priest is *Peni Dzeha*. He is considered as a *trɔ*, who looks after human beings. When something bad befalls anybody in the bush and the person is about to die,

c. *Esiwo nye agakpewo*

5. *Kpedzengɔ Atsu kple asi; enua nye Peni Dzeha. Wobunɛ abe trɔ, si kpɔa ame ta ene. Ne nane wɔ ame le gbe me, eye ame la le ku*

this *trõ* intercedes so that he remains alive. He is worshipped once a year.

6. *Adebuanu*; *Kuma* is in charge.

7. *Kpetsu*; *Kpetsu* is his priest.

8. *Agblegbalomehedeawo*; *Agbadza* is his Priest.

d. Forests

9. *Aka*; his priest is *Akpanya*.

10. *Kokose*; his priest is *Kuma*.

11. *Dzakupave*; *Agudu* is his priest.

12. *Kabewu*; *Gbedro Kofi* is his Priest. He is considered to be a bad *trõ*, and if anything dangerous happens to a person in his forest, that person can not remain alive.

13. *Tanyame*; his priest is *Gadzavu*

14. *Akatsa*; his priest is *Yawo Foli*.

15. *Tave*; his priest is *Kate Mortey*.

16. *Koholu*; his priest is *Yawo Foli*.

17. *Anome*; his priest is *Kofi Tse*.

18. *Kanu*; his priest is *Gbedro Kofi*.

19. *Agotoe*; his priest is *Asamani*.

20. *Amawui*; his priest is *Adatse*.

21. *Dafomi*; his priest is *Peni Dzehe*. He is considered as the messenger of the other *trõwo*.

22. *Habe*; his priest is *Peni Dzehe*. Some humans are created by *Habe*. This is confirmed by a sign on the ear of a new born baby, which appears as if it has already been pierced. The baby is then said to belong to *Habe*.⁴²

23. *Yɔfu*; his priest is *Kate Mortey*.

24. *Melemi*; his priest is *Kofi Tse*.

25. *Bololoe*; his priest is *Saki*.

26. *Zɔgbœ*; his priest is *Yawo Klui*.

27. *Kolovi tukui sɔgbɔ vi dzigbe*; his priest is *Tsinaku Kwadzoe*.

All these *trõwo* are forests, which are worshipped. A bowl has been installed in each of these forests, and, for each, a goat has been bought and is reared in town.

mɔ dzi la, nenem trõ sia trɔ ame la va afe (wotsia agbe).

6. *Adebuanu*; *enua nye Kuma*.

7. *Kpetsu*; *enua nye Deku*

8. *Agblegbalomexedeawo*; *enua nye Agbadza*.

d. *Avewo*

9. *Aka*; *enua nye Akpanya*.

10. *Kokose*; *Kuma le enu*.

11. *Dzakupave*; *Agudue nye enua*.

12. *Kabevu*; *enua nye Gbedro Kofi*. *Wobunɛ abe trõ vɔ ene, eye ne nane wɔ ame le ave sia me la, mele agbe tsi ge o.*

13. *Tanyame*; *enua nye Gadzafu*.

14. *Akatsa*; *enua nye Yawo Kofi*.

15. *Tave*; *enua nye Kate Mɔte*.

16. *Kohɔl*; *enua nye Yawo Foli*.

17. *Aɲɔme*; *enua nye Kofi Tse*.

18. *Kaɲu*; *enua nye Gbedro Kofi*.

19. *Agɔtœ*; *enua nye Asamani*.

20. *Amawui*; *enua nye Aɔatse*.

21. *Dafɔmi*; *enua nye Pani Dzexe abe trõwo fe blabu ene*.

22. *Habe*, *enua nye Peni Dzexe*. *Eya wɔa ame. Ne mɛekpɔ dzesi le ame aɔe tɔgbuivi fe to nu wɔle abe ɔe wɔɲœ ene tso dzɔdzɔme la, ekema mɛegblɔna bena, ame la nye Habe fe ame.*

23. *Yɔvu*; *enua nye Kate Mɔte*.

24. *Melemi*; *enua nye Kofi Tse*.

25. *Bololoe*; *enua nye Saki*.

26. *Zɔgbœ*; *enua nye Yawo Klui*.

27. *Kolovi tukui sɔ gbɔ vi dzigbe*; *enua nye Tsinaku Kwadzoe*.

⁴² This sign is a little deepening, on the ear, usually between the temple and the ear.

These *trɔ̃wo* are worshipped only when they so demand, and they are not as much esteemed as they do to the other *trɔ̃wo*.

e. Brooks and Springs

28. *Blutɔ̃e*; his priest is *Kate Mortey*. He is considered as a powerful *trɔ̃*, and used to be the *Avatime-trɔ̃*, when these people were still living in *Matse*. They took him along, when they migrated to where they now are and worship him under the name *Epetsi*, i.e. “Ewe-water”.

The *Matses* also installed him and also began to worship him. If it does not rain, they cook *ahame*, a herb, as sacrifice to him, and it rains. They worship him twice a year.

29. *Ahɔ̃vi*; his priest is *Kwasi Foli*. The brook takes his source from the town, and he kills any human who builds on his banks. People, therefore, fear him. It is now a dead stream, but there still exists the forest, which people revere as his abode, and where they worship him twice each year. His appellations are: *Ahɔ̃vi xɛnɔ fo nu, tɔ fo nu mazi ayoyo (dɔdɔe)*; *na bena mianɔ agbe, eye mia viwo magaku o*, i.e. *Ahɔ̃vi*, the singer speaks, the brook speaks without ceasing. Help us to stay alive and don't let our children die! The brook nourishes the oil palm trees, but he is worshipped only by the land owner and not by the whole town. Anytime he felled palm trees, he would first sacrifice two fowls and palm wine to the brook. The *trɔ̃* guards the palm wine and protects the lives of the tappers. The brook gushes forth from the mountain and pours itself down the valley without ever getting tired of talking (rustling).

30. *Awo*; his priest is *Kwami Tse*. People believe that this water takes away the sufferings of human beings. When, for example, someone dies and his acquaintances are mourning, they go on the ninth day to *Awo's* shrine and drum in his honour. They all wear raffia leaves around the neck and, upon their arrival at the stream, they cast them into the brook to be swept away.

31. *Gugumagu*; his priest is *Agbedza*.

32. *Agbadzaluwui*; his priest is *Dasunku*.

33. *Ahawoe*; his priest is *Agɔvu Tɔɔ*.

34. *Adifo*; his priest is *Agama*.

35. *Atikutsi*; his priest is *Yawo Foli*.

36. *Bada*; his priest is *Ganua*.

37. *Vui I.*; his priest is *Agama*.

38. *Zāgba*; his priest is *Wunotsa*.

39. *Labo*; his priest is *Deku*.

40. *Vui II.*; its priest is *Kabutsoe*.

41. *Blewu (Bluvu and Bluwu)*; his priest is *Kwasi Foli*. This *trɔ̃* reveals to man, whether he would be killed in the bush by a falling tree, or would be torn apart by a wild animal or whether his musket would burst and injure him. He also informs him whether a particular *trɔ̃* is annoyed with him. His appellation is: *Bluwu*, “The hunter who strikes down the wild animal, dead.” Sacrifice is made to him only upon demand.

Trõ siawo katã nye ave, siwo wosubɔna. Woɔo agba ɔe ave siawo me ɔeka ɔeka, eye wofle gbõ da ɔe dua me na wo wotɔwotɔe keɲ. Yeyiyi, si dzi trõ la bia nu la, eya ko wosa vɔ nɛ. Womebua wo abe bubuawo ene o.

e. Tɔsisiwo

28. Blutɔe; enua nye Kate Mɔte. Wobunɛ be enye trõ, si si nusẽ le. Enye Avatimetɔwo fe trõ tsã, esime wonɔ afi sia. Esime wova dzodzo ge la, wotsɔe ɔe asi le subɔsubɔm hena ŋkɔe bena Epetsi. Matsetɔwo hã ɔoe afe te dzi, eye wote kple esubɔsubɔ me. Ne tsi megale dzadzam o la, ekema woɔa ahamee eye woɔea dza nɛ, ekema tsi dzana. Wosubɔne zi eve le fe ɔeka me.

29. Axɔvi; enua nye Kwasi Foli. Enye tɔsisi, si dzo tso dua me gbede. Ne ame aɔe tu xɔ ɔe enu la, ewunɛ; eya ta wovõnɛ. Azɔ la, emie keɲ. Ke ave aɔe li, si wotsɔ wɔ efe afe, afi si wosubɔne le zi eve le fe ɔeka me. Ŋkɔ si wofona ɔo nɛ enye: Axɔvi hɛnɔ fo nu, tɔ fo nu mazi ayoyo (ɔɔɔoe), na míanɔ agbe, eye mía viwo megaku o.

30. Awo; enua nye Kwami Tse. Wogblo be, trõ sia ɔea fuwo ɔa le ame nu. Ne ame aɔe ku, eye zohewo le fu nyim nɛ la, woɔafoa vu nɛ le ŋkeke asiekeagbe le trõ la gbɔ, eye wotsoa la, si wode kɔ la fua gbe ɔe tɔ sia me.

31. Gugumagu; enua nye Agbedzo.

32. Agbadzalufui; enua nye Dosunku

33. Ahawoe; enua nye Agɔvu Tse.

34. Adifo; enua nye Agama.

35. Atikatsi, enua nye Yawo Foli.

36. Bada; enua nye Ganua.

37. Vui I.; enua nye Agama

38. Zāgba; enua nye Fupɔtsa

39. Labo; enua nye Deku.

40. Vui II.; enua nye Kabutsoe.

41. Blewu (Bluvu, Bluwu), enua nye Kwasi Foli. Trõ sia ɔea na ame. Ne ati afo ame le gbe me wɔaku, la, alée, tu agbã alée alo trõ aɔe le dzi bi ge ɔe enu la, eyae ɔea gu na ame. Ŋkɔ, si wofona ɔo nɛ enye: Bluvu, aɔe fo lã dze ke. Gbe si gbe wɔbia nu la, yemayi ko woɔea dza nɛ.

C. The Foreign *Trõwo*

1. *Tadie* and *Homede*

a. Abode and Characteristics.

These *Trõwo* originated from Anfœ; but are no longer worshipped ther anymore; However, in *Tyome* and *Matse* they are still fervently worshipped. His priest, who is *Uuɔtsa* (*vu ɔi kolo*), lives in the *Gbebi* town. Both of these *trõwo* manifest in two clay statues that are erected along the road to *Avatime*. The male figure is *Tadzie*, and the female is called *Homede*. Some people claim that *Homede* is *Tadzie*'s daughter. The people of *Matse* greatly revere the *trõwo*, because it is believed that they can cause death suddenly if they are offended.

They are considered as those *trõwo* that give children to the barren. If a woman is unable to bear a child, she asks the priest to intervene on her behalf, by driving away the calamity. The people believe that these *trõwo* do kill malevolent magicians in the town, although others may not be privy to their disposition. These *trõwo* are regularly served by priests whose goats run around the town freely. These *trõwo* also are known to intervene on behalf of the weak against the bullies in the town.

b. Invocation of their oath

The *trõwo* do not like the use and invocation of their oath, and should they occur, they get very angry and kill the one concerned.⁴³ They must be placated with palm wine. When invocation of their names in relation to humans or kill relatives of the contract giver. They continue to kill them until they are paid.

The following is the process of invoking the *trõwo* against others: if an object belonging to someone is stolen, for example, the owner may invoke the wrath of the *trõ* by saying: "May the Chief *Tadzie* kill the person who took away my property!" If the *trõ* was invoked upon some particular person, but others start dying in the town, the one who invoked the *trõ* would have to go to the *trõ* with a goat and 12 hoka cowry shells to sue for peace and ask that the killing be stopped.

c. How *Tadzie* gets its slaves

When a woman, who has been losing her infant children gets pregnant again, she is taken to the priest and sold to him. The priest binds some cords around her neck, and says to her: "From now onwards, you are not to have any relation with other men. You are also prohibited from sleeping with your husband on *Asiami* days (the day after the *Ho-market* day)." On that day, she would have to fetch water to fill the *trõ*'s pots. She washes herself with some of this water after which she is smeared with white clay. It is in the process of doing this that the priest gets the chance to indulge in bad relationships with the women.

When the baby is delivered, she brings it to the priest who bathes it there, thereby accepting the baby as a slave of the *trõ*. As the child begins to walk, his father buys a new knife, takes ten calabashes of palm wine and 60 hoka cowry shells and gives them to the priest to have the boy's hair cut. The woman is not allowed to sleep with her

⁴³ The person, because of whom its name was called.

C. Trõ siwo woxɔ tso du bubu me

1. Tadzĩe kple Xɔmede

a. Nɔfe kple ɲusẽ, si le wo si

Trõ siawo tso Anɲɔ, ke Anɲɔetɔwo megasubɔnɔ o, negbe Tsyometɔwo kple Matseawo koe gale vevie dom ɔ wo ɲu. Wo nunɔla nye Fɲɲɔtsa (fu ɔi kolo), ame si le gbɔta, si woyɔna be Begbi. Trõ eve siawo le anyimeme eve me le Avatimemɔ nu, Tadzĩe enye atsu, eye Xɔmede nye asi. Ame aɔ ɔ ɔ gbɔ be Xɔmede enye Tadzĩe fe vi. Matsetɔwo vɔa trõ siawo kronkron, elabena wobu be, wowua ame kaba, ne woda le wo dzi. Wobua wo abe trõ, siwo mea ame ene. Ne nyɔnu aɔ mele vi dzim kura o la, eyia trõnua gbɔ be, wɔayi busu nɛ, ne wɔadzi vi. Wogbɔ be, trõ siawo wua dzoɔumetɔwo le gbɔ me, ne amewo medze si wo o hã. Wosubɔa trõ siawo enuenu, eye wofle gbɔ da ɔ dua me na wo. Ne du aɔ melɔa mí o la, ekema trɔawo wɔa ava kpli wo.

b. Wo ɲɔɲɔ kɔ ɔ ame dzi

Trõ siawo melɔna bena, woɲɔɲɔ ame akɔ ɔ yewo dzi o. Ne ame aɔ ɲɔ wo kɔ ɔ xɔlɔvia dzi la, wobia dzi, eye wowua sigbeme la. Emegbe wobia aha le ame si ɔ ɔ wo la si. Ne womexo adzɔ o la, ekema wowua ame si ɔ wo la fomeawo va se ɔ esime wɔana adzɔ.

Ale si woyɔ wo kɔna ɔ ame dzie nye: Ne ame aɔ tɔ nua aɔ da ɔi, eye ame bubu va tsɔe la, ekema nuatɔ gblɔna bena: “Ame si kekeake va tɔ nye nu la, amegã Tadzĩ neva wui.” Ne woyɔ trõ siawo ɲɔ ɔ ame aɔ dzi, eye wokpɔ bena, amewo le kukum le dua me la, ekema ele na ame la bena, wɔatsɔ gbɔ ɔka kple hotu 12 ava na trõnua, bena wɔaxɔ fafe, eye trɔawo nadzudzɔ amewuwu.

d. Mɔ si dzi Tadzĩ xɔa klu le

Ne nyɔnu aɔ dzia vi wokuna, eye fu gale efo la, wokplɔnɔ yia trõnua gbɔ tsɔnɔ flena nɛ. Trõnua sa kawo ɔ kɔ na nyɔnu la, agbɔ nɛ bena: Azɔ megazɔ kple ɲutsu bubu aɔke o. Megadɔ kple atsua le Asiamigbe o. Gbe ma gbe wodua tsi kɔna ɔ trõ la fe zevi me, bena nyɔnu la nale. Esia megbe woatsɔ ye ata nɛ. To esia wɔwɔ me trõnuawo wɔa ahasi kple nyɔnuwo.

Ne nyɔnu la dzi vi la, wotsɔa ɔevi la yia trõnua gbɔe. Afi ma wolea tsi nɛ le, eye wozua trõ la fe kluvi. Ne ɔevi la tsi le azɔli zɔm la, tɔa afle hɛ yeye ɔka atɔ aha tre ewo kple hoka 60 akpe ɔ ɲu aɔal[ta na ɔevi la. Ne womewo alea o hafi nyɔnua ɔ ɲutsua gbɔ la, ekema edze se me, woaxɔ gbɔ ɔka kple hoka 60 le esi ɔevi la zu trõnua tɔ godogodo.

d. Trõ me ɔɔɔ

Ne enye ame aɔ fe ame fefle, eye wole hiã kam wo be, yewoale wo afle la, ekema ava si trõ la atso, bena ne ame aɔ ka asi ɲuwò la, ne wɔawui.

Ne ɲutsu aɔ le hiã kam srɔa vevie le efe ɲɔnɔme manomanyo ta la, ekema nyɔnu la ɔɔɔa trõ me, bena ne yegayi ɲutsua fe la, ne yeaku.

husband until this ceremony. If she does, she has broken the law and must atone for it with one goat and 60 hoka cowry shells. The child compulsorily becomes the property of the priest.

d. Causes of surrendering oneself to the *trɔ̃*

When the owner of a slave worries and threatens to sell him off, the slave takes refuge with the *trɔ̃*, mindful of the fact that the *trɔ̃* would kill anybody who comes to touch him there.

If a woman feels tormented by her husband over her bad habits, she surrenders herself to the *trɔ̃* and declares her readiness to die if she should return to her husband's house.

If a person swears an oath, and finds himself incapable of paying the resultant debt, he runs to surrender himself to the *trɔ̃*, so that his debts may be rendered null and void. The person who pursues him for it would be killed by the *trɔ̃*. However, mortgage debts must be paid under all circumstances. Anybody who surrenders to the *trɔ̃* becomes his slave.

e. Prayers

In difficult situations, for example, when a woman is having a difficult delivery, the priest goes into the *trɔ̃*-shrine and prays: "O, a pond cannot wash the surrounding grass away. You don't mix the old palm wine with the new one. Today, a calamity is threatening someone, and they have tried as hard and as long as they could, but they are at the end of their resources. That is why we have come to appeal to you. Relieve them of this affliction! A dead person can no more pay his debts." (It is only the person who recovers from his sickness, who can pay for the cure.)

f. The *Matse trɔ̃wo* got angry with *Tadzie*

In May, 1892, there was a heavy rain during which the *trɔ̃*-shrine of *Tadziē*, including the idols in it, was swept away. When the *Matse* people saw that, they concluded that all the *trɔ̃wo* were angry with *Tadziē*, because he was killing too many people. The *trɔ̃wo* had all come together and connived to make this rain fall in order to drive *Tadzie* away from among them. The priest then declared his preparedness to have his place rebuilt and the idols re-installed exactly as they used to be. The *Matse* people, however, refused to co-operate with him, because, they said, they had not experienced any positive thing from this *trɔ̃*. Therefore, the work was left for the priest and the inhabitants of that clan to do.

2. *Ninigbedze*

The medium in charge of this *trɔ̃* is Heyigoe. The *trɔ̃* is a magic, which was brought from Dzigbe (in the SW of the Ewe land). The Juju-men were very lucky, because they were able to heal many sick people with the medicine that accompanied it. Whenever a magical spell is placed on somebody's head to carry, the person wobbles and rocks his head. The magical object is deified (became a *trɔ̃*), because whatever they demanded

Ne ame aḍe nyi fe le fiawo fe atamkaka me, eye nu aḍeke mele esi wòaxe fe lae o la, eḍoa trõ me, bena feawo nabu, eye ame si abia eta la, trõ la nawui. Gake nenyē awòbafē la, ele be ame la naxee kokoko. Ame si ḍo trõ me la, ezu trõ la fe klu alo kosi.

e. Gbedododa

Le nyadzadzɔ võwo me, abe nyɔnuwo fe kulele ene la, trõnua yia trõfe, eye wodoa gbe ḍa bena: “O takla melɔa gbe o (ta si xa ḍi godoo la, mate ɲu alɔ gbe o)” Ahaḍoḍoe metɔ aha o (wometsɔa aha xoxo tɔa aha yeye o)”. Egbe dzã la, busu esi va ame aḍe dzi, eye wole wɔwɔm vuu womenya ta le enu o, eya ta wova kutukutu ge na wo. Naḍe ava sia ḍa le eɲu, ame fo ke adzɔ menɔa eɲu o (ne ame la fo ke, do fu alo ku la adzɔa aḍeke maganɔ eɲu o, ke ne efe lãme sē la, ekema ana adzɔ ḍe eta).

f. Trõwo fe dzibibi ḍe Tadzĩ ɲu

Le Mai (1892) me la, tsi gã aḍe dza, eye wokplɔ trõ fe xɔ kpakple legba katã yi. Esi Matseawo kpɔ esia la, wogblɔ bena, trõwo katã bi dzi ḍe Tadzĩ ɲu elabena ele amewo wum akpa. Trõwo katã bla na tsi sia dza, bena yewoanyae ḍa le yewo dome. Ke trõnua lã be yeagadzra tefe la ḍo, atu xɔ la, eye yeame legba bubu abe tsãtɔ ene. Matsetwo gbe be, yewoamawɔe o, elabena womegakpɔ efe trõnyenye o. Trõsi la kpɛ efe gbɔtatwo koe yi ḍawɔe.

2. Ninigbedze

Trõ sia nɔnɔla ɲkɔ nye xeyigoe. Trõ la nye dzo, si woxɔ tso Dzigbe. Amatsi si le dzo sia ta la, wotsɔe le gbe dam le amewo ɲu kakaka, wole edzi dzem na wo. Ne wotsɔe wɔ trõe, elabena eḍina ɲutɔ. Womee wònye legba, eye wotu xɔ ḍe edzi. Trõ la bia yi, eya ta wòzu amewutrõ.

Ne du aḍe me tɔwo wu Matsetwo la, trõ la tia ketwo yome, eye wòkplɔ wo va wo fe. Enumake wolenɛ, eye wobɔa pae nyina ɲkeke aḍewo. ɲkeke, si dzi wole ewu ge la, wokplɔnɛ va trõ la gbɔ, eye wofea pae. Emegbe woblanɛ ḍawuna. Wotsɔa ta le enu, eye woḍea glã la va dana ḍe trõ la fe xɔta. Wosubɔnɛ zi eve le fe ḍeka me.

occurred. They made an idol and built a house over it. The *trɔ̃* asked for a sword and, he, therefore, came to be considered as one who kills.

If a *Matse* citizen is killed by a person from another town, this *trɔ̃* persecutes the enemy until it brings him to *Matse*, where he is immediately arrested, put into chains and well fed. On the day of his execution, they lead him to the stool and take off his chains. He is bound and killed. His head is chopped off and the jaws are laid on the roof of the *trɔ̃*-house.⁴⁴ This *trɔ̃* is worshipped twice yearly.

3. *Seblusefe*

This *trɔ̃* is accorded a special importance in every *Matse* town. One of his priests lives in *Dzeve* and is called *Kuma Adzanu*. The other, lives in *Tsivi*, and a third, called *Denu*, lives in *Begbi*.

This *trɔ̃* is also a *juju*, a magic. It was introduced by a woman from *Krachi* who was married to a man from *Avatime* who lived in *Fume*. Its representative idol is depicted by something like a threshold, over which a house has been built, as it were, on the village street. The woman could speak the *Ewe* and *Hausa* languages (perhaps also *Twɪ*), and that is why they named him *Sebluseve trɔ̃*. He was installed in 1889.

He is highly respected because when the small pox threatened, he helped to drive it back. Additionally, when “anything evil threatens, he blocks its way and drives it back.” Once upon a time, the *trɔ̃* possessed his priest as the people were threatened by evil and after having been placated and worshipped, the threat was abated. Then, after the *Taviefe* war, he killed several people in *Tsiwi*, *Havi* and *Begbi*, and this is why many people stopped worshipping him ardently. It is only the people of *Dzeve* who still serve him ardently, claiming that it was the deity which prevented the small pox from entering their town. He is still worshipped during the yam festival.

III. The personal Protective Gods

1. The Wife of the other world

Dzɔgbemesi is that woman to whom man was married at our place of origin. (One says) “You have left your wife in the spiritual world; you have come into this world, worked and become rich. When you get married here, your wife in the spiritual world will not be in agreement with it, until you lead her into your house. You are advised to make a small clay altar behind your house for her.” This is erected behind the building belonging to the first wife. When she dies, it will be erected behind another wife’s house.

The wife of the other world comes from God; her duty is to protect human beings. When the wife of the other world is angry with the husband, she leaves his house and kills him. Because she does not drink palm wine, she is only offered water mixed with cornflour. When the man weaves or buys a cloth, he cuts a piece and puts it aside for her.

The general belief is that if the wife of the other world becomes jealous of the wife in the physical world, she would not have a baby. Even if she gets one, the child would

⁴⁴ I saw two ears, which have been cut off the head of two strangers, due to robbery, lying on a roof in Ho,

3. Sebluseve

Wosubɔa trɔ̃ sia le Matse gbɔtawo katã wotɔwotɔwoe. Enua le Dzeve enye Kuma; le Tsifi enye Adzaru; Dɛɛnu le enu le Begbi.

Trɔ̃ sia hã nye dzo. Kratsinyɔnu aɖe si nye Avatimetɔ aɖe srɔ̃ le Fume la, eya hee ve. Wowɔe wonye kpui meme, eye wotu xɔ ɖe dzi le duawo fe ablo me. Kratsinyɔnu la se Eve, eye wogase Hausagbe hã. Eya ta woyɔa trɔ̃ la be Sebluseve. Woɖoe anyi le fe 1889 me.

Wobunɛ ɲutu, elabena, esi sakpate gbɔna la, eya nyãe ɖa na wo. Menye esia ɖeɖe ko o, ke etea ɲu xea mɔ na nya vɔ bubuwo hã. Ne nya siawo fe ɖe gbɔna la, ekema edzea ame dzi, eye wosubɔne ɖea dza nɛ, hena nu sia nu, si wobia la.

Le Taviefeva megbe la, wowu ame geɖewo le Tsifi, Havi kple Begbi, eya ta woawo megadoa vevie subɔne o. Ke Dzevetɔwo ko gadoa vivi ɖe ɛɲu subɔna. Woawo gblɔ be, eyae na dɔvɔ meva, yewofe du me o. Le teɖuyi hã wosubɔne.

III. ɲunuwo

1. Dzɔgbemesi

Dzɔgbemesi enye nyɔnu, si nedi le Bome alo ɖime. Ète dzi le wò dzɔgbemesi gbɔ va xexeme, wɔ dɔ kpɔ hotsui kple nu sia nu. Ne èɖe srɔ̃ la, wò dzɔgbemesi malɔ na wò o, va se ɖe esime nakplɔ eya hã va afewo me hafi. Àme anyikpui vi aɖe ɖe xɔɖome nɛ. Wowɔne ɖe nyɔnu, si ɲutsu la tre ɖeɖe gbã la fe xɔɖome. Ke ne nyɔnu ma ku la, wotsɔne yia bubu fe xɔɖome.

Dzɔgbemesi tso Mawu gbɔ kokoko. Efe dɔwɔwɔe nye bena, woakpɔ ame ta. Ne ebi dzi ɖe gbɔwò la, ekema nyɔnu manɔ afewò me o, awu wò kokoko. Menoa aha o, negbe wɔtsi ko nado ɖe egbo. Nenye avɔ nefle alo nelɔ la, aka sue aɖe ada ɖe egbo.

Wogblɔ be, ne dzɔgbemesi le ɲu vām nyɔnu, si neɖe le kodzogbe la, madzi vi aɖeke o, eye ne edzii hã manɔ agbe o, elabena dzɔgbemesi le ɲu vām le ɛɲuti bena, exɔ atsu le ye si. Ke ne dzɔgbemesi la lɔa nyɔnua la, ekema viwo anɔ esi. Eya ta womea dzɔgbemesi la fe nɔwɔme ɖe xɔɖome na nyɔnu la bena magava ɲui o.

Ne ɲutsu aɖe kple srɔ̃ wole agble me le nu ɲlɔm, eye akpɔkpɔ le kpo tim le nyɔnua ɲgo la, ekema wogblɔna bena, dzɔgbemesi le ɲu vām bena yefe atsusi le yefe ɲɔfle ɲlɔm.

Bubue nye: Ne nyɔnu yi aba ɖo ge kasia akpɔkpɔ le xɔa me la, ekema wogblɔna bena, esia nye dzɔgbemesi. Eyae le ɲu vām bena, yefe atsusi xɔ atsu le ye si, eya ta wotrɔ̃ zu akpɔkpɔ, be yeatre anyimɔmɔ na atsusia.

Ne nyɔnu aɖe fɔ fu mate ɲu adzi o la, ekema dzɔgbemesi le ɲu vāmii. Míedia akɔɖu gbogbo vɔ̃, nyakpekpe, akutsa yeye, koklo kple tsikpo, eye míeyi mɔ dzi. Míefoa dru tɔɔa amememe, nu bakabaka kple hotsui 12, eye nye hotsui dana ɖe edzi, eye míedoa gbe ɖa na dzɔgbemesi la.

not live since the wife of the spirit world is always declaiming against her for taking her husband from her. If the wife of the spirit world really loves the real wife, she will have children. Hence, the man erects an altar for her behind the house of the real wife to ensure that she does not become jealous of her.

If a man and his wife are hoeing on their farm, and a toad springs up ahead of the wife, the man interpretes this as evidence of the jealousy of the wife of the spirit world because her rival is weeding her portion.

Another version is: If a woman finds a toad in the bedroom while laying the mat, one can certainly conclude that it is the husband's wife of the spirit world who, jealous that her rival is sharing her husband with her, has changed herself into a frog, so that she can sleep in the bed before her rival does.

When a pregnant woman experiences difficulty during birth, it means that the wife of the other world is jealous of her; we look for unripe bananas and the sausage-like fruits of a certain tree,⁴⁵ a new sponge, fowl, small basket, and, with that, we set forth. Once there (in the bush), we make a mound on which we install two clay idols, and pour corn flour mixed with oil and twelve cowry shells on it. The cowry shells cost twelve hotu. Thereafter, we offer prayers to the wife of the spirit world.

2. The Husband of the other world

This is the male counterpart of the wife of the other world. It is said that the husband of the spirit world inflicts scratches on people. When one goes to bed in the evening and wakes up the next morning with scratch wounds, it is believed that it is the husband of the other world that scratched the one.

3. The Ghost/Spirit Mother

One says of a child who dies shortly after birth, that the mother in the spirit world killed it. Consequently, after the birth of a child, one collects seven tiny clay idols, a toad, instead of a he-goat, and they pay her the debt with these. They place the clay idols upright on a wooden plate and tie the toad onto it, add some cornflour mixed with oil and twenty-four cowry shells worth 24 hotu. The ghost mother does not kill the child if she is satisfied with the presentation.

4. The Stone-guardian/Attendant

Kpegbɔnɔla, “the guardian of the stones”, piles stones on one another. A person dies as soon as the stones are scattered. If a very old man is longing for death but does not see it coming soon, he would call his darling child and tell him: “If you are the one piling up my stones, then allow me to go. Just leave my stones alone so that I may go!”

5. The Promise, personified

Before coming into this world, one promised at the place of human origin: “I will come back when I own a musket.” As soon as the time is ripe, sickness sets in and the priest is

45 Nyakpekpe = *Kigelia africana*.

2. Dzɔgbemetsui

Eya nye ɲutsutɔ. Wogblɔ be, dzɔgbemetsui dea fe ame. Nenyɛ be, nɛmlɔ anyi le zā me, eye nɛfɔ kasia febi le ɲuwò la, ekema amewo gblɔna bena dzɔgbemetsui de fe ame la.

3. ɲlimenɔ

Ne wodzi vi wòku la, ekema wogblɔna be ɲɔlimenɔ va wui. Eya ta ne wodzi vi tetee la, wodia ame meme adre kple akpɔkplɔ dɛka, eya nye gbɔtsu dɛka, bena woatsɔ axe fe nɛ. Wotsɔa ame memewo dɔa gbɔnu fo, eye wotsia akpɔkplɔ la dɛ egbɔ. Kpe dɛ esia ɲuti wotsɔa wɔ kabakaba kple hotsui 24, eya nye hotu 24 aɔ egbɔ. Ne nu siawo dze ɲɔlimenɔ ɲu la, magawu dɛvi la o.

4. Kpegbɔnɔla

Kpegbɔnɔla nɔa kpe tum dɔ, ne kpe la ka ko la, ekema ame la kuna. Ne ame tsitsi aɔ me le kukum kaba o hafi ku le edzrom la, ekema egblɔna na dɛvi, si nye efe lɔlɔvi la bena: “Nunye wòe nye nye Kpetudɔla la, dɛ mɔ nam ne mayi, tso le nye kpe gbɔ ne mayi.”

5. Gbetsi

Etsi gbe le bome hafi va be: “Ne wofle tu nam ko la, ekema matrɔ agbɔ” Ne yeyiɣi la dɔ edzi la, ekema dɔlɛle va. Wobiaa trɔsi bena, nu ka he dɔlɛle la vɛ mahā? Egblɔna bena: “Wò gbetsi gblɔ bena, ne wofle tu de asiwò pɛ la, ekema magagbugbɔ ava”. Wolā abladzɔlɔ awɔ tu, atso bome nu ziwo akpe dɛ ɲɲu axe fe nɛ le mɔ dzi, ekema evɔ.

Nyɔnu, si tsi gbe le dzɔfe bena, yemadzi vi o, ne yedzi vi ko yeaku la, fe gbetsi nɔa eyome, eye ne edzi vi la ekema edina be yeaɔu dɛvi la. Míetsɔa akɔɔu gbogbo ví, nyakpekpe, akutsa yeye, koklo kple tsikpo yia mɔ dzi, bena míaxe fe nɛ, ne wòadɛ asi le nyɔnua kple via ɲu.

6. Luwɔ, aklama kple gbɔgbɔ

Luwɔ evee le ame ɲuti, kpuietɔ kple legbɛtɔ. Legbɛtɔ kuna kple ame, ke kpuitɔ ya mekuna o, eya nye ɲɔli nɔa xɔxlɔm. Eva xɔ me va foa nu le nu si wɔ ame hafi wòku la ɲuti.

Aklama enye adee, ne elɔ la, nu sia nu adze edzi na wò nyuie.

Gbɔgbɔ enye ame blibo la katã, ne edo go la, ekema ame la ku.

asked to disclose the cause of the sickness. He replies: “Your gbetsi said that you should go back soon after they have bought you a musket.” They cut the stalk of a banana leaf, form it like a musket, add fruits to the lot and pay their debt on the road with these. That ends everything.

If a woman had said at the place of origin that she would not bear a child, and should immediately die if she should give birth, she would be persecuted by her personified promise. And if she gets a child, the *Gbetsi* would want to kill it. If this happens, we take along unripe bananas, the fruit of “nyakpekpe”, a new sponge, with a fowl and a small basket, to the road, to pay the debt and remove his hold on the woman and her child.

6. Soul, Guardian Angels and Spirit

Man has two souls, a short and a long one.⁴⁶ The long one dies with the person; the short one does not die. It is the spirit of the dead which shouts. It enters the room and talks about the cause of his death.

Aklama is the hunters' god; if he likes you, everything will go on well for you.

The breath, *gbɔgbɔ*, belongs to the whole being. Once it leaves a person, he dies.

46 Luwo means shadow.

IV. Expulsion of Calamity⁴⁷

There are special places to which we banish calamity, and to which we throw them away. The most important of them are river banks, latrines and the road.

One day, I saw a young man washing himself near the latrine.⁴⁸ Without saying anything, I watched him until he finished bathing. He then threw 10 cowry shells at the place where he had bathed and went away. I called the boy the next morning and said to him: “I was surprised when I saw you yesterday washing yourself beside the public latrine, because that is not the bath house.” He answered me: “When some one is not feeling quite well, and his *Gbetsi* or an evil spirit is harassing him, he must take refuge at the latrine and wash himself there after which he must make a payment.” By doing this, he has brought an action at the latrine against the calamity that has been harassing him. He believes that it is powerful and keeps his promises and that it is mightier than the *trõwo*, the *gbetsiwo* and the evil spirits.

V. The World

God created the world. It is like the silk-cotton tree which no man can ever encompass with his arms. The world is something magnificent, and like the *adido* tree, no one can attempt to climb it. Wisdom, human wisdom, is also like a silk-cotton tree which can not be simply encompassed. It is a wall in which stones lie over other stones and there is no person who can ever know everything.

