Africa 71 (3), 2001

THE 'TRUE NZEMA': A LAYERED IDENTITY

Pierluigi Valsecchi

This article approaches the question of identity with reference to an important section of the Akan people located in south-western Ghana and south-eastern Côte d'Ivoire, namely the group of communities known as Nzema.

In the Sub-Saharan Africa of today, issues of identity play a role of primary importance in the vicissitudes of the state's 'advances' and 'retreats'. As far as the so-called 'ethnic identities' are specifically concerned, it is true that these constitute 'merely a small fraction of the many identities mobilized in the post-colonial politics of everyday life' (Werbner and Ranger, 1996: 1),[1] but they are in the background of every political debate, at whatever level, and often occupy the centre ground. 'Ethnic identities' are an elusive field shot through with uncertainties, while the constituent 'ethnic' categories tend to be seen as well defined and indisputable. In reality it is not difficult from a historical point of view to challenge, undermine or even demolish widely accepted beliefs and pillars of 'national' ideologies, by demonstrating their relativity, intangibility and changeability. On the other hand, it is precisely these attributes which give 'ethnic' categories their versatility and vitality, their ability to dominate current expressions of a heterogeneous reality which are of great collective importance (Amselle and M'Bokolo, 1985; Vail, 1989; Spear and Waller, 1993; Solinas, 1995; Werbner and Ranger, 1996).

The colonial era is often considered to have been the time when ethnic denominations took on an almost rigid form (Amselle, 1990: 22–8; Ranger, 1989: 118–50; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991, especially chapter 7). Writing, as the instrument of translation and propagation of the new political, religious and cultural order, was supposed to have had a key role in turning loose definitions into the inflexible categories which colonialism wished to impose. Such categories were thus attributed with an unprecedented power, as they became 'performative' concepts, which are 'capable of generating by themselves the groups they describe' (Amselle, 1995: 87). But if we move from general questions of African studies to the specific Akan context, this broad interpretation comes up against interpretive concepts produced by a well established and substantial historiographical tradition, founded on records which are extremely wide-ranging and which stretch back over a

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[1] Suffice it to consider the fundamental roles played by identities based on religion, education, profession, etc.

https://doi.org/10.3366/afr.2001.71.3.391 Published online by Cambridge University Press

remarkably long period of time. Leaving aside generalisations and categorisations, the regional situation is marked by the presence of varying factors all arising from very different periods and circumstances, which are all still influential to varying degrees and at different levels, but interconnected in a complex manner. Undoubtedly colonisation brought a considerable break with the past, and did indeed act as a powerful catalyst in a process of actual change, but within a context where the elements of continuity were so strong and numerous that it is by no means a foregone conclusion that any interpretation will prove to be based on the origin, development and results of that colonial transformation from a historical point of view.

As far as the question of the 'creation of identity' is concerned, even the most theoretically and methodologically advanced historiography implicitly accepts the idea that an 'Asante identity' (Asante is the main historical Akan grouping) preceded, continued during and survived the colonial period, and was in many ways autonomous and capable of putting forward and sustaining its own responses to the challenge posed by European domination. It is clearly the state, as a concrete reality even before the colonial period, which defined Asante as a specific category and which was used to include and exclude at various levels.[2] Historical argument takes on a different tone in the case of the many Akan areas and formations, which lack a structure comparable with that of the Asante and are therefore considered more malleable material in the hands of the colonial 'creator of ethnicity' (Viti, 1995, 1998, on Baule; Rathbone, 1996, on Akyem Abuakwa). But in such cases, it is obvious that each history is dependent on particular circumstances which make a single interpretation impossible, and thus the process of ethnic categorisation during the colonial period is only one (albeit an important and incontrovertible one) of the available registers actually used within these heterogeneous and superimposed identities which influence ideological, political and social debate in the region.

Although it is not my intention to engage in yet another of those exercises, which have been wittily described as 'our contemporary but curious wish to quite literally map identity' (Rathbone, 1996: 506), I will go as far as is possible in attempting to define clearly and concretely 'that which is Nzema' and what it means to be a Nzema, both currently and in the past. It is my immediate intention to refute some interpretations based on inappropriate definitions developed in terms of 'ethnic identity' and endeavour to get closer to an understanding which is more complex and more grounded in history. However, it is not simply a philological matter, however significant that may be, or a question of precisely defining categories, which are in any case relative. My aim is to set up an analytical framework in order to understand the manner in which that identity is expressed in its more dynamic elaboration (i.e. in relation to local ideological and political develop-

[2] For varied analyses of Asante see Wilks (1975, 1993), Yarak (1990) and McCaskie (1995). For a study of the Gyaman state see Terray (1995).

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ments). Within this framework it should be possible to identify the different registers and clarify their links, as well as the reasons why individuals and communities make use of different registers on different occasions.

THE AREAS OF DEFINITION

The definition of what Nzema means, where the Nzema live and who they are, must be approached with caution. The term 'Nzema', which has a long history, has been and is still used to describe at the same time territorial, human and historical entities which, although interlinked, are distinct. The lack of awareness of the shifting meaning of the term in different contexts, mainly due to a lack of historical analysis, is the root cause of the continuing ambiguity in writings about the area, particularly in anthropological studies. Notwithstanding some examples of an approach that is more attentive to historical perspective (especially Palumbo, 1995), the tendency has been, and continues to be, a matter of devising rigid, self-contained 'ethnic' entities on the basis of specific geographical and historical experiences existing within a wider and pervasive network of nuanced continua, while other fundamental components of the same context are treated almost exclusively as useful comparative terms, in that they describe 'related' or 'similar' but completely distinct entities (Grottanelli, 1962, 1971: 226; Ackah, 1965: 1; Paulme, 1970: 189; Signorini, 1973: 222; Valsecchi, 1994: 83; Pavanello, 1996: 373). Grottanelli (1977, 1978), still the most thorough anthropological study of Nzema, identifies the geographical boundaries of this entity precisely as the lower reaches of the Ankobra river to the east side and the Tanoɛ to the west (Grottanelli, 1977: 13), an area in which 'the genuine Nzema' (*gli Nzema veri e propri*) live, distinct from the groups immediately to the east, i.e. the Ɛvaloɛ (1977: 34), who are similar but, by implication, not 'true Nzema'. The geographical and human definition used in this study is, in some ways, 'true', given that it expresses a particularly significant feature of the reshaping of the Nzema identity during the colonial period, when the name was officially adopted to indicate the two *maanlema* (sing. *maanle*) of Adoabo and Benyinli[3] within Axim District in the Western Province of the Gold Coast Colony. *Maanle* can be translated in this context as 'country' or 'state'. The term, which corresponds to the Twi *ɔman*, generally describes a community as an organic whole founded historically upon a human, political or territorial society (the term is applied in the same manner at every non-elementary level of community, irrespective of its relative hierarchical position).

The two political entities centred on Adoabo and Benyinli replaced the 'Kingdom of Appolonia', the most consistent political expression of

[3] Atuabo and Beyin, according to the more widely used spelling convention adopted in modern cartography and in current usage. A local form of Benyinli is Bɛntenlebo. For local etymologies of these names see Essuah (1958: 11–19) and Ackah (1965: 7).

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the Nzema world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This more restricted definition of Nzema was to some extent legitimised and propagated by certain literary works written in both English and Nzema by authors who came from the area in question: in particular, the English work by Annor Adjaye I (alias J. S. Ansah), who was *ɔmanhene* (paramount chief) of Benyinli from 1920 to 1938 (Adjaye, 1931), and the works in Nzema by the Catholic Bishop of Takoradi, J. Amihere Essuah (1958, 1959, 1962). Local historians still tend to treat Nzema history almost exclusively in terms of this particular and partial definition. Ackah (1965: 1) claims that the 'Kingdom of Appolonia' and Nzema coincide exclusively with the borders of Ankobra and Tanoɛ, while the Ɛvaloɛ and Adwɔmɔlɔ of Apatem (Apataim) are merely 'neighbours' on the same level as Egila, Wassa Fiase, Aowin and Anyi.

Historically, however, no political entity ever managed to cover the entire Nzema area, and taking the 'Kingdom of Appolonia' as the ultimate criterion for identifying 'that which is Nzema' gives rise to a definition which is too narrow for a general analysis, and not only overlooks the various fundamental manifestations of what it meant to be Nzema before the eighteenth century which continued to exist alongside the Kingdom of Appolonia and therefore into the colonial period, but also ignores a great deal of 'that which is Nzema' today, i.e. the real contexts where the name is used and the meaning of the word itself.

During the twentieth century 'Nzema' (or even 'Nzima') has been used to describe a language, a geographical area and a people (Cardona, 1977: 98). The term has also been used in other contexts. As a plant name Nzema indicates a rice variety which is typical of the area. A brief look at the first usage, allows us to delineate the most inclusive definition, used every day within the Nzema world itself and by its neighbours. *Nzema Aneɛ* (the Nzema language) is for the Nzema and for linguists a group of dialects spoken over an area stretching from the western portion of the current Ahanta West District (Western Region, Ghana) to the southern and south-eastern shores of the Aby lagoon, including the extreme south-eastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire (Paulme, 1970: 189). Since the late nineteenth century at least, there have been important Nzema-speaking communities outside this region in the mining areas of Wassa and Sehwi, as well as in Sekondi–Takoradi and the Ivoirien capital, Abidjan (Aboagye, 1973: 11). On the basis of current linguistic classifications, Nzema and Ahanta constitute a Southern Bia sub-group in the Central Comoé group, together with the Northern Bia sub-group (Anyi, Baule and Chakosi or Anufo) and the Akan sub-group in the strictest sense, which includes Twi, Fante, etc. (Dolphyne and Kropp Dakubu, 1988: 51; Cardona, 1977: 100–4). The Central Comoé group is a branch of the Volta–Comoé language family, which in turn belongs to the great Kwa family of languages (Greenberg, 1963; Stewart, 1966: 54–8; Kropp Dakubu, 1977).

