

**SYMBOLISM OF CLOTHING AS AN ELEMENT OF CULTURAL
TOURISM: A STUDY OF THREE SELECTED GHANAIAN KINGS**

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BY

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This thesis submitted to the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Faculty of Social Sciences, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Tourism.

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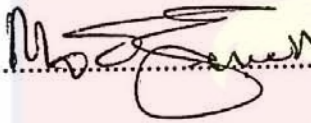
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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is a result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree at this university or elsewhere.

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Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guideline on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

In Ghana the clothing of kings is one of its artistic cultural expressions. The clothing items of traditional rulers and their narratives are collective memories of various kingdoms which can be interpreted in ways that will make them conducive in attracting tourists. The study investigated the symbolism in the clothing of three kings in Ghana and assessed its potential for use in tourism. The Asantehene, the Awoamefia of the Anlos, and the Nayiri of Mamprugu were purposively selected to represent the southern, middle and northern areas of Ghana as well as three different ethnic groups. Through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, key informants provided the needed data. The results indicated that the kings used clothing mainly for spiritual protection and to portray their power, status in society and also to portray their history and environment. The clothing articles of symbolism include head wears, clothes, sword, staff, foot wear, and jewellery. The materials used in making the clothing of the three kings consist of metals, leather, fabrics, flora, fauna, and clays with the type and variety used being influenced mainly by the location of the kingdom. In terms of management, the regalia of the Asantehene, is acquired and managed by the state while for the Awoamefia and the Nayiri only the installation items are acquired by their clansmen. For the tourism industry, some of stories behind the clothing could be enacted during in festivals. Museums could display the clothes and their symbolism. The stories attached to the clothes could also be made into documentaries for teaching and entertainment. It is recommended that the symbolism of clothing of various traditional rulers in Ghana be documented as knowledge for education.

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DEDICATION

To my special friend,
Thomas Fraser K. Senya



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | | |
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| FGD | - | Focused Group Discussion |
| GAP | - | Global Academic Partners |
| GDP | - | Gross Domestic Product |
| GMMB | - | Ghana Museums and Monuments Board |
| GSGDA | - | Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda |
| GTB | - | Ghana Tourist Board |
| IAS | - | Institute of African Studies |
| ICOMOS | - | International Council on Monuments and Sites |
| MoT | - | Ministry of Tourism |
| MGD | - | Millennium Development Goals |
| SOA | - | A social Organisational Approach |
| UCC | - | University of Cape Coast |
| USAID | - | United States Agency for International Development |
| UNDP | - | United Nations Development Program |
| UNECA | - | United Nations Economic Community for Africa |
| UNESCO | - | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UNWTO | - | United Nations World Tourism Organisation |
| USF | - | University of South Florida |
| WHO | - | World Health Organisation |
| WTO | - | WTO World Trade Organisation |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The relationship between the human body and the social collectivity is a critical dimension of consciousness in all societies. Indeed, it is a truism that the body is the tangible frame of selfhood in individual and collective experience, providing a constellation of physical signs with the potential for signifying the relations of persons to their contexts (Comaroff, 1985, p.6).

Human society consists of groups of people related to one another through the sharing of the same geographical or virtual territory, and who are subject to the same political authority and cultural expectations, as well as the sum total of cultural and institutional relationships. The human body as a vehicle of the individual in the society is used to portray his or her culture.

Culture is a complex concept which has many definitions (Hofstede, 1997; Tylor, 1871) but generally it consists of patterns of behaviour, acquired and transmitted by symbols, which are developed by societies over time, including their embodiments in artefacts. At the heart of culture are its traditional ideas, especially their attached values. Culture, as such, becomes the element that determines behaviour and the products of that behaviour. Culture is thus the complex of values, ideas, attitudes and other meaningful symbols that allows human to communicate, interpret and evaluate as members of society (Blackwell, Miniard & Engel, 2001).

Culture includes tangible and intangible forms of behaviour and has communicative, cognitive, material, and behavioural components. The communicative components of language and symbols coexist with the cognitive aspects such as knowledge, ideas, beliefs, and values. The behavioural aspect of culture, which is how people act and react, is portrayed through laws, folkways, and rituals. The essence of culture is in how its elements are perceived, interpreted, and used (Banks, Banks, & McGee, 1989). This is what distinguishes one culture from the other.

One of the most visible forms of human cultural behaviour is clothing or body adornment. As DeMello (1993) stated, 'The physical body is a site on which demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and class are symbolically marked' (p. 10), and the process of clothing the body provides avenues of creating and maintaining specific social boundaries. Clothing used by members of a society portrays their culture and the portrayal reaches its peak in the clothing of their rulers. Hence highlighting the clothing used by rulers on different occasions and in different situations, portrays the perceptions and portrayal of self-identity of a group.

According to Marshall et al. (2004) an understanding of clothing is important since the types of clothing and the meanings associated with them are determined by the cultural environment of the members of a particular society. They continued that, this culture is determined by the knowledge and beliefs from the past that are changed to suit the present. Harris and Johnson (2000) acknowledge this by stating that culture is passed from one generation to the other. Marshall et al. (2004) note that culture is however, not static and although

culture tends to be similar in many respects from one generation to another, certain aspects of culture are reinterpreted by different generations. The authors continue that each individual has a cultural history but noted that groups and individuals within groups differ in their ideas of what is appropriate, attractive, or fashionable because each individual is uniquely influenced by the cultural environment. Clothing as part of culture, therefore, varies with location, seasons and occasions on which it is used.

Ghana was brought together as a country by its colonizers but prior to that, the present country was constituted of various “states” made of ethnic groups with their own ways of life and lived in different environments. As a country now, Ghana has its values as a nation but the individual traditional “states” are still alive and have various practices. These traditional practices, especially those of clothing in chieftaincy, are influenced by the culture of the people, which has been handed down from generation to generation together with their modifications.

The significance of clothing in interpersonal relations is its symbolism, which provides the wearer with a means of communicating with others (Kaiser, 1997). A symbol is basically an object that has meaning for someone or a group of people. Clothing, as a symbol, is more tangible and visible than many other forms of human behaviour and there is the need to focus on the meanings people assign to clothing symbols because they form the basis of interaction (Marshall, Jackson & Stanley, 2012). As an object that can be symbolic, clothing aids in interpreting the motives of others and ourselves and also helps to plan how to react. Uniforms, clerical and chiefs’ clothes communicate about the wearers and

consciously or unconsciously determine how observers should act towards the wearers. They also have controlling influences on the actions of the wearers comport themselves with great dignity.

Clothing as a second skin communicates information not only about the physical self but also serves as a communicative symbol about the total self. This total self, among others things, includes the culture of the wearer and the role of the wearer in a particular society. Turner (1980) stated that 'the surface of the body as the common frontier of society, the social self, and the psychobiological individual, becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialisation is enacted, and bodily adornment becomes the language through which it is expressed' (p.112). Steiner (1990) has noted that clothing the body brings out the individual as a social actor and that the variety of signs encoded on the skin communicate information about a person's rank, authority, ethnicity, group membership, gender, and ritual condition. Thus for both wearers and observers, clothing helps to organise actions and reactions. Clothing is, therefore, very important in nonverbal communication and helps people in impression management and formation (Marshall et al., 2012).

Levi-Strauss (1963) described the body as a surface waiting for the imprinting of culture. He noted that '... the purpose of Maori tattooings is not only to imprint a drawing onto the flesh but also to stamp onto the mind, all the traditions and philosophy of the group' (p. 257). Clothing practices thus communicate a culture's components and uniqueness (Marshall et al., 2012), and knowledge about clothing and their significance constitutes elements which can be used to promote tourism.

Cultural tourism has been defined as involving people travelling to places with the aim of observing and participating in cultural aspects of interest (Ghana Ministry of Tourism (MoT), 2006). These aspects of culture include customs and traditions of people, heritage, history and way of life. Cultural tourism includes the acquisition of knowledge about societies some of which are observed through religion, language, food, material objects and possession acquired in the course of generations through individual. The foregoing describes the supply side of tourism. Cultural tourism can be characterised both from the perspective of supply and demand. In Csapó (2012) it was noted that

Cultural tourism is such a tourism product in which the motivation of the tourist (providing the supply side) is getting acquainted with new cultures, participate in cultural events and visiting cultural attractions and the demand side's core element is the peculiar, unique culture of the visited destination. (Translated by the authors from Hungarian) (Michalkó & Rátz, 2011).

Tourism accounts for almost four percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and it is the third largest foreign currency earner for Ghana, after gold and cocoa (MoT, 2012). With an annual growth rate of 12 percent, tourism has the potential of becoming Ghana's main foreign exchange earner (National Development Planning Commission, 2005). Worldwide, tourism is considered the world's leading industry, providing one out of every ten jobs globally (Jamieson, 2006). Ghana's comparative advantage in this sector includes historical, cultural and archaeological sites that attract regional and international tourists (MoT, 2012).

A number of countries have incorporated tourism into their national economic agenda as a tool for poverty reduction (Cattarinich, 2001; Sharpley, 2002). Nadkarni (2008) noted how Roe and Urquhart Khanya (2001) highlighted the potential of the tourism sector's contribution in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) that seek to reduce global poverty levels, at least, by half (United Nations, 2000). The potential economic worth of effective cultural resource management has been recognised with one of them being cultural tourism (Kankpeyeng & DeCorse, 2004). In Africa, countries such as Zimbabwe and Egypt are successfully marketing their pasts (Collet, 1991; Ndoro, 2001). In spite of the potential inherent in Ghana's heritage for tourism, some cultural components are yet to be studied and used to promote the sector. One of the potential areas of cultural tourism is clothing used by traditional leaders on special occasions.

Statement of the Problem

The UNESCO while launching the 'World Decade for Cultural Development' in 1988 emphasised the most important objective for the decade as the need to recognise cultural dimension of development. In line with this, a major international conference on 'Culture and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa' was held in 1992 (Serageldin & Taboroff, 1994). This conference emphasised the need to take cultural beliefs seriously in planning Africa's development (Kankpeyeng & DeCorse, 2004). The Carter Lecture series at the University of Florida focused on the rapidly disappearing African past (Schmidt & McIntosh, 1996). The foregoing highlights the interest expressed in the

development of the African culture. It tells Africans to take culture seriously and make it the driving force for tourism development.

Cultural tourism, as an important component of international tourism, can be partly explained by people's desire to observe other cultures in an attempt to understand their lifestyles, ideologies and customs (Robinson & Smith, 2006). Traditionally, in Ghana cultural tourism has depended on the architecture, scenery of old sites, and music and dance. There are, however, other dimensions of culture which when promoted, can be marketed for tourism; one of them is the philosophical basis of clothing. Certain clothing items are regularly worn by traditional rulers, while others are used on special occasions, such as during festivals (*Bakatue* of Edina, *Oguaa Fetu Afahye*, *Homowo* of the Gas, *Hogbetsotso* of the Anlos, and *Kwasidae* of the Ashantis). Special clothing are also used during outdoorings, installation and enstooling or enskinning of traditional rulers as well as during funerals. These special clothing have not been used to the maximum advantage of cultural tourism.

Several ethnic groups and paramountcies in Ghana have their own unique cultures, part of which is the clothing worn by the rulers. There are, however, common rites and activities that all traditional leaders officially go through and clothing used on these occasions are very unique. As a material culture, clothing integrates three components: the material form itself, the act of dressing, and the socio-cultural meanings attached (Pokornowski, Harris, & Eicher, 1985).

Ghana's MoT in its Policy Document (2013) overlooked clothing as a cultural heritage product which could be used to promote tourism. The items of cultural heritage listed were festivals, crafts and arts, music and dance,

architecture, traditional shrines, beliefs and practices, Ghanaian cuisine, and traditional village life. Clothing as part of cultural heritage is consistently absent.

Traditional rulers, as custodians of the Ghanaian culture, use clothing as a means of managing the impressions they create. There is however limited documentation on the socio-cultural significance of clothing of these rulers. But information on the social and psychological importance of clothing can be of value in promoting cultural tourism. This is due to the fact that social psychology if clothing defines factors that influence the role of clothing in intra and interpersonal relationships through the use of various artefacts. Since these artefacts have their bases largely in cultural values which are within societies they can be used in cultural tourism.

Although there are studies on regalia (Ross, 1977; Sarpong, 1967) the present study brings together the various types of clothing used by three kings in Ghana and highlights their symbolism. In so doing it is hoped that such a study on symbolism that lies behind body coverings of the three kings will add to the collection of studies on the chieftaincy institution and also draw attention to the importance of clothing items for cultural tourism.

The lack of adequate publicity for clothing could be due to the limited research on the philosophical and cultural values associated with clothing. A visit to museums in the country, even those attached to palaces provide very little information on the cultural significance of clothing used by traditional rulers.

Against the background sketched above, this study seeks to use clothing of traditional rulers as a source of tangible and intangible cultural attribute to

emphasise some aspects of the collective memory of some kingdoms in Ghana and as elements for tourism.

Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to provide a cultural analysis of the clothing used by the Asantehene of the Ashanti, the Awoamefia of the Anlo, and the Nayiri of the Mamprusi in Ghana and discuss their potential for cultural tourism.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. compare the clothing that the selected kings wear on different occasions as elements of cultural forms;
2. analyse the cultural significance of the clothing of these selected kings within their socio-cultural milieu;
3. discuss the management of the clothing of the selected kings; and
4. assess how information on clothing of the selected kings could be interpreted for tourism promotion in Ghana.

Rationale for the Study

The symbolism of clothing provides the wearer a means of communicating through the management of his or her clothes, and provides the observer a means of forming impressions about the wearer. Clothing is thus an aspect of material culture that provides information about a people. Although physical deterioration and fashion change may affect the transmission of physical artefacts, the value and meanings attached can be recorded for onward transmission.

A study of clothing as a component of material culture provides insight into the Ghanaian culture. Analysis of clothing in its broadest context, contribute to the understanding of individuals and groups, their socialization process, their self-identity, and their roles in society. The factors that underlie the act of dressing the body in specific ways and at specific times and the identification of the material forms of the clothing items are important to the understanding of clothing (Pokornowski et al., 1985).

ICOMOS (1999) has advised that tourism promotion programmes should provide a wider distribution of benefits and relieve the pressures on more popular places by encouraging visitors to experience wider cultural and natural heritage characteristics of a region or locality. In theory, virtually any place or phenomenon can become an attraction at any time, depending on how it is packaged and presented. Festivals and cultural celebrations in Ghana are important attractions for the tourism industry and these can be enhanced through the study of all the components of material culture. Clothing serves as important symbols of communication. This research draws attention to the meanings attached to the various forms of adornment used by traditional rulers that serve as additional cultural tourism material.

Organisation of the Study

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One provides the introduction to the study. The chapter starts with a background that gives a brief overview of issues relating to the study. The statement of the problem follows; it focuses on the importance of the clothing of traditional rulers as part of material

culture. The need to document the cultural importance of clothing and to harness them for tourism use is highlighted. Finally the rationale of the study was discussed.

Chapters Two, Three and Four review the literature related to the study. Chapter Two looks at the social and the psychological significance of clothing and ends with the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter Three provides the literature on cultural tourism and how its products can be made attractive to provide the best satisfaction to visitors. The last chapter of the literature presents an overview of the ethnic and geographical background of the three kings studied and ends with a discussion of the importance of rituals in chieftaincy.

Chapter Five describes the research design and data management procedures used in the study. The basis of the sample selection, instrumentation, data collection procedures, and how the data are analysed are discussed in this chapter. Chapter Six presents the results of the analysis and discussions of the study. This chapter's presentation is based on the first three objectives of the study which are aimed toward finding out the symbolism of the clothing items used by the different kings and the clothing management practices used.

Chapter Seven discusses the potentials of the clothing of the three kings as tourism material. This chapter starts with the role of interpretation in cultural tourism. The chapter then continues with vehicles through which clothing items of kings can be promoted as tourism products and ends with how to meet the challenges of commodification. Chapter Eight, provides a summary, conclusions, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGY OF CLOTHING AND CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON CLOTHING IN COMMUNICATION

Introduction

Studying differences in culture among groups and societies presupposes a position of cultural relativism. The study of cultural relativity, calls for judgment of groups or societies. Information about the nature of cultural differences between societies, their roots, and their consequences become critical for judgment and action. This does not, however, imply that one's own culture or society is normal.

The primary focus of the social psychology of clothing and personal adornment is the value of clothing in nonverbal communication through visible artefacts (Kaiser, 1985). Because these artefacts are largely based on cultural values, which are within societies, and are derived from technical processes, collective behaviour should also be studied.

The value of clothing in any context, then, can only be seen from the perspective of its use to the society. Since societies vary in their cultural values and perceptions, issues of clothing and their importance have to be discussed within the purview of the various societies in which the clothing are used.

This chapter reviews literature on the social and psychological aspects of clothing. It provides the basis for the study and puts the conceptual framework of the study in perspective. Topics addressed include purpose of clothing, the social

and psychological significance of clothing, clothing in communication, clothing and culture, and the conceptual framework of the study.

Purpose of Clothing

Clothing can be described as any intentional alteration made to the natural body that is meant to cover nakedness, to protect it or to decorate it. Three purposes have been advanced to explain why people wear clothes. These are protection, adornment or decoration, and modesty (Marshall, Jackson, Stanley, & Touche-Specht, 2004).

First, people in various societies put on clothing for protection. Protection is related to efforts made by humans at shielding the body from harm (Marshall et al., 2012). These authors indicated that clothing provides two types of protection: physical and psychological. Physically, body coverings protect the individual from the physical environment, and they facilitate the survival of the individual in unfriendly environments. According to Kaiser (1985), climates where early civilization flourished were tropical and sub-tropical with warm and humid conditions therefore clothing for warmth was rarely necessary. Clothes were therefore needed by those in temperate countries.

Marshall et al. (2004) contended that psychological protection has always been an important function of clothing. The primary function of adorning the bodies of the earliest man was the need to provide defence from harmful spiritual powers (Marshall et al., 2004). The belief in the power of supernatural forces to cause harm coupled with fear of the unseen, belief in evil spirits and demons, and

luck have all been responsible for the use of certain garments, jewellery and other body adornments (Marshall et al., 2012). Cowry shells protect women from sterility in Pacific cultures; bridal veils protect the bride from evil spirits; eagle feathers, which are believed to possess magical powers, are highly valued by some Native Americans (Gall, 1998).

The second major purpose for using clothing concerns adornment. People all over the world decorate their bodies. It is sometimes thought that the first and main purpose of using clothing is to decorate the body (Marshall et al., 2004). Universally, items for decorating the body include clothes and their accessories and direct decorations such as scarification, tattooing and make ups on the skin. The use of permanent body decorations are influenced by cultural practices. In a society where little clothing is worn, people frequently adorn their skin (Kaiser, 1985).

The reasons for beautifying one's body can be viewed as the significance of the adornment while the various forms of adornment are regarded as ways of expressing this significance. Personal decoration can be used to increase attractiveness, symbolize status and identity, or raise the individual's self-esteem (Sproles & Burns, 1994). Furthermore, there is an aesthetic pleasure in the act of creating and displaying adornment (Roach & Eicher, 1979). External adornments added to basic clothes can be used to increase the relative height or width of a person and emphasize the movement of the body. Again, this function of clothing is defined within each culture (Marshall et al., 2012).

The other reason why people in various societies put on clothing is modesty. Modesty refers to the concepts of decency, properness, and appropriateness in dressing and to the idea that certain body parts should be covered. Implicit to this idea of modesty is the Judeo-Christian tradition which emphasises the soul as opposed to the body (Barnard, 1996) hence, covering the body implies the desire to avoid sin and shame.

The modesty purpose has also been contested by an immodesty theory which states that the body is more attractive when covered than when nude. The immodesty theory refers to using clothes to draw attention to one's body or body parts (Barnard, 1996; Sproles & Burns, 1994). It is argued that clothing can both cover the body and draw attention to it at the same time (Davis, 1992; Sproles & Burns, 1994) as is seen in the wearing of close fitting garments.

The modesty or immodesty function of clothes is defined by cultural values and social notions of decency and morality. Notions of decency, however, change over time within a culture or society (Sproles & Burns, 1994). Related to these changes are the shifts in the focus on different areas of the body deemed attractive or sexually appealing. This is known as the theory of the shifting erogenous zone (Barnard, 1996; Sproles & Burns, 1994). Finally, what is considered modest or immodest might vary according to the situation. For example, clothing which might be considered modest at the beach would likely be immodest in a church setting.

Social and Cultural Significance of Clothing

Societies vary in their cultural values and perceptions, so issues of clothing and their importance have to be discussed within the purview of the various societies in which clothing is used.

To meet sociocultural needs, clothing is used by the individual to be recognised as a member of a social group, to occupy a position within the group, and to experience social acceptance (Marshall et al., (2004). Clothing and adornment practices communicate a culture's components as well as the uniqueness of each culture. Despite the existence of several cultures around the world, Marshall et al. (2012) acknowledged some similarities which exist in all cultures. These include a natural environment, a primary means of subsistence, a system of kinship, a set of rules of conduct, raw materials, tools and technology, social organisation, and a shared aesthetic system (Marshall et al., (2012). These components influence to different extents.

Levi-Strauss (1963) described the body as a surface waiting for the imprinting of culture: "The purpose of Maori tattooings is not only to imprint a drawing onto the flesh but also to stamp onto the mind all the traditions and philosophy of the group" (p. 257). Douglas (1966) described the body as a boundary that can be used metaphorically to describe other socially significant classificatory systems. Turner (1995) used the term "social skin" in discussing how Kayapo culture was constructed and expressed through individual bodies. He noted that Kayapo body modifications, especially as performed in life-cycle rituals and everyday life, are part of the process of social production, creating a

relationship between Kayapo subjects and the world in which they live. Body adornments are, therefore, of significance in societies in portraying various cultural components of a society.

Clothing as a means of social status and economic position identification

Social status is a social reward that affects the incentive structure facing individuals and both quantity and quality of possessions are indicators of economic position (Marshall et al., (2004). The display of status through one's adornment appears to be universal and may involve the display of wealth, demonstration of prowess or display of achievement (Kaiser, 1985).

Clothing is also used to indicate social status, power distance and prestige (Anspach, 1967). People frequently judge other peoples' social worth and status according to what the latter wear (Kawamura, 2005). Similarly people care about their prestige or the respect that they are accorded by individuals they interact with (Inglessis, 2008). Clothing can portray an individual's status in the production or economic system of a given society by reflecting his or her occupational role (Inglessis, 2008). Again in societies where divisions of caste or class are well defined, exclusive adornment can be used to indicate, for example, the social worth of the elite (Roach & Eicher, 1979).

Very often economic and social statuses become the basis for clothing selection (Marshall et al., 2004). The common view is that the wealthy have money; hence, the resources to acquire any wardrobe they choose, while those belonging to lower incomes and hence lower status have less money for clothing.

The concept of 'conspicuous consumption' was first introduced by Veblen in 1899. Veblen (1998) argued that individuals often consume highly attention-getting goods and services in order to show their wealth, thereby achieve higher social status. According to Veblen (1998, p. 36), 'In order to hold the esteem of men, it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth and power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence'. In clothing use, however, lower income people who desire to appear prosperous may spend a substantial amount of their income on clothes. Veblen distinguishes 'pecuniary emulation' where an individual from a lower class consumes conspicuously to imitate a member of the upper class as different from 'invidious comparison' where an individual from a higher class consumes conspicuously to distinguish himself from an individual from a lower class. These concepts also differentiate between achieved roles and ascribed roles. In addition, mass production of clothing has increased the volume of clothing in the market place, yielding a wider selection of imitation fabrics and clothing (Marshall et al., 2004) therefore making it difficult sometimes to use clothing as a status symbol.

Status involves a person's position in a social hierarchy. Status symbolism is, therefore, socially constructed and negotiated between wearers and perceivers (Kaiser, 1997). According to Rigdeway and Correll (2006), status distinctions are important in a society because, as Weber (1968) pointed out, they are lines along which inequality in social relations are organised. Status is a form of inequality based on differences in social esteem and respect that, in turn, yield influence. As Weber (1968) emphasised, status can be understood as an evaluative ranking between social groups in which one group (e.g., kings) is held in the culture to be

more socially significant and worthy of respect than is another (commoners). Status can also be seen as an evaluative hierarchy among individuals in which one person is more respected, deferred to and is influential than the other (Goffman, 1967).

Status beliefs have three distinctive qualities that are useful to keep in mind when considering how they are created (Inglesiss, 2008). First, status beliefs differ from simple in-group favouritisms that are the typical reactions to the recognition of social difference (Brewer & Brown, 1998). In forming status beliefs, both those advantaged and those disadvantaged by the status belief accept it, as a matter of social reality, that the advantaged group is more respected and seen as generally more competent than the disadvantaged group (Inglesiss, 2008).

Second, when people form a status belief, they form a generalization about specific individuals, and the status worthiness and competence of people who share specific distinguishing characteristics with those individuals (Inglesiss, 2008). In this sense, status beliefs are stereotypes and form part of the cultural stereotypes of the groups involved (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002).

Third, status beliefs are a type of social reputation (Inglesiss, 2008). For this reason, status beliefs are necessarily beliefs about what a group does or would think about the status worthiness and competence of one group compared to another. They are assumptions about the beliefs or perspective of the other in society (Inglesiss, 2008).

