

**Family Histories from the Banda Traditional Area,  
Brong-Ahafo Region, Ghana**

**1986**

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## **DEDICATION**

This collection is dedicated to the elderly people and Elders of Banda -- those remarkable men and women who are repositories of stories about the past. The people of Banda have in their midst individuals who are exceptional sources of information about the history of the Banda peoples. Most of these people are elderly, and it is hoped that the younger generations of Banda will pause to listen, to take notice and remember the traditions of previous generations.

### **A Note on 2011 Reissue of “Family Histories from the Banda Traditional Area”**

Most of the family histories in this volume were first circulated in a typescript booklet produced in 1989 based on interviews conducted as part of a family history project conducted with the research assistance of Mr. James Anane in 1986. The archaeological project that followed our family history research has now spanned more than two decades. While in Banda conducting archaeological research in 2009, I was asked by individuals in the community if it would be possible to reissue the family history booklet because the original printing had limited circulation and many of the original copies lost or misplaced. Over the years while pursuing archaeological research, additional families had requested that their family histories be included if a revised version of the booklet was ever produced. Included for the first time here are histories of Gape Katoo, Habaa Katoo and Kabruno. Also included in this revised version are photos taken at the time of original interviews, where available. Otherwise, the content remains unaltered from the 1989 printing. Unless otherwise indicated, all photos were taken by Ann Stahl.

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## Preface

The family traditions recorded here were collected during the months of July and August 1986. They were collected as part of a project directed toward studying the history of the peoples in the Banda area, and most especially the problem of how external influences (i.e. Asante, the British) have affected social, economic and political circumstances in the Banda area.

The oral histories that are recorded here were collected during the course of interviews, generally conducted with the male and female heads of family. Lists of individuals who participated in interviews are found at the end of each tradition. Interviews generally lasted for a period of 45 minutes to one hour. Most interviews were taped, and these tapes are available as an archive, currently retained at the State University of New York, Binghamton. Interviews were structured by a standard set of questions. These questions focused on: any special obligations that the extended family has in relationship to the paramount stool; positions/stools held by the family; how the family came to hold these positions/stools/obligations; is family all resident in Banda area?; how did family come to live in Banda; past male and female heads of the family. These questions were translated from English to Nafaanra by Mr. James Anane, who subsequently translated the response into English. A written record of the oral text was kept in addition to the tape recording. In some instances, the family elders responded to questions with a long narrative. In this case the text that appears here is virtually a translation. In other cases, the text that appears here as a narrative was pieced together from statements made during the course of the interview. This will be indicated in notes appended to the text.

Collection of the traditions contained herein was made possible by a grant from the British Academy awarded during the period that I was a lecturer at the University of London Institute of Archaeology. Their financial assistance is gratefully acknowledged. The successful completion of the project was dependent on the support of many people in the Banda area. I am most grateful to the Bandahene, Nana Kofi Dwuru III for his kind permission to interview families under his jurisdiction, and for allowing me the latitude to conduct historical inquiry even though it at times touched on potentially sensitive areas. I am also grateful for his kind permission to provide written copies of these family histories to people in the Banda area so that young people may know the heritage of their elders. Thanks are also extended to the many people who were willing to share the stories of their past with this Broni -- I will always value the privilege of being permitted to learn more about the rich heritage of the Banda area. The assistance of Mr. James Anane was invaluable in compiling this collection. His skills in interviewing and translating were invaluable aids, and his active interest in the history and cultural heritage of Banda is an asset to the community.

I wish to emphasize to all those who may read these traditions that these represent one view of family history. A characteristic feature of oral tradition is that it is subject to vary, and the variability of tradition is itself an important source of information. I therefore wish to dispell any misconception that the traditions recorded herein are the "true" or "correct" history of any given family. They are simply the stories told to me over a two month period in 1986 by older representatives of each family. People who were not present at the interviews may have differing recollections of the past, and the fact that they are not recorded here does not mean that they are incorrect.

With the exception of Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo (Royal House), traditions are arranged in alphabetical order by family name. This is a convention to facilitate use of the traditions and no significance is implied in their order of appearance. As a final note, a list of former male and female heads of family appears at the end of each family history. The individual names appear in the order in which they were recounted and are so numbered. The numbering does not, however, imply a firm ordering, for in some cases the elders whom we interviewed did not necessarily give the lists in chronological order.

Nafaanra terms are used at a number of points in the text. Extended family units which are defined by matrilineal ties among the Nafaana and the Kuulo are referred to as "Katoo" which translated as "House" in English. Tol ɛɛ and Lelɛɛ are Nafaanra terms for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' respectively. They are also used to refer to individuals in positions of authority, as for instance in the case of the Paramount Chief. People in the Banda area also use the Akan term "Nana" to refer to persons occupying stool positions.

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## Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo, Banda-Ahenkro

Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo is the name of the Royal House located in Banda-Ahenkro. Succession to the Paramount Stool was restricted to the descendants of the three sisters of Kralɔngɔ, the ancestral founder of Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo. Other divisions of the Royal House include Gyase, Kronti, and Abakomahene's houses.

Kralɔngɔ was the man who led the Nafaana from Kakala in what is today Côte d'Ivoire. Prior to their exodus from Kakala, there was a chief by the name of Zie. At this time the Nafaana were living with the Jimini people. Upon the death of Zie, his nephew (sister's son) was to inherit the stool. This was the man Kralɔngɔ. It was Nafana custom that when a man dies, his nephew (sister's son) is the heir and, as such, he should inherit the wife/wives of his uncle, or have first choice among them. After the death of Zie, the Jimini people were, by custom, caring for the wives of Zie. Before Kralɔngɔ had selected his choice of the wives, it came to light that one of the wives had conceived a child by a Jimini man. This annoyed Kralɔngɔ and led to a war between the Jimini and the Nafana. It was at this point that Kralɔngɔ decided to move away with his people. They settled first at Tampi. Subsequently, they divided into 4 groups: Tampi, Sampa, Jyinini, and Banda. Among the brothers who led these groups, Kralɔngɔ was senior and brought the stool with him from Kakala. Kralɔngɔ was senior to the man Sie Nyonogbo, head of the Sampa group, by virtue of the fact that Kralɔngɔ's mother was senior to Sie Nyonogbo's mother.

Interview conducted on 27 July 1986 with Omanhene Nana Kofi Dwuru III, Gyasehene Nana Kofi Mensah, Adwo Kuma (Female Head), Akosua Dogo (sister to Nana Kofi Dwuru II), Amma Donkor, Afua Mapenyi, Akua Mensah.

A fuller history of Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo, including a listing of former Omanhenes, is found in Kwabena Ameyaw's 1965 "Tradition of Banda," In *Traditions from Brong-Ahafo*, nos 1-4, pp. 1-15, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon



**Figure 1** Nana Kofi Dwuru, 1968.  
Photograph courtesy of Rene Bravmann.

## **BOADUM KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro**

The ancestress of Boadum Katoo was a woman by the name of Wurache who lived at Dumpofie and descended to that place from the sky. During the time that the family of Wurache was living there, the Nafanas invaded the area. When Kralongɔ and his people reached here, Kralongɔ befriended Wurache and her daughter named Yaa Hɔɔ Wronso. The chief said he had been told to marry Wurache's daughter; otherwise his stay on the land would not be successful. Wurache did not agree initially; however, the Chief insisted and the marriage took place. The first born child of Kralongɔ and Yaa Hɔɔ was a son named Boadum. Boadum grew up to help a great deal in times of war.

There came a time when the Kuulo and the Nafaana all fled together to Gonjaland. Later, when peace prevailed, they moved to Bui. After a time they began to disperse to establish different villages. Because of Boadum's brave deeds, a special title was to be bestowed on him as one of the heads of the chief's sons; however, it never was conferred. To this day Boadum Katoo are supposed to be title holders and have rights to possess a palanquin and drums. The title, however, remains unconferrred. Boadum Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro.

Leleɛ Wurache was married to a Nafaana man named Gbaha who was the founder of Makala. Wurache did not die; rather, one day she sank into the ground and later a large baobab tree grew from that spot. The tree still stands today near Dumpofie.

The Kuulo people were the first people on the land; however, in time the Nafaana dominated and took over the land. The Kuulo were owners of the land; however, today they do not perform any special rites. This is because of a land dispute that arose between the people of Dumpofie and Makala. This was during the time of the white man and the case was heard at Kintampo. The ruling was that, since there was a paramount chief, there was no sense in vesting the power of the land in someone else. Thus, the land was put under the Paramount Chief and no individual was to be considered owner. Prior to this, the position of Trafun or earth priest was with the Kuulo.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Boadum
2. Jonakpa
3. Dabla Gbeɲmbetu
4. Fordjour
5. Kwaku Kra (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yehɔɔ Woronso
2. Hlejininge
3. Yakunu
4. Yahɔɔ
5. Hle Dongi Skatos
6. Penijo Jaara
7. Abena Kekpɔ
8. Abena Chlɛmuna
9. Hlejo
10. Nyua Yaa
11. Nyini Kaalie
12. Pɛni Yaa
13. Afua Kupo (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 5 August, 1986 with Kwaku Kra (male head), Aja Donkor, and Mariama Mansa.



## CHOKOE KATOO, Gbau

The Chokoe Katoo is responsible for providing the Royal House with yams and other items for the celebration of the New Yam festival.

The ancestral leader of the house was a man by the name of Choko Kwadwo. He was a member of the royal house in a town near Bole in Gonjaland. A time came when it was Choko Kwadwo's turn to be chief; however, he was passed over in favour of his nephew and deprived of the opportunity to take up the chieftancy. He became annoyed at this and decided to leave the town and move to a new place. Because his wives were all from different families, he left them behind. He was able to convince all his daughters and sons to accompany him however. He left Gonjaland and came down to the Banda area. Here he met the Bandahene Sie Dongi.\* Choko Kwadwo related his story to the Bandahene and was given permission to stay in the area. The Paramount Chief gave Choko Kwadwo and his family a place to stay behind the Makala mountain where they began to farm. After a time, they came to know the people at Makala and decided to move to Makala and join them. Choko Kwadwo and his family were good farmers and Kwadwo maintained a good friendship with the Omanhene who had befriended him.

There came a time when the Omanhene was making preparations for the Yam Festival but was unable to obtain yams from his own farm with which to perform the rites. He therefore sent word to his friend Choko Kwadwo whom he knew to be a good farmer to send yams, a new calabash and a new calabash spoon with which to perform the rites. Kwadwo didn't hesitate to provide the Omanhene with the things he had requested. The following year, he once again provided these things to the Omanhene for the New Yam festival. In the third year, Choko Kwadwo was not consulted prior to the New Yam festival since the Omanhene had the necessary items in his own farm. When the sacrifices were offered on the day of the festival, however, the offerings were repeatedly refused. It was ascertained that this was because the Omanhene's friend Choko had not supplied the yams. Someone was sent who related the problem to Choko Kwadwo and apologized to him. The family of Choko Kwadwo responded by providing the necessary items, and the sacrifices were accepted straight away. To this day the family still supplies the following: 4 new yams; 1 new earthenware cooking pot; 1 new earthenware woman's eating dish (kpokpoo); 1 new large calabash (k ng ); and 1 new calabash spoon. These are sent to the palace by the head of the family the day before the New Yam festival is celebrated. In return, Choko Katoo is sent a thigh of the sheep sacrificed by the royal family during the New Yam rites.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Choko Kojo
2. Siembo
3. Hanjo
4. Kofi Laho
5. Kwaku Jabaa
6. Siembo Kwabena (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Hlembɔ Kɔtia
2. Afua Chalɔ
3. Nyimjiniŋge
4. Chambɛ
5. Nyini Yaa
6. Afua Bɔfi (head in 1986)

\* Sie Dongi was not, according to other sources, Bandahene. Rather, Sie Dongi was the head of the Ahenkro Royal House during the reign of Sahkyamɛ Wurosa who was from the Kabruno family. Information derived from an interview with TolɛɛKofi Dwuru III (Omanhene) and Nana Kofi Mensah (Gyasehene) on 1 August 1986.

Interview conducted 4 August 1986 with Afua Bɔfi (Female Head of house).

## CHORIGBƆƆŊƆ , Sase

ChorigbƆƆŊƆ is the primary family in Sase. The Imam of Sase is always selected from the house of ChorigbƆƆŊƆ. Other families in Sase are the K ƆƆra and the Damtere-kƆrr. These Ligby families are related to Ligby families in Kanka, Bima and the deserted village of Badu.

The people of Sase came from near Kakala and came to this area along with the Nafaana. The people help the Omanhene if he needs money and support him through their prayers, especially in times of war.

The Imam is selected from one of the elder sons of the deceased Imam. The individual must be well-versed in the Koran. On a selected day, the candidate for the position of Imam is placed in a room where passages from the Koran are recited and the candidate's head is bound in white cloth. The candidate emerges into the presence of the public and is seated. He is then asked to read specific passages from the Koran and, if these are read well, he is accepted as Imam by the people.

The following list of past Imams was derived from a written list in the possession of Alhaji Sefuyani.

1. Sahiuda, contemporary of KralƆŋƆ
2. Saedu
3. Haruna
4. Lakaria
5. MbƆro
6. Swalihu
7. Yahaya
8. Karimu Moro
9. Saaindu Kamaliga
10. Alhasan
11. Mahamudu
12. Alhamed
13. Ibrahim
14. Adam
15. Lakaria II (Imam in 1986)

Interview conducted on 20 July 1986 with Seidu, Imam Zakaria, Abakan WƆyƆ , Moro, Daudu, Sale Asomana, Alhaji Sefuyani, Adam Moro and Amadu Yaya.



## FALONG KATOO, Fawoman

Falong was a son of Kralɔngɔ and came with his father from Kakala. Falong was a great hunter and spent much of his time going far off into the bush to hunt. Falong stayed with his father throughout the wars until they came to settle in this area. While they were staying in Ahenkro, a man had an affair with Falong's wife. Since it is taboo to have an affair with the wife of a chief's son, the man was to be killed. The man was caught and Falong demanded that he be killed; however, Kralɔngɔ begged that the man's life should be spared—that they had lost many people in the wars and now was a time of peace. If the laws were to be strictly followed, soon all of Kralɔngɔ's people would be gone. This made Falong angry and he resolved to split off and establish his own village "by my own name." He went and started a settlement at what is now Brawhani and called it "Mɛɛɛ" ("by my name"). No one was living in the area around Mɛɛɛ when Falong moved there. Falong used to go hunting as far away as the Tain and he raised huts at some of the vantage points in these areas—two of these places were Mengye and Tain.