Nzema and Ahanta, very closely related languages (Ntumy, 1995), constitute a continuum, with areas of transition whose association with

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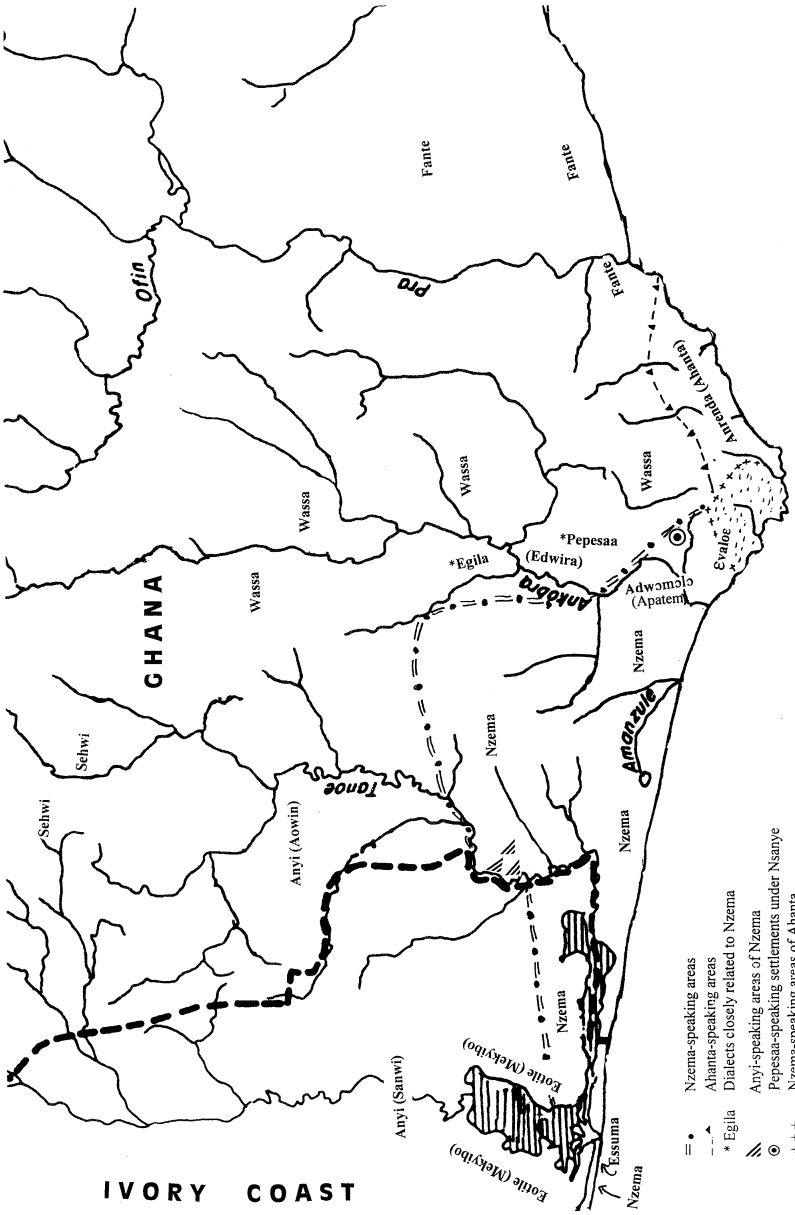


FIGURE 1 Nzema in the regional setting

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one group or the other is more a question of historical and political factors than of strictly linguistic ones. The Nzema themselves recognise some main subdivisions within their language, distinguishing the dialects to the west of the Ankobra (Nzema: Siane) river area from the variants used in the Ankobra region itself and those spoken in the extreme eastern areas which blend into Ahanta (Anrenda or Anrendenle; Nzema: Nyenda. Kropp Dakubu, 1985: 194; Mock, 1969). The dialects of the Lower Ankobra region and Ahanta West are Adwɔmɔlɔ of Apatem and Ɛvaloɛ of Axim (or Essim), Nsanye (Nsein), Kpulisi (Prince's Town), Egyembra (also Agyembra or Ajemra) and Atinkyin (or Cape Three Points). Akooda (also Akwida or Esile), to the east of Cape Three Points, which is now Ahanta-speaking, was often mentioned in the past as the easternmost Nzema stool, owing to its historical association with Axim.[4] These eastern variants are extremely close to the Egila (Edwira) dialect and the dialect of the Pepesaa group of Wassa Fiase (Dompem–Pepesaa, Simpa and Nsuaem), which to this day is spoken only in Simpa.[5] Egila and Pepesaa are not defined as Nzema, in spite of their close historical, political and social links, especially with Axim, but they place the Nzema language in a wider area of regional affinities.[6]

The uses of Nzema as a place name (there is also an anglicised form, Nzemaland) and as an ethnic denomination are more problematic. Firstly, attention must be drawn to one glaring distinction according to context concerning the concurrent use throughout the twentieth century of the term to signify (1) all the areas in which the Nzema language is spoken and more specifically (2) the regions to the west of the Ankobra river.

Term (1) has been applied in considerably different ways according to whether it was used by outsiders or within the Nzema world. From the outside (i.e. in the more general current interpretation in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire) Nzema is the region which runs along the Atlantic coast and a few dozen kilometres inland, to the west of Ahanta, up to the Côte d'Ivoire border, beyond which there are other Nzema lands, the areas surrounding the final tract of the Tanoɛ river system and lagoons, up to the southern shores of the Aby lagoon. As far as the Ghanaian local government system is concerned, the Nzema area corresponds to the two districts of Nzema East, whose capital is Axim, and Jomoro–Western Nzema, whose capital is Half Assini. The colonial Axim District, later renamed Nzema District, has been repeatedly divided up and re-established since independence. In 1988 the Jomoro

[4] Welman (1930: 8); Furley Collection, Balme Library, University of Ghana (henceforth FC), N112 (1831–1859), Nos 10 and 11, Population of Axim Division, 1859.

[5] See National Archives of Ghana (henceforth NAG), ADM 11/1/1703, F. Crowther, Wassaw Enquiry, 1913: Notes of Evidence, p. 49, J. Ben Kofi, Banso, 24 September 1913.

[6] The two variants are closely linked with the Aowin (Anyi) language (NAG, ADM 11/1/1700, F. Crowther, Ahanta Enquiry, 1911–12: Notes of Evidence, p. 66, Kobbina Ntiri II, Ohene of Bamianko, Axim, 16 January 1912).

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District was carved out of the Nzema District. The district area coincides with the jurisdiction of the Western Nzema Traditional Council. With the creation of the Jomoro District the remaining section of the old Nzema administrative unit was renamed Nzema East District, with its capital in Axim. With a total area of 1,344 km^2, Western Nzema (Jomoro District) in 1984 had (the date of the last national census) a population of 70,881. Half Assini, the administrative headquarters, had a resident population of 8,816, while Benyinli, the seat of the paramountcy, had 1,410 residents. The Nzema East District (total area 2,194 km^2) had a total population of 87,607. Axim had 13,109 inhabitants and Adoabo 1,779 (Republic of Ghana, 1984: 1–9). In Côte d'Ivoire Nzema forms the *canton* of the Adouvlé in the *département* of Adiakè.

However, the borders of these local government units leave out significant parts of the region which can be defined as Nzema, namely, in Ghana, a vast area which today is part of Ahanta West District (Kpulisi, Egyembra, Atinkyin and to a certain extent Akooda; see note 4); in Côte d'Ivoire the important Nzema enclave in Grand Bassam. On the other hand, the Nzema East District includes Egila, which, as has already been said, cannot be described as Nzema.

The sum of these divergent external definitions of Nzema is a region which is relatively erratic as far as its boundaries are concerned, and which includes areas inhabited by groups variously defined as Nzema on the basis of linguistic, territorial, historical or political criteria, or a mixture of these various features. With such a perspective, the term 'Nzema' becomes a broad ethnic category when used by non-Nzemas.

From within the Nzema community, the most accurate and significant definition of the Nzema country during the twentieth century was probably a jural and political one, overlaid by the territorial dimension of chieftaincy (which in turn claims its legitimacy on the basis of the pre-colonial historical geography of the region) and by considerations relating to language and heritage. In this sense the category of *Nzema maanle*, 'Nzema world', corresponds in its wider interpretation with the group of *maanlema* subject to the following *mbia* (sing. *ebia*, stool): Kyapum (or Tiapoum, *chef de canton*) in Côte d'Ivoire; in Ghana the *mbia mgbole* (literally 'big stools', generally translated as 'paramount stools') of Benyinli–Western Nzema, which coincides with Jomoro District, and Adoabo–Eastern Nzema, Adwɔmɔlɔ-Apatem, Bolɔfo Solo (Axim-Upper Town), Bolɔfo Aleze (Axim-Lower Town) and Nsanye in Nzema East District, as well as Egyembra, Kpulisi and Atinkyin in Ahanta West District (subject to the 'paramount stool' of Busua, Ahanta). These *mbia* are all *Nzema Anɛɛ* (Nzema-speaking). However, within the whole Nzema area, the linguistic criterion and the political one help to bolster each other and make up for any weaknesses or insufficiencies in the other. This is particularly the case with the borderline groups. Thus the *mbia* of Egyembra, Kpulisi and Atinkyin, if necessary, can be defined and are defined as Nzema on the grounds of language and heritage, even though their political affiliation firmly linked them with Ahanta

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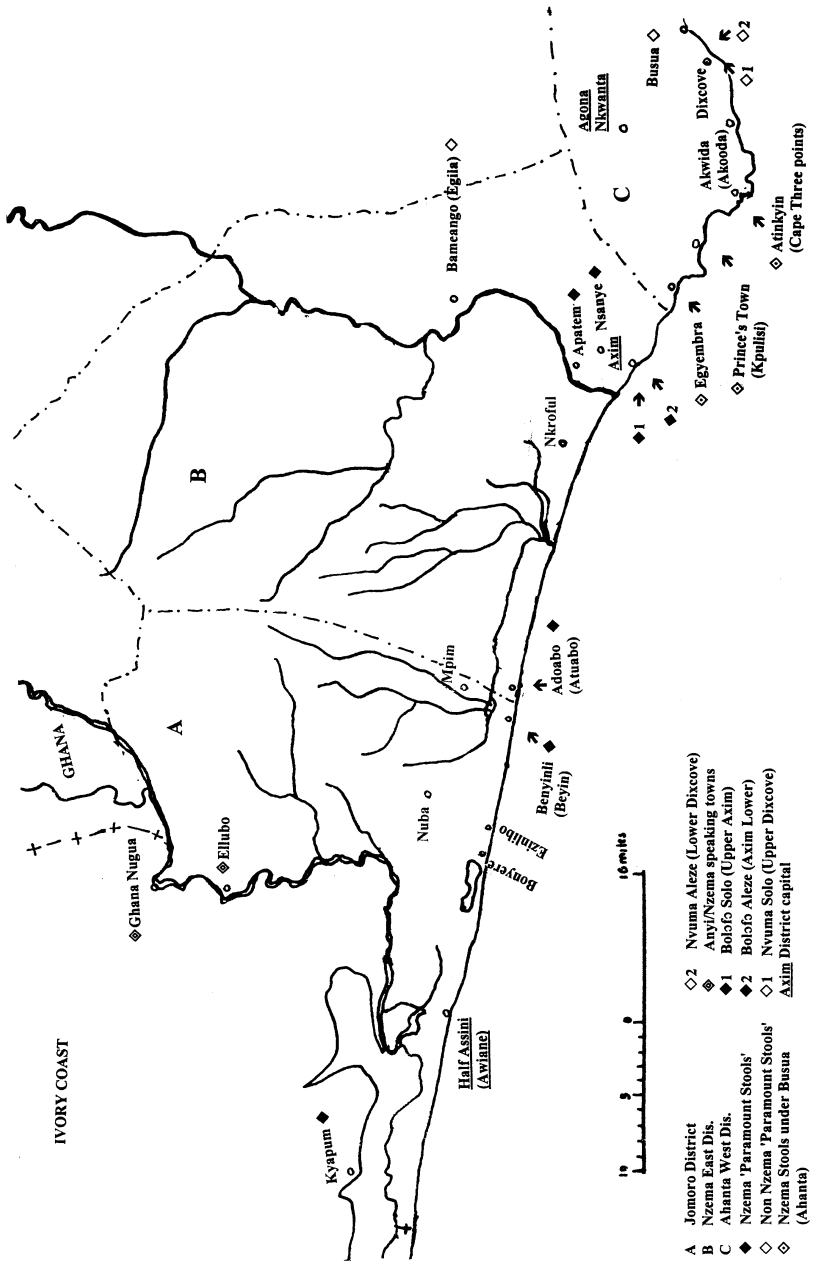