Clothing, like any social phenomenon, cannot be analyzed in isolation or in terms of only one set of social relations, as it is intimately part of the total status

system, (Kuper, 1973). Status characteristics such as clothing tend to lead to differences in expectations of wearers' behaviour and identities, resulting in diverse levels of prestige (Greentstein & Knottnerus, 1980) in the absence of other explicit cues relevant to a person's attributes.

Prestige is the evaluation of a person's position in a status hierarchy (Kaiser, 1985). Such an evaluation may involve social recognition, respect or admiration, if the observed person is considered to have a relatively high position on a status hierarchy. Whereas status is the position on a continuum of social honour, prestige involves the evaluations made of a person based upon others' perceptions of this position (Kaiser, 1997) hence prestige may be viewed as an estimation of a person's worth (Marshall et al., 2012). Since prestige is largely a perception, the importance of a clothing symbol rendering prestige is how a wearer and a perceiver assign meaning to a particular symbol (Kaiser, 1997).

In order for prestige to be present, at least two persons must be involved: one to claim the prestige and one to honour it using mutual symbolic meaning (Kaiser, 1985). Although prestige is frequently thought of in economic terms, there are other forms of prestige that are influenced by a person's abilities (Kaiser, 1985). For example, an ex-soldier's medal of honour may afford prestige despite the relative lack of economic symbolism. There are different types of clothing used in kingship in Ghana and recognition of the significance by both locals and outsiders of the culture will be enhanced in honouring Ghanaian kings.

Privilege is the social distribution of goods and services, so that the individuals in a particular social hierarchy receive those advantages and

deprivations associated with their stratum (Kaiser, 1985). These components may be economic or social in nature. Certain systems of stratification have clothing symbols of privilege associated with the higher ranks, either through badges or emblems of honour, as in the military.

Power refers to the ability of individuals to exert their will on members of a lower stratum (Kaiser, 1985). The author noted that power seems to be a form of intimidation and is shown in clothing in various ways. Power distance is “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 28). This means that the level of inequality is influenced by followers as much as leaders. There is inequality in all societies but stronger in some societies than in others (Hofstede & Usunier, 1996). When power is legitimate, and consistent with the rules of the organization or society, it becomes an acceptable norm of authority for that social system. In traditional societies, power is legitimate and consistent with societal rules.

By virtue of the positions of traditional rulers, they are of the highest social class culturally. In most traditional Ghanaian societies kingship is ascribed, not achieved so it is not everyone who can become a king.

Clothing and extension of self

The theory of extension of the bodily self implies that people dress to enhance their ego while the role that a person assumes in life determines the clothes used. Acquisitive wants are humans' need to express themselves through objects and material possessions they consume (Kaiser, 1985) and are the most

obvious means of conspicuous consumption. Furthermore, clothes as a part of the extended self-serve to increase self-esteem (Kretch, Crutchfield, & Ballachey, 1962). People dress to enhance their ego. First, clothing may increase the apparent size of the body and hence render a sense of power to individuals. The Hausa Emirs of Northern Nigeria wear as many as twelve embroidered robes, with one on top of the other to show their economic positions and enhance their ego (Perani & Wolff, 1992).

Another purpose associated with clothing and extension of the bodily self is to increase or change one's sense of movement. Pokornowski et al. (1985) asserted that wearing of clothing includes the processes and specific gestures which must accompany the articles of clothing. Clothing changes one's poise and movement by its weight or nature, as is seen in the wearing of very high heeled shoes.

Clothing as a factor in collective behaviour

The concept of collective behaviour refers to the characteristics of groups of people. It entails relatively unstructured patterns of behaviour by a group responding to common symbols in the environment (Kaiser, 1985). Although culture is a relatively abstract concept, it has tangible forms. Clothing, including all forms of personal adornment, are symbolic of societies and cultures (Marshall et al., 2012). Some aspects of collective behaviour related to clothing are ethnicity, rituals and religious practices.

Clothing and ethnicity

Ethnicity is a unique cultural construct that involves shared values, beliefs, customs and norms (Eicher, Evenson & Lutz, 2000). Items of dress and adornment are some of the necessary components used to define one's ethnic identity (Marshall et al., 2004).

People from different parts of the world have different national or traditional dresses with which they can be identified, even when outside their own country. O'Neal (1998) interviewed African-American men and women who had integrated cultural dress into their professional wardrobes. The author observed that the garments revealed not only a collective, cultural consciousness about their place of origin, but they also showed their current place of abode.

Clothing and rituals

A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests' (Turner 1973, p.1100). Rituals are accompanied by symbols which are words, gestures, pictures, or objects (ways of greetings, paying respect to others, religious and social ceremonies, etc.) that carry a particular meaning which is only recognized by those who share a particular culture (Fortes, 1968). Clothing is one of the symbols of importance in rituals. Fortes (1962), in describing the role of rituals to society, cited the function of rituals as being important in social structure. He argued that social roles must be distinguished from personal obligations. Rituals are performed in an attempt to confine the occult (Fortes, 1967) to bind it and use it

distinguish themselves by the clothes they wear. Clothing in religion, is therefore, used to define a religious group, occasion, status within the system and mood.

Clothing in Communication

Using clothing in communication involves a wearer and a perceiver, thus, clothing has been called a silent language because it has symbols, signs, icons or cues that are used as tools for social interaction. This form of nonverbal communication provides information about individuals to others on the status of the wearer (Marshall et al., 2004). Due to the non-discursive nature of clothing and the fact that it has to be looked at within a particular context, usually cultural, it tends to be misunderstood or misinterpreted.

There is an experiential dimension to the power of clothing, both in its wearing and viewing (O'Connor, 2005). Since clothes are very malleable, they are shaped to portray a desired appearance (Hansen, 2004). Experiences with clothes are determined by how onlookers evaluate the appearances wearers consciously manage, and these experience are in turn influenced by the context and backgrounds of the wearers and onlookers (Woodward, 2005).

Clothing is a language and is, therefore, systematically organized like one. Similar to the linguistic code, clothing and fashion have literal meaning, and implied meaning (Barnard, 1996). McCracken (1988) however argues that clothing is fundamentally a closed code and does not possess the freedom that language uses for expression. This is because, clothing, being material culture is

limited in its expressive range. Finally, clothing styles and elements do not offer a dependable interpretative system of rules for interpretation (Inglessis, 2008).

Regardless of the differences between the clothing code and the linguistic code, it is clear that clothing exhibits some amount of sign conventions (Inglessis, 2008). For example, elements such as angular or curvilinear design can be related to masculinity or femininity respectively (Davis, 1992) and dark colours in Ghana are culturally linked to bereavement while light colours are usually linked to joyous occasions. However, only costumes or uniforms convey unequivocal interpretation (Calefato, 2004; Hoffmann, 1984).

An important aspect of the clothing symbol is that it is context-dependent. Thus the meaning associated with the combination of elements or the use of a particular style depends upon the wearer, the occasion, and the location (Davis, 1992; Tseelon, 2001). This suggests that clothing symbols cannot be interpreted without context. It is therefore necessary to take into account the physical surroundings of the wearer and the cultural environment (DeLong, 1987). Also, the meanings given to various styles, appearances or trends vary between social groups. In semiotic terms, the clothing code shows high social variability in the signifier-signified relationship (Davis, 1992). Even if a type of dress materially (signifier) is the same for everyone, the meaning (signified) may be different for different social groups (Barnard, 1996; Davis, 1992). McCracken (1988) added that meaning is also affected by cultural principles. Symbols are, however, constantly created and they need to be interpreted (Inglessis, 2008).

Clothing becomes symbolic only when it supplies information to perceivers about wearers in social situations (Kaiser, 1985). However, people may have difficulty interpreting symbolism of clothing due to their lack of understanding of the cultural context (Marshall et al., 2004). The association of clothing symbols with context facilitates non-verbal communication (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2000). This is because clothing symbols assume different meanings, depending on where, when, and how the clothing is worn and who wears it.

Clothing and Culture

The study of the construction, interpretation, and diffusion of symbols should be placed into the larger framework of culture. The way people create and interpret the meaning of clothing and other tangible objects can vary from culture to culture (Kaiser, 1997; Marshall et al., 2012). Material objects substantiate cultural categories and intangible values linked to a cultural belief system (Kaiser, 1997; Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005; McCracken, 1985).

In the study of clothing, four characteristics of culture were identified by Kaiser (1985) and further explained thus. First, culture is transmitted from generation to generation. Kaiser noted that cultural transmission in terms of clothing may involve either mental artefacts, such as appearance-related stereotypes, and symbolic systems, or physical artefacts, including clothing. Secondly culture is learned. Through social change and the dynamics of social interaction, individuals learn about the acceptability of certain forms of dress in different social situations.

Third culture is shared. Common meanings are assigned to symbols. In smaller more homogeneous societies, the meanings of clothing symbols are shared due to proximity. Larger and heterogeneous societies have status groups and subcultures. Social groups and settings help to reinforce the meanings of clothing symbols. Fourth, culture is dynamic. Clothing, as part of culture and of everyday life, changes. Even in societies where there is little fashion change, there are changes in certain elements of clothing although changes, in traditional types of dress, may occur at a slower pace (Marshall et al., 2004). The first kind of culture change is invention or innovation from within the culture and the second form of culture change is through acculturation. Although the design of a particular cultural garment may not change, the textile used, due to development of technology within the culture or interaction with other cultures may change. Such transformations and adaptations are a result of changing situations.

These four characteristics apply to all cultures but there is cultural relativism, implying that there are no standards for considering one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to another. Appreciation of aesthetic patterns in clothing can provide a good starting point for overcoming ethnocentrism. Kaiser (1997) noted that the beauty of a garment may be appreciated but that does not prevent people from being judgmental when language and other cultural barriers exist. Kaiser concludes that ethnocentric feelings should be placed aside as an observer tries to understand the values and belief systems symbolised through clothing.

Theoretical Frameworks that Informed the Study

Concepts from symbolic interaction and communication have been used to explain clothing symbolism. This study looks at three main ideas that apply in explaining the clothing of the kings studied. The first is the symbolic interaction theory. The second is a conceptual model which employs the sociological and psychological or social perception approaches to demonstrate that symbols, such as clothing, can be used to communicate ideas non-verbally. The third model is the Person Perception Communication Model by Stanley as used by Marshall et al. (2004). Clothing, as an object for communicating symbolically, lends itself to the use of these three approaches. The Person perception model was found to be best suited for the current study and was therefore adapted for use.

Symbolic interaction theory

Symbolic interactionism is an area of sociology that explains individuals' attempt to understand the world they live in by developing a frame of interpretation based on the norms and values learned through human interaction (Inglessis, 2008). The theoretical basis for symbolic interactionism involves how people interact and with each other based on symbols they see and what they are familiar with. The term 'symbolic interactionism' was first used by Blumer (1969a). The theory is based mainly on the philosophy of Mead (1934). The basic idea behind this approach is that meaning is created and maintained during social interaction (Blumer, 1969b). There are three basic premises central to symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969a). The first premise is that 'human beings act

toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them' (p.2). It can be said that we act toward other people on the basis of what their appearances hold for us (Kaiser, 1997); and as people have different experiences, their interpretation of clothing might differ from one another.

The second premise of symbolic interaction is that 'the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of social interactions that one has with one's fellows (Blumer, 1969a, p.2). This implies that the objects do not have any intrinsic meanings instead, meaning arises as a process of interaction between individuals (Inglessis, 2008). Meanings of symbols are socially derived and constructed; they therefore help to explain situations where individuals do not share meanings of clothing symbols. The role of clothing becomes apparent only after understanding the elements of its symbolic system (Kaiser, 1997).

The third premise is that meanings are modified by a continuous interpretative process in which the actor interacts with himself or herself (Blumer, 1969a). The implication is that individuals may understand a certain meaning of a clothing symbol, yet they may reinterpret or alter the meaning according to a process of inner conversation along with posterior interactions (Inglessis, 2008). This means that individuals are not only influenced by images of others with whom they interact, but that they also make meaning through an internal dialogue.

According to Shibutani and Kwan (1965), the main goal of studying stratification from a symbolic interactionists perspective is to explore the meanings individuals assign to symbols of stratification as well as the effects of stratification systems upon the lives of individuals. Different cultures have

different symbols of status, and socialization processes vary among different groups so a symbol in one culture may be given a different meaning in another culture.

Clothing and symbolic interactionism

Cultural differences manifest themselves in different ways with symbols representing the most superficial aspect of culture (Hofstede, 1997) and clothing is one of the symbols with which humans interact with superficially on their first meeting.

Symbols are words, gestures, pictures, or objects that carry a particular meaning which is only recognised by those who share a particular culture (Hofstede, 1997). New symbols easily develop, old ones disappear and symbols from one group are copied by others. Symbols do not have any inherent meanings except the meaning bestowed on them by their creators and which have been learnt and understood by the people who use them. Therefore it is important to study symbols from different cultures in order to understand their intended meanings. Adornment of the body consists of the portrayal of the individual as a social actor, and encoded on the body are a wide variety of signs communicating information about such things as a person's rank, authority, ethnicity, group membership, gender, and ritual condition (Steiner, 1990). "The surface of the body," writes Turner, "as the common frontier of society, the social self, and the psycho-biological individual, becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialisation is enacted, and bodily adornment . . . becomes the language through which it is expressed" (1980, p.112).

There are everyday interactions and the corresponding clothing may provide ready-made meanings, so there is no need interpreting the symbols. The literature distinguishes between the less symbolic forms of interaction from the more symbolic ones by indicating that interpretive process are necessary for the more symbolic ones, while we respond automatically to the less symbolic ones (Marshall et al., 2012).

Dramaturgy in symbolic interaction

Dramaturgy is a sub-field of symbolic interaction (Brissett & Edgley, 1975). It draws analogy between human behaviour and drama performed in the theatre. In order to discuss dramaturgy in the perspective of clothing this section will concentrate on the act, the scene or stage, the audience and the actor separately.

Clothing and role performance in dramaturgy

The role played by any individual in any situation is the act and clothing can be used to lend credibility to performances (Kaiser, 1985). Items of clothing are, therefore, used as props to manage information conveyed to others.

Symbolic interactionists maintain that an individual's identity in a particular setting is negotiated with others. Generally, individuals tend to evaluate an interactional setting from the point of view of the degree to which conformity is demanded from others in the setting. Studies such as those done by Tharin (1981) and Wass and Eicher (1964) however, indicated that in performance, it is likely clothes will be a more important factor in people's actions on special occasions.

Clothing and settings in dramaturgy

Symbolic interactionists contend that objects or symbols have meaning only in particular situations (Kaiser, 1985). In symbolic interaction, there are two regions- the front and back- in the performance of roles. The front region is the actual stage or setting where the performance takes place (Goffman, 1959). An important aspect of this, especially in clothing, is that it is the front region of the self that is planned and carefully managed. This front stage act is further composed of appearance and manner (Kaiser, 1985). The appearance includes the clothing items that are seen during the performance and renders more credibility to the role or the act. Manner is closely related to the way the clothing is worn and how one carries oneself Pokornowski et al. (1985). At the back region or back stage, one may relax after a performance and plan other performances and there is very little concern about impression management. Although one relaxes at the back stage, it is here that the real management of clothing in terms of acquisition and maintenance occurs.

Audience in dramaturgy

Clothing as material resource is used to display regard for others. The perception of audience is crucial in the process of people evaluating themselves since people are concerned with how they appear to others (Kaiser, 1985). Impressions people have of themselves are largely based on reflected appraisals, therefore, in social interactions, impression formation and its management go together. As the self is dressed, it is simultaneously addressed, for whenever we cloth ourselves, we dress toward or address some audience whose validating

responses are essential to the establishment of the self' (Stone, 1962, pp. 101-102) in a particular role. This validation can only be meaningful when the symbols being conveyed by the clothes are understood.

Presentation of the self in dramaturgy

Roles describe positions people occupy in social relationships and they are either achieved or ascribed. The concept of self describes what a person is while a role is what a person does and clothes are effective means of learning, assuming and modifying roles (Kaiser, 1985). The author noted that in role playing, one poses to give the best of themselves to the audience. Clothing, being the first prop seen by the audience, helps to validate for them the context of the performance.

Stone (1962) explained that the initial phase of drama of symbolic interaction as the appearance process of a social interaction, during which the identification of participants is established. Different forms of adornment such as status clothes, career apparel, hairstyles, makeup and jewellery amongst others are used to portray the images that people present to others (Kaiser, 1985). Goffman (1959) referred to these forms of clothing and adornment as 'identity kits' which are symbols associated with the various roles that people play.

Clothing choices are also influenced by mental rehearsals within imagined social interactions. Wardrobe management processes go into the selection of clothes to manage impression given out (Kaiser, 1997). Impression management thus is a crucial part of self-branding. Role playing skills are vital components of an individual's actions. If the individual does not have the capacity and items needed to play a role skilfully, the performance is not judged as being credible by

the audience. Clothing functions to enhance the credibility of performance and gives the actor the confidence needed to play the role more skilfully.

Tourism and symbolic interaction

One of the popular positions of symbolic interactionism according to Amuquandoh (2009) is that the societies in which people live are composed of objects to which individuals are oriented. These objects could be physical (trees, mountains, rivers and animals); social (other people and their actions) and finally abstract (gestures, words and ideas). The nature of an object consists of its meaning to the person who has identified it as an object (Vander Zaden, 1990). The meanings therefore determine the way in which people perceive and react towards particular objects. Objects may have different meanings to people depending on the value of the objects. Amuquandoh noted that these individual meanings may exist together with common interpretations among a group and also that the meanings given to objects may change. The central concepts of symbolic interaction provide a framework for studying the attitudes and views of residents on tourism. According to Amuquandoh (2009) residents of the lake Bosomtwe basin in Ghana regard tourism as the development of tourism infrastructure and developing a community to attract tourists. One of these attractions to them was the lake Bosomtwe which is considered as sacred. Some of the sacred objects in Ghana are the clothing of kings which could serve as potential tourism objects. The sacred nature of objects calls for a negotiation with the indigenous people so that rules are not violated.

A social organisational approach (SOA) to clothing

Kaiser (1985) suggested that the basic components of theories are ideas or principles (concepts) that describe and explain social objects and their interrelationships. To Kaiser, concepts are the basic elements of social processes that help people to understand human behaviour. Concepts are, therefore, used to develop generalizations based on observations or on research findings. In addition, Kaiser noted that the context of generalizations is largely related to the level of social organization being referred to. Hence, the contextual approach is the best method to explain why particular clothing is worn on a particular occasion. This SOA to the study of clothing in Table 1 proposed by Kaiser (1985) is governed by three factors, namely the individual as a physical being, the social organization within which the individual functions, and the cultural patterns universal to all cultures.

The basis for any consideration of clothing is the biological body which provides form for coverings to be placed on. The body also exists in a social world. As human beings function within their social world, they communicate selected pieces of information about their roles and status by differences in dress and adornment. Further, universal cultural patterns influence the types and functions of dress which exist in a particular culture. Value orientations, technology, morals, ritual, symbolism and aesthetics are cultural patterns that affect the selection of a particular dress for a given occasion.

Table 1

A Social Organisational Approach to Clothing

| Context (level of Social organization) | Basic Processes | Key Concepts |
|--|---|-------------------------|
| Personal(self) | Mind | Motivation |
| | Socialisation | Body image |
| | Social Feedback | Material self |
| | Social Comparison | Roles |
| | Self-perception | Identity kits |
| | Impression management | Personality |
| Interpersonal | Symbolic Interaction | Symbol/sign |
| | Communication of identity attitudes, values and moods | Meanings |
| | Definition of the situation | Awareness |
| | Attribution | Implicit theories |
| | Attraction | Stereotypes |
| | Altruism | |
| | | |
| Group and Organisational | Group influence | Individuality |
| | Social control | Conformity Authority |
| Societal and cross cultural | Fashion change | Conspicuous consumption |
| | Fashion Diffusion | Status symbols |
| | Technological development | Material culture |
| | Mass communication | Technological patterns |
| | Social stratification | Ritualistic patterns |
| | Innovation | Aesthetic patterns |
| | Acculturation | Moral patterns |
| | | Ethnocentrism |

Source: Kaiser (1985)

From the perspective of Kaiser (1985), the primary focus of social psychology of clothing is the interpersonal processes that influence non-verbal communication through artefacts of societies. Since societies are not the same, processes such as fashion change, technological development, mass communication, social stratification, innovation and acculturation, which vary in different societies, should not be overlooked. These processes are influenced by the concepts of conspicuous consumption, status symbols, material culture, technological, ritualistic, aesthetic and moral patterns, and ethnocentrism.

Person perception communication model

The study adopts the Person Perception Communication Model, shown in Figure 1, which was developed by Stanley (1986) and can be used to explain the communicative behaviour of clothing. This model unlike the first two conceptual models brings out the relationship between the wearer and the perceiver and the relationships between them while they communicate. The model is made of four components namely an environment, a sender, a receiver and a social context.

The environment, according to Marshall et al. (2012) refers to the physical technological, aesthetic and cultural aspects of the community that influence the individual. The sender is the person wearing the clothing and the receiver is the perceiver. The sender and the perceiver have three aspects, which are intrapersonal and interpersonal developments and socialisation processes of the individual that influence the sending and receiving of messages.

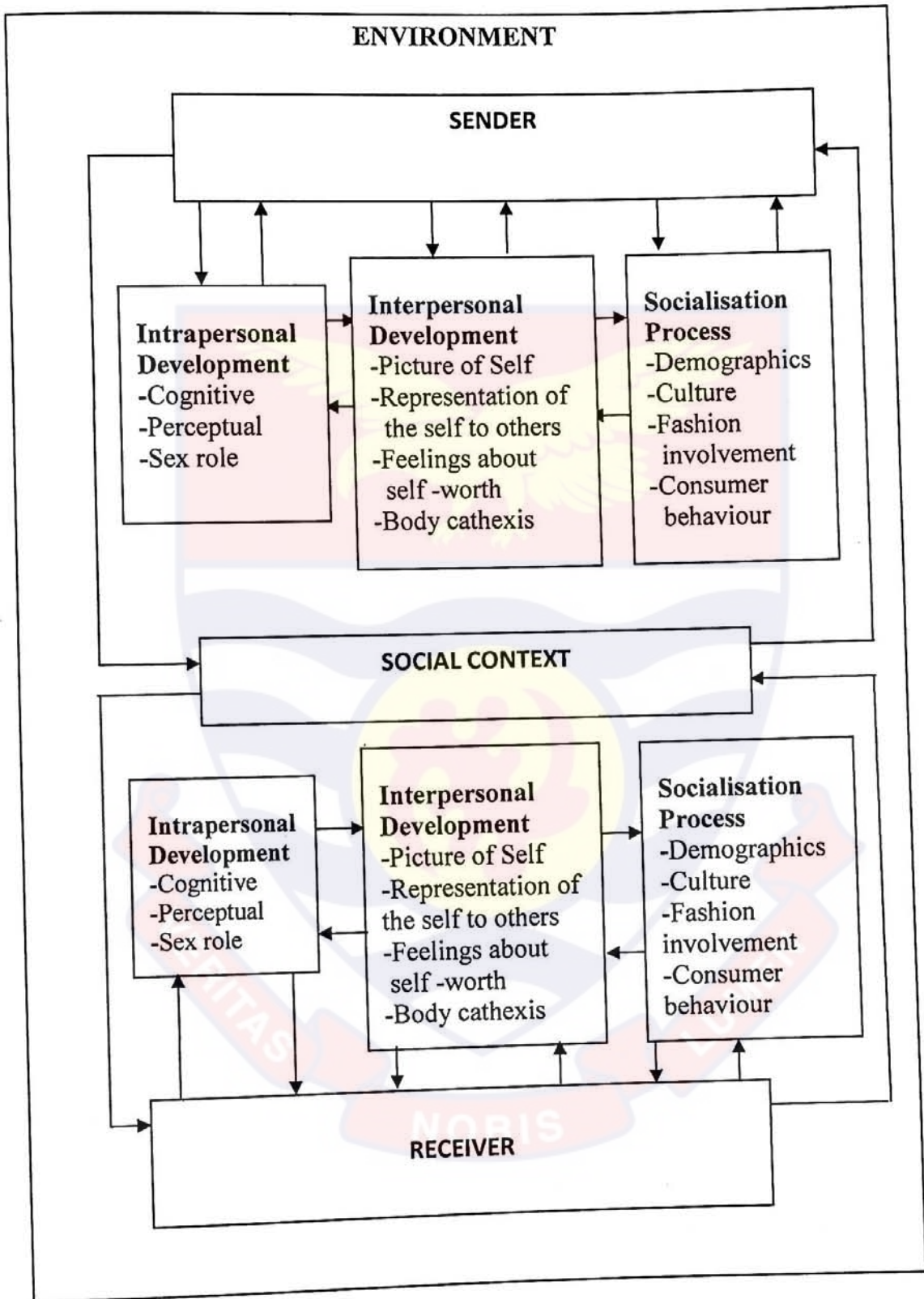


Figure 1: A person perception communication model

Source: Stanley (1986)

Marshall et al. (2012) explained that at the intrapersonal level the key concepts are cognitive, perceptual, and sex role developments. The authors said that cognitive development is the ability to think critically and analytically while perceptual development is the ability to adapt to one's environment. Sex role development entails learned gender roles set by one's culture.