While living at Mɛɛɛ, Falong discovered the Nsawkaw people. Falong told these people that the land belongs to the Banda chief and that they should come to serve him. Falong also discovered the Tain people and told them the same thing.

At Mengye where Falong raised a hut for farming and hunting, he established a number of pawpaw trees. There was a Muslim man who lived at Mɛɛɛ with Falong who used to go to Falong's farm and take some of the pawpaw. The word for pawpaw in the Muslim's language is "mangajie" which has been changed to Mengye. This Muslim man eventually moved to settle there and became chief of the village.

Falong died very old at Mɛɛɛ and was succeeded by Siejo Lantanko. He was followed by Pemuu who ruled for a long time. He died and was succeeded by Topii. This man is known to have been brave and clever. At the time that he was chief of Mɛɛɛ, Topii served as linguist to the Paramount Chief Sie Yaw. Topii is said to have led the Paramount Chief to meetings at Kumasi.

The next head of family was Sie Kwaku who is known for his love of the house and his ability to get members of the house to cooperate. Senyu succeeded Sie Kwaku and was a large scale farmer. It is said that everyone in the village ate from his farm. Senyun succeeded him and he was also a great farmer who worked very hard. Siejo Bori followed Senyun and was a farmer who instilled the spirit of cooperation in the people. Sie Kofi Jɛngɛ succeeded and was followed by the present chief Kofi Dongi.

The people left Mɛɛɛ for Fawoman in 1956. It happened that a small child went missing in the bush. The people tried everything they could think of to find the child but they were unsuccessful. They were so saddened by this event that they decided to leave Mɛɛɛ. They came and informed their brother, the Paramount Chief, of their intention to leave their village. They told Kofi Dwuru II that their great grand uncle Falong took them to that place, but now, the misfortune that had befallen them was too hard to bear. They therefore requested permission from Kofi Dwuru II to come back and stay near him. The Tolɛɛ granted their request and told them to make their own choice as to where they wanted to stay. They selected the present site at Fawoman. The name derives from what they told the people who were staying behind at Mɛɛɛ, who were suspected of foul play in the disappearance of the child. They told these people to "take your own land" as we are leaving it. Some Nafaana people remain at Mɛɛɛ, but they are not of this house. They decided to remain behind when this family moved away so as to maintain their separate identity and so that they could become chiefs when the people of Falong Katoo left.

The position of Apajahene rests with Falong Katoo. It is the Apajahene that may initiate destoolment proceedings against a Paramount Chief. This position came to rest with Falong Katoo as a favour since they are children of the Royal House. Formerly it was the duty of the house to see that the roof of the stool room at the palace was in good repair and that the thatch was periodically replaced.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Falong
2. Siejo Latanko
3. Pemuu
4. Topii
5. Sie Kwaku
6. Senyu
7. Senyun
8. Siejo Bori
9. Siekofi Jɛngɛ
10. Kofi Dongi (Osei Kofi) (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yaka Youro
2. Yajo
3. Hania
4. Pɛminiɔbor
5. Yamɔ Kɔtia
6. Leɔ Donkor
7. Hle Yaa
8. Abena Kumah (head in 1986)

Interview conducted 1 August 1986 with Osei Kofi (Chief of Fawoman), Kwame Tailor (linguist) and Kofi Sunu.

## GANGOOLO KATOO, Samwa

Gangoolo Katoo traces its origins to Kakala in Côte d'Ivoire. They left Kakala along with the first Paramount Chief in Banda, Kralongɔ.

Gangoolo Katoo holds the title of Oyokohene. Previously, the family provided candidates for the paramount stool but no longer have access to the stool. An ancestor of Gangoolo Katoo, a man named ShieShie was the son of one of Kralongɔ's maternal aunts -- thus Kralongɔ and ShieShie were brothers. ShieShie was a candidate for the paramount stool upon the passing of Kralongɔ; however, his mother, named Nyidɛ, convinced him not to take up the opportunity. The mother was a rich woman. She told her son ShieShie to choose between her money and the stool. She demonstrated the dangers of being a chief by piercing bark filled with kapok cotton. When she pierced the bark some of the kapok cotton came out. She explained that if the son wanted to be a chief he should be aware that he would have to lead in wars, and that this was how he would die, leaving behind the abundant riches of the house. This convinced ShieShie to pass up the opportunity of becoming chief.

After ShieShie turned down the stool, the chance passed to Pehzoo. Formerly there were several families who had access to the stool. They included Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo (present Royal Family), Gangoolo Katoo (Oyokohene), and Nyawaa Katoo (Krontihene) in order of seniority. Gangoolo lost access to the stool when ShieShie refused his chance. After the time of Pehzoo, there were no strong individuals in the Royal House to take charge of the stool. Hence, it was offered to a servant of the house, a man named Petele.

The position of Oyokohene is with Gangoolo Katoo and thus the head of the family is one of the kingmakers. Additionally, the family shares in the expenses at the death or installation of a paramount chief. They are among the inheritors of the paramount chief as well. At the last royal funeral, the Oyokohene and the recently deceased Tolɛɛ Kofi Dwuru II exchanged inheritances -- that is, the Oyokohene inherited certain customary items from Nana Kofi Dwuru II, including his personal stool, and, upon the death of the Oyokohene, Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo will inherit certain items from Gangoolo Katoo.

The family palanquin, umbrella and drums were purchased by a former head of family named Siejo. He was a wealthy man and offered to purchase these customary items for the family.

### Male Heads of Family

1. ShieShie
2. Gbambɛli
3. Tolɛɛ Atta
4. Siejo
5. Yaw Kɛndɛ
6. Kwadwo Lɔɔya
7. Sah Dongi (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Hlejo
2. Nyinango Jagbini
3. Hle Kosua
4. Nyua Yaa
5. Abanko Hlejo
6. Yaa Kuto
7. Yaa Kumah (head in 1986)



Interview conducted on 4 August 1986 with Tolɛɛ Sah Dongi (Oyokohene), Kwaku Donkor (linguist of Samwa), Kwadwo Fordjour and Ama Nyini.

## GAPE KATOO, BOFIE

The Gape people of Bofie are related to other Dumpo people (Kuulo of Dumpofie and other villages) who are descended from Wurache. Like Wurache, the male ancestor of this family, by name Buari Kojo, descended from the sky at a place still known to people today.<sup>1</sup> Buari Kojo descended from the sky through a brass pan that is still in the possession of the family in Bofie. He came together with his family: his brother Obaa and sister Nana Kamaa.

When he came to this place, he didn't find many people; he roamed about to see if he could find other people and came to find Wurache who was living along a tributary of the Bombrie. Buari Kojo discovered that Wurache spoke the same language and that they understood each other. In conversation Buari Kojo asked how it was that Wurache came to the land. She replied that it was on a baobab, while Buari told her that he had come down on a kapok.

Buari continued to search for people—from the Tain River to Bedu, to Nsoko, but he only encountered Wurache and it was because of that that Buari Kojo and Wurache became brother and sister. The name of the village where Buari Kojo lived with his family was Kofia Abanmu.

Later, the Nafana came from their settlement at Tampi. First came Gbaha who saw smoke beyond a hill. He went to the place and there he found Wurache, after which he returned for the rest of the Nafana people.

The Nafana people did not come to Bofie. Rather, the Kumfa people came from Atebubu to join Buari Kojo. The people who came to stay in Obuasi were known as Sobo people and they came from Côte d'Ivoire. Today they speak the Nafaanra language but they are not related to the Nafana people.

[How did Gape people come to live at Bofie?]. A hunter named Kumfa was out hunting and found a crab hole full of pure water. He took his cutlass and widened the hole and on the next day found that the water flowed freely. On his return he informed Buari Kojo that he had found good land for farming and water and that Buari Kojo should come and see if the people could stay there. Buari Kojo chose delegates to go and examine the land. On finding it to be good, Buari Kojo blessed the land for the people and chose an individual from the Gape family to perform rituals for strangers. This is why Bofie has a *trafun* as well as a chief. The names of the place come from the Dumpo language. There came a time when the people had no traps and therefore had to dig holes over which they placed strips in order to catch animals. The phrase that means 'to dig a hole' in the Kuulo language is 'boy pe' and this was the origin of the name Bofie.

Of the former female heads of family Nana Akwia Biyaa is remembered for preserving the family's history. It was through her that the family history was handed down.

[How did they come to hold the position of Adwianaahene that the family now holds?] Any person who comes from the sky held the position from the time they came. They held their clan name from that time. The position was given a Twi name during the time of Sielɔngɔ when the Registrar for the colonial government came and imposed the name.

[Have people heard of the old site of Begho?] This is known as a place where many people stayed, including the Muslims who later moved to Sase and Kanka. The place belonged to the Namasa people who descended from the sky to that place after Buari Kojo had come here.

[What crafts did people practice here in the past?] Some people were blacksmiths and there was some dredging for gold in addition to farming. Some were able to weave kente and the people grew their own cotton. They also made baskets and mats. Old people were also getting iron by burning trees called *Senwɛ* and *Gblenge*.

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<sup>1</sup>Buari Kojo descended from the sky at a place known as "Old Bima". Old Bima is the site of a large and ancient settlement. See Bravmann, René A., and R. Duncan Mathewson 1970. A Note on the History and Archaeology of "Old Bima." *African Historical Studies* 3:133-150

Male Heads of Family

1. Nana Buari Kojo
2. Tolɛɛ Obaa
3. Yaw Boanya
4. Kofi Ampem
5. Kwabena Tentene
6. Nana Diawisiɛ
7. Kofi Ankana
8. Pɛh Taan
9. Wulo Kwabena
10. Yaw Mensah
11. Kwame Bosomfoɔ
12. Nana Kwame Kupo
13. Kwaku Ntoa
14. Nana Kwame Asamoa

Female Heads of Family

1. Kamaa
2. Taachie
3. Amma Tia
4. Yaambo
5. Nana Dibiaa
6. Kofiadwoa
7. Nana Akua Biyaa
8. Nana Yaa Kobre
9. Nana Taachie II

Interview with Nana Kwame Asamoa and elders, July 1995. Translation by Nana Emmanuel Dwira, Dumpofie.



## **GBAHA KATOO, Makala**

The family Gbaha (Gbaha Katoo) supplies the Twafourhene of the Banda Paramount Chieftancy. The Twafourhene is also the chief of the village of Makala. At present [1986], there is no Twafourhene as the occupant of the stool is recently deceased (1985) and a new candidate has not as yet been selected. The linguist of Makala (Siembo Gyamfi) is currently acting in the capacity of Chief of Makala.

The Twafourhene acts as the forerunner of the Omanhene (Paramount Chief) of Banda. In times of war, the Twafourhene is responsible for traveling ahead of the main forces and reporting on the activities of the enemy. The Twafourhene also plays an important role in peacetime, serving as one of the Kingmakers who selects the Omanhene and playing a primary role in the installation ceremonies of the Omanhene. The term Twafourhene is an Akan (Twi) name; the elders reported that this was a recent convention. At the time that the Traditional Council was established, officials, including the first Registrar, decided that the Nafaana should use Asante Twi terms so that their positions would be recognized by people outside of the Banda area.

The ancestors of Gbaha Katoo originated in the town of Kakala which is today in Côte d'Ivoire. During their time at Kakala, the Nafaana were living with the Jimini people. The Nafaana were in the habit of cheating the Jimini people -- for example, if a Nafaana man wanted a sheep, he would simply go and take one. This is why their current village is called Makala (originally "Makaala") which means 'eaters of sheep'. A customary practice in Kakala was that when a Jimini man died, his wife was cared for by the Nafaana, and conversely, upon the death of a Nafaana man, his wife should be cared for by the Jimini. Although the Jimini were to care for the wives of deceased Nafaana men, it was not permitted that the Jimini should take these women as their wives; rather, by Nafaana custom, the woman became the wife of the dead man's sister's son. It happened that upon the death of a Nafaana chief (name not given), the Jimini attempted to violate this taboo. The wife of the dead chief was very beautiful, and the Jimini wanted to take her as a wife. A quarrel ensued between the Nafaana and the Jimini, and the Nafaana resolved to leave Kakala.

The land surrounding Kakala was heavily populated and there was no free land in the area. It was a long time before the Nafaana were able to find open land on which to settle. The ancestor of Gbaha Katoo, named Gbahe, was a great hunter, and it was he who found the place east of the Banda Hills where the Nafaana now live after spending a long time searching for a new place. Gbahe did not encounter any people living east of the Banda Hills at the time that he first visited the area.

Upon locating this new land, Gbahe returned to get his people and brought them to settle east of the Banda Hills at the place of Makala. When they came they encountered a woman living on her own who spoke an unrelated language (Dumpo, Kuulo). They told her to come and live with them, but she refused. So Gbahe sent some of his men to go and put out her fire. Without fire, she could not cook, so was forced to go and live in Makala, where she became a wife of Gbahe.

### Past chiefs of Makala

1. Gbahe, founder of the village
2. Ladjaa
3. Abɔ Kofi
4. Sie Kwaku
5. Kwadwo Gbaha
6. Sie Jo
7. Yaw Krah (died 1985)

Interview held July 17, 1986 with Siembo Gyamfi (linguist) and Richard Kofi Aboabo (Krontihene of Makala).

## GBAገMBE KATOO, Samwa

GbaገmbE Katoo came to join the Nafaanas at the time that they were living at Bui. This was at the time of the Paramount Chief Yaw Sielongo . GbaገmbE Katoo came to the Banda area because of the rampant wars in their homeland in the vicinity of Kakala.

