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A RE-APPRAISAL OF MRS. EVA MEYEROWITZ'S
WORK ON THE BRONG

by Dennis M. Warren*

I. Aim, Scope and Methods

While science master of Techiman Secondary School (1964-1966), I became highly interested in indigenous Brong concepts and systems of science. To further this interest I decided to complement my training in biology and chemistry and did three years coursework in anthropology, linguistics (including Twi) and African Studies at Indiana University and returned to Techiman in July 1969 for a second stay. While working on the Techiman (Brong) abstract classificatory system of diseases for my doctoral thesis ("Disease, Religion and Art among the Techiman Brong: A Study in Culture Change"), I realized that for this system to have any meaning, especially in terms of culture change, historical and sociological analyses of the people of Techiman Traditional State would have to be conducted. To build this foundation for my thesis the following (in addition to the disease and medicine data, which is irrelevant to this paper) have been done over the past fifteen months:

- (1) A census has now been completed in three of the six main wards of Techiman town (covering, so far, approximately 3,000 persons).¹
- (2) The histories of twenty chiefs in the Techiman Traditional State Council and of the nine Techiman Zongo chiefs have been completed.²
- (3) Histories of forty-nine towns in Techiman Traditional State have been completed.³
- (4) Extensive general Brong histories have been taken from fourteen chiefs and elders who are generally regarded as being the most knowledgeable in this area.⁴

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- (5) The histories of 185 gods (abosom) and 2 war medicines (kō asuman) for Techiman Traditional State have been obtained.⁵

This research is not yet completed and it is hoped to finish 2 more chiefs of the Traditional State Council, 20 more towns in this area, and 13 more gods.⁶

The data from the initial interviews with the chiefs, priests and elders, all kept on tapes, are then translated by my assistant, Owusu Brempong (a former student of mine who is also the son of D.K. Owusu, one of Mrs. Meyerowitz's interpreters); having gone through the translated data to find any lacunae and discrepancies, we then return to the speaker and try to fill in the gaps and unravel the discrepancies. Copies of the primary data will be made when the study is completed and these tapes will be deposited both at the Institute of African Studies, Legon, and in the Centre for African Oral Data, Indiana University. It is hoped that the data will be made available as supplements to the Institute's Research Review in early 1971.

Several months ago Dr. Kwame Arhin informed me about a proposed seminar on the Brong and asked me, in view of the data I had collected, to present a re-appraisal of Meyerowitz's work on the Brong. I had first read her books while I was teaching in Techiman and had met her in London prior to my second trip to Techiman.

After re-reading her five books I realized that our purposes, methodologies, and indeed many of our "facts" differed greatly. Many of these facts had been collected by both of us from the same person. Our purposes differ radically; mine I have briefly outlined earlier in this paper; hers, the search for origins, has a long tradition in historical works on the Akan and I have included a brief recapitulation of this tradition as an appendix to this paper.

Our methodologies also differ; hers I have outlined in the appendix. My training in science has carried through into linguistics and anthropology where I utilize a similar research method, termed ethno-science, by many anthropologists. This approach stresses the necessity to avoid fitting non-western cultural data into western academic patterns, typologies, definitions and classifications which, although often assumed to be, have not been proved universally valid.

It stresses the necessity for the investigator to become as well-versed in the vernacular as possible and the use of the indigenous language as a vehicle to delineate the abstract systems of knowledge for that culture. The ethnoscientific approach assumes that the questions asked are just as important as the answers. One's procedure must be carefully explicated and it must prove replicable by other investigators; the primary data must be made available to others for re-translation and verification. The data should speak for itself, be carefully documented, and all interpretations by the investigator himself must be carefully stated as such. This approach has worked very well for me in delineating the abstract system of diseases which has now been worked out to eleven hierarchical levels.

II. Meyerowitz's Accounts of the Techiman Brong

It is, in some ways, a bit difficult for an investigator, who has the advantages of hindsight, newly developed research techniques and a tape recorder, to discuss the work of someone who has worked without these, but the building upon and reformulation of work started by others is, in fact, what scholarship is about. I will, in this paper, limit myself to a discussion of points which, in view of the data I have collected, either contradict information written by Mrs. Meyerowitz or are unverifiable by me.

A. The Sahara - An "Oral Tradition"?

"According to oral tradition, the people who founded the great Akan States in Ghana (the Gold Coast), such as Bono, Asante... formerly lived along the Niger Bend in the region lying roughly between Djenne and Timbuktu". "The Bono-Takyiman... further recall that their ancestors, before they settled along the Niger, lived farther north in the 'White Desert' or Sarem, 'the country of the sand' which we call the Sahara" (1958: 17). Of all the histories I have taken only two persons have ever voluntarily mentioned the words Timbuktu and Sahara (Nana Akumfi Ameyaw III, ex-Techimanhene and Nana Kwame Gyamfi, chief of Offuman No.2); of the other twelve outstanding local historians specifically questioned (see footnote 4), all denied that the Bono came from the sarem (which cannot be translated 'white desert', 'the country of the sand' or 'the Sahara'),

none of them (including Akumfi Ameyaw III and Kwame Gyamfi) had ever heard that the ancestors of the Bono were of a white race, and Akumfi Ameyaw III is the only one who claims to have heard of the states of Diala, Diadom and Kumbu, and he has promised to give me their histories, although he has postponed it six times now.

B. The Four Bono Cults

My data can never substantiate a chronological ordering of four cults as one finds in the 1958 text, nor do I believe that her data warrants such an ordering.

(1) Moon Cult and Venus Cult

The moon cult is nowhere evident in Techiman State; none of the fourteen outstanding historians nor the queen-mother, Afua Abrafi, nor a large number of priests has ever heard of a time when women in general ruled. Nor does anyone realize that the queen-mother's soul (kra) comes from or ever came from the moon, nor that Nyame (God) has ever been connected with the moon. The idea that "the queen-mother was once the supreme war-leader" (1958: 31) has met with a complete blank. Moreover, I have not yet found anyone in Techiman State, even in "remoter villages" who has heard of people avoiding to look at the moon passing behind a cloud for fear of the moon devouring that person's kra (1958: 24); it is, of course, possible that such an idea exists in other Akan (even other Brong) areas.