The elements for interpersonal development consist of picture of the self, presentation of the self to others, self-worth, feelings about self-worth, and body cathexis as concepts (Sontag & Schlater, 1982). A picture of the self involves the individual's physical, mental and material characteristics that include clothing. Presentation of the self to others is on-going behaviour that is used to show one's identity, values and attitudes while clothing is used to portray the image one desires.

The socialisation factors are the demographic and lifestyle aspects of a person that influence his or her consumer behaviour. The social context component brings together situations and motives involved in nonverbal communication and the sending and receiving of messages. Marshall et al. (2012) gave examples of social contexts as physical setting, emotional climate, purpose of the communication, interpersonal relationships among participants, social status, and power.

Strengths and weaknesses of the framework adopted

The proposed framework is quite flexible and, therefore, could be employed to study symbolism of the clothing of kings in Ghana since it incorporates the

basic components of communication. Clothing in the model is the silent language that takes the form of symbols used by individuals as tools for social interaction (Marshall et al., 2004). Clothing symbols express ideas, thoughts or opinions; they provide information to onlookers. Clothing symbols are, however, not static. They assume meanings depending on where, when and how the clothing are worn and who wears them. The model works in line with the dramaturgy approach of symbolic interaction. The sender in an environment (geographical and ethnic area) uses clothing as a prop in a particular social context (festival, installation, outdoor and mortuary rites) to communicate with the receiver. The advantage of this model is that it puts all the components and concepts within a communication paradigm, which is the focus of this study.

The framework, however, has some weaknesses. Although the model is appropriate for explaining clothing as an object for communicating non-verbally, it does not provide for its use in tourism. The model also does not address the fact that there could be cultural noise in the communication process which needs to be overcome for effective communication to take place. Even then it is the most suitable to be adapted for the present study.

Summary

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first part is a review of literature that explains the social and psychological basis of clothing. The second section concentrated on the conceptual underpinnings of the study. Clothing as a second skin serves the purposes of covering nakedness, protection and decoration

of the body. These purposes are not mutually exclusive but may vary according to the culture and the situation.

The social and psychological significance of clothing considers the relationship between clothing on one hand and economic position and social status identification on the other. Economic positions tend to influence the quality especially and quantity of clothing owned by people. Items of clothing are used to indicate social status, power distance, and prestige.

For clothing to serve the purposes outlined above, it has to be in a position to communicate. Clothing communicates meanings that go beyond material characteristics. As communication in clothing involves a wearer and a perceiver, clothing has been called a silent language because it has symbols, signs, icons or cues that are used as tools for social interaction and these signs and symbols must be understood by both the wearer and the receiver for meaningful communication to take place.

The other section of this chapter concentrated on the conceptual issues that are of importance to this study. The theory of symbolic interaction as it relates to clothing was the first to be addressed. This theory emphasises the fact that humans interact through symbols. The dramaturgical aspect of symbolic interaction is emphasised. In dramaturgy, human interactions are seen as stage plays or drama and clothing is used as props to lend credibility to the various roles played in the drama of life. Since symbols have no implicit meanings symbolic interactionists emphasise context to put the clothing and its meaning in its proper light.

The contextual approach to the study of clothing, proposed by Kaiser, (1985), also emphasises the fact that clothing should be looked at within the context it is used. Human organisations are at the personal, interpersonal and group levels and clothing use is influenced by these levels and by different processes and concepts. These processes and concepts have to be used to explain the symbolism of clothing at the various levels of social organisation.

Finally, the person perception communication model emphasises the role of clothing in communication within a particular environment and within various contexts in the environment. The receiver and the sender of the messages embedded in clothing are influenced by intrapersonal and interpersonal developments and a socialisation process.

In conclusion the idea of meaning explored in this research refers to clothing as a signifying system by which humans understand and communicate their experience of the world. Items of clothing are visible components used to differentiate and identify ourselves and others. For this reason, the study of values, attitudes and beliefs related to clothing is a powerful instrument for understanding human behaviour. Further, items of clothing are manifestations of individual, social, and cultural processes. Clothing conveys the meaning of these processes through symbolic communication. However, the language of clothing varies according to different cultural and social norms. These values and norms are typically constructed, learned, and diffused through social interaction. The meaning of clothing through symbolic communication needs interpretation for tourism use.

CHAPTER THREE

CULTURAL TOURISM AND ITS INTERPRETATION

Introduction

The desire of humans to see the original culture of different parts of the world is one of the pillars of the tourism industry. In domestic tourism cultural heritage enhances the pride of national history; while in international tourism the cultural heritage stimulates respect for, and understanding of other cultures and as a result furthers peace and mutual understanding (WTO, 2001). Thus, cultural tourism includes the acquisition of knowledge about peoples of contemporary societies, observed through crafts, religion, language, tradition, food and dress.

One of the aims of this study is to explore how the symbolism of clothing used by three selected kings can be used in cultural tourism promotion. This chapter focuses on literature that puts the study in the perspective of cultural tourism and its interpretation. Areas of literature covered include the meaning of cultural tourism, its importance, background of cultural tourism, dimensions of cultural tourism in Ghana and the current situation of cultural tourism in Ghana. Finally the literature reviewed concerned interpretation, its use in cultural tourism and media for cultural heritage interpretation.

Cultural Tourism Defined

Providing one definition for cultural tourism is difficult because there are almost as many definitions of cultural tourism as there are cultural tourists. (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). The Dictionary of Travel, Tourism and

Hospitality Terms (DTTHT) noted that cultural tourism is a general term that refers to leisure travel motivated by one or more aspects of the culture of a particular area (Medlik, 1996). ICOMOS describes cultural tourism as that movement which involves people in the exploration or the experience of the diverse ways of life of other people, reflecting all the social customs, religious traditions, or intellectual ideas of their cultural heritage. (ICOMOS Charter for Cultural Tourism, Draft April 1997).

Csapó (2012) highlighted the approach of the United Nations World Travel Organisation (UNWTO) which provides two perspectives of the definition of cultural tourism as follows:

- All movements of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters. (broad definition).
- Movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments. (narrow definition). (UNWTO cited in Csapo, p. 205).

Ghana's Ministry of Tourism's (MoT) (2006), policy document defined tourism as 'the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure business and other purposes' (p. 2). MoT (2006) further defined cultural tourism as "Travel to places for purposes of observing and participating in cultural aspects

of interest to the visitor and may include the customs and traditions of people, their heritage, history and way of life” (p. 2).

Although there are several definitions they all point to the notion of tourists travelling to other places to get acquainted with new cultures that are unique to the visited destination.

Background of Cultural Tourism

Immediately after World War II, western economic planners of the world identified tourism as a beneficial, clean industry (Day, 2004), where there will lots of jobs and very little pollution (Nicholson-Lord, 1997). Tourism was expected to lead to world peace and worldwide understanding among different peoples (Nicholson-Lord, 1997) with the expected benefit of tourism’s sustainability (Blangy, 1999).

The history and growth of contemporary tourism is intertwined with the Industrial Revolution and the continued growth of technological advancements. Finger (1991) is of the view that the Industrial Revolution helped establish tourism as an industry. Technological advances increased the availability of comfortable and affordable transportation such as trains and ships. Later, the automobile revolutionised travel opportunities and also changed the landscape with the addition of billboards, motels, and diners (Finger, 1991). More people had more money for leisure. New businesses required workers and physical expansion which led to migration. Family members moving to other regions encouraged visitations. Hotels, inns, boarding houses, restaurants, taverns, and points of interest became a part of the expansion. The Industrial Revolution

institutionalized the tourist industry, post WWII expanded it, and the computer has virtualized it (Ballengee-Morris, 2002). Apostolopoulos (1996) has noted that the tourism industry has had much more impact on so many aspects of society than any other contemporary industry.

Many countries try to lure tourists with art, museums, entertainment, recreation, food, clothing, and language specifically offered, altered, or tailored for the tourist industry (Bellangee-Morris, 2002). Many places market historical events/places by offering heritage programming such as re-enactments, concerts, and arts for families (Adams, 1995). Cultural tourism hinges on traditions, heritage and history. Its major characteristics are its availability all the year round, uniqueness to cultures and ability to be sustainable (Filipova, 2008).

There are three basic components of tourism which are also known as three A's of tourism. These are accessibility, accommodation and attraction. Accessibility is how easy it is to reach the place or destination. It relates to how regular, comfortable, economical and safely the transportation is. Accommodation is concerned with boarding and lodging. Attraction means anything that makes the tourist desire to travel to a specific destination and is considered the most important basic component of all the three since it is the basic reason for any tourist's travel.

There are also elements of tourism which are the ingredients of tourism that attract tourists. These ingredients include pleasing weather, scenic attractions, historical and cultural factors, accessibility, amenities, accommodation, safety and security plus other factors such as escort facilities, health care facilities,

electricity, water, and good/effective communication system.

Importance of Cultural Tourism

Culture as an activity and as a heritage has become a resource for establishing local, national and regional identities and cultural variety. Filipova (2008) has pointed out that radical transformation of the role of culture in modern economy and society, has led to the cultural sector being increasingly seen as a bridge between social and economic spheres of life in which cultural tourism constitutes one of the most successful and dynamic fields.

Cultural tourism helps in preservation and maintaining monuments of cultural importance. It provides revenues for the development and preservation of arts and crafts. The general belief is that cultural tourism is one of the major industries that are contributing to conflict prevention, respect and tolerance for alien cultures and tolerance among people (Day, 2004; Filipova, 2008).

The base on which cultural tourism is developed is the potential of cultural heritage in all its aspects – tangible and intangible – of the respective region or country. UNESCO distinguishes cultural tourism among all other forms of tourism for the fact that it “renders account of the other peoples’ culture” World Tourism Organisation (WTO) specified that:

...the will, intrinsic to all humanity to see and get familiar with the cultural originality of the different parts of the world has become one of the posts of tourism industry. In domestic tourism the cultural heritage enhances the national pride of the national history. In

international tourism the cultural heritage stimulates the respect for and understanding of other cultures and as a result furthers the peace and mutual understanding (2001, p.3).

By definition, cultural tourism activities are mainly based upon notions of culture and heritage. Festivals, ceremonies and performances, have become important attractions at various destinations. 'There has been a notable growth both in the use of, and demand for cultural events for tourism development as tourists search for authentic and distinctive experiences' (MacCartney & Osti, 2007, p. 26). Examples of these cultural events as noted by Debes (2011) are traditional dances, theatres and rituals which have become part of the authenticity reflected by destinations.

According to Fillipova (2008) Cultural tourism offers aesthetic experience, spiritual enrichment, and elated attitude to the cultural-historic heritage of the world. Fillipova asserted that cultural tourism also provides an opportunity for direct communication between people, for understanding and respect for the other culture. To Fillipova, cultural tourism is a resource of huge economic potential and it solves a number of economic and social problems in regard to the employment, preservation and maintenance of monuments of culture. Practically cultural tourism is a source of extra-budgetary resources, a tool of sustainable development, and a safe and reliable way to improve the social status of population. Many international documents state that cultural tourism is one of the major factors contributing to the prevention of conflicts and

intolerance, to the habituation of respect and tolerance for the alien cultures (Fillipova, 2008).

Heritage can be used to create cultural and historical distinctiveness, and then used to portray a place and its people as unique. Bajc (2006) noted the importance of organising collective memory and its institutionalisation within the tourism industry, as one key aspect of tourism promotion by the locals in lasting ways. Collective memories and the sites at which they are rooted, however, are very often sources of contention, power struggles and competing interests (Bajc, 2006) between interested parties such as national governments and local entities. Memories can be abused, repressed, made forgotten, misinterpreted, ignored, or otherwise left outside the transmission practices of the tourism industry (Bajc, 2006). Bajc concluded that the world should pay closer attention to how heritage tourism creates knowledge, based on experiencing the past, how this practice helps to articulate historical consciousness through time. Clothing practices abound in Ghana some which represents collective memories of cultures. This culture can then be preserved through collective memory for use in tourism. The current research contributes to this memory.

Situation of Cultural Tourism in Ghana

Addo (2011b) while presenting a historical background to tourism in Ghana commented on the availability, abundance and diverse natural and cultural resources for tourism development; but the tourism industry did not receive significant political attention until the 1990s. The first indication of government

interest in tourism was a feasibility study in 1970 on the development of tourist attractions for a five-year (1972-1976) development plan. On the other hand evaluations of Ghana's tourism potential by organisations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the United States International Executive Services Corps in the mid 1970s indicated that Ghana had great potential for tourism development (Addo, 2011b).

In 1973 the GTB was established and charged with the responsibility of regulating tourism enterprises such as accommodation, catering, travel, transport, and charter operations through registration, inspection, licensing, classification, and enforcement of decisions. GTB was charged with the responsibility to promote and market tourism in Ghana and abroad, to conduct studies and research domestically and internationally, into trends in the tourism industry to aid decision and policymaking, to promote the development of tourist facilities, and to carry out any other functions conferred on it by the legislature (GTB, 1998).

In 1993 the Ministry of Tourism was established to formulate policies and plan the development and promotion of tourism holistically. In 1995 MoT with assistance from UNDP and the World Tourism Organisation (WTO, now UNWTO), prepared a 15-year Tourism Development Plan (1996-2010) to stimulate growth and development of the tourism industry.

Implementation of the 15-year (1996-2010) tourism development plan led the tourism industry in Ghana to become the fourth largest foreign exchange earner, ranking behind mineral exports, cocoa exports, and remittances from

abroad. Building on the success of the first 15-Year National Tourism Development Plan, the Ministry of Tourism with financial and technical support from UNDP, UNECA and UNWTO, has come up with a successor National Tourism Development Plan (2013-2027) to provide stakeholders a guide to the long-term development of the tourism sector. This plan took into consideration the successes and challenges of the sector, as well as competition from other sectors and countries.

This 15-Year National Tourism Development Plan (2013-2027) assesses how tourism can contribute to national and local economic developments. The plan has, therefore, been prepared with the aim of positioning tourism in the national development agenda, as well as achieving the core objectives of the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Ghana's MoT has listed an array of cultural resources in its policy document of 2006, which can be used to the advantage of cultural tourism. Among these resources are cultural heritage, historical heritage and natural environmental heritage. The same document advised that the key to success of this diversity of potential attractions of tourists is their proper development and management. The main goal for a tourism policy in the development of Ghana is

... an internationally competitive and high quality destination where the tourism industry, besides producing macro-economic benefits, explicitly contributes to poverty reduction and conservation of the

country's cultural, historical and environmental heritage (MoT 2006, p. 8).

In a comparative analysis of Ghana and some other African countries, MoT (2012) reported that most of the source markets see Africa as a continent, not as individual and separate countries and destinations. As such The National Tourism development plan (2013 -2020) of Ghana noted the main motivators in Africa as the game parks, cultures and rest and relaxation either at the end of the tour or as the main component of the holiday that will be then supplemented with visits to natural areas. The document noted Ghana's inability to compete well on tangible resources. Ghana however competes with cultural resources, especially intangible ones, and the wide variety of experiences it is able to offer. Some of these intangible resources are in cultural symbols including clothing.

The culture of Ghana is a very important part of its appeal and character as a tourism destination (MoT, 2012). The range of culture represented in Ghana includes: festivals and funerals; traditional crafts and contemporary arts; music and dance; as well as the core cultural beliefs and practices. These are, generally, not tangible assets and resources, but aspects of Ghana life that permeate every part of the country and every tourist destination. They should be nurtured and remain as a crucial part of the cultural appeal of Ghana as a tourist destination.

Ghanaian traditional rulers are very proud of their regalia. These treasures remind the traditional ruler of his responsibilities to his people and predecessors, and the powers entrusted to him by the ancestors. According to Kankpeyeng and DeCorse (2004) these regalia and ritual objects are stored at various palaces. In

addition, many sacred groves are maintained because of the beliefs attached to them and for their continuing role in customary festivals and rituals (Kankpeyeng & DeCorse, 2004). The authors explained how these indigenous values sometimes prevent the destruction of cultural resources. These regalia can, therefore, be harnessed for tourism promotion.

Role and Interpretation of Cultural Tourism

In cultural tourism most of resources, tangible and intangible, exist within a cultural context. Cultural tourists want to know and sometimes understand the cultural significance and the stories associated with their final destinations. Some of these resources need documentation and interpretation to be successfully communicated to visitors since most cultural resources have traditional bases which may not be understood by all tourists. Every tourism destination has its own story. It is, however, the interpretation and presentation of these stories an attractive manner that makes a tourism location.

The main objective of interpretation is to assist visitors in developing a keener awareness, appreciation and understanding of the areas they are visiting. Interpretation is a means of tourism management aimed at explaining to visitors and tourists the importance of various natural and cultural attractions at a destination so as to spur comprehension, positive impression, admiration, and to raise consciousness on responsible behaviour in the function of local heritage preservation (Rabotic, 2010, p.1161). From the foregoing it can be concluded that interpretation concerns all attempts to make the tourism experience most

meaningful to tourists. In so doing, at the end of his experience, the tourist would not have only seen sights and heard sounds but would also have understood the basis of those sights and sounds, thereby enhancing his knowledge of the place and its culture in a positive manner.

The reasons for tourists' visits include cultural appreciation, education, entertainment and social interaction (Puczko, 2006). Rabotic (2010) has said that in today's international tourism industry, it is possible that, without the role of mediators, existing destination resources may remain either unavailable to visitors or not properly understood and valued by tourists. Interpretation in tourism is used to brand a given destination and also provides the community with the opportunity of defining its image. Pearce (2005) emphasised the importance of interpretation as tourists interact with destinations. The author provides an example of a local site in Australia (Kimberleys) as follows:

By itself, the attraction and the setting are at best not compelling, less kindly, it is a depressing wasteland. But an enthusiastic presentation that identifies the site as the conclusion of the longest stock drives in the world and relates it to the pioneering history of the Kimberleys rich social drama, transforms the ordinary into the notable (Pearce, 2005, pp.11-12).

Interpretation is therefore not just a presentation of facts, but rather the putting together of information in such a way that the tourist will feel fulfilled by the end of his visit and would probably recommend the resource as a worthwhile place to visit. The social and cultural symbols in common objects are often taken

for granted (Ooi, 2001a) although regular objects could be culturally meaningful.

Dant (1999) observed that:

We do come across objects that we do not recognise. These are the things that we cannot name, could not use and cannot make sense of; very new things, very old things or things that come from other cultures. These strange things are usually put on display in demonstrations, museums or exhibitions where they are treated as mediators of past, future or distant cultures and their meanings are 'translated', their messages decoded by historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and technologists, often through the medium of accompanying texts (pp. 153-154).

The help of interpreters is needed to decode the cultural meanings of apparently obscure objects (Ooi, 2001a). Cultural meanings, their decoding and unlocking, have become important aspects of cultural tourism. Firstly cultural meanings bring life into ordinary objects and sights, and make interesting tourist products. For example, around Singapore's Little India, the commonly found desiccated shaved coconut was presented as a tourist cultural product when according to Ooi (2001a), the tour guide took a coconut, pointed to the three spots on the coconut, which formed an equilateral triangle, and told tourists the spots were the "eyes of evil" in Hinduism. Ooi noted how the comments of the tour guide effectively decoded the religious significance behind the otherwise ordinary coconut to many innocent non-Hindu tourists. The tour guide's explanation transformed the fruit into an object of tourist curiosity. Ghanaian kings' cultural

articles of clothing could be used as tourists' attractions through collaboration with their custodians.

Secondly, destinations are culturally diverse and complex hence cultural tourists can easily walk along misunderstanding, ignoring or not even noticing many cultural aspects of destinations or tourism products. Tourists rely on travel information guides, tourist information offices, tour guides and friendly locals to help them move around, notice interesting cultural manifestations and make sense of destinations. These cultural mediators need information that can help in interpretation to make tourists' visits worth their while. The articles of clothing of Ghanaian kings need to be studied to bring out their significance. This knowledge can then be used by interpreters to draw attentions to the articles of clothing of the kings.

The competitiveness of a destination is affected by its affordability, variety and quality of interpretative media. It is extremely important that the entire knowledge on resources is made available to all segments of the society, including suppliers of services in tourism trained tourist guides, curators and other interpreters (Vargas, 2007). This knowledge can only be made available through research and documentation.

Tourism Promotion

Ooi (2001a) notes that tourist visits are short and tourists have little local knowledge to appreciate a destination cultures while busy enjoying leisure. A tourist trip is expected to be approached with curiosity and portray a playful

quality and tourism in its promotion promises to be fun (Urry, 1990). The pleasure is supposed to provide as freedom from daily routines and constraints, and provide something new and different. As a result, tourists are unlikely and are not expected to delve into a deep understanding of the destination cultures. The information should be readily available and framed in such a way as to attract the tourist and fulfil his expectations of entertainment and/or education.

Since tourists' visits are short, tourists have little local knowledge and their frame of mind is in the pursuit of leisure, they might not even notice local cultures (MacCannell, 1989). Cultural mediators should, therefore, be at hand to help tourists notice and interpret local cultures. These mediators select and accentuate aspects of local cultures for tourists' attention (Ooi, 2001b). The clothing of traditional rulers on special occasion can be picked by these mediators for interpretation. Cultural products should be packaged in ways to excite, attract and appeal to tourists, and that seduction process may result in the invention of products that are staged as authentic local cultures (Ooi, 2001a).

Tourism relies on cultural heritage as a source of visitor attraction and for the development of destination image (Prentice & Duncan, 1994). In turn, cultural heritage needs to be provided with meaning for acquiring its value. This meaning requires some type of teaching or knowledge transfer to visitors for their appreciation of the site (Harvey, 2001). The information on the symbolism of clothing of the three kings needs interpretation when they are used in different circumstances.

Support of Locals for Tourism Products

Symbolic interactionism is based on the premise that objects and actions have meaning for people and how people treat a particular object is a factor of the value they place on that object. The value of an object to a people therefore determine how sacred that object is and how they would want others to treat the said object.

notes tin Australia visitors continue to climb Uluru each year although the Anangu, who are the traditional aboriginal owners, are not in favour of it (James, 2007), The author noted that influx of tourists marked the beginning of a contest over control and access to this site between settler Australians, who wished to photograph and climb it, and the Anangu, to whom it is sacred. James concluded that the fact that visitors continue to climb Uluru could be seen as evidence that this site continues to symbolise a split between settler and Aboriginal Australian concepts of place and appropriate actions in relation to Uluru.

In Bali in Indonesia, Wall (1996) purports that indigenous people generally have a positive attitude towards tourism but those who are nearer the sites visited by tourists, and who have a firsthand information on the impacts of tourism generally have reservations about increase in tourism activities.

Also Schiller (2001) in looking at Pampang of Indonesia as being declared a cultural village noted that the role of Kenyah Kayaks, the indigenous people of Pampang is not well defined and this may lead to competition among the native subgroups leading to disunity.

The foregoing shows the impact of tourism on the sites and its people. It is therefore imperative to study the acceptance of the indigenous people of tourism and its products to see how to have packages that are acceptable to both the owner of the objects that are tourism products, the government and the visitors.

In traditional societies, being a king usually is a form of initiation into an exclusive position involving secrets. Most of the rites together with their meanings and importance are known only by a few thereby shrouding the kingship institution, especially its rites of passage, in secrecy. These rituals are usually accompanied by objects of which clothing is a part. To divulge any part of the secrets of a ritual will mean compromising the ritual itself.

Traditional knowledge which was unintentionally subdued by the African is now a source of knowledge available only to a privileged few. Nooter (1993) opined that the paradox of a secret is that while its content is possibly being guarded and concealed, its existence is often put on display. This is shown in the clothing used by Ghanaian kings. Therefore for an item to be used as a tourism product it is important to seek the opinion of the locals first. This current study however concentrates on the significance of the clothing items and their potential as tourism objects.

Summary

By definition, cultural tourism activities are mainly based upon notions of culture and heritage. The movement of people due to industrialisation and the need for humans to see other cultures, together with the commodification of

cultural resources has fostered the demand for cultural tourism. The result is increases in domestic and international tourism for the purpose of experiencing culture. The influence and impact of cultural tourism have aspects like enrichment, education and understanding which are enhanced by cultural mediators who add more meaning to what would have been bypassed by tourists.

Tourism development in Ghana has been ongoing since the 1960s. Even then, the industry is still in its early stages of development. The need to shift from the overreliance on exhaustible usual natural commodities brought the tourism sector into the forefront as a major economic activity with the potential to boosting Ghana's economy.

Ghana has a wide range of unique and exciting natural, cultural, and historical resources which could be developed on a competitive and sustainable basis. The clothing of Ghanaian kings is one of these sustainable cultural tangible forms which need to be developed for the tourism industry. It is however important to go into a dialogue with the custodians of the culture of the various kingdoms on the use of the clothing of kings as tourism products.

CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND OF THE ASANTES, ANLOS, AND MAMPRUSIS

Introduction

The social psychology of clothing is context-bound. It is influenced by the environment, the technological development, and social interactions of a people. This chapter concentrates on the background history of three ethnic groups whose kings are the subjects of this study. It looks at their geographical location their historical background, the evolution of their kingship systems, their religion and the effect of colonization, and democratic governance on these societies. This background is to help present the different kings studied in the context of their different subcultures within the larger culture of Ghana. The chapter ends with rituals and their importance in kingship.