The ancestor of GbaገmbE Katoo came to the Banda area with a xylophone and today the members of GbaገmbE Katoo play a special role at the palace as a result. The xylophone is played only on specific occasions -- specifically funerals. In the instance of an ancestral funeral celebration (e.g. death of a paramount chief), the Chief who is celebrating the funeral must provide a fowl and a bottle of apeteshie as sacrifice before the sinyeele (xylophone) can be played. The sacrifices are made to the ancestors of GbገmbE Katoo. After the xylophone has been played at a grand funeral, those connected with the funeral must provide a cow which is killed on the xylophone.

The people of Banda did not have the xylophone before the GbaገmbE family came to live here. Although the people of Kakala had xylophones, Kralongጋ and his people were not able to bring xylophones with them.

GbaገmbE Katoo together with Mamgbጋ Katoo are responsible for washing the feet of the Paramount Chief prior to his installation on the stool. The family does not know how this responsibility came to rest with them, but think that it was probably a reward for some good deed done by a member of their family.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Wlo Kwaku
2. GbaገmbE
3. Pጘ Kwaku
4. Nyua Kwadwo (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Ejo Kupoh
2. Nyi Dongi
3. Yeli Dongi
4. Ejo Kanilii (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 6 August 1986 with Nyua Kwadwo (Head) and Amma Bio.





## GBẸNLẸ KATOO, Gbau

GbẸnlẹ Katoo derives from a place called "GbẸnlẹ Nyambie" which is in the shape of three cooking stones with a hole in the middle. This hole is full of gold. It is located to the east of Gbau. The family originated from this hole, and is completely separate from the Kakala people (i.e. the Nafaana from Kakala in Côte d'Ivoire).

In time the Asantes learned of the gold in the Nyambie and started making plans to invade the area. Learning of this, the GbẸnlẹ people sent out spies to explore a new site for resettlement. During this expedition, they came across some hunters digging out the hole of a bush pig. They claimed to have come from the Kronti family of Ahenkro. The GbẸnlẹ envoys presented their problem to these hunters and the hunters took them home. The Kronti then took them to the Bandahene. Nana Bandahene and his people were very happy to meet some other people speaking Nafaanra. Upon hearing their sad story about the planned invasion of GbẸnlẹ Nyambie by the Asantes, Nana received them as his guests and allocated them a site for resettlement that was known as Gbankoo.

The GbẸnlẹ family continued to grow bigger and bigger, and intermarriage between them and the Kakala Nafaanas took place. Unfortunately, there came a time when the powers of Nana Bandahene were being abused by the GbẸnlẹ family head. This was despite the close friendship that existed with some of the GbẸnlẹ leaders, specifically Kwabena Lagaa or Okun Brafour. Okun Brafour was a brave leader who fought heroically in the defense of the Kakala Nafaanas in a war between them and the Gbanyaa Gonjas. Though the Nafaana suffered, the Okun Brafour was able to fight and capture the leader of the Gonjas. He was therefore nicknamed "Okum Brafo". Later on, however, the Bandahene, who was at that time Sakyi, detected their disrespectful manner and devised a plan to do away with all the GbẸnlẹ people. The Chief of Banda made his men dig a big hole at the present site of Gbankoo. They then covered the hole with sticks and sand and planted grass on top. The Chief of Banda then convened a meeting of all the chiefs, with the intent that all the GbẸnlẹ family was to be buried alive. Fortunately, the messenger of the Bandahene secretly passed on this plan to the GbẸnlẹ family. As a result, they refused to take a seat at the place allocated to them at the meeting. This act confused the Kakala family and they had no alternative but to postpone the meeting to another day.

After this meeting, the GbẸnlẹ family decided to flee to another land. On the third day following the meeting, the GbẸnlẹ family packed and fled to their present settlement at Weila near New Longoro. Because of intermarriage, some relatives stayed behind at Gbau and Samianko (Ahenkro), who constitute the Gbuni and Kafon families respectively. Kofi Asɛmpasah is head of the Gbau family.

### Part II. Brafour family.

The Brafour is a segment of the Kafon family who live in Ahenkro. They emerged as the Brafour family as a result of brave deeds done for the Bandahene.

It was formerly the case that if anyone became intimate with the Chief's wives, the individual would be captured alive and a stick placed between his jaws. He would then be placed in the sun to die. There was a very tall, fearsome man by the name of Donkosi who ventured intimacy with one of the Chief's wives. People learned of this and worked to devise ways in which to arrest the man and put him to death.

One of the schemes to catch Donkosi involved asking Donkosi to go and help catch a cow at the kraal to be sacrificed to one of the Chief's gods. Donkosi and some of the young and strong men of the town went to the kraal to catch the cow. When they reached the kraal, Donkosi jumped in and took hold of the cow by the two hind legs. The cow struggled and struggled until Donkosi looked tired. The group of young men then jumped on him; however, Donkosi shook himself and threw the young men off into the cow dung. Donkosi immediately fled to Gonjaland and stayed with the priest at the shrine of Senyon Kupo.

Some time passed before the Banda got word that Donkosi was with Senyon Kupo. The chief therefore looked for someone to go and get Donkosi in Gonjaland. A man from the Kafon family named Pɛ Ofori accepted. It took more than two weeks for Pɛ Ofori to prepare himself for the journey. He traveled to Senyon Kupo and on arrival there went to the linguist of the town. He exchanged greetings with the linguist and told him of his mission. The linguist in turn sent him to the chief of the town. On hearing the awful news about Donkosi, the chief sent word to Senyon Kupo to release the man to the representative of Nana Bandahene. Senyon Kupo sympathized with Nana Bandahene and decided to release Donkosi upon payment of a live cock and a goat. When these requirements were met, they decided that a meeting of the whole town should be convened at the house of Senyon Kupo. Under this pretext, Donkosi could be arrested with the assistance of the townsmen.

Prior to the start of the meeting, Ofori, with his sword, was hidden in a room with a grass door so that he could see outside. When the meeting began, Ofori was able to see everybody, including Donkosi. The linguist had already planned to come in last as a signal to Ofori to take action. When the linguist arrived, and the house was full of strong young men, Ofori was to take action. Immediately after Ofori came out, the young men grabbed Donkosi. His persistent struggle was in vain, and at last Donkosi was tied with his hands behind his back. Ofori took off his knife and cut off the head of Donkosi. His wife (who was the wife of Nana Bandahene) was also there with him. She was out for water at the time of the meeting. This courageous lady, on hearing the sad news of Donkosi, made her

way to the house where her husband had been slaughtered. With the praises of her deceased husband on her lips, she also had her head cut off and her heart taken out. The heart was used to make three medicines, two of which are presently used by the Brafour family of Kafonɔ Katoo.



Kofi Asɛmpasah (center)

#### Jakari Fetish

A fetish in the possession of the Gbɛɛnlɛɛ Katoo is the Jakari Fetish. The Jakari Fetish is protector of the town and was acquired by Tolɛɛ Kofi Asɛmpasah who is presently head of the Gbɛɛnlɛɛ Katoo at Gbau. One day there was a Fulani herdsman escorting his herd from the north towards the south. On reaching Gbau, he was attacked by a guinea worm. Kofi Asɛmpasah helped this Fulani man by taking him home, treating the guinea worm and providing him food and accomodation. The Fulani man felt much refreshed after this hospitality and wanted to reward Kofi Asɛmpasah. The Fulani man therefore put together something made of horn and porcupine quills and taught Kofi Asɛmpasah how to maintain it. He told him that the fetish would protect him and the town from witchcraft and would heal sickness. Initiation into the fetish is accomplished by providing a chicken and a bottle of akpeteshi. A soup is prepared into which is mixed powdered charcoal from a particular type of tree. The initiate eats the soup as well as a wing and thigh from the chicken.

The Jakari Fetish hates a woman who commits adultery as well as those who bewitch others or who swear by Jakari. If you are caught in any of these acts by the fetish, you must provide 400 cedis in cash, one goat, three fowls and a bottle of akpeteshi. A woman experiencing her menstrual period is not allowed to enter the shrine of the fetish. Neither can one enter the shrine if one is dressed in a dark cloth or sandals. Violation of these prohibitions requires a bottle of akpeteshi to purify the shrine.

An annual festival is held for members of the fetish. They come together to give thanks by offering animals or donating money to the founder. All fetish priests in the area are invited to pray for prosperity and to predict misfortune. If an impending misfortune is revealed, the necessary sacrifices are offered in order to avert the misfortune. The festival is opened by the sacrifice of a cow or goat, a sheep and three cocks. Formerly, the festival lasted one week but now lasts only three days because of financial constraints.

If the fetish reveals and kills a witch, the family of the witch provides the following items for the purification of the fetish: 1 goat; 3 fowls; 3 bottles of akpeteshi; and the deceased person's cloth. Individuals defended by the fetish will provide 1 goat, one fowl and a bottle of akpeteshi as a thanksgiving sacrifice.

Male Heads of Family

1. Sie Kalo
2. Dimɔɔn
3. Dafa
4. Shiegbanda
5. Kwabena Ladjaa
6. Mumuni Kwadwo
7. Gazari
8. Yaw Nyuu
9. Han Kofi
10. Kwabena Manje
11. Kofi Asɛmpasah

Female Heads of Family

1. Ŋgunyɔɔri
2. Yatuatenten
3. Yajiniŋge Jɛjɛ
4. Mapenyi
5. Nyijo
6. Yatu mba
7. Yajo Goŋgo
8. Lelo Kosua
9. Abena Nganichaa
10. Abena Kuma
11. Nyuajo
12. Donkor Gutio

Interviews conducted on 16 November 1982 during my first visit to the Banda area and supplemented by information collected on 4 August and 8 August 1986 from Kofi Asɛmpasah (Head). Kofi Asɛmpasah is exceptional for his memories of family history. Some information was also provided by Pɛh Kwame and Donkor Gbutue.

## GBLA WOLO KATOO, Sarbie

Gbla Wolo Katoo holds the position of Ankobeahene. There are two subhouses of the family in Sarbie: Krɔchia; and Katoo Ble. They perform all rites in common with the main house.

The Ankobeahene is one of the Kingmakers. Formerly, in times of war, the Ankobeahene and his people moved together with the Benkumhene. During the time of the Paramount Chief Yaw Sielɔngɔ, one of the Gbla Wolo ancestors was very obedient to the paramount stool. The man, named Kotoki, represented Nana Yaw Sielɔngɔ at meetings in Kumasi and other places. This convinced the Paramount Chief to confer the powers of Ankobeahene on the house. The first man to serve as Ankobeahene was Kotoki's successor, San Kofi. The House now counts itself worthy of representing the Paramount Chief outside the area.

The ancestor of Gbla Wolo Katoo, a leader named Sie Hene, came to this area with Kralɔngɔ. Sie Hene was a friend to Kralɔngɔ. The ancestors of the house first settled at Makala, then moved around with the Nafaanas throughout the numerous wars until they finally came to settle at Bui. When peace prevailed, each group started looking for good land on which to settle and farm. Their leader chose to settle at a spot near the Tombɛ River in the vicinity of Makala. The site is today known as Gbla Wolo Kataa. The people later found that the place was not fertile enough to support farming, so they moved to the Sarbie area. This was during the time of Bandahene Yaw Sielɔngɔ.

The ancestral leaders of Gbla Wolo Katoo were close friends with the leaders of the other Katoo in Sarbie, Tapanwolo Katoo. These families moved together even before coming to Sarbie. It was one of the Tapanwolo people who found the present site of occupation while on a hunting expedition. Before the white man came, the people of Sarbie lived at Sarbie Kataa (downslope from the present settlement on the Tombe). While living there, Gbla Wolo Katoo lived in a separate area from the Tapanwulo people. The white man came and wanted them to lay the town out in lanes or streets, so they moved their village to its present spot. Now the Gbla Wolo and Tapanwulo houses are interspersed.

It was the man Hahɛɛ who led the family to establish Sarbie. He was the first chief to die in Sarbie. Kotoki acted as a regent for the Paramount Chief at the time of Bandahene Yaw Sielɔngɔ -- thus he was acting in the capacity of Ankobeahene although the title did not come until his successor. Kotoki was the man who provided the stool regalia--the umbrella, swords and palanquin.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Siehene
2. Sanye
3. Sie Telli
4. Hahɛɛ
5. Kotoki Kwadwo
6. SanKofi (first Ankobeahene))
7. Sienyono
8. Sie Jiniŋge (Ankobeahene in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Chakpɔɔ
2. Amma Tɔpi
3. Adwo Lɔɔkolo
4. Abena Ble
5. Kupo Fili
6. Chambɛ Donkor
7. Amma Ble



Interview conducted 15 August 1986 with Nana Sie Jiniŋge (Ankobeahene); Ha Yaw; Sie Yaw Bediako; Asoma Kramo; Siedu; Kwaku Frimpong; Kwasi Wankyi.

### **GYASE FAMILY, Banda-Ahenkro**

The family of the Gyasehene are considered the grandchildren of the paramount chief. The first Gyasehene was the son of the Paramount Chief at Jamma, by the name Sie Dongi. It is the responsibility of the Gyase family to take charge of the stool, regalia and the paramount chief's wives and children in the absence or upon the death of the paramount chief.

In times of war when people were taken captive, they were adopted into the Gyase family and were, thus, directly under the Paramount Chief. Individuals within the Gyase family who are descendants of war captives may not inherit the Gyase stool. Because of this policy of adoption, the Gyase family is the largest of all families.

#### Holders of title of Gyasehene:

1. Sie Kofi Kete
2. Sie Njyunɔ
3. Kwaku Kra
4. Kofi Mensah (Gyasehene in 1986).

Interview on 1 August 1986 with Nana Kofi Dwuru III (Omanhene) and Nana Kofi Mensah (Gyasehene).

## HABAA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

On their way from Kakala the Nafana people stopped at a place called Nafa Benu to the west [of Banda-Ahenkro; in Côte d'Ivoire] where the great grandmother of this family, by name Yaamuu, had a daughter who the chief wanted to marry. However, her brother, by name Gbanda, was a brother to the chief and the girl, by name Ehɔɔ, a niece to the chief, so the family did not want her to marry him. As a result the Yaamuu and Gbanda took Ehɔɔ from Nafa Benu to this [Banda-Ahenkro] side of the mountains.