IV. Busuyiyi

Miedo tefe tɔxɛ ɖi, aɖi si miɛnya nu vɔwo fua gbe ɖo. Tefe vevietɔwo nye tɔkɔ, kpɔxadefe kple mɔwo dzi.

Gbe ɖeka mekpɔ ɖekakpui aɖe le tsi lem le kpɔxadefe. Mekpɔe d[nyemeke nu o. Esi wole tsia vɔ la, etsɔa hotsui 10 fu gbe ɖe aɖi si wòle tsia ɖo. Ŋu ke, meyɔ ɖekakpui la ve, eye mebiae bena: Etsɔ mekpɔ wo nele tsi lem le kpɔxadefe, eye ewɔ mo ya nam ɣutɔ, elabena aɖi ma menye tsilefe o. Nu ka ta newɔ nenema? Eɖo ɣu nam be: Ne ame aɖe fe lāme megale kɔkɔm o, eye gbetsi alo ɣoli vɔwo le fu ɖem ne la ele ne be, woasi kpɔxa atso, eye wòale tsi le aɖi ma. Emegbe wòana adzɔ kpɔxa, si gɔmee nye ye sama nu vɔ, siwo le fu ɖem ne la na kpɔxa. Elabena ɣusɛ le esi, eye wowɔa efe nyawo dzi, keke trõwo, gbetsi kple ɣoli vɔwo ke hã mekpɔa ɣusɛ ɖe dzi o.

V. Xexeme

Mawu wɔ xexeme. Adido wònye asi metune o. eya nye, xexeme la, nu gāe, elolo si gbe adido ene. Ame aɖeke mate ɣu afu akɔe o. Nunyanya adido wonye, asi metsune o, nunyanya kpedoɖo wonye, ezio ɖe xɔlɔvi nɔegbɔnɔegbɔ. Ame aɖeke mate ɣu anya nu avɔ gbɛɖegbɛɖe o.

⁴⁷ Narratives of a native teacher.

⁴⁸ The latrines are built outside the town, in such a way that men and women have separate locations.

Taviefe Tribe

Taviefe

1. The History of *Taviefe*

A. Origin, Migration and Establishment of Towns

The people of *Taviefe* claim that they were also once living within the walls. The ancestor, who had brought them from *Notsie* to their present location, was *Ta*. We have been told that the people of *Taviefe* were related to the *Anlos*, and that they were living together in the same town. They were also supposed to be related to the *Tanyigbe* people.

When the people of the *Ho* tribe had broken through the walls of *Notsie*, and trooped out of it with other tribes, the *Taviefes* followed the *Anlos* and established their homesteads beside them in *Anlogã*. Their ancestor was called *Nyãgee*. This man was very rich and possessed many slaves and many herds of cattle. The oil palm plantation, which he had cultivated, is still there today. The following are the reasons why the *Taviefes* departed from the *Anlos*: Their chief, *Nyãgee*, was living in a village on the plantation, and not in the town. While away, the *Anlogã* chiefs stole some cows from the herd which he left behind in the town. On one particular occasion, three cows were stolen in a day. After he had returned home from the plantation, his mother, an old lady, reported to him what had happened in his absence. This developed into a quarrel between him and the chiefs of *Anlogã*. The quarrel became so serious that it led to an exchange of fire, and, as a result, Chief *Nyãgee* migrated from *Anlogã* and went in search of the people of *Ho*, whom he found in *Hoedo* between *Akɔeviefe* and *Takla*.

On his arrival there, he sent his men out to inspect the mountains, where the *Taviefes* are now domiciled. When the men went out, they came back to report the presence of several tribes on the mountains, namely, the *Avatimes*, the *Alavanyo*, *Nyangbo*, *Logba* and *Ziavi* people. When *Nyãgee* heard this, he went himself to these tribes, asking permission, for him and his tribe, to be allowed to live among them. They all, especially the *Ziavis*, refused to allow them to live near them. A war consequently broke out between him and the other tribes. The *Taviefes* attacked the *Ziavis* with bows and arrows and chased them away. After that, they also drove away the *Avatimes*, the *Logbas* and the *Nyangbos*. Only the people of *Alavanyo* quietly left without a fight. The

Taviefe

1. Taviawo ntunya

A. Dzɔfe, mɔɔɔɔ kple dutsotso

Taviawo be, yewo hã yewonɔ gli me. Wo tɔgbui, si kplɔ wo tso Ɔɔtsie ɲkɔe nye Ta. Wobe, yewo kple Aɲɔlawo nye fome alo gbɔta deka, eye yewonye Tanyigbeawo nɔvi.

Esi Hoawo va gbã glia, eye duawo do go dze wo yome la, Taviawo kple Aɲɔlawo ɔ, eye woyi ɔatso afe de Aɲɔfenɔ me. Wo fofoe nye Nyãgee, ame si kpɔ hotsui ɲuto, eye amewo kple nyiwo nɔ esi. Deti, si wodo de afi me la gali va se de egbegbe. Nu si na be Taviawo vu dzo le Aɲɔlawo gbɔ lae nye esi: Amega Nyagee menɔa afe me o, agbleta ko wɔnɔna. Le efe agbletanɔnɔ me la, Aɲɔmegãwo nɔa efe nyi, siwo wogblẽ de afe la fim nɔa tsotsom. Ale wova me be, wolé efe nyi etɔ gbe deka. Esi wɔva gbɔ tso agble la, dada, si nye nyagã la, gblɔ nu si va eme la nɛ. Nya la va zu dzre de eya kple Aɲɔmegãwo dome, ale gbege be, woda tu. Nu sia na amegã Nyãgee tu vu tso Aɲɔ be, yeati Hoawo yome. Ekpɔ Hoawo le Hogbefe, si le Akɔviawo kple Taklaawo dome.

Afi ma, wodɔ ame ɔa le be, woakpɔ to si ɲu míele fifi la ɔa. Esi amewo de la, wokpɔ amewo le afi ma, fuu, siwo nye: Avatimeawo, Alavanyoawo, Nyagboawo, Logbaawo kple Ziaviawo. Ame dɔdɔawo gbugbo va gblɔe na Nyãgee. Azɔ eya ɲuto tso yi wo gbɔ, eye wofɔ nu kpli wo be, woana mɔ ye yeawo wo gbɔ. Gake wogbe, vevietɔ Ziaviawo; eya ta wowo ava kpli wo. Wote wo kple da nya wo ɔa, emegbe woyi ɔanyã Avatimeawo, Logbaawo kple Nyagboawo hã. Alavanyoawo koe vu kpoo. Esia megbe hafi Taviawo kpɔ mɔ tso afe de Matseawo kple Tanyigbeawo gbɔ.

Taviefes were able to establish their homesteads between *Matse* and *Tanyigbe* only after they had driven away these tribes.

B. Name and Character

The *Taviefes* are a people who do not have sympathy for others and take away whatever they want from others by force. For example, they appropriated the name of the *Nyives*, which these have always had. The *Nyives* had been calling themselves the *Awunoawo*, but these people told them that this name did not befit them and took it themselves. From that time, the people of the other towns referred to them as the *Awunogogoeawo*, meaning “the leopards of *Awunor*”.

Taviefe means: “The people who live along the ponds or between mountains.” Their grandfather, who gave them this name, was called *Atsui*. The place had earlier been called *Atsui fe kofe*, “*Atsui*’s hamlet.” Yet, even after they had given up the use of this name, the name of their predecessor, *Atsui*, remained in their minds forever. They insisted that they liked their name, *Taviefe*, very much because it is fitting, and that no one, apart from the weaver bird, could ever enter their town which was surrounded by mountains. How could anyone enter that town unnoticed?

The inhabitants of *Taviefe* are very cruel. They have created a special place called *Adzramuafe*, “the square of the cat”, where people are executed. There, they have made a deep hole, the sides of which have been tiled with stones, and, in this, they executed their prisoners. If they happened to be living in a state of war with any tribe, they would seize the children of the enemy tribe, and pound them in this stone mortar. As for the adult prisoners, they slit open their stomach, take out their entrails and proceed to pound them in the stone mortar. (The people of *Taviefe* adhered to these practices till they were defeated by the English forces in 1888⁴⁹). But they have not altogether given up their brutish disposition and crudeness.

C. Relationship of the Taviefe People with the other Tribes

The *Taviefes* and the *Hos* had been living peacefully with one another until the outbreak of the Asante Wars. When the *Taviefes* had gone hunting, or when two animals were slaughtered after a court hearing, they would send one of them whole to *Ho*. At the beginning of the year, when the fields are being prepared for planting, the *Taviefes* would send people to work for *Afede*, King of *Bankoe*. In the event of the death of a *Taviefe* king, it was the responsibility of King *Afede* to move in there to supervise the installation of a successor, and when the King died in *Ho*, the *Taviefe* King would have to go there before a new one could be installed. When the *Sokodes* attacked the *Hos*, the King of *Taviefe*, *Asiedutsu*, fought, together with his people, on the side of the *Hos*. Unfortunately, the relationship between these two tribes became so sour that they started waylaying one another.

Apart from the *Anlos*, *Taviefe*’s friends were the *Akwamu* people, the *Shiã*, the *Ave*, and the *Nyives*. (There was later to be a shooting incident, in which some *Akwamus* opened fire on some *Taviefes*, and this led to a full scale war.)⁵⁰ The cause of the war

⁴⁹ See P.60 -69.

⁵⁰ 1828 – 1831.

B. Taviawo fe ηkɔwo kple wofe nɔnɔme

Taviawo nye ame makpɔ nublaniwo kple sesɛnuxɔlawo. Elabena woxɔ Nyiveawo fe ηkɔ, si ke le wo si tso dzɔdzɔme la, le wo si. Wogblɔ na Nyiveawo bena woawo medze bena woatsɔ ηkɔ sia bena Avunɔawo o. Yewo Taviawo ko atɔ ηkɔ sia eye nyatefe woxɔ ηkɔ sia le Nyiveawo si vavã to sesẽ me. Ale bena wòtrɔ zu wofe ηkɔ, du sia du nɔa yɔyɔm na wo bena Avunɔgogoeawo. Gogo gɔmee nye lãkle.

Taviefe gɔme nye dukɔ, siwo le ta to, alo dukɔ siwo le towo dome. Wofe tɔgbui, si ke tsɔ ηkɔ sia na tefe la ηkɔ nye Atsui. Ena ηkɔ tefe la bena, yewoe nye ta to nɔlawo, alo to dome nɔlawo. Tsã la, woyɔnɛ ko be Atsui fe kɔfe. Esi woɖe asi le enu hã la, womehɔ wo tɔgbui Atsui ble kpɔ o; elabena ηkɔ Taviefe la dze wo, eye efe gɔme hã nyo wo ηu vavã, eye wogblɔ bena: “Amegbetɔ aɖeke mate ηu ava yewofe du me akpɔ o, negbe vlẽ ko, elabena yewole to ηu vavã, eye afi ka amegbetɔ lato eye yewo makpɔe o mahã?”

c. Taviawo kple du bubuwo dome nya

Hafi Asanteva nava la, Taviawo kple Hoawo nyina ηuto. Ne woyi gbe me la Tefe alo wodrɔ vɔnu wu lã eve la, wotsɔ ɖeka ɖona ɖe Ho makomako. Ne agble dzɔ la, Taviawo va ηlɔ nu na Afede. Ne Taviawo fe fia ku la, Afede yina ɖadoa bubu ɖe etefe, eye ne Ho fia ku la, Taviawo dena hafi woɖoa bubu. Esime Sɔkɔɖeawo be yewoawo ava kple Ho la, Taviefe fia Asiedutsu va kpe ɖe wo ηu. Ke emegbe la, dafidada va ɖo wo dome.

Hekpe ɖe Anɔlawo ηuti la, Akɔmuawo, Siãtɔwo, Aveawo kple Nyiveawo nye Taviawo nɔviwo. Gake eva eme kpɔ be, Akɔmuawo da tu ɖe Tefe, eye wozu ava gã wowɔ. Eva ve eme ale: Esime Akɔmu fia Akoto yina ɖe Nyive la, ele Taviawo lalam le Nyive, gake womeva o. Matseawo gblɔ na Akoto bena, Taviawo megɔna o. Esia na ɖɔme ve Akɔmu fia, eye wòyi ɖagbã wofe kɔfewo. Emegbe la woɖu dzo, eye wobla nu be, yewo magada tu ɖe yewo nɔewo dome o. Nubabla sia fe dzesie nye, Taviawo tsɔ nyɔnu ɖeka na Akɔmuawo wokplɔ yi afee. Le Asanteva me la, nyɔnu la fe vi va wokpɔ. Taviawo fe nubabla kple Akɔmuawo zu fu ɖe woawo kple Hoawo dome, eya ta le Asanteva me la womeda tu ɖe Hoawo ti o. Esiata Hoawo kple Pekiawo va bia hlɔ wo le Ziavi.

was as follows: When King Akoto of Akwamu moved to Nyive, he waited there for the Taviefes to join him, but these never came. People then came from *Matse* to inform King Akoto that the Taviefes would not be present. The king became so angry that he had the villages of the Taviefes destroyed. After this, they entered into an alliance and promised never again to open fire on one another. As an external sign of this alliance, the Taviefes presented a woman as a gift to the Akwamus to be taken home. A child of this woman was to come back to Taviefe during the Asante wars. As a result of this alliance, enmity developed between Taviefe and Ho, and, when the Asante wars broke out, the Taviefes could not fight on the side of the Hos against the Asantes. This was the reason why the Hos combined with the Pekis to wreak vengeance upon them in *Ziavi* (1873).

Most of the other Ewes did not like the Taviefes because of their crudeness and murderous activities. Another thing which made the Taviefes behave as they did was that their women had been running away from them to get married in the other towns. Therefore, whenever a man came from those towns into Taviefe, he would be seized and killed. For this reason, the *Taviefes* were hated by the people from the neighbouring towns, and, when they had the opportunity, they also killed them. The main reason for the enmity, however, was the alliance between the *Taviefe* and the *Akwamus*, as a result of which the *Taviefe* started referring to themselves as *Akwamus*. Consequently, a war broke out between them (the *Taviefe*) and the other Ewe people. When the Ewes returned home from the Asante wars, they decided to go to war with those people because they had not helped them fight the Asantes. The united confederates declared war on the *Taviefe*, but could not conquer their towns; on the contrary, they were chased out by them.

After these hostilities, King *Kwadzo Dei* of Peki and King *Howusu* of Ho enticed the Taviefes to come to *Ziavi* under the pretext that they wanted to forge an alliance with them. Thirty-five chiefs accompanied King *Gbortsu*, the successor of *Adzoe*, to the meeting. Upon the arrival of these men in *Ziavi*, they were attacked and all but nine men were killed. The chiefs then demanded that payment should be made. In response, the Taviefes brought them sheep, pigs and cowry shells. But this was only a trick, a means of instigating a war with them. Nevertheless, the trick totally failed.

A few years later, the Ewe kings rose up again, armed for war against Taviefe. That was the war in which the English forces took part in 1888. The cause of the war was as follows: One day, women from *Taviefe* went to *Ziavi* to buy foodstuffs. Upon entering the shop of a *Ziavi* man, he asked them what necessitated them to come to *Ziavi* to buy victuals, and whether or not their own land was not fertile enough since their *Ziavi*-soil must have been enriched by the amount of blood that has been shed on it⁵¹? When the women finally arrived back home, they narrated their story to King *Bele Komla*, who got very angry and organized his tribesmen to attack *Ziavi* that night and kill the people in their sleep. This they did; they attacked *Ziavi*, took some children and smashed their heads against a tree. The *Ziavi* people could only request the intervention of the English forces. When the English military officer, who had come to punish the Taviefes, was returning to post, he was waylaid and shot dead on the road. His European companion then organized all the Ewe kings, moved to fight *Taviefe* and defeated them. That war totally broke the power of *Taviefe*.

51 Ref. page 62.

Evedu gedewo melša Taviawo fe nya o, le wofe amewuwu kple ɖutasesẽ gedẽ akpa ta. Nu si na be, Taviawo hã nɔa nu siawo tɔgbee wɔm lae nye: Wofe nyɔnuwo vuna le wo gbɔ ɖaɖea ɖutsuwo le du bubu me, eya ta ne du mā me tɔ aɖe va wo de la, wolẽne wuna. Esiata Eveduwo lé fu wo, eye wonɔa wo wum. Vevietɔe nye be Taviawo bla nu kple Akɔmuawo, eye wonɔa wo ɖokui yɔm be Akɔmuawo, esia he ava va wo dome. Esime Eveawo gbɔ tso Asanteva la, wogblɔ be, yewoawo ava kple Taviawo, elabena womekpe ɖe yewo ɖu le avawɔwɔ kple Asanteawo me o. Ale wofu fu va da tu la, ke womete ɖu ɖo dua me o, elabena Taviawo nyã wo.

Esia megbe la Kwadzo De kple Howusu ble wova Ziavi be, woava ne yewoanyi dzo. Amegã bleatɔ vɔ atɔ sɔɖ tso yi kple wofe fia vevie Gbɔtsu, si enye Adzɔe fe yomedzela. Esi wode la, wode zi wo me, eye wowu wo ken, ame asieke koe susɔ gbɔ. Azɔ fiawo gagblɔ be, woava xe fe, eye Taviawo dzɔ nuawo: Alẽwo, hawo kple hotsui tɔ yi. Fiawo gatee kpɔ be, yewoato ale mɔ sia dzi agawo ava, eye wotee kpɔ hã vavã, gake wodo kpoe hetɔ dzo.

Fe aɖewo megbe la, Eve fiawo gaho ava ɖe Taviawo ɖuti. Ava mǎe nye yevuwa, si wowo le fe 1888 lia me. Ava la fe dzɔdzɔmee nye si: Gbe ɖeka Taviefenyɔnuwo yi nuɖuɖu fle ge le Ziavi. Esi woyi ɖutsu aɖe fe tɔxɔ me la, ebia wo bena: Nu ka ɖuti woawo nɔa nuɖuɖu flem ɖaa mahã? Yewo la, yewofe anyigba ɖe wowo nu ɖuti, elabena vu sɔɖ woko ɖe edzi. Nyɔnuawo gbɔ va ka nya la ta na fia Bela Kɔmla. Le dome, si vee ta wɔna Taviawo yi ɖadze Ziaviawo dzi le zã me wu wo ɖe alɔ me, eye wole wo viwo va tɔ wofe ta xlã ɖe ati. Ziaviawo di kpekpeɖeɖu tso Englis yevuawo gbɔ. Esi wo dometɔ ɖeka va he to na Taviawo dzo yina la, wowui le xa me. Yevu evelia kplɔ Eve fiawo katã ɖe asi ho ava ɖe Taviawo ɖu, eye wosi wo kenken. Ava mǎe tsi Taviawo fe ɖusẽ nu va se ɖe egbegbe.

D. Towns and Kings

The *Taviefe* towns are: *Avenya*, the royal town, *Dzawee*, *Tsetse*, *Aviefe* and *Demee*.

The citizens of *Demee* and *Avenya* are the most illustrious in *Taviefe*. They help the *Tsetses* with the governance. *Bele Komla* hails from *Tsetse*.⁵² Here are the names of the kings who have ruled *Taviefe*: *Asiedutsu*, *Di*, *Asiale*, *Odam*, *Sodza* and *Kpui*. (King *Asiale*⁵³ was ruling when war broke out between *Anfœ* and *Matse*.)

II. Religion

A. The Heavenly Gods

1. Heaven, *Ga*

Alili or *dzingo* (the cloud or the sky), “the visible heaven”, is *ya*. They say that the world, which we can see, is in the hands or in the power of *ga*. If someone does a good thing to his neighbour, the latter thanks him, saying: “It is *ga* who possesses everything; if *ga* permits, I will pay you back.” The person does not enunciate how he would be repaying him; he only thinks or considers it in his mind.

2. God, *Sodza*

Sodza is the only entity to whom we refer as the great God, *Mawu gā*; for he gives us food, clothing and children. No one would have children if the one does not get them from him; for, it is He who sends people who have and people who do not have children. He has sent all animals, domestic, tamed or wild, and given them their breath according to his wisdom. The God *Sodza* is the father of all wisdom and he is the one who gave wisdom to all human beings. He is the only God who is highly regarded in the whole *Eweland*. Stones, water and, even the palm wine we tap, are his works. He makes the yam grow. He has made the flax plant, which we, *Eves*, use to weave mats, so that we can get income to provide us with foodstuffs. Every work that we do has been given to us by him. When we fall asleep in the night, he sprays his elixir on us, so that we wake up again fresh for the work of another day.

God is not stingy; if he were avaricious, he would not have sent human beings into the visible world. He is benevolent and mild in everything he does in the *Eweland*. God is not to be challenged. He who challenges God would be taken away immediately and in a flash. The jaw bone of the disobedient or bad man would be taken away from him by God, and another human being would be fashioned out of it. God uses the jaw-bone to form a human, including all his parts. If you do good things, people would like you, but if you go about doing ridiculous things, people would look at you disdainfully. In exactly the same way, the good that you do will be pleasing to God, just as your foolish actions would anger him. If that happens, you would strive without success to avoid the resulting calamity; God will certainly kill you, and create a better person to replace you.

⁵² Ref. p. 154 b.

⁵³ Gbortsu had been the man in power in *Taviefe* at the beginning of the seventies. He was succeeded by *Bele Komla*.

Đ. Taviawo fe duwo kple fiawo

Wofe duwo nye: Avenya, si enye fiadu la, Dzafee, Tsetse, Aviefe kple Demee.

Demeeawo kple Avenyawo nye Taviawo fe tatowo, woawo dua fia kpena de Tsetsetowo ɲuti. (Bele Kɔmla etso Tsetseawo dome) Fiawo, Asiedutsu, Ɖi, Asiale, Oɖam, Sodza kple Kpui. Le Aɲfɔeawo kple Matseawo fe ava me la, Asiale nɔ fia dɔm.

II Subɔsubɔ

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. Ya

Alilĩ alo dzingɔ si kpɔm miele lae nye ya. Wogbo bena, xexeme si kpɔm miele la ele ya si. Ne ame aɖe wɔ dɔmenyo na nɔvia la, ekema nɔvia da akpe ne be, ele ya si, ne ya lɔ la, ekema maɖo etefe na wò. Ame la susui le tame ko, gake metsɔ nu gbɔ fe alo tefe, si wòava ɖo la o.

2. Mawu Sodza

Sodza ko míawo míeyɔna be Mawu gā, elabena eya na nuɖuɖu, avɔtata kple vi. Ame si mexɔ vidzidzi tso egbo o la, madzi vi o; elabena eyae nye ame si ɖo vidzilawo, kple konɔwo ɖa. Eya ɖo afemelāwo kple gbemelāwo katā ɖa, eye wona gbɔgbɔ wo le efe nunya nu. Mawu Sodzae nye nunyawo katā tɔ, eye wòna nunya amewo katā hā. Eya kokoko kpe wu le Evedome kpe, tsi kple aha, si míekpɔna, eya fe nuwɔwɔ; eya na te ɖona. Kpa, eyae ɖoe ɖa be, mi Evedometowo katā míatsɔ alɔ aba atɔ afle nui aɖu. Eya tsɔ dɔwɔwɔ sia dɔwɔwɔ de ame si me. Ne míedɔ alɔ zā me, eya doa amatsi de mía dzi míeganyɔna. Mawu menye dɔmeveveetɔ kura o. De wònye dɔmeveveetɔ wònye la, ne mele ame kodzogbea ɖo ge ɖa o. Efe dɔme nyo, efa le nu sia nu me le Evedome kenken. Womekea ɖi Mawu o, ne eke ɖii la, akplɔ wò ayii fififi. Ne enye ame mesenu alo enye ame vɔɖi la, ekema Mawu afe glā le nuwo, agatsɔ ame ame bubu. Glā ma wotsɔna mea ame gbā hafi wɔa nu sia nu de ame ɲuti. Ne ewɔ nu nyuie la, ekema wo nu anyo amewo ɲu, ke ne ewɔ kokonu la, wò nu manyo wo ɲu o. Nenema wo nu nyuie wɔwɔ anyo Mawu ɲu, eye wò kokonu ave dɔme ne. Mawu awu wò kokoko, yi busu sia busu aɖo tewofe.

What we should do to please God is to go on to the road and dislodge the calamity that has been hanging onto us. It is only on his birthday that the calamity can be banished and rites for other people can be performed. Materials required for the removal of evil are: palm wine, fowls, flour mixed with oil, a piece of white and blue cloth. Anyone who fails to do that should not expect to remain alive for long.

3. The God *Sogblē*

The name *Sogblē* means the destroyer, for *Sogblē* destroys what *Sodza* makes. Once a while, before it rains, the air adopts a yellowish appearance; then comes thundering and lightning and the thunder destroys everything at home and on the fields.

Sogblē is the ambassador of the God *Sodza*, from whom he has received his power. He resides in the first heaven and stays before the God *Sodza*. He watches over the house of *Sodza* and is at the head of all who live there. Therefore when making a sacrifice to the God who is with us, we first offer the sacrifice to *Sogblē* to be handed over to the God *Sodza*. When we are sick and our greatest God wants to get something from us, we go to the brooks to undertake an ablution and to submit the sacrifice to *Sogblē*. The gods, which *Sodza* has sent to help man, are those who receive the gifts from man and carry them to the God *Sodza*.

The rains that the God *Sodza* has allowed to fall first come to *Sogblē* before coming to us. They say that the water which falls as rain on earth goes through *Sogblē* to fall as rain for those who live below us. Those down there refer to the earth as “the earth above”.

4. The Children of God

God, *Sodza*, is said to have two children, one good and one bad. The good child is the sun and the bad one is the moon. When night falls, the sun goes through the earth and goes to God. An old woman claimed that, as she sat down spinning late in the night, she saw exactly how, at midnight, the sun went over. The old woman had earlier nicely swept and gathered the rubbish in her courtyard, and the sun, while going over, suddenly scattered the rubbish back in the whole courtyard. The following morning, the woman narrated the phenomenon to her people, and, two days later, she suddenly died.

They say that the moon had duped the sun. He and the sun agreed that they would kill all their children and eat them up. The sun then went ahead first to slaughter all of his children for the feast. When it was the moon's turn to kill his children for the feast, he hid his in a big pot, and only brought them out after the sun had gone down to sleep. Because of this deceit by the moon, the God, *Sodza*, likes the sun more than the moon.

Nu si míawɔ adze Mawu ɲu la, eyae nye be, míayi busu le mía ɖokui ɲuti le mɔ dzi. Efe dzigbe ko woyia busu, eye wowɔa nu na ame. Nuwɔnuawo nye: Aha, koklo, wɔ bake, atayi kple blusi. Ne ame aɖe mewɔe o la, mate ɲu anɔ agbe didie o.

3. Mawu Sogblẽ

Sogblẽ gɔmee nye nugblẽla, elabena Sogblẽe nye ame si gblẽa nu na Mawu Sodza. Gbe aɖewo gbe la, xexeme wɔ na hẽ hafi tsi dzana; yemayi la tsi la wona alo ɖea gbe sesie ɲuto, eye wògblẽa nu le afe me kple gbe me siao.

Sogblẽ enye Mawu Sodza fe dɔla, ame si tɔ ɲusẽ nɛ. Efe nɔfee nye dzingo gbãtɔ me, eye wòle ɲgɔgbe na Sodza. Afi ma wòle xɔ nu dzɔm na Sodza le, eye wòntɔ ame siwo le afi ma la nu. Eya ta ne míeva kpɔ tɔ ge na Mawu, si le mía gbɔ la, míetsɔ nunanawo na Sogblẽ gbã be, eya natsɔe na Mawu Sodza. Ne míafe Mawu gãtɔ bia nane tso mía si le míafe dɔlele me la, míeyina ɖalea tsi le tɔyo me, eye míetsɔ nunanawo dea asi na Sogblẽ. Mawu, siwo Sodza tɔ kpe ɖe ame ɲu la, eya ko xɔa nu le wo si na Mawu Sodza.

Ne tsi dza tso Mawu Sodza gbɔ la, eva Sogblẽ gbɔ gbã hafi va dzana na míawo hã. Wogblɔ be, tsi si dzana ɖe míafe anyigba dzi la, dzana na ame siwo le mia te hã. Woawo hã yɔa míafe anyigba be dzimenyi.

4. Mawuviwo

Wogblɔ bena, vi ene la Mawu Sodza si. Woawo nye, vi vɔ kple vi nyuie. Vi vɔe nye yleti, eye vi nyuie enye ye Ne zã do la, ye la zɔa anyigba me yia. Mawu gbɔ. Wogblɔ be, nyagã aɖe kpɔe. Gbe ɖeka nyagã la bɔbɔ nɔ anyi le ɖeti trem le zã me. Zã titina pɛ la, ekpɔ ye la wova le yiyim. Nyagã la kplɔ efe nɔfe nyuie, tete ye tɔ aɖuɖu, si wofo fu la, hlẽ ɖe kpɔkplɔgbe keɲ. Esime ɲu va ke la, nyagã la gblɔe na amewo, eye le ɲekeke eveagbe la, woku klẽne.

Wogblɔ bena, yleti ble ye bena, nena yewoalẽ yewofe viwo aɖa aɖu. Ye lɔ eye wotsɔ etɔwo na woɖa ɖu. Esi wòɖo yleti dzi la, efo etɔwo yla ɖe zɔ me, eye ne zã do la, enana be, etɔwo keɲ doa go. Nuwɔwɔ sia ta Mawu Sodza lɔna na ye, melɔna na yleti o.

B. The Gods of the Earth

Ameklu and *Avaha* are the two most important earthly gods worshipped in *Taviefe*. *Ameklu's* residence is at the side of the road leading to *Aviefe*. *Avaha* is a war-god, which the ancestor of the *Taviefes*, *Atsui*, had also worshipped. Both of these gods have enjoyed more adulation in *Taviefe* than any other god, because *Ameklu* gives them rain, when there is drought, and *Avaha* fights for them during wars. *Ameklu* is the greatest of them all, and when they ask for rain and it falls, the people give a goat as gift to the priest, who also gives it over to the Chief as a token of gratitude.

The priest agrees with the people on a day on which he would take them to the mountain. That is when the goat will be slaughtered in the home of *Ameklu*. The animal is not killed with a knife; a hole is dug in the ground, big enough for the head of the goat to enter. This hole is filled with water, and the goat's head is shoved into it and the throat held tight until it dies. Once dead, the goat's flesh would be cut into pieces and would be cooked. When the meat is reasonably soft, they take all of it out of the soup and mix it with maize flour, to cook a red porridge called "*Akpledze*." The whole town, from children to chiefs, eats of it. As usual, the priests do not allow anybody to break the bones. These are collected, after the feast, and are laid down on the altar of the *trɔ*. After the meal, the priest gives them palm wine, which they drink before going back home amid shouts of joy.

B. Anyimawuwo (trɔwo)

Taviawo fe *trɔ* vevietɔwo nye *Ameklu* kple *Avaha*. *Ameklu* le *Taviawo* fe du *deka*, si woyɔna be *Aviefe* la fe mɔ nu. *Avahae* nye *avawɔtrɔ*. *Eyae* nye wo tɔgbui *Atsui* fe *trɔ*, si wɔsubɔ. *Taviawo* bua *nenem* *trɔ*, eve *siawo* wua *bubuwo* *katã*. *Elabena* ne ku le *ɖiɖim* la, *Ameklu* na tsi wo, ke *Avaha* wɔa *ava* na wo. *Ameklue* nye *gãtɔ* le wo *katã* dome. Ne *wobia* tsi *Ameklu* wɔna wo la, *ekema* *ameawo* tɔɔ *gbɔ* yi *ɖana* *trɔnua*, be *wɔatsɔ* na *yewofe* *amegã* *bena*: *Esã* *ɲu* *loo*!

Trɔnua *ɖoa* *ɲkeke* na *ameawo*, *eye* ne *ɲkeke* la *de* la, *eyɔa* du *blibo* la *katã* *yia* to la *dzi*, *eye* *wɔnana* *wowua* *gbɔ* la le *amegã* *Ameklu* fe *me*. *Gake* la *womewune* kple *he* o, *wokua* do *gã* *aɖe*, *ale* si ke *gbɔ* la fe ta *ayi* *ɖe* *eme*. *Wokua* tsi *kɔna* *ɖe* do la *me*, *eye* *wolɛa* *e*fe ta *dea* *eme*, *nɔa* *e*fe *ve* *mimim* *va* *se* *ɖe* *esime* *wɔaku*. Ne *gbɔ* la ku *vɔ* la, *wodzane* *ɖe* *ze* *gã* *aɖe* *me*. Ne *gbɔ* la *bi* la, *wotea* *lã* la le *tsia* *me*, *eye* *wotsɔa* *wɔ* *kɔna* *ɖe* *edzi* *heɖaa* *akplɛ* *dzɛɛ*. Du *blibo* la *katã*, *ame* *tsitsiwo* kple *ɖeviwo* *woɖune*, *ɖeko* *trɔnua* *meɖea* *mɔ* na *ame* *aɖeke* *be*, *wɔagbã* *gbɔ* la fe *fu* o. Ke *bou* *wofoa* *fuawo* *nu* *fu* *tɔɔ* *kɔna* *ɖe* *trɔ* la fe *kɔ* *me*. Ne *woɖu* *nua* *vɔ* la *trɔnua* *tɔɔ* *aha* na wo *wonona*, *eye* wo *katã* *wodoa* *dzidzɔyili* *yia* *afe* *me*.

The Klefe and Ziavi Tribes

Klefe and Ziavi

A. Mawu Sodza

*Adumangama*⁵⁴ and *Sodza* are one and the same names in our Eveland. It is easier for some people to say *Adumangama*, while for many others it is easier to say *Sodza*. We frequently say: It is in God's hands. May *Mawu Sodza* bless me and keep me alive! *Mawu Sodza*, mother of palm wine, and *Mawu Sogblē* are both in heaven. These are the two Gods who protect us. We can never have the wisdom that God has. Pay attention to this; I have here a gourd, which I have brought from the farm, and on which I am working. I am scraping and carving it so that I can make a drinking bowl out of it. I had only taken a tiny seed which I put into the soil. It germinated and grew, and now a useable container has evolved from it. A human being like me cannot make that happen; I don't even grasp the wisdom with which God has done it. The child should never say to his father: I can out-do you! God is kind. He loves us Ewes, all of us; for we receive our food and clothing from him. It is he who has sent the Ewes into the world; indeed, he sent the whole world and everything we see, like trees, stones, human beings; all these have been sent by him. If God were stingy, all of us Ewes would have been ruined. He gives us food, palm wine, water and meat. He is good and mild. He

A. Mawu Sodza

Adumangama kple Sodza wonye yɔyɔ dɛka le mía Eve me. Ame aɖewo gblɔna bena, Adumangama tsɔ dɛ nu gbɔ wu, ke dɛwo be, Sodza etsɔ dɛ wofe nu gbɔ. Míefoa nu gblɔna bena, ele Mawu si. Mawu Sodza neɖi nam ne manɔ agbe. Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ, dzifo ko wòle, eye Sogblē hã le dzifo. Woawo le mía ta kpɔm.

Mawu fe nunyanya la, míawo míate nu anyae gbedegbede o. Kpɔm ɖa tre enye esi metsɔ tso bofo va le enu dɔ wɔm, mele eme fem, ne woatrɔ zu tsikunu nam. Ku, si le eme la, le sue metsɔ de to me, emie, azɔ la etrɔ zu nudɔwɔnu nam. Nye la nyemate nu awɔe o. Nunya, si Mawu tsɔ wɔe ale la, nyemenyaea o. Vi mate nu agblɔ na tɔ bena, mewu wo gbedegbede o. Mawu enye dɔmenyotɔ, eya lɔ mí Eveawo alo Fiekpɔwo katã. Míekpɔa míafe nuɖuɖu kple ɖotatawo tsoa egbɔ. Eya ɖo Evedome katã ɖa. Eya ɖo xexeme kple nu sia nu, si míele kpɔkpɔm la ɖa, ati, ame, kpe eyae ɖoe ɖa. De wònye Mawu dɔmeveveetɔ wònye la, ne mí Eveawo ne míetsrɔ vɔ xoxoxo. Eya na nuɖuɖu, aha kple tsi kpakple lã mí. Eyae nye dɔmenyotɔ, tufala nutɔ wònye. Mawue wɔ nu sia nu eye eɖe efe nusẽ fia le nu sia nu me. Dzingɔli fe gbedegbede, dzie nye efe nusẽ.