History and Background of the Asantes

The Asantes are a group of people currently located in the central part of Ghana. The Asante kingdom has thirty-six traditional councils that are decentralised units of local traditional administration, headed by paramount chiefs. Together, these leaders constitute the kingdom's House of Chiefs, with the Asantehene as its president. According to Osei (2000a), the name 'Asante' is derived from the words 'war' (*esa*) and 'because' (*enti*). The groups which now constitute Asantes were different clans who came together because of wars that were initiated by others against them by their neighbours. Once they formed a

strong force, they initiated a number of wars to gain more subjects and territories to expand the Asante kingdom.

In this thesis the starting point of the Asante kingdom is where all the Asante clans came together to form a confederation with Osei Tutu I enstooled as the first king of the Asante Kingdom. Since the inception of the Asante Kingdom there have been sixteen kings. The current king, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, was enstooled on the 26th of April 1999.

The emblem of the Asante Kingdom is the porcupine (*kwɔkwɔ*) which represents martial virtues (McCaskie, 1992). This identification is derived from their belief that when the porcupine shoots out its quills in self-defense the quills are soon replaced by new ones; hence, the Asante military slogan - if you kill one thousand, one thousand more will come (*wokum apem a, apem beba*). This depicts the responsibility of the king to his people and that of the people to their king.

Creation of the Asante state

According to legend, the Asantes are among a group of people called Akans who migrated from Mesopotamia to Africa (Osei, 2000a). The first settlement of the Asantes in Ghana was somewhere in Gonjaland around the 13th century from where they moved southwards into the forest area in search of arable land (Osei, 2000a). They were moving in clans and not under a united Asante Kingdom as is known today. According to Osei (2000a) wars were prevalent and the various Asante states were defeated especially by the Denkyiras whose rule over them was its peak. They had to constantly pay tribute to the Denkyira king in the form of firewood, plantain fibre and red clay. At this juncture Nana Obiri Yeboah, the

chief of the *Oyoko* clan had a dream that the various clans should come together and form a united front to fight and free themselves from bondage.

They agreed on uniting but before this unity could be formalized Nana Obiri Yeboah died. It was at a meeting to decide who to rule that Okomfo Anokye conjured a golden stool from the heavens and it landed onto the lap of Nana Osei Tutu I to elect him as the first ruler of United Asante. The finger nails and the hair from each of the chiefs were collected and burnt to ashes. This was mixed with palm wine and drunk by all the chiefs as a sign of their commitment to the new alliance. They were informed by Okomfo Anokye that the stool contained the soul of Asante and that the portion they had drunk was a pact with the gods to forget about their individuality and forge ahead as a united front. Thus, Nana Osei Tutu I became the first king of United Asante and under his rule the Denkyiras and the Dormas were defeated.

Clans and inheritance systems of the Asante

The Asantes practice matrilineal inheritance. Each Asante belongs to one of the nine clans (*abusua*) which can be traced along his/her mother's line. The clans are *Aduana*, *Agona*, *Asinie*, *Asokore*, *Asona*, *Beretuo*, *Ekuana* and *Oyoko* (Rattray cited in McCaskie, 1995). Akwabi-Ameyaw (1982) describes the inheritance and spiritual inheritance of the Asante as follows:

The Asante believe that a person is made up of five elements; namely, *nipa dua* (physical body), *mogya* (blood), *ntoro* (kind of spiritual trait), *kra* (soul), and *sunsum* (kind of spiritual and physical trait). The

kra, which is in charge of a person's destiny, is given by the Supreme Being (*Onyankopon*) and cannot be altered, although it can and often depart temporarily from the physical body in periods of serious sickness or fright (*kra adwane*). On death, when the *kra* leaves the body permanently, it returns to either the spirit world of ancestors or to the ghost world. *Mogya*, which is passed only through females, provides the descent or link of lineage continuity in Asante. Similarly, *ntoro* is only acquired through the paternal line. The agreement of a man's *ntoro* spirit with the "blood" of a woman at coitus results in conception. A person's *sunsum*, which reflects his or her personality, character, and other unique attributes (*suban*) as an individual, is molded by the interactions of the *kra*, *mogya*, and *ntoro*. The physical body or *nipa dua* (human tree trunk) is merely a residing place for the other elements and it is discarded after death (p. 333).

It is believed that the *Oyoko* clan is the first clan to have been established and is also the clan from which Asante kings are selected.

Eligibility as an Asantehene

The election of Nana Osei Tutu I marked the beginning of the *Oyoko* clan as the royal clan from which all Asantehenes were subsequently elected. Matrilineal descent defines a royal within the ruling dynasty of Asante, the *Oyoko Kɔkɔ abusua* (McCaskie, 1995). Different studies have come up with different *ntoro* groups (Danquah, 1952; Herskovits, 1937; Owiredu 1959) among the Asante,

ranging from a total of nine to thirteen. This study provides a maximum of nine *ntoro* groups: *Bosomuru*, *Bosumpra*, *Bosumtwe*, *Bosommaran*, *Abankwadie*, *Agyinadie*, *Akankadie*, *Agyimadie*, *Nkansadie* the ones most commonly cited.

In Asante kingship, the ideal *kra* or 'complete (re)incarnation', McCaskie (1995) noted, is an individual who shared both *abusua* and *ntoro* with a distinguished (and preferably close) ancestor, and the arrangement was marked by the transmission of male names (in alternate generations, via cross-cousin marriage). Bastardy, as noted by MacCaskie (1995), is not emphasised in Asante thought. This is not the case for royals, and someone of this status who is unable to invoke his genitor is customarily disbarred from succeeding to a stool (political office). Without an acknowledged father, such a royal was an 'incomplete' person (McCaskie, 1995).

In Asante Kingship, two sub-groups of the *Bosommuru ntoro* (widely held to be the 'senior' *ntoro*) are relevant. According to McCaskie (1995), these are *Bosommuru Adufudee*, to which the first Asantehene Osei Tutu I belonged and which alternates the names 'Osei' and 'Owusu'; and *Bosommuru Asafodee*, to which his successor, Asantehene Opoku Ware I belonged, and which alternates the names 'Opoku' and 'Adu'. McCaskie (1995) noted that the Golden Stool is also known as Osei and Opoku stool. MacCaskie continued that, it might be argued that the foregoing is the constitutional ideal in which successive Asantehenes should be alternatively elected, from what has been termed the 'houses' of Osei Tutu and Opoku Ware. To make sure that a king is from the Oyoko clan and has a *bosommuru ntoro*, the arrangement is such that each ruler,

is the child of a cross cousin marriage between the son of an Asantehene and a royal of the *Oyoko Kɔkɔ abusua* although this notional prescription has been breached on a few occasions (McCaskie, 1995). In effect, differentiated patrilineal affiliations, defined by *ntoro*, provided a ready mechanism for the practices of asserting superiority - or of imputing inferiority - in relative status among the corporate royals of the *Oyoko kɔkɔ abusua* (McCaskie, 1995).

This cross cousin marriage was to guarantee that the grandson was properly fathered, and would bear his direct paternal grandfather's name, or another among the 'great names' of his paternal forebears, and would share his *ntoro*. The grandson was construed as a living perpetuation of the grandfather's patrilineal status and personality (MacCaskie, 1995). The male child from an *asewa ba* (father's sister's child) marriage was from his father's father's maternal clan, and inherited as lineage heir to his sister's son. The paternal grandchild was, therefore, a reincarnation of his paternal grandfather as a total social person. *Asewa ba* marriages, according to McCaskie (1995), produced royals as well as the bearers of the *ntoro* of a paternal grandfather who was himself an Asantehene. Males with this genealogical positioning and status were ideally preferred candidates to be Asantehene.

Traditional religion and deities of the Asante

According to Sarpong (1967), the Asantes believe in three levels of supra human entities, and venerate them. Firstly, they acknowledge a Supreme Being for whom they have specific names and attributes. Secondly, they believe in lesser

gods, who, they think, have certain powers quite beyond those of any human being. Thirdly, they believe in the spirits of the dead and in their influence over the living.

The following by Sarpong (1967), provides a description of the Supreme God, as is perceived by the Asantes. The Asante belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is evident from several facts. In the everyday language of the people, he is mentioned and implored. Statements like 'if God gives me a good morning tomorrow' (*Nyame ma ade pa kye me a*) are very frequently heard. Allusions to him are found in the ordinary wise sayings and proverbs. 'Nobody needs to show a child God' (*obi nkyer akwadaa Nyame*) is one such maxim which clearly shows how the Asante consider the knowledge of God to be an innate quality of every person, likewise, Asante art, designs and patterns made in cloths and on carvings bear names which refer to God or to his attributes. One of these is the *adinkra* symbol, 'except God' (*gye Nyame*) design that depicts the omnipotence of God. Every Asante house used to have an altar to the Supreme Being at which sacrifices were offered at frequent intervals. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Asante have a clear belief in a supreme God's existence (Sarpong, 1967).

To sum up, the Asantes apart from their belief in God, know that he is one, unique, and has several attributes. The attributes may not be exhaustive, but they are enough to enable us to conclude that the Asante idea about God is highly developed (Akrofi, 1958), and that their ideas about a supreme God are native not imported (Sarpong, 1967).

Apart from the belief in the Supreme God, Asantes also believe in minor deities. Sarpong (1967) pointed to the fact that minor deities in Asante range from the great national gods to little private deities which altogether can be grouped into four. The generic name of the first three is *abosom* while deities of the last category are called *suman*. In practice, however each Asante traditional believer is a subject to a god from each group since he or she is invariably a member of a nation, a tribe, a town, and a locality.

According to Sarpong (1967), *abosom* are spirits created by God and they have rivers, trees, rock, etc. as their abode. *Suman* are, however, the least of the super objects which are the form of an article – beads, talisman – worn on the body or hung in the house for protective purposes.

According to Sarpong (1967) the *abosom* are said to possess supernatural powers which can be accessed by humans for good or bad purposes. The *abosom* are themselves spirits, therefore invisible, but are commonly associated with visible objects of remarkable character, such as mountains, rivers, large trees or rocks or stones of peculiar appearance. Examples are to be found in the Pra river and the Tano river.

Sarpong (1967) observes that in Asante, almost all national and district deities live in natural places and objects not very close to human settlements. Besides the Tano, the Bosomtwe, the earth goddess, (*Asaaseyaa*) and the rock of Mmem (Mmem *boo*) are among the most important national *abosom* of Asante. The *abosom* lower down the hierarchy are those that are found around human settlements. They are generally seen as intermediaries for God. Through them

humans obtain favours, punishment and are also directed to observe absolutions. As a token of gratitude for their invaluable services, the gods demand worship and sacrifices (Sarpong, 1967). Sarpong noted that in sacrificing, the modern belief in giving applies: as you give, you receive in abundance.

History and Background of the Anlo Ewes

The Anlo are a subgroup of Ewes whose land is located in the south eastern corner of Ghana. The Anlo Ewe, whose home is the area surrounding the Keta Lagoon, constitute the largest Ewe political entity (Nukunya, 1994). Traditionally, Anlo land stretches along the coast from Aflao on the border with Togo to Anyanui in the Volta basin. Northwards, it extends as far as Dzodze and occupies almost the entire Keta and Avu lagoons. According to Kumassah (2004), Anlo at its inception was made up of thirty-six (36) towns. The Anlo state is governed by the Anlo Council which consists of eleven divisional chiefs, with the Awoamefia as the head. Since the inception of the Anlo State there have been sixteen kings. The current King is Awoamefia Torgbi Sri III was enstooled in February 2011.

In the Anlo State, the Awoamefia rules over people and not over the land. Therefore, usually when in the olden days they went to war, did not extend their territories to the areas they conquered. Once the war was over, they retreated to their land usually, taking only the captives. The Anlo State has therefore not expanded beyond its original area since its inception. The emblem of the Anlos is a pot on a traditional tripod stove, with only one piece of firewood burning. This

symbol goes with an appellation which translates literally as Anlo *kotsi klolo*, a single firewood can cook a huge pot of dish ('*Anlo kotsi klolo, nake tsi deka no dzome bi enu*'). This appellation implies that one Anlo man can fight to save the whole state.

Creation of the Anlo state

According to oral tradition, as documented by Kumassah (2004), the Anlos who are a sub-group of Ewes, claim their place of origin is present Iraq. After the collapse of the Tower of Babel the Ewes started their migration. They took with them their religion which was *Yewe* an apparent adulteration of the word *Yaweh*. They settled in places such as Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Mali. After the collapse of the Mali Empire the Ewes moved again, this time along the river Niger to present day Nigeria where they settled in Ile Ife in Yoruba land. It was in Yoruba land that the Ewes re-perfected the art of divination called *afa* (*ifa* in the Yoruba language), which they were apparently practicing in Iraq. When the Oyo Empire collapsed, the Ewes once again moved to Benin, formerly Dahomey. On arrival in Benin, the Ewes split into three groups. One group settled at Tado; the other group moved through Tado to Notsie and the third group, of which the Anlos were part, established the nucleus of the Dahomey kingdom, which was called Dogbonyigbo. From Dogbonyigbo, the Anlos moved to Tado, in present-day Togoland, under the leadership of Wenya, (Kamassah, 2004).

Oral history, as reported by Kumassah (2004) and Greene (1985) has it that the King of Tado, Adzasimadi, who was a friend to Torgbi Wenya had a son,

Kponoe, with Wenya's sister. Adzasimadi, however, had other children from other women. Adzasimadi is said to have designated Kponoe as his heir, but when he died, there was confusion over his succession. Kponoe, however, seized the Tado stool and gave it to his uncle Wenya. Once again, the Anlos were under threat so they moved to Notsie. In Notsie, they lived peacefully with the Notsies until confusion arose between the Anlos and a new Notsie King, Agorkoli II. This led to the maltreatment of the Anlo so they finally escaped that rule.

After their departure, the Anlos splitted into two groups. One group was led by Wenya and the other by Kponoe. Wenya went through Atiteti, Tegbi and Woe to Anloga and Kponoe went thru Anyako, Alaple then to Kodzi. From Kodzi, Kponoe moved across the lagoon to join his uncle Wenya, who was at the time old and ill, at Anloga. It was at Anloga that the old and weary Wenya is said to have declared, "I cannot move forward any longer, I have curled here (*me nlo de afisia*)" thus the name Anlo for that group of Ewes who moved under Wenya and Kponoe. The Anlos are said to have settled in their current location around late 15th century.

Anlo clans and inheritance system

The Anlos practice patrilineal inheritance. Anlo clans, which are 15, were each founded by either a single man or a group of men. Table 2 shows a list of the clans, their founders and clan responsibilities within the Anlo political system.

Table 2

Anlo Clans - their Founders and Duties

| Clan name | Founder(s) | Duties |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1 <i>Adzorvia</i> | Sri, Ahafia, Gble Akorli | Royals |
| 2 <i>Amlade</i> | | Priestly clan, Exclusive privilege of installing Anlo Kings, Chief state linguist of the Awoamefia is from this clan. |
| 3 <i>Bate</i> | Adeladza | Royals |
| 4 <i>Lafe</i> | Wenya, Doe Awagakpotsoe and Dotse Setsi | Priestly clan, Exclusive privilege of installing Anlo Kings, Chief state linguist of the Awoamefia is from this clan. |
| 5 <i>Agave</i> | Alagba and Agorglormor | The Awadada (war chief of Anlo) |
| 6 <i>Like</i> | Wesigbe and Atogolo | Carry the Awoamefia in his palanquin during state functions |
| 7 <i>Tovie</i> | Tse and Doe | Fire first shot during war, Play the special drum that signifies execution of a recalcitrant citizen. |
| 8 <i>Ame</i> | Ahafia | Custodians of reconciliatory rites. |
| 9 <i>Dzevi</i> | Aduadui | In charge of the nyigbla deity |
| 10 <i>klevi</i> | Kli, Dordi | Fire the first shot after the performance of pre-war rites. Executioners |
| 11 <i>Tsiame</i> | Tsali | |
| 12 <i>Bame</i> | Bametsikpo | |
| 13 <i>Vifeme</i> | Amega Le | |
| 14 <i>Yetsofe</i> | | |
| 15 <i>Blu</i> | | |

Source: Kumassah (2004)

The traditions of origin associated with the Anlo clans, divide Anlo clans into three groups (Greene, 1981) based on when the ancestors of the clans settled in Anlo land. The founding ancestors of *Lafe*, *Amlade*, *Adzorvia*, *Bate* and *Like* clans are believed to have been the first to settle in the Anlo area. The *Bame*, *klevi*, and *Tovie* clans form the second group whose founders were descendants

of the ancestors of the first five clans (Greene, 1981). Tradition maintains that the other clans moved into the Anlo area only after the ancestors of the original eight clans had established themselves. For example, the founder of the *Dzevi* clan, Aduadui, is believed to have migrated eastward to Anlo from the Adangbe-speaking coastal district around 1680. The ancestor of the *Vifeme* clan, Amega Le, is said to have moved to Anlo from the west, around Legon around 1702 (Greene, 1981). These divisions of the clans affect the roles of the clans in Anlo traditions.

Traditional religion and deities of the Anlos

The Anlos, like all Ewes, believe in a supreme being called Mawu. A look at studies by Greene (1981), Nukunya (1994), and Kumassah (2004) provide the following summary of Anlo religion and deities. Apart from the Supreme Being, the Anlos have deities which are lesser gods. These lesser gods can be in the form of 'national' gods (*trɔgawo*), clan gods, town gods, household gods and personal gods. The Anlos also believe in spiritual forces which could do good or evil, depending on the circumstances. The deities are usually called *trɔr* and the *vodu* is probably the receptacle of the *trɔr*. Apart from the belief in the Supreme God and lesser gods, the Anlo Ewes believe in ancestral spirits who, it is said, can influence their lives and can be reincarnated. There are other beliefs like witchcraft (*adze*) and charm (*edzo*). *Adze* is spiritual in nature, and does not usually have any physical form while *edzo* usually has physical appendages.

The national deities of the Anlos are listed here in order of importance: *Nyigbla, Tomi, Bate, Sui, Dutokonyi, Gbaaku, Awadatsi, Egbe, Asimedu and*

Gbortonya (Greene, 1985). Nyigbla deity is the most revered in Anlo and occupies a special place in the traditional rituals of the Anlos. As a deity, *nyigbla* has caretakers but its chief priest is the Awoamefia (Greene, 1985).

The beginnings and evolution of the Awoamefia stool

According to oral tradition, as recorded by Greene (1985) and Kumassah (2004), the first Anlo Awoamefia, *Togbui Sri I*, was installed in Notsie about mid 15th century after the Anlos had taken the Tado stool and moved to Notsie. *Togbui Sri I* was forced to flee the town with his followers, under the leadership of his uncle *Wenya*, because of the cruelty meted them by the Notsie king called *Agorkoli*. In their haste, they left the *aworme* stool at Notsie. They discovered the loss in Anloga and *Togbui Sri I* then sent a delegation of his sisters' sons, back to Notsie to retrieve the stool since the mothers of his own sons would not allow their sons to go back to Notsie. This stool was said to contain the spirits of the ancestors and was the guardian of the Anlos. Not having it around would spell disaster and doom for the Anlos. The delegation accomplished its task, but only after deceiving *Agorkoli* that the severed hand the Notsie chief had demanded in exchange for the stool was that of *Torgbui Sri I*. When the stool was brought back to Anloga, *Togbui Sri I* named *Adeladza*, one of the messengers, as co-heir to the throne. This is the genesis of alternating of the Anlo kingship between the *Adzovia* (*Torgbi Sri*, being their first king) and the *Bate* (*Torgbi Adeladza I*, being their first king) clans.

The success of bringing back the stool, however, did not allay the fears of the Anlos that Agorkoli might still find out that Sri was alive. It is said that Agorkoli did indeed send a delegation to confirm Sri's death. It was at this point that Sri moved from the Alagbati section of Anloga to the Yorxoenu District. History has it that at Yorxoenu Togbi Sri I was in a shrine house known as *aworme*, the sacred place. Togbi Sri I remained in this house for the three years the Notsie delegation was in Anlo. Thereafter, *Fia* Sri I became known as *Awoamefia*, the *fia* or king in a sacred place or in seclusion who is not supposed to be seen.

Notsie today has two leaders ruling concurrently (Quarcoopome, 1993). On the one hand, there is an old priest-kingship that bears the title or king of the room (*xormefia*) because of his limited physical contact with people. Tradition has it that this kingship is as old as the town itself. The other leader is a modern secular chief or a whiteman's chief (*yovofia*), whose title came about when a *xormefia*, Adzayeto, failed to appear to sign a treaty with the Germans in 1884 but instead nominated his spokesman to represent him. The Europeans consequently recognized this spokesman as king of Notsie (Quarcoopome, 1993).

From the foregoing, it is possible that the idea of secluding a chief originated from Notsie, the last place of settlement of the Anlos before they migrated to their current abode. Since the Anlos were under the rule or hospitality of the Notsies, it is likely they adopted and adapted some of the latter's traditional practices.

Later British colonial rule undermined the religious character of the office of the Awoamefia. By 1907, instead of remaining secluded as an individual with great spiritual power, the Awoamefia began to operate less as a religious leader and more as a political figure during the British colonial rule (Greene, 1985). Other developments contributed to the secularization of the Awoamefia's office. After the incorporation of the Anlo into the British-controlled Gold Coast Colony, the administration was more interested in projecting the cultures of the more hierarchically organized Akan states (Greene 1985), which the British were already familiar with, as typical of all cultures in the southern Gold Coast. This change in the Awoamefia's seclusion was made worse when Togbe Sri II was enstooled as the first literate and Christian king. For fifty years (1906 to 1956), Togui Sri II was a modern king who was always in the full view of the people. He even rode a bicycle from Anloga to Keta. Togbi Sri II, in his bid to reign as a modern king probably concentrated more on his political duties and lost sight of his traditional religious obligations especially in an era when Christianity had just come to Anlo land.

Mission work in Anlo and its impact on Anlo kingship

Missionaries from Germany began their evangelical work in Keta among the Anlo and in 1857 they opened another station in Anyako, on the north side of the Keta Lagoon. Schools were established, Africans were inducted into the ministry, and more churches were opened. By the middle of the century, the

church (then and now known as the Evangelical Presbyterian Church) had become a major institution in the area. Fiawoo notes that:

The most destructive single factor in Christianity was the uncompromising stand of the missionary who believed that his religion was entirely opposed to the indigenous institutions and social customs and that it was his responsibility to supplant these. . (cited in Greene, 1997).

The policies of the British (who formally annexed the Anlo coast in 1850 but only began administering their rule over the area after 1883) did not help the Anlo traditional course much. According to Greene (1997), Torgbui Sri II decided to forgo the traditional beliefs, to travel freely, to appear in person before his people, and to conduct his administrative duties in a public forum in conformance with the desires and dictates of the British. By so doing, Torgbui Sri II fundamentally changed one of the perceived foundations on which his authority rested. Fiawoo explains:

By constant exposure to the public eye . . . his person became desecrated. He enjoyed greater political power, but he was practically shorn of his sanctity and traditional reverence. His person was no longer inviolate. Men beheld him and were not stricken by blindness or insanity, nor do they fall dead by the wayside. Consequently, the sanction for his authority no longer derived from his ritual obligations and powers but from the support of an alien power (cited in Greene 1985, p.82).

Green concludes that as traditional religion became a less dominant influence in the lives of the Anlos in the first half of the twentieth century, and as the Awoamefia changed his role within the society, the traditions about the supernatural powers associated with this office were de-emphasized. With such transformation, traditions were adjusted to conform to the new reality about the Awoamefia's office (Greene, 1985).

History and Background of the Mamprusis

The Mamprusi occupy the East and West Mamprusi districts of northern Ghana. Their name is taken from Mamprugu, the name of the kingdom to which they belong. The current king of Mamprugu, Naa Bohagu Abdulai Mahami Sheriga was enskinned in January 2004.

Traditional religion and deities of the Mamprusis.

Naa-wuni is the supreme God, and this name is used by Muslims. In traditional religion, he is not worshiped or referred to, except in exclamations (Drucker Brown, 1996). Ancestors are believed to help in a crisis through various diviners who live in each village. The Mamprusis communicate with their ancestors through sacrifices and offerings. They have shrines that are manned by earth priests who intercede on their behalf.

According to Drucker-Brown (1996), the king is the embodiment of the royal ancestors and he owns all the land and everything on it; royal chiefs replicate his powers on a more limited scale. The ancestors of commoners are

called upon to support during certain annual ceremonies and in other circumstances that affect the kingdom. During natural disasters such as drought or political trauma such as the interregnum and during the installation of a new king, commoner-elders request support from their ancestors for the wider community (Drucker Brown, 1996).

Although this section addresses traditional religion, it is important to mention Islam which has been part of Mamprugu worship and ritual systems for a long time. The historical connections between the Mamprusi and Islam are unclear (Drucker Brown, 1996). The oldest Muslim community is located in Gambaga and the Nayiri's *iman* resides in Gambaga. At present, Muslims participate in court and domestic rituals performed at death and naming. It is traditionally forbidden for the king to be a Muslim, but, during the late twentieth century, kings have been converted to Islam (Drucker Brown, 1996).