Meyerowitz's king list begins in 1295 with Ohene Asaman, a male; hence her first two cults (Moon and Venus) which had women as rulers, had to exist prior to that date. It is true that a woman can act as regent of a town and can even found a town. At this time the queen-mother of New Jama is regent until a new chief is picked. Also, about half a mile from Techiman, there is a small village called Pomaa, named after the priestess, Nana Pomaa, who founded the village and keeps her god (bosom) there; this village has now grown into about six houses and will probably continue to grow until some time in the future it may be large enough to have a head-man or ɔdekro. Likewise, Tanoboase, according to the chief Kwabena Dwomo, was first run by the first four women priestesses of Taa Kora (Afua Ankoma, Yaa Takyiwa, Nsoa Agyeku, Nyankomago Abenaa), prior to the first male chief,

but this was due to the fact that Afua Ankoma was the first to be possessed by Taa Kora and she stayed at a tiny village near the rocks to tend the god. Takyi Firi later appointed his brother, Nana Fosu Dianwoma, to take care of the bosom and the members of the family staying at the village Tanoboase. None of these three examples could substantiate Moon Cult (Cult I) as defined by Meyerowitz.

Moreover, the main oral history which Meyerowitz uses to substantiate Cult I is incorrect. She says this tradition is a "faithful translation of the narrative by Okyeame Pong, a direct descendant of Ameyaa Ampromfi" (1958: 32); in a paper written in 1962 she stated that "In months and months of collecting oral material it happened exactly twice that I was able to take down, verbatim, a historical tradition..." "The second, the foundation of Tanosu by Ameyaa, a daughter of the last king of Bono and a mother of the Beretu clan, was told me by the chief of the Beretu clan at Tekyiman in the presence of the Tanosuhene, the successor of Ameyaa on the Tanosu stool..." "I found nowhere else anything that equalled them" (1962: 44).

Okyeame Pong (Oppong), now dead, was a former Adaatihene (a post combining the duties of an assistant akyeamehene and a Kronti war leader) for Techiman; the Tanosohene she mentions (who is Afutuhene for Techiman) is still ruling. When I collected the history of Tanoso and the history of the Afutu stool from Nana Yaw Mensa (his stool name is Yaw Kwaten) it differed considerably from what I read later in Meyerowitz's 1958 text; I returned for three more long sessions to confirm my original translation.

The main error Meyerowitz made was making "Kwatin Ankoma" (1958: 33), the son of Ameyaa Ampromfi, different from "Koratin Ankoma" (1958: 35) whom she says was the son of Ampromfi II. They are, in fact, the same person. Her list of Tanoso rulers follows:

1. Ameyaa Ampromfi (female)
2. Nana Tasie (Ameyaa's daughter)
3. Adwoa To (female)
4. Adwoa Akyempona (female)
5. Yaa Benewaa (female)

6. Ampromfi II Akuaa (female), "after whose death, chieftainship was introduced, and one of her sons by name Koratin Ankoma succeeded as chief of Tanosu" (1958: 35).
7. Koratin Ankoma
8. Akyea Wea
9. Yaw Braf
10. Kodjo Dakruho
11. Yaw Baafi
12. Kwasi Kwaaten
13. Kofi Kra
14. Kwame Braf
15. Kwaame Kwaten
16. Yaw Mensa.

(Note that Kwatin, Koratin, Kwaaten, and Kwaten are all spelling variations of the same name; likewise Kwame and Kwaame).

Both our histories agree on the starting point: Ohene Kwakye Ameyaw, the last Bonohene, married a woman called Afua Owusuaa and she had a daughter by him called Ameyaa Ampromfi; Ameyaa in turn had a son called Kwaten Ankoma (whom Meyerowitz says was left as hostage in Techimantia). From that point on, however, my story differs from hers. Firstly, the chiefs of Tanoso have always been the Techiman State Afutuhene, chief advisor to the Amanhene, and it was Ohene Ameyaw who created the Afutu stool for his son. Ameyaa being female, the stool was turned over to her son, Ohene Ameyaw's grandson, Kwaten Ankoma. If one asks for a stool list for the Afutu (i.e. the Tanoso) stool and lines up the occupants of it with Amanhene, one gets the following list:

Tanoso/Afutuhene

1. Kwaten Ankoma
2. Atea Nwea
3. Dakrobo
4. Yaw Braf

Amanhene

1. Ohene Ameyaw
2. Not known to Tanosohene
3. Not known to Tanosohene
4. Kwabena Fofie

Tanoso/Afutuhene

5. Kwasi Kwaten
6. Kofi Kra (1st enstool.)
7. Kwame Brafii
8. Yaw Kwaten Ababio (Yaw Mensa) (1st enstool. 1936-1940)
9. Kofi Kra (2nd enstool.)
10. Kwame Donkor (also called Kwame Kwaten)
11. Yaw Kwaten Ababio III (Yaw Mensa) 2nd enstool. 1946 to present)

Amanhene

5. Kwadwo Konkroma (1st enstool.)
6. Yaw Kramo
7. Yaw Ameyaw (1st enstool.)
8. Yaw Ameyaw (2nd enstool.)
9. Kwaku Gyako (still living)
10. Akumfi Ameyaw III
11. Akumfi Ameyaw III

(It is difficult to see how Meyerowitz missed 8, 9 and 10, especially if Yaw Mensa (Kwaten) helped give her the stool history).