⁵⁴ Odomankama.

is the one who made everything, and has manifested his power through them. The peals of thunder and the lightning in the skies and the effect they have on the earth are all manifestations of his strength.

They say that God made human beings with clay. From the left-over of the water, with which he was working, he mixed the clay with which he made bad and disrespectful people. God uses good clay to make good people, and adds bad clay to the mixture, when it comes to making evil people. God first created a man and placed him on the earth. Then, he created a woman. When these two people saw each other, they began to laugh and God sent them into the world. They got many children who began to farm the whole Ewe land. When God makes a man and is about to send him into the world, he assigns to him one of those people who have been with him to accompany and protect him.

From God come both good and bad. If you are a bad person in this world, we say: "You will see that God will punish you." Our forefathers had been driving away evil in order to please God. We Ewes do perform rites for the eviction of evil, and bring sacrifices to God, so that he would remove the evil that is attached to us. If your father who brought you into the world commands you to do something and you do it, he would be happy with your service. Our grandfathers and grandmothers have always told us that when we are not feeling well or when we are sick, we should send for the man with whom the Great God lives; he would drive away our sickness. And when this happens, we should eat, play the drums and dance, and retire to our houses in the evening. That is the service of God, which is what God likes.

When a good person dies, all his deeds follow him, especially those he liked very

Wogblo bena tsu Mawu tso me ame. Tsi si wòtsɔ le anyi la blumee la, ne ele wɔwɔm la, tsi susɔe mea ame vɔ̄ɖiwo kple ame masenuwo. Ne eme ame nyuie la, wogbloɔna bena: Tsu, si wòtsɔ mee la, eyae nyo, ke ame vɔ̄ la, tsu lae menyɔ o. Esime wo kpakple eve wokpɔ wo nɔewo la, wode asi nukoko me, tete Mawu tso wo ɖo ɖe xexeme. Wode asi vidzidzi me, eye wode asi agbledede me le Evedome keŋkeŋ. Ne Mawu me ame le ɖoɖo ge ɖe xexeme la, ekema etsɔ ame siwo ke le egbo la dometsɔ ɖeka kpɛna ɖe ejuti ɖona ɖa, ne woanɔ ame la ta kpɔm.

Mawu gbo nyuie kple vɔ̄ hã dzɔ tso. Ne èwɔ ame vɔ̄ le anyigba dzi afi sia la, ekema mɛegbloɔna bena: Wò hã akpɔe mi kpakple Mawu miaɖakpee. Nu si mía tɔgbuiwo wɔna wòdzea Mawu ŋu la, eya koe nye busuyiyi. Eya ŋuti mí Eveawo mɛyia busu le mía ɖokui ŋuti eya mɛɖɛa dza na Mawu, bena wòadɛ vɔ̄ sia vɔ̄ ɖa le mía ŋuti. Tɔ, si dzi wò ne egblo nya adɛ na wò la, àwɔ dzi pɛpɛpɛ. Tɔ tsi na wò bena, wɔ ale nam, eye ne ete ŋu wɔe nɛ ekema wò subɔsubɔ adze eɲu. Mía tɔgbuiwo kple mía mamawo gbloɔna na mí ɖaa bena: Ne mía ŋuti mele fafam o alo mɛle ɖɔ lém la, míayɔ ame si gbo Mawu gã le la, bena wòayi busu na mí. Míaɖa nu aɖu, míafo vu kakaka eye ne fiẽ wɔ la míaɖzo ava afe me. Eyae nye Mawu subɔsubɔ, eyae nye nu si dzea Mawu ŋu.

Ne ame nyuie ku la, efe nuwɔwɔwo katã dzea eyome yina: vevietɔ nu si ke wòlɔna le efe agbe me. Avɔ nyuie, si wòlɔ na eɖokui, efe tasagba, ne wometsɔ nu siawo ɖii o, ekema efe ŋɔli abia eta kokoko. Ke ne míetsɔe da ɖe efe yɔdo dzi la, ekema eyina ɖabɔɔ nɔ anyi kpoo. Esiata míaɔwo mɛegbloɔna bena: Etsɔ me nyo nɛ, eyi ɖe efe Mawu gbo.

much while he was alive. If he is not buried with the costly clothes he had acquired, - the European china and the like, -then comes his ghost and demands them unconditionally. And when these items are deposited on his grave, the ghost retires to the underworld and rests in peace. We then say that everything is alright with him, he has gone to his God.

B. The Personal Protective Gods

1. The (personified) Promise

Gbeti is the Word that was said to you at the beginning of your existence. The good Word is, if you were told, you should live a long life until you go back. The bad Word is, if you were told, you should remain in your blood, dying, therefore, at birth.⁵⁵

2. The (personified) Birthday

The day on which you were born into this world, be it the *Asiami*, the *Afense*, the *Asitui* or the *Ho*-market day, that day is your *dzogbe* (i. e. the day on which you were born.⁵⁶ When you succeed in doing something in life, people would say: “You have a good birthday.” Should your efforts prove futile, they would then say, you have a “bad birthday”.

3. The Hunters’ God (Forest Devil)

The *Adee*, is also called *adeekpui*, *gbetɔ*, *akplakpui* and *aziza*. One who goes into the bush to kill animals is called a hunter. The hunters’ god lives in the bush, but he cannot be seen by anybody. He lives exclusively in the bush, especially in hollow tree trunks, ant hills and under the *wɔ*-tree. When children go to the *wɔ*-tree to gather fruits, they see him there and come back home to tell their parents that they had seen something like a human being who was also gathering the fruits. When the grown-ups consequently go there to investigate, they never see anything to confirm the children’s allegations. Yet still, there are some adults who also claim they had seen them while in the bush. He has never been seen by a group, only individuals.

He is short and the hair on his head is curly. In the harmattan, he sets fire to the bush in unpopulated areas, makes magic wands and goes hunting. Sometimes one would hear shots in the bush, but on arrival at the place where the shot was heard, there would be nobody to be seen. He kills the wild animals just like the humans also do. If he decides to live with a person, he hides him in an ant-hill or in a hollow tree, and renders him so confused he cannot immediately find his way home; he might even treat him as if he were going to kill him. His people at home might look for him for a long time in vain, and, finally, conclude that he had died. They might even go ahead to perform the funeral rites for him. Then, one day, a long time afterwards, he would be able to leave the ant-hill and go back home. It takes someone, who has gone through this situation before, to expel the evil that comes with him and to help him regain his sanity. There are people who have seen him; but if he should see such a person, he

⁵⁵ In this case, they use “water” for blood.

⁵⁶ *Dzogbe* is therefore the personified birthday. metaphorically referring to fate or destiny.

B. *ɲunuwo*

1. *Gbetsi*

Gbetsie nye gbe, si wotsi na wò tso wò dzɔdzɔme. Gbe nyuietɔ nye bena: Anɔ agbe kakaka va se ɔe esime nagayi. Vɔɔitɔ nye: Ne wodzi wò le ɔevime la, atsi tsi me, aku enumake.

2. *Dzɔgbe*

Gbe si gbe ke wodzi wò ɔe xexeame nenye Asiamigbe, Afenɔegbe, Asituigbe, Hosigbe, eyae nye wò dzɔgbe. Ne nane dze edzi na wò la, ekema wogblɔna be, wò dzɔgbe enyo alo dzɔgbe nyuie le ɲuwò, ne medze edzi na wò o la, ekema wogblɔna be, dzɔgbe vɔe le ɲuwò.

3. *Adee*

Adee wogagɔna hã be adekpui kple azizã. Ame si dea gbe me wua lã la, míeyɔne be adela. Adee ɲutɔ le gbe me, eya ame siaa ame mekpɔne kple ɲku o. Gbe me ko wòɔɔna, le vu to me, le kɔ tome kple wɔtiwo te. Ne ɔeviwo yi wɔtiwo ɔome yi wɔ fɔ ge la, wokpɔne, eye wova gblɔne be, yewo kpɔ nane le abe ame ene, eya hã le wɔ la fɔm. Gake ne ame tsitsiwo yi etefe la, woawo megakpɔne o. Ame tsitsi aɔewo, siwo ke dea gbe me la, woawo hã kpɔne; gake ne wofo zi ɔe etefe la, woawo hã megakpɔne o.

Efe ɔɔɔme le kpui. Eto pesepese ɔe ta. Ne pepi ɔo la, etɔa dzo gbe le gbedadafo, eye wòɔa dzo wɔm henɔa gbe la xam. Anɔ tudada ɲkɔ sem, gake ne ede tefea la, mele ame si le tu la dam la fe ɲkɔ se ge o. Ewua lã abe ale si ame kodzogbea wua lãe ene.

Ne ebe yealé asi wo la, ekema akplo wò ayla ɔe kɔ to me, alo vu gãwo to me, eye wòafɛlu ɲkume na wò. ɔewo awɔ nu kpɛi wò abe ɔe wòle wu wò ge ene. Nɔviwòwo adi wò kakaka, eye woawɔ wò nu avɔ kenken. Ne etefe didi la, eya ɲutɔ aɔe asi le ɲutiwò hafi nado go ava afe me. Ame si wòwɔ kpɔ la, va yia busu ne hafi efe ɲkume akɔ blibo. Ame aɔe kpɔne kple ɲku, ke ne eya hã kpɔ amea la ekema anyae ale, eye ne efe asi tui la, afoe kakaka, ade fe ɲkume ne petepete. Míese bena, ne ame aɔe yi gbe me nake fɔ ge, eye wòkpɔ efe nake le ave me, le dzogbe, eye wòka asi enu la, azizã la fonɛ, ɔea efe godoe blanɛ. Alo ne ede asi efe mlekplui ɲu la afoe akplɔe atsa kakaka, eye wòafɛlu ɲkume ne. Ne ame la megale nu nyam nyuie o la, aɔe asi le enu, eye wòazu ame fuflu anɔ nu kpɔm klaɲklaɲ. Ne ele gbɔwò, eye srɔ le asiwò la, srɔwò fe lãme makɔ gbedegbede o. Ne eyi ɔado asike kple ame bubu, eye wòfɔ fu la, ne eva vi dzi ge la, ɔevi la aku, alo nyɔnu la ɲutɔ aku kple fo. Adee aɔewo noa vu le ame fe lã me, ke ɔewo menoa vu o, ke boɲ wonana ame la dzia vi geɔe.

would pursue him, and, if he catches up with the person, he would beat him up and would roughly and completely scratch his face. We have been told that if any person goes into the bush to collect firewood, and inadvertently collects some of *Adee's*, he would tie the person with his loin cloth and give him a good beating. If anybody touches his fireplace, he would beat that person up and lead him endlessly around in the bush until he is confused. He leaves the one involved only when the one is no longer in his right mind. From this point in time, the person becomes like a buffoon, looking stupidly into the air like an animal. The wife of a person who hosts the forest devil never enjoys good health. If his wife is expecting and it is time for delivery, either the woman or the child would die if the baby comes from another man. Some forest devils do suck people's blood. Some do not but rather make them have numerous children.

When it comes to dislodging calamity from a person, they cook two white fowls along the side of the village the road and mix its meat with red oil. The persons offering the sacrifice eat a little and sprinkle some of it on ant hills and under big trees. The forest devil does not drink palm wine. For his beer, they grind fresh maize grains, out of which they brew beer, and pour it into little pots. They fill another pot with water and balance both pots against an ant hill.

The people wash their faces with this water, and the calamity is believed to have been banished. A knot is bound in the grass where the human evil has been dislodged and they return to the same place the following year to perform the ceremonies again.

If he (the forest devil) comes to you himself, you will have to give him everything he requests, whether it is a goat or a fowl. If you do, all your activities either in the bush or in commerce will be successful. His favorite foods are bananas and blood.

C. Witches

Adze is a sickness which human beings have brought from the pre-world into this world. The witch has no real power over a human as long as he is still a child. It begins to wield a greater power over her as soon as she grows up. When she lies down to sleep in the night, the witch goes out of her and shines like fire. It stops shining as soon as it sees a person approaching. She lusts for other people's properties, and, if she cannot acquire them, she eats up the entrails in their body so that they die or are afflicted with sicknesses. If the witch likes you, it will keep away from hurting you; but if it does not like you, she would suck you to death.

Ne wole busu yi ge la, wotsɔa koklo yi ɖeka alo eve yia mɔ dzi neɖana, eye wo bakane kple ami dzẽ. Amewo ɣuto hã ɖua ɖe, ke wotsɔa ɖewo vuvuna ɖe kɔwo kple ati gãwo te. Menoa deha o. Kpeli mum[wogbãna keɣ tsɔna ɖa aha, eye wotsɔne dea ze vi alo agba vi me. Emegbe woaku tsi ɖe agba vi alo ze vi tuto me ada ɖe kɔ la gbɔ. Tsi sia amewo kuna fua ɣkumee, ekema wowɔ nu vɔ. Wosa kɔ gbe le busyife la. Ne fe bubu trɔ la, ekema woagava yi busu le afi ma.

Ne eya ɣuto va gbɔwò, nu sia nu, si wòbia le asiwò, koklo alo gbɔ o, eya ko tsɔ ge nala nɛ. Ne ewɔ nu siawo nɛ la, ekema ne eyi gbe me alo asigbe me la adze edzi na wò. Azizã fe nuɖuɖu vevietɔ nye akɔɖu, ke enoa vu hã.

C. Adze

Adzee nye ɖɔléle aɖe nɔa ame ɣu, tsoo keke ɖime alo Bome ke. Ne ame le ɖevime la, metea ɣu kpɔa ɣusẽ aɖe edzi nyuie o; gake ne ele tsitsim la, ekpɔa ɣusẽ ɖe edzi ɣuto. Ne emlo anyi le zã me la, adze la ado go le eme anɔ keklẽm abe dzo ene. Ne ekpɔ ame la, edzudzɔa keklẽ. Edzroa nu na ame ne mexɔe o la, ekema aɖu dɔka na wò naku kaba. Alo afia fu wò kakaka. Ne elɔ wo la, aɖe asi le ɣuwò, ke ne melɔ wò o la, awu wò.

*Hodz*o Tribe

Hodzö

A. *The Heavenly Gods*

1. The great God

It is God who has created everything in this world. He alone is the greatest from the beginning. He resides in heaven, and has made everything right. God created all men and gave them feet, hands and mouths. He gave breath into the body of man. When he decides to send you into this world, he assigns you a profession which would help you to feed yourself. God, in his wisdom, has created everything on earth, and accompanies man and animals everywhere. He gives the hunters big, wild animals (game) to hunt; he distances himself from the animals so that the hunter may shoot them. He created the rivers as well as the forest-clad mountains. No one can understand his wisdom. It is he who has sent us Ewes into the world, and that is why he comforts and nourishes us so that we can live for a long time. He, himself, has sent the good and the bad people. He has lavished a good residence with riches and many children on the good people. When good people die, we give them a good and honourable burial just because they had been kind-hearted. God is benevolent: but he does not always act rightly, for he also gave death to accompany human beings. It would be good if human beings did not have to die. At the death of a good or a bad person, he asks them what they have done (on earth). Our forefathers knew a lot about God, and we have heard and learnt a lot from them.

God acts in bad faith, by making some people good and others bad. I work on the farm together with my contemporaries. The farm crops of one person bloom and yield abundantly but the other gets nothing for his labour. (I am an old and a poor man, and my tutelary gods⁵⁷ have denied me their support. To another, God has denied the gift of expansion.⁵⁸ That goes to prove that God's actions are under-hand. Sometimes he lets many domestic animals die, and sometimes it is the wild animals that die. He has mercy on wild animals more than on us humans. Our forefathers used to say: "May the wild animals die, so that we might take and eat them!" Now, however, it is humans who die, and the wild animals remain alive. God is not handling us with love; we, our children and our wives, are dying out. It does not worry me when people treat me unkindly, but it is really painful when God himself treats us unkindly. We conclude

57 By *Dzogbewo* we understand here, the tutelary gods assigned to him at birth.

58 Economic growth and riches.

Hɔɖzo

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. Mawu gã

Mawue wɔ nu sia nu ɔe xexeame. Tititi la, Mawu koe nye gã. Efe nɔfe koe nye dzifo. Mawu ewɔ nu sia nu nyuie. Mawue wɔ ame godoo, ewɔ aɔ, wɔ asi, wɔ nu na ame. Eyae de gbɔgbɔ ame fe dɔme. Ne ele ɔo wɔ ge ɔa la, ade dɔwɔwɔ asi na wɔ, bena nakpɔ nu aɔu. Mawu nya nu, eya wɔ nu sia nu ɔe anyigba dzi, eya nɔa amewo yome, eya tena ɔa le lãwo yome hafi wotea ɲu wua wo. Ewɔ towo, wɔ avewo ɔe dzi, eya wɔ tɔsisiwo. Ame kodzogbe aɔeke mase efe nunya me o. Eya ɔo mí Eveawo ɔa, eya ta wofaa akɔ na mí, na nu mí, bena míanɔ agbe vee. Eya ɲutɔ ɔo ame vɔwo kple ame nyuiedɔ ɔa. Edi tefe nyuie na ame nyuiewo, eye wɔtsɔ hotsui kple vi geɔe na wo. Ame nyuiewo la, ne woku la, míekpɔa wo dzi ɔia wo kple bubu le esi wofe dɔme, nyo ta. Mawue nye dɔmenyotɔ, gake menya nuwɔwɔ o. Ku, si wɔtsɔ kpe ɔe ame ɲu la, eya ɲuti menya nuwɔwɔ o. De wɔnye ame ɔe mekuna o la, ne enyo. Ne ame nyuie alo ame vɔ ku la, Mawu bia wofe nuwɔwɔwo tsoa wo si. Mía tɔgbuiwo nya nu, geɔe le Mawu ɲuti, eye woawo nu mawo hã míese ne tsonɛ.

Mawu enye didritɔ. Ewɔ ame aɔewo nyuie, eye wɔwɔ ɔewo vlo. Mía kple mía haviwo míenɔ nu, ame aɔewo tɔ nyo, ke ɔewo tɔ gblẽ. Nye la ame tsitsi menye, gake xexeme gblẽm, nye dzɔgbewo gbem. Mawu gbe tsitsi nam, eya ta Mawu enye didritɔ, etaa ame wunu. Le ɲekeke aɔewo me la, etaa afemelãwo kple gbemelãwo hã wokuna kakaka. Azɔ la, lãwo fe nu evee wu mí amegbetɔwo tɔ. Mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔna bena, lã neku, ne míaɔ aɔ; ke fifi la, amewo koe le kukum, lãwo megale kukum o. Mawu efa mí, eta mía viwo ^{837*} kple mía srɔwo wole kukum. Ne ame aɔe tam la, eya menye naneke o, ke ne Mawu tam la, eya menye naneke o; ke ne Mawu tam la, eya veam ɲutɔ, eya ta didritɔ kokoko wɔnye. Mía tɔgbuiwo kple mía mamawo gblɔna na mí be, nu si míawɔ adze Mawu ɲu lae nye busuyiyi le mía ɔokui ɲu le mɔwo dzi.

Agblamigbe ko Mawu tɔ na mí, bena míaɔ Mawunuwo. Míetsɔa koklozi eyae nye ahazɔ, ɲɔ enu tɔɔna dana ɔe dru dzi kple akplẽ dzẽ, bena míaɔe lãme nasẽ.

from this that God acts in bad faith. Our grandfathers and grandmothers used to tell us to wash away on the road the evil that is attached to us in order to please God.

God himself has given us the Thursday for the performance of his rites. We take an egg, representing a pot full of palm wine, cut open its pointed end, and set it on a clay mound together with mush mixed with palm oil, *Dzenkple* or *akpledze*. We do all these so that we remain in good health.

2. The God Sodza

The great God is the male lightning, and *Sodza* is the female lightning. Our old folks used to say: "When the buffalo roars in the cavern, the cow no more needs to." When the male lightning thunders, the female lightning does not roar anymore. The God, *Sodza*, mother of palm-wine, lives in the highest. She has put the sense of art and craft into our heads, so that we can work, feed ourselves and provide clothes for our use. The God, *Sodza*, is angry; he is killing us rashly. When there is a prolonged drought, we appeal to *Sodza* and beg him to intercede on our behalf with the great God.

The God, *Sodza*, himself demands white cloth, and the man, who receives it on his behalf, takes 4 *hoka* cowry shells. An elderly person in that position takes 12 *hoka*. After this has been done for you, your farm work will be blessed; whatever work you do on the farm will be successful. If, on the contrary, he decides to kill you, then you may do what you will, he will take you away and you shall die.

When *Sodza* does not give us rain, we bring sacrifices to him and plead that he may give us rain. We carry a ram to his altar of sacrifice and bind its muzzle closed to prevent it from bleating; we then hit it with clubs till it dies. When it dies, we cook its meat with *Akpledze* or *Dzenkple* or *palm oil mush*. Everybody present eats. We would then tie the fore-leg of the animal to a post, and pray: "O God, *Sodza*! Listen and give our prayers over to *Adumangama*! What is afflicting us now is the drought. Let the rain fall so that our farm-crops would flourish, that our corn would grow, and our yams would yield beautiful tubers!" After this, we all go home. The rains do fall if he has heard our prayers; but if he has not heard them, we would suffer a total crop failure.

3. The God Sogblē

Sogblē is the messenger of the God, *Sodza*. *Sodza* is the chief and *Sogblē* is the executioner. If *Sogblē* receives a sacrifice from human beings, he delivers it to the God, *Sodza*. When people are afflicted with disease or drought, *Sogblē* would accompany God to take a look at the situation. *Sogblē* is God's linguist, who knows more than all people put together. *Sogblē* makes fire flare up and causes lightning and thunder. He is the destroyer. He carries an axe in his hand with which he splits big trees and fan palm trees. *Sogblē* resides in a basin which has been installed for that purpose.

4. Sowlui

Sowlui is the God who lives with human beings. He only gives them cowry shells, so that, through their riches, they may achieve fame, though such a person does not live long.

2. Mawu Sodza

Mawu gāe nye Sotsu eye Sodzae nye Sonɔ. Míafe ame tsitsiwo gblɔna bena: Latsu meɖea gbe le kpeto me, nɔ gaɖena o. Sotsu meɖea gbe Sonɔ gaɖena o. Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ ele dzi me. Eya etsɔ aɖaŋu de tagbo na mí katã, ne míate ŋu awɔ nu aɖu, akpɔ ɖo ata. Mawu Sodzae nye ɖomeveveetɔ, elabena ewua ame kakaka. Ne ku le ɖiɖim la, míeɖea kuku na Sodza bena, wɔaɖe na Mawu gā.

Mawu Sodza ŋutɔ bia atayi, eye ame si le exɔ ge anɛ na wɔ la, tɛ nye hoka 4. Nenyɛ ame tsitsi la axɔ hoka 12. Ne wowɔ nu la na wo la, ekema ne ede agble la, ayra ɖe edzi na wɔ, ne ewɔ ɖo la, ayra ɖe edzi, be wɔaɖe edzi na wɔ.

Gake ne eɖo be, yeawu wɔ la, ekema ne ewɔ nu sia nu hã ava kplɔ wɔ ayii, aku kokoko.

Ne Sodza te tsi mí la, ekema míeyia busu nɛ, be wɔaɖe asi le tsi ŋuti na mí. Míetsɔa agboo yina ɖe trɔfe, eye míebla nu na agbo la, bena magaxlɔ o. Míefonɛ kple kpo wokuna, eye míedane kple akplɛ dzɛ duawo katã ɖuna.

Agbo la fe abɔgba la, míetsɔnɛ tsina ɖe ati ŋuti, eye míeɖea gbe ɖa bena: Mawu Sodza nasee, ne wɔaɖo Aɖumangana gbo, Nu si le mía wɔm lae nye si, na tsi nadza na mí, ne míafe nukuwo nawɔ, kpeli navã míadɔ, te naɖo afe na mí. Emegbe mí katã míedzona vaa afe. Ne see la, ekema tsi dzana na mí, ke ne meseɛ o la, míafe nukuwo gblɛna kenken.

3. Mawu Sogblɛ

Sogblɛe nye fiele na Sodza. Mawue nye tsitsia, eye Sogblɛe nye blafo. Ne exɔ nu le amewo si la, eya wotsɔna yina ɖana nɛ. Sogblɛ kplɔa Mawu vɛ be, wɔakpɔ nu si wɔm amewo le la ɖa, eyae nye Mawu fe tsiami, eye wɔnya nu fo ame siaa ame ta. Sogblɛ eya ɖea dzo wɔwona gblan, nugblɛla ko wɔnye, eya si fia le, wɔnɔa ati gāwo kple agɔtiwo femii. Wowɔa Sogblɛ fe nɔfe ɖe agba me.

4. Sɔwlui

Sɔwlui nɔa amewo gbo, ho ko wona ame, be ame la naxɔ ŋkɔ; gake ame la matsi hafi aku o.

B. The Personal Protective Gods

1. The Mother in the Spirit World

The mother in the spirit world is that woman who had given birth to you at the place of origin of man, even before you came into this world. She lives with humans especially with children whom she kills quite fast. The mother in the spirit world has no real residence in the world below; she only lives with the *trɔ̃*-priests. On the occasion of offering sacrifices to her, they recite her appellations, saying: "Mother in the spirit world who kills children on their mothers' laps, who bears children and lays them in her bosom."

2. The Personified Promise

When someone is coming from God to the inhabitants of this world, they interview him concerning the time he intends to return. The person answers: "As soon as I grow to be this or that number of years old, I shall come back. When I reach this stage of my youth, or that stage of my old age, I will be back, or after I have bought two men, or brought forth a child, I will come back." When the time is due, they come and take him away. Many people also do it in such a way that when sickness comes (to take him away), they rush to pacify the *gbetsiwo*. This they do by sacrificing twelve human figurines made of clay, a musket, a bow, two little baskets of small stones and six sea shells, and, having sacrificed all these on the road, the person would now have his peace.

3. The Wife and the Husband of the other World

The girl you married in her childhood is your wife of the other world. We, Eves, cut up the yam we cook under the roof of the wife of the other world. When the wife of the other world falls sick, we clothe her with blue material, give her 4 *hoka* cowry shells and buy her palm wine.⁵⁹ After having done all these, you will be successful in everything you do. When your wife of the other world is annoyed with you, you will have to go onto the road and offer sacrifices of farm produce to her and she will set you free. On that day on which one brings sacrifices to God himself, one must first make a sacrifice of corn dough mixed with oil to the wife of the other world.

The husband of the other world is *Dzɔgbemetsui*. He is the husband from the other world who is living with you. For example, he would say: "You've left me to marry a man in the visible world; you must, therefore, come and appease me!" As soon as you have completed the reconciliation ceremony, the case is over. The performance of the reconcilliation ceremony includes, two flax-baskets, two mats, two spindles, a bow, an umbrella, stool musket, gun powder-girdle, two dresses, two fowls, 12 *hoka* cowry shells, a bottle of palm wine and field-products.

⁵⁹ There is a small clay-altar under the roof the first wife's house. It is hollow and is painted with white clay. This is the residence as well as the place of sacrifice to the wife of the other world. The blue cloth is not for the real wife; it is hung around the altar, and with that, the wife of the other world has been clothed.

B. Ȩunuwo

1. Ȩɔlimenɔ

Ȩɔlimenɔ nye nyɔnu, si ke dzi wò le Bome, hafi neva dzo ɔe kodzogbe. Enɔ ame Ȩu, vevietɔ ɔeviwo Ȩu, eye wowua wo kabakaba. Ȩɔlimenɔ fe nɔfe aɔeke mele kodzogbe o, trɔsiwo gbɔ ko wònnɔna. Ne wole efe nu wɔm la, wofoa Ȩkɔ ɔo ne bena: Ȩɔlimenɔ fo vi fo vi akɔ; dzi vi lé vi ɔe akɔ.

2. Gbetsi

Ne ame tso Mawu gbɔ gbɔna va ɔo ɔimeawo gbɔ la, ekema wobiane bena gbe ka gbe nagagbugbɔ ava mahã? Ame la ɔoa Ȩu bena, ne meɔo ale kple ale ko la magbɔ. Alo ne meɔo ɔekakpui me, alo meku amegã la, magbugbɔ ava. Alo ne mefle ame zi eve alo dzi vi la, matrɔ agbɔ. Ne Ȩeyi yi la ɔo edzi la, wova kplɔa ame la. Ame aɔewo ne ɔlɔlé dze wo dzi la, wokpata wofe gbetsiwo. Wotsɔa ame meme wuieve, tu kple da, golo eve, siwo me kpe ɔeɔe le kple agaga ade ada ɔe mɔ dzi na wo, ekema ame la Ȩuti efa.

3. Dzɔgbemesi kple dzɔgbemetsui

Nyɔnuvi, si nedi le ɔevime la, eyae nye wò dzɔgbemesi. Dzɔgbemesi fe agbalinu ko mí Eveawo mífeɔa te ɔo hafi ɔana. Ne dzɔgbemesi la le ɔo léɔ la, ekema woflea avɔ yibɔe ne wòata, eye woatsɔ hoka 4 akpe ɔe Ȩuti adze aha ne; ekema ne ewɔ nu sia nu la, magblẽ wò o. Ne ebi dzi ɔe Ȩuwò la, atɔ bomeni ziwo ava mɔ dzi ne, ekema aɔe asi le Ȩuwò. Gbe si gbe Mawu fe nuwɔyi ɔo la, atɔ nu bakabaka ane hafi ayi ɔe Mawu fe nuwɔfe.

Dzɔgbemetsui, eyae nye Ȩutsuto. Srɔwò bometɔ, ɔimetɔ eyae nye esi le Ȩuwò. Eya gblɔna bena, egblẽm ɔi va ɔe ame bubu le kodzogbe; eya ta va nakpatam. Ne ekpatae ko la, evɔ beɔ. Nu siwo natsɔ akpatae wonye: golo eve, aba eve, keke eve, da ɔeka, xexi ɔeka, kpukpo, tu, agbadza, avɔ eve, koklo eve, hoka 12, deha adzaɔu ɔeka kpakple bomeni ziwo.

4. Guardian Angel, Soul and Spirit

a. Guardian Angel

Aklama is the hunters' god, who lives with man and who brings the animals to the hunter to kill. He does not enter the grave with man when he dies, but stays at a certain distance from the deceased or climbs onto a tree.

b. Soul

When we see the shadow of any object, we call it *luwɔ*, the soul.

c. Spirit

The spirit of a human being is his whole life. As soon as it leaves man, he dies. If someone dies, we would call his *aklama* and his guardian gods which come into the *trɔ̃*-house for discussions. We would give them the palm wine and the clothes which they ask for.

5. The Stone watchman

God sent the stone watchman simultaneously with man to be his guardian God. He watches over the stones which God had counted into the hands of men on their departure for the visible world, charged with ensuring that the person returns as soon as he realizes that there are no more stones left in his possession. The stone watchman then piles up the stones, and, on the day that he leaves them, the man must die.

C. The Origin of Man

Our grandparents told us that all human beings living on earth, or at least in the Ewe-land, are the children of one man and one woman. They claimed that God took clay and made man out of it. If the clay he uses happens to be bad, then the people made with it turn out to be bad. We have been told that God softened the mortar with which he worked with water. Bad people and evil magicians have been made with the clay which had been softened with the left-over of the said water. Other people also say that God uses the jaw bones of people, who had died much earlier, to make other persons; that is why such people look so much like their brothers. They say that whenever God intends to make a woman, he sends her to go and collect clay for that purpose. On her way to the clay pit, she may meet another woman, who tells her to collect enough clay to suffice for both of them. God builds an industrious woman from the clay of the one who brought it from the pit, and a lazy woman from the clay of the woman who had sent for hers.⁶⁰

God has no food in heaven for human stomachs; for this reason, he sent us into this world to work and to farm before we get food to eat. There are different types of people who God has sent into this world. He sent some who are good, and some others who are bad. That is why some people sing: "Anyɔmi has denied me the good things,

⁶⁰ The pre-existent being was not in possession of an earthly body before becoming a human being.

4. Akama, luvɔ kple gbɔgbɔ

a. Aklama

Aklamae nye adee le ame ɲuti, eya dea asi ame fe ɲkume wowua lã. Ne ame ku la, eya meɣia ɔ me kple ame o, enɔa adzɔge alo edea ati dzi.

b. Luvɔ

Ne vɔvɔli do le nane ɲu la, eya míeyɔna be luvɔ.

c. Gbɔgbɔ

Ame fe gbɔgbɔ la, eyae nye efe agbe blibo la katã. Ne edo le ame la me la, ekema etrɔ zu nu kuku. Ne ame aɖe ku la, ekema míyɔa efe aklama kple efe dzɔgbewo wova foa nu le trɔxɔ me. Wobia aha kple avɔ mí, eye míenaa wo.

5. Kpegbɔnɔla

Mawue ɖoe ɖa kple ame. Eyae nye ɲunu le ame ɲuti. Ebɔbɔ nɔ kpe, si Mawu xlẽ ɖe ame si me bena, ne eva kodzɔgbe, eye wovɔ ne woagbugbɔ ava la, gbɔ. Enɔa kpe la tum ɖo, gbe si gbe ke wòdzo le egbɔ ko la, ekema eku.

c. Ame

Mía mamawo kple mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔna na mí edziedzi be: ɲutsu ɖeka, nyɔnu ɖeka woawo dzi ame ɖe xexea me alo Evedome katã. Wogblɔ be, anyi Mawu tsɔ me ame. Ne tsu la menyo o la, ekema etsɔne mea ame dovowo. Wogagblɔ na mí hã bena, tsi, si ke Mawu tsɔ nɔa anyi la dem hafi nɔa amewo memii, ne ele vɔvɔm la, eya wòtsɔna dea anyi hemea ame dovowo kple ame vɔɖiwo. Ame aɖewo be, ame si ku xoxo la fe glã Mawu ɖena tsɔ wɔa ame bubui, eya ɲuti ame ɖia nɔvia vevie. Wobe, ne Mawu le nyɔnu me ge la, egblɔna na nyɔnu ke bena, wɔayi aɖaka anyi ve. Ne nyɔnu la yina la, ekema nɔvia bubu gblɔna ne bena ne eyi la, ne wòaka anyi la ɖe ve na ye hã. Nyɔnu, si Mawu ɲuto ɖo ɖe dɔa gbe la fe anyi wòtsɔna mea nyɔnu, si doa vevie nu, ke anyi, si woka ve na ame bubu la, eya wòtsɔna mea nyɔnu akuviatɔwo.

Nuɖuɖu mele Mawu gbɔ na míafe fodo o, eya ta wòɖo mí ɖe xexeame bena, míawo ɔ aɲɔ nu aɖu. Mawu fe ame ɖoɖo ɖe xexeame ta sɔ gbɔ. Eɖo ame aɖewo ɖa nyuiɛ, ke meɖo ɖewo ɖa nyuiɛ o. Eya ta ame aɖewo dzia ha bena: Anyɔmi te nyuiem, Nyarɲkopon te nyuiem, Se te nyuiem, Mawuwo te nyuiem.

Nyankopong has denied me the good things, *Se* has refused me the good things of life,
Mawuwo have all denied me the pleasures of life!”

The Akrofu Tribe

Akɔfu

A. Heavenly Gods

1. The Great God

The residence of God, of the great King, is in the second heaven. Nobody resides above him. At his place of residence, there is no darkness and there is no dirt.

2. The God Sodza

The residence of God, *Sodza*, is called *dzingbe*, “heaven”. The God, *Sodza*, is very great. Nobody can get to him apart from his speaker, *Sogblẽ*. *Sodza* is the female and *Sogblẽ* is her husband. God can never die, for he is very great. *Sodza* is the chief of *Sogblẽ*, as well as of all black people. God is wise and all wisdom is in his bosom. He has created everything that we can see with our eyes. Even our intelligence and everything we do are to his credit. Yet our grandmothers and our grandfathers do not know how he has done all these. A child can never ask his father: “How have you made me?”