The Mamprugu state and its political system

Studies suggest that the Mamprusi state developed as early as 1475 A.D. and it played a key role in the emergence of the Mossi-Dagomba, or the Nakomse-Dagbamba, complex of centralised states in the Volta Basin (Davis, 1987). Na Gbewa is believed to be the founder of the Mamprugu Kingdom, and was the first Nayiri. The Nayiri resides in Nalerigu and rules the Mamprugu Kingdom with the help of his councillors – Nalerigu elders are Tarana, Sakpanaba, Sakpari, Wudana, Kpanarana, Akara, Kpatirana, Asuma, and Achiri.

The descendants of the first Nayiri are now in four different gates from which the Nayiri is selected on rotational basis. Another criterion for eligibility as a Nayiri is that one should have been a chief in one of the major villages within the Mamprugu Kingdom; This situation has led to two types of competition for kingship - between gates in Gbewa's lineage, and between members of the same gates (Davis, 1987). However, since the gates are supposed to occupy the Nayiri position on rotational basis, competition among members of the different gates is rare.

The king of Mamprusi is surrounded by fifteen grandchildren (*nabisi*) villages (these are villages ruled by the descendants of Gbewa) in the Nalerigu area from which future kings are chosen. The chiefs of these villages also have their own chiefdoms of sub-chiefs (Drucker-Brown, 1975). The Nayiri's court in Nalerigu is replicated throughout the state with even minor village chiefs surrounding themselves with elders and advisors (Davis, 1984). In Susan Drucker-Brown's study of political authority in Mamprusi, she noted that the system is characterized by the allocation of a quality called *naam* from the Nayiri and his councilors, the Nayiri *kpaamba*, to the village chiefs and their elders. *Naam* may be translated 'office' or 'political authority' but is associated as much with the rituals of sacrifice and veneration of ancestors. During installation rituals, the *naam* is incorporated into body the office-holder (Drucker-Brown, 1989). Death removes the office-holder but he remains as one owner of the office and becomes one of the ancestors, *Badima*, whose power is transmitted to, and utilized by, his successors.

Succession in Mamprusi kingship

All offices in Mamprugu are for life. Neither elders nor chiefs are deposed. Important elders are supposed to succeed automatically to lineage headships and offices. Princes, however, must compete for chiefly office within Mamprugu and only chiefs who are kings' sons are eligible as kings, but all members of the king's lineage should compete for chiefship. According to Drucker-Brown (1992), many of the princes have no chance of winning but will compete nonetheless, since entry into the competition is a means of asserting membership of the royal lineage. The Mamprusis believe that victory ensures a kind of immortality by converting the chief into one of the royal ancestors whose names are preserved in the king's lists.

On the other hand the Mamprusi royals believe that failure to compete is offensive to the ancestors and may result in death (Drucker-Brown, 1992). In the Mamprusi kingdom elders come from commoners and may hold positions as chiefs but are regarded as non-resident members of royal courts. Although royal chiefs can create other chiefs themselves, commoner chiefs cannot. The role of the commoner chiefs is very essential to the performance of the specific rituals in the making of chiefs and kings. According to Drucker-Brown (1992), it is the commoner elders and chiefs who are lobbied first by princes competing for chiefships.

Again it is the commoner elders who choose the Nayiri. The elders operate a set of rules which should ensure that the kingship circulates among the different royal gates. These rules, as told by Drucker Brown (1992), have operated for over

150 years. The basic rule is that no king should be immediately succeeded by a close blood relation descended from the same paternal grandfather. The new king must be chosen from among the sons of other dead kings. It is the belief of the Mamprusis that any breach of this rule will bring chaos to the land. It is, however, known that sitting kings are biased towards nominating their close patrilineal relatives to chiefship, especially their own sons in order to ensure the perpetuation of his father's name in the king's lists. Checks and balances are, however, maintained by the elders, who themselves are commoners and ineligible for royal office.

Role of Rituals and Secrecy in Kingship

Fortes (1962) noted that some form of ritual accompanies the appropriation of all kinds of status, but he questions why rituals should so universally mark the assumption of a new status. Cannadine (1983) opines that much of English coronation ritual has been recently invented. Drucker-Brown (1975) also questioned why people bother to invent rituals which are apparently redundant and bizarre. Fortes (1962), in proposing an answer to the role of rituals to society, pointed to the function of rituals in constituting social structure. He argued that social roles must be conceived by the actor as separate from his personal activities in order that they may be accepted and internalized, along with the actor's attendant rights and obligations.

Ritual is an attempt to capture the occult (Fortes, 1967) to bind it and use it for a collective purpose, and to distinguish the individual from his offices, statuses

or roles (Fortes, 1962) in a society. Ritual is needed in order to confer social position; it 'mobilizes incontrovertible authority behind the granting of office and status, and thus guarantees legitimacy of the office and imposes accountability for its proper exercise' (Fortes, 1987 p.107). In Ghana, rituals of which clothing is a part are part of kingship; it legitimises the authority of the kings among their people and helps to hold them accountable to their society.

In traditional societies, being a king usually is a form of initiation into an exclusive position involving secrets. Most of the rites together with their meanings and importance are known only by a few thereby shrouding the kingship institution, especially its rites of passage, in secrecy. Nooter (1993) noted that secrecy is 'rooted in the most basic experience of what it is to live as one human being among others, needing both to hide and to share, to explore and to beware of the unknown' (Bok 1982 p.281). Secrecy is learnt from childhood and it permeates every aspect of human lives including cultures (Nooter 1993). If a ban on secrecy could be executed, it would render government and business impossible. Furthermore, the entire Western project of understanding other cultures is implicated in the idea of secret. As Nooter (1993) noted, most studies about culture, are all lodged in the encounter of oneself and the other, 'an encounter determined by each party's management of the dual strategies of secrecy: concealment and revelation' (p. 55). In reality, knowledge acquisition is all about concealment and revelation or someone knowing and the other trying to come into the realm of that knowledge.

The acquisition of knowledge may generally not be called revelation of a secret but in reality when one decides to acquire a particular knowledge one has to put himself or herself in a position with the requisite qualifications to be able to acquire that knowledge. Generally, the Europeans who colonized Africa did not only exaggerate the secrecy associated with knowledge in African culture but they also portrayed it as primitive. In so doing, they pushed the Africans into a position of further concealment of their traditions, thereby deepening the idea of concealment and revelation. As Nooter asserted:

European missionaries and functionaries deliberately projected an image of a 'primitive' Africa in order to raise funds for campaigns to convert Africans to Christianity, and to support the mandate of foreign control. Many African traditions were suppressed in this process, and a number of formerly open associations went underground or disguised certain of their practices to deflect the repressive attentions of the colonial regimes. No discussion of knowledge and power in the Africa of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can neglect these historical exchanges, in which secrecy played a key role. Secrecy, in fact, must sometimes be credited with the very survival of esoteric forms of philosophy and religion (Nooter, 1993 p. 55).

During colonisation and the early days of post-colonial Africa, the colonisers were bent on portraying African cultures as heathen in order to attract converts to Christianity. This attitude by the colonialists succeeded in driving the

Africans to perform more of their traditional rituals in secrecy. This way, the African traditionalists would not be a source of mockery and ridicule to the colonisers and their African converts. Currently, in the name of knowledge acquisition or interest in culture or academic pursuits, there is a growing interest in understanding what was designated 'heathen' or 'primitive'.

Traditional knowledge which was unintentionally subdued by the African is now a source of knowledge available only to a privileged few. Nooter (1993) opined that the paradox of a secret is that while its content is possibly being guarded and concealed, its existence is often put on display. This is shown in the clothing used by Ghanaian kings.

Summary

This chapter presented the background histories of the three kingdoms whose king were studied and the role of rituals in kingship. The background of the kingdoms covered the land and people of the various kingdoms, the creation of the kingdoms, the systems of inheritance, history of the kingship systems, their religion and how the kingdom is ruled. The people of the three kingdoms migrated from outside Ghana to their current abodes. The Asantes practice matrilineal form of inheritance while the Anlos and the Mamprusis inherit patrilineally. In the Asante kingdom one has to come from the Oyoko clan to be eligible as king. Among the Anlos the Adzorvia and Bate clans are those from which Awoamefias are selected. In the Mamprusi kingdom to be eligible as king one has to firstly trace his origins to Naa Gbewa the founder of the Mamprusi

kingdom. All the three kingdoms are ruled by the kings and their councillors. The Asantes and the Anlos have chiefs of the kingdoms as their council members with the king as the head of the council. In the Mamprugu kingdom, the king is head but the council members are commoners. All three kingdoms believe in a supreme God but they all believe in lesser gods and deities.

The background of the people can inform discussions on how the various kingdoms decided on specific clothing items for their kings. Location and migration play a role in what people acquire, especially those of ritual importance. As people move from one place to the other, they pick up clothing of other cultures. Also certain activities and encounters along the way may play important roles in clothing that they use.

Throughout history clothing has been an integral part of religion. Clothing in religion is used to define a religious group, occasion, status within a system and mood. Since the institution of kinship is full of rituals, some of which may be religious the religious practices of the various kingdoms may inform clothing worn by the various kings to help communicate the culture of the people.

The history and background of the kingdoms will provide information for the interpretation of the symbolism of the clothing of the three kings for tourism purposes.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN, DATA COLLECTION AND MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES

Introduction

The first part of this chapter is concerned with the selection of the study areas. This was followed by an overview of the research philosophy and the study design. The third part of this chapter dealt with data collection and management issues. It is made of selection of informants and interviewees, instrumentation, data collection and analyses.

Study Areas

This study was carried out in three kingdoms in Ghana. These are Asante in Asante Region and surrounding areas, Anlo in the Volta region, and Mamprugu in the Northern region. The Asantehene, the king of the Asantes comes from the middle belt of the country and represents the Akan group (the largest ethnic group in Ghana). The Awoamefia of Anlos represents the Ewes of the Volta region and hails from the south. From northern part of the country, the Nayiri of the Mamprusis was selected.

The Asante kingdom is located in the middle belt of Ghana with Kumasi, as both the administrative and traditional capital. The kingdom occupies the whole of the Asante region and some enclaves in the Brong Ahafo Region and the northern part of the Volta Region (Figure 2). The Asante kingdom's land is drained by several rivers and lakes. Its vegetation is a moist deciduous forest, with

a thick vegetative cover that supports numerous flora and fauna. The land is rich in natural resources, such as gold and other minerals, thus providing a good source of raw materials for artworks. The Asante kingdom is the largest of the three kingdoms whose kings were used for the study.

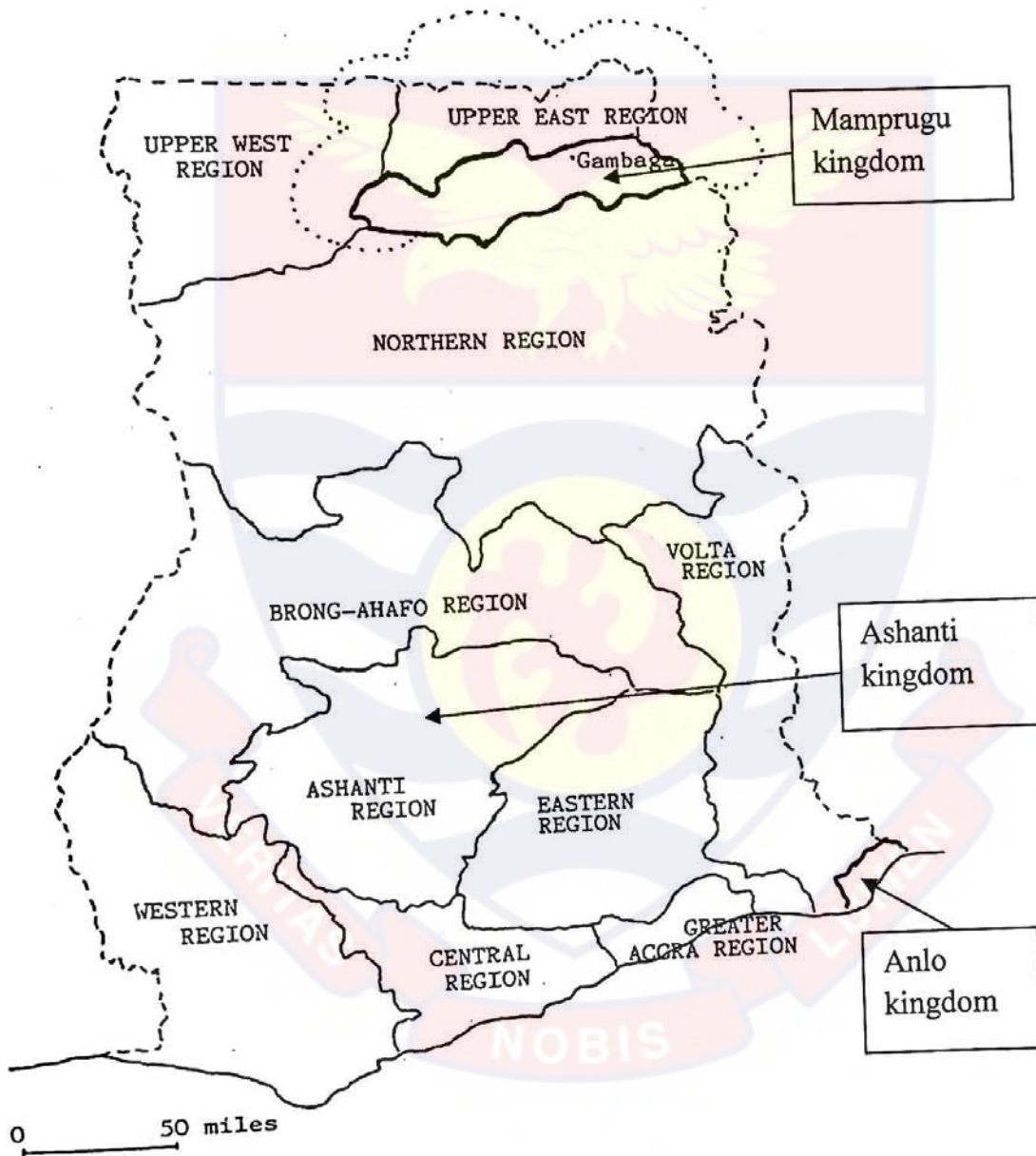


Figure 2: Map of Ghana showing Anlo, Asante and Mamprugu kingdoms

The Anlo land is the area surrounding the Keta Lagoon and is in the south eastern corner of Ghana. It is bordered on the east by the Republic of Togo, on the north by the Tongus, and on the west by the River Volta. It has Keta as its administrative capital and Anloga as the traditional capital. Apart from salt there are currently no known minerals. The vegetation is savannah in nature.

The East and West Mamprusi Districts of Northern Ghana define the limits of the Nariyi's Kingdom. The kingdom extends west for about 320 kilometres from the international border of Ghana and Togo. The Nasia River marks its southern border separated by about 80 kilometres from the White Volta River which marks the northern boundary. It has Gambaga as its district capital but Nalerigu is its traditional capital. The Mamprusi kingdom falls within the climatic zone of the Guinea Savanna.

Research Philosophy

The study was conducted using qualitative research. One major reason in using qualitative research is to try to understand a social phenomenon from the perspective of those involved, rather than an outsider trying to explain the phenomenon (Ospina, 2004). This approach is useful in uncovering and understanding the nature of a person's experience with a phenomenon about which little is known (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The use of the qualitative method for the research provided the chance for the actors involved in clothing behaviour of kings to talk about the phenomenon themselves.

Qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus (Flick, 2002). However, the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Flick (2002) noted that objective reality can never be captured and that although triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, it is an alternative to validation. The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, and perspectives in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to an inquiry (Borg & Gall, 1989; Flick, 2002; Patton, 2002).

Study Design

The study was designed to present the clothing of kings from three different traditional and geographical areas in Ghana bringing out their similarities and differences. As such it was comparative in nature.

The methods used for collecting data were in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and content analysis of pictures and documents. Pictures were collected to provide details on the clothing used by the three kings. Together with content analysis of relevant documents, they helped to frame the interview guide and to support data collected from the interviews.

The use of conversational in-depth interviews and focus group discussion with interview and FGD guides were chosen because they offer the benefit of being flexible enough to pursue new information within the predetermined objectives of the research. The use of the guides also guarantees that in each

interaction every basic topic was covered and helps make the most of the time available with each respondent (Patton, 2002).

The face-to-face discussion strategy also permits the verification, clarification or alteration on the spot of what is happening to achieve a complete understanding of a phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). It also ensured that the basic types of information required were included while allowing flexibility for understanding the peculiarities of individual kingdoms.

Sampling

Selection of interviewees and informants

Three kings were purposively selected from three different geographical areas of the country. The selection was also done to provide diversity in ethnicity. The traditional rulers selected for this study are the overlords of kingdoms which have divisional rulers referred to as chiefs. For this study the overlords of the kingdoms are called kings.

Guided by the nature of qualitative inquiry, the sampling strategies involved in this research were purposeful sampling, intensity sampling, and referral sampling. The first part of this section outlines the assumptions and procedures underlying the types of sampling employed.

Prior to selecting the interviewees, the researcher visited the Anlo and Asante kingdoms to contact individuals who could provide information for the data. In the Anlo kingdom I started by talking, on phone, to Mr. Kumassah, an author on the migration of the Anlos and a regent for one of the chiefs in the Anlo

kingdom. Mr. Kumassah then recommended other informants whom I contacted on phone and booked appointments with. With the Asante kingdom my first point of contact on phone was the Gyasehene who is the chief in charge of the Asantehene's household. In Mamprugu, I was put in contact with a former student of the University of Cape Coast who arranged a meeting with the Nayiri and his counsellors. Table 3 represents the informants selected for the different kingdoms and their positions within the kingdoms.

Table 3

People interviewed in the Anlo, Asante and Mamprugu kingdoms

| Kingdom | Selected interviewees | Status of the interviewees | Remarks |
|----------|--------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Anlo | Torgbi Honi | The oldest serving chief in the Anlo kingdom. | One on one interview |
| | Mr. Kummasah | A writer on Anlo history and a regent of one of the Anlo chiefs. | One on one interview |
| | Nyigblanua | The care taker of the Nyigbla deity, the most revered deity of the Anlos. | One on one interview |
| Asante | Gyasehene | The chief in charge of the Asantehene's household. | One on one interview |
| | Kwaku Mensah | One of the men responsible for dressing the Asantehene and taking care of his clothes | One on one interview |
| | Osei Kodjo | Former curator of the Manhyia museum and a writer on Asante history. | One on one interview |
| Mamprugu | Nayiri | The king of the Mamprusis | Group discussion |
| | Seven elders of Mamprugu | The counselors of the King of Mamprugu. | Group discussion |

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The number and types of informants or interviewees selected depended on the administrative structures of the particular kingdom and informants who were deemed to be in the best position to provide data for the research. In the Anlo and Asante kingdoms in-depth interviews were used while in Mamprugu, focus group discussions were used. Focus group discussion would have been the best for all the three but in-depth interviews were used in the Anlo and Asante kingdoms because it was difficult to fix a date to meet all the informants together since the informants had their own schedules and lived far from each other. In the Mamprugu Kingdom, however, it was easy to assemble all the counsellors for group discussions.

Methods for Data Collection

Instruments

The main instruments used in the data collection were interview and FGD guides (Appendices A and B). The guides contained issues on clothing used during installation rites which included confinement, investiture, outdoorings and enstooling or enskinment. Other occasions addressed were festivals and mortuary rites. Questions on sources of the clothing, their significance and management were also addressed. The guide also looked into materials, such as gold, silver, leather and grass, used in making the clothing items. Questions were asked on the various symbols used in the clothing based on pictures in which the kings were in regalia. Questions on management of the clothing items sought to find out how the items were acquired and maintained.

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Documents used

The main documents employed in this study were pictures, and research documents from museums and libraries and archives. The pictures were used as exhibits of clothing items that the kings use. The research documents helped in filling in the gaps left in the interviews and focus group discussions.

Pre-testing of instruments

A pre-test was conducted in preparation for the main research. The objective of the pre-test was to test some of the data collecting procedures and to obtain insights into issues that may be encountered during the main data collection process. The purpose of the pre-test was also to assess whether the items of the instruments would be understood by respondents.

The pre-test study was conducted, using the chief of Jukwa near Cape Coast in the Central Region. During the pretest the chief of Jukwa was interviewed using the interview guide. The elders and kingmakers were contacted for clarification on details that could not be provided by the king. The main lesson learnt from the pretesting was that the kingmakers rather than the kings themselves were more knowledgeable in the symbolism of clothing used. It was also realised that it was easier to allow the respondents to describe the clothing in connection with the different occasions selected instead of just allowing them to describe the clothes in isolation. The pre-test suggested the need to use documents and pictures to enrich the data collection process.

Fieldwork

Personal visits were paid to the three kingdoms to discuss the objectives of the research with the kings or their elders. In each kingdom, a date was fixed with a particular interviewee and another date was fixed if all the clothing articles and events were not addressed. The interviews were recorded on tape, and summarised in writing. The interviews and discussions were in both English and the local language of the people. In Mamprugu, the discussions in which the Nayiri was present were in Mampruli while the rest were mainly in English. A translator was used for the discussions in Mampruli. After each interaction the researcher transcribed the information and noted the gaps for further clarification in subsequent discussions. The interviews were mainly on a one-on-one basis except in the Mamprugu kingdom where it was a focus group discussion in which the Nayiri participated in two out of the four meetings.

Other data collection procedures used were the collection of documents and pictures to ascertain the histories and significance of some of the clothing articles. These documents were accessed in libraries from books, journals and other relevant documents in museums and archives at the palaces of the kings. Others were retrieved from kingmakers and informants. Data was collected between August 2007 and December 2010.

Experiences from the Field

In collecting the data for such a study, some of these rituals involved in kingship were deemed to be classified and could not be revealed to everyone. One

king, on hearing the purpose of the research, remarked "This is a worthwhile research but I am the wrong person to provide you with the details of the symbolism of my clothing." At another place, one of the king's chiefs said "*wor asem bo no po*" (you have a long way to go). Some clothing items have been used for long without their symbolisms being recorded so information had been lost.

Other challenges that were encountered included demand by some respondents for monetary rewards and unwillingness to by some to provide in-depth information. Although the informants had been contacted in advance and the purpose of the research explained, some of them were still sceptical. In spite of these challenges, the study provided the researcher an opportunity to gain practical experiences in community research. The researcher has also established some acquaintances, which may be useful in the future.

Data Management and Analysis

The handwritten notes and audio recordings were transcribed. The data was grouped according to the types of clothing used by the kings on various occasions and the significance attached to each type of clothing. Where there were gaps, the data sources were contacted for clarification. In Mamprugu, for example, after each day of discussions the data was transcribed and the gaps filled in during the next discussion session. After transcribing the whole data, the informants were contacted on phone for further clarifications.

Data was analysed in line with the objectives of study, bearing in mind the conceptual framework of the study. The first part of the discussions focused on individual kings. For each king, firstly, clothing items were grouped and the symbolism the items within the groups discussed. Secondly, the clothing articles were discussed in relation to their use on different occasions to relate them to their cultural significance on these occasions. The clothing practices during mortuary rites were also discussed and clothing management practices concluded the discussions on each king. The summary provided a comparison of the clothing of the various king to bring out the similarities and differences. The final section of the data analyses brought together knowledge gathered from the field and discussed how to interpret the information for tourism promotion.

Summary

This chapter described the research design, study areas, and methods for data collection and analysis. The qualitative research approach was adopted as a research philosophy. The sample was purposively selected to represent Kings from the southern middle and northern sectors as well as three different ethnic groups. The study areas comprised the kingdoms (Anlo, Asante and Mamprusi) of the three kings studied. The chapter outlined the geographical location of the kingdoms. The rationale was to highlight the geography of these areas and to bring out any differences that may affect the clothing of the kings. It was also meant to bring to light the natural resources in the kingdoms and how they may influence the clothing of the kings.

The Anlo and Mamprusi kingdoms are located almost at two extremes of the country, south eastern corner for Anlo and north-eastern for the Mamprusi and are both, savannah areas. The Asante kingdom is around the middle belt of Ghana in between the other two kingdoms and is a forest zone. The implication is that the Asantes have a more diversified flora and fauna and mineral resources than the other regions. In terms of areas Asante has the largest followed by Mamprusi and then Anlo.

In depth interviews and focus group discussion guides were the main instruments used for data collection. The two instruments made it possible for the researcher to interact with the participants directly, allow interviewees to provide information on the topic under discussion. Analysis of documents was used to complement the information obtained from personal contacts. Purposive sampling was the main technique used to access informants for data collection. The data was collected from elders and kingmakers of the various kingdoms.

One of the challenges in the field was getting the informants to meet the researcher at the agreed time. Another challenge was the fact that most of the items of clothing have been used routinely with no documentation on their significance so the informants could not tell their significance. The variety and details of the clothing were so vast that it was difficult to cover every single item.