When one asks for the list of Tanoso queen-mothers (who are also the head of the female priestesses for the god Atiokosaa) one finds:

Tanoso queen-mothers

1. Ameyaa Ampromfi
2. Amoaa
3. Adwoa Teh
4. Yaa Benewaa
5. Akua Ampromfi
6. Abenaa Tutu

Amanhene

1. Ohene Ameyaw
2. Kwabena Fofie
3. Not known to Tanosohene or Tanoso queen-mother.
4. Gyako (who brought the Brong back from Gyaman)
5. Yaw Kramo
6. Akumfi Ameyaw

The Tanosohene says Tana Tasie (Meyerowitz's second Tanosohene, a female) was called Tana Posie; she was the female servant for Nana Ameyaa Ampromfi and not her daughter. Moreover, he says it is not true that "the present Tanosohene [is the] reigning priest chief and high priest of Ati Kosie at Tanosu" (1958: 55, 56); the Tanosohene

has never been the high priest of Atlokosaa according to Yaw Mensa and Abenaa Tutu.

(2) Sun Cult and Ntoro Cult

Obunumankoma, the third Omanhene in her list, is supposed to have introduced the sun-god cult (Cult 3); since cults 1 and 2 must have existed prior to 1295 and the sun-cult came in by 1363, it is amazing that she can state that "the Akan had, until recently, altered little down the ages" (1958: 15). Neither the current Omanhene nor 3 ex-Amanhene, nor Kwame Nyame has ever heard that the kra (soul) of the Omanhene came from the sun. Asked what Ohene ye awia (1960: 85) means, the ex-Techimanhene Nana Akumfi Ameyaw III said it means that the chief shines or radiates his authority. The ntoro cult (Cult 4) was supposedly introduced from the Sudan by Takyi Akwamo, the fourth Bonohene in 1431 (1958: 108), but Kwame Nyame and Akumfi Ameyaw III say the ntoro has been with the Brong from the time of Ohene Asamen.

C. Spelling Variations

(1) The type of spelling variation as seen in the spellings of Kwatin, Koratin, Kwaaten, and Kwaten for the Tanoso history is a common thing in her books.

(2) In the 1958 book; Meyerowitz talks about a village two miles from Techiman called Bemeri, a village where Ameyaa of Tanoso took a husband (around 1750) (1958: 35). In her 1962 book she talks of Bamiri and "Odikro Kwasi Asare the founder and chief of Bamiri" (1962: 208); Kwasi Asare is still the odekro, but Bemeri/Bamiri is, indeed, a very old village and was never founded by Asare.

(3) One likewise finds the name Kwame spelled both Kwame and Kwaame on the very same page (e.g. 1958: 35; 1960: 194, note 1).

(4) In a list of chiefs some have their name spelled Yao, others Yaw on the same page (1958: 14).

(5) One finds the former Nifahene's name spelled Yaw Nwinim (1962: 43), Yao Nwim (1962: 110) and Yao Inwim (1958: 14 and 153).

(6) The former Adontenhene Kwaku Fah (1962: 36) has his name spelled Kwaku Fan (1962: 43).

(7) The former Gyaasehene Yaw Atoa (1958: 14) has his name spelled in the 1960 text both Yaw Atoa (1960: 194, note 1) and Yao Atoa (1960: photo 21); in 1962 his name is spelled Yaw Aboah (1962: 43).

(8) The Akwamuhene of Techiman is Kwasi Tabiri, not Kwafi Tabri (1962: 43).

(9) The Techimanhene during the second Asante-Bono war was Kwabena Fofie (1958: 128) but in 1962 he is called "Tekyimanhene Nana Kwabena Kofi" (1962: 211).

(10) The queen-mother Nana Afua Abrafi (1962: 29) is called Nana Afua Abrefi (1962: photo 5) and Nana Afua Abrafo (1960: photo 2).

(11) The palace where the Bono queen-mother used to live still exists, it is called Amona (1952: 43) and is near the Yaya River. In 1960 she writes both that "the queen-mother's palace was at Amona, beyond the river Yaa" (1960: 89-90) and that it was "at Amona, beyond the Yaya river" (1960: 227).

(12) One finds the Bonohene Takyi Kwame (1951: 28) with his name spelled Takyi Akwame (1951: 45), Takyi Akwamo (1951: 115; 1958: 108) and Takyia Kwame (1952: 32).

(13) Bonohene number six, Dwambara Kwame (1952: 32) is also called Dwamena Kwaame (1958: 111).

(14) Bonohene number seventeen Gyamfo Kumanin (1952: 32) is also called Gyamfi Kumanini (1958: 122).

(15) Bonohene number nineteen Kyereme Bampo (1952: 32) is also called Kyereme Pambuo (1958: 124).

(16) The Bono kingdom is also called the "Boon Kingdom" (1952: 33).

(17) The Ankobeahene she calls Yao Doako (1952: 36) must be Yaw Donkor.

(18) The "Forokromhene Kwesi Basahya" (1952: 37) should be the Forikromhene Kese Basahya.

(19) The first male chief of Tanoboase, "Fosuda Adua Hwoma" (1951: 130) should be Fosu Dianwoma.

(20) "The villages of Korokurum, Kuntumusu, Temponu, Akoroforum" (1951: 153) are probably Forikrom, Kuntunso, Temponem, and Akrofrom.

(21) "The god Ati Akosua" (1951: 154) is the spelling Rattray mistakenly gave to Atiokosaa (called ateakosewa in Christaller's dictionary) which she spells Atia Kosie (1958: 34) in other places.

D. Minor Errors

(1) These spelling variations are petty and perhaps it is pedantic to pick them out, but they are indicative of careless scholarship as are the following errors. The battle at "Goodmorning rock" (sboos makyl) at Asueyi took place not in 1740, but during the second Asante-Bono war (1962: 15); I first questioned the 1740 date because my history of Asueyi indicated that the town did not exist that early. Meyerowitz takes this "fact" and repeats it on p.16 (1962) and p.83 (1962) as part of the first Asante-Bono war history. My "fact" has been confirmed by both Akumfi Ameyaw III and Kwame Nyame.

(2) One does not turn left (1962: 15) to go to Asueyi when travelling from Techiman to Wenchi, but right.