FIGURE 2 Main stools and present-day local government districts

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throughout the twentieth century.[7] Conversely, the inhabitants of the towns along the Tanoɛ—Elubo, Ghana Nugua and Cocoa Town, in the *maanle* of Western Nzema—are linguistically defined as Anyi-Afema (while in fact they are accomplished bilinguals) but also see themselves as Nzema, and are perceived as such by the other Nzema, given their century-old inclusion within a Nzema political framework and their current subordination to the *ebia* of Benyinli. The inclusion of these communities was agreed in the later nineteenth century, following the establishment of the Franco-British colonial frontier in 1889, and also through the resettlement of the west bank of the Tanoɛ, i.e. the territory recognised by the government of the Gold Coast as under the exclusive jurisdiction of Benyinli.[8] In a similar way some settlements subject to the *ebia kpole* of Nsanye but located towards the border with Wassa Fiase regard themselves also as Pepesaa.[9]

According to interpretation (2) Nzema corresponds to the current *maanlema* of Adoabo and Benyinli, in Ghana, and also that of Kyapum, in Côte d'Ivoire. This area, which is located on the northern bank of the Tanoɛ lagoons, and which had strong ties with Benyinli and Half Assini, was assigned to the French by the Paris Agreement of 10 August 1889. (See note 27 for the specific break of its allegiance towards the *ebia* of Benyinli.) The name Nzema, which is currently used locally for the area, denotes the enduring bonds with Western and Eastern Nzema. The Nzema inhabitants style their specific subgroup as Adouvlé, a name associated with that of the Western Nzema centre of Adusuazo. Indeed, closely related branches of the same Ndweafoɔ *abusua* control the *mbia* of Adusuazo, Alɛnrɛ nzule, Avoleɛnu (New Town), Ɛtikɛbo 1, Teleku Bokazo in Ghana and Kyapum, Nzɛbɛnu and Ngyeme in Côte d'Ivoire.[10] In this country the Nzema are still commonly known as *Apollo*.

Appolonia or Apollonia was the name most frequently used by Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the stretch of coast between Assini and Axim. Convention has it that the name derives from the application of the name for the promontory known as the Cape of St Apollonia, supposedly first used by the Portuguese, to a larger political unit (Barbot, 1688: *lettre troisième*). However, in seventeenth-century Portuguese *apolonia* referred also to a 'type of

[7] For the situation of these *mbia* see Welman (1930); NAG, ADM 11/1/1703, F. Crowther, Ahanta Memorandum. 1912; NAG, ADM 11/1/1700, F. Crowther, Ahanta Enquiry, 60–5.

[8] For various local views on these events see: Public Record Office, London (henceforth PRO), CO 879/19, No. 142, 1884, Assinee Boundary Commission, Palavers; PRO, CO 879/37, Africa (West), No. 435, 1894, Further Correspondence respecting the Assinee Boundary, Gaman and Neighbouring Territories; also PRO, CO 879/25, 1886. On the Tanoɛ group see also Mouezy (1953: 59–60) and Daaku (1973).

[9] On the Pepesaa towns subject to Nsanye see NAG, Western Regional Group, Sekondi (henceforth WRG), 24/1/276, The Native Courts (Colony) Ordinance, 1944, Ahanta–Nzima District, minute by A. Q. Kyiamah, 4 August 1945.

[10] Nana Gyangue II and elders, Alɛnrɛnzule, 28 October 1995; Nana Whajan Kpanyinli IV, *ɔsɔfo* Musu Kwame and elders, Adusuazu, 23 November 1995.

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settlement, with large houses like farms, called apolonias, normally situated under large polon trees'; the *polon* is the *ceiba pentandra* (Donhela, 1977: 326–7, 433). A nineteenth-century Dutch interpretation derives Appolonia from *Eloni Kpole*, i.e. 'Big Eloni', linking the name with a town near the Cape.[11] In the nineteenth century Europeans also often used the name *Amanahëa* or *Amelhayia*. George A. Robertson (1819: 105) and the aforementioned nineteenth-century Dutch source linked *Amanahëa* with the name of the eighteenth-century *belemgbunli*[12] Amihyia Kpanyinli. However, the name is now explained locally as deriving from the Nzema word for date palm, *elehyia* (pl. *mmelehyia*), the dominant vegetation until the development of the coconut palm plantation.[13] In the late nineteenth century Binger (1892: 323) used the name *Ahua* for the Nzema area. *Ahua* may derive from *ahwea* (the plural form of *twea*, dog; another plural form is *ndwea*), the name of the dominant matriclan (also called Ndweafoɔ). The form *Ahwianu* was recorded in the twentieth century as a court language term for the country (Arthur, 1977: 169).

In 1927 the colonial government introduced the official designations of Eastern Nzema and Western Nzema to replace the previous ones of Eastern Appolonia and Western Appolonia, which referred to the two 'Native States' of Adoabo and Benyinli.[14] This measure, which conformed with the principle of observing indigenous onomastic traditions, satisfied the preference expressed by the local ruling groups for the name Nzema over Appolonia. The adoption of the wider-ranging term Nzema as the primary official name of the two largest, most populated and politically assertive 'Native States' within the Nzema region (in terms of land area, the *maanlema* of Benyinli and Adoabo occupy about three-fifths of Ghanaian Nzema alone) while the other *maanlema* maintained local names, put the official seal on an interpretation which was all the more significant because it tended to impose a more restricted definition on current usage, particularly outside the area. It did not erase the more general definition, but did push it into the background.

As we shall see, this development represented a fundamental turning point in a power struggle in which local political forces used the rereading and manipulation of identities as a fundamental part of their strategies.

[11] FC, N86, 1870–1872: Correspondence with Outforts, January–April 1870 [642], 'Extracts from Report on Apol. District, 1869'.

[12] The term *belemgbunli* (pl. *arelemgbunli*; cf. the Twi *obirɛmpon*) means generally chief or 'king'. In the case of 'paramount chiefs' the Fante–Twi title *ɔmanhene* is currently preferred.

[13] FC, N86, 'Extract from Report'. I was provided with the local etymology by Kanra Attiah (Koasi) Aka, Beyin, 26 October 1995.

[14] NAG, ADM 11/1/982, SNA case 82/1909, Orders by the Governor nos 56 and 57 of 1927, 3 December 1927.

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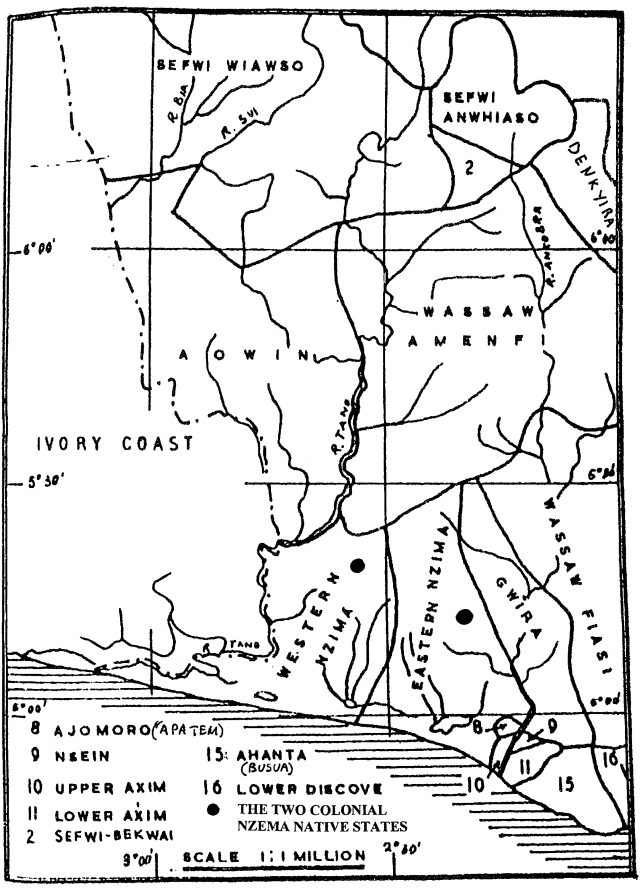


FIGURE 3 The colonial Native states. *Adapted from Ghana Survey map, 1946*

AXIEMA AND NZEMA

The combination of the various contextual definitions of Nzema country and the registers in which the place name was applied in the twentieth century results in an entity, the Nzema entity in its widest sense, which is backed up by considerable precedents in the previous history of the region. There is a certain amount of evidence that the term Nzema was already being used in contexts similar to the modern ones in the early nineteenth century. According to the commander of Fort Appolonia, in Benyinli, in 1810 the language of the region was *Ensumah*, spoken 'from Axim to Assinee included'.[15] The term *Zenma*

[15] PRO, T.70 1590, 'Questions proposed . . . to J. Fountaine, Governor of Appolonia, and his Answers thereto', J. Fountaine, Appolonia, 1 September 1810.

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appears as a place name in 1845 in a report by P. Boyer, the commander of the French garrison at Assini, in which he stated that it was the name used by the indigenous population for what the Europeans called *le pays d'Apollonie*.[16] M. A. T. Mondière (1880: 623), a French doctor and an early anthropologist at Assinie in the 1860s, used the name *Ezemma* for the people of Cape Appolonia. At the end of the nineteenth century Binger (1892: 323) placed the coastal borders of the *Zemma* country, which he said was called *Apollonie* by Europeans and *Ahua* by the locals, at Assini in the west and Cape Three Points in the east. From the borders of this nineteenth-century Nzema it is not difficult to recognise the territory which appears in mid-seventeenth-century Dutch documents with the assonant name of *Axiema* (or *Axieme*) which designated the collection of localities over which the important coastal town of Axim, with its European fort, exercised a kind of jurisdiction: 'The jurisdiction of Axem extends into various Districts, all called by the general name of Axiema[17] which, following from West to East, are particularly named Jumoree, Abripiquem, Cobre, Quitzy, Encasser, High Antha, and Axem, all bearing that name.'[18]

Jumoree and *Abripiquem* can easily be recognised as Adwɔmɔlɔ and Ɛlɛmgbenle, names which are still used today to indicate Western Nzema and the coastal region of Eastern Nzema between Sanzule and Adoabo respectively. This Adwɔmɔlɔ, which corresponds to Jomoro in the current administrative toponomy of Ghana (Jomoro District/Western Nzema), must not be confused with the areas and groups subject to the *ebia kpole* of Apatem, along the course of the Ankobra, also called Adwɔmɔlɔ. The name Ɛlɛmgbenle is extended, in current usage, to the entire area subject to the *ebia* of Adoabo. The historic (and dialectal) sub-regions of Akoamu, around Nwulofolɔ (Nkroful), Azane, between the Ankobra and Aziema (Essiama), and Etile, around the mouth of the river Amanzule, correspond very probably to *Cobre*. *Quitzy*/*Quittrij* was the region to the north of Cape Appolonia. *Encasser* and *High Anta* include the Cape Three Points region and other areas almost as far as Dixcove, or, in other words, the areas where the Nzema language is currently spoken in Ahanta West (Van Dantzig, 1979: 223–36; Kea, 1982: 82–3; Valsecchi, 1994: 85–7). Together the areas thus described include all the essential components of modern Nzema region broadly defined.