CHAPTER SIX
SYMBOLISM AND MANAGEMENT OF CLOTHING OF THE
ASANTEHENE, THE AWOAMEFIA AND THE NAYIRI

Introduction

It is precisely this lack of fixed reference or stable foundation that produces meaning. For to produce it does not mean to touch a sacred stone or turn the right key that will reveal the nature of things, but involves tracing out a recognizable shape on the extensive complexity of the possible. Our interpretations of society, culture, history and our individual lives, hopes, dreams, passions and sensations, involve attempts to confer sense rather than to discover it. For it is we - with our histories, languages, memories and constraints - who make sense. We never arrive at the bottom of things: the analysis remains open. Our constructions are destined to be incomplete, interminable (Iain Chambers, *Border Dialogues*, London, 1990, p.11 cited in McCaskie, 1992)

Clothing is an assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992), thus clothing signifies the effects entailed in the material properties of dress and their expressive abilities (Hansen, 2004). Because personal appearance is so familiar, visible, and tangible, it is usually taken for granted as a form of communication unless one's attention is drawn to it (Kaiser, 1985). Clothing provides prospects for better understanding of human interactions and its symbolism plays a very important role in the portrayal of the self. Clothing

items also constitute works of art with functional, literary and metaphysical qualities (Appiah, 1979). This chapter describes clothing and the significance of the various items of clothing of each of the three kings and how their clothing are managed. The main themes in the chapter are symbolism of colours and numbers, symbols used in clothing of the kings, the various groups of clothing of the kings and their significance on the occasions during which they are used. The sub themes of each king are however different due to cultural differences in clothing types and the emphasis placed on different clothing items of the kings by the different kingdoms.

Asantehene of Asante kingdom.

Colours of Asantes

The colours of the Asante kingdom are yellow, black and green. Yellow and Gold (colour and metal) represent status and serenity. Green symbolises life as in the renewal and growth of plants, and it represents the cycle of birth and decay. Black denotes seriousness, union with ancestors and signifies spiritual awareness.

Akans have three main 'ritual colours': black (*tuntum*), white (*fitaa*) and red (*kokoo*) (Bartle, 1983; Hagan, 1970). Symbolically, these three colours have broad connotations, but their significance comes out within the context of rituals when they are used to identify situations, to separate categories of behaviour, and to mark stages and changes in status. Giving prominence to the three basic ritual colours does not negate the existence of other colours but emphasises the

importance of the three basic colours in the rituals of Asantes. While the three basic colours have definite names, other colours derive their names from items in nature such as fresh leaves (*Ahabanmono*) for green, and fat of chicken (*akukor sradee*) for yellow.



Plate 1: Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in his kingship regalia.

Hagan (1970) has observed that Akans use white ritually to signify victory and spiritual purity. The colour is associated with the sacred, and is considered the colour of gods and kings- the symbol of purity and sacredness of their persons and estate. White also expresses joy, hope, and well-being. That aspect of the human person which bears a man's destiny and directs his fortunes (*kra*) is associated with white.

Black stands for darkness, loss, and death. Antubam (1963) said that black symbolises spirituality and age. 'All objects which are dedicated to the spirits of the dead are purposely treated to appear black' (Antubam 1963, p.79); objects of war booty, except gold and silver, are blackened. In spite of its association with spirituality and age, black is never used for the celebration of victory; it is rather used to express sorrow and ill-luck (Appiah 1979).

Red is full of ambiguities (Hagan, 1970). When a man puts on a red cloth and smears himself with red ocre, he is in a defiant mood. To the Asantes, and most Akans, sorrow and anger are danger, and are illustrated by red. The colour red also depicts passion - the passion of political determination, struggle, and defence. Red also holds protective powers.

Bartle (1983) provided an elaborate and spiritual explanation for the use of the three colours in the Akan culture as follows:

In looking at either the universe or the individual, not only did I see three colour categories, red, black, and white, but I also saw that each one had a physical or material referent, behind which I could identify a spiritual referent, behind which, with difficulty, I identified an

almost unconscious "essence". At each step, I saw the latter a higher level of abstraction of the former. Armed with this tripartite model of the threefold individual at three levels, and the threefold universe at three levels, I could understand the tripartite structure of society and culture (p.88).

Bartle (1983) concluded that for the Akans, the universe's three souls are represented by the three elements of land, wind and water. These three souls which animate each human being, parallel the three fundamental ritual and symbolic colours, red, black, and white (Bartle, 1983). Bartle asserts that, the spiritual universe, like the physical universe it inhabits, can be placed into the three colours (red, black, and white), with the recognition of a unity of the three. Red also represents the earth and is associated with fecundity-the potential to bring forth. The red colour is fertilised by the white and powered by the black. The black colour is considered to be neutral and equated with air and power. Black has the ability to put energy and motion into the other two combined. White is the spiritual category and a representation of the deities.

Symbolism of numbers in Asante

Appiah (1979) describes the symbolism of numbers as follows:

One item, or a single figure, may mean: 'To be alone is sad'; 'One man does not build a town'; Two stands for brotherhood and, in a special sense, for twins. The number three is for luck, and gifts are in multiples of three to show love. This means that true love is never exhausted. Five is regarded as sacred and an Akan will not give

presents in fives, as this indicates that the gift was not given wholeheartedly. Seven is the perfect number (p. 67).

The above underpins the philosophical bases for the use of numbers by the Asantes in their everyday lives and rituals. The number three represents the human essence for the Akan (Bartle, 1983). This essence is made of earth, air, and water at the physical or cosmos level and are the same as the three souls of the universe. They are personified as Mother Nature, God, and the deities. The number three is, therefore, very sacred and important in Akan rituals (Bartle, 1983) such as the installation and outdoorings of the Asantehene.

Symbols used in the Clothing of the Asantehene and Meanings attached

Asante iconography is derived from their perception of their environment, the behaviour and relationships of animals, birds and fish; the growth patterns of plants; and the functions of various objects (McCaskie 1992). Some animals are known for their strength, wisdom, bravery, or patience. A plant may be admired for its beauty, smell or longevity, and an object may be identified with peace, war, or the family (Appendix C). These associations are the foundations of ornament symbolism on the king's garments and accessories. The images adopted are linked with proverbs or metaphors (Appiah, 1979; Ross, 1977). Knowledge of these proverbs and the ideas behind them constitute the foundation of their use as symbols.

Beautiful as many of the Asante craft works are, they were never intended to be admired for purely aesthetic reasons (Appiah, 1979). Whatever its artistic

merit, it is the symbolism of a craft that is of paramount importance. It is at the king's courts that symbolism is most obvious and what a king wore on a public occasion, although often magnificent, was dictated by meaning and not appearance (Appiah, 1979).

Symbols used in adorning the king could be in the form of *adinkra* patterns, animals, insects, leaves, and the human parts. Some animals and plants are not used as symbols in Akan art because of how they are perceived in Akan philosophy. Images which are seldom used in Akan art include cat and owl. '...the cat has the same name as the soul, *okra*, and is reputed to leave a house when someone from that house dies. It is somewhat feared and cannot be killed. The owl is an ill omen' (Appiah 1979, p. 67) hence the Akans describe the owl as an evil bird (*petu busufo*).

Chiefs in Charge of Asantehene's Clothing

Clothing of the Asante king are made of different kinds of garments, cloths, jewelry, head wears, and foot wears, with chiefs in charge of the different groups of clothing items. What follows are the chiefs and the clothing items for which they are responsible.

Gyasehene

The *Gyasehene* is in charge of the entire household of the Asantehene. The Gyase stool was created by Nana Opoku Ware I, the second king of the Asante kingdom. The stool is of a patrilineal descent and belongs to the descendants of Nana Poku Frefre. The *Gyase* division, which is concerned with the king's

household, includes some chiefs in charge of part of the king's wardrobe (IAS acc. No. As.15, 1963). Gyasehene is, therefore, indirectly in charge of the Asantehene's clothing.

Nsumankwaahene

The *Nsumankwaahene* is the commander in chief of the traditional medicine men (college of physicians) of Asanteman. The *Nsumankwa* (medicine men) stool was initiated by Nana Osei Tutu I, the first king of the Asante state. It is said that it was started with one Atuomutua Kwagyan whom the king charged with the responsibility of administering a fetish (*Domfeh*). The king brought this fetish from Akwamu where he had lived before coming to occupy the stool after the death of his uncle, Nana Obiri Yeboah, as head of the *Oyoko* clan (IAS acc. No. AS 22, 1962). The main purpose of the fetish priest was to prepare the state for war. Upon the death of the first *Nsumankwahene*, Osei Tutu appointed Kwagyan's son, Nana Asabre, to succeed him. After the appointment Okomfo Anokye (the fetish priest who brought the Asante golden stool from the skies) gave a fly whisk ('*bodua*' which translates as the tail of an animal), into which he had invoked some spirits, to Nana Asabre. With the handing over of the *bodua* as his symbol of authority, Okomfo Anokye charged the *Nsumankwaahene* with the responsibility of being spiritually in charge of the Asante state. With this spiritual and religious responsibility all the traditional priests and medicine men were requested to serve under the *Nsumakwaahene*. Later, some Moslems brought from the northern part of present Ghana by a chief of Mampong were also added to the medicine men of the *Nsumankwaahene*. It was the responsibility of the Moslems

to prepare talismans for the Asantehene. As part of the process of talisman preparation, the Asante Moslems (*kramos*) consulted the Koran and determined the efficacy and genuiness of a quotation to be used in the talismans. The *Nsumankwahene*, as the traditional doctor and spiritual protector of the Asantehene and the Asante state, is also in charge of the *Batakari Kesie*, a royal war smock.

Adwareehene (Adwumakaasi stool)

This is the chief in charge of 'bathing' the king (IAS acc. No. AS.111, 1964). The first person said to have occupied this stool was Nana Asenso Kofu, originally from Juaben. This stool was also created by the first Asante King, Osei Tutu I. In the enstoolment of the Asantehene-elect, it is the sole prerogative of the *Adwumakaasihene* to unsheath the *Busumuru* sword for use by the Asantehene. It is noted that although the *Adwumakaasihene* is under the *Gyase* division, it is a stool of maternal descent under the *Oyoko* Abohyen group within the *Oyoko* clan. For an *Oyoko* clansman to be in charge of bathing the king shows how the kingship institution of the Asante is closely protected by the *Oyoko* clan.

Abenasehene

The *Abenasehene* is the chief in charge of all garments except those designated to the care of special chiefs. His stool is called the Aheneboa stool and its occupant is selected by the king. This stool was created by Osei Tutu I for a faithful servant, by name Ahenboa. The original name of the stool was *Abobotrafo* but was later changed to take the name of a house (Abenase) that was built to house the king's clothes during the reign of King Osei Bonsu (IAS acc.

No. AS 96, 1963). The stool belongs to the *Gyase* division of the king. It is neither a royal stool; nor is it hereditary. It is solely for the dependants of the King's stool (*esom dwa*). The king has the prerogative to appoint its occupant.

Mpabuahene

This chief is in charge of all the shoes and sandals worn by the Asantehene. Created by King Osei Tutu I, he is responsible for the safe keeping of the sandals and also for putting the *Mpaboakesie* on the feet of the king.

Bosumuru fabem linguist stool

This stool was created for a linguist called Fabem, who migrated from Denkyira to Asante. This linguist, on the recommendation of Okomfo Anokye, was made an accredited linguist and the soul washer or cleanser of the king's court and the *Bosumuru* sword. As a principal linguist, he was given the linguist stick *Asempa yetia*, which is his symbol of office. This linguist, a person who emigrated from the Denkyira state, a people who were the enemies of the Asantes then, might have been very loyal to be entrusted with that position. He is said to have migrated to Asante before the Asante-Denkyira war which took place at Feyiase, a war the Asantes won. Fabem was a linguist of the then Denkyira King before migrating to the Asante kingdom. It is likely that he brought along certain knowledge of the Denkyira kingdom, which was one of the strongest of that era.

The *Bosumuru* sword, for which the stool was created, is the most important sword in Asante. For a migrant, especially, one from an enemy court to take the position of a chief linguist and also be in charge of the most important

sword in the Asante kingdom, he must have been very loyal and therefore commanded great respect.

Symbolism of articles of clothing used by the Asantehene

This section of the study describes different items of clothing and their symbolism in the king's adornment. These descriptions will help to put the clothing items in perspective for adorning the King on different occasions.

The batakari kesie

The *batakari kesie* is royal war attire which comes in a number of pieces. The main piece is a brownish shirt made of strips of fabric stitched together like a smock. The second piece is a pair of leather shoes which comes to the knee level and is partly covered by the shirt when worn. The head piece is made of the same fabric of the shirt, then a mouth piece and finally a pair of fans.

It is said that this *batakari* (Plate 2) was made and first worn by Osei Tutu I when he was returning from war in Akwamu and has since become 'an item' of clothing for all Asante Kings. History has it that Osei Tutu learnt military organization from the Akwamus, so it is likely that this item of clothing was picked from the war adornments of the Akwamus who were rich in culture and well experienced in military and political organization. The *batakari kesie* is an embodiment of spiritual protection for the King and was originally made for war. However, with wars rare in modern Asante kingdom, it is worn during occasions such as installation, when an *Asantehema* dies, and on the first anniversary of the death of a king's immediate predecessor.

Apart from the fan, all the articles of clothing forming the *batakari kesie* are covered in talisman to the extent that it is almost impossible to see the base fabric. The talismans, made from herbs and verses from the Koran written on paper and enclosed in leather, are to provide spiritual protection. The talismans are made in various geometrical, shapes with three, and four-sided shapes being the most common.

The mouthpiece has a round end which is inserted into the mouth with threads hanging from it. This mouthpiece stays in the mouth of the king throughout the period that he is adorned with the regalia. It is explained that the mouth piece prevents the king from talking to anyone. This allows him to concentrate on what he is doing. This symbolises the fact that during war the king needs maximum concentration. Since the *batakari kesie* is protective of the body, the mouth piece could contain some medicine which the king swallows gradually with his saliva, thus providing him additional protection. With all the pieces and their accessories together, the *batakari*, as the researcher was told, is very heavy.

The *batakari* is worn with a red loin cloth (*danta*) which serves as a pair of shorts, red being a colour that depicts passion - the passion of political determination, struggle, and defence. The *batakari* itself is brownish, a colour which stands for seriousness of purpose and war (Appiah, 1979). With the heavy weight of the *batakari*, its ease for use in war, where a reasonable level of agility is needed, is questionable. It could be either that the *batakari* was not that heavy initially, or that its powers make it feel light on the wearer. One purpose associated with clothing on the body is to change one's sense of movement. The

batakari kesie, with its numerous talismans and its weight, gives the king a reason to walk majestically.



Plate 2: The Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in his Batakerie kesie

The *Nsumankwahene* is responsible for the maintenance of the *batakari kesie*. On any occasion that the *batakari* is used, the *Nsumankwahene* cleanses it spiritually by invoking spiritual powers to protect the king. Any missing talisman is replaced and more are added when necessary. Apart from the talismans, herbal and other spiritual fortifications are produced and used on the *batakari kesie*. The *batakari* is well fortified and is, superior to any other *batakari* hence the name big *batakari* (*batakari kesie*). Big in this sense connotes both size and superiority.

Headwears

There are basically four types of headwears used by the Asantehene. These are the *Denkyemkye*, *Krobonkye*, *Abotire* and headwears in the form of a chain with a pendant. The *denkyemkye* (Plate 3) can be called the big hat (*ekye kesie*), the hat of all hats (*ekye mu ekye*). It is the most important hat of the Asantehene, and is used during the king's installation. It is said to have been made from the same elephant skin that covers the seat of the golden stool. This hat is decorated with gold casts of ram's horn, the head of a crown bird (noted elsewhere as hornbill), sea shells, and the *adwira* plant. This hat is worn by the Asantehene only at the Pampaso installation rites and when there is a serious crisis such as declaration of war in the Asante Kingdom.

The hat is a representation of Osei Tutu's encounters on his journey from Akwamu to Kumasi (Kwaman) on his way to becoming the first Asantehene of the Asante Confederacy. This has been described by McCaskie (1992), '... as an episodic voyaging in nature. In this trajectory, the principal protagonists of the tradition apart from Osei Tutu I are *mmoa* and Komfo Anokye' (p. 240). In the

company of Komfo Anokye, the king to-be, journeyed through the forest and encountered a number of animals.

Firstly Osei Tutu's entourage was alleged to have encountered an elephant trapped in a pit which could not be removed by a hunter, Atia Boro, and his people due to its sheer size. With the guidance of Okomfo Anokye, Osei Tutu was able to throw out the animal alone with a single hurl. Osei Tutu's rewards were the elephant's tail, tusks and the skin of one knee. The elephant's tail is used to adorn his hat.

Osei Tutu's entourage encountered a very rich man called Atenke or Atenkwa, and his wife Sakyiwaa, or Sakwa who fed Osei Tutu and his entourage with a fat ram. This rich man who jealously guarded the beauty of his wife hid her face from sight. Unfortunately Osei Tutu killed the rich man, took his wife, and added the ram's horns to the lappets of his hat. Later, they encountered a leopard and Osei Tutu ordered his men to capture it alive. Osei Tutu then killed the leopard and added its tail to his hat. In the fourth episode, Osei Tutu met a hornbill (*akyenkyena*) perched in a tree and eating palm fruits. He killed it, and sewed its head on his hat between the ram's horns. Finally, Osei Tutu's entourage encountered a bushbuck (*owansan*) caught in a hunter's trap. Osei Tutu released the animal and put the thong of the trap round his own neck.

According to McCaskie (1992), Osei Tutu's hat and neck thong were representations of personhood or the self. The hat, still a vital part of Asante royal regalia, is a commemoration and a representation of incidents which occurred on

Osei Tutu's heroic journey from Akwamu to Kumasi. Osei Tutu's hat has since become the installation crown of the kings of Asante.

With the name *denkyemkye*, most writings describe the hat as being made from a crocodile skin since *denkyem* translates as crocodile. Crocodile encounter was not mentioned in his journey from Akwamu to Kumasi. The encounters documented were carefully chosen to bring out a story that would enhance the image of Osei Tutu I. It could also be that the crocodile hat was part of his wardrobe on departure from Akwamu. Being made of crocodile skin or elephant skin does not negate the hat's importance in subsequent events that led to the selection of Osei Tutu as the first king of the Asante confederation and the use of this hat as the crown of the Asantehene. When he entered Kumasi, Osei Tutu I made a symbolic use of this hat which was a story of his journey. He told the inhabitants of Kumasi that Domaahene, Adom Kusi, who killed Obiri Yeboa would be unable to escape from just retribution even if he proved as strong as an elephant, as fierce as a lion, as elusive as hornbill, or as stubborn as a ram. Osei Tutu's speech was an indication of his personal confrontations with powers in nature. Thus, in this recitation, Osei Tutu I recounted the steps by which he had changed, becoming a realised and integrated individual, to the moment when as self, addressed the Asanteman in the role and capacity of an Asantehene (McCaskie 1992).

Osei Tutu is said to have told the gathering that the looped thong was to catch Adom Kusi (even if the Domaahene should prove able to run like the bushbuck). In a sense this is the climactic moment where Osei Tutu I here offered

a conclusive public affirmation of his transformed self (Prempeh II, n.d. cited McCaskie, (1992). He was now ready to lead Asanteman; and no longer the restless boy who had troubles in Denkyira and Tekyiman (McCaskie, 1992).



Plate 3: Denkemkye of the Asante King

The elephant is a sacred animal of the Asantes. The use of the elephant skin could also show power. The elephant is known to be one of the kings of the forest and destroys everything in its path in order to move ahead. This attitude of the elephant could show how the Asantehene exercises his authority over the people and has power that will not allow anything or anybody to get in his way in his bid

to making the Asante nation move forward. It could also be said to show the prowess of King Osei Tutu I and, by extension, all subsequent Kings of Asante. The alleged killing of an elephant, a leopard and bushbuck, and using their parts for regalia of the Asante nation, show that if a king is ready to sacrifice his life by struggling with such dangerous animals and eventually killing them, on his onward journey to create a nation, and if these animals, with their strength, could not stand in his way, then nothing would.

The changing of the decorative items to gold could be to immortalise the memory of that journey and preserve the degradable items. The original hat, as displayed at the British museum, is described as being made of antelope skin. Its adornments which are in gold include horns, lion, human heads, human jaws, and shells at the rim.

The *krobonkye* (Plate 4) has a dome shape with strips coming down the side towards the chin. It is made of tiger or lion skin, covered in black paint thus making it look metallic. The black paint is meant to preserve it. When worn on festive occasions, the *krobonkye* is decorated with gold nuggets in the shape of animals and plants, a common shape being that of a beetle found in palm trees (*asomorodwe*). The tiger or lion is a sign of power or strength since these animals are kings of the forest.

When worn during funerals, the *krobonkye* has red pepper and a leaf of fern (*aya*) at the side but with no gold decorations. The pepper shows the pain of the king as a result of the death and the fern is a symbol of endurance. The fern is a very hardy plant which can survive any kind of hardship including fire. Sayings

associated with the fern include 'fern, even the wildest fire cannot annihilate me' (*aya, hyi me a ehyi*); 'cover crop, you are just surrounding the palm tree it is however the fern that is superior' (*sensam wo san abe asi kwa aya na ayifro worno*'). *Sensam* is a cover plant on palm plantations while the fern grows on palm trees. This second proverb also seeks to highlight the supremacy of fern over other plants and by implication the supremacy (power) of the king over all his subjects. Probably, the combination of the pepper and the fern is to show that despite the pain, he is still very powerful and has the ability to endure pain.



Plate 4: Nana Osei Tutu II with krobonye on

Source: Yankah (2009)

The *abotire* (headgear) (Plate 5) is a hat with an open top, which looks like a fabric crown. It is a velvet headband with two short vertical projections at the back called *bongo horns* after a type of powerful and elusive antelope found in the forest (Rattray, 1927). It is studded with golden or silver nuggets in different forms and shapes taken from nature and the *adinkra* symbols. It serves as the regular headwear of the Asantehene.



Plate 5: *Abotire* (headgear) with *Obi nnka obi a obi nka obi adinkra* design.

The chain headwear (Plate 6) is an ordinary long chain made of leather or metal with pendants. When the chain is on the head of the king, the pendant hangs on one side of the forehead. It is usually worn on a shaven head to draw attention away from the head of the wearer and make the observer concentrate on the headwear and assess not only its significance but also note the power portrayed by the Asante through wealth in the use of gold. The pendants come in various symbolic forms.



Plate 6: Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in the chain headwear

Cloths

Cloth, apart from beautifying and covering the body also communicates messages. According to Domowitz (1992), Akan cloths can be described as ‘proverb cloths’ because they offer accessible public voice to those who are constrained to silence. Yankah (1995) described them as “textile rhetoric” in their design and its mode of wearing may be ‘not just to praise political heroes, to commemorate historical events and to assert social identities, but also as a form of rhetoric – a channel for the silent projection of argument’ (p. 81)

The Asantehene has a variety of cloths for official use with specific colours of fabrics used in the palace on different days of the week and for specific occasions. On Mondays and Thursdays, the colour code is black, with white being the code for Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays. This colour code applies to chiefs, elders and all who visit the king for traditional consultations. Cloths used by the Asantehene are generally of four types: the *nwintoma* (woven cloth) or *kente*, the *adinkra cloth*, the *akunintoma*, and the *kuntukuni*. The *nwintoma* consists mainly of kente cloth and the designs for the king are usually exclusive. Most of the designs have been carried down several generations with new designs added, when needed. Special weavers are designated to produce the king's cloth and it is an offence for any subject to replicate the design of the Asantehene. Anyone who tries to defy it does not go only against the king but is also an affront to the whole Asante State. Even today, at the Manhyia Palace, no other person can wear a kente without boarders except the Asantehene. This is show of exclusivity of what is worn by the Asantehene and depicts his status and power.

Types of kente cloths

Within the kente group here are various types, depending on the type of weave. There is the *ahwepan* (plain weave), the *topreko* (plain weave with simple weft inlays), and *faprenu* (double weave method which hides the warp threads). The Asantehene usually uses the *faprenu*, which renders the *kente* rich and heavy.