Because the man was a brother to the chief, the chief decided that he would trace Gbanda and his relations. He traced him to this side, and stayed with them here. But the chief continued to press to marry the daughter. So the man took his daughter and left and went to Sura, a place behind the gap south of Chuli. While they stayed there, the chief continued to look for them. The chief engaged his son, by name Zuzu, in searching for the man and his daughter. Zuzu engaged in a sustained search and found them. He informed the chief of their whereabouts, and conspired to get the daughter to sneak down to sleep with the chief unbeknownst to the father. She conceived, and the father got to know, after which the father said that although things had not happened as he wished, he would give his daughter in marriage to the chief but the father and mother wouldn't visit here. Anytime the chief would try and catch them, the daughter would send word to them and they would run and hide. It got to a point that the chief learned that it was because of the wife that the family couldn't be caught. Told the young men in town that tomorrow 'nyu shie' (word travels), which they knew meant that anytime they decided to try and catch the parents, the woman would inform them. All knew that he meant Sura. So the chief and his men went and took them all of the sudden.

After the chief brought them from Sura (known from that time as Nyu Shie), the chief asked the father of his wife why he was running. He told the chief that, as his daughter was the chief's niece, if she married the chief and had a son, he wouldn't be entitled to the stool, whereas if she married another man, her son would be eligible. The chief assured his brother that, provided God is there, if there is a son, he will know what to do--"Since there is God' (Habaa, in the Kakala language)—so with that assurance they were OK and all stayed together.

Habaa was the son of Ehɔɔ and the chief. The chief's name was Wlojo. They were staying in harmony here when a war broke out between the Asante and the Nafana. They left to Jamma, north of the Volta (this was at the time of Sie Dongi). While they were there, another war broke out between the Nafana and the Mo. The life of Sie Dongi was taken in this war. When you go to war and the chief is killed, but you don't get his head, you haven't captured him and haven't won the war. The Nafana escaped with the body, crossed the river to this side, and buried him.

After they came back from Jamma, they weren't well settled here when they heard that the Kulango were waging war against the Nafana. They knew that they couldn't fight the Kulango, so they sought a treaty. The Kulango people said that before they will agree the Nafana had to send a man and a woman as pacification. Because of their close relationship with the chief, Lelee Abena and Yao Bediako from Habaa Katoo were sent.

When the two were taken to the Kulango chief, it took seven days to discuss what was involved. Because the Nafana could not speak Kulango, and vice versa, the discussion took place in signs. One day during the course of discussions, the Nafana man had wanted to spit, and he did it miraculously—he held out his hand and spit and it did not hit anyone—this impressed the Kulango chief. Kulango children had been disturbing the Nafana because he couldn't speak the Kulango language. Because of this the Kulango chief gave them a stick to chase the children. This is now the linguist staff which belongs to Habaa Katoo, and whoever serves the chief should hold that stick. The Chief Linguist is always from Habaa Katoo.

Negotiations were concluded with a white cola, a needle and some gold. These items were witness that the Kulango and Nafana would never come into conflict. The chief at this time was Sie Yao.

To conclude the peace, the Kulango and the Nafana were to share the cola—each to chew some in front of the public. The Nafana chief chewed his part, but the Kulango chief did not and gave it to his forerunner to throw into the river. The man threw it into the river. The following day the Kulango people went to catch fish and caught a big one. This fish was brought to the house of the chief where it was used to prepare soup with fish. As the chief was eating, he saw the cola and it shocked him—that the cola had reappeared in the very fish he was eating. He died from the shock. From that time the Kulango people united with the Nafana and agreed that they would no longer be in conflict. The issue was settled in Bouna, and the Kulango chief who died was Popi.

[what happened to the people given as hostages?] The Kulango chief sent them to stay at their original village in Côte d'Ivoire (Nafa Benu). They were there when the man decided they should run away, but the woman stayed behind. Even up to today, they have relatives there from the woman who today speak Kulango. The man came to stay here.

When the family members were sent to Kulango, Sie Kofi had interest in a dance of the Kulango people called Kete. During the night when the Kulango people were playing he would join them. When they came back here, he begged his uncle to be able to go back and learn the dance. He was allowed, and he learned the dance. When he qualified, he stole a flute and harp and brought them here. The Kulango could not come for the things because of the

relationship that had developed between themselves and the Nafana. These items are now at the Palace, and Sie Kofi was the one who brought them. Kete is performed at the funerals of important people or outside on important occasions when the chief travels. The flute and harp are played by men.

After the wars, when people were settled again, Nyua Kwabena asked his mother to represent the women of his house. When you are given that position, you don't do other work, so he had to find some means of living for her. During the wars when people were fighting, Nyua Kwabena collected pieces of guns. He took these to a blacksmith and had them made into gong gongs. He gave these to his mother, who used to go around and play them for alms. The specific kind of gong gong playing that she did is called Latolo. Latolo is still a women's secret dance—men are not allowed to see. The women still play this occasionally—for example at the funerals of clan leaders. The gong gongs are distinguished by the fact that they have a hanging piece inside that makes a noise. Latolo is exclusively for Habaa Katoo and only for virtuous women within the family (those who are virgins at marriage). In addition to Latolo, Nyua Kwabena gave beads to be worn by young woman who had undergone circumcision and had been proved to be virgins. Habaa Katoo's beads were the first beads to be used in this way. They are kept in a brass jar. Today every house has its own beads, but Habaa Katoo started this practice. Habaa Katoo is the leader of the women. This position came to the house because of the role that leaders of the house played in war. The beads held by the family come from Kakala, so the family was given the honor of leading the women because of their service. The Royal Family uses the beads kept by Habaa Katoo in their rites because these are the most sanctified ones. Other families have acquired their own.

Another obligation of Habaa Katoo as leader of the women is to provide the ancestors with drinking water and food. The female head of house pours libations for the Royal family alone.

[in a follow up interview on July 18, 2001, the family augmented the above with the following]: During times of war, the women and children of town were left in the care of Pɛ Koshia. This was when all the people were gathered together at Bui. At the time he was a young man, and he came to have this position because his uncle was a leader of war. His brother was Sie Kro and their sister Lelɛɛ Kotia. Her role was to be the female side leader of the family and to keep the ritual items used in marriage and circumcision rites.

The ritual items have been handed down from the time of Yaa Moo, the mother of Habaa. Yaa Moo's husband went to a river known as Taplakpɔɔ where he offered a sheep to beg the river for ritual materials with which they could decorate their brides. The river produced the items which the husband took to Yaa Moo. After some time they brought the items back to the river, but they only returned some of what the river had provided. The river rejected them. The family consulted an oracle that said that the river did not want them back, and indicated that instead they needed to offer another sheep, which they did. From that time the items became the property of the family.

#### Male Heads of Family

1. Habaah
2. Nyua Kwabena
3. Bediako
4. Sie Yaw Siɛ
5. Kwaku Gyakorby
6. Sie Kwame (at time of interview, 2001)

#### Female Heads of Family

1. Nɔɔnokɔ
2. Lelɛɛ Kokonyɛ
3. Lelɛɛ Tiowafu
4. Lelɛɛ Banda
5. Afua Kuma
6. Afua Banda Wo (recently deceased at time of interview, 2001)

Interviews on July 8 & 21, 2001 with Afua Kumah; Abraham Forjour; Adoa Tami. Mr Enoch Mensah, translator.

## HAKALO KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

The ancestress of Hakalo Katoo was a woman by the name of Yaa Afra who was living near the present town of Nsawkaw. She had established her own village near Nsawkaw where she was raising rabbits and cats. The woman's son was a hunter and on one of his hunting trips came as far as the place where the Nafaana of Banda were staying. He was happy to meet people speaking the same language as himself (i.e. Nafaanra). The man related to the Nafaana that he and his family had been suffering among the people with whom they were living. He related that, because his mother was rich, people had been coming to her for loans but had not been paying them back. Thus the people were cheating her. The Omanhene of Banda assured the hunter that a close friendship would be kept and someone was sent with him to accompany him back to their place.

After this, the people of Banda and Hakalo Katoo were in touch with one another. Whenever the Omanhene (Sie Dongi at the time) was in need of money, he would send to the woman for help. After some time the Paramount Chief of Banda decided they should leave that place since someone might come and invade them and take away their possessions. Negotiations ensued and the family moved to join the Banda Nafaana. This was prior to the time that the Nafaana moved north into the Mo territories.

When they came to Banda, some of the children from the house were involved at the palace. These included a man  $\text{Kpɛma}$  who was a good drummer; Kwabena Nyuu who was one of the chief's devoted messengers; and Kwadjo Gbangawra, who was a good friend to the chief. One member of the family was very brave and helped the chief in times of war. To reward him for his brave deeds, the chief decided to confer the title of Nifahene on him. Gbangawra's mother, Yaa Afra, objected to her son taking up such a position. To demonstrate her objection, she shot an arrow into the bark of a kapok and when she pulled the arrow out, some of the kapok came out with the arrow. She then told him "If you become Nifahene, you have to bleed in wars and this is how, one day, your intestines will come out. If you need anything, I have money, so there is no need to fight for a position". On his mother's council, he declined the position of Nifahene. The mother bought him a horse as consolation. This was the first horse in the area. The Paramount Chief insisted, however, on rewarding him with some position on account of his brave deeds and bestowed on him the position of linguist. Gbangawra is also said to have retrieved the King's big drums which went missing in a time of war.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Hakalo
2. Hakojo
3. Dabla  $\text{Krɔchire}$
4. Hayaw
5.  $\text{Kpɛma}$
6. Kofi  $\text{Bɛw}$
7. Kofi Gyato
8. Wulo Kwaku
9. Kofi Krah

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yaa Afra
2. Abena  $\text{Lɔkɔlɔko}$
3. Gyiniŋge
4. Adwoa Donkor
5.  $\text{Pɛnimbor}$
6. Abena Kra

Interview conducted on 1 August 1986 with Kofi Krah (Dwantuahene), Adamah (linguist), and Adwoa Broni.



## HANYAW JAGBINI KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

The Hanyaw Jagbini Katoo is a sub-house of Gbaha Katoo in Makala. One of the ancestors of the house, a man named Sie Kafour, had become wealthy by virtue of the fact that he raised domestic animals. Because Gbaha was a brother to the Paramount Chief, the Chief would send someone to Makala whenever he wanted an animal. The messenger would take a sheep or goat but would not pay for it. Sie Kafour therefore thought that if he came to settle in Ahenkro, thus separating himself from the Gbaha house, he would be able to sell his animals to the Chief. He therefore left Makala and came to settle in Ahenkro. When he moved, he was accompanied by his nephew Hanyaw Jagbini.

Hanyaw Jagbini was famous for his leading role in wars with the Gonja. The Nafaana were fighting the Sofire at the time(\*). Because of this man's brave deeds, the Paramount Chief recognized Hanyaw Jagbini's house as an independent one when they moved from Bui to Ahenkro. Thus the family achieved independent recognition at the palace. This event may have taken place during the time of the Chief Yaw Sielɔngɔ. The family still practices rites in common with the Gbaha family in Makala. The Hanyaw Jagbini Katoo moved to Ahenkro at the time that Ladjaa was head of Gbaha Katoo.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Hanyaw Jagbini
2. Nangɔ Wɔɔ
3. Yaw Sei Wlojo
4. Kwabena Kirifo
5. Sie Kwame
6. Pɛh Yaw Domi
7. Kwaku Datia
8. Yaw Dabla Loora

### Female Heads of Family

1. Leɔ Embo
2. Akua Dapaa
3. Akosua Gbanijaa
4. Piawa Afua
5. Dongi Bambiri
6. Amma Mɛɛwɛ
7. Amma Kuma

\*

Sofire was the name given to the soldiers in the army of the Imam Samori who was active in the forging of a jihad state to the north and west of the Banda area. The Sofire devastated areas to the north of the Black Volta, resulting in great loss of life and the taking of many slaves.

Interview conducted on 10 August, 1986 with Yaw Donkor (head of family), Pɛ Kwame, and Kwadwo Fordjour.

## Kabruno History

[The history that follows was related many years after the original family history project and after long negotiations with the Kabruno elders conditioned by the long-standing chieftaincy dispute. The history was relayed in two sessions, the first on July 11, 2001 in the presence of eleven elders and three young Assemblymen. Present among these elders was Nana Millah, former Banda paramount chief under the stool name of Kofi Dwuru III. The second interview took place on July 17 in the presence of five of the same elders and two additional men from Kabruno who resided in Accra and Kumasi as well as two Muslim elders from a neighbouring community. The history was relayed by the Kabruno linguist, with Mr. Enoch Mensah serving as my linguist and translating the history from Nafaanra to English]

July 11, 2001 interview:

The Nafana people came from Kakala in what is today Côte d'Ivoire near the town of Korhogo. Before they left that place, the chieftaincy had been between two lines of the same family. On the death of the reigning chief, it was the custom that his wife should go to the chief of the other line of the family. The first Nafana man on the stool there was Sie Kanga. When that chief died, the wife was supposed to go along with the stool to the other side, but the family refused and the families fought among themselves. This dispute was the cause of the people's departure from the original place and their move toward this area. They came to a river on the way (the Komo River in Côte d'Ivoire). When they got to the river, there was a canoe, but the condition for being able to cross on the canoe was that they must offer a human being—and more specifically a woman—as sacrifice. Before the people left Kakala they had a patrilineal system of inheritance: sons inherited from their fathers. When it came to the demand of the sacrifice of a woman, the chief decided to give his daughter, but the girl's mother refused, and so he had to offer his niece. Since that day, the people changed to a matrilineal system in which no son can inherit from his father and instead a nephew inherits from his uncle.

After that the people came to Tampi in Côte d'Ivoire where they all settled. Sie Kanga gave one family a leader, who took his people to Sampa where they settled. Sie Kanga led the rest of the people to settle at a Kataa that is located in Kabruno. When Sie Kanga died, Peteli took over; he was Sie Kanga's nephew. For the purposes of hunting, most of the people left here and settled other places and this divided the Nafana people.

A time of war followed and the people had to fight. People came together to drive away their enemies. At the end of the war all the Nafana people were here. They later left to establish other villages—to Bungasi, Sabiye, Ngre, Wewa and so on. It is for this reason that if an important person dies, they have to be buried here (for example, Queen mothers and Chiefs). Royal family members are buried on the kataa (old place) known as Gboko Kataa.