God is very benevolent. He gives us rain to make our farm crops thrive just to ensure that we have enough to eat. The power of God is manifested by the way our children grow and the manner in which our crops thrive in the fields. One puts a single gourd seed into the earth and out of it come many gourds. That is the manifestation of the power of God. The *Twɛ* people call him *Adumangama*; but we Ewes call him *Mawu* or *Mawu Sodza*. Our forefathers said that he alone was, at the beginning, and then came the *trɔwo*. The God, *Sodza*, is their general supervisor. The head or the chief of all human beings is up high; the children are here on earth.

The forebears of our forefathers have only prayed to God, and we also pray every day to him. Every day, before we begin our day’s work, we call upon his name; whether we intend to do good or bad things, we still call upon his name. He is mild, and when we Ewes fall sick, we call upon him and say: “May God bless me so that I get well again!” If the person dies, we weep for him and say: “The *trɔ* has not accepted my present; my present was not big enough.”

Every black man prays to God: even thieves pray to him, before they go to steal. Before the thief steals anything, he tells God: “May God help me!” That is his prayer before he steals or undertakes anything mischievous. Good as well as bad people do pray to God. God is benevolent and has mercy on all people.

Akrofu

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. Mawu gã

Mawu fia ga fe nɔfe kokokoe nye dzifo evelia me, eye ame aɔke me gale eya tame o. Viviti kple ɔi aɔke mele efe nɔfe o.

2. Mawu Sodza

Afi si Mawu Sodza le la, woyɔna be dzingbe. Mawu Sodza lolo, eye ɔɔi kpe gã nɔ. Ame aɔke medea egbo o, negbe efe tsiami Sogblẽ koe dea egbo. Mawu Sodza nɔ enye nyɔnu, ke Sogblẽ enye nɔtsu. Mawu mekuna gbedegbede o, elabena etri nɔ. Mawu Sodza enye tsitsi na Sogblẽ kple ameyibowo katã kenken. Mawue nya nu, eye eya si me nunyawo tsyo le. Ewo nu sia nu, si míafe nku le kpɔkpɔm, nu sia nu si míele wɔwɔm kple míafe asi kple anyansã la, eyae wɔe. Gake mɔ, si dzi wòto hafi wɔ ale nunyanu siawo la, mía tɔgbuiwo kple mía mamawo fe ɔke ɔke menyae o. Devi aɔke mate nɔ abia tɔ bena, ale ke newɔ hafi dzim mahã o.

Mawue nye dɔmenyotɔ nɔ; tsidzadza eya na mí, bena míate nɔ akpɔ míafe nuɖuɖu. Deviwo fe tsitsi, alo nu ziwo fe wɔwɔ le bo mee nye Mawu fe nɔsẽ. Treku ɔka dede to me, eya va zu tre geɖe. Eya nye Mawu fe nɔsẽ fiafia. Bluawo yɔne bena Aɖumangama, ke mí Eveawo la míeyɔne be Mawu alo Mawu Sodza. Mía tɔgbuiwo foa nu le Mawu nɔti bena eya nɔ nɔti li hafi trɔwo hã gakpe ɔe enɔti. Mawu Sodzae le wo katã ta kpɔm. Amewo katã fe ta alo amegã le dzi me, eye ɔdeviwo le anyigba.

Mía tɔgbui tɔgbuiwo klã Mawu ɔa kokoko, eye míawo hã míeklãne gbe sia gbe. Míeyɔne gbe sia gbe hafi yia míafe nuwɔwɔwo dzi. Nenyɔnu nyuie o, nu vɔ o míeklãne hafi yia dzi. Eyae nye dɔmefafatɔ, eye ne mí Eveawo míele dɔ lém la, míeyɔne bena, Mawu nɔɔi ne mahaya. Ne ame la va ku, ekema míedzia ha nɔa avi fam nɔa gbɔgbɔ bena: Trɔ gbe nye adzɔ, nye adzɔ melolo o.

Ame yibo sia ame yibo klã Mawu ɔa kokoko. Fiafitɔ hã klã Mawu ɔa hafi yi ɔafia nu. Hafi wɔaɔafi nu la, eklã Mawu ɔa gbɔna bena: Mawu nɔɔi nam. Eyae nye efe kaklã, si wòklãna hafi fia fi alo wɔa nu vɔ bubu aɔ. Ame vɔ o, ame nyuie o, eklã Mawu ya kokoko. Mawue nye dɔmenyotɔ, ekpɔ ame siaa ame fe nublani.

3. The God *Sogblẽ*

Our ancestors said when it thundered and rained up there, the wind would come from there down to our earth, and, immediately after that, there would be a loud clap of thunder. It is *Sogblẽ*, who causes fish to fall into rivers, where they multiply very fast. *Sogblẽ* is the lightning that splits big trees in the bush. He has two objects which look like a hatchet. One of them is iron and the other is a hard stone. The small metal hatchet comes first, splits the tree and goes into the earth. This done, he retrieves it quickly. After the metal comes the stone hatchet, that sets fire to the trees; and no one can put out the fire. Such a tree may be felled, but others say that one should never even touch them. He who doubts it and cooks with the wood would suffer from a sickness which cannot be cured until his death. And strangely, if a murderer or a person who had poisoned someone before, should trip on this wood, his foot would wither, and he would permanently become an invalid.

Sogblẽ is in charge of one of the heavens and is the supervisor or the chief of those who live there. He is the messenger of the God, *Sodza*, whom God sends down to this earth. *Sogblẽ* is the male God, which is why sacrifices are brought to him before any other god. When he gets angry with a person, that person is instantly destroyed.

People say that when *Sogblẽ* thunders, hyenas press their muzzles onto the ground, saying: "You are the only one we pray to."

Our mothers used to sing: The flying foxes, which live with *Sogblẽ*, say they are hanging in the air. The flying fox is the first servant and the gate-keeper of *Sogblẽ*.

Because of his beauty, he managed to become indebted to the inhabitants of heaven and to the inhabitants of the earth. This led to his being summoned to the court of God, *Sogblẽ*. He invited him to his presence, to put up his defence, but he would not go. The Lord, *Sogblẽ*, then said to him: "Good, I will do with you what pleases me. I'll neither kill you nor strike you down with thunder; but I'll sew up your backside, so that you can no more have babies and you can no more pass excrement. Through your mouth shall you deliver babies, and through the mouth shall you empty your bowels!" *Sogblẽ* summoned him once again, but he refused to go and said: "You have isolated me from my comrades; that is why, from this time onwards, I don't want to look to heaven anymore." Because he has been summoned, anytime he is flying from a tree, he would turn his feet against heaven and tell *Sogblẽ*: "The one who is summoned comes on his feet. Here I come!" But he turns his head to the earth and says: "When one surrenders oneself to somebody, one gives him one's head." The flying fox does not go into the sky (to heaven); neither does it come to the earth. That is why if an Ewe person loses two or three children, or if any calamity befalls him, he thinks of the fate of the bat, and comforts himself with its song.

4. *Sowlui*

Sowlui is a thief. He steals from one person and lavishes the stolen goods on others. There are two different types of *Sowlui*. One bestows many cowry shells on men, but kills them soon after; the second lavishes the cowry shells on people in such a way that they become famous among their colleagues.

3. Mawu Sogblẽ

Mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔ na mí bena, ne tsi le dzadzam le ya me, eye wòle vuulum la, efe yafofo va dona ɔe mía gbɔ le anyigba, eye wòno anyi sɛ ɔea gbe sesie. Sogblẽ ena tɔmelāwo gena ɔe tɔsisiwɔ me, eye wodzina geɔe. Sogblẽ nye dzikedzo, eye wòfea ati gāwo le gbe me. Nu eve le esi, siwo fe nɔnɔ le abe fia ene. Ɖekae nye ga, eye ɔekae nye kpe sesẽ aɔe. Gafiavi la vana gbā, eya fea ati la me yia anyigba me ke; emegbe la egatsɔne yia egboe. Eyome kpeto hā vana, eya tɔa dzo afi la, ame aɔeke mete ɲu tsine o; negbe ɔeko wòalā ati la afu anyi. Wogblɔ bena, amewo meka asi ati siawo ɲu gbedegbede o. Ame si ke ɔi fɔ ati siawo de dzo me la, axɔ ɔlɛle va se ɔe efe ku me. Alo ne ame aɔe wu ame alo na aɔi ame klii kple afɔ la, efe afɔ alā, eye atrɔ zu ɔlɛle ne.

Sogblẽ le dzifo ɔeka nu, eye wònye afi ma nɔlawo dzikpɔla alo wofe asafohene gā. Enye Mawu Sodza fe ɔla, ame si wòɔna ɔe anyigba dzi. Sogblẽ enye ɲutsu eya ta wona nui gbagbiāgba. Ne ebi dzi ɔe ame ɲuti la, ewune alo egblene enumake.

Wogblɔ be, ne Sogblẽ ɔe gbe la, gbev[wo tsɔa wofe nu tua anyigba, eye wogblɔna bana: Wo ɔeka ko míeklā ɔa.

Mía nɔwo dzia ha bena: Agutɔwo nɔ Sogblẽ gbɔ, be yetsi sege me, nadzowoe nadzowoe. Aɲutɔe nye Sogblẽ fe subɔla, eyae nye efe Xɔnuvi, eye wònye efe nu vevie ɲutɔ. Elabena agutɔ dze ɔeka ɲutɔ. Ele amewo, lāwo kple xeviwo dome. Le ale si wònyo ɔeka ɲuti la, enyi fe le dzifotɔwo kple anyigbadzitɔwo si. Eya ta woyi ɔasamae na Mawu Sogblẽ. Eyɔe bena, neva ye gbɔ ne wòade ɔɔokui nu, eye wògbe. Mawu Sogblẽ gblɔ bena: Enyo, nu si dze ye ɲu la, yeawɔe. Yemele ewu ge alo yeade gbe ɔe edzi o. Yeato efe aɲlɔnu, magadzi vi alo ade afɔdzi ato efe aɲlɔnu o; negbe efe nu me ko wòadzi vi alo ade afɔdzi atoe. Sogblẽ le eyɔɔ dzi kokoko; gake egbe gblɔ bena: Eɔe ye ɔa tso ye hatiwo dome eya ta yemegale dzifo kpɔ ge o. Le samasama ɲuti ne agutɔ dzo ɔe ati dzi la, etɔa efe afɔwo ɔe dzi me le gbɔgbɔm na Sogblẽ bena: Ne ame aɔe yɔ ame la, afɔ dzi wozɔna va ame gbɔ, megbɔna loo! Etsɔ eye ta na anyigba gblɔ bena: Ta wotsɔna na ame megbɔna loo! Dzifo yiye meli o, eye anyigba vava hā meli o. Eya ta Evemetɔ sia Evemetɔ, ne edzi vi zi eve alo zi etɔ wòku alo fu aɔe va edzi la, ɔɔoa ɲku agutɔ dzi, eye wòtsɔne nɔa ako fam na ɔɔokui le hadzidzi me.

4. Sowlui

Sowlui enye fiati, efiaa ame bubuwo fe nuwo va na ame. Eve fomevĩ li. Ɖeka na ho geɔe ame, gake mesea ame wuna o. Ɖeka na ho ame, bena nāzu ɔekakpui le mía hawo me.

B. The Personal Protective Gods

1. The Mother in the Spirit World

The Mother in the Spirit World is an entity which lives in the spiritual world. When a child is born, she seizes it, so that the whole body of the child shivers and she kills it. The sacrifice brought to her comprises twelve cowry shells, two or three clay-idols, one basket, one mat and various farm crops. They carry all these outside the town, onto the road, and say: “Mother in the Spirit World, accept our gifts, they belong to you! We are now appealing to you to take your hands off our child!”

2. The (Personified) Promise

Gbetsi comes from God. When God sends man to the material world, *Gbetsi* intercepts him on the way and gives him a contract. If the person refuses to take the contract, *Gbetsi* takes offence, and pursues him into this world in order to kill him. *Gbetsi* is the death surrounding man. If somebody should shoot you dead, or kill you with a knife, or if anything at all should put an end to your life, we conclude that it is *Gbetsi* which has killed you; you have brought that along from God’s realm. It is *Gbetsi* who determines the life of man. He is the Word which was given to you in the spirit world before you were born, namely: “Stay alive for a long time until you become a gray old man!” That is a good *Gbetsi*. The bad *Gbetsi* is the Word given to you in the spirit world which says: “You must die in your early childhood, in your youth or after you have brought forth a single child.” When the appointed day arrives, the man falls sick and people begin to say, his *Gbetsi* is tormenting him. The person will become strong again when sacrifices are offered to his *Gbetsi* on his behalf on the road. To do this, they go with one or two fowls, some palm wine and twelve hoka cowry shells. After offering sacrifices along the road, the *Gbetsi* leaves the person alone.

When someone starts an enterprise and meets with success, and also follows the customs of the town in which he lives, we say: “He has a good birthday (*dzɔgbɛ*)”. On the other hand, if a person’s undertaking collapses, we say: “He has a bad birthday.”

3. The Husband of the other World

Dzɔgbemetsui is the husband whom you have married in the spirit world before you were born. He persecutes man and tells him: “You’ve left me to marry another spouse in the material world; you’ll, therefore, bear no more children. You have to placate me along the side of the road with the following items: two baskets, two mats, two spindles, one wooden spoon, an umbrella, a stool, one gun, one powder girdle, two pieces of cloth, two fowls, 12 hoka cowry shells, a bottle of palm wine, tomatoes (called *gboku*), a large spinach, beans, *gbelɔti*, maize, a knife and any dress at all, that a man would give to his bride. I will totally take my hands off you if you can give me all that. After that you can live in peace and have children.”

4. The Stone-Guardian

The stone guardian or the stone disperser has been sent with man by God to count the years allocated to him. The man must die when the year (time) comes. He is the one

B. Nunuwɔ

1. Nɔlimenɔ

Nɔlimenɔ hã enye bomenu. Ne wodzi vi la, eya va léne, devia nɔa fofom kpakpakpa, eye wòwunɛ. Efe adzo, si wonanɛ, enye hotsui wuieve kple ame meme eve alo ene, gole dɛka, aba dɛka kpakple bomenu ziwo. Wotsɔa wo yia mɔ dzi tsɔna nɛ gblɔna be: Nɔlimenɔ vɔ loo! Nye nɔlimenɔ tɔe loo, naɖe asi le devia nɔti nam loo!

2. Gbetsi

Gbetsi etso Mawu gbɔ. Hafi ne Mawu naɖo ame dɔ la, eya va tsɔa ame le mɔ dzi. Ele mɔ dzi na wò xoxoxo, eye wòdɔ dɔ wò. Dɔ, si ke wòdɔ wò, eye negbe be, yemawɔe nɛ o la, akplɔ wò dɔ ava kodzogbe be, yeawu wò kokoko. Gbetsi enye tsagati alo ku le ame nɔ. Ne ame aɖe fo tu wò nèku, alo ame aɖe tsɔ hɛ wu wò alo nuwuame aɖe wu wò la, ekema wogblɔna bena gbetsi ewu wò, eya netsɔ tso Mawufe. Gbetsi dɔa nkeke na ame. Enye gbe, si wotsi na wò tso Bome alo ðime hafi neva dzo be: Anɔ agbe didie, aku amegã va se dɛ fiẽ me miã hafi nadzo. Eyae nye gbetsi nyuie. Gbetsi vɔe nye gbe, si wotsi na wò le Bome alo ðime bena: ðevi me ke alo dɛkakpui me alo dɛtugbui me dzã, alo adzi vi dɛka ko aku. Eyae nye Vɔtɔ. Ne nkeke la dɔ edzi la, ekema ame la dea asi dɔléle me, eye wogblɔna bena, efe gbetsie le enyamam. Ne wowɔ nu na ame la le mɔ dzi ko la, ekema efe lãme asẽ. Wotsɔa koklo eve alo dɛka kple aha, kple hotsui hoka 12 yia mɔ dzi, ekema eɖea asi le ame la nɔ.

Ne ame aɖe wɔ nu wònyona nɛ, nya afe kɔgbe (nya dumekɔnuwo) la, míegblɔna bena, dzɔgbe nyuie le nɔ. Ke ame si nu medzea edzi nɛ o la, míegblɔna bena, dzɔgbe vɔe le nɔ.

3. Dzɔgbemetsui

Eyae nye atsu, si neɖi le Bome hafi va dzo la. Eya tia ame yome bena, dɔ va di ame bubu le kodzogbe: eyanɔti megale vi dzi ge o. Nu siwo natsɔ ve nam le mɔ dzi la wonye: Golo eve, aba eve; keke eve, dati dɛka, xexi dɛka, kpukpo dɛka, tu dɛka, agbadza dɛka kple avɔ eve; koklo eve, hotsui hoka 12, deha adzaɖu dɛka, gboku, ahamee, ayi, gbelɔti, kpeli, hɛ kple avɔ sia avɔ, si wotsɔna yia safee. Ne ete nɔ wɔe nam la, maɖe asi le nɔ wò, nadzi vi, alo nɔtiwò nafa kenkenɔ.

4. Kpegbɔnɔla

Kpegbɔnɔla alo kekpekekpee la, Mawue dɔe dɔa kpe dɛ ame nɔti, bena wòanɔ fe xlẽm na ame. Ne fe la dɔ edzi ko la, aku. Enye nu si le ame gbɔ, eye ne ame aɖe le dɔ lɛm, eye meka

who lives with man, and, if he does not disperse the stones of a sick person, he would not die. But if he scatters them, the man must die. That is his God-given assignment.

C. Witches and Forest Devils

1. Witches

From birth, the witch is a calamitous being, who spoils anything he touches. In the night, he sparks fire, the type we see when the black smith is hammering red-hot iron; the fire goes out as soon as anybody happens to see it. She spoils everything and kills people, sucking out children and adults' blood. We do not want to talk much about witches, because there are many people among us who are possessed by witchcraft.

2. The Hunters' God (Forest Devil)

The hunters' god lives in the bush. He can kill any animal that lives in the bush. When any person goes into the bush and happens to see it with his eyes, it begins to look like an animal. People who have seen him say that he is thick-set and short, and looks like a bristle-rat (hedge-hog) His hair stands out bristly in the air, shaggy and curled. His toes point backwards and his heels point forward; his fingers are very long; and that is why it can grip things so tightly without letting them lose. Bananas and blood serve as his nourishment. When he kills an animal, he sucks its blood out. He cannot be clearly seen with the eyes. His image is quite blurred and, upon seeing him, one's eyes begin to dim almost to blindness.

He is a very malicious being and there are several kinds of them. When some are with you, you will succeed in hunting, always coming home with many animals; others, unfortunately, would make you crazy, and you would become so stupid that you would not pay attention to anything that anybody tells you. When you go hunting and you kill an animal, he comes himself and takes the animal away from you. This incident is represented by the animal on which you have inflicted deadly injuries, running away from you. The hunters' god lives in the wilderness, in hollow trees, termite hills, and craggy valleys and under *wɔ* trees. He goes about daily shooting in the bush, though we never see him doing so. He is also not able to see the animals he has killed. If you have the hunters' god with you, and your wife gets pregnant, he would come and suck out her blood. The woman gets pale and thin. She grows quiet and is always very still, as if she is having pains in her body, and that will be the daily affliction of the woman.

To make sacrifices to the hunters' god, we need seven times seven eggs, four fowls and palm oil. We dress and cook all the four fowls. We then mix the flour with the oil and cook them all into the red maize porridge- *dzenkple* or *akpledzie*. After we have eaten the meal, we would bind raffia palms with cowry shells around the arms of the man with whom the hunters' god lives. The one who presided over the sacrificial ceremony gets twelve *hotu* cowry shells and a goat. From this day onwards, the man who made the sacrifice has his peace, and would bring a game animal home whenever he goes hunting.

kpe le enu o la, ame la mele kuku ge akpo o. Gake ne ekae da la, ekema aku. Eyae nye do si Mawu de esi.

C. Adze kple adee

1. Adze

Adze enye ame busutɔ aɖe tso dzɔdzɔme ke, ne eɖo nu sia nu gbɔ la, egblẽne kenken. Za me la, eɖea dzo hehẽhe sigbe ale si gblẽ na nu tum ene. Ne ame kpɔe la etsina. Egblẽa nu sia nu, ewua ame, enyia ɖeviawo kple ame tsitsiwo. Míawo la míefoa nu geɖe le enjuti o, elabena adzetwo so gbɔ le mí dome.

2. Adee

Adee enye gbeto le gbe me; lã sia lã le gbe dzi la, eya koe wunɛ. Ne ame yi ɖe gbe me la, ekpɔne kple ŋku, eye ekpɔla fe ŋkume na wɔwɔm klanklan. Ame siwo ke kpɔe kpɔ la, gblɔna bena, ele kpuie, le heyehye abe nukpui ene. Efe ta to vutu, eye wotro pesepese. Afɔbideawo trɔ va megbe, eye afɔkpodziawo ɖo ta ŋɔ. Efe asibidewo ɖiɖi, eya na wolɛa nu megena le esi o. Efe nuɖuɖue nye akɔɖu kple vu. Ne ewu lã la, ena vu le efe lã me kenken. Womekpɔne kple ŋku gobi o, ɖeko wokpɔne fute fute ko, eye ame fe ŋkume katã wɔna fute. Enye lã manyomanyo nuto.

Adee ta so gbɔ nuto. Ne ɖewo le gbɔwò la, ana nawu lã kakaka; ɖewo afɔ ŋkume na wò nazu tsukunɔ; ne ame siaa ame tsi nya na wò la, mado toe kura o. Ne èyi gbe me, eye nèwu lã la, eya nuto ava tsɔ le gbɔwò; eyae nye ne efo tu vevife na lãa la agadzo le gbɔwo kokoko. Gbedadafo ko wòɔna le vutowo kple tɔtowo me, le agawo me kple wotiwo te. Eɖaa ta gbe sia gbe le gbe me, gake makpɔ eya nuto o, eye efe lãwuwu hã makpɔe o. Ne adee va lé asi wò eye neɖe nyɔnu wòfu na wò la, ekema ava no vu le eme kenken. Nyɔnu la fe lãme trɔna zua kpɛ makpɔ lãme gbedegbede o. Anɔ anyi kpɔ gbe sia gbe, abe afi aɖee le evem ene. Esia zua nuxaxa na nyɔnu la gbe sia gbe.

Ne míele adee fe nu wɔ ge la, míetsɔa koklozi adre tefe adre kple koklo ene kple ami dzẽ wɔne. míetsɔa koklo ene la, katã ɖana, tsɔa wɔ bakane, heɖa akplẽ dze ɖuna. Ne míeɖu nu la vɔ la, wotsɔa la sana ɖe kɔme na ame la, eye wotɔa hotsui dea alɔnu na ame la. Ame si ke va yi busua la, ɔa hotsui hoka 12 kple gbɔ ɖeka. Tso esia dzi la, nu la avɔ le amea ŋu, eye ne eyi gbe me la, lã ko wòatsɔ ava afe mee.

D. The Human Being

1. His Origin

God has created man out of clay or earth. Our forefathers said that when a good person dies, another good person would be born on the same day in his stead, and, if a bad person should die, so would another person, equally bad, be born in his stead on the same day. While some people are born 'good', others are born 'bad'. God has made the Ewes as they are; some are rich, and some are poor. He has given cowry shells to men to construct fenced enclosures for worshipping and for offering sacrifices to him. Poor people do not build fenced enclosures for God. In our Ewe-land, every poor person is dependent⁶¹ on a rich person. Nobody depends on a poor person.

When a person is gentle and kind-hearted, we say he is like *ma*. Such a person does not quarrel; he keeps quiet on every occasion. Even when he is angry within himself, he does not open his mouth.

All of us, Ewes, are the Foli of God; "the first born, son" of God. We were the first to be created by him, but we have no wisdom. The Twis are the second-born, and that is why we name them, *Dza*. They are better than us when it comes to wisdom. The third son of God is the Whiteman: That is why we call them Mensah. They are wise people. It is God himself who taught the black man wisdom and taught them how to do things, if they wanted to achieve their goals like farming in order to feed themselves.

2. Re-emergence/Origin of Naming

Our old men have narrated to us the following story: A king once made a law that nobody in his kingdom should name his own baby when it is born. The new born baby would have to be brought to him, the king and only he would name it. It happened that one day, a woman brought forth a son and wanted to bring him to the king for naming. The child refused the parents' intention and said that, because he was more intelligent than the chief, he would give himself the name, Kwasi, which indicated that he was born on "God's Birthday". As the child grew and began to walk, the parents brought him to the king. The king looked long and hard at the child and asked: "What's the child's name?" They answered and said: "When the child was born, we had wanted to bring him for you to name him but he refused and called himself, Kwasi, the one who knows more than the king!" The king answered and said: "Good, we shall see!" He then made up his mind to kill the child, but not immediately; he would wait till the child grew up.

The king bought a bullock and gave it to the child to look after. Kwasi took good care of the bull; he led it into the bush to graze and to the stream to drink. The bull grew healthy and strong under the devoted hands of the boy.

One day, the king ordered the boy to bring the bullock for inspection. The king realized that the child had looked after it very well and decided to take it away from his care. The child left the king without saying anything against it. The king later sent for the child again and commanded him to take the bullock back and to feed it fatter than before. He tasked the boy to buy shea butter and rub it into the bullock's body in the afternoon sun. The intention of the king was to let Kwasi kill the animal by smearing it

⁶¹ Pawn-slave? Mortgaged slave? *Awoba*?

Đ. Ame

1. Efe dzɔdzɔ

Tsu alo anyi Mawu tsɔ me ame. Mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔna bena: Ne ame nyuie ku la, gbe ma gbe woagadzi ame ɔe etefe, eye ne ame vɔ ku hã la, gbe ma gbe woagadzi ame ɔe etefe. Ame nyuie kple ame vɔ sia dzɔna. Mawu wɔ Eveawo katã aheto kple hotsuitɔ siaa. Etsɔ, hotsui na ame, eye wɔna be woanɔ Mawukpɔ tɔm nɛ, bena woanɔ fafa dom nɛ. Ahetwo metɔa Mawukpɔ o. Ne wodzi ame la, hotsuitɔ gbɔ kokoko ame nɔna le míafe Eveme. Aheto gbɔ la, ame aɔeke menɔ nɛ o. Ame sia ame, si kefa la, míegblɔna be, fa abe ma ene. Melɔa dzre o, nu sia nu me ko ezi kpi, dɔme le evem o ezi kpi.

Mí Eveawo katã nye Mawu fe Foli, míawoe wɔtre dzidzi, ke míenya nu o. Bluawo nye vidzidzi evelia, eye woawo xɔ ŋkɔ be Dza. Woawo tɔ ganyo wu mía tɔ le nunya gome. Vi etɔlia nye yevuawo. Woawo nye Mensa, woawo nye nunyalawo. Mawu ŋuto fia nunya ame yibo, ale si wɔate ŋu awɔ wɔazu nu nɛ. ame si wɔate ŋu alé agblenuti wɔazu nuɖuɖu nɛ.

2. Nyatoto le ŋkɔnana ŋuti

Mía ame tsitsiwo da xo na mí bena: Fia aɔe de se bena, ne ame aɔe dzi vi la, ekema eya ŋuto megatsɔ ŋkɔ na ɔevi la o, nekpɔe va fia gbɔ, ne fia natsɔ ŋkɔ nɛ. Azo nyɔnu aɔe dzi ŋutsuvi, eye wɔdi bena, yeakplɔe ava fia gbɔ. Ke ɔevi la gbe gblɔ bena; Yefe ŋkɔe nye Kwasi, egɔmee nye Mawu fe dzɔgbe; manya nu wu fia. ɔevi la le tsitsim te kple tata me, eye wokplɔe va fia la gbɔ. Fia kpɔ ɔevi la d[ɔ, eye wɔbia bena: ɔevi sia fe ŋkɔ ɔe? Ame ka tsɔ ŋkɔ nɛ mahã? Wogblɔ na fia la bena: Esime míedzi ɔevia la, míedi bena, míakplɔe va gbɔ wɔ, natsɔ ŋkɔ nɛ. ɔevi la ŋuto gbe, eye wɔyɔ edokui bena? Ijɔnyee nye Kwasi nya nu wu fia. Fia la gblɔ bena, enyo míakpɔe ɔa. Eɔo bena, yeawu ɔevi la, gake egbo dzi ɔi nɛ va se ɔe esime wɔtsi.

Fia la fle nyitsu na ɔevi la, be wɔakpɔ edzi. ɔevi la le nyia dzi kpɔm. Ekplɔne yia gbe me, eye wɔkplɔne yia tɔ to, be wɔano tsi. Ekpɔ edzi nyuie ale be afenyitsu la kpɔ lãme ŋuto. Gbe ɔeka fia la gblɔ na ɔevi la bena: Yi ɔakplɔ afenyitsu la vɛ nam ne makpɔe ɔa. Fia kpɔ be ekpɔ edzi nyuie ŋuto eye wɔxɔe le esi. ɔevi la megblɔ nya aɔeke o, eye wɔte dzi le fia la gbɔ. Emegbe fia la gana woyɔ ɔevi la va egbo, eye wɔgblɔ nɛ bena: Gakplɔ afenyitsu la nakpɔ edzi ne wɔagakpɔ lãme wu tsã. Fia la gagblɔ nɛ bena, yi nafle yɔkumi la nɛ ko la, yeawui. Kwasi ta yɔkumi la na afenyitsu la, eye efe lãme katã wɔ kpɔ. Ijɔkutsu le vuvum sesie ŋuto, ke Kwasi lé ijɔkutsu la de akpaku me, eye wotu nu ɔe enu. Viviti do kenken, eye afenyitsu la gakpɔ lãme maku o.

Fia la yɔ dukɔwo katã va kpe, eye wɔbia wo bena: Nu ka wɔ, eye ŋɔ megale vuvum o mahã? Nyemenya nu ka ŋuti viviti le dodom o. Dukɔwo gblɔ nɛ bena, xɔ nyitsu si nɛtsɔ na Kwasi la kpɔ bena, ŋɔ magavu o mahã? Fia la xɔ afenyitsu la le Kwasi si, eye ŋɔ gate kple vuvu me abe tsã ene.

with the fat. Kwesi massaged the animal with the oil, and, as a result, it became leaner and leaner. One day, the sun was shining very brightly but Kwasi got hold of it, shoved it into a gourd and put a cover on it. It became very dark and the bullock recovered its health and did not die.

The king then called the inhabitants of all the tribes to an assembly and asked them why the sun was no more shining? He wanted to know why it had become so dark in his kingdom. The assembly men said to him: "Take the bullock you have given to Kwasi away from him then the sun will shine again!" The king took back the bullock, and the sun began to shine again.

The king pondered over the entire episode and asked himself what he should now do to the child? He gave Kwesi a bracelet. Kwasi took it and wore it round his arm, but, when he went to the pond, the ring fell into the water. When the king heard of it, he started thinking of how to kill him. Kwasi's mother went to this pond on her way to the market. On her way back from the market, she passed by the pond again only to find that the water in it had almost dried up. She immediately went down the pond, and, there, she found a mud-fish. She caught this fish and brought it home. Kwasi was lamenting over the loss of the ring when his mother arrived back, and, when she cut open the fish, she found the king's ring in its stomach.

One day, the king again sent for Kwasi to direct him to return his bracelet to him, and that he should make sure it had been beautifully washed clean. Kwasi was very happy. He wore his best clothes and, accompanied by his parents who had also adorned themselves beautifully, they went to the king to return his bracelet. When the king saw the arm ring, he was extremely surprised and sent to tell all the tribes: "God is great! From now onwards, anybody who gets a child is allowed to name it himself!" This is the reason why the Ewes name their children themselves.

E. Heaven

Dzifo is the "Above" or that which is in the heights; fo means a "wide expanse." Heaven is made of about the same material as the earth. There are plains, mountains and valleys in heaven, just as there are in Ewe-land. *Dzingɔ*, heaven, is just like the earth. It is only constituted by soil and stones. Heaven is very solid. If it were not so, it would have broken down on us long ago. Just as the earth is solid, so is also heaven. The sky (dzifo) which we can see with our eyes, is also called *dzingɔ*, for it lies before *dzingbe* (the second heaven). The name *dzingbe* or *dzimenyi*, implies that there is another earth above the one on which we live.

There are human beings living in the heaven which we see with our eyes. Our fathers have told us that there are human beings, who have been created by the God, Sodza, and who are living in the first heaven. The inhabitants of heaven have thin tails. Some of them are farmers, weavers and traders. When rain falls from *dzingbe*, the second heaven, on *dzifo*, the first heaven, it first comes to *Sogblẽ*, and from there, it comes also to us. It is only God, *Sodza*, who gives us rain.

Ale ke mawɔ ɖevi sia akpɔ nu mahã? Fia la gatsɔ alɔnuga na Kwasi. Exɔe, tsɔe de alɔnu eye wòyi ɖe ta aɖe to, tete alɔnuga la ge ɖe ta la me. Fia la see, eye wòle mɔnu dim ale si wòawɔ awui. Kwasi nɔ yina ɖe asi, eye wòyi ɖato ta la ɲuti. Esime wòtrɔ tso asi gbɔna afe la, egato ta la gbɔ, eye ekpɔ be, ta la mie keɲkeɲ. Tete wòyi ɖe ta la me, eye wòkpɔ adeye le eme. Elé adeye la tsɔ va afe. Kwasi le konyi fam le alɔnuga, si bu la ɲuti. Esime wòko adeyea la, ekpɔ fia la fe alɔnuga le efe dɔme.

Gbe ɖeka fia la dɔ ame ɖe Kwasi be, wòaklɔ alɔnuga la ɲu nyuie atɔ ve na ye. Kwasi kpɔ dzidzɔ ɲuto, eye wòdzra ɖɔkui ɖo nyuie, eye tɔ kple nɔ hã wòdzra wo ɖokui ɖo nyuie hetsɔ alɔnuga la va fia la gbɔ. Esi fia la kpɔ alɔnuga la la, efe mo wɔ ya, eye wògbɔ na dukwo katã bena: Mawue nye gã, ame siaa ame si dzi vi azɔ la, eya ɲuto netsɔ ɲkɔ nɛ, menye fia ko ana ɲkɔe o. Le esia ɲuti Evemetɔwo ɲuto na ɲkɔ wofe viwo ale si ke dze wo ɲu.

E. Dzifo

Dzifoe nye dzi, alo nu si ke le dzi me. Fo enye tefe keke aɖe. Nu si wotsɔ wɔ anyigba la, nu ma ke wotsɔ wɔ dzifo. Gbadzafe hã li, to wo hã li, abuwo hã li, sigbe ale si wòle Evedome ene. Dzingɔ le abe anyigba ene, ke kple kpe ko wònye. Dzifo tri, ne menye nenem o la, ne eka dze mía dzi xoxo. Ale si ke anyigba tri la nenemake dzifo hã tri. Dzifo, si kpɔm míele la, eya woyɔna be dzingɔ, elabena ele ɲɔɔgbɛ na dzingbe. Dzingɔ kple dzimenyi gɔmee nye anyigba gali, si enye dzimenyigba.

Dzingɔ si kpɔm míele la, amewo le edzi. Mía fofowo gbɔ na mí bena, amewo le dzifo gbãtɔ dzi, eye wofe wɔlae nye Mawu Sodza. Ame siwo ke le dzifo la, asiketi leli le na wo. Wonye agbledelawo, avɔlɔlawo kple asitsalawo. Ne tsi dza tso dzingbe va dzifo gbãtɔ me, ekema ava Mawu Sogblẽ gbɔ, eye tso afi ma eva míawo hã mía gbɔ. Tso mía gbɔ wògayia ɖifiawo gbɔ le anyigba te. Mawu Sodza koe na tsi mí.

The Tokokoe- and Nyive-Tribes

Tokokoe and Nyive

A. The Heavely Gods

1. The Explanation of the Word *ma*

Ma is a particular herb, which we plant within God's fenced enclosure. The good and positive properties embodied in this herb surpass all other herbs in the world, especially those which grow in the Ewe-land. *Ma* is a herb which is neither hot nor bitter. It is not harmful and does not kill people. That is why we liken him to God (*Mawu*). The herb is not as good as God himself, who has sent it; God is by far milder.⁶² Yet *ma* is the first herb of God. We believe that when death threatens to kill someone, and the person puts this herb into water with which he washes his face or washes himself, it would bring peace to the person and God would help him remain alive. If the patient recovers, he will once more have to wash himself with water into which the *ma* and the *fla* herbs have been soaked. After having done that, we say: "He has got peace"⁶³ today."