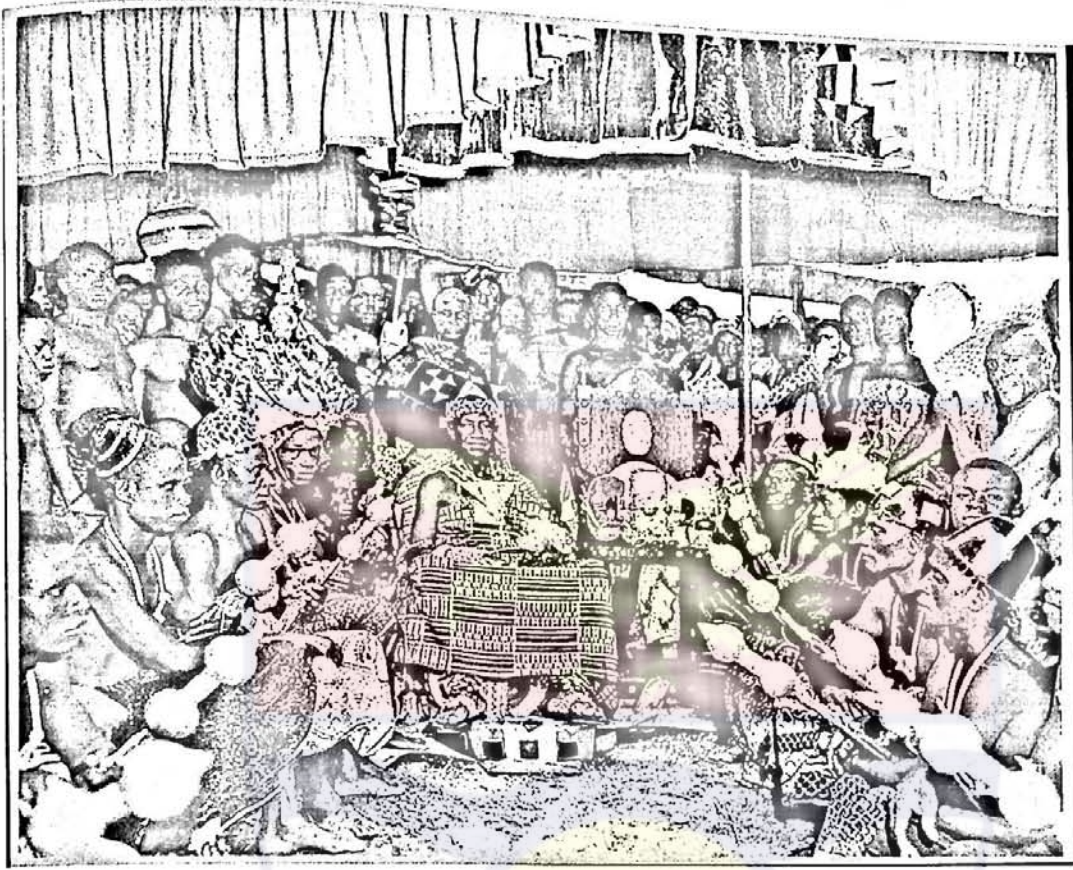


Plate 7: The Asantehene Nana Prempeh II in it does not take long for one to stray into another's path (*Obi nkye obi kwan mu si*) Cloth.

The Asantehene could commission a *kente cloth* to be woven to mark a historical, social or political event in the Asante Kingdom. Nana Agyeman Prempeh I commissioned the *kente* design *Obi nkye obi kwan mu si*, (it does not take long for one to stray into another's path) (Plate 7). This design symbolises forgiveness, pacification, tolerance, patience, and fairness. It is a reminder that it is human to err and so one should be conciliatory when one is offended because the offended sooner or later one may be the offender. Nana Agyeman Prempeh I acted symbolically by putting on that *kente* design when he was going on exile, because he had strayed into the path of the British Administration of the Gold Coast. *Kente cloth* used to be worn only by people of high social status, especially royals who could commission special

designs for themselves. As the economy improved other people began to own *kente*. The *Kente* design named 'becoming rich does not make one a royal' (*wo nya wo ho a, wonnye dehye* □) was, therefore, woven for some royals to draw a distinction between them and the "nouveau riche" □.

Designs have been exhausted or ultimate design (*Adwini asa*), Oyoko nation (*Oyoko man*), children of females (*Mmaa ma*) and there are some people higher than others (*obi te obi so*), signifying hierarchy, are some of the designs that were exclusive to royals. Presented below are some designs exclusive to the Asantehene and the stories behind them. The design, *fa wo hia k□ twere Agyeman* (approach Agyeman to help you solve your problems of poverty) depicts the benevolence of the Asantehene, Nana Agyeman Prempeh I, towards his people. It is said that he was so benevolent that he took care of the poor. This design represented the rise of the bureaucracy in Asante in the 19th century. Several men chose to serve in the king's court rather than stay poor as village farmers. (Retrieved March 20, 2012 from <http://www.kentecloth.net/category/kente-cloth-designs-meaning/>).



Plate 8: *Oyokoman na gya da mu*

Source: <http://www.kentecloth.net/category/kente-cloth-designs-meaning>

□ *yokoman na gya da mu* (crisis in the Oyoko nation) (Plate 8), is a symbol of the bane of internal conflicts, warning against internal strife, need for unity in diversity and reconciliation. The name of this cloth has its roots in the civil war between two factions of the Oyoko royal family after the death of Nana Osei Tutu I.

The *Adwini Asa* (Plate 9) kente cloth has an intricate weft design. The length of the cloth is filled with weft floats which hide the warp threads. Several motifs are skillfully used to fill the entire length of the cloth. In the art of kente weaving, this design separated the boys from the men. It is said that the designer of the *adwini asa* motif attempted to weave a unique cloth to please the Asantehene. In the process he used all the motifs then known to weavers. In the end, he remarked that he had exhausted all the motifs (*adwini*) known to Asante weavers. The cloth was, of top quality, and the best of kente cloths, aside the ones woven exclusively for the Asantehene. The design is a symbol for royalty, elegance, excellence, wealth, perfection, and top quality.



Plate 9: *Adwini asa*

Source: <http://www.kentecloth.net/category/kente-cloth-designs-meaning/>

Apremo (Canons) cloth pattern is a symbol of resistance against foreign domination and the superior military strategy of the Asante. The cloth was designed to signify the superior military strategy with which the Asante defeated the Europeans who had superior ammunition. An Asantehene is said to have said that "The white man brought his canon to the bush but the bush was stronger than the canon".

Kyeretwie (the one who catches a leopard) (Plate 10) was designed to commemorate an incident in which Nana Kwaku Dua (1838 -1867) ordered his warriors to catch a leopard alive as a test of their courage. Since then, the appellation *Kyeretwie*, has been appended to the names of some of the Asante Kings whose bravery and leadership qualities were comparable to the courage that the warriors exhibited in catching a live leopard. The design spots black vertical warp stripes which represent the black spots in a leopard's skin. This cloth was previously worn only by the Asantehene or by other chiefs with the permission of the Asantehene. The *Kyeretwie* design is a symbol for courage, exceptional achievement in all areas of life, and for inspiration.



Plate 10: *Kyeretwie*

Source: <http://www.kentecloth.net/category/kente-cloth-designs-meaning/>

Akyempem (thousand shields) (Plate 11) refers to shields used by the militarised thousands of men and women who defended the Asante Kingdom against external aggression. The cloth symbolises military prowess, unity through military strength, bravery, political vigilance and spiritual defensiveness.



Plate 11: *Akyempem*

Source: <http://www.kentecloth.net/category/kente-cloth-designs-meaning>

The akunintoma (Cloth for the honourables)

Akunintoma are woven plain fabrics that are embroidered or appliquéd. The embroidered and appliquéd patterns are in the form of adinkra symbols, or geometric patterns which look like talismans and symbolic animals (Plate 12). The cloth consists of imagery, which tend to be proverbs. Pictures are used to represent ideas and those who are knowledgeable about the designs can read and interpret the messages.



Plate 12a: Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in *akunintoma*



Plate 12b: Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in *akunintoma*

Adinkra Cloth

Adinkra means 'goodbye' or 'farewell'. The *Adinkra* symbols express various themes that relate to the history, beliefs and philosophy of the Asante. *Adinkra* symbols depict historical events, human behaviour and attitudes, animal behaviour, plant life forms and shapes of objects. They mostly have proverbial meanings.



Plate 13: Asantehene Osei Tutu II in *adinkra* cloth

Adinkra cloth (Plate 13) has a plain fabric base with *adinkra* designs stamped in them. The base fabric is usually plain coloured woven kente cloth. Some common designs used by the Asantehene are *gye Nyame* (except God) and *obi nka obi a obi nka obi* (if no one disturbs someone else, no one will be disturbed by anyone else).

Kuntunkuni cloth

Kuntukuni cloth is a woven, plain fabric which is black in colour and sometimes embroidered with designs. It is used for mourning.

Danta

Danta (loin cloth) is a piece of fabric that is worn around the waist down to the knee level. It is used under wrapped cloth in place of shorts. This is probably the tradition that was used before the introduction of sewing into Ghana. It still maintains as an example of tradition. There is the yellow loin cloth (*kyimdanta*) which is used for joyous festive occasions and the black or red loin cloths for funerals and more solemn occasions.

Footwears

The Asantehene has several official traditional footwears, all of which are leather sandals. Some are covered with plates of gold and silver, and some studded with gold or silver symbols. There is the Golden Sandals, which is used during the installation of the Asantehene and is called *mpaboa kesie* – the great sandals. These sandals of all sandals are believed to be spiritually fortified. The golden sandals was created by the first king of the Asante state, Osei Tutu I. Apart from his installation, the Asantehene uses this pair of sandals on special occasions such as state festivals, business meetings of the state and to the place of ancestral veneration (*akrafieso*). Silver sandals are worn at the discretion of the king and his elders. On ordinary occasions, the king wears leather sandals with golden or silver decoration in images which are the same as those for the anklets.

Jewellery

The Asantehene's regalia include different kinds of jewellery - from rings to elbow wears, head wear, neck wear, anklets and bracelets (Plate 14). Mainly made of gold they are used by the Asantehene on public occasions; sometimes in multiples, and other times, singly. The weight of some of the rings may be between 30 and 50 grams (Abercrombie, Cochran & Mims, 1997). Gold is the most common metal used in the adorning the Asantehene and traditionally, Asantehene has had his own skilled goldsmiths who create designs as and when he needed or commissioned.

The Asante have always been and continue to be acutely aware that gold (*sika*) alluvially derived as dust, or mined in the form of nuggets - is located conceptually and materially at the very core of the historical experience of their society and culture (McCaskie, 1983 p. 27).

Most significantly, as McCaskie (1983) noted, it was the entrepreneurial deployment of gold that started, and then entrenched and accelerated, crucial processes of status differentiation in Asante society. The three major stages of this differentiation were, firstly, the individual who accumulates surplus wealth in terms of gold - a 'big man' (*obirempon*); secondly, the phenomenon of aggrandisement through institutionalization of the *obirempon* by ritual; and thirdly, the one state presided over by the Asantehene, who is the ultimate *obirempon* who, therefore, has to accumulate and display the most wealth in the form of gold (McCaskie 1983). Other materials used are silver, rayon, and leather. Some of the jewellery are for enhancing beauty and social status while others are for religious and ritual purposes.



Plate 14: Otumfuo Nana Osei Tutu II in different kinds of jewellery and holding a Flywhisk.

- neckwears, bracelets and rings.
- Double *adaabo* as part of neckwear.

Neckwears

The king of Asante wears several neckwears made of different materials with the most common material being gold. The 'chain' of the neckwears are in either leather, silk/rayon thread, fabric or metal. *Adaeboo*, a triangular breast-plate worn prominently by an Asantehene when in full state regalia, used to be worn in Asante by the Asantehene alone as a symbol of his supreme authority (Danquah 1952). It is doubled for the Asantehene these days since it is used by chiefs under him in recent days. When worn in double a small one rests on top of a bigger one. One interpretation in this situation where the small one is on top of a bigger one could mean that no matter how big another ruler views himself the Asantehene reigns supreme in the kingdom. The *adaeboo* is formed with leather, which is an imitation of the talisman, and covered with gold

Arm, hand, and leg jewellery

When in full regalia, the Asantehene's arms and fingers are adorned with golden jewellery (Plate 15). Most of the symbols of the rings on the fingers are curled from nature. The jewellery on the upper arm, the elbow and the wrist are made of chains or cords. The cords are made of rayon in colours that are influenced by the occasion – red and black for mourning and gold and green for festive occasions. Pendants attached to the chains are usually talismans and amulets in leather or in gold. The gold adornments on the arm could be so heavy that the Asantehene's arms are supported by bearers. Supporting the Asantehene's arms also shows the privileged position and power of the King.

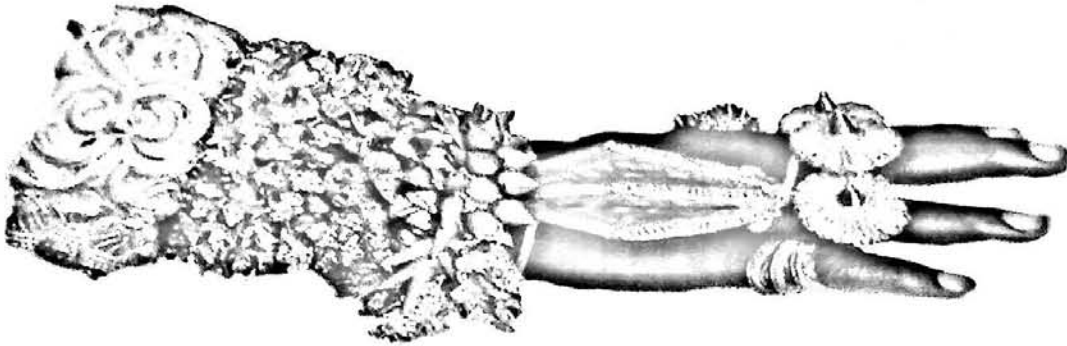


Plate 15: Hand and wrist with golden jewellery

- akonkrofi jewelry lying on top of the hand.
- Fingers with golden rings.

The rings of the Asantehene convey several meanings through proverbs or other expressions. It could be about power, supremacy of the king, bravery, morals or behaviour. They also convey messages and moods of the wearer and also indicate how he rules. For example, the star or starburst (*nsoroma*) design depicts the Asantehene as the shining star who lights the path for his people. The ring with a bird and canons represent his military strength. The shape of a square knot is a symbol of wisdom and the ability to solve problems -only a wise man can untie the square knot (*nyansapɔ wɔsane no badwenba*). The symbol of Siamese twin crocodiles joined at the stomach, means that all belong to one but each struggles for recognition and satisfaction (*dɔnkyɛm funtunfunafu*). It symbolises the belief of Asantes in democracy. The ram's horns represent strength and wisdom. The adinkra symbol, if no one disturbs someone else, no one will be disturbed by anyone else (*obi nka obi a obi nka obi*), symbolises the fact that it takes two parties to wage war, therefore peace will reign so long as there is no aggressor; This is the symbol of peaceful co-existence.

Another popular jewelry used by the Asantehene is the *akonkrofi*, which is a wristlet joined to a ring on the middle finger by three triangular pendants joined at the base. It could be an imitation of a talisman in gold for protection but cast in three pieces for luck. The leg wear is similar to that of the arm. Golden talisman symbols are used around the ankles and knees of the king.

Fly whisks

The Asantehene owns two types of fly-whisk, the more important flywhisks, *sikampra*, being that made from the tail of an elephant and the others from horse tail. The elephant, a symbol of power, is a royal beast and whoever killed one was supposed to surrender its tusks, tail, and ears to the Asantehene. The tail was turned into a fly-whisk. Fly whisks (Plate 14) are believed to have spiritual powers and the Asantehene uses them, especially, at public functions for protection.

Swords

Swords (*afena*) are second only to stools as items of Akan regalia (Ross, 1977). They play several roles in Asante ritual life, with their most important political function performed at the enstoolment of traditional rulers. The type of sword used during oath taking distinguishes one ruler from another in terms of rank. There are also different swords for different rituals such as the purification of a king's soul and of the black state stools.

Appiah (1979), while writing on Akan symbolism, stated that almost every item of stool paraphernalia has an associated meaning, with some representing two or three ideas. A sword, for example, gets its name from the group it belongs

to, the ornament(s) (*abosodee*) fixed below the hilt and a general name used for specific occasions only. By far, the most important of the ceremonial swords are the edge of the sleeping mat swords (*keteanofena*). This group is composed of two major sub-groups: the *akrafena* and the *bosomfena*. These two groups of swords embody and represent two distinct spiritual elements. Those on the Asantehene's right (*akrafena*) represent his soul or life-force (*kra*), while those on the left (*bosomfena*), his ego, spirit or personality (*sunsum*) that is inherited from his father.

Asante swords have ornaments (*abosodee*). *Abosodee* motifs are drawn from the natural and man-made world of the Asantes. Most of the images, according to Ross (1977), are linked with traditional sayings or proverbs, but some, such as the lion, are simple metaphors. There are two principal swords that are handled by the Asantehene – the *Bosumuru* and the *mponponsuo* swords.

The *Bosumuru* sword is said to be the first *keteanofena* to have been made for King Osei Tutu I, the founder of the Asante nation. All subsequent Asantehene use it for oath swearing during their installation rites at Pampaso.

The *bosumuru* sword is of patrilineal descent. The *bosumuru* sword is, therefore, the spirit of the Asantehene by which he swears the greatest oath to his people. It is the most important sword in the Asante kingdom and goes to show that although the Asantes inherit matrilineally, the patrilineage is also very important where the Asantehene is concerned (McCaskie 1995).

According to Gott (2003), the *bosumuru* sword is the first of the state swords representative of the king's *ntoro* or vital spiritual essence (*abosomfena*).

Kyerematen as described by Ross (1977) pointed out the sacred nature of the *bosomuru* sword, which is decorated with a magically empowered mangabey skull believed to have been conjured from the skies by the legendary priest, Okomfo Anokye, for the first Asante king, Asantehene Osei Tutu I.

The *mponponsuo* sword (Plate 16), an *akrafena*, is used by all the paramount chiefs in the Asante Kingdom while swearing loyalty to the Asantehene. The name of the sword *mponponsuo*, meaning responsibility, stems from the tradition that Asantehene Opoku Ware I used this sword to dedicate his life to his people in war. It is always kept near the Golden Stool and as such, is a spiritual symbol of the Asante nation (Kyerematen 1969).

The *mponponsuo* sword is the largest of the *keteano* swords and has its hilt and scabbard covered with leopard skin, alluding to the king's power and bravery. This sword is adorned with various gold decorations (*aborsodie*) on the scabbard alluding to the great wealth of the Asantehene. One casting depicts a snake (gaboon viper) with an antelope in its mouth, a symbol of a traditional ruler's patience. This ornament is based on a story about a long-standing debt owed by the antelope to the snake. The antelope thinking that, due to its agility, it could not be pursued by the slower snake, did not pay the debt and decided to run away. After a long drought, the antelope went to the only remaining water hole to drink water (Ross, 1977; 1978). The snake had also gone to the same water hole to drink water. Since the antelope had to take its time to drink the water the snake caught him in his mouth. The antelope then had to come to terms on his debt to the snake to enable the antelope to quench its thirst.



Plate 16: The *Mponponsuohene* with the *mponponsuo* sword

The antelope of the *aborsodie* has its head turned backwards, as seen in the *sankofa* bird of the *adrinkra* symbol, emphasizing the value of hindsight. The head of the antelope turned back could signify the regret by the antelope and thus looks back at its folly, realising that he could have paid instead of being in the current situation with his life at stake. The fact that the animal in question is an antelope which is very fast as compared to the snake is very symbolic. It goes to

reiterate the fact that no matter how cunning or smart one perceives oneself, the laws of the state will catch up with a wrong doer.

The *mponponsuo* sword also has amulets for protection. Next to the hilt a miniature sword sits on the *mponponsuo* sword, illustrating the proverb 'some swords are more powerful than others' (*afena be da ebi so*) (Kyerematen cited in Ross, 1977). The fact that some swords are more powerful than others shows the supremacy of the king in Asanteman. It could also be a reminder to Asanteman that there is a clear and distinct social stratification system in the kingdom.

Significance of clothing in the installation of the Asantehene

The enstoolment of Asantehenes dates back to 1700's during the reign of Nana Osei Tutu I, the founder of the Asante Kingdom. There are various stages involved in the installation of the Asantehene, with each stage being associated with different adornments and outlined below as reported by Bassing and Kyeremanten (1972).

After a king has been selected, he is presented to the *Gyase*'s delegation for first acceptance, followed by the Asanteman Council, then the general public. At this stage, the king is smeared with white powder as a sign of victory. This is because to be chosen and accepted without any contest is deemed a victory. The next ceremony is the swearing of oath by the king-elect, using the *mponponsuo* sword in the presence of the queen mother of Asante (*Asantehemaa*), who is also responsible for nominating the Asantehene, and all the clan chiefs of Kumasi, all the linguists and the people assembled. At this point, the Asantehene -

elect is dressed in white adinkra to signify his victory. Once he takes the oath, he becomes the Kumasihene.

When the king-elect becomes the Kumasihene, he sits in state at Pramkesieso and receives homage from all the chiefs of Kumasi who approach him with their cloths lowered to the waist level to show respect for him as their overall chief and then swear their oath of allegiance. After this ceremony, the Asantehene elect is entitled to use all the stool regalia of the Asante kingdom, except the Golden stool, the busumuru sword, the state Umbrella (*Bo- Aman*), and the silver purse (*Dweteh Kudu*).

The next stage of the installation rites is the crowning and final oath taking. The ceremony starts on a Saturday preceding the second Monday (*Nkyidwuo*) after *Akwaside* (See Appendix D for fourty day calendar). All paramount, divisional and other chiefs of Asanteman are received by the king-elect at Dwabirem. The king-elect, clad in white adinkra cloth, a symbol of his purity and his impending victory, and dispossessed of all other paraphernalia, sets out for Pampaso carried in a small swinging palanquin (*denkyedenkye*), by two instead of four carriers with two medium-sized umbrellas covering him. The size of the palanquin and the umbrellas are to show that he is not fully a king yet, but a chief who needs to be carried and shielded from the rays of the sun.

On Monday (*nkyiduo*) morning, prior to the arrival of the king elect at Pampaso, he sends presents to the occupant of the Akyiaa Ama stool of Pampaso, who is traditionally the first nanny of the Asantehene. As the titular mother of the Asantehene, her house at Pampaso is where the initial ceremony

commences. The presents the king-elect sends to his nanny are a kente cloth, a silk cummerbund and a piece of white plain fabric. A kente cloth is also sent to the *Adwumakaasehene*, the only chief who unsheaths the *Busumuru* sword for the new Asantehene.

The Pampaso rites are strictly private and are performed behind closed doors. After the private ceremony, the king-elect comes out ceremonially carried at the back of his nanny with the kente cloth and the silk cummerbund the king elect had sent earlier. The use of the kente and silk symbolises how precious the child is and so cannot be given away easily to serve *Asanteman*. The Mamponghene, acting on behalf of all the chiefs of the Asante state, requests the nanny to give them her son. The nanny refuses the request of the chiefs to hand over her son twice but consents on the third request. She consents only after a token fee has been paid.

After the handing over ceremony, the *Adwumakaasehene* is sent for through a sword bearer. On each occasion, he refuses until a sword bearer with the *Bosumuru* sword is sent. This sword, which is usually in the care of the *Adwumakaasehene*, is taken from him at the death of an Asantehene. When summoned to Pampaso, the *Bosumuru* sword is given back to him. The *Adwumakaasehene*, clad in kente cloth provided by the king-elect and holding the *Bosumuru* state sword, then leads a procession of all the state swords to Pampaso. The kente cloth indicates the importance attached to the *Bosumuru* sword. That the king provides the kente shows that although the *Adwumakaasehene* unsheathes the sword, he is still a subject of the king who has provided the cloth

he wears to unsheath the sword. This order of procession probably shows the superiority of the *Bosumuru* sword especially with the *Adwumakaasehene* right behind to offer it maximum protection. Without exchanging greetings with anyone, he enters the Pampafie where he unsheaths the sword and hands it over to the Asantehene-elect saying: "I pass on to you your authority. This is the *Bosumuru* sword with which your ancestor, King Osei Tutu, waged his wars. I hand it over to you" This is repeated three times. Each time the Asantehene-elect replies 'I accept it.' The *Adwumakaasehene* places on the head of the Asantehene-elect the *denkyemkye* three times finally leaving it on his head on the third occasion, signifying the three elements that an Akan person is made of and also luck. At this stage the Asantehene-elect is given custody of almost all the items of the royal regalia, the most notable exceptions being the Black Stools and the Golden Stool.

With the *Bosumuru* sword in his right hand, a shield in his left hand, the king-elect leaves the Pampasohene's compound and steps outside. In the olden days, wars were fought with swords and shields so the swearing with a sword signifies the willingness of the king elect to defend his people at all times and at all cost. With the most important sword of Asanteman in one hand and a shield in the other, the king-elect, gets ready for battle to protect and establish peace in Asanteman, the primary reason for which the Asante state was created. The king-elect then retires to his designated house where the *Nsumankwaahene* dresses him with the *batakari kesie*.

The next ceremony in the initiation and installation rites takes place at the *Dwabirem*, which is the durbar ground of the Asante state. (That of the current Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, was performed at the Kumasi stadium due to the expected crowd). The Asantehene arrives at the *Dwabirem* grounds, wearing the *batakarie kesie* and in a palanquin, with all the chiefs, queenmothers, and all other dignitaries already seated. At the *Dwabirem*, after alighting from the palanquin, the Asantehene goes through a short ceremony with all communications being non-verbal. This is because the mouth-piece of the *batakari kesie* is in his mouth. The essence of this ceremony is to show that he is now ready to take the lead in fighting for the Asante nation. The king, donning his armour and not uttering a word, shows his powers and status. This is one of the few occasions and maybe for some kings the only occasion that they will don the *batakari kesie*.

The next stage, which is the actual enstoolment, climaxes the installation rites. This ceremony takes place at the Manhyia Palace at midnight. The Asantehene arrives, dressed in white Adinkra cloth, lowered to the waist, to show his humility to rule the people. He is accompanied by the Golden Stool, which is the soul of the nation; without it, he cannot be a king. With the *afuduo* on, the *Bosumuru* sword bearer on his left, the *mponposuo* sword bearer on his right, a gold necklace and gold bells on his neck, the *denkyemkye* on his head and wearing the sandal of all sandals (*mpaboa kesie*) the king elect walks majestically, accompanied by his attendants, to the courtyard and towards the Golden Stool which has been positioned.