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[16] Archives Nationales, Section Outre-mer, Paris (henceforth AN-OM), Sénégal IV, 35(b), 'Rapport de Boyer', Fort Joinville, 1 April 1845.

[17] The variant *Axieme* also appears in the same text and can be found elsewhere: see, for example, FC, N11 (1662), Directors of WIC to the States General, 29 June 1662 (Staats Generaal Loket Kas, Zweden, 38).

[18] FC, N8 (1658–59), Resolutions, States General, 1659 (Staats Generaal 3229), 'Remonstrance or Deduction by the Director General J. Valckenburch' (n.d.; original in Staats Generaal Secreete Kas, Algemeen Rijks Archief, The Hague, henceforth ARA, WIC 1), reported to the States General on 20 September 1659. See also FC, N11 (1662), Directors of WIC to the States General, 29 June 1662 (Staats Generaal Loket Kas, Zweden, 38).

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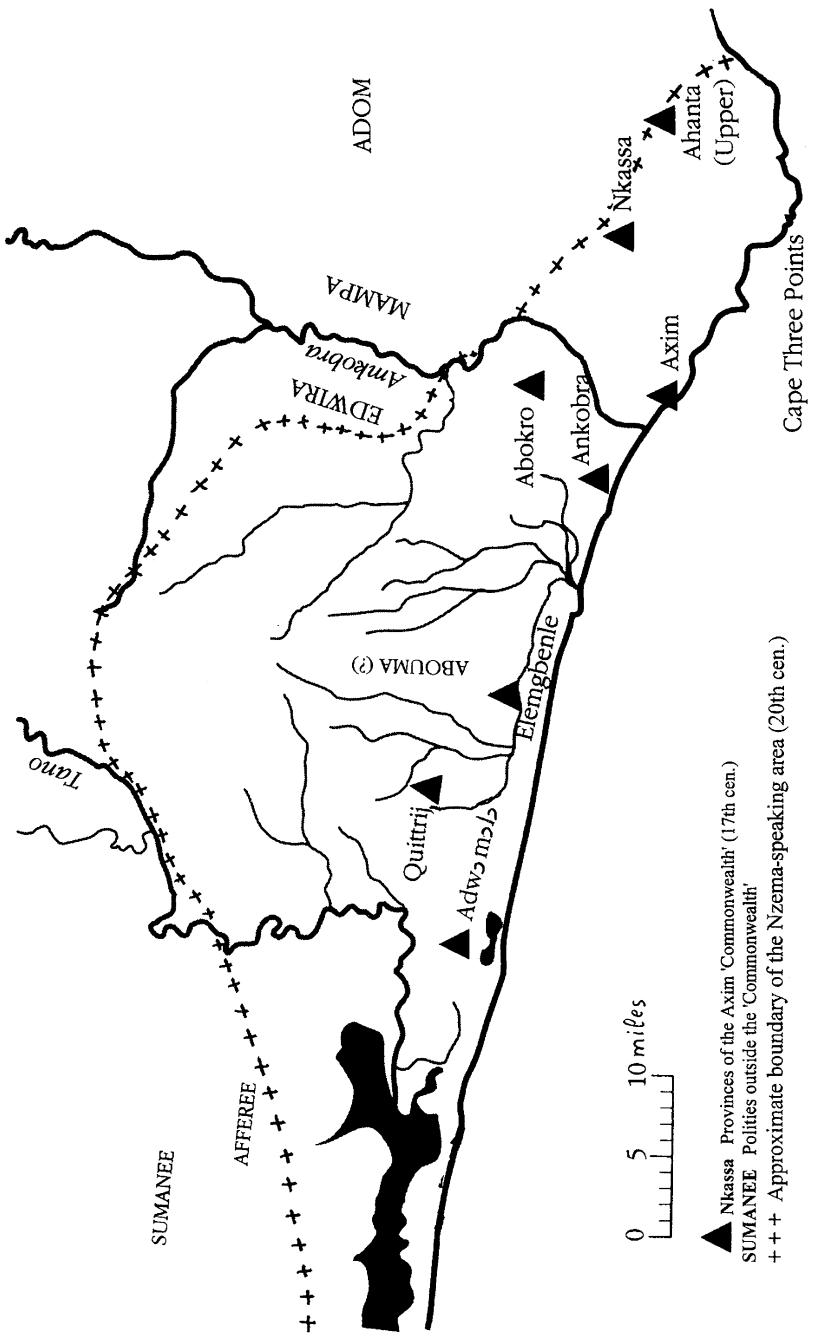


FIGURE 4 The Axim 'commonwealth' in the seventeenth century

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The origin and the meaning of the name Nzema are the subject of popular etymologies which are highly formalised in local 'traditions' and taken up in various writings on the subject. According to Ackah (1965: 7 and appendices 1, 3, 4), there were two principal variants in the 'traditions' concerning the origin of the Nzema name: (1) a derivation from the Anyi expression *menzema*, meaning 'I don't know', which the future Nzema were supposed to have replied to the Anyis' queries about their origins, during their migrations together (appendices 3, 4); or (2) derivation from a Sehwi expression, *nzenlama*, meaning 'those who have passed by' (appendix 1). Version (1) is taken up by Aboagye (1973: 8–9) in relation to the stories concerning the ancestral migration from Takyiman. Palumbo (1995: 137–8) gives a further popular etymology which derives Nzema from *nzisam*, meaning 'mixture'. The most thorough scientific study of the etymology of Nzema is that of Cardona (1977: 97–8). *Nzema*/*nzima*, which has the singular form *semanli* (a Nzema) and another corresponding plural form, *nzemama* (the Nzemas), is believed by the linguist probably to be a plural of */*sima*/, but he did not have sufficient matches to identify a possible meaning. Cardona (1977: 98) discusses */*nzili*/ as a possible alternative to */*sima*/, because it would back up the etymology suggested by Hintze (1949: 9) in relation to the name of the river Nzi, in Côte d'Ivoire, but he considers it less likely.[19] In any case, Cardona refers to an interpretation of Nzema centred solely on the regions to the west of Ankobra and ignores the pre-twentieth-century accounts of its usage and the areas to which the name was applied (1977: 98). Indeed, he cites Delafosse's reference (1901, 1904) as the oldest. But in the light of the seventeenth-century territorial definition of *Axiema* it is possible to attribute the similarity between the ancient name and the modern one to something more than a supposition based simply on their assonance. The term Nzema thus appears to be associated with *Axiema*, both derivatives of */*sima*/, which in this case could be linked with Essim, one of the names for Axim still used by the local population.[20]

It is not clear whether Valckenburg's *Axiema* represents a political reality which already existed in the seventeenth century from a more ancient past, as the Dutch claimed, or whether it had been the product of recent plans by the Portuguese to impose their hegemony on the area which were pursued by their successors from the United Provinces. Both the former and the latter had attempted to bring the western areas of Ahanta and the coast between the river Ankobra and the so-called

[19] The theme of the ancestors of the Nzema having stopped on the river Nzi during their migration can be found in a story collected by J. Y. Ackah (1965: appendix 4).

[20] The various spellings of Axim to be found in previous writings include: *Aziem*, *Achem*, *Achim*, *Atzijn*, *Acsim*, *Axim*, etc. See de Marees, (1987), Barbot (1688) and Bosman (1705). *Essim* is a form used locally to indicate the town, along with the more common *Bolɔfo*. For a possible link between */*sima*/ and *Siman* see Valsecchi (1994: 83 n. 6) and Palumbo (1995: 147).

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'country of the *Alandes*' (or *Quaqua*) under the authority of their fort in Axim (Van Dantzig, 1979; Teixeira Da Mota and Hair, 1988: 75). In fact many other Dutch references in the mid-seventeenth century are a great deal less ambitious than Valckenburg in fixing the western border of Axim's effective jurisdiction, generally placing it close to the final course of the Ankobra, thus excluding the current *maanle* of Benyinli and a large part of the *maanle* of Adoabo.[21] Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century the area described by Valckenburg was linguistically heterogeneous: the western part, *Jumoree*, spoke a language that appeared to be very different from that of the eastern areas (Bosman, 1705: letter IX, 130). There appear to be some profound associations between some modern languages of south-east Côte d'Ivoire and this ancient linguistic layer. Origins in Adwɔmɔlɔ or substantial ancestral links with this area are mentioned for groups like the Abure, the Essuma and the Eotile (Niangoran-Bouah, 1973: 202–320; Baesjou, 1988: 1–83). More effective integration was to occur after the occupation of Adwɔmɔlɔ and other surrounding areas by groups linked with the *Axiema* in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Valsecchi, 1994).[22] It was through this process that the *Axiema* category effectively became a precursor of the Nzema one in its social, territorial and political meanings during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Some further explanation is necessary of the more restricted definition of Nzema to mean the areas to the west of the Ankobra, which obtained official recognition in 1927. Throughout the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth these areas formed the 'Kingdom of Appolonia'. For over a century this polity, which had a strong central power, was able to exploit to its own strategic and economic advantage the competition between Dutch and British commercial interests in the western Gold Coast (Valsecchi, 1986, 1994). By the time of *belemgbunli* Kaku Aka (reigned *c.* 1832–48, d. 1851), 'Appolonia' had became an important coastal access point for Asante and its trade which was all the more significant for being free from European presence. (The British fort at Benyinli, founded in 1765, had been abandoned in 1821.) Because of this, other commercial concerns, and the danger of French interference,[23] the British felt obliged to take definitive action to curb Kaku Aka's substantial independence. In 1848 a British-led military expedition

[21] FC, N7 (1656–57), VII, 74, 'Extent of Axim's jurisdiction', 25 November 1656 (ARA, WIC 1166, 'Extract uyt de Declaratie over de Limitscheydinge van't Lantschap Axem'); FC, N18 (1687–90), 'Declaration by Airanm and Bossombro Cabboceers Axim Lower', 9 October 1687; Bosman (1705: letter I, 5) and Barbot (1688: *lettre troisième*, 3).

[22] For an eighteenth-century source on the occupation of Adwɔmɔlɔ see FC, N 51, Journals 1765 (2), (ARA, WIC 966), 13 December: Letter from Axim (Fennekol), n.d.