They liken somebody who is quiet and mild to *ma*. Such a person may be angry if offended but controls himself graciously and does not quarrel like others do. We commend those people and say; "He is as peaceable as *ma*."

2. The God *Sodza*

The God, *Sodza*, mother of palm wine, is in the second heaven but is also with us humans. He is the one who created the heaven, which we can see surrounding us. He is the God, whom we install on a trident in the courtyard. On the day dedicated to him, we have to wash our faces with water from a basin and smear ourselves with white clay. We all stay at home on that day.

The God, *Sodza*, helps us in our farm-work, when we go hunting, tapping palm wine and, in short, with every work which we set out to do. We pray to him saying: "God *Sodza*, mother of palm wine, *aklama*, may I live a little longer, I am in your hands; ensure that I get some food for myself, so that I will be able to give some to you. May *Aklama* bless me to stay alive and live with God."

62 The word *fa*, to be cool, means here, that the herb is neither bitter nor sour, nor sweet, but pleasant. It denotes a clean nature, without any taste direction. The reference to God would mean that its nature, like God's, does not contain any impurity which may cause harm to anybody.

63 "Peace" in contrast to sickness.

Tokokoe Kple Nyive

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. “Ma” gɔmedede

Mae nye gbe aɖe fomevi si míedona ɖe Mawukpɔ me. Fafa, si le eme la wu gbe sia gbe le xexeame, vevietɔ le Evedome, mae nye gbe, si mevena o, eme fa, mewua ame o, eya ta míetsɔnɛ ɖoa mawu ɲuti. Gbe la me fa, gake mefa abe Mawu, si ɖoe ɖa ena o, ke boɲ Mawu fa wui sasāsa. Eya koe nye Mawu fe gbe ɲɔɔgbetɔ. Miesusu bena ne ku va, be yeawu ame, eye míetsɔe de tsi me ame la ku fu ɲkume, alo lee ɖe ɲuti katã ko la, ekema ana fafa ame la, eye Mawu akpe ɖe ɲuti, magaku o. Ne ame aɖe lé dɔ vɔ la, ekema míetsɔa ma kple fla dea tsi me na ame la wòlena, eye míegblɔna bena, exɔ fafa egbe.

Ame si nɔa anyi kpɔ la, eyae míetsɔna ɖoa ma ɲuti bena, efe dɔme fa. Ne wodi ge le ame sia ɲuti, dɔme vene, gake enɔa anyi kpoo, mehea nya abe ame bubuwo ene o la, ekema míegblɔna be, efe dɔme fa abe ma ene.

2. Mawu Sodza

Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ ele dzingbe evelia me, gake egale amewo gbɔ hã. Eyae nye ame si wɔ dzingɔ, si fo xlā mí, si kpɔ míele. Mawu la ko míetsɔna dana ɖe ati tame le xɔxɔnu. Gbe sia gbe, si enye efe asigbe la, ele na mí kokoko bena, míaklɔ ɲkume le agba me, eye míatsɔ ye aɖo kenken; gbe ma gbe la míenɔa afe.

Mawu Sodza, le dɔ wɔm le mía dome, eya kpɛna ɖe mía ɲu le míafe dɔwɔwɔwɔ katã me; le adegbedede, ahakpakpa kple nu sia nu wɔwɔ me. Mawu Sodza hagbenɔ, aklama manɔ agbe vi aɖe, mele asiwo me loo! Na makpɔ nu vi aɖe aɖu ne maka na wò. Aklama naɖi nam ne manɔ agbe le mawu gbɔ. *

Mawu tsitsitɔ enɔ anyigba, eya ko míetɔ kpɔ na, míedoa fla ɖe egbɔ, eye efe nuɖuɖu, si míetsɔna ne enye koklozi kple nyagasi, si míebakana ɖe egbɔ. Eya koe nye efe nuɖuɖu.

The greatest God lives on earth, it is only for him that we make an enclosed fence in which we plant the *fla* herb. For his food, we give him an egg and mashed-yam mixed with oil, called *nyagasi*. That is his only food.

All those who were born on Friday, Saturday or Thursday, must remain at home on Fridays, because Friday is the birthday of our God. On this day, we put on beautiful clothes, eat chicken or the meat of any good animal and wash it down with palm wine. We enjoy ourselves very much on this day, and, sometimes, we drum and dance. It is not permitted to sleep with our wives on this day. People, who have been born on Wednesday, are permitted to go to the farm and to do all manner of work on this day; these Wednesday-born people are called *Aku*. We fear this name very much, because we consider Wednesday to be the day of death. We, therefore, give such people allusive names, or names belonging to other days.

3. The God Sogblẽ

The God, *Sogblẽ*, lives in *dzingoli* (the first heaven). When it is raining, he dispatches strong thunder which comes to destroy the properties of human beings. *Sogblẽ* is the first-born (son) of *Sodza*, as well as his housekeeper.

Before the blacksmiths forge their iron, they cut it into pieces with a wedge or chisel (*so*). God, himself, has derived his name, *Sogblẽ*, from this wedge. (*So*), because he destroys and later restores. The smiths also worship the *Ligble*, the anvil. When it suddenly thunders while they are in the workshop hammering the iron so that its sound can be heard from afar, they say: “May the god, *Ligble*, help and grant that people come from far away to buy my products! May God, *Ligble*, take my prayers to the presence of *Sogblẽ*, and may *Sogblẽ* receive it on behalf of *Sodza*.”

4. Sowlui

The meaning of Sowlui is “cowry-shell”. The old used to say: “When in one year your farm products thrive well and better than the crops on the farm of your colleagues, and you are able to sell them at a high price, you should know that it is Sowlui who has given you all that”

B. The Personal Protective Gods

1. The Mother in the spiritual world

Every single person has been born by the Mother in the spirit world who sent him into the visible world to be born there. She resides in the spirit world. The moment the Mother in the spirit world appears to you, that will be the moment you will die. The Mother in the spirit world kills children in their mothers' bosom, and carries them in her own. If she gave a child some work to do in the spirit world, which the child refused to do and therefore ran away into the visible world, she comes down to kill it. She frightens the child in its sleep and it begins to shiver. The fever heat overcomes it and it soon dies.

Ame siwo katã dzɔ le fiɖa, memleɖa kple Dzodɔ la, nɔa afe le fiɖa, elabena enye míafe Mawu fe dzɔgbe. Míeta avɔ nyuie, tsoa koklo alo dia lã nyuie ɖa nui ɖuna, eye míenoa aha ɖe edzi. Ne míetɔ, wofoa vu na mí, eye míewɔa plasi kakaka. Ìkeke ma dzi la, míá kple nyɔnuwo míedɔna kurakura o. Ne wodzi ame aɖe le Kuɖa la, edea agble alo wɔa dɔ sia dɔ dzro faa. Wotsɔa ñkɔ ne bena Aku. Míevɔa ñkɔ sia ñutɔ, elabena míebua Kuɖa be enye ku fe ñkeke. Le esiata míetsɔa ñkeke bubu fe ñkɔ na ame la, alo míena ahamanɔke.

3. Mawu Sogblẽ

Sogblẽ le dzingɔli me. Ne tsi le dzadzam la, edea gbe sesie, eye wògblẽa nu na ame. Sogblẽa nye Mawu Sodza fe ñgɔgbevi alo xɔnuvi.

Nutulawo tsɔa so lã gawoe le yɔɔ me hafi tua nui. So, sia nu Mawu la xɔ ñkɔ ɖo bena Sogblẽ, elabena egblẽa nu, eye wògaɖɔne ɖo. Nutulawo subɔa Ligble alo z[kpe hã. Ne wole nu tum wòle ɖiɖim keɗ kpeɗ, kasia tsidzadza vlu la, wogblɔna bena: Mawu Ligble neɖi nam ne amewo natso didife ava fle nye nuawo. Mawu Ligble nexɔe na Sogblẽ, eye Sogblẽ naxɔe na Sodza.

4. Sowlui

Sowlui gɔmee nye ho. Ame tsitsiwo gblɔna be, fe si me ke nènɔ nu, eye nukuwo wɔ na wò (va bo dzi na wò) wu hawòtiwo katã tɔ, eye nèdzra nuawo kpɔ hotsui geɖe la, eya natsɔ anyae be, Sowlui tsɔ nuawo katã ve na wò.

B. Ìjunuwo

1. Ìjɔlimenɔ

Ìjɔlimenɔ eyae dzi ame siaa ame, alo ɖoa ame siaa ame ɖa hafi wodzina ɖe kodzogbe. Efe nɔfee nye Bome alo Ìime. Ne edo ɖe gbɔwò ko la, awu wò enumake. Ìjɔlimenɔ fo vi fo vi akɔ, dzi vi, lé vi ɖe akɔ. Ne edo dɔ ɖevi aɖe wògbe le Bome, eye ɖevi la si le egbeɔ va kodzogbe la, ekema eva wunɛ. Edoa ñɔdzi na ɖeviawo le alɔ me, wonɔa dzodzom hahãha, ɖevi la fe lãme dzea dzo, eye wòkuna kaba.

2. The (personified) Promise

When someone leaves the other world and is on his way to the visible world, his *gbetsi* intercepts him along the way and asks him when he intends to return.

A foolish man would reply: "I will come back, when I'm this or that number of years old." If the time, which he himself has chosen comes and he has not gone back, he would be attacked by a serious illness. His relatives would do everything to cure him. A few of such people do recover, but many others have to die and be mourned. Their *Dzɔgbɛ* has taken them away.

3. The wife and the Husband of the Spiritual World

If you have waited from the day you were born until, one day, you marry a little girl, we consider this girl your wife from the other world. If you later marry other women in addition to her, none of them will be considered as your wife from the spirit world. She is short and her sole task is to watch over human beings. She is always clothed in blue cloth. If we want to worship her, we take 2 *hoka* cowry shells and a pot of palm wine, which we drink together with friends and other members of our family. We put the two cowry shells on her laps and string two more which we hang around her neck.⁶⁴ She only drinks corn-flour water. It is not allowed to come to her with a wooden plate. Anybody who does so breaks her rules. If she gets angry with you, you have to propitiate her by sacrificing maize, cocoyam, plantains, beans, spinach, water melon and, above all, things which grow on your farm; all these, sacrificed along the road, would make her take her hands off you.

Dzɔgbemetsui is the husband in the spirit world. As we sit to eat, we take a morsel of our food and lay it down before him as sacrifice. So do the women also. Failing to do this, he would suck the blood out of your body. When he is annoyed with you, you will have to mollify him: you take a fowl, 12 cowry shells, a blue cloth, 4 *hoka* cowry shells, a large pot of palm wine, which you drink together with your relatives, after which you take the propitiatory offerings together with some corn flour mixed with water which you lay before him along the road.

4. The Stone Guardian

The stone guardian is the friend of the wife of the spirit world. They both sit at the same place and watch over the people. His assignment is to count the number of stones or the number of years human beings are supposed to live. For every person, God has counted out a certain number of stones, representing the number of years each person should live on earth and when he should return (to him) on the day these stones are dispersed. The stone-guardian sits by them, piling them together so that they do not scatter.

We invoke him before going to work on the farm. To worship him, we only have to pour libation with corn-flour water before going to the farm or on a trading expedition. When someone returns from the farm or from his trading trip and is suddenly taken ill,

64 The altar erected for the wife of the spirit world under the eaves, is hollow inside. Putting cowry shells into this hollow is synonymous with laying them in the woman's laps. Strings of cowries and blue cloth are thrown around this altar, signifying "hanging strings of cowry shells around her neck and clothing her."

2. Gbetsi

Ne ame aɖe tso le Bome gbɔna va kodzogbe la, ekema efe gbetsi va tsoa mɔ ne bianɛ bena: Gbe ka gbe nagbugbo ava mahã? Ame si menya nu o la, ɖoa eɲu bena, ne meɖo ale kple ale me ko la, magatrɔ agbo. Ne yeyi ma ɖo edzi, eye ame la megatrɔ va o la, ekema ɖɔléle va xaa wo wodzea agbagba le ame la ɲu kakaka. Dewo fe lãme sɛna, ke dewo la avi koe ɖina ɖe wo ɲu. Wofe dzogbe va tso wo yi.

3. Dzɔgbemesi kple dzɔgbemetsui

Gbe si gbe wodzi wò, nèva dzɔ ɖe kodzogbe, eye nèli vuu va di asivi la, eyae míeyɔna be dzɔgbemesi; ne egadi bubuwo kpe ɖe eɲuti hã woawo menye wò dzɔgbemesi o. Efe nɔnɔme le kpuie, eye efe ɖɔwɔwɔ koe nye be, wɔɖɔɔ ame ɲu. Wotaa blusi nɛ. Ne míele esubɔ ge la, hotsui hoka 2 kple aha ze ɖeka míedina, eye míeyɔna mía haviwo alo mía kɔmetɔwo katã woano. Míetsɔa hotsui hoka 2 la kɔna ɖe efe ako me, eye hoka 2 bubu la míatɔe ɖe ka ɲuti ade kɔ me nɛ. Wɔtsi míedona nɛ. Gbɔnu medea egbo o, ne ame aɖe tso gbɔnu ɖo egbo la, ekema egblẽ kɔ ɖo nɛ. Ne ebi dzi ɖe gbɔwò la, ekema àtsɔ bomenu ziwo, kpeli, agbeli, te, abladzo, ayi, ah[me, kpokpo, aɖiba kple nu sia nu, si ele wò agble me la ava mɔ dzi nɛ, ekema aɖe asi le ɲutiwò.

Dzɔgbemetsui nye ɲutsu. Ne míeva nu ɖu ge la, míekane dana ɖe egbo, eye nyɔnuwo hã wɔnɛ nenemake. Ne mewɔ nenema o la, ekema ete kple tsinono le wò lãme. Ne ebi dzi ɖe ɲuwò la, natsɔ koklo ɖeka, hotsui wuieve kple ɖo yi, hoka 4 kple aha tɔmedeze ɖeka. Mía kple mía tɔwo miano aha la; emegbe nado wɔtsi ako ɖe anyi nɛ, ekema evɔ kenken.

4. Kpegbɔnɔla

Eyee nye dzɔgbemesi xɔlẽ. Wo kpakpli bɔbɔ nɔ aɖi ɖeka dzɔa ame ɲu. Efe ɖɔwɔwɔe nye kpe alo amewo fe fe xexlẽ. Kpexexlẽ, si Mawu ɖo na ame bena wɔagagbugbo ava la, eyae bɔbɔ nɔ egbo nɔa etum ɖo, bena magakaka o.

Ne míeyi bofo, hafi míate kple nuɲɲɔ me la, míeyɔnɛ hafi dzea nuɲɲɔ la gɔme alo tea agblenu anyi. Efe subɔsubɔ koe nye míakɔ wɔtsi ɖe anyigba nɛ, hafi míayi bofo alo asigbe me. Ne eyi bofo alo nugbe, nagbo kasia ɖɔléle dzɔ ɖe dziwò la, ekema naɖo ɲku edzi bena, wò kpegbɔnɔla le dzodzom eye ne edzo la, ekema avi ɖi ɖe ta wò, aku.

he should begin to consider that his stone guardian is about to leave. And when he goes away, the person must die, and there will be weeping and wailing at his home.

5. The Guardian Angel of Men

Aklama is the God of hunters, who lives with man. If he wills, the hunter would shoot a lot of game, and everything he does would flourish. But nothing would go on well for us if our guardian angel does not will it. He leads us in everything we do, in our trade and traffic. The protective angel ensures that we remain healthy.

We normally deposit a bowl full of water on the road and cover it with another bowl. We place two little pots beside the bowls, one of which we fill with water and, the other, we fill with palm wine. We wash our faces from this bowl as often as we go into the bush to hunt. As soon as this happens, the guardian angel leads a wild animal within the shooting range of the hunter.

C. The Human Being

1. The Soul

Man has a soul that surrounds him. The shadow of man is called *luvo*; but the shadow of trees is called *voɔli*. In the body of man, there is a soul belonging to life and a soul belonging to death. When man is on the verge of death, the soul leaves his body, and he dies as soon as the soul departs from him. This shows that the soul is just the breath which we breathe in and out. The soul is the entity, which brings death to human beings. It happens like this: The soul of the living (man) goes to the *gbetsi*, and informs him that his time of life has run out; he should come and take him away (the man). The soul of life then surrenders the human to the *gbetsi*. When the man dies, the soul of death does not follow him but flees from him. The soul of life, however, goes to the *trɔ̃*-shrine, after the death of the man, talks about himself and tells the surviving relatives what they should do for him. When he has thus finished clearing himself, he departs and goes back home to his God.

2. Spirit (Breath)

Pneuma, Breath, Spirit is the life in the human being. Man dies as soon as the breath leaves him. Therefore, breath and the spirit together are the life in man. Thus we mourn, when the life-giving breath of man is blown out.

D. Heaven and the World

1. Heaven

We believe that there is yet another heaven. We notice, from the rain above, that there is yet another heaven. We hear it, when it is raining above. The sky, *dzingɔli*, which we see everywhere, surrounds us. We are convinced that it is very dense. If it were not so, it would have collapsed over us long ago.

5. Aklama

Aklama eyae nye adee le ame ηuti, ne eya l̄ la, ekema awu l̄, eye nu sia nu adze dzi na wò. Gake ne wò aklama gbe la, naneke madze edzi na wò o. Eya n̄ ngɔgbe na ame le efe nuwɔwɔwo alo az̄lɔz̄wɔwo katā me. Aklama na ame fe lāme sēna.

Míedoa agba d̄e m̄o dzi tsɔa agba d̄oa etame, kua tsi d̄e eme f[u. Míetsɔa zevi eve d̄oa egbo, eye míekua tsi d̄e d̄eka me, kua aha d̄e d̄eka me. Gbe sia gbe ne míele gbe me yim la, míekua tsi la fua ηkume, enumake wò aklama akpl̄o l̄a v̄e na wò nawu.

C. Ame

1. Luwɔ

Luwɔ n̄a ame ηuti. Ame fe v̄ɔv̄oli míeyɔna be luwɔ. atiwo fe luwɔ ko míeyɔna be v̄ɔv̄oli. Luwɔ kuto kple agbetɔ le ame la fe lāme. Ne eva kuku ge la edzona le ame la fe lāme eye ne edzo le gbɔwò ko la, étrɔ zu ame kuku. Esia fia bena, luwɔe nye gbɔgbɔ, si míegbɔna. Luwɔe nye nu si tsɔa ku vana na ame. Eyae nye bena agbeluwɔ trɔ yi d̄e gbetsi gbɔ d̄agbl̄ona n̄e bena, yefe yeyiyi de neva kpe ye. Agbeluwɔe kpl̄a ame yi d̄ana gbetsi. Ne ame le kuku ge la, luwɔ kuto medzea ame yome gbedegbede o. Ke boη esina le ame gbɔ. Ke luwɔ agbetɔ va x̄o me la ame la fe ku megbe va gbl̄a nya sia nya le edokui ηuti, eye wòfiaa nu si woawo n̄e. Ne egbl̄o nya le edokui ηuti v̄o la, edzona yia Mawu gbɔ, eyi d̄e ede.

2. Gbɔgbɔ

Gbɔgbɔe nye agbe, si ke le ame me. Ne gbɔgbɔ la dzo le ame me ko la, etrɔna zua nu kuku. Gbɔgbɔ kple luwɔ enye agbe le ame me. Ne gbɔgbɔ tsi le ame me ko la, ekema avi d̄i.

D Dzifo kple xexeme

1. Dzifo

Míesusu bena, dzifo ađe gali kokoko. Le dzadziwu fe dzadza ηuti míenya bena, dzingɔli d̄e gali. Ne dzadziwu le dzadzam la, míesea ηk̄o. Dzingɔli fo xl̄a mí, míele ekp̄om le afi sia afi. Nu si ko míenya le ηuti enye bena, etri ηuto. D̄e menyē nenem o la, ne eka dze mía dzi xoxo.

2. The World

Do you know what will happen in the night or during the day when night falls and day breaks? Whether we are on land or in a river, everywhere we are in the world; that is why we say the world is God. Everything in the world is the creation of God; the fishes of the waters, all human beings, the good and the bad, God has sent them all. The world is stronger than everything else; hence the simile: The world is God. One only knows that which can be known today, but not that which will only happen later. The wisdom of a single person cannot encompass the whole world. Only God knows what will happen the next day. We, Humans, will never totally comprehend God, and that is why we say, the world is God. It is not possible to know conditions prevailing in this town; but it is not possible for him, at the same time, to know what is prevailing in another town either.

2. Xexeme

Zā dona, ɲu kena, ɛnya nu si ava dzɔ le zā kple ɲukeke moa? Míɛɖale zā me alo tɔ me o, xexeme ko míele. Eya ta míegblɔna bena, xexeme hã Mawue. Nu siwo katã le xexeme la, Mawu fe nuwɔwɔwoe. Tomelãwo, amewo kura, vɔ o, nyuie o, Mawue ɖo wo ɖa. Xexeme sesẽ wu nu sia nu, eya ta míegblɔna le lododo me bena: Xexemee nye Mawu. Nunya, si ava dzɔ la, mele eya nya ge o, egbetɔ ko nanya. Xɔlɔvi ɖeka fe nunya matu adido gbede o. Mawu ɖeka koe nya etsɔ nu. Míenya Mawu ɲutɔ vɔ o, eya ta míegblɔna bena, xexemee nye Mawu. Ame aɖeke mate ɲu anya xexemenyawo avɔ o. Ne eyi du aɖe me la, anya du la me nya, gake mate ɲu anɔ afi ɖeka anya du bubu me nya o.

The Tanyigbe Tribe

Tanyigbe

A. The Heavenly Gods

1. The Definition of *ma*

Ma is a fresh herb of our God, and that is why we use it. We plant it in God's fenced enclosure and prize it above all other herbs. Among the salubrious herbs that we ritually assemble into the calabash of water, *ma* is the best because it does not contain anything hot or bitter.

A peace-loving man, who does not open his mouth when he is insulted, who would control his anger and react mildly even when he is provoked; this is the person who we liken to *ma*. *Mawu*, God, has a greater name than *ma*; because he is the one who created *ma*. All the herbs we use, the mild ones and the hot ones, all have been created by God. Anytime we worship God, we must, by all means, include the herb in our rites since *ma* is God's own drug. The other herbs which may be used together with *ma* during worship are: *fla*, *dzeveti*, *ahamee*, *ɬsroe*, *zutama*, *yiɖa*, *kunyagbee*, *sedidɔ* and *blede*. We sweep the town with these herbs; but *ma* ranks above them all.

2. The God *Se*

Everything that the black race knows about God has been revealed to him by the God, *Se*. He is the one who told the black people: "Make a fence for me, and when praying in it, you must hold up your hands high! On Saturdays, you must pray, holding your hands high towards me!" One offers a ram for him, because that is his food. If the God, *Se*, is with you, he will give you so many cowry shells that you can afford to buy slaves for yourself. Periodically, God becomes close-fisted; it does not rain and it becomes so dry that there is no more food on our farms. In some other years, he is long suffering and gives the black man rain to enable him get food in abundance.

3. The God *Sodza*

The God, *Sodza*, *Aɖumangama*, has been sent by *Se* to go and look after the black man. He is king over all human beings, like the eagle is among the birds. One day, when all birds were looking for a king, they went ahead and installed the eagle as king over themselves. Every morning, the eagle would shout: *Hini kua, hini kua*! By this he means

Tanyigbe

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. “Ma” gɔmedede

Ma enye mía Mawu fe amatsi fafa, eya ta míewɔa ɛɲu dɔ. Míedone ɔe Mawukpɔ me, eye míebune wua bubuwo katā. Ne míedi gbetsi ɔe tre me la, mae nye fafatɔ míedea eme, elabena veve aɔeke mele eme o.

Ne ame aɔe nye ame fafa, wodia ge le ɛɲu mekea nu o, dzi le ekum, gake enɔa anyi kpoo la, míetsɔne ɔoa ma ɲuti. Mawu exɔ ɲkɔ wu ma, eyae wɔe. Gbe sia gbe, si ɲu dɔ míewɔna la, Mawue wɔ wo katā, esiwo ke fa kple esiwo vena. Ne míele Mawu nu wɔ ge la, ele na mí be, míadi ma yome kokoko, elabena eyae nye Mawu fe amatsi. Gbe bubu siwo ɲu dɔ míewɔna kpe ɔe ma ɲu wonye: Fla, dzoveti, ahamee, tɔsrɔe, zutama, yiɔa, kunyagbee, sedido kple blede, si wotsɔna kplɔa gbɔ mee, gake ma, fo wo katā ta.

2. Mawu Se

Ame yibɔwo katā fe nunyanya le Mawu ɲuti tso Mawu Se gbɔ. Se efia ame yibɔwo bena: Tɔ kpɔ, eye ne èle gbe dom ɔa la, nakɔ asi ɔe dzi. Ne Mamleda ɔa la, nado gbe ɔa akɔ asi ɔe dzi nam. Agbo kokoko nāfle ne, eyae nye efe nuɖuɖu. Ne ele gbɔwò la, ana be, nakpɔ hotsui afle ame gɔ hā. Le fe aɔewo me la, Mawue nye dɔmeveveetɔ, ena ku ɔina, nuɖuɖu meganɔa bo dzi o. Ke le fe aɔewo me la, efaa tu blewu, tsi dzana na ame yibɔwo, eye nuɖuɖu vana geɔe.

3. Mawu Sodza

Se eɔo Sodza alo Aɖumangama ɔa bena, wɔayi aɔakpɔ ame yibɔ dzi. Eyae nye hini alo fia le amewo nu, abe ale si hɔe nye fia le xewo nu ene. Gbe ɔeka xeviwo katā wole fia dim, be woaɔo, eye wotsɔ kroboɲ alo hɔ ɔo fia. ɲdi sia ɲdi la, enɔa xɔxlɔm bena, hini kua, hini kua. Egɔmee nye ye ɔeka koe nye fia alo lolotɔ wu wo katā. Nenemake woyɔa Sodza hā be, ɔi nam ne manɔ agbe.

he alone is the king, who rules over them all. In the same way, we also call out to *Mawu Sodza* and say: "Help me to stay alive!"

The God, *Se*, said to the God, *Sodza*, that he should cultivate a garden for all black people to get enough food. What *Sodza* likes is white fabric and sheep. However, if you do not have a sheep, you offer him a (white) fowl. Saturday is the day on which you stay at home. You dab the forehead on this day with white clay, dress white and worship well. If you are married, you should not sleep with your wife on one mat on this day; during that night, *Sodza* himself takes care of you. If you worship him well, he makes your farm crops thrive, gives you children and cowry shells. However, if you do not worship him well, he rejects you totally and makes you a fool.

4. The God *Sogle*

Sogle is the servant of the God *Sodza* and works for the God *Se*. *Sogle* is the first messenger of *Sodza*. When someone disobeys the words of *Sodza*, he sends the God *Sogle* to destroy him.

5. *Sowlui*

Sowlui is a thief, who presents such cowry shells that he has stolen earlier elsewhere to give to a person as a gift. But he will kill him soon.

B. The Personal Guardian Gods

1. The (Personified) Promise

If you are about to become a human being, you leave behind a word for your contemporaries as you leave them. When the day on which you have an appointment with them approaches, you go back to them.

2. Wife and Husband of the spiritual world

The woman of the spirit world is short by stature. She is that woman, who was given to you at the place of origin, before you left and came to this world. If you marry another woman in this world, the woman, whom you have left in the spirit world, becomes jealous and begins to torment you. That is why you must construct a house for her behind your own house. Then you place twelve cowry shells in it and give her a blue dress. After having done that, that woman gives you up and you become healthy again.

The woman from the spirit world descends from the spirit mother. Her job is to molest you so that no woman stays in your home. If you have a wife, who is molested by the woman of the spirit world, you must present a *trɔ̃*-priest with two pieces of blue material, a hen and a cock to make a propitiatory sacrifice to mollify your woman in the spirit world. If you do so, your wife in the spirit world leaves you in peace and you become well again. Such a sacrifice is not made for all women but only for those who are being pestered by the woman of the spirit world.

Before the yam festival we give her new yam mixed with palm oil as sacrifice. No palm wine is brought to her. However, if you do, it contravenes her regulation and she makes you become sick on that day. When you are taken ill, you, yourself, do not know

Se gblɔ na Sodza bena, wɔayi aɖado abɔ, ne ame yiwo katã naɖu. Nu si nyoa Sodza ɖue nye aklala kple alẽ, ne mekpɔ alẽ o la, ekema àtsɔ koklovi ayi nɛ. Memledae nye efe afenɔgbe atso ye aɖo ngonu, ata aklala asubɔe nyuie. Ne nyɔnu le asiwò la, mia kpɔ miamlɔ aba ɖeka dzi gbe ma gbe o. Sodza ɖutɔ akpɔ dziwò le zã mǎ me. Ne esubɔe nyuie la, ana wò agble nawɔ nu, ana vi wò kple hotsui hã. Ke ne mesubɔe nyuie o la, ekema ade aɖava ɖikuwò me nablu kenɔ.

4. Mawu Sogblẽ

Sogblẽ eya subɔa Sodza, eye Sodza subɔa Se. Sodza fe dɔla vevie enye Sogblẽ. Ne amewo dometɔ aɖe da le Sodza fe nyawo dzi la, edɔa Sogblẽ ɖa wòɖagblẽnɛ.

5. Sowlui

Sowluie nye fiafitɔ, etsɔa hotsui tsoa afi bubu va na ame, gake la mesea ame wuna o.

B. ɖunuwo

1. Gbetsi.

Ne ele dzɔdzɔ ge la, atsi gbe na hawoviwo kenɔ hafi adzo le wo gbɔ ave afi si. Ne ɖekeke la ɖo edzi la, ekema àgagbugbɔ ayi.

2. Dzɔgbemesi kple Dzɔgbemetsui

Dzɔgbemesi fe ɔnɔnɔme le kpuie, eyae nye nyɔnu, si wona wò le Amedzɔfe hafi nète dzi le egbɔ va afi si. Ne egaɖe nyɔnu tutɔ le afi sia la, ekema nyɔnu, si negblẽ ɖi le Amedzɔfe la, anɔ ɖu vam, eye wòade asi fudede me na wò. Esiata ele na wò be, nawɔ xɔ sue aɖe nɛ le wò ɖutɔ wò xɔ ɖome. Àtsɔ hotsui wuieve ade eme, eye natsɔ anɔ yibɔe nɛ. Ne èwɔ nu siawo la, ekema nyɔnu kemea aɖe asi le ɖu wò, wò lãme nasẽ.

Dzɔgbemesi edɔ tso ɖɔlimenɔ gbɔ. Efe dɔ koe nye, abi dzi ɖe gbɔwo, be nyɔnu manɔ afewò me gbedegbede o. Ne nyɔnu le asiwò, eye wòle fu ɖem nɛ la, ekema atso blusi eve kple koklovi eve, nɔ ɖeka kple atsu ɖeka ayi aɖana trɔsiwo, bena woawɔ efe nu na wò. Ne wowɔe la, ekema ame la fe lãme ase kenɔkenɔ. Gake menye nyɔnu sia nyɔnu míewɔa nu na o, negbe esiwo dzɔgbemesi le fu ɖem na ko.

Le tedɔyi la, míefea te dana ɖe egbɔ kple ami dzẽ bakabaka. Aha medea egbɔ o, ne ede la, ekema egblẽ kɔ ɖo, ana be, nalé dɔ gbe ma gbe kokoko. Ne dɔ la dzɔ ɖe dziwò la, mele enya ge o, negbe trɔsiwo koe agblɔe na wò bena, ègblẽ kɔ ɖo na wò dzɔgbemesi. Eya ta yi nadze aha, eye nayo hawòtiwo katã ava gbɔnye, ne mawɔ nu na wò. Ame la dzea aha go

the cause. Only the *trɔ̃* priest tells you that you have contravened the wishes of your wife in the spirit world. He orders you to buy palm wine and come to him with all your contemporaries to offer sacrifice on your behalf.

You must buy two gourds full of palm wine, keep one of them at home and present the other one with 12 *hoka* cowry shells to the priest to offer the sacrifice along the way. All contemporaries are invited to it. Someone who was born on the same day as the woman, whom you first married, takes twelve cowry shells and ties them around the neck and arms of the woman from the spirit world. After the twenty-four cowry shells, which are collected in haste, they are thrown on the ground. Then one says to the woman of the spirit world: “Do not be angry any longer because we have punished your husband today. Let him become healthy again!” Now, they leave to drink palm wine.

If a woman, who has behaved calmly, is inflicted with wounds, it is said that the husband of the spirit world has scratched her with finger nails.

3. Guardian Spirit (Guardian Angel)

When something terrible threatens you but does not happen, “*aklama* is said to be with you. God is with you. That is why you are successful in everything you do!” *Aklama* is the best guardian god of man. He also helps us to kill wild animals. The appellations that we give him are: *Aklama dzedze, segbede mawo* (The meaning is not understandable). It is the hunting god, for whom we run a fence. The bones of animals that one has killed through its help are put in the fence. The liver of animals that one killed through its help is cooked with maize pulp and thrown into the fence.

eve, tsɔna ɖeka dana ɖe afe me na eɖokui, tsɔa ɖeka kple hotsui hoka 12 yina na trɔ̃si la, eye wɔɔɔ ehatiwo katã woawɔ nu ne le mɔ dzi. Ame si nye ame la fe ɖoko la, tsɔa hotsui wuieve sana ɖe dzɔgbemesi la fe kɔme kple alɔnu. Emegbe wotsɔa hotsui blaeye vɔ ene na hatiawo wohana gidigidi. Emegbe wogblɔna na dzɔgbemesi la be: Megado dɔmedzui o, mɛfle srɔ̃wò la na wò egbe, nana efe lãme nasẽ loo! Azɔ wodzona va noa aha.

Ne ame aɖe li kpoo ko dze abi la, eya wogblɔna bena, dzɔgbemetui de fee.

3. Aklama

Ne nu aɖe be, yeawɔ wò, hafi megate ɲu wɔ wò o la, eya wogblɔna bena, aklama le ɲuwò. Mawu le ɲu wò, eye ta nu sia nu dze edzi na wò. Aklamae nye dzɔgbe nyuietɔ, si le ame ɲu, eya nana mɛwua lã hã. Mɛfoa ɲkɔ ɖo ne bena: Aklama, dzedze, segbede mafo. Eyae nye adee, eye mɛtɔa kpɔ ne. Lã siwo katã wòna wowu la, wotsɔa efe fuwo dea kpɔ la me. Lã, siwo wole wuwum la fe tu, wotsɔna ɖa akplẽ hevuvuna ɖe kpɔ la me, ɖe egbo.

The Nyitui Tribe

Nyitui

A. Heavenly Gods

1. The Great God

God, *Adumangama*, has made both great gods that we have. Their names are *Dakpui* and *Dri*. *Dri* is the husband and *Dakpui* the wife. *Dri* is a farmer, and when he goes to the farm, his wife *Dakpui* also goes with him. Their offerings are chicken and flour mixed with oil.

If a woman cannot bear children, she is brought in front of the abode of this devine couple. Flour and fowls are brought as offerings. Following this, the woman may bear a child and, when such a child is born, it is celebrated with a special meal of maize pulp and meat which is shared among all those who come around. From this day onwards, she is not allowed to lie down on a mat together with a man or with a woman, and no spiritualist is allowed to prepare anything for her. She is not allowed to eat the *kelege* beans and the meat of a land crocodile. On her birthday, she should neither work nor not speak with anyone apart from her husband.

God ordered blacks to do some work for Him. But they refused. Therefore, he gave the work to the moon to do for Him which he executed promptly. On account of this service, the moon is always allowed to reincarnate after death again. On the other hand, a black person is not allowed to return to life.