(3) The unnamed cave she was taken to, described in the 1962 text (p.16-18) is, in fact, Boten (from sboos, rock and tenten, tall) which is near Forikrom. She says later in the same book (1962: 181) that behind the Techiman rest-house is a hill which is the abode "of the guardian god Botene" and in 1958 (p.29) likewise described "a small hill nearby, the abode of Botene — an sboosom of the earliest settlers, and now the guardian of the town". There is a large rock behind the rest-house which is called boobene (red rock) but it has no known bosom; no one has ever heard of any other Boten (or Botene) besides the one she was taken to (without realizing the name) near Forikrom.

(4) The signpost at the Techiman round-about never said 32 miles to Nkoranza and 22 miles to Wenchi (1962: 23); Nkoranza has always been 18, Wenchi 19.

(5) It was not the Zongohene Gariba Adjaji (1962: 59) who converted Akumfi Ameyaw III to Islam; the ex-Techimanhene was converted to the Ahmadiyyan sect of Islam in 1930, twelve years prior to his enstoolment; the Zongohene Adjaji, like the present Zongohene, adhered to another Islamic sect.

(6) When Mrs. Meyerowitz went to Forikrom Apoo festival to witness the "rebirth of the god Baako, the patron god of his lands" (1962: 93-6) she did not see a bosom (god) but rather a war medicine (kõ suman). The "patron god" or stool bosom of Forikrom is Taa Atoa Yaw (now stolen).

(7) It is not correct to say that "Twimea was the royal village inhabited only by members of the royal family" (1962: 195); the chief and queen-mother are of the Oyoko clan, but the land belongs to the nifa (Aduana clan) stool and many of the inhabitants are of the Aduana clan (nifa) such as Nana Kwabena Esi (Asi) (1962: 196) who lives at Twimia but is the ɔdekro of the next village, Koase (a town under the nifa stool) and who is also the Akwamuhene for the Techiman nifa stool.

(8) To my knowledge there has never been a Krontihene named Kofi Badu; the current Krontihene, ɔmanhene and Konahene all agree that Kofi Badu was a Konahene (head of the Kronti clan) and hence a former chief of Tanoboase (and also high priest of Taa Kora) (1958: 14).

(9) Taa Kuntun does not mean "Tano the Hyena" (1958: 58) but Tano at the place where the river bends or curves (konton); this explanation comes from the same ɔdekro/bosomfo, Nana Kwaku Addae, who was chief when Meyerowitz visited Kuntunso (the name of the town meaning on top of the bend - i.e. in the Tano river).

(10) In the 1958 text, photo 12 does not show Kofi Wusu standing by the shrine of his god Afera Kofi, but rather by a pot of dudoo or medicine. Photo 14 is not a priest serving Taa Kofi; the priest is from Afrancho and his god is called Boo; the photo was taken while he was attending a Tanokofiano festival. Photo 16 is not a kɔmfo for Taa Ksee; now dead, she was priestess for a god at a village near Kumasi; she had been trained by the bosomfo for Taa Ksee, Kofi Mosi.

(11) Her concept of cross-cousins is not clear. Instead of saying "her cousin, the son of either her mother's or her father's brother" (1958: 109) she should have said "son of either her mother's brother or her father's sister".

(12) The "sacred river Adare" is the river Adaa which cuts through Techiman separating the town from the Zongo (1960: 172).

(13) The statement that the "chief of the commoners is Asonkohene" (1960: 201, note 1) is incorrect. In the 1951 text (p.213) she says the Nkwankwaahene is "elected chief of the commoners". The Nkwankwaahene is not a chief of "commoners" but rather the chief (in Techiman without a stool) of the young men or warriors. Moreover the Asonkohene is the leader of a local popular band. Also it is not true that the Asonkohene is a synonym for the Werempehene, who is, in fact, the Konkontiwahene (whose stool is derived from the Krontihene).

(14) In the 1951 text photo 13 shows Akumfi Ameyaw III carrying "the ancient gold Bosommuru Ntoro Sword of the kings of Bono with which he swears the oath of allegiance to his people". In the 1958 text she declares that Bosommuru (1958: 100) was the first ntoro god of the state. In the 1960 text she discusses "the Sumankwahene, the priest in charge of Bosommuru" (1960: 220). The Sumankwahene is, of course, not a priest, nor is he in charge of this sword (which is not a god or bosom); Akumfi Ameyaw III says the Sannaahene and Afenasofohene are in charge of this sword.

E. Twi Errors

One also wonders if anyone ever proof-read the Twi and who made some of the translations. A few obvious errors are the following:

(1) sarem (savanna; sare, grass; mu, in) cannot be translated "white desert", "country of sand", or "the Sahara" (e.g. 1962: 68-9; 1958: 17).

(2) "'kwaee, kwaee' (remember, remember)" (1962: 204) should be kae, kae.

(3) "A is the Akan prefix for living things" (1958: 20), is incorrect.

(4) "brothers and sisters, nuonom" (1958: 26) should be nuanom.

(5) Clay walls (kylrem) (1958: 67); white clay is hyire.

(6) Ahwyla, mye (1958: 67) and npo (1958: 37) are not Twi.

(7) recoda (1958: 69) should be rekoda, going to sleep (and can't be re-translated "to die").

(8) Kwagyinamo uon (1958: 71); "cat" can be akwagyinamo or agyinamo but uon is not Twi.

(9) "saman-tenten, or wait-about-spirits" (1960: 123) should be saman-twentwen (as she spelled it in 1951, p.214).

(10) "A staff (adiaka-pomum)" (1960: 189); staff is poma.

(11) diatwo, "receive guns" (1952: 41) might better be diatuo.

(12) "a mile (konsine)" (1951: 187) is kwansin.

(13) "moqyafere or sacrilegious intermarriage" (1951: 29) is moqyafra.

(14) Some of the etymologies dealing with the moon (1958: 23) and the sun (1958: 83) are also highly suspect.

F. Obosom and Bosomi

From no priest, chief or elder, including Akumfi Ameyaw III, can I find agreement that obosom is a "word which would seem to be derived from bosom, the moon" (1958: 24). In Techiman Brong language, the word for moon is not pronounced bosom, but bosomi. Akumfi Ameyaw III explains the word obosom by reversing the syllables to esom bo which he says means something heavy, expensive or valuable.