[23] The establishment of a French presence at Assinie in 1843 introduced significant changes in the regional balance of power. In November 1847 Kaku Aka's forces killed the French commandant, a Lieutenant Thévenard, and some of his men. See AN-OM, Sénégal IV, 35(c); 5G6 (*pièces* 5, 7, 11); 5G7 (*pièce* 15); 4B33 (*pièces* 13, 29).

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deported him to Cape Coast Castle and put in his place a weaker form of leadership headed by two of his prominent subordinates, Ɛbanyenle in Adoabo, and Amakye in Benyinli, while Kaku Aka's own *abusua* (matrilineage, pl. *mbusua*) was ousted from power. The British task was made easier by the increasing internal opposition Kaku Aka was experiencing by the end of 1840s, as also by the poor relations between Kaku Aka and almost all the neighbouring polities. Ɛbanyenle, a leading opponent of Kaku Aka, played a crucial role in assisting the invading forces and securing local support for them (Ackah, 1965; Valsecchi, 1986: 507–44). These events were followed by a prolonged period of instability which in 1869 erupted into a civil war, ended in 1873 with a British-mediated settlement. The civil conflict which confirmed the division between Adoabo and Benyinli was overlain by events with much wider repercussions, and provided an important local backdrop to the clash of interests between the British, the Asante and the Dutch which led to the Anglo-Asante War of 1873–74 and its epilogue, the British expedition against Kumasi and the proclamation of the colony of the Gold Coast (Brackenbury, 1874: 291–319; Dyer, 1876: 84–198; Ackah, 1965; Baesjou, 1979).

However, fundamental problems concerning the legitimacy of the two new royal lines, their reciprocal relationship in terms of power and the sensitive question of political reunification continued to be an issue in local politics up to the present day. For instance, an *abusua* of the Nvavile matriclan claims the succession to Kaku Aka. Since the 1920s this group, which originated from Awiaso (Eastern Nzema), has contested all the successions to the royal *mbia* of Adoabo up to the present one. (The matter is of the utmost political sensitivity in the area, and has to be approached with extreme caution.)

The history of the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offers important examples of how this legacy operated within the crucial process of renegotiating a new balance of power, after the establishment of British colonial rule had challenged the entire complex of dependences and hierarchies within local society.[24] A well known case was the long legal dispute (1895–1926) in which the sovereign rights of the *ebia kpolɛ* of Benyinli, held by Aka Anyima (1893–1919), were challenged by Nyamekɛ Kaku, who claimed to be a chief in Ezinlibo and went so far as to claim almost completely independent jurisdiction over a large portion of Western Nzema. The dispute arose from a conflict over the control of the proceeds from mining and forestry rights deriving from land concessions,[25] but it ended up challenging the political and institutional framework of Western Nzema

[24] For instance, the very nature of fundamental social ties had been challenged by the abolition of slavery in 1874 (Gold Coast Slave Dealing Abolition and Emancipation Ordinances, Nos 1 and 2, 1874).

[25] There are copious documents concerning the Nyamekɛ Kaku dispute; see in particular NAG, ADM 11/1/1, ADM 11/1/1468, ADM 11/1/1699, ADM 11/1/1182.

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and, more generally, the balance of power established in 1873. The immediate background of the dispute was the confrontation between the colonial government and the ruling groups of Adoabo and Benyinli following the murder in 1889 of a friend and ally of Nyamekɛ Kaku, Koawo Kofi (also Kwaw Kofi or Kwaw Ekyi), a member of an Alɔnwɔba *abusua* which claimed the *ebia* of Half Assini and an informer of the colonial government in the fight against the smuggling carried on with the French territory. Koawo Kofi, who was recognised by the English as 'chief' at Newtown, was killed by two men from Kyapum. The colonial government suspected that the murder had been planned by the ruling groups of Benyinli and Adoabo, who were engaged in extremely profitable smuggling operations. Botu Aka, leader of Koawo Kofi's Alɔnwɔba *abusua* maintained he had been the only Nzema chief not to take part in a joint East and West assembly in Ɛkɛbaku in which the murder was decided.[26] By way of reprisal, the Government withdrew its recognition from the incumbents of the *mbia* of Benyinli and Adoabo until, respectively, 1901 and 1904, creating a vacuum of legitimacy which exacerbated the power struggle. Incidentally the whole affair compromised the relationship between Benyinli and the settlements on the northern bank of the Tanoɛ Lagoons.[27]

Like Koawo Kofi, Nyamekɛ Kaku tried to capitalise on his relations with the government[28] in order to pursue his own strategies. Quite clearly the dispute had its roots in deep dividing lines which cut right across local society and which both underscored and transcended contingent conflicts incited by particular groups or individuals. Nyamekɛ Kaku's strategy was based on an attempt to revive a claim to autonomy by the historic western part of Nzema, Adwɔmɔlɔ, and assert the original settlement of the area by his own Azanwule *abusua*. Apart from the Azanwule, Nyamekɛ Kaku's local base was also made up of Koawo Kofi's Alɔnwɔba *abusua*, which claimed the *ebia* of Half Assini. This town, which was benefiting from its proximity to the border with the French Côte d'Ivoire, was becoming an increasingly important commercial and administrative centre.[29] Nyamekɛ Kaku's legal battle was linked with Half Assini's demands for autonomy from Benyinli, and proved to be suited to the logic of the long-running conflict between east and west. Adoabo was clearly sympathetic to Nyamekɛ Kaku's arguments, and

[26] NAG, ADM 11/1/1468, Lomax, Axim District Commissioner, to Controller of Customs, Half Assini, 14 October 1889; F. Graham, District Commissioner, Half Assinie, to District Commissioner, Axim, Noku, 21 January 1890.

[27] NAG, ADM 11/1/1, Colonial Secretary to T. E. Fell, Travelling Commissioner, Accra, 9 June 1902; A. T. Neil, for Commissioner, Western Province, to Secretary of Native Affairs, Sekondi, 17 December. 1904; ADM 11/1/1468, Bd 7A, Captain Lang to Governor, Aburi, 9 July 1892; also Adjaye (1931: 16).

[28] See, for instance, NAG, ADM 11/1/1468, No. 5833, from Lomax, District Commissioner, Axim, 12 October 1899; Bessua Ackah Intah and Buadie Kwodwo to District Commissioner, Half Assinie, 27 February 1909.

[29] WRG 612, Ohene Amihere II to District Commissioner, Axim, Half Assini, 10 August 1920.

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supported them. A British observer rationalised this behaviour as reflecting the clear intention to weaken Benyinli's position by promoting a substantially independent power between Ezinlibo and Half Assini: the first step in a possible strategy to reunite the *maanle* under Adoabo's authority.[30]

The dispute marked a crucial phase in the socio-political transition and restructuring within the area. By this time the land question had come to the fore (Firmin-Sellers, 1996). Gaining direct control over the allocation of land had became a matter of prime importance as a result of the economic developments set in motion by colonisation (exploitation of timber and minerals). The legal context was therefore dominated by opposing positions which asserted either primacy of occupation or the reinterpretation of ancient ties of subjugation or parity between groups. In the competition for political power the definition of the criteria for land ownership began to constitute a fundamental strategic resource, and was translated into formulas of identity which aimed to include or exclude. It is interesting how, in some stages of the legal dispute, the theme, common to stories about ancestral origins, of the arrival of the *abusua*'s ancestors from another ancestral home became the means to define Nyamekɛ Kaku as an 'Asante', implying that he was not fully entitled to an 'Appolonian' identity. On the other hand the otherwise ritual mention of the arrival of the royal *abusua* of Benyinli from the mythical ancestral home of *Anwia-anwia* was omitted, emphasising in its place autochthonous origins.[31]

Nyamekɛ Kaku did not represent a new type of social actor competing for power. He was rather an example of a 'professional litigant' (McCaskie, in Rathbone, 1996: 523 n. 33). His political language conformed strictly to well established local parameters. He claimed rights and autonomies for himself and his group on the basis of his own interpretation of the historic relationship between his ancestors and the ancient royal *ebia* of Appolonia. The dispute was taken to the colonial courts by Nyamekɛ Kaku in 1895. Nyamekɛ Kaku's action was initially more successful as a result of the ongoing challenge to the nature and extent of the power enjoyed by prominent members of the community from both their subjects and the colonial government. His position was weakened and his chances of success reduced in a direct proportion to the shift from a confrontational atmosphere between powerful local figures and institutions and the colonial authorities to a conciliatory one. The relations between Benyinli and Adoabo and the colonial government improved after the restitution of official recogni-

[30] NAG, ADM 11/1/1468, Bd 7A, J. Maxwell, Commissioner Western Province, to Acting Colonial Secretary, 16 September 1915.

[31] NAG, ADM 11/1/1699, Notes of Evidence taken before an Inquiry . . . into the Constitution of Apolonia, 16th January–11th April 1914, pp. 25–7, Kwasi Hawba, Head Linguist, Beyin, 13 March 1914. In PRO, CO 96/384, No. 586, *Appolonia*, Governor Strahan to J. Chamberlain, MP, 14 December 1901, Nyamekɛ Kaku is described as 'a certain refugee Ashanti'.

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tion to the incumbents of the two *mbia* (in 1901 and 1904 respectively; see n. 27), which was motivated mainly by the urgent need to strengthen a reliable context of local authority. By the mid-1910s the main factor still keeping the dispute alive appeared to be the uneasy relationship between Benyinli and Adoabo. The question was finally resolved by upholding the balance of power based on the division of the country between Adoabo and Benyinli, after reaching compromises between the strongest contenders, with the exception of Nyamekɛ Kaku, whose claims were completely dismissed in the end. A Privy Council ruling of 21 June 1926 confirmed the previous rulings in favour of the *ebia* of Benyinli.[32]

The dispute produced a great mass of documentation, including detailed accounts, stories and traditions relating to several important *mbia* and the central events in the history of the area, as told by the principal local figures of authority and persons directly involved in the case. These materials have been referred to in all successive attempts to portray a local 'Nzema political system'. In other words, the dispute marked a turning point in the creation of a 'legitimate tradition' for the areas to the west of the Ankobra, while its documentary products came to constitute its founding charter, constantly referred to later as a form of settlement.[33]

Similarly, the change of the name by which the area was known officially (i.e. Appolonia) became an issue for the ruling groups of Adoabo and Benyinli, because by distancing themselves from the legacy of the old 'Kingdom of Appolonia' they felt they could defend themselves better from challenges to their legitimacy and bolster their position in front of the colonial government, the ultimate source of legal authority. By the end of the 1910s Nzema was already being increasingly used by the local rulers in official documents as an explanatory addition to official denominations (e.g. 'Eastern Appolonia (Nzima)' or 'Western Appolonia (Nzima)',[34] or as a substitute for them (e.g. 'the Stool of Eastern Nsimah' or 'Eastern Asima').[35] From the

[32] Annor Adjaye I, *ɔmanhene* of Benyinli, gives an account of these events, which is obviously partial (1931: 16–40).