We were told by our elders that God has fourteen children. Their names are:

Men	Women
<i>Tete</i>	<i>Dede</i>
<i>Tetè</i>	<i>Kɔkɔ</i>
<i>Te</i>	<i>Mable</i>
<i>Na</i>	<i>Maɖui</i>
<i>Nante</i>	<i>Ladze</i>
<i>Gbli</i>	<i>Aɖu</i>
<i>Wɔyɔ</i>	<i>Denyɔ̃</i>

God gave them farming, weaving and trading. Birthdays are: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

Nyitui

A. Dzifo Mawuwo

1. Mawu gã

Mawu Ađumangama eya wɔ Mawu gã eve, siwo le mía gbɔ. Wofe ɣkɔwo nye Dakpui kple Dri. Drie nye ɣutsu, eye srɔ fe ɣkɔe nye Dakpui. Drie nye agbledela, ne etso la, srɔa Dakpui nɔa eyome. Kokloe nye wofe nuɖuɖu kple wɔ baka.

Ne nyɔnu aɖe fɔ fu, eye mete ɣu le vi dzim o la, ekema wokplɔne va wofe agbalinu, eye wotsɔa wɔ kple koklo va saa vɔ na wo; ekema nyɔnu la dzi vi la fafe. Ne edzi via la, ekema wotsɔ wɔ kple lã ɖaa nui ame siaa ame ɖuna. Tso nu wɔgbɛ la, woa kple ɣutsu alo nyɔnu aɖeke magaka axa aba dzi o; alo dzotɔ bubu aɖe nagawɔ nu ne o. Magaka asi kɔmenu (ve), lo kple kelege ɣu o. Ne ame la fe asigbe ɖo la, magawɔ ɖo aɖeke o, eye mafo nu aɖeke kple ame bubuwo o, negbe eya kple srɔ ko.

Mawu ɖo ame yibɔwo be, woawɔ ɖo na ye, ke wogbe, eya ta wɔtsɔ ɖo la ɖo ɣleti, eye ɣleti wɔ ɖo la pɛpɛɛ. Le ɖɔtsɔtsɔ ɣuti ne ɣleti ku la, egagbɔna, ke ne ame yibo ku la, megagbɔna o.

Ame tsitsiwo ɖoa dze na mí bena: Vi wuieve le Mawu si, wofe ɣkɔwo nye:

<i>ɣutsuwo</i>	<i>Nyɔnuwo</i>
<i>Tètè</i>	<i>Dede</i>
<i>Tete</i>	<i>Kɔkɔ</i>
<i>Te</i>	<i>Mable</i>
<i>Na</i>	<i>Maɖui</i>
<i>Nante</i>	<i>Ladze</i>
<i>Gbli</i>	<i>Aɖu</i>
<i>Wɔyɔ</i>	<i>Denyɔ</i>

Mawu de agbleɣɣɔ wo si, alo woalɔ avɔ atsa asii. Dzedze alo dzɔgbɛɣkekewo nye: Dzoda, Braɖa, Kuɖa, Yawoɖa, Fiɖa, Memleɖa kple Kwasiɖa.

2. The God *Sodza*

“God *Sodza*, mother of palm wine; you, who makes noise.⁶⁵ One cannot stretch the leaf of the *Ule* plant⁶⁶ over a drum; evil for traders and blessing for farmers! You make it happen that someone swells and dies!⁶⁷ Your going makes people weep and your coming makes people weep.⁶⁸ He makes the edge of the farm become dark.⁶⁹ Honour is due you; let me enjoy my meal in peace!”

3. The God, *Sowlui*

There are two types of *Sowlui*. One *Sowlui* gives you a lot of cowry shells but kills you soon. On the other hand, the other one gives you only a few cowry shells, but you are respected among your contemporaries. He does not make you poor and he lets you have long life.

B. Heaven The Sky

1. Its Nature

The word “above” or “heaven” shows that there is an earth under which we live. Our elders told us that there are human beings there whom God *Adumangama* has made. Heaven is completely like our earth. There are plains, depths, mountains, valleys, water places and dry places there. When someone digs the earth, he finds sand, stones and soil and, finally, he finds water. It is completely the same with heaven. If it were not so, the heaven would have fallen on us long ago.

2. The Inhabitants of Heaven

Our elders have narrated to us that when the inhabitants of our earth cultivated their fields, the inhabitants of heaven came down at night to take their farm produce: maize and their beans and returned to heaven with them. At one time, some of our ancestors, who were big hunters, hid themselves on the farm. Around midnight, as the moon shone brightly, a long rope was suddenly lowered from heaven onto the farm. Then human beings – men, women and children – lowered themselves down on a rope to the farm. These persons only had brass bowls on their heads, in which they carried the farm crops. When the hunters saw them, many of them ran home. However, some of them ventured after they had put their gun powder belt and guns aside to descend upon them. However, when they noticed that these persons had tails, they ran away. Only one hunter remained behind and asked them why they were taking their maize and beans away. The persons with tails answered that he should, first of all, put his

65 During thunder.

66 A plant that is similar to cocoyam.

67 Swelling or dropsy is seen as a sickness caused through the sin of a human being. Death brought about by dropsy is a bad death.

68 People complain when there is drought, and when there is a lot of rain they complain again.

69 At the edge of the farm one first sees whether the plantation is thriving.

2. Mawu Sodza

Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ, wɔ gidigidi, vlemagba mefa vu o, asiawo fe nu vɔ, agbleawo fe nu nyuie, nane ku tete ku, yiye tse avi, gbɔgbɔ tse avi, yewo nu boxa nyɔ tɔwɔde nye ta, na num, woafa de dome nam.

3. Sowlui

Sowlui eve fomevie li: deka ana hotsui geɖe wɔ, gake la awu wɔ kaba, deka hã ana nakpɔ ho vi aɖe ko, ke azu dekakupui le mia tɔwo dome, maɖo ko o, eye anɔ agbe hã vɛ.

B. Dzifo

1. Dzifo fe wɔwɔme

Dzi alo dzingɔ, efia be, anyigba aɖe galee si te miawo miele. Míafe ame tsitsiwo gblɔna na mí bena, amewo le afi ma, eye Mawu Aɖumangama ewɔ wo. Dzingɔ ele abe ale si míafe anyigba le ene. Gbadzafewo, goglofewo, towo, balimewo, tsitefewo kple fufufewo le edzi. Ne ame aɖe le anyigba kum la, ke kple kpe kple anyi ko wɔakpɔ va se de esime wɔake de tsi ɲu. Alea ke dzingɔ hã le, de menye nenem o la, ne eka dzi mia dzi xoxoxo.

2. Dzifonɔlawo

Míafe ame tsitsi gblɔna na mí bena ne anyigbatɔwo ɲɔ nu la, ekema asikeleliawo va nɔa wofe bliwo kple ayiwo lɔm le za me nɔa dzifo yimee. Gbe deka mia tɔgbui, siwo nye adela gãwo la, yi ɖayla wo ɖokui de agblea me. Le zã titina, yleti le ɖiɖim tsantsan, kasia ka le legbe aɖe tso dzingɔli va tɔ agblea me. Amewo te kple ɖiɖi va agblea me, ɲutsuwo, nyɔnuwo kple ɖeviwo. Ayawa sɔɲ le wo ta, siwo me wole nuawo lɔm ɖo le dzi me yimee. Esi adelawo kpɔ wo alea la, dewo si va afe, ke dewo do dzi de wofe agbadzawo kple tuwo ɖi, yi ɖadze wo dzi. Ke esi wokpɔ be, asike le wo dome la, wosi, negbe adela gã deka koe susu. Ebia wo bena, nu ka wɔ mieva le míafe bliwo kple ayiwo lɔm mahã? Asiketitɔwo gblɔ ne bena, wɔaɖe efe agbadza kple tua ɖi. Ewɔ nenema, gake etsɔ klante kple agblenu de go me. Esi wɔna wo gbɔ la, woa kple wo wolía ka la, heyi dzingɔ. Adela gã la kpɔ bena, wole agbemle wɔm vevie. Asiketitɔwo biaɛ bena: Nu ka wɔ wɔna yewo gbɔ mahã? Adela la ɖo ɛɲu na wo bena: Míawo míedze agbagba kakaka ɲɔ nu, fo ave, eye míefã bli kple ayi. Gbe sia gbe wova le elɔm míenya du ka me tɔwo gɔgɔlɔgɔ enɔ esia wɔm o. Eya ta mia kple mia tɔwo míeyla mia ɖokui de agbleawo me, bena miakpɔ du, si ke le ale nu sia wɔm mí la ɖa. Dzifotɔwo gblɔ ne

gun powder belt and gun aside. He did so but hid a cutlass and hoe in the loin band. When he came to them, he climbed up the rope with them to heaven. The great hunter saw that they were about to play the drum, *agbemle*, enthusiastically. The persons with tails asked him: "Why have you come to us?" The hunter answered them: "We have toiled and moiled and cut down the forest, tilled our fields and planted maize and beans. Now, people come everyday, take away the crops and we do not know which town they come from. That is why my own tribesmen and I have hidden ourselves in order that we see who takes away our crops." The inhabitants of heaven answered him: "Because we perform the play, *agbemle*, we do not have any time to till the fields and that is why we collect the maize. But after seven days, you must go back home." On the seventh day, the great hunter said to them: "Now I want to go home; you, yourselves, have decided on the seventh day for me." Now, the inhabitants of heaven got together some gold, filled a brass bowl with it and handed it over to him. Then they took him painstakingly back to his place on earth. But the hunter became a rich man and bought slaves. All the riches in Ewe land come from him.

bena: Asi nu mele mia si miaɲɔ nu haɖe o, eya ta miele miafe bliawo ɔm ɖo, elabena miele agbemle wɔm. Gake la, mieɖo ɲekeke adre na wò bena, nagatrɔ ayi afe ɲekeke adre la va ɖo edzi, eye adela gã la gblɔ na wo bena: Mayi afe ɲekeke adre mia ɲutɔwo mieɖo nam. Dzingɔlimetɔwo dzɔ sika ayawa ɖeka hetsɔ nɛ. Emegbe wokplɔe ɖɔɖɔɖɔ gato etefea va anyigba. Adela la zu kesinɔtɔ, eye wòfle amewo; eyae he kesinɔnu va Evedome katã kenken.

The Wome Tribe

Wome

A. Sky Deities

1. The Great God

God is great. He has made everything in Eve land. His abode is the seventh heaven. The great God does not mind what the god *Sodza* and the god *Sogble* do because He Himself is gentle. God is very good. He is slow to anger and very mighty. He has sent us and does not want that any ill-luck befalls us. When God creates a human being, He gives him a small god that must take care of him/her.

God's knowledge surpasses everything. He reveals His understanding to all of us Eves in farming and other types of work. He gives us rain. River water alone cannot make our crops thrive. That is why water for our crops comes from God.

God wants us, Eves, to drive away evil on the way. If one hurts oneself with a cutlass during one's work, we believe God has done that, in order that we offer sacrifice to Him. God recompenses whoever does good with good, and, to evildoers, He recompenses evil with evil. A good person does not die soon, but an evildoer does.

2. The god *Sodza*

God *Sodza* is as white as a white material. When a child is born, it is white at the beginning. However, when it begins to grow, its skin gradually becomes yellow, black or red. God *Sodza* himself changes the colour of a child, in order that our stature should not be equal to his. For, he is the only great one.

God lives in a very big place. The house in which He lives has a big garden surrounded by a fence. There are bananas, yam and all types of crops in it. *Sodza* himself has made everything. He has made man and has made the trees in the bush and at home. My ancestors, who narrated this to me, used to say that god *Sodza* lives in this first heaven, and he is the one that lives with man.

On the day he is worshipped, his worshippers smear themselves with white clay. Before a new yam is eaten, a sheep is sacrificed to him. In any case, a sheep must be sacrificed to god, before you eat new yam. When sheep is offered to god, the supplicant says: "This is your sacrificial animal!" When the sheep is cooked, only the descendants of an ancestor eat the sacrificial meal. When the sheep dies, the meat is not consumed, but thrown away. A prayer is said to *Sodza*: "Mother of palm wine and leader in war!"

Wome

A. Dzifomawuwo

1. Mawu gã

Mawu gã lolo, eyae nye ame si wɔ nu sia nu le Evedome keɲ, eya ɲuto fe nɔfee nye dzifo adrelia. Mawu gã metsɔ ɔke le Mawu Sodza kple Sogblẽ fe nuwɔwome o, elabena eya ɲutɔe nye ɔmefafatɔ. Mawu fe ɔme efa ɲuto, ele blewu, eye edzi tri. Eya ɲutɔe nye ame si ɔo mí ɔa, eye melɔ be, vɔ aɔke nava mía dzi o. Ne Mawu me ame la, etsɔa Mawu vi aɔe gaɔoa ame kɔgbe, bena wɔdan ame ta kpɔm.

Mawu enya nu fo ɔe sia ɔe ta. Efe nu nya fe nɔwome, eɔe eɔokui fia mí Eveawo katã le míaɔe agbledede kple ɔo bubuwo me. Ena tsi dzana na mí ɔa, tɔmetsi mate ɲu awo nuku o, eya ta tsi tsoa Mawu gbɔ na míaɔe nukuwo.

Nu si dim Mawu le enye mí Eveawo míaɔi busu le mɔwo dzi. Ne míaɔe ɔo wɔm, kasia klante si ame aɔe la, míaɔuna be, Mawu atso nyuie aɔe etefe ne, nenema aɔo vɔ, vɔ tefe na nu vɔwɔlawo. ɔomenyotɔ melɔna kuna o, ke nu vɔwɔla lɔna kuna kaba. *

2. Mawu Sodza

Mawu Sodza efu sigbe aklala ene. Ne wodzi vi la, ɔevi la fe ɲuti funa kenken. Gake ne ede asi tsitsi me la, ekema efe agbalẽ trɔna hẽ, yibo alo dzie. Mawu Sodza ɲutɔe trɔe nenema, bena míaɔe nɔwome magasɔ kple yetɔ o; elabena ye koe nye gã.

Mawu fe nɔfe enye tefe gã aɔe. Xɔ, si me wɔle lae nye abɔ gã aɔe, si ɲu woto kpɔ ɔo. Akɔɔu le eme, te kple nu sia nu le eme. Sodza ɲuto wɔ nu sia nu, eme ame, eye wowɔ ati, siwo le gbe me kple afe me. Tɔgbuinyewo nɔa enum, nye hã mese be, Mawu ele dzifo gbãto sia me. Eya ko enɔa ame gbɔ.

Efe asigbe la wo dome ɔe sia ɔe ɔoa ye keɲ. Wona alẽ la ɔaa nu na Mawu la hafi ɔua te dogodogo. Ye aɔewo yi la, wotsɔa alẽ va naa Mawu la, gblɔna bena: Wo lãe nye esi. Ne wotsɔ lã sia ɔa nui la, tɔgbuiwo koe ɔune. Ne alẽ la ku la, womele eɔu ge o, negbe ɔeko woatsɔe afu gbe. Wodoa gbe ɔa na Mawu Sodza bena; Hagbenɔ, avagbenɔ, bosro po, vlemagba mefa vu o, efa vu vua do.

One cannot stretch the leaf of the *Ule* plant over a drum. However, if you attempt to stretch it, a hole will be created in it.”

3. The God *Sogle*

The character of the god *Sogle* is similar to that of black people. It has a bad character and has mercy on nobody. It does a lot of wicked things. That is why many people know the god *Sogle* better than the god *Sodza* and also invoke him more often. They say: “If only I remember to invoke him, nothing can happen to me.” The wicked thing that *Sogle* perpetrates is that he thunders over human beings in the bush.⁷⁰ However, if a human being has not done any thing evil, *Sodza* intercedes, and the lightning victim regains his health when the necessary help is given. But if *Sodza* sees that your heart is not clean towards your neighbour, he sends *Sogle* to you, and he comes to destroy you!

Sogle and *Sodza* are both the strong gods that surround the great God. On account of fear that the *Ewe* people have for their bad actions, they invoke *Sogle* and *Sodza* not to kill them. For, these deities hastily kill human beings.

4. *Sowlui*

The god *Sowlui* carries out his work at night. He is slim and tall. He dresses in white, when he visits a human being at night to give him the property of another person. *Sowlui* says someone with whom he dwells does not need to toil for his meal. He says to that person: “Tell no one that I have given you cowry shells!” *Sowlui* quickly kills a human being. If you tell anyone what he has done for you, you have to die in no less than two days. *Sowlui* himself gives medicine to a person whom he has given a present. It consists of an ash of burnt magic concoction that he spreads on the cowry shells, so that it does not get lost to its owner again. If the ash of the magic concoction is not on the cowry shells, *Sowlui* takes it away from you and gives it to another person.

B. Earth and Heaven

1. The Earth

We believe that God made the world with clay. If that were not so, no foodstuff could grow for us. There is water under the earth, but that gives crops no thriving. Rain comes from God Himself from above before the earth produces something.

2. Heaven/The sky

Dzingbe, heaven, is bigger than everything else; nothing surpasses it. *Dzingbe* means: “The above and the earth together.” We live under heaven. There are mountains, hills, forests and everything else in abundance in heaven just like on our earth that we see with our eyes. Heaven is very thick just like our earth. But when it rains, the rain penetrates and then comes to us, too. The occupation of the inhabitants of heaven is different from what the inhabitants of the earth do. Some inhabitants in heaven have

⁷⁰ It means lightning kills him/her.

3. Mawu Sogblẽ

Mawu Sogblẽ fe nɔɔme le abe ame yibo ene. Tame vɔ li nɛ. Mekpɔa nublanui o. Efe vɔwɔwɔ esɔ gbo, eya ta ame gedewo nya Mawu Sogblẽ wu Sodza, eye woyɔne gedɛ hã wu. Wogblɔna be, ne metsɔ eya dɔ nkume le eyɔm ko, naneke mawɔm o. Mawu Sogblẽ fe nu vɔ si wowɔna lae nye, edea gbe dɛ ame dzi le gbe me. Gake ne ame la mewɔ nu vɔ adɛke o la, Sodza melɔna o, ne wodze agbagba le amea nɔti la, efe lãme sɛna. Gake ne Mawu Sodza nɔtɔ kpɔ bena wɔ fome mekɔ dɛ nɔviwɔ nɔti o la, ekema adɔ Sogblẽ dɛ gbɔwɔ, eye wɔava gblẽ wɔ.

Sogblẽ kple Sodza nye ame sesẽwo le Mawu gã nɔti, vɔvɔ, si ke le Eveawo me nɔti ta, le wofe nuwɔwɔwɔ katã me woyɔ Mawu Sogblẽ kple Sodza nkɔ, benà womegawu yewo o, elabena woawo gblẽa nu kabakaba.

4. Sowlui

Mawu Sowlui fe dɔwɔwɔe nye zã me dɔwɔwɔ. Enye ame legbe adɛ. Aklala ko wɔtana, hafi va ame gbɔ le zã me tɔ ame bubu fe nu vana na ame. Sowlui gbɔ bena, ame si gbɔ yele la, magakpe fu gedɛ hafi adu nu o. Egblɔna na ame bena: Hotsui si metsɔ na wɔ la, megagblɔe na ame adɛke o. Sowlui mesea ame wuna o. Ne etsɔ wɔ nu, eye nɛgbɔ nu si wɔ wɔ la, ekema maxɔ nkeke eve hafi naku o. Sowlui nɔtɔ ena amatsi ame. Amatsi lae nye dzokafi, si woatsɔ ada dɛ hotsui la dzi, ne hotsui la nɔti nafa. Ne dzokafi mele edzi o la, ekema eya nɔtɔ ava lɔe ayi na ame bubu.

B. Anyigba kple dzifo

1. Anyigba

Miesusuna be, anyi Mawu tɔ wɔ xexeeame. Dɛ menye nenem o la, nu sia nu mate nɔ awɔ mɔatsɔ adu o. Tsi le anyigba la te, gake eya mena nuwo wɔna o. Tsidzadzɔ etso Mawu nɔtɔ gbɔ le dzi me, hafi anyigba wɔa nu.

2. Dzifo

Dzingbee nye gã na nu sia nu, dɛke magawui o. Dzingbe gɔmee nye dzi kple anyigba. Dzigbe te mɛle. Dzifo, si kpɔm mɛle la, towo, kɔwo, avewo kple nu sia nu fomevi le edzi f[u abe ale si wɔle mɔafe anyigba dzi ene. Dzifo etri nɔtɔnɔtɔ, abe ale si anyigba tri ene; gake ne tsi le dzadzam la, edone ken, hafi va dzana na mɔawo hã.

Edzinɔlawo fe nuwɔwɔ to vovo tso anyigbadzitzɔwɔ tɔ gbɔ. Wo dometɔ adewo la, asiketi li na wo, eye wole abe ame yibowɔ ke ene. Woawo hã wodea agble, fãa te, bli, ablazɔ kple manɔkani. Woawo la, ne woyi agble nɔ ge, alo dɔ sia dɔ wɔ ge la, wobia Mawu Sodza bena: Alo tsi adza na mɔ mahã? Ne madza na mɔ o la, ne mɔadzudzɔ dɔwɔwɔ. Ne Mawu Sodza

tails and an appearance like black people. They also go to the farm there, plant yam, maize, bananas and cocoyam. If they intend to go to the farm or carry out any other work, they first ask *Sodza*: “Will it rain today? If it is not going to rain, we want to stop work.” However, if *Sodza* says, it will rain, they work. When it rains there, the rain comes to us, too. When they go to the farm, they do not walk on the soil; it is said that they firmly tighten a rope there, which they use to get down to the farm. They are also human beings with two feet. They weave, do all types of work and sell their wares. They buy their wares from the inhabitants of heaven just as we buy our wares from Whites.

They are called *Kltwo*, too. Our elders have told us that in the beginning, when the *Kltwo* wanted to come to earth, they came down on a thin cotton thread to the farm, to look for food. One day, this thread, however, tore behind them and they remained on earth. These persons cursed their own people, and the curse came through. On account of this curse, *Sodza* let down a rope on which they should return to heaven again. The curse, therefore, is still a stigma on them till today and they continue to curse. That is why we call them: “Those whose names you may not mention in the morning.” You put salt in the mouth before you mention their names.

c. The Human Being

God made the human being, gave him a hoe and said: “If you do not work, you must steal before you can eat!” That is why farmers and traders are industrious in their professions.

If those God made have somehow grown up, He assigns each one his/her work. Some human beings must collect palm fruits, prepare oil and sell it in order to feed themselves.

There are some human beings under our earth, too. They also go to the farm and eat like us. Those were also created by the god *Sodza*.

God made us, all the *Eve* people with clay. Good persons have been made with good clay, but bad persons have been made with clay that was left over. These are lazy persons, loafers and misers, who do not want to work. God has sent us to this world for His own honour.

lɔ na wo la, ekema wowɔa dɔ. Eye ne tsi dza na wo la, ekema edzana na míawo hã. Ne woyina agble la, womezɔa anyigba o; wogblɔ bena, ka dzi kokoko wozɔna hafi yia bofo. Woawo hã wonye ame afo ewewo. Wolɔa dɔ wɔa nu sia nu fomevi dzrana na wo nɔewo. Dzingɔlimetɔwo katã la, woawo si me ko woflea nu le, abe ale si míawo hã míeflea nu le yevuawo si ene.

Woyɔa wo be Klɔɔwo. Míafe ame tsitsiwo gblɔ na mí bena: Le gɔmedzedzea me, ne klɔɔwo le didim be, woava anyigba dzi la, dɛtika lɛ dzi wotona va tsɔa agble me nuɖuɖu. Gbe dɛka dɛtikã lɛ la, lã le wo megbe, eye wotsi anyigba. Nenem me siawo nye ame siwo fo fi de wo tɔ bubuwo wɔdɛ wo ɲu ɲutɔɲutɔ. Le fifode sia ta Mawu Sodza da ka na wo bena, woava dzifo. Esiata fifodeame la gale wo si va se dɛ egbegbe, eye wogafoa fi dea amewo kokoko. Esia ɲuti míeyɔa wo bena ehui (kɔfe) kple mayɔɲdiawo. Àde dze nu me hafi ayo wofe ɲkɔ.

C. Ame

Mawu ewɔ ame, eye wɔtsɔ agblenuti de esi. Ne mewɔ dɔ o la, ekema afi fi hafi aɖu nu eya ta agbledelawo kple asitsalawo doa vevie wofe dɔwo wɔna. Ame siwo ke Mawu wɔ la ne wonya tutu ɲkume ko la, ekema emãa dɔ na wo dɛkadɛka. Ame aɖewo la, etsɔ desisi ko na wo be, woasi de aɖa ami adzra hafi aɖu nu.

Amewo hã le míafe anyigba te. Woawo hã ɲlɔa agble, qua nu abe míawo ke ene. Mawu Sodza ewɔ woawo hã.

*Tsu Mawu tsɔ wɔ mí Eveawo katã. Ame nyuie la, etsɔ tsu nyuie wɔe, ke ame vɔdɛ la etsɔ tsu, si susɔ la wɔe. Ame siwo nyea akuviatɔwo, yakamewo kple dɔmevevetɔwo, ame siwo dɔ aɖeke menya wɔna na o. Mawu dɔ mí dɛ xexeame, bena wɔanye kɔkɔ na eɖokui. **

The Gbeleve Tribe

Gbeleve

A. About God

God is wiser than us, Ewe people. He has made everything that we see. However, he also acts in a mysterious manner because in His wisdom He also made evil. He made wicked spiritualists, thieves and adulterers and put them among other people. God gave one set of people cowry shells to make them happy. On the other hand, others are poor who suffer hardships. That shows that inequality comes from God. It is through his ingenuity that wild animals reproduce themselves. The big and the small antelopes, as well as the wild dog, replicate of their kind. But domestic animals do not make a replica of their own kind. For example, a black hen reproduces a white hen; the sheep, the goat and the dog do not make a replica of themselves. A black person reproduces a person with a white tint. We are all human beings, but we have different faces. In all these, we recognize how unequal He treats human beings. We cannot know how God came by His wisdom because no one can fathom the thoughts of His maker. Our ancestors used to say that the God of every individual is different. The God of the good is different, and the God of the evil is also different.

God *Sodza* made *trōwo* and the god *sogle*. God is pleased with every work that we do. That is why He does not kill us at once.

B. The Heavens

In the first heaven, there are human beings whom God sent just like He sent human beings to the visible world. Rain comes from the second heaven to the first and from there onto our earth. If God must sweat in the second heaven, His sweat comes to us in the form of rain. When we hear that it is raining (there) but the rain has not come to us, we say that “the pot is not yet full”. When the pot is full, it happens that what overflows comes to us. We call that rain.

Our ancestors told us that the inhabitants of heaven have tails. They go hunting. God made a big fence and locked them up in it. When a hunter goes hunting He gives him an animal to kill because God said, if He gives all the animals to human beings at a go, they would become rich and not honour Him anymore.

Gbeleve

A. Mawu

Mawu enye nunyala fo mí Eveawo ta. Eya wɔ nu sia nu, si kpɔm míele. Mawu hã wɔa didri, elabena ewɔ nu sia nu le nunya nu, gake ewɔ vɔ hã ɔe eme. Ewɔ dzoɔquametɔwo kple fiafitɔwo kpakple ahasitɔwo ɔe amewo dome. Mawu tɔɔ ho na ame bena, wɔawɔ ne wɔakpɔ dzidzɔ, ke ame aɔewo nye ahetɔwo kple hiãtɔwo. Mawue ɔo didriwɔwɔ ɔa kokoko. Ewɔ asande wodzia ɔɔkui pɛ; sɛ, kodzoe, av[gbɔe, wodzia wo ɔɔkui pɛ. Mewɔ didri ɔo ɔe gbe me o; gake afemelãwo medzia wo ɔɔkui o. Koklo yibo dzia ya, alɛ, gbɔ kple av[wodzia vi vovovo. Ame yibo dzia ame dzie. Mí katã míenye amegbetɔ, gake nkume vovovo li na mí. Esiawo me miedze si efe didriwɔwɔ la le. Mɔ, si dzi Mawu to hafi nya nu la, mímenyae o, elabena ame tɔ medzia ame wonya efe tame o. Mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔna bena, ame siaa ame fe Mawu le vovo. Ame nyuiewo fe Mawu le vovo, eye ame vɔwo hã tɔ le vovo.

Mawu Sodza wɔ trɔwo kple Sogblɛ hã. Dɔ siwo katã míele wɔwɔm la, le Mawu nu dzem, eya ta mewua mí zi ɔka o.

B. Dzifo

Dzifo gbãtɔ la, amewo le eme, Mawue ɔo woawo hã ɔa, abe ale si wɔɔdo kodzogbeawo hã ɔa ene. Tsi dzana tso dzifo evelia me va gbãtɔ me hafi dzana na mí. Ne fifia le Mawu tem le dzifo evelia me la, eya trɔna zua tsidzadzɔ na mí. Ne tsi le wuwum, mekpɔ ɔo mia gbɔ haɔe o la, míenɔa enɔ sem hoo, eye míegblɔna bena, meɔ zɔ haɔe o. Ne eyɔ zɔ la, eduduna na míawo hã; eya míeyɔna be dzidzawu.

Mía tɔgbuiwo gblɔna na mí bena, dzifonɔlawo la, asiketi le na wo. Wodea adegbe. Mawu tɔ kpɔ gã aɔe, eye wɔtɔɔ lãwo de eme. Ne adela yi adegbe la, etsɔa ɔka ne be, wɔawu; elabena Mawu gblɔ be, ne yetɔɔ wo katã na wo zi ɔka la, ekema woazu kesinɔtɔwo, eye womagabu ye o. Ame siawo katã la Mawue le wo nu, eye wowɔa efe sewo dzi pepɛpe.

C. The Human Being

It is said that a man and a woman fell on earth. The man fell into a swamp and the woman fell on a stone. When the woman fell on a stone, she gave birth to a girl, and all Eve people originate from her and her daughter.

God gave Eve people farming as their occupation. Some people cultivate very large farms, but they do not get many crops. On the other hand, others cultivate small farms but they get good yields from them. There are wicked and good people. The wicked do not love God. That is why our parents always admonish us when they say: "When you get up in the morning go to the farm and work hard; then you do not pick up any quarrel with anyone, and you will not envy the property of your neighbour. You will not covet your neighbour's wife, too. Do not contract debts home." A child that is bad or who contracts debts is a good-for-nothing fellow. A child in Eve land that is a good-for-nothing fellow is not loved by his father because he accumulates a lot of debts for him. No good relationship exists between such a child and his father.

D. The Hunting God

We call someone, who kills an animal with one shot, a hunter. Rapacious animals in the bush are called hunters, too. However, the actual hunter, "inhabitant of the bush," is called "short hunter" or "forest devil". He is of short stature. It is said that his foot looks like the stock of a gun. His occupation is farming and trading. Everyday he goes into the bush with a gun. That is why we sing: "The hunting god can work right and left, and work this way or another way." He possesses everything; you can find animals in the bush and in rivers with him. When the grass in the bush burns, it means he has set it ablaze in areas people have deserted and it is there he will go hunting.

According to our forefathers, he gathers firewood which he lays one on top of the other. If someone goes into the bush and takes away some of the wood, without knowing that it belongs to the forest devil, he strikes this person and confuses him, so that he does not find his way back home anymore. He then leads the person into a termitarium, where he must remain for about a year. The brothers look for the person for a long time, and, if they do not find him, they hold his funeral. If you go into the bush alone without paying attention to his footprints and you step into them, he will strike you down, confuse you and will lead you to a place where you do not find your bearings anymore. Such a person finds it difficult till he regains consciousness to enable him to go home. We are afraid of him.

A hunter, who is lucky in hunting, makes a fence and throws into it all bones and lower jaw bones of animals that he has killed. As often as he kills a wild animal in the bush, he turns the face of the animal killed towards this fence in order to kill others later. If the companions of the hunter forget these precautionary measures and turn the face of the animal away from the fence, that will spoil the hunter's chances to the extent that he will not get any game to kill for rest of that year. The hunter must then go with a fowl, a hen's egg and flour to offer propitiatory sacrifice to the hunting god through the medium of the *Trõ* priests. It is only when the sacrifice is performed that he will be able to kill a wild animal.

For sacrifice, palm wine and flour mixed with oil are offered along the road for him.

C. Ame

Wogblɔ be, atsu kple asi woge va dze kpe dzi. Fu le nyɔnuwa fo hafi wòge eye nyɔnuvi ge le eɲu. Eya kple via nyɔnuvi lae dzi ame ɔe Eveawo si.

Ame aɔewo ɲɔa nu geɖe womekpɔa nu le eme o, ke ame aɔewo ɲɔa nu tukui, gake wokpɔa nuɖuɖu le eme. Ame vlovo kple ame nyuiwo li. Mawu melɔa nuvlovoɔlawo o, eya ta mía dzilawo xɔa nu mí ɔaa be: Ne efo ɲdi la, nayi ɔe bofo, nawɔ ɔ kple ɲusẽ, ekema mele ge di ge le ame aɔeke ɲu o. Makpɔ ame aɔeke fe nu wɔabia ɲu na wò o, eye makpɔ ame aɔeke fe nyɔnuvi wɔadzro wò o. Maɔe fe hã o, eye mahe fe ava afe hã o. Ɖevi, si wɔa nu vɔ alo nyia fe la, enye ame dzodzro. Evevi, si nye ame dzodzro la, fofoa melɔne o, elabena ele fe geɖe dom ne, eya kple ɔvia fe gbe hã mesɔna gbedegbede o.

D. Adee

Ame si daa tu wua lã zi ɔeka alo dzodzoe la, eyae míeyɔna bena adee. Lã siwo katã léa nu le gbedzi hã, woyɔa wo bena adee. Adee ɲutɔɲutɔe nye gbetɔ, adokpui alo azizã. Efe nɔnɔme le kpuiɛ, wobe, efe afo le abe tuzɔ ene. Efe ɔwɔwɔe nye agbledede kple asitsatsa. Etsɔa tu dea gbe me gbe sia gbe, eya ta míedzia ha bena: Adee wɔ ɔusi wɔ miã, wɔ eke, wɔ eke. Nu sia nu le esi gbemelã o, tɔmelã o, akpɔe le egbo. Ne dzo bi gbe yi ɔo la, eyae tɔa dzo gbe le gbedadafo, eye wonɔa dzo wɔm nɔa tu dam.

Míafe ame tsitsiwo ɔoa dze na mí be, efoa nake hã kɔ ɔi f[u. Ne enye ame neyi gbe me, eye medzi sii be eyae fɔe ɔi o, eye netsɔ ɔeka le eme la, ekema afo wò kakaka, ablu ɲkume na wò, megale mɔ kpɔ ge ava afe me o. Akplɔ wò ade kɔ to me, nanɔ afi ma abe fe ɔeka ene. Nɔviwòwo adi wo kakaka, eye ne womekpɔ wò o la, ekema wò kɔmetɔwo awɔ wò nu. Nenyɛ wò ɔeka pɛ yi ɔe gbe me, mekpɔ efe afɔtefe nyuie hafi netsɔ wò afo ɔo edzi la, ekema, afo wò ablu ɲkume na wò, eye wɔakplɔ wò ayi ɔe afi bubu natre mɔ kakaka, bebli hafi wò ɲkume nava kɔ nayi afe me, Míeyɔne.

Adela, si ke wua lã vevie la, tɔa kpɔ, eye wòtsɔa lã, siwo katã wòwu la fe fuwo kple glãwo kɔna ɔe eme. Azɔ ne egayi adegbe, eye wòwu lã la, ekema atrɔ lã la fe mo ɔe kpɔ la gbɔ, bena wɔagawu bubuwo. Gake ne adekaviawo ɲɔ be, eye wotrɔ efe ɲku ɔa le kpɔa gbɔ la, ekema efe adedada la me gblẽ, magawu lã le fe ma me gbedegbede o. Ele na adela la be, woatsɔ koklo ɔeka, koklozi ɔeka kple wɔ ayi trɔsiwo gbɔ, ne woayɔ adee na ye. Esia megbe hafi wɔagate kple lã wuwu me.

Subɔsubɔ aɔeke mele eme o, ɔeko mebaka nu ne le mɔ dzi, eye mena ahae.

The Dodome Tribe

Dodome

The Hunting God

The hunting god is also called the short hunter, forest devil and dweller in the bush. It only stays in virgin forests. Formerly, as long as there were still forests in our area, there were many forest devils in them. However, after we had cut down the forests, they scattered in the bush. Only spiritualists can see the forest devil with their eyes. One says they are short and have curly hair.