When the Nafana came the Mo people were here and the Nafanas fought them away. Makala people pioneered settlement and then fought the Mos away. [A question about Wurache and her people prompted the following]: Makala people came as part of their people. Their chief saw smoke and went out to see its source. He found the fire and put it out by quenching it. Wurache came and asked why he had put out her fire. They settled their differences and it was on the basis of seeing her fire on the land that people have concluded that Wurache was on the land first.

July 17, 2001 interview [much of the following narrated from a script, read in Nafaanra by Kwadjo Fordjour, a resident of Kumasi and member of the family from which the last Kabruno chief hailed]:

Peteli, the Kabruno peoples' ancestor, was the first person on the Kabruno side to be enstooled. He is known as a hunter, but he was not an ordinary hunter. He was a group-leader and a fighter.

The Kabruno and Ahenkro people are one family. At Kakala they were part of one royal family and continued to be so here. The position of chief rotated between the families, with Peteli the first enstooled on the Kabruno side, after which the stool returned to the Ahenkro side.

When the people first got to this land, there were Mo people occupying the land and Peteli had to fight them away to get a place to settle. This was his first achievement when he got here. He was the first person to unite the Nafanas when they came to this side.

After Petele, the stool went to Ahenkro. When that person died, the stool came back to Kabruno and was occupied by Wuludwo (also known as Wurosa). Wuruosa led the Nafana in the first Asante-Banda war. During that war, the Nafana were able to fight and defend themselves, and withstood the Asante for some time. But the Asante came in numbers, and when the Nafana saw that to win would be difficult, they moved into the hills, to the cave known as Selekpɔɔ which means/implies a 'big family'. When the people climbed the hills and got to the top, they pushed big stones down on the Asante. When the Asantes saw the rocks coming, they left and stayed at Jukpa on the Dorbour side of the mountains.

During the time that the Nafanas were in the cave, they used divine means to find the Asante. They would go in the night and attack Asante spiritually. This kept the Asante from being able to sleep. This spiritual harassment went on for some time, but the Asante did not give up. So the Banda people sought a means of reconciling with Asante.

However, it was difficult to get someone to go and sit down with the Asante since so many people were being killed. At the same time, there was hunger in the cave and children were dying of famine. So a delegate was chosen to go and smoke a pipe. Pɛ Koshia from Bungasi volunteered to go and talk to the Asante. When Pɛ Koshia went, he wasn't bold enough to let the Asante know that he was Nafana, so he told them that he was Kulango and that he had heard of the conflict and had come to negotiate between the two. Pɛ Koshia succeeded with his initiative. The Asantes understood him and arranged for a time to meet to settle the dispute. He went back to his people and informed them how he had tricked the Asante and engaged in peaceful negotiations. The people came down from the mountains and signed a peace treaty not to shed blood.

After the treaty the Nafana and the Asante became related. Later on the Asante were at war with the Fante and they came and invited the Nafana to help. In this war the Nafana were led by Wurosa. The war was fought in the Central Region at Abakranta [sp?]. Because at that time the Nafana were united, they could supply 4000 men to fight. Wurosa took 707 men with guns to fight the Fante. Of the 707 men who went to fight the Fante war, only 7 returned.

During these days—after they returned from the war with the Fantes—the people were using horses for their chiefs. They had no palanquin. After their success in the Fante war, the Asante supplied them with a palanquin, swords, a trumpet, talking drums and a stool. They gave Wurosa a title—*Kantamantu*—which in Twi meant 'vowed and never violated'. Before the Fante war when the Nafanas went to Kumasi they stayed at Adum. But afterwards, Asantehene Osei Bonsu asked them not to stop at Adum and gave them a place to stay at Bantama (Akonfro; sp?). They still stay at that place today.

The Nafana were rewarded with many things by Asante after the Fante war. In addition to those listed above, they were rewarded with a stool that was sent to the sister of Wuludwo, by name Akwia Dapaa. She was enstooled as the first Queen mother. Akwia Dapaa was the only woman to fight in the war. Out of love for her brother she went with him and when things got tough had to fight alongside him. This marks the beginning of the queenship among the Nafana.

After Wurosa, the stool went to Ahenkro. Then Hah Chambi was the next to reign. During the reign of Hah Chambi, Asante and Gyaman were at war. The Nafanas and the Asante were related and so the Nafanas were compelled to go to war to help Asante. Asante and the Nafana succeeded and the war ended at the Chɛn River. Here Adinkra, the Chief of Gyaman, was killed by the Asantes and the Nafanas. Also under Hah Chambi, the Asante and Denkyiras were at war. At the end of every year Asante had to send a big pot of gold to Denkyira as tribute. Asante decided to resist and asked the Nafana to help. It was a very difficult war but one that succeeded.

After the war with Denkyira, the Nafana came back. But because the Nafana had helped Asante, the Kulango attacked them. The Nafana sought the help of Asante who fought the Kulangos away. Asante also fought against the Nkoranzas during the time of Hah Chambi. The Nafanas aided Asante and they had success because the Nkoranzas were not so many.

After the Nkoranza war, Hah Chambi went to stay at Akumadan where he lived to the age of 107. After Hah Chambi, the stool went back to the Ahenkro side. Sielɔngɔ became chief and was chief when the Europeans first came.

The Europeans renamed the place known as "Samianku" as "Ahenkro" (main place). Samianku was the name of a particular grass that had been common at the place now known as Ahenkro. The name of Kabruno comes from the word *kabru* (fever) because it was the place where people came for treatment when they suffered from fever.

Sielɔngɔ reigned for a long time. He was succeeded by Kwasi Sinapim who died as an old man in 1935. He was succeeded by Kofi Dwuru II who reigned from 1936-1977.

[asked about the relationship between the Nafana and the Ligby, the elders relayed the following]: The Muslims of the area were originally known as Ligby. They were together with the Nafana at Kalala and lived in a whole series of villages. Kanka people were originally at Mande [present day Mali?]; however, famine drove them out and they were forced to wander about. This was at the time that the Nafana group was leaving Kalala. Sie Kange, the Nafana leader, decided to take these people along because their group was small. The Kanka people were thus the first Muslims that the Nafana met. Later they met another group, one from Begho. These were the Sase people who were speaking the same language as the Kanka people. When the Kanka people were coming, they had a rod or staff called 'Masatogo'. Because they all came together from Kakala, they took each other as brothers from time immemorial.

## KAFONON KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Kafonon Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro. The Kafonon family came to Banda from a place known as Gbɛɛ or Gbɛɛnɛ Nyambie. Gbɛɛnɛ Nyambie was a place with a mountain and a gold pit with plenty of gold. The pit took the shape of three stones with a hole in the center. The people of Gbɛɛ spoke Nafaanra, but it differed from the Nafaanra spoken by the people today. Although the people had a leader at Gbɛɛ, he served no paramount chief. There came a time when the Asantes contacted the people at Gbɛɛ, wanting gold. The people of Gbɛɛ sent the Asante messenger back without any gold; however, they feared Asante reprisals. They therefore left Gbɛɛ for the small village of Wela, inhabited then, as now, by Mo people. The man who led them from Gbɛɛ to Wela was named Pɛ Kɔshia, the first head of the Kafonon family.

The people stayed at Wela for some time, but when the Mo learned of their interaction with the Asantes, the Mo people told the Gbɛɛ people that they feared attack by the Asantes so long as the Gbɛɛ remained with them. They were told to find their own place to settle. From Gbɛɛ, the people had seen the Banda range of hills -- so they decided to go and settle beyond those mountains so that the Asantes would not be able to trace them. Upon reaching the vicinity of Ahenkro, they came upon the Nafaana. The first people they met were the Krontihene Siepe(\*) and some of his family hunting bush pig. They stopped the Gbɛɛ people and asked them of their mission, after which they decided to take the Gbɛɛ people home. At this time the Gbɛɛ people outnumbered the Nafaana for this was before some of the seven families had come to join them. The Gbɛɛ were allotted a place to live which was called "Kafonon" or "new town" -- located near the present town of Kanka.

After a time, the Paramount Chief at Ahenkro began to be concerned because there were so many Gbɛɛ people. They were troublesome and there was quarreling between the children of Kafonon and Ahenkro. The chief and his elders decided to get rid of the head of the Kafonon family. They fixed a date for a large community meeting to discuss community matters. Before the meeting, which took place at Gbankɔɔ, near the present Kanka, they dug a deep hole which they covered over with an animal skin and sand. A stool was placed on top of this, and the head of the Kafonon family was directed to sit there. The man, Pɛ Kɔshia, fell into the hole and hot pito was poured in on top of him. There he died.

After this, the family decided to leave the area and to go back where they had come from. The first group set off and departed for Wela, where their descendants still live. A second group stayed in Ahenkro with Yeli Wulo, wife of Pɛ Kɔshia, who was too old to walk back to their former place. A third group set off to leave but at Kanka, the Muslims begged them to stay. The Muslims advised them that the Nafaanas had moved here because of war and now the Kafonon were leaving because of a quarrel -- but there was war everywhere. They counseled the Gbɛɛ to bury their differences and remain. The Muslims acted as intermediaries between the Kafonon and Nafaana, and subsequently helped the third group put up their houses at Gbau where they were to settle.



23 July 1986: Kupo Aboateaa (Bamuhene; Bɔɔnfɛn ŋunu) and Yaw Fori (Bɔɔnfɛn Yiifun);

The Kafɔnɔ family provides the paramount chief's body guard and executioner. They provide the sword bearer at the royal palace. In war, the sword bearer would take lead of the chief. In the event that the paramount chief died, the sword bearer guards the body along with the Krontihene and the Gyasehene. As executioner, the swordbearer was responsible for killing those people designated to accompany the paramount chief in death. It is the sword bearer who leads the corpse of the paramount chief to the burial site and is responsible for punishing any offenses at the burial site. The executioner is also responsible for dealing with individuals who have been identified as witches.

The position of executioner came to rest with the Kafɔnɔ family because of the bravery of an ancestor. During the reign of the paramount chief Gyara, a man (name unknown) had an affair with the Chief's wife and took her away to a town in the north. When the Paramount Chief learned of this violation, he chose some men to go and pursue the offending couple. The man who led the chase was Ofori from the house of Kafɔnɔ. Prior to leaving for the north, Ofori performed some rites at his fetish so that the adulterers could not hide from him. Upon reaching the town to which the couple had fled, Ofori encountered the adulterer in the street and killed him straight away. When the chief of this town learned of the killing, he confronted Ofori as to why he had killed someone without informing the chief. Ofori countered that he had done his duty -- that he had followed his orders. The chief, upon hearing Ofori's story, agreed with his actions. Both the man and the woman were killed and their heads taken back to the Paramount Chief of Banda. The chief and his elders congratulated Ofori and conferred upon him the title of executioner and it has remained the duty of the Kafɔnɔ family ever since.

[A second version of the above story was related by other members of the Kafɔnɔ family, as follows]. There was a former head of the Kafɔnɔ family named Pɛ Fori. During his time, a man named Donkosi had an affair with the wife of the chief. He was a very strong man, and when the Chief discovered the affair, he devised an elaborate plan to catch Donkosi. The man was asked to go and help catch a cow from the kraal. Donkosi went with the other youths from town. Donkosi entered the Kraal and caught the cow by the leg. As the other youths looked on, Donkosi struggled with the cow until he began to look tired. At this point, the youths jumped into the Kraal to try and catch Donkosi. Donkosi let go of the cow and sprang out of the kraal. He ran away from town and went to the village of Senyon.

Tolɛɛ was looking for someone brave enough to trace the man Donkosi. Pɛ Fori had acquired a reputation as a brave man during the war with the Bouna people when he killed many people and carried away most of the heads. He was also the owner of a very powerful fetish (called Twa) that was appeased by the blood of human beings. Ofori had acquired the fetish from another man and, upon seeing the man off from the village, Pɛ Fori killed him. Due to his reputation, Tolɛɛ came to Pɛ Fori to pursue the man Donkosi.

Ofori, after accepting the mission, went with his people to Senyon. Upon arriving there, they went to the house of the fetish priest. The man sympathized with the story of Pɛ Fori and took him to the head of the village. Upon hearing Ofori's story, the chief of Senyon was sympathetic and together they devised a plan to capture Donkosi. They convened a meeting of the youth of the town. Pɛ Fori was concealed in the room where the meeting was to be held behind a raffia screen. He was able to see everything that took place. Donkosi arrived and took a seat. At a prearranged signal, all the youth jumped on Donkosi and restrained him. Pɛ Fori came out and cut off Donkosi's head. At this point, the woman who had fled to Senyon with Donkosi returned from fetching water. Upon hearing what had happened, the woman began insulting all those who had aided in the arrest of her husband. Pɛ Fori proceeded to cut off her head as well. He then butchered the couple and took out their hearts. He thanked his host and the people of the town, and asked permission to leave. The day he returned to Ahenkro was a day of jubilation. On account of his actions in Bouna, with the fetish priest and in capturing Donkosi, the Omanhene made Pɛ Fori his executioner.

Male Heads of Family & Swordbearers:

1. Pɛ Kɔshia
2. Tolɛɛ Wuljo
3. Wulombor Kentu
4. Pɛmbor Amo -- time of the regent Sie Dongi
5. Hanyaa
6. Kwadwo Fɔjɔɔ Mindie
7. Kofi Kawude
8. Kupo Aboateaa
9. Yaw Fori (title holder in 1986).

Female Heads of Family:

1. Yeli Wolo
2. Pɛnpɛnni
3. Nyinda
4. Tɛɛɛ Nyini
5. Chambɛ Zika
6. Kuulo Lo Adwua
7. Akua Gbope
8. Ya Kosua
9. Abena Gbope
10. Yelin Yunɔ

The information recorded here was derived from interviews held on: 23 July 1986 with Kupo Aboateaa (Bamuhene; Bɔɔnɔfiɛn Ŋunu) and Yaw Fori (Bɔɔnɔfiɛn Yiifun); 29 July 1986 with Yaw Fori and Gabriel Amoako; and 5 August 1986 with Yelinyunɔ (female head) and Mapɛni.