[33] See in particular the material compiled in 1914 by F. G. Crowther, Secretary of Native Affairs and sole member of a government commission of inquiry concerning Nyamekɛ Kaku's dispute. NAG, ADM 11/1/1767, F. G. Crowther to Acting Governor, Report on the Native Affairs of Apollonia, 12 May 1914. Underlying the report are the notes of evidence compiled by Crowther during the inquiry: NAG, ADM 11/1/1699, Notes of Evidence taken before an Inquiry . . . into the Constitution of Apolonia (16th January–11th April 1914).

[34] NAG, ADM 11/1/81, Ceremonies performed at the Re-instatement of Omanhene Blay III of Attuaboe, Eastern Appolonia (Nzima), 4 July 1919. In the case of Western Nzema there are several examples in WRG 24/1/553, Omanhin of Western Appolonia, and WRG 24/1/612, Stool of Half Assini.

[35] NAG, ADM 11/1/81, Charges about Ex-Omanhene Byin II of Attuaboe, 23 July 1918; NAG, ADM 11/1/592, Inquiry for the Destoolment of Ohene Nkrumah II of Essiama, Atuabo, 10 June 1918.

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early 1920s the custom was established of putting the wording 'Western Appolonia (Nzima)' on the official letterhead of the *ebia* of Benyinli and some other important *mbia* (such as Half Assini). J. Y. Ackah (1965: 5) argues that 'the Nzema themselves appear to have resented the name Apollonia'. In 1925 R. W. Sanderson used the name *Nzima* in place of Appolonia, considered a 'European' term (1925: 95). The *ɔmanhene* Annor Adjaye I of Beyinli maintained that the name previously used by Europeans was 'erroneous' (1931: 84). A strong bias against its use was reported by Kobina Kwaansa, whose opinion on the subject differed: 'this name is now erroneously regarded as a bye-word [*sic*], or a misnomer!' (Kwaansa, 1932: 8–9). Interestingly enough, the change in the official denomination from Appolonia to Nzema in 1927 (see n. 14), took place not long after the final dismissal of Nyamekɛ Kaku's claims, almost as an explicit stamp on the now secured position of the *ebia* of Benyinli, whose incumbent, Annor Adjaye I, had been especially vocal in requesting the abandonment of the old name.

It should be stressed that the official adoption or abandonment of the term Nzema and other place names rooted in local history continued to underscore strategic options in the organisation of power relations within the local *maanlema* and between them and central government in the colonial and post-colonial periods. One crucial example, worth mentioning in order to underscore this general principle, is the official resurrection of the name Jomoro (i.e. Adwɔmɔlɔ, not to be confused with Adwɔmɔlɔ-Apatem) for the new district which the government of Ghana created in 1988 to meet Western Nzema's demands for administrative independence from Axim. The name was suggested by the *ɔmanhene*, *awulae* Annor Adjaye II. It recalled an ancient identity which at the same time was strictly local and preceded the 'Kingdom of Appolonia', thus avoiding any direct reference to existing and competing power structures. It was therefore acceptable to all parties involved in the latent conflict between Half Assini, the main town and new district capital, and Benyinli, the seat of the *ɔmanhene* of Western Nzema.

It is still too early to predict whether the name Jomoro will develop a strong role as a local identity. For the moment, its main connotation in local use is still that of a term linked with a remote historical period and with its more recent administrative dimension. However, it is clear that the name is increasingly being used as an alternative to Western Nzema, even in the current usage of chieftaincy institutions. Without doubt, the renewed success of Jomoro, which until a few years ago appeared to be rapidly becoming an obsolete term from the distant past, is an extremely revealing aspect of the continual manipulation of identities for political purposes.

IDENTITY PARADIGMS

It is important to emphasise for the purposes of this discussion that the nature of the category defined as *Axiema* in the seventeenth century was an eminently jural and political one. The recognition of Axim's political

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position, and therefore its fort's, was shared by some political units, which the Dutch described as being united in a 'commonwealth' (*Gemeenebest*), in spite of their differences, which in some cases were profound. Similarly, throughout the twentieth century the subordination to certain *mbia* located within the area which had been defined as *Axiema* in the distant past is the more general and comprehensive criterion for assessing identity and applying the Nzema category to the various polities (*maanlema*) which make it up. In this sense a principal factor for assessing identity today is enshrined in a political and jural link which refers to a distant and long disappeared historical entity. In its more limited application to the area west of the Ankobra the term Nzema also covers some aspects of identity attached to local allegiances, which result from specific historical developments connected with colonial domination.

The study of the conceptual framework in which these multiple political and jural links were established and have evolved should make it possible to understand the process of ascribing identities, by shifting from the political communities to their constituent groups and individuals. This would amount to outlining the basic framework in which the term 'Nzema' operates as an ethnic name.

The Nzema emphasise the sharing of a common language as a primary and general feature in expressing a concept of *ethnos*, at least at the present. The category of *aneɛ ekpunli* (pl. *aneɛ mgbunli*), literally meaning 'language group',[36] is employed to describe overall social groups: Nzema *aneɛ ekpunli*, Nyenda *aneɛ ekpunli*, (Ahanta), Nzandelɛ *aneɛ ekpunli* (Asante), etc. However, more specific definitions of community membership involve the use of decisive criteria other than the linguistic one, or in other words, involve reference to institutions which the local society considers to be the fundamental features of its own organisation, and to basic concepts concerning the relationship between the individual and the group. It is extremely important to appreciate the extent to which, despite the processes of change, however radical, which the local society underwent in the course of the past century, and is currently undergoing (suffice it to consider the impact of Christianity), these elements still permeate the profound levels of the cultural and intellectual context and still condition individual and collective behaviour.

One of the fundamental factors in determining membership of a community, according to the better-known anthropological studies of Akan societies, is the inclusion within a system of kinship relations reckoned by matrifiliation (Rattray, 1923, 1929; Fortes, 1950, 1969).

[36] Aboagye (1992: 232). The expression is currently also used to translate the English 'tribe', a term with an ambiguous history and profile but still widely used in the African context at all levels.

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Every full member of the community belongs to an *abusua*, a term which in the Nzema case designates both the exogamic matrilineages that are the most immediate and influential corporate matrikin units in the life of each individual and the larger matriclans,[37] which ideally should be seven and combine various matrilineages on the basis of a supposed original affinity. In order to distinguish between these two entities, the expression *abusua eku* may be employed to indicate the matriclan in its widest possible sense, but it is not in common use. The more immediate exogamic group can be defined in Nzema as *suakunlu abusua*. In the definition by Grottanelli, *suakunlu abusua* means 'lineage of the inner room' or of 'the bedroom', and contrasts with the *asalo abusua*, which he defines as the part of the matriclan associated with the 'antechamber' or 'entrance hall'. Only close relations have access to the bedroom, while guests, distant relatives and strangers are received and entertained in the entrance hall (Grottanelli, 1977: 42).

But this reference framework cannot be used to define membership of the *Nzema maanle* or even of the various *maanlema* which make up the *Nzema maanle*. Conversely, the matriclan *per se* exhibits features that cut across even the major Akan 'ethnic' groupings. It is indeed a system, in which, as Bowdich said of Asante and the Gold Coast as a whole, 'they class themselves still, without any regard to national distinction' (1819: 230). The matriclan allows access to a level of identity which transcends the different *aneɛ mgbunli* and projects those who are linked to it on to the ideal plane of a wider regional community (Akan). The situation is substantially similar for the matriclans' constituent *mbusua*, which in very many cases operate as networks of alliance between geographically and historically very large groups,[38] so that the same *abusua* can control more than one *ebia* at the same time in regions which are distant from each other, dependent on different political centres and speak different languages. This is the case, for instance, with some closely related Alɔnwɔba *abusua* branches which control the stools of Heman, in Wassa Fiase, Bawia and Kabenlasuazo in Western Nzema, and Adjouan in Sanwi (Côte d'Ivoire). If the need arises, these branches can succeed each other. A similar connection exists among the Ndweafoɔ/Esawa stools of Nuba and Edobo (Western

[37] In the Nzema case matriclans are not exogamic, unlike the Asante case. For the matriclan in the Nzema area see Grottanelli (1962; 1977: 36–9), Ackah (1965: 69–70 n. 113), Kadja Mianno (1978: 21–32) and Asilijoe, (1992: 27–30). These works deal particularly with the regions to the west of the Ankobra, while the eastern regions use significantly different names. The attribution of specific sub-groups to one or another matriclan varies according to the area. For the different matriclan affiliations of the Esawa group, see Valsecchi (1999).

[38] For historical insights into Akan (Asante) matriliny see Wilks (1977) and McCaskie (1985, 1995). McCaskie emphasises the Asante perception of the *abusua* in terms of alliance rather than descent. While anthropologists represent 'the "lineages" . . . comprising a matriclan in terms of a constituent equality derived from the principle of descent', in Asante political thought these 'lineages' are interpreted 'in terms of the premises of inequality' . . . 'within the lineage a distinction is made between the "true" descendants . . . and the assimilated and often unfree' (1985: 169).

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Nzema), Anwia (Eastern Nzema) and Sawua (Aowin).[39] In terms of their self-perception during the twentieth century, many Nzema *mbusua* explain their history of 'becoming' Nzema by the establishment of a strong link with part of the *Nzema maanle*. For example, the branches of the above-mentioned Alɔnwɔba which are located in Western Nzema claim that their ancestors joined the *Nzema maanle* after migrating from Wassa in the early eighteenth century: the acquisition of the new identity was marked by the adoption of the annual festival of the land, the *kundum*, and the abandonment of the Wassa *odwira*.[40] The *mbusua* which define themselves as autochthonous, or are recognised as such, are only a part of the whole group of *mbusua* which are equally fully entitled to define themselves as Nzema, or as belonging to a particular section of the Nzema world.

For the purposes of a definition of community membership, matrifiliation must be accompanied by additional information about patriliny. Indeed, in the Nzema, Ahanta and Fante areas, and more generally in the southern section of the Akan region, the paternal line constitutes the primary context for passing down social roles and duties to an individual (Christensen, 1954: chapters IV, V; Amon d'Aby, 1960: 130–1; Grottanelli, 1961: 3–4; 1977: 56–62; Chukwukere, 1982: 61–8; Palumbo, 1995: 184–200).[41] The father as an individual is called *egya*, or *selɛ* when referred to as a member of the 'father's side'. An important feature of the Nzema social system (as well as of those of Ahanta and Fante) is the close association between patrifiliation and place of residence. Patrilocality is not currently, and was not in the past, a requisite norm in the life of male individuals: exceptions are and were countless. However, it undoubtedly is the projection of an ideal set of rules constantly averred in local discourse. The children *mralɛ* (sing. *ralɛ*, child) live in their father's *aako* (or *awuke*, compound). According to the fundamental perception of the genesis of a human being, shared by all the Akan groups, with a few differences,[42] the essential components of an individual derive partly from the parents and partly

[39] Cf. my interviews: *abusua kpanyinli*, *tufuhene* and elders, Nuba, 3 November 1993; chief, *abusua kpanyinli* and elders, New Kabenlasuazo, 25 October 1995; Nana Ngotobia Catoe I, Bawia, 1 November 1995. For another Ndweafoɔ case see note 10.