Their work consists of farming, trading and hunting. They collect fruits of the shea butter tree and put them in small heaps. If someone goes into the bush and takes some of these fruits or the firewood that they have gathered together, they beat and tie him with loin-cloth, confuse him and lead him into a termitarium. When the grass gets dry, they light it at deserted places. (It goes hunting there.) One hears the shots, but one does not know who has fired them.

Such a person should not eat any maize pulp or fufu on the day dedicated to the forest devil. It is also forbidden that he sleeps with his wife. The *Asitui* day is his day. When someone contravenes the law, he becomes mad. If the forest devil has told you that you must die today, you must die in any case. A person possessed by him behaves every evening like a mad person, as long as the rites pertaining to him are not performed.

Adee

Adekpuì, akplakpuì, azizā alo gbetɔ ave xowo me ko wòndɔna. Tsā la, ebɔ dɛ míafe nutowo me le afi sia elabena avewo li ke esi míefo aveawo la, wovu hekaka dɛ gbetawo. Menye ame siaa ame e kpɔnɛ kple ŋku o, negbe dzotɔwo ko. Wogblɔ be ele kpuie, eye wotro pesepese dɛ ta.

Efe dɔwɔwɔnye nye agbledede, asitsatsa kple adedada. Efoa yɔkuwo nu fu tui tui tui dɛ afi dɛka. Ne ènye ame yi gbe me, eye nèkpɔ yɔkuawo alo nake fɔfɔ, eye ne ede asi eŋu la, ekema afo wò, aɖe wò godui abla wò, eye wòakplɔ wò ayi dɛ kɔto me, aflu ŋkume na wò keŋkeŋ. Ne gbe fu keŋ la, wotɔa dzo gbe le keke gbedadafo, míenɔa tudada ŋkɔ sem, gake la míenya ame kawo le edam o.

Ame la meɖua akplē kple fufu le efe asigbe o, eye medɔa nyɔnu gbɔ hā o. Asituiɖee nye efe asigbe, ne ame la wɔ nu siawo la, ekema ablu keŋkeŋ. Ne azizā gblɔ na wò bena àku egbe la, dɛko naku kokoko. Ne elé asi wò, eye womewɔ efe nu na wò haɖe o la, ekema fiē sia fiē anɔ aɖavanu wɔm. Atsɔ akakati dɛ asi eye wòanɔ didim be yeatɔ dzo afe gɔ hā, dɛwo edea abi nɔviawo ŋu.

Ne wole efe nu wɔ ge la, womenoa aha o, eye womedɔa nyɔnu gbɔ hā o. Adeenuwɔwɔ le vovovo. Ame aɖe tɔa koklo yibɔe yia mɔ dzi ɖaa nu hebakana ɖuna. Woɖia ze eve, ɖekae nye ahatɔ eye ɖekae nye tsitɔ; emegbe

Such a person carries a torch in hand and wants to set his own house on fire. Many persons also inflict wounds on their relatives.

If the rites are performed for him, sexual intercourse with wife and palm wine are forbidden. The rites of the hunting god are different. Some go with a black chicken, cook it there and mix it with red oil. Then two pots, one of which is filled with palm wine and the other with water, are buried in the soil. One adds two small balls made with kneaded maize flour, ties a string made with the phloem of the raffia palm on the neck, before the rites are performed for him. A goat or seven chickens are taken into the bush. The seven chickens or the goat is cooked completely. Then the meat is mixed with flour, and the chief and the rest of the village dwellers gather to feast. After that, one gives the person concerned peace medicine and dresses him up in a blue fabric, like a mourner. Ascendancy to the priesthood for the forest devil includes the rituals mentioned above. There are fringes on the hat that he wears everyday. It is forbidden for a woman in her menstrual cycle to talk with him or pass across the front entrance of his house. If someone does not like the forest devil, but quarrels with his priest, he leads him into the bush and torments him until he gives him up again.

woawɔ wɔkɔe suesue ada ɖe egbo, eye woatro gbe asa kɔe ɖe nua wɔfe. Ke ne adee la dze aglā be, yeawu ame la kokoko la, wosaa la ɖe kɔme ne hafi wɔa nua. Wotsɔa gbɔ ɖeka alo koklo adre yia gbe me. Woɖaa koklo adre alo gbɔ blibo la katā. Wobakane kple wɔ, eye ame tsitsiwo kple ɖeviwo foa fu ɖe enu ɖuna, eye wotsɔ aha nona ɖe edzi. Eyome la, wodoa amatsi fafe na ame la, eye woata blusi ne, abe ame si le aho wɔm ene, ekema etɔ zu amegāsi. Kuku si wòadɔ gbe sia gbe la, ele be, adza nanɔ enu. Nyɔnu, si ke lé gbe la, mekpɔa efe dzodome o, egɔmee nye medea efe xɔnu o; ne ekpee le mɔ dzi hā made nu enu o. Ne ame aɖe fe nu menyo adee nu o, hafi wòwɔ dzre kple ame si gbɔ wòle la, akplɔe ayi gbe me, eye wòafia fui hafi agadɔ asi le enu.

The Abutia Tribe

Abutia

A. *Ma* and World

1. *Ma*

Ma is mainly used in the service to *Mawu*. When God lives with an old man or an old woman, a fence is built for him. A vessel, in which there are cowry shells, is placed in the fence and filled with water. Then the herb, *ma*, is planted in the vessel. The person bathes from this vessel, smears the forehead, the inner side of the arm joint and the knuckles of the foot with white clay. Now, the person offering the sacrifice invites in someone with whom he/she shares the same birth day to cook the meat. This person slaughters a fowl, mixes the meat with flour and makes two balls out of it. After that, he ties together the herbs *ma* and *sumbe* into a wad on which the sacrificial meal that they both eat together is placed. They offer to God by placing before him what belongs to Him.

When a woman becomes pregnant, water is collected from the vessel with which she bathes, so that she has good and safe delivery and not die. *Ma* is planted in this vessel to preserve its potency.

A person, whose character one compares with *ma*, does not begin any quarrel, react to provocations from anyone.

2. The World

The meat fly says: "Eve land is big. The human being cannot stay in the world forever." This means that the human being dies and the world remains. The word also means that when the little knowledge of many people is gathered, there is holistic knowledge.

B. The Personal Guardian Gods

1. The Mother from the Spirit World

The mother from the spirit world is the being that has given birth to the human being in the spirit world. When one is sick and seeks intervention from the priests about the cause, they usually say: "Your mother from the spirit world is angry. Therefore, go and prepare a sacrifice for her." You put some of all the meals that human being eats on the mat for her. Many people deposit ragged clothes along the road to placate her. She is

Abutia

A. Ma kple Xexeme

1. Ma

Ne wole Mawu fe nu wɔ ge la, wowɔa ma ɲu dɔ ɲutu. Le kpɔdeɲu me: Ne Mawu le ame tsitsi aɖe gbɔ, eɖa nye nyɔnu alo ɲutsu o, la, etɔa kpɔ nɛ.

Wotsɔa agba, eye wotsɔa hotsui kɔna ɖe eme kua tsi ɖe edzi. Emegbe la, ame la yi ɖavua ma va dana ɖe agba la me. Eyome elea tsi, eye wɔɖɔa ye ɖe ɲgonu, abɔdome, afɔɖome kple megbe. Azɔ ayɔ efe ɖoko be, wɔava aɖa nu nɛ. ɖoko la wua koklo hebakana, eye wɔfone nogonogo kɔ eve. Emegbe eɖavua ma kple sumbe va hea tsihee, eye wotsɔa nubakawo dana ɖe wo dzi, be ame la kple efe ɖoko naɖu. Esi ke nye Mawu la tɔ ɖuɖu la, wotsɔa eya na Mawu la.

Ne nyɔnu aɖe fɔ fu la, wokua tsi si le ma la ɲu la lena nɛ, bena ne eva vi dzi ge ko la, wɔaxɔ ɲui fafa magaku o.

Ame sia fa wu ma, eyae nye bena media ge o, eye ne ame aɖe di ge le eɲu la, medoa nui nɛ o.

2. Xexeme.

Adetagbatsu gblɔ bena: Evedome nu gãe, ame manɔe avɔ o. Eyae nye bena, xexeme, si me míele la, manɔe avɔ gbedegbede o, aku kokoko. Nunya veveve fe takpekpee wɔ ɖeka, eye wɔzua nunya blibo.

B. ɲunuwo

1. ɲɔlimenɔ

Eyae nye ame si dzia ame le ɖime. Ne amea le dɔ lém eye woyi ɖabia nu la, trɔsiwo gblɔna nɛ bena: Wo ɲɔlimenɔ le dzi bim, eya ta yi naɖawɔ nu nɛ le mɔ dzi, ne wɔaɖe ɲku ɖa le ɲu wɔ. Wotsɔa nuɖuɖu siwo katã amewo ɖuna ɖoa aba dzi tsɔna yia mɔ dzi. Ame aɖewo tsɔa avɔ vuvu ɖona nɛ le mɔ dzi; ekema eɖea asi le eɲuti. Eya nye mía nɔ le ɖime. Eɖo viawo ɖe dɔgbe, tete amewo xɔ wo hedzi. Elala, ɖeviawo womele vavam o. Eya ta wova tso mɔ

our mother in the spirit world. She sends children down from there to collect things for her. They are seized by human beings and given birth to (here in this world). The spirit mother expects their return in vain, but they do not. That is why she waylays them (the women). Whenever she sees one of the thieves of her children, she strikes them at the loins or on the dress and says: "Give me my child; it does not belong to you!" Even if one offers a lot of sacrifice to her, she does not give up the child, but rather kills it. When the child dies, people say: "The spirit mother herself took away her child", and should the mother of the (deceased) child weep, she is told: "Stop crying! The mother in the spirit world has taken away her child herself. Stop crying! God will certainly give you a child that belongs to you, yourself. This child does not belong to you, but the mother in the spiritual world."

2. Personified Promise and Birthday

Gbetsi is the being that spoke with the human being in the spirit world before his departure into this world, no matter if that has been a good or bad word. Evil must be driven away from those with whom bad *gbetsi* lives. Cowry shells are strung and hung around them.

Then *fla*, *sumbe* and *ma* herbs are placed in a calabash, placed on the head of a person who falls and waggles into the bush. He is bathed there from the calabash. After the bath, one whispers into his ears, smears him with white clay and goes back home.

When a girl reaches the age of adolescence, she is also visited by *gbetsi*. This is often revealed through the intervention of a priest; especially if she does not have her menstrual cycle anymore. However, if a girl's breasts swell and menstruation begins, it is said that a good *gbetsi* lives with her. If, on the other hand, a girl does not have her menstruation, that is proof that a bad *gbetsi* is with her.

Birthday: If a young woman gets two or three children, all of whom remain alive, it is said that a good *dzogbe* is with her. However, if the children die, a bad *dzogbe* is with her. If a good thing happens to you, you have a good *dzogbe*, but if a bad thing happens to you, you have a bad *dzogbe*. If someone comes to his/her friends while they are sitting at table, he/she says: "A good *gbetsi* is with me."⁷¹ There are seven birthdays. These are: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday.

3. The Woman and the Man of the spiritual world

The woman of the spirit world is the one, who was given to you before your birth in the spirit world. She is the house mother, *afenɔ*, and the woman, whom you have married here (in this world), must, therefore, serve her. The woman in the spirit world is of short stature, and she is given a place in the corner of a farmstead. One puts 4 *hoka* cowry shells on her laps which should not used to purchase anything. However, if one has no cowry shells for tobacco and palm wine, one borrows from her. But they will be returned to her. If one returns them, she is told: "Woman of the spirit world, here are your cowry shells. Let me remain healthy! If you help me, I will do everything that you demand from me for you." A white fabric is worn and tied around the head. If her rites are being performed for someone with whom she lives, she is offered palm wine in a gourd covered with leaves which is drunk with brothers and friends. At the end,

⁷¹ This means I am lucky.

na amewo hele wo lalam. Ne ekpo efe vifilawo dometo aḡe la, efoa asi ḡe efe go me bena: “Tso vinye nam, menye towo wonye o” Ne woyi busu ne vu hā la, meḡea asi le eḡu gbeḡe o, negbe ḡevi la ko wḡawu. Ne ewu ḡevia la, amewo gblona bena, ḡolimenḡo ḡuto xḡ via. Eye ne vidada le avi fam kakaka hā la, ḡeko wogblona ne be: Dzudzo avi to, ḡolimenḡo ḡuto va xḡ efe vi; tasi avi, esi ke la nye wo ḡuto to la, Mawu ana wo xoxo, esia la, menye towo wḡnye o, ḡolimenḡo toe.

2. Gbetsi kple Dzogbe

Gbetsie nye ame si tsia gbe na ame le ḡime hafi wḡva kodzogbe; ne nye gbe nyuie, alo gbe vḡ. Ame siwo ḡu gbetsi vḡ le la, ele be woayi busu na wo. Wosa ka, eye wotḡa hotsui ḡe eḡu kplana na wo. Emegbe wodoa amatsi ḡe tre me, fla, sumbe kple ma wole eme, hetsḡna ḡoa ta na ame la, wonḡa fofom, va se ḡe esime woaḡo gbe me. Afi ma wole tsi na amea le; emegbe wodoa fufu ḡe ame la fe tome, eye woḡoa ye ne, hedzona va afe me.

Ne ḡnye ḡetugbui, eye no ḡo akḡta na wḡ la, ekema gbetsi ḡo ḡu wḡ. Ne woyi ḡe trḡnua gbḡ la, egblona bena, gbetsi eḡo eḡu, eya ta megale gbe lḡ ge o. Ke ne no ḡo akḡta na ḡetugbui la, eye wode asi gbelele me la, ekema gbetsi nyuie le eḡu. Ne melḡ gbe kpo o la, ekema gbetsi vḡ le eḡu.

Dzogbe. Ne tukpokpui dzi vi eve alo etḡ, eye wo katā wole agbe la, ekema wogblona be, dzogbe nyuie le eḡu, ke ne edzi viawo woku la, ekema dzogbe vḡ le eḡu. Ne nyuie va na wḡ, ekema dzogbe nyuie le ḡuwḡ, ke ne vḡ va la, ekema etḡ zu dzogbe vḡ. Dzogbe nyuie le ḡunye meva tso nuḡuḡu la ḡo. Dzogbe ḡekeke adre li. Woawo nye: Dzoḡa, Braḡa, Kuḡa, Yawoḡa, Fiḡa, Memleḡa kple Kwasiḡa.

3. Dzogbemesi kple Dzogbemetsui

Dzogbemesi eyae nye nyḡnu, si wona wḡ le Bome hafi neva dzḡ. Eyae nye afenḡ, eye ele na nyḡnu si neḡe la be, wḡasubḡe. ḡimeto fe nḡḡme le kpuie, eye wowḡne ḡe dzogoe dzi le xḡxḡnu, eye wolḡa hotsui kḡna ḡe ekḡme abe hoka 4 ene. Womeḡea asi hotsui la ḡu flea naneka o. Ke ne atama alo ahadzeho mele amea si o la, adoe, emegbe agatsḡe aḡo etefe. Gbe si gbe wḡtsḡe ḡo etefe la, egblona be: Dzogbemesi, wḡ hoe nye esi, na nye lāme nasḡ, ne eḡi nam la, nu si ke nebia tso asinye la, mawḡe na wḡ. Ame la ḡuto taa aklala, eye wotḡo eya ke bla ta. Gbe si gbe wole nu wḡ ge na amea la, edzea aha ḡe go me, tsḡa aḡgba tua enu, eye wḡaḡo nḡviawo kple xḡlḡwo woava no aha la. Ne wowḡ nua vḡ la, ame la nḡa xḡ me ḡekeke enyi mayi afi aḡeke o, made nu ame aḡeke ḡu hā o. Ne ḡekeke la de la, atḡo akutsa yeye kple abusa yeye kple koklozi eve kple sumbe kpakple ma; wotua ati ḡe xḡ ta, eye wofḡa nuawo kḡna ḡe edzi hegblona bena: Na nye lāme nasḡ, ne mede agble la, wḡanyo nam, ne meyi ḡe

the person concerned is confined in a room for eight days; she must not go anywhere nor talk to anyone. On the eighth day, one takes a new sponge, banana fibres, two eggs, *sumbe* and *ma* herbs, puts a branch on the roof, places these objects on it and says: "Let me remain healthy! If I till the land, may it bear fruits, and if I go trading, may it be successful! If I succeed in everything, I will give you everything that you demand from me." From now on, she obeys all her instructions. She should not come into contact with soot nor share food with her but rather drink palm wine only.

The man of the spirit world is the man "who does not love me and from whom I fled to this world." The woman did not love her husband in the spirit world and has, consequently, fled to this world away from him. Her husband in the spirit world always inflicts scratch wounds on her while he says: "Because you have refused to remain with me, I am tormenting you."

4. Stone Guard

The stone guard is the friend of the woman in the spirit world. When she is hungry, the stone guard sits by the stones and cracks nuts that she eats for her. Then he cannot desert them (the stones). But if he does, the person must die.⁷² He takes care of the woman of the spirit world everyday. A hen's egg which one breaks at the top is sacrificed to him. Some flour is spread on the egg and placed in front of a water pot on the ground. The next morning, an egg is thrown outside. In the absence of an egg, one can also sprinkle flour with 4 cowry shells as sacrifice.

5. The Guardian Spirit (Guardian Angel) of Protection (Genius) and Soul

Aklama is the spirit of the dead. When a human being dies, his/her *aklama* leaves and goes into the air and complains: ho, ho, ho! Some also shout: *Yi dzalele!*⁷³ When the corpse is buried, the *aklama* does not shout anymore. It goes to its abode in heaven that we see with our eyes. *Aklama* is also the good *dzogbe* that is with hunters and gives them luck during hunting. If someone wishes to have something, he/she says: "May my *aklama* help me that I get it!"

There are two souls. One is short, and the other is long. It watches over the human being, wherever he/she is. The big soul is the deity of the human being, and the small soul is the *kra* or the woman of the spirit world. When someone dies, the big soul does not go with the deceased into the grave. But the small soul does. At death, the big soul goes here and there in the atmosphere and demands gifts from the relatives of the dead. Water, fufu, water mixed with flour and old human urine are deposited along the road for her. After this, it does not harm human beings anymore. When a sick person dies and one sees that his/her soul climbs a tree or goes up into the air, the *sumbe* herb is smeared with white clay around the tree. In addition to that, one mentions the name of the dead and says: "Yawo come down!" At home, the *sumbe* herb is wound around the sick person's head, where it remains till he/she either dies or recovers. If the sick person is an old man, it is believed that the soul attacks his son, who inherits the deceased.

72 Through the cracking of the nuts he is occupied and can, therefore, not leave the stones. This is because he can only carry out this work with stones.

73 The yelling is an expression of pain.

asigbe me la, wòdanyo nam, ne edze edzi nam la, ekema nu sia nu si nèbiam la, mana wò. Tso esia dzi wodea asi kɔnyinyi me nɛ. Zemabi meka ɛɲuti o, womeɖua nu le egbo o, negbe aha ko wonona le afi ma, gake aha mekaa ɛɲu o. Dzɔgbemetsui alo malɔ̃tsui, egɔmee nye melɔ̃na o, eya ta mesi le egbo va kodzogbe. Nyɔnu la melɔ̃a atsua le ɖime o, eya ta wòsi va xexe sia me. Ye sia yi enɔa fe dem nyɔnu la gblɔna bena, esi negbem la, eya ta nye hã mele ɲlɔmii wɔm le ɲutiwò.

4. Kpegbɔɔla

Kpegbɔɔlae nye dzɔgbemesi xɔ̃. Ne dɔ le dzɔgbemesi wum la, kpegbɔɔla bɔbɔ nɔ kpe la gbɔ, eye wòɔa ne zim na dzɔgbemesi wòɔa dɔdum, ekema megatea ɲu dzona le egbo o, ɖeko ne edzo la, ekema aku. Efe nɔɔme le kpuie, eya ko nɔa dzɔgbemesi ɲu bum gbeawo tsyo gbe. Nu si wona kpegbɔɔlae nye koklozi. Woɲɔnɛ kɔa wɔ ɖe eme tsɔna dana ɖe tsize te, eye ne ɲu ke la, wotsɔnɛ fua gbe. Ne womekpɔ koklozi o la, ekema wotsɔa wɔ ɖeɖe kple hotsui 4 kɔna ɖe la xa.

5. Aklama kple luɔɔ

Aklama nye ame fe adifife. Ne ame ku la, ekema aklama la doa go le eme yina ɖe ya me nɔa yli dom bena, ho ho ho; ɖewo doa yli bena, yi dzaléle. Ne wotsɔ amea ɖi la, ekema evɔ kenken eyina ɖe dzingbe, si kpɔm míele la me, afi mae nye wofe nɔfe. Aklamae nye dzɔgbe nyuietɔ, si nɔa adelawo ɲu wowua lã. Ne ame aɖe le nane dim la, egblɔna be nye aklama neɖi nam ne makpɔe.

Luɔɔ evee li, ɖeka le kpuie, eye ɖeka didi. Wobua ame ɲuti le afi sia afi. Luɔɔ gatɔe nye ame la fe Mawu, eye suetɔe nye kra alo dzɔgbemesi. Ne ame ku la, luɔɔ gãtɔ meyia yɔ me kple ame o, negbe suetɔ ko. Luɔɔ, gãtɔ nɔa yiyim le ya me, eye wòva bia nu amea fe nɔvi, siwo le agbe. Wotsɔa tsi, fufu, wotsi kple aɖuɖu yaya ɖadana ɖe mɔ dzi nɛ ekema megawɔa naneke o. Ne ame aɖe le dɔ lém le kuku ge, eye wokpɔ be, efe luɔɔ lia atime, alo yi ɖe ya me la, ekema wotsɔa ye gbana ɖe sumbe ɲu, hetsɔna foa xlã ati la, eye wonɔa ame la ɲkɔ yɔm be: Yawoe, ɖi va loo. Ne wova afe me la, wotsɔa sumbe la xatsana ɖe ɖóléla la fe ta gbɔ, eye wòɔa ame la gbɔ va se ɖe esime ame la aku alo atsi agbe. Ne ame la nye ame tsitsi la, wogblɔna be luɔɔ la va léa asi via, si anyi afe dome la.

C. Magic and Witchcraft

1. Magic

The word “magic” does not have a clear meaning. Magic is only a means to make oneself strong and instil fear into others. It is only a means to deceive people. If I hear that my neighbour possesses good magic, I go to him in order to acquire it for myself. When I come to him, he first of all, says to me: “Good, I hear, go and bring me a strand of lion’s hair, parrot feathers, feathers of the bird that sings every hour and cat hair in order that I make a magic string for you.” As part of the process, the making of the magic string requires a trip into the bush with him. The spiritualist then says to the person concerned: “If you let another person into what I am telling you now, our big *trɔ* will kill you.” Then he lets him invoke the names of the *trɔ* over it. After that, he orders this man: “Go home quickly and bring a small brass bowl and a rusty tin bowl!” He puts the magic in the brass bowl and calls it, *kakaku*. That means, when someone begins a quarrel with you, he/she must die. The other bowl is cut and a small part of the metal sheet is rolled up to form a small pipe. After that, he shows him all herbs that belong to the magic. Then, he sticks the small metal sheet pipe into his nose. As he expels his breath through the nose, a squeaky sound is made. He strongly forbids the buyer to tell someone. If he does it despite that, their big *trɔ* will certainly kill him. Now, he draws the pipe from his nose and gives it to the other person to do the same. He tells the buyer that the most important action that belongs to the magic is that: “When one brings a sick person to you, stick this small metal sheet pipe into your nose, place the magic in front of him/her, strike it three times with the tail of an animal, and then breathe out three times strongly through the nose so that it squeaks. After that, ask the sick person: ‘What is wrong with you?’ He/she will answer you: ‘I am sick and that is why I have come to you.’ Now, breathe out quickly and strongly through the nose, so that it squeaks and mention the name of the magic: *kakum woto prara*, meaning ‘It has said everything’. Then ask him: (After that, ask him): ‘Has any of your brothers or sisters died or fallen in war? The sick person answers: ‘Many of my brothers/sisters have already died, but none is fallen at war.’ Ask further: ‘Has none of your family members died during delivery?’ The sick person racks his/her mind and then says: ‘Yes.’ Then say to him/her: ‘I see what the secret is and you doubt it? I do not know the name of your dead brother/sister, but he/she is against you and wants to kill you.’ The sick tells you: ‘I beg you. Drive him/her away from me!’ Now, you first of all ask at what price you will do it. Put all the herbs that I have shown you in a calabash, go to the rubbish heap⁷⁴ and bathe the sick person with it. The next morning, tie magic strings around the arms of the sick person and say: ‘Now I have driven away those spirits that harass you.’ After that, give the sick person herbs with whose extract he/she must bathe.”

74 There is a mighty rubbish heap outside each village where the inhabitants throw their rubbish.

C. Dzo kple adze

1. Dzo

Dzo gome gobi aḍeke meli o; kalēnu kple ɲɔdzidonu ko wònye, amebanu ko wònye. Ne mese be, dzo aḍe le xɔnye vi aḍe si, ɖina kakaka la, ekema nye hã mayi egbo bena, wòasae nam. Gbã la, agblɔ bena, mese, yi natsɔ dzata fe fu kple akofu kple averse fe fu kple dadifu ve, ne masa ka lae na wò. Ne esa ka la vɔ la, wodzona yina ɖe gbe me. Dzotɔ la gblɔna na ame la bena, nya, si gblɔ ge mala na wò la, ne ègblɔe na ame aḍe la, ekema míafe trɔ gātɔ awu wò, eye wòana ame la nayo trɔ ɲko ɖe edzi. Azɔ agblɔ na ame la bena, vu du nanyi afe me atso ayawagba sue aḍe kple esi le yebia la ve. Ayawa la me wofɔa dzoawo dena, eye wona ɲko dzo la be kakaku, egomee nye, ne ame aḍe di ge le ɲuwò la aku. Wolã gadzegba evelia fona nyuie ale be, to vi aḍe nɔa eme. Emegbe afia atike, siwo katã le dzo la ɲu lae keɲ. Eyome eya ɲuto atso gadzēgba si wofo la ade ɲoti me, ne egbo la, ekema eɖina fi, fi, fi, eye wòagade se na ame la vevie be, megagblɔe na ame aḍeke o, ne egblɔe la, ekema yewofe trɔ gã la awui kokoko. Ekema agaḍee le ɲoti me, eye wòatsɔe na amea hã be, wòawɔe. Se gātɔ alo nuwɔwɔ gātɔ, si le dzo sia ɲu, wogblɔna na amee nye: Ne ame aḍe le dɔ lém, eye wotsɔe va gbɔwò la, natsɔ gadzegba lalã la ade ɲoti me, eye natsɔ dzo la ada ɖe ekome atso awudza axlã ɖe edzi zi etɔ, ekema nagbo zi etɔ wòadɔ fi, fi, fi. Emegbe nabia ame léɖ la bena: Nu ka le wɔwom mahã? Aɖp ɲu bena, dɔ lém mele, eya ta meva gbɔwò. Azɔ la nate kple gbɔgbɔ me kaba kaba, eye ɲotia me nanɔ ɖiɖim fi, fi, fi, eye nanɔ ɲko fom ɖo bena, kakum, woto prarã, egomee nye egblɔa nyawo keɲkeɲ. Eyome agabia bena: Nɔviwò aḍeke meku kpɔ o mahã? Alo ɖeke metsi ava kpɔ oa? Ame la ɖoa ɲu bena: Nɔvinyewo ku geɖe, gake la, ɖeke metsi ava kpɔ o. Wò fometo aḍeke meva vi dzi ge ku kple fo kpɔ oa? Ame la dea ɲugblẽ sɛ gblɔna bena: *, ele eme. Emegbe nagblɔ nɛ bena, nyee kpɔ vivimenuwo, eye wò nele ɖi kemem mahã? Nyemenya nɔviwò kuku la fe ɲko o, eya le ɲuwò, le didim be, yeawu wò. Ame la agblɔ bena: Meɖe kuku na wò, wɔe nam. Azɔ nagblɔ adzɔ, si naxɔ la ne. Ne zã do la, nawɔ atike, siwo katã mefia wò la ade tre me aku tsi ɖe edzi taɲ ayi akɔlikpo dzi ale na dɔwɔ la keɲ. Emegbe ne ɲu va ke la, natsɔ dzoka asa ɖe alɔnu nɛ, agblɔ bena: Menyã ɲoli mawo le ɲu wò loo! Eyome nagadi ametsi na dɔwɔ la wòanɔ lelem.

2. Witches

Witchcraft is something that has its abode in the human body. While a person is asleep at night, witchcraft comes out of him/her and looks for food. The same witchcraft shines like a torch and goes to the rubbish heap. If it wants to suck blood from a person, it makes him/her fall into a deep sleep. Then it sucks all the blood from the person till he/she dies.

2. Adze

*Enye nane le ame fe lāme. Ne amea mlɔ anyi le zã me la, edoa go le eme yia nuɖuɖu di ge. Enɔa dzo kem abe akakati ene sro, sro, sro, eye wòyina ɖe akɔlikpo dzi. Ne eva amea aɖe nyi ge la, ena alɔ̃ kpekpe vaa edzi, eye wònoa vu le eme, ne enoe vɔ la ekema ame la kuna. **

The Sɔkɔɖe Tribe

Sɔkɔɖe

The Gods

1. God, *Mawu*

Ma is the medicine of God, whose nature is cool. That is why it is planted in God's fence. The leaves of the *Ma* herb are cool and contain nothing sharp, bitter. Someone, whose nature is cool, peaceful, who does not react to provocation, but rather keeps his peace, is compared with *ma*. A human being, who is filled with love and is patient in all things, is natured like *ma*.

God is in heaven. The name means: That which is more than all others; that which outstrips all others. God's form is like that of the European. However, no one has ever seen Him. He has made everything in this world – black people and white people. But He gave the White all the riches. He has made fire with which we cook our meals. He made fire and lets it go out. He gives everyone – the trader, the hunter, the rich and the poor person – food. He is also the one, who sends good and evil. God has two children – a good child and a bad child. The name of the bad child is “night” and the name of the good child is “day”.

We have other names, such as trees, stones, animal bones and many others. When one builds a fence for them, one prays: God *Sodza*, mother of palm wine; you ship full of yam; ship full of *wle*. If you give me, I also give you; if you leave me out, I also leave you out. Here, we bring you your palm wine, your flour, red oil and eggs!” When the fence is completed, one prays again and says: “God *Sodza*, palm wine and palm oil, if you leave me out, I also leave you out! You keep quiet, but you do the human being good.”

2. The Deity *Sowlui*

One says *Sowlui* is the god of cowry shells. All that the human being does changes into cowry shells. His/Her fieldwork, trading, weaving and everything undertaken succeeds. If someone (with whom *sowlui* lives) puts beans or maize in a pot in a room, they metamorphose into cowry shells when he/she comes back to fetch them. One recites the following appellations: “*Nana, Sowlui, bowlui*, you ship full of yam and ship full of *wle*, full of plenty, you mother of the vigorous yam and mother of the vigorous *wle* whose right hand and left hand are filled with all sorts of goods! If you give me, I also give you. If you leave me out, I also leave you out!”

Sòkòdè

A. Mawuwo

1. Mawu

Mae nye Mawu fe amatsi fafa, eya ta wodone de mawukpo me. Ma fe amagbe fa, eye veve adeke mele eme o. Ne ame ade nye ame fafa, eye wodi ge le ejuti mekea nu o, wòndà anyi kpoo la, ekema wotsone dɔa ma juti. Ame si ke lɔlɔ le eme, eye wògbɔa dzi di le nu sia nu me la, eya fe nɔnɔme le abe ma ene.

Mawu le dzifo. Iko la gomee nye nu si wu nuwo katã. Efe nɔnɔme di yevuwo fe nɔnɔme pɛpɛ; gake ame adeke mekpɔe kpɔ o. Eya wɔ nu sia nu de xexea me, yibɔwo kple yiawo siaa, gake etsɔ kesinɔnuawo katã na yevuwo. Eya wɔ dzo, si mieda nui, eya na wòtsina. Eya deka koe na nu ame siaa ame wòduna; gblẽ, asitsala, adela, kesinɔtɔ alo ame dahewo o. Eya kee dɔ nyuie kple vɔ dɔ. Vi evee la Mawu si, deka fe nkɔe nye zã alo vi vɔe, evelia fe nkɔe nye jɔd alo vi nyuie.

Mawu bubuwo gale mia si, siwo nye: Atiwo, kpewo, lãvuwo, lãglãwo kple bubu gedewo. Ne wodze kpɔtɔtɔ gome na wo la, wofoa nko dɔ na wo bena: Mawu Sodza, hagbenɔ, tevu, vle vu, nam mana wo, tem mate wo!. Wò aha wò wɔ, wò ami dzẽ, wò koklozie nye esi. Eye ne wowu kpɔtɔtɔ nu vɔ la ekema wogafoa nko dɔ bena: Mawu Sodza, dze aha, dze ami, tem mate wò, zi vi wɔ nu ame.

2. Mawu Sowlui

Wogblo be, eyae nye hotsui Mawu. Nu sia nu si ke ame la wɔna ko la, ezu hotsui nɛ. Agbledede, asitsatsa, avɔlɔlɔ dɔ sia dɔ ko dzea edzi nɛ. Ne ame la tsɔ kpokpo alo kpeli de ze me da de xɔ me, eye ne agagbugbɔ va bena, yeatsɔe la, ezua hotsui dede sɔɔ nɛ. Wofoa nko dɔ nɛ bena: Nana Sowlui, bowlui, tevu nyagã, vlevu nyagã, tedzedzenɔ, tso, vledzedzenɔ tso, dɔsi miɔ (nuɔsi, miãsi) nyagãnyagã, nunamela wɔ nu nyagã, nam mana wò tem mate wò.

B. The Personal Guardian Gods

1. The Spirit Mother

The spirit mother is the woman who has given birth to human beings in the spirit world. If someone has given birth to a child that is not healthy, she consults with the priest about the cause. The priest answers and says: "Its spirit mother wants to kill it. That is why you must come and make a sacrifice to her." One then moulds twelve idols with clay, takes different crops in addition to that, carves some distaff, fills a small basket with cotton, puts all these objects outside along the road and says to the spirit mother: "Here we pay you the amount for the child that fled from you to this world; the child whom you gave the task that it should deliver to you. Now, give him up!" After the relatives have gone back to their house, a cord is tied around the body of the child.

2. The (personified) Promise

When a person is about to depart the spirit world to be born into this visible world, his companions ask him when he would come back. The outgoing person tells them: "I will come again when I am in one way or another old." As soon as the appointed time comes, the person falls sick. If one goes to consult the priest for the reason, he says: "The sick person himself/herself has said before departure from the spirit world: 'I will come back when I am in one way or another old.' That is why the companions have come to fetch him/her. He then orders them to mould an idol (chief) made of clay, carve a gun and a gun powder belt and carry these things outside for sacrifice.

Now the contemporaries of the sick person are called. The herb, *avamakatsa*, and 12 cowry shells are placed on a wooden plate and water is poured on it. Among his contemporaries, the one who was born with him on the same day, and bears the same name, such as *Kwadzo*, *Kofi*, takes a string and ties it around the arm for him. After that, the person is bathed by his contemporaries. At the end, they quickly scrape together the cowry shells that are in the wooden plate and turn the plate upside down. The name sake of the sick person on the same day is taken into a room and asked: "What do you want to do to me?" He answers: "I will fell timber and fetch reed". Now, in conclusion, he walks out of the room, bringing everything to an end.

C. The Hunting God

The hunting god is also called *akplakpui* and dweller in the bush, or forest devil. He is a grim, bad, devilish being in the bush and lives in termitariums and tree hollows.

He is short in stature, with curled hair. As one sees him, one becomes frightened so much that his/her heart stands still. The forest devil gathers together fruits of the shea butter tree. He puts together three stones in the form of a traditional cooker and lights fire, whose smoke one sees rising from deserted areas. When the grass becomes yellow, dry and the period of burning approaches, the forest devil hunts in the bush but no one knows who has fired the shot. He lights the bush in deserted surroundings, so that the fire comes near the town from there. But one does not know who has lit the fire.