[For another version of the Pɛ Fori story, see the history of Gbɛɛnlɛɛ Katoo]

## KENYA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Kenya Katoo is named for the woman Adjua Kenya who was the one to come to this place. It is not an independent house; rather, it is a branch of a family centred at Addadiem known as Mgbɔlɛ ("Friends" in Nafaanra). The male and female heads of the house live at Addadiem. Kenya Katoo is represented at the palace via their house in Addadiem.

The house has special duties to perform in funeral rites on the death of the paramount chief. At such a time, the house in Ahenkro plays host to all the well wishers who come together as family from Addadiem. The family provides a sheep for sacrifice as well as money toward the funeral expenses. The family is one of the inheritors of the Royal House, so they have a share in the possessions of the chief. They came to have this role as a result of their ancestor Boadum. Tolɛ Boadum was a nephew to the then Paramount Chief Sie Lɔngɔ. When coming from a place between Addadiem and Jinini, Boadum did not travel on with the Paramount Chief because he had many children which made traveling difficult. He decided to stay in Addadiem where he established a cassava farm. His sister traveled on with the others and started the Adjua Kenya subhouse in Ahenkro. For some time after, Boadum remained in Addadiem and the Chief did not hear from Boadum. The Chief sent word that Boadum should come to the place where the Paramount Chief was staying. Boadum refused on the grounds that he had established a farm but had not yet harvested his crops. From that time the family remained in Addadiem. Today the family of Boadum do not provide candidates for the paramount stool; however, they formerly did. They attribute their exclusion from succession to Boadum staying behind in Addadiem. Despite their exclusion from holding the stool, they retain the right to inherit from the Paramount chief.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Boadum  
[did not know successors until last 4 heads]
2. Dabla
3. Pɛɛ
4. Kofi Guuri
5. Shie Kwabena

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yaawa
2. Adwoa Chiwa
3. Afua
4. Kenya
5. Yajo Kahaa
6. Ama Donkor
7. Adwoa Bɔdɔm (recently deceased in 1986)

Interview conducted on 4 August, 1986 with Yaw Manu, Kwadwo Mala, Robert Obour and Adwoa Kupo.

## KOFI KR&MA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Kofi Kr&ma Katoo (also known as S&εfun Katoo) originated in Makala and is a subhouse of Gbaha Katoo.

Gbaha was married to Chamb& Boofi& at the time that the Nafaanas came from Kakala. They had three children -- the eldest was Sie L&ng& (male); followed by Teli (male); and finally Tangotei (female). Gbaha grew very old and was about to die. He called all his nephews to him and asked them to go to the bush and collect firewood so that a large fire could be built. This would enable Gbaha to sink into the ground -- it is believed that Gbaha did not die, rather he sank into the ground. All of his nephews refused to go and collect the firewood and in the end it was only his children who would collect the firewood for him. Despite the fact that the nephews were supposed to inherit Gbaha's stool, Gbaha told his son Sie L&ng& that he would give Sie L&ng& the stool because the nephews had refused to serve Gbaha. Henceforth, the nephews would have to serve Gbaha's son.

After Gbaha's passing, Sie L&ng& moved from Makala and came to settle in Ahenkro. Tangotei and Teli remained at Dumpofie where their mother lived. Sie L&ng& moved to Ahenkro because it was the place from where his mother came.

Gbaha had two fetishes. One was called *Nyi* and this one he gave to his son Teli. It is believed that when lightning strikes a person, a house or a farm, it is due to misfortune or a transgression. The fetish *Nyi* functions to remove such misfortune in cases where lightning has struck. Gbaha's other fetish was called *Tie* and this he gave to his daughter Tangotei. *Tie* functions to make the inhabitants of the whole area prosper in farming and business endeavours. At the end of every year, a three year old cock is offered to the Tie fetish on any day coinciding with the day Jiniŋge. Formerly, the Tie sacrifices were the focus of an important festival. It was held at a time when plenty of food was available. Every family in the area prepared food and took the food to the fetish site, near Dumpofie. Here the people and the fetish ate the food. The Paramount Chief took a cock from his village and carried it on a palanquin to the fetish site. At every village on the way, the Chief would kill the cock as he reached the village, and take another cock from that village to kill at the next village. The last cock was killed at the fetish site. The Paramount Chief then obtained one sheep and one dog from the fetish village for sacrifice on the fetish. If the festival were practised on the grand scale that it was previously, the fetish would kill many people. This is because people today do not follow the customs like they should. Girls do not maintain their virginity until they have passed through the customary rites, and men are fond of sleeping with girls who are virgins, and so they chase them. Additionally, the festival requires that everyone in the area participate, and people are no longer willing to do this. Now, therefore, a mature cock is taken to the fetish and sacrificed one time in the year. The Tie fetish remains with Tangotei's house -- it does not pass from father to son as is the case with many fetishes.

The Tie fetish is also offered a hen by a man on the death of his wife. Upon a wife's death, a live hen is tied around the husband's neck and he and his friends should go around the funeral house four times. Each time the man passes round the funeral house, he pauses and stands in front of his wife's mother. The hen is taken after this and is offered to the Tie fetish. The representative of the fetish in Ahenkro responsible for taking the hen to Tie is Kwabena Munukpa.



It is because Sie Lɔngɔ was a son of the Makala people that his father's people are entitled to come and live in Ahenkro. Thus, whenever there was a quarrel between the family members at Makala or Dumpofie, groups could split off and come to stay here at Ahenkro. Several such incidences led to the removal of many Makala family members to Ahenkro. There are now four houses in Ahenkro that came from Makala. They are: Kofi Krɛma Katoo; Hanyaw Jagbini Katoo; Hakalo Katoo; and Kwabena Manje Katoo. These houses have independent representation at the palace; however they conduct all rites in common with Gbaha Katoo in Makala.

Krɛma is the man who brought this house to Ahenkro. He split off along with his wives, his children and his sisters to come to Ahenkro at the time of Bandahene Yaw Sielɔngɔ.

Male Heads of Family

1. Krɛma
2. Bankwadi
3. Koofie
4. Woli Jiniŋge
5. Kwadwo Abedi (head in 1986)

Female Heads of Family

1. Afua Kpɔɔ
2. Enyunɔ
3. Yatuŋmba
4. Amma Donkor (head in 1986)

Interview conducted 13 August, 1986 with Donkor Amma (Female Head) and Kwadwo Abedi (Male Head).



## KUULO KATOO, Dumpofie

The ancestress of Kuulo Katoo was Lele Nyini Wurache. She came to this place from the sky together with her husband Sie Dafa and her daughter Akosua Yeli. They had a horse with them when they came down from the sky. They established a village, but there was no water there. Wurache decided to go on her horse in search of water. They reached a point in the bush where the horse began to scratch the ground with his foreleg. Immediately, water came to the surface. The Kuulo word for horse is 'Gbanga' and Wurache named that spot "Gbanga". The place is still known today.

There came a time when a man named Gbaha came to the area. He said that he came from Kakala and was an emissary of the Nafaana people. He came alone to Wurache and her people. After relating his story to Wurache, he begged her for some fire. She gave him some and he went away.

In three days time, Gbaha came back to Wurache's settlement while everyone was away. He fetched some fire from their hearth and then proceeded to put out the remaining fire. He then left the settlement. When Wurache came home from the bush, she found that someone had put out her fire and she began to weep, for she had no fire with which to cook. As she was weeping, God sent down a person to ask her why she was weeping. Wurache related her story and the messenger provided her with a chain which carried her to the sky. There she was given more fire and returned to earth.

Some time later, Gbaha returned to Wurache's settlement in order to fetch more fire. Wurache asked him whether he was the one who had put out her fire and he admitted that he had. Wurache allowed him to take more fire, but cursed him by saying "you will never be out of trouble" (in Nafaana Ma kala la) which became shortened to "Makala", the name of Gbaha's village. After this, cordial relations prevailed between the two groups. Wurache gave her daughter, Akosua Yeli, to Gbaha to marry.

Some time later, a small group of Muslims (two men and one woman) came to Wurache. She gave them a place to sleep. During the night, a quarrel broke out between one of the Muslims and his wife. Wurache settled the argument between the man and his wife. The man was so grateful to Wurache for her maturity in settling the argument that he decided to stay with Wurache. Wurache directed them to a place to stay at Kora (Sase). Later, the younger brother moved on farther and settled at Kanka.

With the passage of time, the population of the Nafaanas grew bigger at Makala because more people came to join them from Kakala. Wurache and the leader of the Nafaanas therefore had to decide on some positions of the land (i.e. who would be chief). Since Wurache was a woman and could not, therefore, be chief, she conferred the power to the Nafaana; however, she retained ownership of the land.



Kuulo Katoo formerly played a role in the installation of the Paramount Chief. This started in the time of Wurache. Wurache provided a local medicine which was used to wash the Chief prior to his installation. Before washing him, the Royal Family provided Kuulo Katoo with a chicken and seven kola nuts. The Chief would then be washed down seven times with the medicine on the eve of his installation. The reason he was washed seven times is that the medicine was a mixture of seven different kinds of leaves. At the installation, the Kuulo Katoo was responsible for holding the Chief by his waist and lowering him three times onto the stool. The family's share of the animal killed on the stool was the waist. The family played this role at the installation of all chiefs from Kralongɔ to Kofi Dwuru II.

Formerly, the Kuulo held the position of Trafun or, in Kuulo "Kahole Wura", literally owner of the land. It was for this reason that they played a role in the installation of the Paramount Chief. They also offered sacrifices to the land on behalf of the whole area. As an example, they were responsible for offering seven chickens and a goat at the beginning of the dry season at the time that the grass and forest is burned for the hunters. This had to be done before bush hunting could begin.

Today, a sub-landlord has been installed at Ahenkro who has taken over these responsibilities. This is the result of a land dispute that arose as follows. Wurache's daughter was married to Gbaha. Therefore, Wurache allocated a portion of the land to Gbaha. Gbaha, however, was very greedy and after some time, began to trespass on Wurache's land to enjoy its benefits. This resulted in a quarrel between the people of Kuulo and the people of Makala. This case was taken to court during the time of the white man and was heard at Kintampo. This was during the time of the Chief Yaw Sielongɔ. The ruling by the white man was that, since both parties were under the Paramount Chief, neither could be considered to own the land. Thus, the power of the land was vested in the Paramount Chief. It was at this point that a Trafun was installed in Ahenkro.

Wurache grew to be very very old and was near death. On a day when everyone was at their farms, she was sitting on her stool holding her bowl when she sank into the ground. Since no one was there to witness her sinking into the ground, a baobab seedling germinated on the spot where she sank on the very same day to mark the spot. The baobab still stands on the outskirts of the village and the fruit of this tree is never consumed. A custom which began with Wurache's funeral was a form of drumming known as "Lando". It is played during times of war or when celebrating the funeral of the ancestors.

#### Male Heads of Family

- |                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Hanyaw Gbini    | 1. Wurache                    |
| 2. Kofi Kɔkɔ       | 2. Ejininge Twale             |
| 3. Shiembɔ Agba    | 3. Pɛnimɔ                     |
| 4. Pɛ Kwabena      | 4. Yookɔ                      |
| 5. Kwame Ampoma    | 5. Lelɛ Abena                 |
| 6. Kwadwo Fordjour | 6. Afua Fofie                 |
|                    | 7. Akua Nyimimpe              |
|                    | 8. Mabinu                     |
|                    | 9. Kosua Adae                 |
|                    | 10. Afua Fofie (head in 1986) |

Interview conducted 6 August 1986 with Tolɛ Kwadwo Fordjour (Odikro), Lelɛ Afua Fofie (Female Head), Kwame Broma, Kwasi Millah, Kwasi Donkor, Kwabena Mensah, Kwame D meabra, Emmanuel Dwira.

## LOOBIA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Loobia Katoo provide the custodian (Jafaun Bᵒᵒnyiiifun) of the Jafun fetish. This fetish is located on the outskirts of Banda-Ahenkro -- the god Jafun never enters town but looks after the whole town of Ahenkro. Loobia Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro.

Jafun was brought to Banda from the village of Senyon, near Bole. This was a time when the Nafaana were staying north of the Black Volta. Here they were engaged in a conflict with some people from Côte d'Ivoire known as the Sofire(\*). The Nafaana were, in this instance, allied with the Gonja in this battle against the Sofire. The fighting occurred in the vicinity of Senyon where Jafun was located. The shrine released some bees which attacked only the people fighting on the side of the Sofire. This was in the time of the Bandahene Dabla. Subsequently, when the Nafaana decided to move south to the Banda area, the spirit of this fetish followed them. Upon Dabla's arrival in this area, he established the fetish in Banda.

The first person to offer sacrifice to the fetish in Banda was a Gonja man by the name of Fili (which means red-coloured, in reference to his hair). The first man from Loobia Katoo to hold the position of Jafun Bᵒᵒnyiiifun was Sie Yaw, younger brother to Fili. He assisted Fili and Fili taught him about the fetish.



July 1986: Kwadwo Kamlekunu (Jafun Bᵒᵒnyiiifun) and Amman Nyimor

The Jafun shrine is the centre of the annual Yualie festival when the harvest of guinea corn is celebrated. Yualie takes place on a Fofie (Friday that coincides with a *sumbᵒᵒ*). In preparation for the Yualie, the female head of house is responsible for brewing pito. A batch of sorghum pito and a batch of millet pito must be brewed. On the first day of the festival, a chicken and a goat are killed on the fetish. Tolɛɛ (Omanhene) and his elders should be present at the fetish on this day. Tolɛɛ is given a thigh (hind quarter) of the goat for his house. Sorghum and millet pito, as well as tapioca made from each grain, are also offered to the shrine. A calabash full of sorghum pito is brought and sorghum powder sprinkled into it. Similarly, a calabash of millet pito is brought and millet powder sprinkled into it. The food is prepared by the female head and offerings/sacrifices made by the male head. Both individuals wear white cloth during Yualie rites. While offering sacrifices to the shrine, the Jafun Bᵒᵒnyiiifun says the following in Nafaanra: "A full year has come to meet us, and it is custom that you should first taste the first fruit of these new grains. So this is for you to eat, bless us and the grains to grow well". After this, all the people who have ever prayed to the fetish for assistance must slaughter an animal and bring some of the meat to the Jafun Bᵒᵒnyiiifun. On the third day of the festival more pito, from the same batches of millet and sorghum beer, and more tapioca are offered to Jafun.