G. Nyanku Sai or Nyankonsae

An exceptional error was made in the 1960 text where Meyerowitz describes the "Nyanku Sai festival" (1960: 142-3). Nyanku Sai has never been the name of any Atumfohene (Adontenhene); it is the name of the Adonten (Atumfohene) stool god, Nyankonsae, and the name is an abbreviation of Nyankopon asae (God's hammer); this information comes from the history of the Adonten stool by Kwame Opoku and history of the bosom by Akumfi Ameyaw III. Moreover the Atumfohene has never been a son of the king as stated on p.160 (1960).

H. Death and Resurrection

From all the priests and priestesses of the 185 abosom now documented and all the chiefs (ahene) and heads of villages (adekrofo) we have interviewed we have collected festival (afahye)

data. From none have we been able to find that any festival (yam, addae or apoo) symbolizes the death and rebirth of a bosom (e.g. "annually dying god 1958: 55; "dying and resurrected god" 1958: 59, note 1) or the ritual death and rebirth of any chief's soul (kra). Meyerowitz's example of the Taa Kuntun festival in which "the death and rebirth of this bi-sexual deity is enacted by a priestess (okomfo) in male dress (p.21)" (1958: 58) is highly unconvincing; in the dozens of such festivals I've attended, in addition to the weekly healing sessions, every priest and priestess has a repertoire of personalities which she or he portrays while in a state of possession; every priest can impersonate a female, young or old; every priestess can impersonate a male, young and old. I do not believe, therefore, that the priestess at the Taa Kuntunu festival "acted the old, dying god" (1958: 72).

Moreover whenever a possessed priest or priestess is tired he must let all those attending know by saying the bosom is "going to sleep"; this cannot be legitimately re-translated "to die" as Meyerowitz did in the 1958 text (p.69). Any priest will say this prior to retiring and withdrawing from any state of possession — even during weekly working sessions; and this cannot be interpreted as a weekly death and resurrection of the bosom.

I. Bi-Sexual Gods

Meyerowitz stated that "the abosom were no longer envisaged as goddesses, but as bi-sexual beings" (1958: 48), but this concept of bi-sexuality is, to my knowledge, non-existent in Techiman State, at least for the 185 gods I have data for. Taa Kasee, whom she often terms bi-sexual (along with numerous other abosom), is also called Taa Mensa and sometimes Kwabena Mensa, since it came into existence on a Tuesday, is male, and is the third Bono bosom (coming after Taa Kora, the first, and Twumpuduo, the second). Mensa is the name for any third-born which happens to be a male. There are male abosom and female abosom, but no one, including Kofi Mosi (former high priest for Taa Kasee) and Kwabena Dwomo (high priest for Taa Kora), has ever heard of any bi-sexual abosom either now or in the past.

J. God

Nor among the Techiman Brong can Meyerowitz's progression of high gods hold up: Nyame being a female moon mother-goddess;

Odomankoma being her Krontihene in Cult 2; Nyankopon being a sun-god in Cult 3 (e.g. 1958: 46, 82). All of them are considered as one and equal and have nothing to do with either the moon or the sun. They are all God.

She states that "Odomankoma's title Nna-mmere-nson refers to the most important of his cultural introductions, the seven-day week; of which each day was, and still is, ruled by a planet — Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn" (1958: 46). This is embellished further in the 1960 text (from fresh data?): "Odomankoma's title Nna-mmere-son, literally 'seven-days-times', refers on the one hand to the seven circumpolar stars (nsoroma-son) the Bear (Arcturus) which indicate the hours of the night and the seasons. On the other it signifies the seven planets of the ancients: Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, and thus the seven-day week, each day of which was, and still is, ruled by a planet" (1960: 59-60).

I have tried in vain to find anyone who has heard this title, or anyone who knows anything about planets being related to the days; I have so far been unable to even get Twi names for Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn, although Venus may be Kyekye-pe-aware, the evening star.

K. Ntoa

I also find no evidence that Ntoa was "the earliest state goddess of Bono" (1958: 49) and later had its position usurped by Taa Kora (1958: 54). Ntoa is in an entirely different class of abosom than the Tano gods and there would never be any question of hierarchy between them since they have quite different, but complementary, functions. Likewise, Twumpuduo never reigned from 1600-1740 (e.g. 1958: 72) but has always been number two after Taa Kora. Ntoa at Asueyi is listed as an example of Cult Type II, although it is a recent addition to the Techiman State pantheon, the bosomfo Kofi Apoo being the second priest of the god.

L. Nyame

"Nyame no longer possessed a temple and people are little concerned with her" and Nyame is "too grand to be bothered with human prayers" (1958: 136-7) is not borne out by the daily references one hears to Nyame in libations and even everyday

conversations such as the following: Eye Onyame asem; Onyame n'adom, me ho ye; the proper name Nyamekye; yeda Nyame ase; Onyame nhyira wo; Onyame ne wo nko; Onyame ne hene; Onyame bekyere; Nso Nyame ye.

M. The Fanti at Techiman

Meyerowitz says "the present high priest of Taa Kese (Tano the Great) at Takylman, a successor of Ameyaw who established the worship of this deity, is descended from the Fante Queenmother Takylwaa, who gave life to Tano in the Bono kingdom" (1958: 55), but the present high priest vehemently denies it. I can find among my informants no one who has heard of a Fante people coming as refugees from the savanna (sarem) to found Techiman. Such a statement completely contradicts the information given me by the Krontihene (the descendant of the founder of Techiman), the head priest of Taa Keses, the ex-Techimanhene Akumfi Ameyaw III, Kwame Nyame, the current Techimanhene, the chiefs of Forikrom, Tanoso and Buoyem, along with numerous other chiefs and priests. Also Taa Kora was never a Fante god brought from the sarem and "re-discovered in this area" (e.g. 1958: 116). Where this information came from is a mystery to me, and to everyone I have specifically questioned about it.