[40] According to the traditions of this group, the migration took place in the time of *belemgbunli* Anɔ Bɔnlɔmanle (Nana Ngotobia Catoe I, Bawia, 1 November 1995). On Anɔ Bɔnlɔmanle see Valsecchi (1994: 93).

[41] For a discussion of the role of patriliny in Asante see McCaskie (1995: 166–99). Grottanelli (1977: 59–60, 93) investigated the possible existence in the Nzema past of formal institutions defining consanguinity in patrilineal terms, comparable to the Asante *ntɔrɔ* groups. However, his results were unsatisfactory.

[42] Danquah (1944), Amon d'Aby (1960: 20–1), Grottanelli (1960: 392; 1978: 16–21), Chukwukere (1978: 135–48) and McCaskie (1995: 166–72, appendix II, *passim*. For a philosophical interpretation see Gyekye (1987: 85–103).

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from an extra-human source. In the current Nzema–Ahanta version, which is similar to the Fante one, the mother provides the 'bones' (*mowulɛ*, sing. *bowulɛ*) and 'flesh' (*nwonane*) while the father provides the 'blood' (*mogya*) and the *mɔra* (or *sunsum*). The term *mɔra* has now fallen out of use and has been replaced by the Fante–Twi word *sunsum*. On the concept of *mɔra* Grottanelli has written that

> mora is not altogether a pure spiritual essence, though it appears to be closely connected with the 'soul' (ekela): it is something in the body, a vital force or life principle . . . It seems to correspond to Twi sunsum, though the precise nature of the latter is subject to controversy. [1961: 3–4]

This intangible element determines the character of an individual and even the collective character of groups. *Nyamenle*, the agent of creation,[43] is the source of a further element: *ɛkɛla* (pl. *ngɛla*), a person's essence (Grottanelli, 1960: 391; 1961: 3–4; 1978: 17–8; Chukwukere, 1978: 135–48). The term *ɛkɛla* has traditionally been translated as 'soul'. Whereas the *mogya* is said to be transmitted through the maternal line in Asante and in the central, northern and eastern Akan areas (McCaskie, 1995: 168, 312) and is therefore closely associated with the *abusua*, its transmission is considered a paternal task (at least for the most part, see Chukwukere, 1978: 138–9) in Nzema, Fante, Ahanta, and other areas, where *abusua* and *mogya* are therefore juxtaposed (*ibid.*).

Through the succession of fathers and sons the same *mogya* continues to occupy the same *aako*. Collectively the titular occupants call themselves *meze ama* (sing. *meze ara*, literally 'child of my father'), as partners in the same *mogya* and with similar *mɔra*/*sunsum*, leaving aside their *abusua* affiliations, which could be different. The *aako* is associated with the concept of 'home' (*aako nu*) and, at a more immediate level, the concept of *patria* (fatherland) is defined by the relationship with the fathers' *aako* and therefore with the community (*maanle*) in which it is situated. In other words, it is from the paternal line that an individual derives the majority of his duties and privileges as a political member of society. The *aako* constitute the basic component of a *suazo* (town; pl. *azuazo*). In the case of larger settlements, several *aako* can be brought together under the one *awɔlɔne* (ward, street), acting as an intermediate organisational unit. It is through these units that the position and role of the *ezuavolɛ* ('the people', the inhabitants of the town) are defined within the framework of civil and, historically, military organisation. The *aako* acts in these contexts under the

[43] On *Nyamenle* see Grottanelli (1978: 64–79). *Nyamenle* is also the name currently used in Christian contexts to signify the God of the Bible.

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guidance of its own *mgbanyinli* (or *mgbanyima*, elders; sing. *kpanyinli*) as a corporate entity, the *aakonu ama*. Historically the *aakonu ama* was perceived as a body which included members of the *abusua* which owns the *aako*, 'sons', clients, slaves (*ngɛkɛlɛ*, sing. *akɛlɛ*) and 'friends' (*agɔnwolɛma*, sing. *agɔnwolɛ*). At this level the *aako* members' various *abusua* affiliations become of secondary importance in relation to the duty of service (*ɛzonlenlɛ*) to the fathers and, consequently, to the fathers' *ebia*.

An outstanding example of the *aako*'s historical role as the basic constituent unit in political organisation is the pivotal position occupied in Benyinli by the so-called 'seven *aako*' (the number is purely conventional, in actual terms they are more). They are named after prominent characters of local history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Tanekyi, Ama Mieza, Nyamekɛ Bɛfeɛnza, Boa Kpanyinli, etc.) who were all: (1) sons or patrilineal descendants of various *arelemgbunli*; (2) tightly interconnected by matrimonial alliances and economic interests; (3) major supporters of the royal *ebia*; (4) men of substance and influence with their own independent followings; (5) at the centre of wide networks of patronage extending well beyond the borders of the local polity. Each one of the 'seven *aako*' is headed by a particular *abusua*, which may control different *mbia* in its own right. However the 'seven *aako*' qua *aako* within Benyinli hold key sub-chiefly positions (ward headmen) and virtually all leading community offices (including the position of *tufuhene* and that of assemblyman in the current local government system) in the history of Benyinli, and its *ebia kpole* since at least the mid-nineteenth century were and still are staffed by personnel furnished by the 'seven *aako*'. More important, this can be said of a large part of the Western Nzema component of the national political elite before and after independence (for instance, the incumbent head of Boa Kpanyinli's *aako*, certainly the most influential current supporter of the royal *ebia*, held important positions such as Regional Minister in the 1970s and Deputy Minister for the Environment in Rawlings's second presidential mandate). Very often the *abusua* affiliations of many of these individuals are just of complementary significance when compared with their outstanding patrilineal pedigrees.

The *aako*'s central importance as the primary context for dealing with the relationship between the individual and the political sphere is clearly demonstrated by the intangibility of its borders, at least theoretically, in particular situations where the usual social order has been suspended, as in the case of the death, burial and funeral of the *belemgbunli* and some other prominent individuals. The indiscriminate slaughter of livestock and other domestic animals wandering the streets of the town (in the past people taken by surprise in the street were also killed) should in fact cease at the entrance to compounds and living quarters. The eruptions of violence which accompany and underscore the trauma suffered by the institutional summit of the body politic do not affect the constituent parts, but sweep up any particles which have left the safety of their compounds in order to move around the intervening connective

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network, a space which more than any other is the domain of the political sphere.[44]

The *aako*'s corporate activities are the context in which the pre-eminence of the *abusua* is expressed. In other words, the *aako* unit markedly incorporates the reintegration of patriliny and matriliny, the two primary and potentially conflicting poles in affiliations and loyalties experienced by individuals and groups. This ideal notion, which the *aako* enacts at society's elementary organisational level, is projected on to the operation of the higher political levels as the underlying ideological fabric. The *maanle* as body politic is perceived and interpreted as the result of a dynamic relationship between the *ezuavolɛ* (people), an entity defined and politically organised by patrifiliation (i.e. *mogya* or blood and *mɔra*/*sunsum*), and the *ebia* (stool) which embodies the principle of sovereignty attributed to the *abusua* (i.e. *mowule*, bones). The *maanle* is a vital combination of these elements and therefore *persona* in the strict sense of the term, one which possesses its own collective and distinctive *mɔra*/*sunsum*, and is provided with *mogya* by *ezuavolɛ* and with *mowule* by the *abusua*. The *ebia kpole*, the royal stool, and hence figuratively the *belemgbunli* himself, is termed *maanle eti* ('the head of the *maanle*') in political language, while the subordinate *ebia* that provides its main support is called *egyakɛ babonle* ('the foot'). It is important to stress that the principle of sovereignty represented by the *ebia* cannot be implemented outside the context provided by the *maanle*.

The relationship between the *maanle*'s basic components is a complex and substantially ambiguous one. The loyalties which can be called upon by the differing affiliations, particularly *mogya* and *abusua*, i.e. patriliny and matriliny, are potentially in competition, constantly on the brink of open conflict (Palumbo, 1992; 1995). The *maanle*, like all *personae*, therefore achieves a state of temporary and conditional equilibrium, but one with a congenital tendency to break up. The only preventive barrier is government action, *maanzielɛ*, which is a direct manifestation of the *tumi* (literally 'ability' or 'power' but also 'authority' and 'hegemony') and directly proportional to its fullness and efficacy. The *tumi* is a fundamental attribute of authority, but especially the highest authority, the *belemgbunli*.[45] According to local political thought, the *tumi* is the catalyst which determines the

[44] People in Adoabo and Benyinli date the practice of killing human beings on the occasion of a death and a funeral either to a generic pre-colonial past, or to the days of Kaku Aka. The practice was widely documented in eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources. See, for instance, FC, N53, Journals 1766–67 (4): Correspondence with Outforts, 1767 (WIC 968), Axim (Fennekol), 27 July; PRO, T70 1577, A. Dalzel to Committee of Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 13 October 1800; PRO T.70 1590, 'Questions proposed', 1810; PRO, CO 96 27, F. Swanzy, 'Narrative of the Expedition to Appolonia, from Cape Coast Castle, in 1848' (from the MS magazine of May–June, 1850).

[45] The term *tumi* can be used to express a general concept of strength, as a synonym of *anwosesebɛ* (strength). For a discussion of *tumi* as a political concept see Perrot, 1982: 103–13 and passim; McCaskie, 1995: 48,314.

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establishment of a specific historical social and political order (*maanle*). As such the *tumi* is quintessentially the 'creator of identity',[46] as well as being a fundamental element in the conservation and continuation of that identity. The *tumi*, being volatile, must be adequately preserved and strengthened. Many rituals that concern and express the exercise of power are practised for this purpose.[47] Any weakening of the *tumi* (e.g. if the *belemgbunli* is infirm or senile), as with its excessive or destructive implementation (e.g. tyranny), leads to various critical stages in the life of the *maanle*, which usually manifest themselves through challenges to or even the collapse of the essential consensus and a denial of the principle of 'unity' (*koyɛlɛ*), the ideal basis and achievement of government activity. In this context, the possibility of action, even violent and aggressive action, being taken by other important components of the *maanle* becomes an option in order to re-establish the political order (or to found a new order), and in some cases it becomes inevitable. The constant recourse to 'mob rule' in some particularly stressful historical periods led the political system in the western Gold Coast to be referred to as a 'mobocracy'.[48]

With specific reference to the mechanisms of individual and collective identity, the category which could be defined as 'fatherland' (*patria*) is ultimately the result of an overlap between a number of fundamental bonds: (1) between *mogya* and *aako*, (2) between *aako*, *abusua* and *maanle*, (3) between *maanle* and *abusua* in relation to the settlement and management of land (*azɛlɛ*). The first bond is immediate and automatic, while the second and third are mediated through a number of jural mechanisms centred on the *abusua*. Together they constitute the political framework. The manner in which these bonds overlap is essentially a shifting one. They change in size and intensity in accordance with a number of environmental, social and personal variables, as well as being influenced by the effectiveness of the *tumi*.