The Jafun Bɔɔnyiiifun must not eat hot pepper on the day of the Yualie festival. If an offense is committed in town and the Jafun fetish betrays the guilty party, the accused must offer a goat to Jafun. Similarly, if you swear by the fetish, a goat must be sacrificed.

Former Jafun Bɔɔnyiiifuns

1. Fili
2. Sie Yaw
3. Kofi Krɛma
4. Wulo Jiniŋge
5. Kwadwo Kamlekunu (title holder in 1986)

\*

The Sofire were soldiers in the army of the Imam Samori who was attempting to forge a jihad state to the north and west of the Banda area in the final decades of the 19th century. Samori and his forces occupied Bouna in the 1890's and the wars with Samori caused widespread destruction and loss of life to the north of the Black Volta. Additionally, many people were enslaved by the Sofire. (A.S., based on written documentation).

Interview held on July 24, 1986 with Kwadwo Kamlekunu (Jafun Bɔɔnyiiifun) and Amman Nyiimor (Female Head).

## NYAWAA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Nyawaa Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro and holds the position of Krontihene. Nyawaa Katoo and Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo (Royal family) originated from the same house in Kakala, the town in Côte d'Ivoire from which the Nafaana derive. Formerly, Nyawaa Katoo supplied chiefs in rotation with Sie Lɔngɔ Katoo. It was during the time of Pehzoo, a chief from Nyawaa Katoo, that the Nyawaa family came to be excluded from consideration for the chieftancy. The queen mother during the reign of Pehzoo was Chambe Bɔɔfien. She was ill with jaundice and was isolated at Kabruno. At this time there was no settlement at Kabruno. She was given a number of young girls to serve her during her confinement. At the time of the millet harvest, these young women, approximately 12 in number, were sent out to farm to beat the millet. They went and beat the millet until sunset. By that time it was too late to carry the millet home, so they covered it over using some very large baskets until they could return next day to collect it. They then returned home. Next morning they returned to collect the millet and discovered a woman hiding under one of the large baskets. They asked where she had come from, but she spoke a language that they did not understand. They packed the millet in the baskets and brought the woman home with them.

Upon reaching home, the girls informed the queen mother regarding what had taken place. Chambe Bɔɔfien could speak Mo and was able to understand the woman. Bɔɔfien sent the woman, named Yaa or Yayrɔ to the Paramount Chief. The Paramount Chief (Pehzoo) decided to send her back to Bɔɔfien to serve her.

In one week's time, the brother of the woman also came to the Banda area. His name was Kpɔfɔmbɛ which means "bring it to me" in the Mo language. He came from the village named Tla in the Mo area. Bɔɔfien served as an interpreter for the Paramount Chief, who asked Kpɔfɔmbɛ of his mission. He replied that his sister was said to have caused the death of someone and was to be killed, so she ran away. Kpɔfɔmbɛ had been accused of shielding her, so the people wanted to kill him too. He therefore ran away as well. Yaa was brought to him to see if he could identify her and he said that that was indeed his sister. The Paramount Chief then asked him to take his sister from this place, but Kpɔfɔmbɛ begged to be allowed to stay here with his sister, pleading that if they were to go back to their own place, it would surely result in their deaths. The Paramount Chief consented that Yaa could go and stay with Bɔɔfien and serve her, while Kpɔfɔmbɛ stayed at the palace attending Pehzoo. The man Kpɔfɔmbɛ became known as Petele as his name was too hard to pronounce.

Petele proved to be a great hunter and provided most of the meat in the palace. By the time Pehzoo came to be very old, he is reported to have said "This brave man can really keep this house, so in case you lack a brave man to take charge of the house, this man should be given a chance". Upon Pehzoo's death, the elders talked it over and concluded that, since it was a time of war, and chiefs must always lead in war, that a brave man was required to fill the position of chief. They agreed, therefore, that Petele should take charge of the royal house and hence sit on the stool.

Since it was a chief from the Krontihene side of the family that gave someone from outside the royal house the opportunity to sit on the stool, it was taken that they gave up their right to provide paramount chiefs. Hence, from the time of Pehzoo, there have been no paramount chiefs from this family. It was said "Since you have given such a chance to a slave, it should be the end of your chance at the stool". Since Nyawaa Katoo was, however, part of the Royal House, they had to be given some role in affairs. They were thus regarded as head of the town, known in those days as Katoo Lopom ("head of the house").

Chambe Bɔɔfien acquired her name because of her reputation for killing any young girl who became pregnant before the customary rites of Manaa Ndiom (female puberty rites) had been performed.

### Male Heads of Family:

1. Pehzoo
2. Pɛ Kɔshia
3. Kwabena Lɛɲɲɔ
4. Pɛ Naŋgo
5. Kwaku Ble
6. Dabla
7. Kwasi Wullombo (Krontihene in 1986)

Interview held on 2 August, 1986 with Nana Kwasi Wullumbo (Krontihene), Kwaku Mori (Regent) and Sie Kwadwo.

## PɛDU SINɔ KATOO, Dumboli

The Pɛdu Sinɔ house was established by a woman named Anyimbɛ who was a senior sister to the man Pɛdu Sinɔ. The house derives from a village called Wawe in Côte d'Ivoire, in the vicinity of Bonduku. Here members of the family were speaking Kulango. From Wawe, they moved to Tampi and were living with the Nafaana people. The people of this family stayed behind when the group of Nafaanas led by Kralɔngɔ came to live in the Banda area. Sometime later, Anyimbɛ and her brother Pɛdu Sinɔ left Tampi because of the threat of wars. They came to settle at Dumboli. Here they came to meet the people of Jinini and Addadiem.

Another brother of Pɛdu Sinɔ and Anyimbɛ left Tampi and came to join the Banda Nafaanas in fighting wars. The man's name was Sambga Wala. This was at the time of the Paramount Chief Sie Yaw Dwuru. Wala joined the Banda Nafaanas in fighting wars before the rest of the family joined the Nafaanas at Bui. When the time came that peace prevailed and the Banda Nafaanas were at Bui, Wala learned that his brother and sister were living at Dumboli and begged the Paramount Chief to be allowed to go and join them. He was granted permission and went to stay at Dumboli.

Not long after Wala went to live at Dumboli, his brother Pɛdu Sinɔ died and Wala succeeded him as chief of Dumboli. Some time later, Wala gave up the position of chief and returned to Tampi because of personal problems. He later died in Tampi. The chiefship was taken up by Sie Kofi Kpolio who was succeeded by Kwame Nkrumah and then the present chief Kwabena Woli.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Pɛdu Sinɔ
2. Sambga Wala
3. Sie Kofi Kpolio
4. Kwame Nkrumah (Sah Kwame)
5. Kwabena Woli (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Anyimbɔ
2. Pɛmimɔ
3. Abena Kumfo
4. Ajaminyu (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 12 August 1986 with Woli Kwabena (Odikro, Dumboli) and Sie Kwasi.

### PEJOMAKO KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Pejomako Katoo is a subfamily of the Royal House (Sie Longo Katoo) and acts in the role of a female head. They have special responsibilities in this capacity. The house is responsible for purification rites in cases where sexual taboos have been violated. For example, if a girl of the Royal House is proved not to be a virgin during the course of Manaa Ndiom (puberty) or Bijam (wedding) rites, the house is responsible for the sacrifice of a goat and a sheep to the ancestors. The goat and sheep are provided by the man who violated the girl's virginity if he can be identified. If not, the family of the girl provides the animals. Also, if a man is found to have an affair with either: a woman and her daughter; or, two women from the same family, Pejomako Katoo is responsible for sacrificing offerings for the purposes of purification. In the former case the man must provide a cow and the cow's female offspring. In the latter instance he must provide a goat and a sheep.

The way in which Pejomako Katoo came to have this responsibility relates to the ancestress Tariche. Tariche was accused of causing someone's death where she lived, so she fled from that place and came to Banda. After Tariche arrived, she married a man of the Royal House. Tariche was so faithful to her husband that her house was assigned the special responsibility of appeasing the ancestors when sexual taboos were violated.

#### Male Heads of Family

1. Hanjo
2. Pejomako
3. Kutuhn
4. Kasente
5. Kwaku Blop
6. Pɛ Yaw
7. Sie Kwame Bentre (head in 1986)

#### Female Heads of Family

1. Tariche
- ?
- Hlejiniŋge
- Afua Nyuu

Interview conducted on 3 August 1986 with Sie Kwame Bentre (Head of House) and Kofi Blopour.

## **PɛMBɔ AMO KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro**

Pɛmbɔ Amo Katoo (also known as Dogoo Katoo) is a subhouse of the Kafɔnɔ Katoo. At first, the Kafɔnɔ house was one. Because of increasing numbers of people, a nephew of Pɛmbor Amo, by name Sienyono Donkor, decided to put up a new house at a site called Blungo Jaara in order to accommodate the growing numbers of people. He moved there with his wife, children and nephews. Though they were living in different houses, they continued to perform rites in common with the Kafɔnɔ family. At a later point in time, this group split off from the Sienyono Donkor house. Harmony still exists within the family and it is only due to their size that they live in separate houses. All still perform rites and customs in common. The subhouse has access to the position of sword bearer and can take on responsibilities of executioner.

Pɛmbo Amo was an executioner who used to kill witches and other people charged with offenses against the stool. Pɛmbo Amo was a contemporary of Sie Dongi.

There was a man from the house who saved the Chief Habaa from a man who attempted to kill him. The attempted assassin was a slave named Kakatɔ who had had an affair with the Chief's wife. When Kakatɔ heard that there were plans to kill him, Kakatɔ tried to kill Habaa first. Before Kakatɔ could kill the chief, he was arrested by the man from the Kafɔnɔ house. A struggle ensued and the Kafɔnɔ man received fatal wounds from a cutlass. Habaa, in gratitude for saving his life, declared that if any member of the Kafɔnɔ house commits an offense against the Royal House, he should not be punished. This was true during the time of Kofi Dwuru II, but this decree has not been given attention in recent years.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Pɛmbɔ Amo
2. Sie Kwadwo
3. Doogo Kwame
4. Osei Kwame
5. Yaw Mensah
6. Kofi Krah (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Bulɛɛ
2. Pɛnijo Gɛnu
3. Nyini Kupo
4. Akua Tinga
5. Tumgba
6. Afua Yeli
7. Afua Bawroncho
8. Abena Jaesaay
9. Akua Nsia (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 10 August 1986 with Kofi Krah (male head of family) and Ebenezer Cudjoe.



## SHIOFI KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Shiofi Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro. Shiofi was a man who came to this area from Kakala along with Kralɔngɔ. Shiofi's sister -- Afua Yeli -- was married to Kralɔngɔ. The house is known as the children of Kralɔngɔ and, as such, the people of Shiofi Katoo are always interested in the father's house (i.e. the Royal House). Thus, they assist the Omanhene in whatever he does. In the event of the death of the Paramount Chief, the Shiofi house is informed and gives money toward the funeral expenses. They may also be counted upon to help with any debt incurred by the Paramount Chief. At every state festival, a sheep is killed on the house stool and a thigh from this sheep is sent to the Paramount Chief.

The position of Abakomahene came to rest with Shiofi Katoo at a time when the Nafaana people were living to the north of the Black Volta River. Here, the Nafaana entered into a dispute with the Kulango people at a town called Awaso. The Nafaana were driven away. At that time there were three stools for the Paramount Chief. Upon leaving the area, the Nafaana came to realize that one of the three stools had been left behind. Upon reaching Ahenkro, they became aware of the loss of the stool, and the Paramount Chief, Kralɔngɔ, needed someone to go and retrieve the stool. The Paramount Chief then informed Afua Yeli, his wife, that one of the stools was missing. She had a very strong and brave son named Shieba who had played a major role in the fight with the Gonjas -- so he was asked to go and retrieve the stool. Shieba and his sister, named Yeli Kradu, went to the place where the stool had been left -- a place called Wakawaka. By paying 75 sterling, the two succeeded in getting the stool released to them by the Kulango. On account of this service, Kralɔngɔ entrusted custody of this stool to the house of Shiofi and conferred a title on them.

If you beat someone from the house of Shiofi, you must provide a sheep to be slaughtered on the stool of Shiofi Katoo. If someone is chasing you who wants to beat you, and you run into Shiofi Katoo, you cannot be beaten. Shiofi Katoo is thus a house in which to take refuge.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Shieba (Shebaa)
2. Shiofi
3. Tamia
4. Kyirifase Dabla
5. Nɔfa Yaw Sie
6. Kofi Asare (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Afua Yeli
2. Hle Mmɔ
3. Lelɛɛ Amma
4. Yaa Kumah
5. Nyini
6. Kosua Yablewo (head in 1986)

Interview on July 24, 1986 with Kofi Asare (Abakomahene), Kwabena Dibi, Yaw Krah and Listowel Mensah.

## SIE GBOŊMBO KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Sie Gboŋmbo Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro. The founder of Sie Gboŋmbo Katoo came to the Banda area from Côte d'Ivoire where he lived in a Kulango town called Dergbango. There came a time when a person in the town died, and when the corpse was asked the cause of its death, it indicated that witchcraft had been the cause and the sister of Sie Gboŋmbo was implicated. At that time, someone accused of witchcraft would be beaten to death, so the woman fled the area. The man, Sie Gboŋmbo, being of the same family, felt compelled to go and find his sister. He left Côte d'Ivoire in search of her and came to find her living among the Nafaana who were living at Bui at that time. The Omanhene at that time was Dabla. The man liked the area and decided to stay with his sister and the Nafaana.