N. Tanoboase

In the 1962 text we are told that the Tanoboase people left their town after the reign of the fourth Taa Kora priestess in 1660 and went to some unknown place; they returned to Tanoboase in 1810 and rebuilt the town, at which time Taa Kora killed its own priestess Afua Aman Nyame (1962: 129). This trip, and even this priestess are entirely unknown to Kwabena Dwomo, Tanoboasehene and high priest of Taa Kora. Moreover he has never heard that "Tano originally was a rice-god; Ntoa a yam god" (1958: 147). Also, it was Kwabena Dwomo himself, and not his predecessor, who was regent of Techiman after Yaw Ameyaw was deposed (1962: 129-130).

O. Chief's Nomenclature

Meyerowitz writes that it was Bonohene Boakye Tenten in 1684 who introduced military reforms and started the current nomenclature for chiefs (e.g. adonten, nifa, benkum, kyidom,

twofo, etc.). Kwabena Dwomo, Akumfi Ameyaw III, Kwakye Ameyaw II, and Kwame Nyame all explain that these names were introduced recently during the reign of Yaw Ameyaw to satisfy a D.C. called Fulah (Fuller?) who was not familiar with the original Techiman Brong names of these chiefs: e.g. Dwamtihehene (Benkumhene), Atumfohene (Adontenhene), Abosohene (Nifahene), Atomaasehene (Twofohene), Dwomohene (Krontihene), Nylinasehene (Akyeamhene), and Werempehene (Konkontiwahene).

P. Amanhene and Ahemmaa Stool Lists and Dates

Another difficult point is the list of thirty-one queen-mothers and thirty-seven (including re-enstoolments) Amanhene. In the footnote on p.103 (1958) she claims Kofi Antubam collected most of this material and she "checked up on the information that had been given to him by Nana Akumfi Ameyaw III, the late Nana Kofi Biantwo and Nana Kwaame Nyame". Kofi Biantwo is Kofi Boandwo, a former Krontihene, now dead. Afua Abrafi, the queenmother, when asked to give a list of queenmothers and Amanhene named fourteen and seventeen, but asked us to return at a later date as some had slipped her mind. Kwame Nyame claims he never gave Meyerowitz or Antubam a list of queenmothers, nor did Antubam ever see him in any role other than as interpreter for Meyerowitz. Moreover he says that he, Boandwo and Ameyaw never met together to give any such list to either Antubam or Meyerowitz. Kwame Nyame gave me a list of twenty-three Amanhene (as did the current Omanhene); when I read the names of Amanhene listed in Meyerowitz to Kwame Nyame he claimed no knowledge of numbers 4-6, 10-11, 13-19, 21 or 24. Akumfi Ameyaw III has promised to give me a list, with dates, but I haven't managed to collect it as yet.

According to Meyerowitz the dates of the reigns of the Bonohene are recorded by annually adding a gold nugget to a brass container (kuduo); if the chief dies on the stool this kuduo is placed in front of his blackened stool in the stool room. She says that Akumfi Ameyaw ordered the Akondwasofohene, Gyaasehene and Akyeamhene to count the gold nuggets and "the results were noted down by my interpreter, Mr. Kofi Antubam, owing to my absence from the Gold Coast" (1952: 30). Both Kwame Nyame and Akumfi Ameyaw have given me information on the gold nuggets, although Kwame Nyame says the Bamuhene kept them and Akumfi Ameyaw says the Sannaahene kept them in the sannaa. There are no such nuggets in the sannaa inherited by the current Omanhene; moreover there are no kuduo with

gold nuggets in the stool room. I have been there personally and know there are only eight ancestral stools; most elders agree that blackened stools came about only after the first Asante-Bono War, as before that time all the Bonohene sat on the same Bono golden stool.

Despite the above points, the dates within this last century can be shown to be incorrect. My histories claim that the first Techimanhene after the defeat of Ohene Ameyaw in the first Asante-Bono conflict was a man called Takyia Kwame (he is Meyerowitz's Takyi Akwamo, the fourth Bonohene (see p.108, 1958); she also calls him Takyi Kwame, Takyi Akwame, and Takyia Kwame). Nana Kwadwo Konkroma (dated 1899-1907, p.128, 1958) was destooled, but later re-ensooled after his brother Kwame Boakye had been destooled; this second time he died on the stool and according to Akumfi Ameyaw III reigned about three years; in Meyerowitz's list this second ensoolment is not listed. After Konkroma died there was a stool dispute and a local D.C. made Kwasi Wuoregent for around a year until Yaw Kramo was chosen. After Yaw Ameyaw's second destoolment, Kwabena Dwomo (Tanoboasehene) was regent for nineteen months. Akumfi Ameyaw III tells me he was ensooled in 1942, not 1944. When time allows I shall check on these in the Traditional Council records, but for the meantime the veracity of the dates, even for this century, can be questioned.

Q. Aduanafoe from Kumbu?

In the appendix in the 1958 text, p.151-3, there is a partial history of the Aduana (Nifahene's) clan, the information attributed to the former Nifahene "Yao Inwim"; included is the claim that the Aduana people came from the Kumbu Kingdom. The present Nifahene Kwame Ampomah and his Akwamuhene, Kwabena Ase, odekro of Koase, have no knowledge of the Kumbu Kingdom, although they have given me a detailed history of their family which brings them from the south of present-day Ghana near Senkye. I have not yet been able to consult Yaw Nwinim himself.

R. Gyaasehene and Asueyi

My Gyaase history differs from that found in the 1958 text; the current Gyaasehene Kwadwo Kyereme says the first Gyaasehene was the son of the first Techimanhene Takyia Kwame, by a woman called Fa Minsi; this son was called Kwame Kosakore

Topea (To/pea being an appellation meaning to throw/a spear). He was not a refugee as stated on p.105 (1958) nor was Fa Mansi his sister.