LAYERED IDENTITIES

At present, different definitions of Nzema and local onomastic traditions coexist within and outside the Nzema region itself as legacies of a complex history. On the other hand, the manipulation of names is not merely a by-product of the vicissitudes of power struggles. The wider layers of Nzema identity potentially include a whole number of

[46] For an example of an Akan narrative interpretation of history and identity as a manifestation of *tumi*, see Perrot (1982: 16, 298).

[47] Writings on this subject with reference to different areas and contexts include: Amon d'Aby (1960: 22–4, 27–32) (Sanwi); Niangoran-Bouah (1973: 212–15) (Akan); Eschlimann (1985: 89) (Anyi–Bona), Perrot (1982: 110–13), Gilbert (1987: 298–330, 1994: 99–125) (Akuapem), McCaskie (1995: 230–5) (Asante).

[48] PRO, CO 96 718/3, Duncan-Johnstone's Report on the Western Province, Gold Coast, 1933–34, Sekondi, 16 May 1934, p. 12.

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questions concerning internal differentiation which normally lie dormant but can emerge as powerful expressions of specific realities within the local context.

A 1762 source provides us with an extremely vivid historical example of this complex overlaying of identities. J. P. T. Huydecoper, the Dutch governor of Axim, explained a period of internal conflict within a region which includes at least the modern regions of Ahanta, Egila, Nzema, Wassa, Aowin, Sanwi and Bassam by stressing how local politics were driven by interaction, or indeed conflict, between 'family' loyalties and loyalty to the local political unit:

> Among them [the natives] they are all divided into different Stammen [stocks, tribes] the origin of which neither they nor we know . . . but it has so much influence on their common life . . . Some of these tribes are closely verknogt [attached, tied] to others, some very verbeeten tegen [strongly against] each other . . . The consequence is that . . . however great their oneen igheden [disagreements] amongst each other may be, they are accustomed to bijspringen [help] each other against a third party. The love of their fatherland is alone strong enough to break this bond and in the defence of the same no achtgeven [attention is paid] to any Stam Genoodschap [association].[49]

The 'fatherlands' were political and territorial units from which the modern *maanlema* are more or less directly descended and represented a constant reference point in the political dynamics of the region over the following three centuries. The entities which Huydecoper defined as *stammen* were in a contrasting and potentially conflicting position to this thread of loyalty, but with equally fundamental implications for the construction of a social, political and economic order. The *stam* can be identified with the matriclan and the *abusua* and, more generally, the groupings based on matriliny.

A definition of the identity paradigm much closer to our own times was provided in 1914 by the *ɔmanhene* Aka Anyima of Benyinli in relation to Elubo's and Ghana Nugua's membership of the *Nzema maanle*. These previously mentioned Anyi-speaking towns are situated along the Tanoɛ river: 'The Allubos serve me but in ancient times they were Aowins. They speak Aowin [Anyi] but their blood is Apollonian blood.'[50] The establishment of supremacy has the very direct and material result of a transfer of *mogya* through marriage policies: the subordinate group, irrespective of whether it finds itself in that situation voluntarily or through compulsion, gives some of its women to the dominant group. The *mbusua* which held the Elubo and Ghana Nugua *mbia* gave their women to the *belemgbunli* or to the royal *abusua* of a *Nzema maanle*: their children therefore have Nzema *mogya* and *mɔra*,

[49] FC, N49 (A–F), 1757–62 (ARA, WIC 963), 63–72, 15 October 1762, letter from Axim (Huydecoper), 12 October.

[50] NAG, ADM 11/1/1699, F. Crowther, Constitution of Apolonia, p. 17, Omanhene Aka Ayima, Beyin, 11 March 1914. See also note 8.

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and as such are fully members of the *Nzema maanle*, but not of the *Nzema aneɛ ekpunli*. Elubo and Ghana Nugua are Anyi, given that they are Anyi-speakers, but also fully Nzema, because their 'fathers' are Nzema. The state of *semanli fɔɔnwo*, 'pure Nzema', which is an expression used (at least during the twentieth century) to denote someone who is Nzema on both his mother's and his father's sides, can on occasions lead to preferential treatment as an expression of particularly deep roots in the *maanle*, but can never be used as a category to establish who is and who is not Nzema.

Yet an unchallenged linguistic and cultural identity such as Nzema is not of itself sufficient condition for the full inclusion within the *Nzema maanle* in its political dimension. An example of this occurred in 1997 when applications by the Ɛvaloɛ-speaking *mbia* of Ahanta West for admission to a permanent body set up by the 'paramount chiefs' residing within the two districts of Jomoro and Nzema East, in order to co-ordinate their activities at a broader Nzema level, were unsuccessful. The name of the body is Nzema Maanle, but despite its clear 'ethnic' connotation it was adamant in defending the *status quo* against Nzema applicants who probably intended to use their membership to bolster their claims to 'paramount' status, thus cancelling their subordinate position towards the Busua 'paramount stool'.[51] The next step would probably have been an attempt to secede from Ahanta West District.

During the twentieth century Nzema as an ethnic name expressed a multiple and tendentially ambiguous reality, a category which can be used to reduce differences (i.e. to include) and exacerbate differences (i.e. to exclude) by stressing one of the various powerful identity options which are open to groups and individuals. In more general terms of self-perception, an individual or a group is Nzema in the moment in which he/it affirms, and therefore implicitly historicises, a jural state or condition, namely inclusion within a social body organised by some specific political entities (*maanlema*), which are linked with portions of a precise historical context whose fundamental borders are primarily territorial and subsequently linguistic in a derivative position. In this sense Nzema becomes a 'performative' category. From the fundamental perspective of local identity, this essential legal meaning is necessary for the individual and the primary group to take action within the social unit, but its establishment as specifically Nzema (and a part of one specific *Nzema maanle*) comes later than the group itself and is due to historical accident. The group comes before and goes beyond both the *aneɛ ekpunli* and the *maanle*, but it is linked with them through a relationship whose origin is conceptualised in terms of 'service' (*ɛzonlenlɛ*).

[51] Information provided personally by Awulae Annor Adjaye III, *ɔmanhene* of Western Nzema, January 1998. Interestingly Egila, which is not Nzema but is in the Nzema East District, is a member of the Nzema Maanle.

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However, the various identity options are constantly open. An example is the enstoolment of a Nzema individual on an *ebia* belonging to his *abusua* but situated outside the Nzema area. In such a case it is expected that the individual and his immediate group will adopt a new identity as members of the community which receives them. Thus the present *ɔmanhene* of Egila (enstooled in 1995), a person who is meant to be the highest expression of the Egila identity, is also a 'fully Nzema' member of the 'fully Nzema' Azanwule *abusua* of Benyinli. The assertion of the strong possibility of the alternative at the very moment at which a boundary is being proclaimed is a fundamental feature in the local identity discourse. One of the clear expressions of this paradigm is the annual festival (*ɛvoyia*) called the *kundum* or *abisa* (Ackah, 1963: 16–27; Paulme, 1970; Davy-Hayford, 1971; Arthur, 1977; Agovi, 1979; 1982; 1990; Amissah, 1965; Wade-Brown, 1982; 1989). This itinerant celebration follows an east–west route, involving all and only those *maanlema* who define themselves as Ahanta or Nzema, starting in Sekondi and ending up at Grand Bassam. Within every specific *maanle* the *kundum* may 'belong' to a matriclan that can also be different from the royal one: the Nvavile matriclan in the case of the areas to the west of the Ankobra, the Madwole (Adahonle) at Axim, the Ndweafoɔ in various Ahanta areas, etc. However, its celebration is supported materially by the *belemgbunli* and the *ebia kpole*, thus becoming a celebration of the entire *maanle*. The groups which established themselves in one particular *maanle* 'met' the *kundum* and adopted it to the exclusion of any *ɛvoyia* celebrated in any previous areas of settlement. The enactment of the *kundum* reasserts the ancestral and modern common bond between Ahanta and Nzema as territorial and social entities, and at the same time it outlines a historical map of the territory which provides important principles in defining groups which exist within the current political sphere. The *kundum* forms a 'palimpsest' upon which relations between groups and the territory, and between the respective histories of groups and the territory, are constantly rewritten. In that sense it is an exquisitely historical dimension which defines Nzema and Ahanta, but at the same time as it defines them the *kundum* asserts the relativity of these two identities in relation to the historical levels which transcend and encompass them.

A complete answer to the question of who is a Nzema, and what and where is Nzema country, cannot be a single one, but is probably to be found in a number of complex periphrastic formulas, given that all the other potential levels of identity continue to constitute alternatives which can normally be pursued through options sanctioned by temporary or permanent exclusion from the *Nzema maanle*. The true criterion for defining identity is its total historical relativity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the late *egya* Kanra Attia (Koasi) Aka (alias J. S. Ackah), to whom this article is dedicated. My thanks to R. Bizzocchi, S. Boni, G. P. Calchi Novati, C. Grottanelli, T. C. McCaskie, B. Palumbo and F. Viti for their comments and to A.

https://doi.org/10.3366/afr.2001.71.3.391 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Cameron for the English translation. My thanks also to G. Da Re, the non-governmental organisation Ricerca e Cooperazione, the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), and the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board for having made my research in Ghana possible. I visited Nzema for the first time in 1987, on a research trip to the Ivory Coast. I have since carried out research on the Ghanaian side from 1991 to 2000. A draft of this article was presented at the conference 'L'etnia nelle situazioni precoloniali e coloniali fra "invenzione e realtà" ', Università di Teramo, 11–13 December 1997.

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ABSTRACT

Nzema has been used historically as a multiple term to describe different but interrelated social, political and territorial realities. Failure to understand the historical context fully has led to persistent ambiguity in writings about the area, especially in anthropological studies. The tendency is to isolate 'ethnic groups' as precise categories in a broad context which in reality is covered by a pervasive network of continua. This article deals with the historical 'mapping' of 'what it is to be Nzema' and therefore puts forward a framework for analysing the question of identity in its actual formulation or, in other words, in relation to local ideological and political processes. Finally, it attempts to identify some of the registers which inform the question and some of the criteria for the use of each specific register by individuals and communities.

RÉSUMÉ

D'un point de vue historique, Nzema a servi de terme multiple pour décrire des réalités sociales, politiques et territoriales différentes mais étroitement liées. Faute de comprendre pleinement le contexte historique, les écrits traitant de cette région, et notamment les études anthropologiques, ont montré une ambiguïté persistante. La tendance est d'isoler les 'groupes ethniques' en catégories précises dans un contexte plus large qui est en réalité couvert par un réseau tentaculaire de continuums. Cet article traite du 'mappage' historique de 'ce qu'est être Nzema', et propose ainsi un cadre d'analyse de la question de l'identité dans sa formulation réelle ou, en d'autres termes, par rapport aux processus idéologiques et politiques locaux. Enfin, il tente d'identifier certains des registres qui éclairent la question et certains des critères d'utilisation de chaque registre spécifique par des personnes et des communautés.

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