When the Nafaana left Bui to move back to Banda-Ahenkro, the head of Sie Gboŋmbo Katoo decided to go to Bungasi with a man named Pekoshia Baffu. Later, when Baffu was offered the stool of Bungasi by right of inheritance, the head of Sie Gboŋmbo family decided to leave Bungasi to join his sister in Ahenkro. By this time, his sister was married to Sie Bonu, nephew of the Bungasi chief. This took place during the time of the Paramount Chief Sie Yaw Dwuru. Gboŋmbo's sister had three children by Sie Bonu (Sie Nyu, Yaa Mbo Kupo and Dagbompour). Dagbompour, the youngest girl, married a nephew of Nana Sie Yaw Dwuru. They had one child (Kwabena Bubu) after which the husband died.

At the time that the family head moved from Bungasi to Ahenkro, most of the relatives from Côte d'Ivoire came to join them. Jito, a former head of family who came from Côte d'Ivoire, is remembered for his bravery in wars against the Mo during the reign of Bandahene Sie Yaw Dwuru.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Sie Gboŋmbo
2. Jito
3. Dabla Densi
4. Hambo Patripa
5. Siekolo
6. Kwaku Diblo
7. Obaa Kaachire
8. Kwabena Nimako (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yaa Mbo Kupo
2. Afua Tole
3. Nyinaŋgo
4. Dagbompo
5. Akua Tete
6. Akua Krombo
7. Akua Jasbini
8. Adjua Waa
9. Adjua Site

Interview held on 25 July, 1986 with Kwabena Nimako (Head of House), Kwasi Mensah, and Alexander Ababio. The family derived some of information from a family history written by Alexander Ababio on 1 Sept, 1972 based on information supplied by Adjua Waa who was still alive at that time.

### SIE KOFI KANYANKO KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

When the Nafaana were living in Kakala, a quarrel broke out between the Nafaana and the Jimini people, with the result that some of the Nafaana resolved to leave Kakala. Some of the people, however, stayed behind to live among the Jimini. Some time later the family that had stayed behind found that they could no longer live with the Jimini and they too resolved to leave. Upon leaving, one of their sisters got lost, which prolonged their journey. They traveled through Kulango territory and came to this place via Nsawkaw. Finally, they came to this area and found their sister living with the Nafaanas among the Nyawaa family. After a time, the members of this house found that the Nyawaa Katoo wanted to treat them like slaves, so they established their own house under the headship of Sie Kofi Kanyanko. Nana Pehzoo was the Chief when the family came to the Banda area.

The man Tɔmbɔ followed Sie Dongi, head of the Royal House, closely during the war in which Sie Dongi was killed. Tɔmbɔ guarded the body of the dead chief until the Nafaanas could come and take him away.

#### Male Heads of Family

1. Kanyanku
2. Tɔmbɔ
3. Kɔshia
4. Wlofi
5. Han Dongi
6. Kwame Kumah (head in 1986)

#### Female Heads of Family

1. Nyijo Brɔbrɔ
2. Jinadu
3. Buyaa
4. Krombo Adwoa
5. Yambɔ Kupo
6. Adwoa Nyiimor Tawia (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 9 August 1986 with Kwame Kumah (head), Sie Yaw, Pastor Joseph Yeboa, Adwoa Nyiimor Tawia (female head), Seth Kwabena Ankama. Note that the text above was pieced together from a somewhat confused interview in which family members were in disagreement over several points, most especially the relationship with Nyawaa Katoo.

### SIE KWABENA MANJE KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Members of Sie Kwabena Manje Katoo came from Kakala at the time of Kralɔngɔ. Their ancestor was a fetish priest whose fetish had led the Nafaanas. It was the fetish in this family's possession, named Danluwi, that led the people from Kakala to this place. In times of war, it was the fetish Danluwi that led them. The fetish is so powerful that it will never pass through a place where there is danger. When the Nafaanas moved from Bui down to Ahenkro, it was the Danluwi fetish that stopped here and indicated that Ahenkro was a suitable place to stay. It was based on the word of the fetish, then, that the Nafaanas chose to stay at Ahenkro.

The Sie Kwabena Manje Katoo is responsible for distributing gunpowder during times of war. Men come to this house to obtain their gunpowder at such times.

The fetish is still with the family and is always in the charge of the head of house. Currently there is no fetish priest; however, there was a priest during the lifetime of the present head of house, Kwame Donkor. The fetish is offered a goat once every year. Formerly this was accompanied by a dance to reveal possible misfortunes that might befall the town. Today this is not done because there is no fetish priest.

Taboos associated with the fetish are that the wood from the *jinge* and *chiŋa* trees may not be used as firewood in this house. This is because it is the roots of these trees that assist the fetish in healing. Additionally, no woman may enter the room of the fetish during her period of menstruation. The fetish possesses the power to heal sicknesses. As an example, if an unconscious person is washed with water from the fetish, he will regain consciousness. This type of treatment does not require a sacrifice to the fetish; however, in the case that the fetish reveals a misfortune that will befall the town, the fetish will indicate the kinds of animals that should be offered to stave off the misfortune.

#### Male Heads of Family

1. Kwabena Manje
2. Bahaba
3. Sienyon Gbolulu
4. Obaa Kofi
5. Dɛmbɛ Dɛmbɛ
6. Kwaku Banda
7. Kwame Donkor (head in 1986)

#### Female Heads of Family

1. Nyinangɔ Manje
2. Nyinangɔ Kasaa
3. Adwoa Donkor
4. Yaa Yeli

Interview conducted on 7 August, 1986 with Kwame Donkor, Head of family.

### **SIENYONO DONKOR KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro**

Sienyono Donkor Katoo is a sub-house of the Kafɔnɔ Katoo. They have the same history as that of the Kafɔnɔ Katoo. Sienyono Donkor Katoo emerged as a separate house because the family was large and the man Sienyono Donkor, a brother to Pɛmbɔ Amo, decided to go and put up his own house. Because the house was remote, it came to be recognized as separate over time. This does not, however, cut off their ties to the main house and all rites are conducted in common with Kafɔnɔ Katoo. Sienyono Donkor lived during the time that the Nafaanas were mining gold.

#### Male Heads of House

1. Sienyono Donkor
2. Sie Yaw Duuka
3. Kwabena Jinini
4. Kwaku Afrɛma
5. Kwasi Adae

#### Female Heads of House

1. Hle Yaa
2. Nakiniyaa
3. Pɛni Donkor
4. Afua
5. Abena Ble

Interview conducted on 6 August 1986 with Kofi Fofie (Head), Kwadwo Bilbey and Kwame Baba.

### TAPANWOLO KATOO, Sarbie

The ancestral leader of the house, Tolεε Agba, was a grandson of Wurache. One year as the date of the New Yam festival approached, Wurache sent Agba to go to the bush to hunt for game. In order to get meat for the festival, Agba went near the Tombe where he found some poisonous leaves, called "kosa" in Nafaanra. These leaves are used to kill fish. Agba pounded the leaves and put them in the water. He gathered the fish and took them home for the New Yam festival. From that time, Agba supplied fish in this way for subsequent New Yam festivals. The spot was visited frequently and a hut was raised there. This was at the place now known as Sarbie Kataa. The name Sarbie came from the Kuulo words for the poison leaves and for a pounding hole in stone "sa pe"; "sa" meaning the kosu leaves and "pe" a grinding or pounding hole.

There came a time when some Nafaana came who claimed to come from Kakala. They were called Hulo, the Nafaanra word for elephant. They came and asked Agba if they could stay in his place and Agba let them come and live with him. They stayed peacefully together. The Hulo people came with their own stool. The Agba people told them that since their own leader was a woman and has nothing to do with kingship, the Hulo people could stay with them as Kings, but the Agba people would remain as owners of the land.

The leader of the Hulo was a man by the name of Gyato. During Gyato's time, some people of Gbla Wolo Katoo were staying at Gbla Wolo Kataa (near Makala). At one point, a woman of the Gbla Wolo house married a man from Tapanwolo Katoo. In the course of time, the Gbla Wolo people came to move to Sarbie to join the Tapanwolo. They came and asked for a place to settle and were given a separate quarter in the town. The site that was granted to them was a place where the Tapanwolo had been gardening so they referred to the people who came to settle with them the Gbla (derived from the word "Kagbla", Nafaanra for garden).

In the time of wars, the people from the two houses fought in wars for the Paramount Chief. They did well in one of the wars so the Paramount Chief conferred a title on the Gbla house to exercise powers as a chief. This was during the time of Bandahene Yaw Sielɔngɔ. Cordial relations prevail between the Tapanwolo and Gbla Wolo families. The two exchange gifts such as food and meat. When the Gbla Wolo house kills an animal, they present the thigh to Wurache through this house.



The position of Kyidomhene is vested in Tapanwolo Katoo. The Kyidomhene is one of the Kingmakers for the paramount position. Siembo fought in the Papii war against the Nkoranza. He played a great role in the war and was recognized as Kyidomhene at the establishment of the Traditional Council as a result.

Male Heads of Family

1. Gyato
2. Hanyaw
3. Biro Kwadwo
4. Siembo
5. Kwabena Kra
6. Pɛjiniŋge
7. Pɛ Yaw (head in 1986)

Female Heads of Family

1. Yagbee
2. Amma K
3. Jiniŋge
4. Yajo
5. Abena Nyuu (head in 1986)

Interview conducted on 15 August, 1986 with Pɛ Yaw (family head), Kwadwo Ladjaa and Alhaji Adama Abudulai.

## WLOLŊNGŊ KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Wlolŋngŋ Katoo came from Kakala at the time of Kralŋngŋ. Their ancestor, named Wlolŋngŋ came with his sister Yalŋngŋ. Wlolŋngŋ was a chief in his own right and was recognized as one of the chiefs of this area after they arrived in Banda. Unfortunately, Wlolŋngŋ's sister Yalŋngŋ was barren so there came a time when there was no one to inherit the position and it was taken over or subsumed within the Paramouncy.

Through time the family grew and at the time of the Fante wars the family was able to provide 100 men with guns to go and fight. Unfortunately, the family experienced heavy losses in the war and only seven of the men returned. The male and female heads of house at this time were Kokwaa and Pɛnijo Sikofɔ. The people in the family remembered that some of their people had been captured during wars and, since women are the only people who can fill a house, they resolved to go and get back some of their people who had been sold to the Kulango in Côte d'Ivoire. The woman Pɛnijo Sikafo was rich and bought many slaves at this point. Among them was a man named Fadua and, unbeknownst to them, a woman who was a witch. This woman began to kill off the few family members who were left; however, she was such a powerful witch that she resisted detection. When she killed someone, the corpse would point to Pɛnijo Sikofɔ as the person responsible for the death. Because she had been implicated as a witch, Pɛnijo Sikofɔ was taken to the Pɛ Fori house (Kafŋngŋ Katoo) and executed.

After her death, Pɛnijo Sikofɔ attempted to claim all those who were left in her family. An epidemic swept the house after her death and killed almost everyone in the house, including the slaves. The family was left with only two members -- one man and one woman, named Kpɛtɛ and Yaa Gbenyaachŋ respectively. The slave Fadua was also left alive. The man Kpɛtɛ was deformed and, due to his incapacity, could not ascend the headship of the family. The man Fadua, originally a slave, was made head of the family due to a lack of males in the family. All of today's family is descended from the woman Yaa Gbenyaach who was the only royal female left after the epidemic swept the house.

The following list of male and female heads is fragmentary because there were no elders who could pass on information about the family after the epidemic.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Wolilŋngŋ
2. Kokwaa
3. Fadua
4. Mamdi
5. Bŋŋrami
6. Nyua Yaw (head in 1986)

### Female Heads of Family

1. Yalŋngŋ
2. Penijo Skiafo
3. Yaa Gbenyaachŋ
4. Abena Lakŋnya

Interview conducted on 7 August 1986 with Daudu Mellam and Kwaku Mensah (regent).



## YAW DABLA KATOO, Banda-Ahenkro

Yaw Dabla Katoo is one of the seven founding families of Banda-Ahenkro. The family supplies the Apamhene who serves as the chief messenger for the Omanhene. The position was first established when the first District Commissioner was at Kintampo. The Omanhene was asked to send a representative. The first man that he sent was corrupt, so the D.C. sent a message to the Omanhene that he should be replaced. Nana took the matter to the public and it was a member of Yaw Dabla Katoo who opted to take the job. Hajojuu was the first man from this family to hold the position. Prior to this time, the family had no special duties at the palace.

The ancestors of Yaw Dabla Katoo originally came from a place called Wasa in the Western Region. They spoke Twi when they lived in Wasa(\*). Upon leaving Wasa they lived among the Jamaa (sp?) people who speak the Kurano (sp?) language. It was during their stay here that the people of Yaw Dabla Katoo came to know of Banda. At this time there was a stool dispute in Wasa and one group took away the stool. Another group from Wasa came to the Bandahene to ask for a loan in order to get the stool back. The Nafaanahene gave them a basket of gold which they paid as ransom for their stool. This gave the people of Yaw Dabla Katoo a good impression of Banda when they saw the amount of gold that must be in Banda. They thus moved of their own accord to Banda. Their leader, Shitaki, moved with them. They left Wasa because of unsettled conditions that prevailed at the time. The ancestors of Yaw Dabla Katoo came to live in Banda long before the white man came to the area.

One former member of the family, named Kwaku Chɛki, fought in the wars against the Mo people and was wounded in the groin by a bullet. He did not die outright, rather suffered for a long time. It was during the time of Kwaku Chɛki that the first telegraph lines were put in from south to north. The D.C. at Kintampo sent a message to the Bandahene that he should send people to carry the wires. At this time there was no other paramount chief than the Bandahene between Kintampo and Bole.

If you swear something by the name of Chɛki, you must provide a sheep to appease the man's grave. The significance of this is that he suffered so in war. If you swear by any of the rest of the former heads of family, you must provide a cock.

### Male Heads of Family

1. Shitaki (led people from Wasa)
2. Yaw Dabla
3. Kwaku Chɛki
4. Hajo Juu (first Apamhene)
5. Amulei
6. Yaw Matia
7. Kwaku Zuku (head in 1986).

\* Note: Some members of the family maintain that the family did not come from the Western Region, rather they came from the north and spoke Mo.

Interview held on 24 July 1986 with Kwaku Zuku (Apamhene) and Jonathan Kwabena Miwo (primary source of information).