One of the Gyaase villages is Asueyi; Meyerowitz says "Fa Kosakori" founded it (1958: 63). I should assume that "Kosa Kwaretoapie who bore the royal title Fa" (1958: 105), and who was, according to Meyerowitz, the first Gyaasehene (around 1328) is the same as "Fa Kosakori". According to the Asueyi odekro and elders, their village was founded by a hunter, a member of the Gyaase family, and the first chief, who happened also to be the Techiman Gyaasehene, was Kwasi Kramo, who died at Gyaman after the inhabitants fled during the second Asante-Bono War (after the battle of Ebo Makyi). On returning from Gyaman the Gyaase and Asueyi stool were separated and the second Asueyi chief, Akah Kwadwo, was no longer the Techiman Gyaasehene; the Gyaasehene to follow Kwasi Kramo was Ati Kwadwo.

S. Symbolism

Another difficult thing to verify are some of the symbolisms which she mentions: e.g. "the dog symbolizes death", "scorpion and serpent are the symbols of Nyame" (1958: 134), "the gourd, pot or jug is a female symbol for the womb" (1958: 135), or "the number two symbolizes birth" while three symbolizes "the rule of the mother-goddess over Sky, Earth and Underworld" (1958: 28).

III. Conclusions

A "re-appraisal" should, I suppose, include a final evaluation of a work. I have dealt only with negative points in this paper, and have not enumerated the many points Meyerowitz relates which concur with my findings. These should be evident when all my data is written up and published. Moreover, my work has not been done with the intention of reappraising Meyerowitz — something which cannot be done until more such in-depth studies are recorded for other Akan traditional states (such as those done by Dr. K.Y. Daaku for the Denkyira and Sehwi, and the recent work

on the Atebubu area published as the second supplement to the Research Review).

However, unless someone can prove to me otherwise, I would conclude that the Bono history taken from the Techiman Traditional State contains as much Meyerowitz as it does Brong Oral Tradition.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the census, each adult is asked his name, age, hometown, tribe, clan (abusua), patrilineal group (ntoro), occupation, languages spoken, religion, schooling, spouses, divorces, children with names, ages, and whether they were born at a hospital or at home, number of children who have died, herbalists (adunsinfoo), priests (abosomfoo), and hospitals consulted and for what.

2. The Techiman Traditional Council chiefs are Krontihene, Jhemmaa, Gyaasehene, Adontenhene, Ankobeahene, Akyeamehene, Twafohene, Akwamuhene, Nifahene, Adaatihene, Kyidomhene, Benkumhene, Oyokohene, Afutuhene, Konahene, Ahyiayemhene, Bamuhene, Akonkontiwahene, Nkwankwahene and Abusahene.

The Techiman Zongo chiefs are the Zongohene, Sisalahene, Dagombahene, Dagartihene, Gonjahene, Wangarahene, Zabramahene, Mossihene, and Bandahene.

Each of these chiefs is asked how, why, by whom and when his stool or position was founded and its history to the present day; a stool list beginning with the first occupant to the present incumbent (correlating as many of the occupants of the stool or office in time with occupants of the paramount stool; e.g. when the 5th Krontihene was enstooled, at that time, who was the 2manhene) is obtained, along with the functions of the stool or office in regard to the state, towns which are under the stool, details on regalia, ancestral stools and stool gods (abosom) and stool festivals; a short biography (following in part the data asked in the census) of the incumbent is then taken, followed by photos of the incumbent in regalia, his ancestral stools and stool abosom if there are any.

3. The towns in Techiman Traditional State are Aboabo, Abodekro, Agosa, Asueyi, Akrofrom, Aworowa, Atrensu, Atrensu-Atifi, Ayaasu, Anyinabrem, Bamiri, Boankron, Bianhyewo, Bonkwae, Buoyem, Faaman, Forikrom, Hansua, Jebiri, Kenten, Koase, Kofoso, Krobo, Kuntunso, Mangoase, Mampong, Besedan, Maampehia, New Techiman, New Jama, Nkwaeso, Nsuta, Nkrankrom, Sansama, Srapukrom, Tadieso, Tanoso, Tanokofiano, Tanoboase, Tanonaafuor, Timponem, Traa, Twimia, Twimia-Nkwanta, Bredi, Koforidua, Fiaso, Offuman(No.2), Bowohomodien. For each of these towns, whether the head of the town is a chief (ohene) occupying one of the stools of the Techiman Traditional State Council, or whether he is a head-man (odekro) of a town or village under one of these chiefs, he is asked when, by whom and why the town was founded, the meaning of the town's name, and a list of the chiefs from the first one (usually the founder) to the incumbent, lined up with concurrent Amanhene, is obtained. Information on the functions of the town in regard to the State is collected, along with information on gods (abosom) in the town, festivals, the population and number of houses, schools and churches, and any other relevant data. A biography of the incumbent town leader is taken, followed by his photo and any ancestral stools.

4. The fourteen chiefs and elders are Nana Kwame Nyame, ex-Akyeamehene; Nana Akumfi Ameyaw III, ex-Techimanhene; Nana Kwabena Dwomo, Konahene, Tanoboasehene and high priest for Taa Kora; Nana Kofi Mosi, ex-Bosomfohene; Nana Kwaku Agyepong, Benkumhene, Forikromhene; Nana Yao Kwaten Ababio III (Yaw Mensa), Afutuhene, Tanosohene; Nana Kwame Twi, Bamuhene, Hansuahene; Nana Kwaku Gyako, ex-Techimanhene; Nana Kwame Gyamfi, chief of Offuman No.2; Nana Owusu Kwakuru, Oyokohene, Buoyemhene; Nana Abena Pokuwa, elder of Buoyem; Nana Kwakye Ameyaw, Techimanhene; Nana Kwame Kyereme, elder of Krobo; Nana Afua Sama, Akwamuhene's queenmother.

From each of them information is asked relating to early Bono history and the relationship between the Bono kingdom and other states. The relation of Techiman State to other Brong States such as Nkoranza, Wenchi, Sunyani, Berekum, Atebubu, and Dormaa is asked, along with general Brong culture. Information on the nine disputed villages, some of which continue to give allegiance to Ashanti or claim to be independent states, is also asked.

5. The 185 gods (abosom) and 2 war medicines (kō asuman) for which information has been collected are listed by towns or by stools.