If you take away wood that has been gathered together by him or take away his shea butter seeds, he sometimes beats you. However, he does nothing to you at times, but

B. Ȧunuwo

1. Ȧolimenɔ

Ȧolimenɔe nye nyɔnu, si ke dzia ame le Bome alo Ȧime. Ne ame aȦe dzi vi, eye Ȧevi la le do lem la, ekema wobia nu trɔ̃siwo. Trɔ̃siwo gblɔna bena, efe Ȧolimenɔ be, yeawui, eya ta woava wɔ nu nɛ. Womea ame memee wuieve, tsɔa bumenu ziwo, eye wokpa keke kple Ȧetitregolo vi atɔw aȦo mɔ dzi agblɔ na Ȧolimenɔ la bena: Ȧevi, si ke nɛdo dɛ wɔgbɛ hafi si va dzɔ Ȧe kodzogbe la, fe fe enye si miexe na wo loo! NeȦe asi le eȦu. Ne wova afe la, wosaa ka Ȧe Ȧevi la Ȧuti.

2. Gbetsi

Ne ame gbɔna dzɔdzɔ ge Ȧe kodzogbe afi la, efe haviwo bianɛ bena: Gbe ka gbe nagagbɔ mahã? Ame la tsina na wo bena, ne meȦo ale kple ale la, magagbugbɔ ava. Ne ye ma yi Ȧo edzi, ekema edea asi dolele me. Woyia trɔ̃si gbɔ wɔgbɔna na wo bena, eya Ȧutɔ gblɔ bena, ne meȦo ale kple ale ko la, magbugbɔ ava, eya ta ehaviwo va ekpe ge Ȧo. Egagblɔna na wo bena, woame amegã Ȧeka kple tu kple agbadza ne woadaxe nu le mɔ dzi.

Wovua avamakatsa tsɔ hotsui hoka 12 dea gbɔnu me, eye wokua tsi Ȧe eme, eye woyɔa ame la fe haviwo katã foa fu. Ame si ke le wo dome tsɔ efe Ȧkɔ tɔgbɛɛ, eȦanye Kwadzo alo Kofi o, wotsɔ hotsui enene tɔna sana Ȧe efe alɔnu. Emegbe wo tɔwo katã wolea tsi na ame la, eye woha hotsui, si le gbɔnu me la gidigidi, eye, wotsɔa gbɔnu la bua anyi. Eyome wolɛa Ȧoko la dea wɔ me, eye wobianɛ be: Nu ka nawɔ nam mahã? EȦoa eȦu bena: Matso ati, mawu bɛ, eye wɔdoa go le wɔa me. Azɔ wowu enu wɔ kenken.

C. Adeɛ

Adeɛ eyae nye akplakpui, gbɛwɔ alo azizã. Eyae nye aȦɛwɔ, nu manyomanyo, nu wɔȦi le gbe me. Enɔa ave me le kɔto me alo vuto me.

Ele kpuie eye efe ta tro pesepese; ale be, ne ekpɔe la wo dzi alã kpo. Efɔa yɔku foa fui Ȧe afi Ȧeka, eye etsɔ kpe etɔ kpea mlekpui doa dzo Ȧe eme; dzudzɔ la nɔa tutum le gbedadafo. Ne dzogbenɔli Ȧo, eye kele biã hɛ la, enɔa tu dam le gbe dzi, gake la womenya ame ka le edam o. Etɔa dzo gbe le gbedadafo wɔbina, va kena Ȧe afe Ȧuti, ke womenya ame si tɔ dzo la o.

Ne eyi Ȧe gbe me, eye neede asi efe yɔku Ȧuti alo efe nake Ȧu la, ye aȦewo yi afo wɔ, ke ye aȦewo yi mawɔ naneke wɔ o, Ȧeko wɔakplɔ wɔ aȦo Ȧe afe. Ne ame la va afe la, azɔ wɔflua Ȧkume nɛ. Ne ega de wɔ me la, agado go Ȧe xexe, ne eva xexe agayi Ȧe wɔ me.

rather accompanies you to the house. As the person arrives home, he confuses him. He enters his room, and goes out again. If he is outside, he enters into the room again; he continues with that till the next morning. But sometimes he leads him for many months into his own abode.

When the forest devil begins to possess a human being, the drum is played for him. For example, a person possessed by the forest devil can put (burning) charcoal into his mouth or throw it into a crowd. He throws up a big stone and lets this fall on his back again. As long as a person does that, one plays the drum to which he dances along the village road. When the drummers get tired and want to retire, the possessed person pounces on them and beats them up so that they flee from him. He does that until he becomes conscious again.

If the rites should be performed for someone, one takes forty-nine eggs, four chickens, palm oil and flour to the presiding priest. After the chickens have been cooked, palm oil is poured on the meat. All past victims who suffered similarly are invited to it. They eat (it) and drink palm wine in addition. Then, one string cowry shells and ties it around the arms of the victim. Apart from that, strings from the phloem of the raffia palm are tied around his neck. He is led to a stream, where he is rubbed with soap and sponge, bathed completely and smeared with hens' eggs. After that, an earth mound is thrown up and an egg broken off at the tip and placed on the earth mound. Then, the possessed person is smeared with white clay and taken home. Now it is believed that the devil has been driven from him.

He is forbidden to eat from other people; he may eat only what his wife has cooked. She should not put the dish on the bare earth for him. Rather, she must put it on a ring made with clay.⁷⁵ When he is at table, he must keep a piece of straw between his toes firmly, so that if someone mentions his name at a distance, his rites are not hurt. The trees, *klo*, and *yewoyewo*, should not be used as firewood to cook his meals.

D. World, Heaven and Rain

1. The World

The world is a big deity because it is behind you and before you. This means that you do not know the difficulties that could come across. That is why one is fond of saying the world is a big deity that is before you and behind you. Eve land (equal to the world) is something big. If you have become rich, you do not know whether you will not become destitute again. One says the world is the stomach of the baobab tree that one cannot clasp with the hands. This calamity comes over a human being. You cannot save yourself from a difficulty that comes to you. It also means that the knowledge of each individual is nothing; if one could gather the little knowledge of every individual person, there will be total knowledge. A human being can never know the world completely; there will always be something (that he/she does not know). The world can, therefore, not be clasped with hands.

75 This ring is made of the piece of the neck of an old pot.

Alea dzi ko ame la anɔ ɖeɖi hã mate enu akpɔ o, va se ɖe esime ɲu nake. Ye aɖewo yi la, wòakplɔ wò ayi ɖe ye ɲutɔ fe nɔfe yleti aɖewo.

Ne adee te kple dɔwɔwɔ le ame la me la, wonɔa vu fom nɛ. Ame la atɔ asi aku dzo akɔ ɖe nume, alo hlɛna ɖe amewo dome. Etsɔa kpe gã aɖe dana ɖe dzi, eye eya ɲutɔ yina ɖe ete, kpe la va dzea dzime nɛ. Ne ele ewom alea la wova lia vu la ɖe ablɔ me nɛ wònɔa eɖum. Ke ne ɖeɖi te vufolawo ɲu woyi afe me la, eyina ɖadzea wo dzi, afo wo kakaka woasi le egbo. Esia dzi ko wònɔna va se ɖe esime efe ɲkume nakɔ.

Ne wole nu wɔ ge na amea la, wotsɔ koklozi adre tefe adre, koklo eve kple ami dzẽ kpakple wɔ yia nua wɔla gbɔ. woɖa koklo ene la katã, hebakana kple ami dzẽ. Woyɔa ame siwo katã wòwɔ kpɔ, la ɖa be, woava ɖu nu la, eye wonoa aha ɖe edzi. Emegbe woatsɔ hotsui atɔ ɖe alɔnu na ame la, eye woatsɔ la ade kɔme nɛ. Eyome woakplɔe ayi tɔ me, eye woatsɔ adzalẽ ade akutsa me ale nɛ ken, atɔ koklozi alili ɖe enu. Ne wowɔe vɔ la, wofoa dru gã ɖeka, aɲɔ koklozi la nu atɔ ada ɖe edzi, eye woata ye na ame la, akplɔe ava afe me. Woyi busu nɛ vɔ.

Efe nutsitsrie nye: Meɖua ame bubu fe nuɖaɖa o; srɔ fe nuɖaɖa ko wòadɔ. Ne srɔ ɖa nu vɔ la, madroe ɖe anyigba o, ke boɲ ɖe zekla dzi. Ne eva nu ɖu ge la, atɔ ati afo ɖe afɔte me, bena ne ame aɖe yɔe le adzɔge la, ne magagblẽ kɔ ɖo o. Mewɔa klɔ kple yewɔyewɔ ɲu dɔ o. Wometsɔnɛ doa dzo ɖa nu nɛ o.

D. Xexeme, dzingbe kple tsidzadza

1. Xexeme

Xexeme Mawu gãe, elabena ele megbewò, ele ɲgɔwò. Egɔmee nye hiã, si ke ava hiã la menyae o. Eya ɲuti wogblɔna bena: Xexeme la Mawu gãe, ele megbewò ele ɲgɔwò. Evedome nu gã wònye; esi nèkpɔ nu la, ne hiã aɖe agava dziwò la menyae o. Wogblɔna bena, xexeme la, adido fe fodoe, asi metune vɔna o. Egɔmee nye nya wua ame. Nya, si ke ava dziwò, mate ɲu avli ɖokuiwò le eme o. Ame ɖeka fe nunyanya menye naneke o, ne amewo katã fe nunya kpe ta vivivi la, ekema ezu nunya blibo. Amegbetɔ alo Eveme manya xememe avɔ gbɛɖegbɛɖe o; ɖewo asusɔ kokoko, eya ta xexeme la, asi metune.

2. The Heavens

There are two heavens. The one that we see with our eyes is termed *dzingo*, “the front of the upper part”. Formerly, heaven and earth were together. However, little children and children afflicted with wounds wiped off their fingers on it after meals. One says that old people pushed it up while pounding fufu with the pestle. That is why God said that He can no longer live among children afflicted with wounds, and, He then, withdrew very, very far, in order that no human hand can touch Him any longer. Heaven is called “the earth above”. Where God Himself lives, His servers attend to all works for Him.

3. The Rain

Water comes from God to the inhabitants of heaven, before it comes to us. When water from heaven rushes here, we say that the pot is not yet full. However, when it begins to rain, we say: “The pot is now full.” When the water in the clouds draws closer completely black, the clouds drive along fast and the water thunders slowly, one mentions its appellations and says: *Meuku Sodza, tatraponi, teku, wle dāda metsɔ* o. The last phrase means “The wle crop does not become soft quickly when cooked.”⁷⁶ If it then thunders stronger than before, one says: “*Amumrutu, trɔ* of the refractory, *Adokoer*.” When it pours with rain, one gives it the appellation: “The monkey sees it and weeps”. When it rains, the monkey weeps because it gets wet and says: “Tomorrow I will build a house for myself; early in the morning tomorrow I will certainly build a house!” The strong thunder is termed *abedegblemee*. One gives thunder the appellation: “Evil of traders and good deed of farmers, mother of the *Tw*i people and mother of the Ewe

2. Dzingbe

Dzingbe eve li. Esi kpɔ míele la, woyɔ eya be dzingɔ. Tsā la eya kple anyigba le afi dēka, ke ne dēvi suewo kple kliviwo dū nu vɔ la, wonɔa asi lilim dē enu. Wobe, ne amewo le fufu tom la ekema wotsɔa tati nɔa etum. Eya na Mawu gblɔ bena, yemate ŋu anɔ kliviwo dome o. Eye wòte yi megbe sasāsa, ne ame aḍeke fe asi nagake ye ŋu o. Afi ma woyɔna azɔ bena dzimenyi. Afi sia Mawu ŋuto le, efe dɔlawo wɔa nu sia nu nɛ.

3. Tsidzadza

Tsi tsoa Mawu gbɔ va alilimetɔwo gbɔ, hafi va mía gbɔ. Ne tsi la tso dzifo gbɔna le dīdīm hoo la, ekema míegblɔna be, meɔ zɔ haḍe o, ne ete kple dzadza me la, míegblɔna be, eyɔ zɔ la azɔ. Ne tsi la dɔ tsiditsidi dē alilikpowo me, eye alilikpoawo le yiyim kabakaba eye tsi la le vuulum blewu la, wofoa ŋkɔ dɔ nɛ bena: Mruku Sodza, tatraponi, teku, vle dāda metsɔ o. Ne egavlu wu tsāɔ la, wogblɔna bena: Adɔkɔ dzagbowo fe trɔ. Amumrutu. Ne tsi le dzadzam sesie la, ekema míenɔa ŋkɔ fom dɔ nɛ be: Abladzīe kpɔ fa avi. Elabena ne tsi la be, yeawu la, ekema abladzī nɔa avi fam le tsi si le efo ge la ŋuti, eye wonɔa gbɔgbɔm bena, etsɔ hā matu xɔ, etsɔ ŋu ke hā matu xɔ. Tsi, si ke vluna gbrēē. lae nye gbedegblemee. Eya wofoa ŋkɔ dɔ na bena: Asiawo fe nu vɔ, agbleawo fe nu nyuie, Blunɔ, Evenɔ, dzadza tse avi, madzamadza tse avi, gbɔgbɔ tse avi, magbɔmagbɔ tse afi, yi yi tse avi, mayimayi tse avi; bɔ nsu, bɔ wia Nyagrapua Kwami bɔ nsu bɔ wia (Mawu Kwami eya wɔ tsi, wɔ ye)

⁷⁶ One needs a lot of water to cook it. Therefore, it is a request for a lot of rain.

people! Rain brings weeping, and no rain brings weeping. Your coming brings weeping and if you do not come, too, there is weeping; if you do not go, there is weeping.” God, the Sunday born, makes rain and sunshine.

After a rain (storm), through which crops get rotten, people are fond of making fun and saying: Till now, you have drawn it and drunk it. Now, if the drawn thing grips the person, he does not need to hate it.”⁷⁷

During difficult court proceedings, if both parties speak in such a way that the judges like it and do not know whom they should agree with, they say: *gbedegblemee*. This means: “One cannot cope with something”.

Ne tsi la nu tsi keŋ, eye wògblě agblemenuwo alo lé agblewo la ekema amewo nɔa fewu ɖum le amewo ɲu nɔa agbɔgblɔm bena: Ekui no, kuitɔ meléa ame woɖea fui o.

Le vɔnudɔdrɔ sesěwo me, ne amewo to wofe nyawo ɲanaɲana, wòvivi dze vɔnudrɔlawo ɲu, eye womekpɔ taɖofe na nya la o la, wogblɔna bena: Gbedegbleme, taɖofe meli na nya la o.

THE END

77 The thought is: Till now the thirsty person has taken hold of water. In a disastrous storm rainwater gripped the thirsty person, and he does not need to complain because it is the same that he had done to water earlier on. Anyhow, whoever has suffered damages through the rain will not hate it because of that.

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Climatic Conditions

1. Daily Movement of the Barometer and Thermometer

The following temperature recordings come from Ho, 170 m above sea level. It was made in the year 1888 and covered over 53 days during the months March, April and May. The instruments were fixed on a board standing against the wall on the 21/2 m deep veranda of the mission house in Ho 21/2 m above the ground. The veranda was shaded by a shingle roof, whose shingles had about 1 cm thickness. The veranda is only exposed to the southwestern and southeastern wind, but not to the northeastern and northwestern.

Barometer and Temperature Readings

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
March 18th	6	745	28	Southwest Southwest bright	Light fog in the plains; Dew on the grass. Air full of mist; non transparent.
18th	12	743	33		
18th	2	741,5	34		
18th	9	745,5	25	Southwest hardly noticeable	One sees Adaklu ¹ unclearly. One does not see the mountains. Sky clear.

1 Adaklu 12 km South of Ho

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
19th	6	744,7	26	Northwest	The leaves of the strong trees are weak. That of the tender trees, for example eucalyptus, stirring lively. Slight dew. Mist in the plains
19th	12	745	31	Calm	
19th	2	744	31,5	Calm	
19th	9	745	28	Calm	
20th	6	745	25	Northwest	Moderate draught. Eucalyptus stirring moderately. Sky cloudy
20th	12	743,5	32	Southwest	
20th	9	745	27,5	Southwest. Gentle draught	Eucalyptus stirring moderately
21st	6	745	26	Northwest	Rain from 5:00-6:30 The leaves are stirring; sky clear Sky clear
21st	12	743	30	Northwest.	
21st	2	741	32	Bright	
21st	9	744	28,5	Southwest. Moderate	
22nd	6	744	26	Calm	Fog in the plains Tender trees stirring Sky cloudy The leaves of the trees are stirring gently. Sky cloudy 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon thunderstorm. It rains intermittently. Thunderstorm does not break out completely. Sky moderately cloudy; moonlight
22nd	12	742,5	31,5	Northwest	
22nd	2	741	34,5	Southwest	
22nd	9		27,5	Calm	
23rd	6	744	25,5	Southwest	Gentle current of wind. Eucalyptus stirring moderately; sky clear. Dew on the grass
23rd	12	743	32	Southwest	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
23rd 23rd	2 9	741 745	34 27	Southwest Southwest	Leaves and tender twigs are stirring; cumulus in the east; otherwise the sky is moderately cloudy. Leaves are stirring; sky clear From 5:00-7:00 p.m. thunderstorm moving past without rain
24th 24th 24th 24th	6 12 2 9	744 744 741 746	25,5 31 33 27	Southwest Northwest Southwest Northeast	Smoke does not go up straight. Sky cloudy, stratus Eucalyptus and palm leaves are stirring; sky totally cloudy. Thunderstorm 8:30-9:30 During the rain 18 degrees in the open; an hour later 19 degrees on the middle veranda. Leaves rustling gently; sky cloudy
25th 25th 25th 25th	745 744,5 742 745,5	26 30,5 32,5 26,5		Southwest Southwest Northeast Southwest. Gentle	Only eucalyptus leaves are stirring gently; sky densely cloudy; mountains enveloped in fog. Leaves are stirring. Leaves are stirring gently. Thunderstorm is gathering from northeast at 4:00 o'clock; it did not rain. Almost totally calm

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
26th	6	745	25	Calm	Southern sky moderately cloudy; in the south stratus clouds and in the north cirrus. Leaves and twigs are stirring; cumulus clouds in the whole sky. Sky clear Sky clear
26th	12	745	32	West	
26th	2	742,5	33,5	West	
26th	9	746	27	Southwest	
27th	6	745	26	Calm	Light dew; sky totally cloudy; stratus Leaves are stirring gently; sky clear; southern sky some stratus clouds Leaves stirring; hardly noticeably. In the southeast thunderstorm is gathering From 4-5 o'clock strong thunderstorm; rain pouring; storm lashes the rain in the east Sky clear; in the southeast only some cumulus clouds
27th	12	743	32	Southwest	
27th	2	742	33	Northwest	
27th	9	746	25	Calm	
28th	6	744,5	25	Calm	Light fog in the plains; sky clear; towards the south moderate foggy clouds Moderate current of air, towards the south light rain clouds At 4:00 o'clock thunderstorm, did not rain, sky clear; in southeast some cumulus clouds
28th	2	741	31		
28th	9	744,5	25,5	Calm	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
29th	6	744	25	Calm	Sky clear; southeast
29th	2	741,5	33	Calm	sky moderately cloudy; dew; in the plains fog
29th	9	745,5	27	Northwest	Mist; thunder is heard from southeast 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon storm; thunderstorm without rain. Later sky cloudy; in southeast cumulus clouds Sky cloudy; cumulus clouds
30 th	6	744	25,5		
30 th	12	743,5	32	Southwest	Leaves are stirring gently; Sky cloudy; nimbus and cumulus clouds
30 th	2	742,5	32,5	Calm	
30 th	9	745	27	Calm	Southwestern sky very cloudy; western and eastern rain clouds; northern somehow moderate Sky clear
31st	6	745,8	25,1	Calm	Sky not clear, air filled with fog and mist; dew on the grass
31st	12	744,5	31	Calm	Thunderstorm gathering
31st	2	743,5	30	Southeast	Strong wind
31st	9	748	26	Southwest	Thunderstorm at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon, drifted towards the west, did not rain. Eucalyptus leaves are stirring; sky moderately cloudy, especially towards the southeast.

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
April 1st	6	746,2	23,5	Southwest	Leaves are stirring; air clear and transparent; (There was a strong rain at midnight); sky moderately cloudy. Leaves are stirring; sky cloudy, air clear. Sky clear; moderate wind
1st	2	744,5	30,5	Southwest	
1st	9	746,5	26	Southwest	
2nd	6	746,5	25	Northwest	Sky cloudy; air clear.
2nd	12	745,8	30,5	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy; air clear.
2nd	2	743,8	31,8	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy; cumulus clouds; air clear.
2nd	9	746,5	27	West	Wind hardly felt; sky not cloudy; air clear.
3rd	6	746,5	24,5	Southwest	Moderate wind; air clear; sky clear
3rd	12	745,5	30	Southwest	Leaves and twigs are stirring; air clear; sky slightly cloudy.
3rd	2	744,5	32	Southwest	Sky cloudy, no star seen.
3rd	9	747,5	27	Calm	
4th	6	746	25	Calm	Sky slightly cloudy, especially in southeast; Slight dew.
4th	12	745,2	30	Southwest	Leaves are stirring; sky slightly cloudy
4th	2	743	32	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy; in southeast rain clouds, otherwise cumulus clouds
4th	9	746,5	28	Calm	Sky clear and starlit
5th	6	746,5	25	Calm	Sky clear, air clear; dew
5th	12	745,5	30,5	Calm	Sky clear, air clear
5th	2	743,2	32	Southwest	Leaves are stirring; sky clear
5th	9	745,5	28	Southwest	Sky clear; totally cloudless

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
6th	6	747,5	24,1	Northwest	Strong storm; thunderstorm and rain; rain from the north
6th	12	745,2	28	Southwest	Air clear; sky cloudy; cumulus clouds; partly cirrus clouds
6th	9	746,5	28	Calm	Soon quite strong wind; thunderstorm, did not rain
7th	6	746	26	Northwest	Sky slightly cloudy; air misty
7th	12	744,2	31,5	West	Leaves are stirring gently; Sky slightly cloudy; cumulus clouds, air totally clear.
7th	2	742,5	33	Calm	Thunderstorm gathering from northeast; it rained a little at 4:30
7th	9	745,2	27,5		
8th	6	745,5	26	Northwest	Tender leaves are stirring; air totally clear; dew
8th	12	744,5	31,5	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy; cumulus clouds
8th	2	742	33,1	Southeast	Sky cloudy, especially in southeast rain clouds.
8th	9	745	26	Northwest	Gentle breeze, sky cloudy, stars being seen. This evening at 4:30-5:30 violent thunderstorm with strong storm and rain in northeast

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
9th	6	745,2	26	Calm	Sky cloudy, sun rising; dew; fog in the plains
9th	12	744	31,1	Northeast	Sky strongly cloudy; southeastern rain clouds Sky cloudy; southeastern rain clouds Sky clear
9th	2	743	32	Calm	
9th	9	745,5	27	Northwest. Gentle	
10th	6	745	26	Northwest. Gentle	Sky clear; air somehow misty; dew strong
10th	12	745	31,1	Southwest South Southeast. Gentle Calm	Leaves are stirring; sky slightly cloudy.
10th	2	742,5	32		Thunderstorm gathering in the Southeast; lasts till 7:00 o'clock in the evening; did not rain.
10th	9	745,5	27		Sky totally cloudy

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
11th	6	745,5	26	Southwest. Gentle.	Sky slightly cloudy; in southeast and southwest mist on the mountains, as if there was light rain or smoke Air full of mist; Adaklu hardly seen, only the outlines; it is thundering in the south 4:00 o'clock thunderstorm, pulls to the west, comes back from there in steps, rains a little, thunderstorm. (17 degrees in the open). Then strong rain and wind till 5:10 Thundershower from 6:00 p.m. till 11:00 p.m. (17,1 degrees in the open)
11th	12	744,5	32	Northwest. Gentle	
11th	2	742,5	38,7	Calm	
11th	9	748	24	Southwest	
12th	6	746,2	24,5	West	Sky cloudy; air full of water smoke; the outlines of the mountains seen. Sky not cloudy; air not clear. Sky covered with veil of clouds; sun shines; air full of mist; in southeast rain clouds Sky cloudy, especially in the south.
12th	12	744,7	30	West	
12th	2	743	32	Southwest	
12th	9	746,5	27	Southwest	
13th	6	746,2	25	Southwest Southwest Southwest	Sky cloudy; morning dew; sun does not rise till 9:00 o'clock. Sky cloudy; Leaves and twigs are stirring Air quite clear Sky clear
13th	12	746,2	30		
13th	2	743,2	30,8		
13th	9	746	28		

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
14th	6	746,2	25	Northwest	Sky cloudless, not clear; morning dew; fog in southeast at the foot of the mountains and at the foot of Adaklu Sky cloudy, cumulus clouds in the south; sun is shining. Sky cloudy, cumulus clouds; sun is shining. Sky clear
	12	746	30,5	Northwest	
	2	744	32,5	Southwest	
	9	746,5	26,5		
15th	6	746	26,5	East	Sky cloudy; fog on the mountains in the west; morning dew. Sky cloudy, thunderstorm gathering, breaks out at 12:30; storm and rain; it rains till 3:00 p.m. Sky cloudy
15th	12	745,5	31	East	
15th	2	746	25,5	East	
15th	9	747,5	24,5	East	
16th	6	746	24,5	Northwest. Strong	Twigs and branches are stirring; strong morning dew; sky slightly cloudy; foggy clouds on the mountain Adaklu goes into a foggy cap Sky slightly cloudy; 1:00-11:00 o'clock southwest Thunderstorm gathering in southeast. Sky slightly cloudy.
16th	12	745,6	30	Calm	
16th	2	744	31	Calm	
16th	9	745,5	26,5	Calm	
17th	6	745,5	26	Southwest	Sky not cloudy, air not totally clear Sky cloudy; cumulus clouds Sky cloudy Thunderstorm and rain already from 7:00 o'clock onwards
17th	12	743,5	32	Southwest	
17th	2	741	33	Southwest	
17th	9	748	26	East	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
18th	6	745,2	24,5	East	Sky totally cloudy, slight fog, air not clear
18th	12	745,	28,7	Southwest	Sky cloudy, air quite clear
18th	2	744,7	29	East	Sky cloudy, air not completely clear
18th	9	746	26,3	Southwest	Sky clear
19th	6	745,5	24,9	Northwest	Sky clear, air clear; morning dew; fog in the plains
19th	12	745	29,5	Southwest	Sky clear, air clear.
19th	2	743,8	32	East	Slight white clouds in the southwestern sky; air clear
19th	9	748	27,2	Northwest	Sky clear
20th	6	746	25,9	Northwest	Leaves are stirring; sky cloudy; fog on the mountains in the south
20th	12	744,6	30,5	Northwest	Sky cloudy
20th	2	742,5	31,7	East	Sky cloudy
20th	9	746	26,5	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy
21st	6	7455,5	25,5	East	Sky clear; fog in the South at Adaklu, whose peak is enveloped; plenty of morning dew
21st	12	745,5	29,8	Southeast	Thunderstorm at Adaklu drifted towards the west
21st	2	744,6	29	East	Sky cloudy; air not clear
21st	9	74	26		Sky clear
22nd	6	745,5	25	East	Sky cloudy; plenty of morning dew; slight fog in the plains, not in layers, but rather filling the air
22nd	2	742,5	32	Southwest	Sky cloudy, cumulus clouds
22nd	9	746	27,3	East	Sky clear

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
23 rd	6	745,5	26,5	East	Sky cloudy; slight morning dew; fog in the plains Tender leaves are stirring; sky cloudy; cumulus and rain clouds, especially in the southeast Sky cloudy Sky cloudy
23 rd	12	743,5	32	Southwest	
23 rd	2	743	32,5	East	
23 rd	9	745,5	28	East	
24 th	6	744,5	26	East	Sky slightly cloudy; cirrus clouds; air not completely clear; at the foot of the mountains streak of fog; morning dew. Tender leaves are stirring; sky cloudy; cumulus and cirrus clouds. Air full of mist. Tender leaves are stirring; air full of mist like during harmattan. Tender leaves are stirring; sky clear
24 th	12	743,5	31,5	Northwest	
24 th	2	741,8	32,5	Northwest	
24 th	9	745,9	27,9	Southwest	
25 th	6	744,9	26,1	Northwest	Sky slightly cloudy; air not clear, full of mist; slight morning dew. Leaves are stirring; sky cloudy; cumulus and rain clouds; air not clear; mist Leaves are stirring; sky cloudy; rained slightly Tender leaves are stirring; sky slightly cloudy
25 th	12	744,5	30,2	Southwest	
25 th	2	743	30	Southwest	
25 th	9	746,2	27,3	Southwest	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
26 th	6	745,5	26	Northwest	Sky clear, morning dew. Strong fog still lying in the plains Sky cloudy; Cumulus and rain clouds evenly distributed. Rain, thunderstorm at 2:00 o'clock just ended; no storm. Full moon. Mist.
26 th	12	745,7	30,5	Southwest	
26 th	2	744,5	30	Southeast	
26 th	9	746,5	26,9	East	
27 th	6	745,6	25,7	East	Low hovering rain clouds; sky cloudy. Strong morning dew Sky cloudy Sky cloudy Sky cloudless. Thunderstorm between 7:00 and 8:00 o'clock. 19,5 degrees during the thunderstorm
27 th	12	744,6	30,8	Southwest	
27 th	2	743,7	31	Southwest	
27 th	9	746,5	26	East	
28 th	6	745,5	26	Northwest	Fog in the plains; smoke rising up. Sky not clear, but rather misty. Sky cloudy; rain clouds. Sky moonlit and starlit Cumulus clouds in southeast
28 th	12	744,5	30	Southwest	
28 th	9	745,5	27	East	
29 th	6	745,5	25,5	Northwest	Slight fog in the plains; morning dew Raining heavenly with sunshine Thunderstorm drifted towards the west, lasted only 5 minutes. Sky clear; rain from 5:25-5:38. During the rain temperature was 19,5 degrees
29 th	2	744,2	31	Northwest	
29 th	9	746	26,8	East	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
30th	6	745,5	25,5	East	Fog in the plains; plenty of morning dew.
30th	12	744	30,2	Southwest	Sky cloudy
30th	2	743	31	Southwest	Slight rain
30th	9	745	27,5	East	Sky clear; starlit
May 1st	6	745	26	East	Fog climbing up
	2	743,5	27	East	Thunderstorm gathering from
	9	745	25,8	East	12:30, sky totally cloudy. Rain the whole afternoon
					Sky starlit
2nd	6	745	25	East	Foggy rain in the south; sun rises;
2nd	12	745	30,5	East	smoke is not climbing up
2nd	2	743	31,5	East	Sky cloudy; cumulus and rain clouds
					Thunderstorm gathering from south east
3rd	6	746,2	22,5	Northwest	Sky cloudy with rain clouds. Strong
3rd	12	746	28,9	Southwest	thunderstorm at night.
3rd	2	744	30	Southwest	Sky cloudy
3rd	9	746	26,5	Southwest	Sky cloudy
					Sky starry
4th	6	746,5	25	Northwest	Sky slightly cloudy; some fog
4th	12	746,5	29,5	Southwest	in the south; slight morning dew
4th	9	745	27	Southwest	Sky cloudy, cumulus clouds
					Sky starry
5th	6	747	25,5	Southwest	Sky slightly cloudy
5th	12	746,8	30	East	
5th	9	748	25	East	

Date	Time of Day	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading Celsius	Wind Direction	Remarks
6th	6	746,5	25	Northwest	Sky cloudy, strong wind
6th	12	745,5	31	Northwest	Sky cloudy; hot
6th	2		32	Southwest	Strong thunderstorm coming from southeast this evening at 6:00; plenty of rainfall and storm; rained 5-8 minutes
6th	9	747	25	Northwest	
7th	6	747	25	East	Sky cloudy, rainy
7th	12	744,5	30,5	Southwest	Sky cloudy
7th	2	743	31,5	Southwest	Sky cloudy
7th	9	746	26,8	East	Sky starry
8th	6	745	25	East	Sky covered with slight, white veil of clouds; fog in the plains; morning dew
8th	12	744	31,1	Southwest	Sky cloudy
8th	2	743	29	Southwest	Thunderstorm drifting southwards past Adaklu
8th	9	746	26	East	Sky starry
9th	12	745	30	Southwest	Sky cloudy
9th	9	745,5	25	Northwest	Sky cloudy

Barometer and Temperature Readings

II. Average Daily Barometer and Temperature Reading

Date	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading
18th March	743,75	30,0
19th March	744,7	29,1
20th March	744,5	28,2
21st March	743,0	29,1
22nd March	742,9	29,9
23rd March	743,25	32,1
24th March	744,0	29,1
25th March	744,2	28,9
26th March	744,6	29,4
27th March	744,0	29,0
28th March	743,3	27,2
29th March	744,0	28,0
30th March	745,75	29,25
31st March	745,2	28,0
1st April	745,7	26,7
2nd April	745,7	28,6
3rd April	746,0	28,4
4th April	745,2	28,8
5th April	745,2	28,9
6th April	746,4	26,7
7th April	744,5	29,3
8th April	744,3	29,2
9th April	744,6	29,0
10th April	744,5	29,7
11th April	745,1	30,2
12th April	745,1	28,4
13th April	745,4	28,5

Date	Barometer Reading	Temperature Reading
14th April	745,7	28,6
15th April	746,2	26,9
16th April	745,3	28,0
17th April	744,5	29,2
18th April	745,4	27,1
19th April	745,6	28,4
20th April	747,3	28,6
21st April	745,1	27,6
22nd April	744,5	28,1
23rd April	744,4	29,7
24th April	743,9	29,5
25th April	744,6	28,4
26th April	745,5	28,3
27th April	745,1	28,4
28th April	745,2	27,7
29th April	745,2	27,8
30th April	744,4	28,5
1st May	744,5	26,2
2nd May	744,3	29,0
3rd May	745,6	27,0
4th May	746,0	27,2
5th May	747,3	26,8
6th May	746,3	28,2
7th May	745,1	28,4
8th May	744,5	27,8
9th May	745,2	27,5

III. Average Barometer Reading in the period from 18th March-9th May (53 days): 744,91.

Average Temperature in the period from 18th March-9th May (53 days): 28,46 degrees Celsius.

Average Barometer Reading in April: 744,5

Average Temperature in April: 28,43 degrees Celsius

Increasingly, the German Government is expanding this programme to the safeguarding of literature, music and other sources of intellectual heritage. Thus, the translation of "Die Ewe-Stämme" is only one example of the German Foreign Office's policy to protect immaterial cultural heritage from vanishing forever.

This book, the translation of the groundbreaking work "Die Ewe-Stämme", is a fine example of German-Ghanaian cultural cooperation in the field of preserving our common cultural heritage. This book is by far the most important still existing documentation on the history, culture and socio-economic organization of the Ewe in nowadays Togo and Ghana.

The importance of this book to scholars and the interested public in general, and to the Ewe in particular, is best demonstrated by the central role it still plays in chieftaincy disputes and other legal proceedings among the Ewe in their traditional areas. Regrettably, this book is not easily accessible, as only a handful copies exist amongst the Ewe. The fact that the book is mainly written in German constitutes an additional obstacle to its use. This is due to the fact that German is no more in widespread use amongst the Ewe.

Therefore, this translation of "Die Ewe-Stämme" into English and contemporary Ewe might create a revival of interest amongst researchers, enhance the understanding for the traditional Ewe culture and become reading material in schools and universities..."

Dr. Marius Haas

*Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany
to the Republic of Ghana, 2007-2010*

"Die Ewe-Stämme" remains the most celebrated and indispensable reference documentation on the Ewe, even in its original form. It continues to feature prominently in the settlement of chieftaincy and territorial disputes, conflicts, issues related to succession and ascension to thrones. For example, during the protracted dispute in Ho over claims of the Paramountcy, I recollect vividly the heated exchanges between the legendary, top, erudite doyen of Ghana's Judicial System, the late J.B. Danquah, and F.T. Amorin, each of whom represented the two principal claimants. These exchanges were guided by the perceived reliability and authenticity of relevant content in the "Die Ewe-Stämme". After decades of Commissions of Enquiry hearings, and court proceedings, the final judgement that was handed down was reflective of the exhaustive documentation of observations presented by Spieth in the "Die Ewe-Stämme".

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