- Tanoboase: Taa Kora, Taa Kwasi, Taa Kofi, Atiokosaa, Taa Fofie, Taa Kofi Panin, Taa Yaw, Amenano, Akonnuaboa, Aworoben.
- Kuntunso: Taa Kuntunu, Taa Kwabena, Kwasi Bo, Bomea, Taa Kofi, Amoa, Banie, Taa Kwaku.
- Krobo: Afra, Kwasi Mensah, Asubonten 1 and 2, Taa Fofie, Taa Kwabena Panin, Taa Kwabena Kuma, Boaboduro, Abungyaa, Taa Kwadwo (Kyidom stool bosom), Bronsam.
- New Jama: Boomuhene, Ntoa Kofi, Gyambibi.
- Timponem: Taa Yaw, Asubonten, 2 sons of Taa Yaw.
- Techiman ahemfie (palace): Atiokosaa, Yentim.
- Tanokofiano: Adampa Kwaku, Apimasu, Bo Gyata, Bo Nyamedwa, Bo Yaw.
- Buoyem: Taa Kwabena, Kwabena Bena, Nimo, Aboaboduro, Kwasi Amenano, Kwasi Yentim, Kwabena Kuma, Taa Kwaku, Amoa Kwame.
- Techiman Bosomfohene's palace: Taa Kesec (Taa Mensa), Atiokosaa, Taa Kwabena, Atiokosaa Punpuni, Taa Kwasi, Taa Kwadwo, Taa Brempong, Taa Kwabena Kuma, Yentumi, Amoa, Batadua, Tere Kofi, Afram, Taa Kwasi II, Atiokosaa II, Pamhwetes.
- Kronti stool bosom: Taa Koko.
- Forikrom: Boten, Taa Atoa Yaw, Taa Kwabena, Aku, Kuruye, Akumsa, Kwabena Tenten, Aku Gyamiri, Kwadwo Firi, Donkor Kofi; Baako, a war suman.
- Akyeame stool bosom: Mframa.
- Akwamu stool bosom: Kwaku Aworo.
- Konkontiwa stool bosom: Tefi Aworo Yaw.

- Adonten stool bosom: Nyankonsae.
- Adaati stool abosom: Taa Kwadwo, Asubonten, Taa Kwasi.
- New Techiman: Atiokosaa Panin (Kwabena), Atiokosaa Kuma (Kwaku), Amoa, Ameno, Kuntun, Yentim; Taa Kofi - stool bosom; Amene, a war suman.
- Tanoso: Atiokosaa, Taa Kwasi, Taa Kwasi II, Atiokosaa Kuma, Taa Kwabena, Taapim, Amoa Kwame, Amoa Kwasi, Yentimi, Nantes, Banie, Asubonten 1 and 2, Ntamu, Sraman, Taa Kwadwo, Taa Kofi, Bosie.
- Offuman: Ntoa, Nyankyerere (stool bosom for Offuman No.2), Tantem, Nyansu, Kodua-Asare.
- Techiman Tunsuase: Asubonten, Akumsa, Pro, Tahoo, Kwasi Kramo; Tigare.
- Asueyi: Ntoa, Anfamfiri, Mintiminim, Boo, 2 of Boo's sons, Adampa, Twumpuduo, Afre.
- Abodekro: Dente.
- Aboabo: Tigare.
- Besedan: Maatwa (Taa Kwasi), Asubonten.
- Sansama: Tantamu.
- Traa: Botwerewa (in town; at riverside), Afere.
- Atrensu: Yentim.
- Aworowa: Ntoa Firi, Kofi Abiri, Taa Ntem, Ntemu Kwadwo.
- Akrofrom: Boabae, Kramo, Dehyee, Mpra 1 and 2, Boabeduro 1, 2, and 3, Taa Yaw, Demeyo, Anyinamuhene, Buakuro, Apurukusu.
- Twimia: Taa Kofi and its son.
- Nifa stool bosom: Abosso Taa Kora.
- Techiman Abanimu: Kwasi Yoyo.
- Bonkwae: Buruma, Kumanini (Boame), Aberewa Agyenna, To Agyan, To Akyiria Fa.
- Nkwaeso: Kofi Yenom, Sanyakopo and 4 others.
- Anyinabrem: Bronsam.

Hansua: Kyerekyinye.
 Bredi: Kwaku Firi, Kyinaman and 3 others.
 Boankron: Taa Kofi, Ebo Kofi, Kwaku Tewuram.
 Buoyem-Besedan bush: Abotim (source of R. Takyia).
 Twimia-Nkwanta: Anhwere.
 Srapukrom: Yaagua.
 Kwasi Tare Krom: Kwasi Minimini.
 Tanonafuor: Tikya (brought from Fante area).
 Anwoma Komfo Krom: Kalasi (Twi name is Boame).
 Agosa: Gomle.
 Kanten: Taa Yaw and its son.

The histories of the abosom and war asuman include where, when and by whom the bosom or suman was obtained, a list of the priests or priestesses from the first to the present one, lined up with a list of Amanhene, the functions of the bosom, its festivals and their significance, a biography of the incumbent and photo of the incumbent and photos of each bosom.

6. The following histories remain outstanding: (a) chiefs - Mponoahene and Omanhene (nearly finished); (b) towns - Wiawso, Adiesu, Akisimasu, Asantanso, Ayaasu-Sreso, Aworopotaa, Bomiri, Fetere, Konkrompe, Kokwago, Kokroko, Nsuta-Sreso, Nsonkonee, Subinso No.2, Nsunya, Tuobodom, Nchiraa, Branam, and Nwoase; (c) gods - Taa Kwabena (Kwadwo?) at Nchiraa, Ntoa, Mprisi and Buor Dwaa at Buoyem, Taa Koko at Besedan, Anikoko, Amoda Kromansa and Taa Kwesi Kuma at Krobo, Twumpuduo at Tuobodom, Akwasi Adango and Anhwere at Tanoso, Mframa at Pomaa, and Taa Kofi at Tanokofiano.