On reaching the Golden Stool, the king-elect turns to the *Mpomposuohene*, who has the *mpomposuo* sword, to inform the Mamponghene of his readiness for the coronation. The Golden Stool is placed on an elephant skin in the middle of the courtyard (*bampanase*). The king elect is then lifted towards the Golden Stool three times by chiefs holding various parts of his body and making sure that his body does not touch the stool. The Asantehene then departs to his room where he remains quiet till the following day. The following morning, a Tuesday the king dresses in white and sits in state on a white stool decorated with gold to receive homage. The next day, Wednesday, the Asantehene again sits in state at the *bampanase* and in full regali, for all the chiefs to take leave of him. This ceremony ends the enstoolment of the King of Asanteman.

Significance of clothing of the Asantehene during the 40th-day celebrations and funeral rites of his predecessor

Forty days is very important in Akan culture, where a forty day calendar is run. On assuming office, the Asantehene has to perform the final funeral rites of his predecessor. This celebration is known as the festival of the black cloth (*kuntukuni dae*), black being one of the colours of the Asante state which also denotes seriousness, union with ancestors, and awareness.

On the fortieth day celebration of the death of an Asantehene, the new king attends the ceremony dressed in red cloth wearing a war cap (*krobonkye*) which is studded with a fresh fern leaf on which there is fresh red cayenne pepper. The use of fresh products for mourning shows how fragile a human being is; strong and

fresh at one time, then weak and withered at the end. He is also decorated with black beads on the neck and on the wrist. His body, especially the arms, are adorned with red ocre in strips across the arm as a sign of being in mourning.

Significance of clothing of the Asantehene at festivals

The main festivals of Asantes are *awukudae*, the *akwasidae* and the *adaekesie*. On these three festive days, the Asantehene presents offerings to his ancestors. *Akwasidae* is celebrated every forty days and is on Sundays; the *adaekesie* is celebrated on every eight *akwasidae*.

On *awukudae*, the Asantehene wears an Adinkra cloth. During the *adaekesie* celebration, the Asantehene is dressed in full regalia. On this day, the Asantehene displays the wealth of the Asante kingdom and all the symbolisms associated with it. Since this is a festival in which all Asantes are supposed to be involved, it provides their overlord the chance to showcase the accumulated communal treasure. Indeed, the Asantehene's golden paraphernalia, most of it between 8 and 12 carats, is the property of the Asante state. During wars, the gold would sometimes be melted down to raise funds (Stewart, 2005). The accumulated gold is, therefore, a store of wealth for display and for use to fund state functions when the need arises.

Significance of clothing in destooling the Asantehene.

Among the Akan, sandals serve the same purpose as crowns among European royals. Sandals are very important in that the king's feet must never touch the ground, as this would short circuit the spiritual power and remove his

sacred condition (Bartle, 1983). In other words when the king's feet touch the ground, the sacred power of the king is defused and he becomes a commoner.

Stewart (2005) avers 'It's not uncommon to go to a major Akan festival and see six or seven sandal-bearers toward the front of the procession, each carrying a pair of the chief's sandals' (p. 92). The fact that it is extra footwear that are carried along and not any other clothing item indicates the importance of sandals as a clothing item to the king. This is to ensure that should the sandals of the king be rendered unwearable there is another one available to make sure that the king's feet does not touch the ground.

The whole body of the king on his installation becomes sacred. He becomes one of the gods. No part of the body should be allowed to touch the ground else he gets desecrated and the gods should be pacified if this is unintentional. The destooling of an Asante king involves the removal of his sandals for his bare feet to touch the ground.

Significance of clothing of the Asantehene in death

When the Asantehene dies, he is dressed in full regalia, using kente and jewellery. The adornments are changed thrice a day every day for as long as the corpse is lying in state. Again, the glamour and wealth of the Asante kingdom is displayed. Beyond the lying in state ceremony no other part of the mortuary rites is open to the public.

Management of the Asantehene's clothing

In the Asante Kingdom the Asantehene's regalia belong to the state and are, therefore, kept in the palace. Although individual chiefs are directly responsible for specific items of the king's clothing, the items are not physically in their custody. All the items are kept at one place. There are special weavers and gold smiths in charge of producing the kente and metal jewellery of the Asantehene.

There are special people who are designated to maintain the clothing of the Asantehene. Kente fabrics are usually not washed but aired after each use and then stored away. Some of the other fabrics are washed, starched, and beaten to smoothness.

The *batakari kesie* is kept separate from the other clothing items since it needs special spiritual protection. The *Nsumankwahene* under whom all the traditional priests and mallams of the state come is responsible for this attire. Before it is used, the *batakari* is given spiritual cleansing and missing talismans replaced and new ones added.

Since the clothing items are in one place it will be easy to put them on display after the king and elders of the Asante Kingdom have been convinced about its value to tourism and the benefits that it will bring to them.



Plate 17: Awoamefia Togbui Sri III

Symbolism of numbers in Anlo tradition

The numbers three and seven are commonly used in Anlo rituals. The number three represents air, land and water which form the earth. According to one informant, these three spheres are controlled by spirits which work in unison. This could probably be the basis of the Anlo emblem, which is a traditional tripod

stove upon which all the other items in the emblem are situated. This emblem, among the Anlos evokes the saying that the tripod provides the best stability (*Enu me norna Dokpo etor dzi egli na o*). Spiritually it means 'once you go by the dictates of the three spirits that control or rule the world you cannot go wrong'.

The number seven is derived from the addition of four to the three earlier described. The number four represents the material elements of life inherited by every human being. These elements are composed of one's maternal parentage, mother, father and paternal parentage of mother and father. These four form the basic lineages of every human being. The four lineages combine with the three spiritual aspects of one's life to form seven; seven is, therefore, a sacred number which forms a whole human being.

Symbolism of articles of clothing used by the Awoamefia

The Awoamefia usually wears a cloth over white jumper, together with beads, gold or silver necklace, and a pair of traditional sandals (Plate 18). The Awoamefia traditionally was not supposed to be seen in public. This could be the reason for him not having many special clothing. The few clothing items of importance are described below.



Plate 18: Awoamefia Torgbi Sri III in full regalia

Sandals for enstoolment

The sandals for enstooling the Awoamefia are one of the special clothing articles which provide spiritual protection for the king. The sandals are bought by the clan elders whose son is being enstooled and sent to Notsie by two men, one each from the *Amlada* and *Leafe* clans. At Notsie the man from the *Amlada* stays

outside while the man from the *Leafe* clan enters the shrine of the king of Notsie. The pair of sandals is consecrated and put on the feet of the *Leafe* clan messenger. While on his feet the sandals are again consecrated, then removed from his feet. The *leafe* man is then given the sandals to be taken back to Anloga for the entstoolment of the Awoamefia. The *Leafe* clan man who enters the shrine and wears the sacred sandal is forbidden to wear any footwear for the rest of his life.

This act is to show the reverence accorded the Awoamefia. It is also believed that the consecrated sandals possess spiritual powers, some of which could have entered the messenger; therefore, if he continues wearing sandals some of the powers meant for the Awoamefia alone can be shared with him. Walking bare footed will allow the powers to leave him and bring him back to his commoner status. The man from the *amlada* clan only acts as a companion to the man from the *Leafe* clan and helps in protecting the consecrated sandals on the journey from Notsie to Anloga.

The consecration of the sandals in Notsie could be due to the fact Kponoe (Torgbi Sri I), although a native of Tado by inheritance, was entstooled in Notsie when the Anlos were under the rule of the Notsies. It is, therefore, likely that the original stool house of the Awoamefia is in Notsie.

The *Leafe* and *Amlada* are the kingmaker-clans of the Anlo kingdom. The *Amlada* clan emerged from the *Leafe* clan which was founded by Wenya, the leader of the Anlos while they were in Notsie and on their journey from Notsie. While the Anlos were in Notsie, Wenya entstooled his nephew Kponoe as their first king. Wenya and his clan took up the role of advisors and kingmakers.

Eto

Eto is a reddish rock material used in Anlo tradition and culture for ritual purposes. The caretaker of the *nyigbla* deity (*Nyigblanua*) stated (personal communication) that *eto* is a spiritual rock which the Anlos carried from their place of origin in Israel. Considered to be more important than gold to the *nyigbla* deity, *eto* is used as a form of reward in the Anlo state. The phrase '*Anlo Eto xor dua*' literally means 'Anlo, the state that collects *eto* as reward'. *Eto* is used mostly in Anlo traditional for dyeing fabrics and is also used for decorating the body of the *Awoamefia* during installation rituals and when he is performing his role as the chief priest of the *nyigbla* deity.

The Dabawu

The *Awoamefia* also uses a long garment made of a blue-black cotton fabric (*bishi*) which is known as *Dabawu* or *etowu*. The *Dabawu* is a war garment (*ade wu*) studded with a few talismans for protection. This garment is worn on the day of installation of the *Awoamefia*, during the peace making (*Nugbuidodo*) ceremony of the Anlos and on his death.

Zorfoe or Zizikpo

As narrated to the researcher by the caretaker of the *nyigbla* deity, the *Zorfoe* or *Zizikpo* is a walking stick specially fortified for the *Awoamefia* as the chief priest of the *nyigbla* shrine. This walking stick is supposed to have magical powers and is alleged to be similar to the stick Moses stretched over the sea of reeds on their journey from Egypt to Israel. According to the *Nyigblanua*, once the *Awoamefia* is enstooled this stick becomes a personal property which he

keeps with him at his residence. In his residence, this stick is placed on the *nyigbla* stool. So long as the king is at home with the *zizikpo*, it provides Anlo people have maximum protection. When he is leaving the house, the Awoamefia commits the Anlo state into the hands of the gods by pointing the stick in three directions and placing it back on the *nyigbla* stool.

Fly whisk (Sorshie)

One of the important clothing accessories used when installing the Awoamefia as the high priest of the *nyigbla* deity is a flywhisk (*Sorshie*) which translates to the tail of a horse, the fly whisk is seen to be important due to the strength and resilience of the horse. It has a spiritual value and for the Awoamefia, it is also an item for protection.

Headwears

The Awoamefia has two types of hats: straw and cloth hats. The straw hat identifies him as the chief priest of the *nyigbla* deity. This hat of the Awoamefia is in two tiers. The first tier is cylindrical and covers the head, while the second tier looks like a porter's knot which indicates that he is married to a female deity. This straw hat is made from raffia or grass. It is dyed with *eto* and studded with talisman that provide the hat with protective and spiritual powers. The installation of the Awoamefia as the chief priest of the *nyigbla* deity also implies that he is getting married to the deity who is *Mama Esrui*. As a high priest of the *nyigbla* deity, he uses the head gear of *Mama Esrui*, with a porter's knot (*agba*) on top of her hat meant for carrying luggage. The porter's knot is symbolic of the load of the whole state the Awoamefia carries as a spiritual leader of the Anlo state.

The cloth hat is round, made of velvet, studded with golden symbols and usually closed at the top. The Awoamefia is not expected to wear an open top hat as his head is considered sacred and imbued with powers which could escape should the head be exposed (Torgbui Honi personal communication 2009). This hat is the regular wear of the Awoamefia. Enculturation has however led to the use of open top hats by the Awoamefia.

Neckwears

The Awoamefia has one special neck wear called *eshi* which is made from twisted raffia. The necklace is worn when the Awoamefia plays his religious role as the chief priest of the *nyigbla* deity (Nygblanua, personal communication 2009). This neckwear is made of fourteen strands of twisted raffia. The raffia strands go round the neck and hang in front tied together with another raffia string about three inches from the base, that allows the end to hang loosely on the chest. Raffia is used because it does not decay readily and is very strong as compared to other palm plants (Torgbi Honi personal communication, 2009). Raffia is very important in Anlo traditional religion and is used by many Anlos for various purposes. The raffia has earned the saying, 'There is no fibre in this world which can boast of better qualities than raffia' (*avor kae le agudawo fe fiasa me sor kple ela*).

Significance of the clothing in the installation of the Awoamefia

The installation of Awoamefia started with Togbi Sri I in 1468 in Notsie. The Awoamefia is installed in two stages: firstly, as the administrative head, and

second, as a religious leader of the Anlo state (Nyigblanua, personal communication, 2009). The installation ceremony of the Awoamefia starts at midnight at the traditional courtyard (*Agorwowornu*). First, the king elect is bathed with herbs to cleanse and fortify him. This process is referred to as 'he has been soaked in herbs' (*wode ama me*). Some herbs are put in his mouth as the king elect is carried to the traditional gathering grounds (*Dutorkornyi*) from *Agorwowornu* clad in black cloth. The black cloth is used because the Awoamefia should not be seen by anybody. The herbs in his mouth are to prevent him from talking and also help him to concentrate. In Anlo, it is believed that, spiritually, once a traditional fortification is swallowed, one cannot later claim not to be part of that belief system. Swallowing, it is believed, makes the medicine to be absorbed into the body. This completes the installation at the clan level.

At *Dutorkornyi*, the *Nyigblanua* installs the Awoamefia as the high priest of *nyigbla*. First, the *Nyigblanua* bathes the king-elect with herbs together with water from all the major water deities in Anloga which are supposed to help in protecting the king. This bathing is another cleansing and fortification process.

The second phase of the high priest rites involves the courier of the special sandals from Notsie pointing the sacred sandals to the directions of the sunrise and sunset, showing that the Awoamefia is the number one person in the kingdom. After saying a prayer to the ancestors, the bearer of the sandals hands them over to the *Nyigblanua*. After pouring libation, the *Nyigblanua* takes the sacred sandals and calls it by name three times and then places it on a stool in front of the *nyigbla* chief priest's stool for a short period. These actions commend

the sandals to the essence of the earth and the *nyigbla* deity. The *Nyigblanua* then prays and recites the rules and prohibitions of the *nyigbla* deity together with the curses that come with defaulting on the prohibitions. With representatives of all the clans assembled, the *Nyigblanua* then points up the sandals three times and then puts the sandals on the feet of the king, who now takes over the spiritual leadership of the Anlo state. The new king is held by the *Nyigblanua* to squat above the stool for a number of times without his body touching the stool and finally placing him on the stool on the seventh count. The king is then dressed in the *dabawu*, the *eshi* is placed on his neck and the staff of office, *zizikpo*, in his hands together with a fly whisk. This ends the installation of the Awoamefia.

Significance of clothing of the Awoamefia in Anlo festivities

The most important festivities of the Anlos are the outdoorings of the Awoamefia and the arrival from the place of origin (*Hogbetsotso*) festival. On both occasions, the Awoamefia is dressed in full regalia (Plate 18) which comprises a pair of shorts and a jumper worn under a kente cloth. This attire is accessorised with beads, gold necklaces, and wrist wears. During the performance of peace-making rites (*Nugbuidodo*), a special celebration that forms part of the *Hogbetsotso* festival, the Awoamefia wears his full *nyigbla* high priest regalia. This regalia comprise the *war dress*, the raffia or grass hat, the *zizikpo*, the *eshi* and the *sorshie*. With this regalia, he presides over the peace-making rites as the High priest of the *Nyigbla* deity and spiritual leader of the Anlos.

Management of the clothing of the Awoamefia

In Anlo, the regalia of the Awoamefia are owned by each individual king. The king and his household, therefore, take care of his clothing. The adornments that are of significance in the life of the king are provided by his clan and kinsmen and become his personal property. Every king, during installation, is provided with these adornments hence the adornments are not handed down from one king to the other. This practice does not allow for accumulation of clothing regalia over the years and whatever regalia are used by an Awoamefia is dictated by his purchasing power.

The Nayiri of Mamprusi

Symbolism of articles of clothing used by the Nayiri

In the Mamprusi kingdom, the role of the Nayiri in the lives of his people is firstly spiritual. Consequently he stays confined and makes sure his people are protected spiritually. The belief among the Mamprusis is that if the Nayiri leaves the capital of the Mamprusi State, Nalerigu, a misfortune will befall the state (Nayiri's elders, personal communication, 2010). Drucker-Brown describes the Mamprusi king as follows:

Installation turns the successful prince, who is already a chief, from an unusually ambitious, active, energetic and aggressive man, usually with a fearsome reputation for his control of hidden, destructive forces, into an almost totally sedentary, solitary and passive king who

must deal with the outside world through a surrounding mass of courtiers (1992, p.71).



Plate 19: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga

This being the case, the Mamprugu king, is rarely seen in public and when in public he is usually covered from head to toe. The Nayiri, therefore, does not have an elaborate wardrobe. There are, however, specific articles of clothing together with accessories that are very important in the installation rites and in the life of the Nayiri, most of which appear to have their origins in Northern Nigeria the place of origin of the Mamprusis.

The King-River

The King-River is not an article of clothing but it is a stone on which the Nayiri sits during his installation rites. This stone is said to have the effect of modifying the body spiritually; thereby providing psychological protection. Clothing the body is a complex act that includes not only covering but beautifying it and protecting it sometimes by means that are not obvious to the onlooker.

This stone is said to be the body of an ancient Nayiri who disobeyed his elders. He allegedly built his palace on a river against the advice of his elders. The palace sank and the elders found the king beneath the river as a stone (The King River). This is a very sacred object which is not viewed ordinarily because looking at it spells with the naked disaster. Those who view and take care of it are fortified with spiritual medicine.

Nugu /Red Cap

The red cap (Plate 20) is made of felt and is symbolic of the new king's status as a king. According to the elders of Nayiri (personal communication, 2010) this cap is used only by the king and not by the other chiefs in the kingdom.

According to Arnoldi and Kraemer (1995), the red fez, imported from North Africa or the Middle East, is a popular item of daily wear among many Muslim men and some non-Muslim men in West Africa.



Plate 20: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga in a red cap covered partially by white a turban

Alchaba

The *alchaba* is a long, red, hooded gown (Plate 21). When worn, the hood covers practically the entire face of the king, and the gown reaches the floor. The face is covered to prevent the public from looking viewing the King's face since he is a sacred being. Traditionally, no other chief in the Mamprusi kingdom can wear a hooded *alchaba* in the presence of the king. Chiefs who wear the *alcaba* should take off the hood in the presence of the King.



Plate 21: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga in the Alchaba

Smocks

There are three smocks used during the installation of the king: an extra-large smock and two smaller smocks, one of which should be white. The white (Plate 22) shows his prurity and sacredness. The largest robe is referred to as the robe of honor and has been an important official garment in the Islamic world since the eighth century (Kriger, 1988). In the 19th century, this robe was common in the Sokoto Caliphate where it was known as the robe of the elephant (*riga giwa*; *riga*=robe; *giwa* =elephant). According to Perani and Wolff (1992) the big gown proclaims the wearer's wealth and conveys subtle messages, embroidered in Arabic, about his rank and his links with powerful groups in society.



Plate 22: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga in white smock

Turban

The turban of the Nayiri is white (Plate 23). It is fashioned from a long strip of cloth which could be up to 3.7 meters long, the turban is wound around the head over a small red cap. According to Perani and Wolff (1992), the most prominent accessories worn in addition to the big gowns, by the chiefs of northern Nigeria are the turban (*rawani*) and the hooded cloak which identify members of the royal family.

As Muslim leaders in Kano, members of the royal family wear the white turban to show fulfillment of duty and devotion to God. The turban is tied with two upward-projecting loops and with the ends flowing down the back which is

said to symbolically replicate the Arabic writing of the word "Allah" and to remind the wearer that God is supreme (Perani & Wolff, 1992). The turban could have been brought along during migration of the Mamprusi. Although Nayiris are animists, they have a Muslim councilor stationed in Gambaga who also offers spiritual support to the Nayiri.



Plate 23: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga in white turban

Gbewa Cap

The Gbewa cap is short and cylindrical in shape with a covered top (Plate 24). It is made from a woven fabric and studded with two big talismans one in front and the other at the back. The cap represents the supremacy of the Nayiri and the position of the talismans shows the Nayiri is the first and the last citizen of the Mamprugu kingdom, the first and the last. The Mamprusi elders (personal communication 2010) noted that the cap is the original cap of Na Gbewa. The

University of Cape Coast <https://ir.ucc.edu.gh/xmlui>
fabric of which the main cap is made of deteriorates and, therefore, is
occasionally replaced. The talismans are, however, those originally used by Na
Gbewa and are believed to have special powers to protect the Nayiri.



Plate 24: Nayiri Naa Bohagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga in the Gbewa cap

Jewellery

The important jewelleries worn by the king are two bracelets - one made of bronze while the other one is said to be diamond. He also wears rings on his fingers and protective amulets (Councillors of the mamprusi kingdom, Personal communication, 2010).

Significance of clothing in the installation of the Nayiri

The Nayiri's installation is done in different stages. On the demise of a king, the gate from which the the next king will come is already known. The installation ceremony starts after the funeral of the former king. When the

contestants arrive in Nalerigu, they should not have cut their hair for six months after the death of the former chief. The hair is believed to have powers and good luck and cutting the hair may reduce luck in the competition for the kingship title.

When a king is finally chosen by the seven elders of the Mamprugu, King-River stone, which was removed from the shrine room on the demise of the last king, is returned. The king elect is sent to the residence of the deceased king, and placed in the shrine room where confinement and the installation rites for king elect start.

The first phase of the installation is the cleansing and fortification rites. Between midnight and dawn, the king-elect is bathed seven times and his hair shaved. The bathing process is done with herbs to cleanse, fortify, and strengthen the king elect spiritually. The shaving of the hairs is a purification process to cleanse the king of his old self and usher him into his new sacred position. Although the old hair is needed to provide him with luck to get elected, that hair's function ends with his old status.

As each of the seven cleansing acts is completed, the king-elect is fed with highly medicated and fortified food and then lifted and seated, naked on King-River. He is warned, and he swears, never to abandon the skins on which he will henceforth sit. Getting seated on King-River is crucial in his transformation from a chief of one of the fifteen villages to a king. Anyone who sits on this object for however brief a span becomes king, and if he has male children they become princes. Once the seating rite has been performed, the king never sees the stone

again. While the King sits on the stone, a stringed hat made from straw is placed on his head. This completes the first phase of the installation rites. The next dawn ushers in the next phase of the installation rites which is investiture. The *Sakpanaba* informs the *Taranaba* about the completion of cleansing and fortification work on the King. The *Taranaba* enters the room the kingship regalia which comprise a red cap, two relatively small smocks of which is white), *alchaba*, the kingship jewelry, a turban and a very smock. The new king is robed before dawn. He wears bracelets, rings and protective amulets. His layers of gowns are covered by a hooded red (alchaba) which veils his face.

After his investiture, the new king is told to close his eyes and select a scepter from an array of scepters of past kings. The scepter he chooses is believed to determine the duration of reign of the new king depending on the duration of the reign of the king whose scepter he chooses. After the selection, a new scepter is given to him as a symbol of office. As a *Nayiri*, he should be seen with a scepter whenever he leaves the palace. After the selection of the scepter *Taranaba* hands the new king over to the *Saradangunaba*, who accompanies the new king into the palace forecourt for the next phase of the installation.

The next phase of installation process is the enskinment. With the full regalia of his investiture, he rides on a donkey to Sakpadey's house. On a donkey shows the humility of the king, while the fact that he is portrayed his power and status. In his house, Sakpadey places a cow's hide floor for the king to sit on.

After the rites at Sakpadey's house, the new king again rides on a donkey to Zandjina's house, where there is a shrine house (*Konjiiriyiri*) for further traditional rites to be performed, and for the king to be secluded. At the shrine, the king is removed from the donkey and seated on a snow-white sheep-skin which is laid on a grass mat on the ground. The snow white skin portrays sacredness the sacredness of the king, the sheep his humility and the mat is to make sure that no part of his sacred body touches the ground. Extreme care is taken that even his though his feet are clad in sandals they do not touch the ground. This is an expression of the belief that if any part of the body of the king were to touch the earth even inadvertently; his people would be afflicted by a skin rash. It is, therefore, believed among the Mamprusis that if the king wishes to curse his people, he only needs to step on the ground barefooted. Once the king has been installed, it is believed that, he becomes a god with a very sacred body that has very potent powers. The care taken to prevent contact between the king's body and the ground is a public demonstration of how powerful his physical person has become (Drucker-Brown, 1992). This marks the end of the next stage of the installation rites which is the enskinment. In the Mamprugu Kingdom, it is only the Nayiri who is installed on a skin; all other chiefs sit on the ground. The spiritual transformation during his installation immobilizes the king, just like the stone king-object used in his investiture.

The news of the enskinment of a new king is communicated to the rest of the people by the sound of the *gingani* drum beat and all other royal contestants

who were supposed to have been in hiding come out on horse backs to pay homage and swear allegiance.

The king goes back to the *Zandjina's* house for confinement. At the shrine he receives medicines, from the commoner-members of his court, for strength and further protection. The next stage of his installation is the sharing of a meal with his people. At the house where he lodges a stew is prepared using different type of meat (those normally forbidden as well as those permitted). At this ceremony, amidst drumming, the king then chooses three common nouns which he announces, explaining that each is an expression of how he will rule. One of the three names is then chosen as his stool name.

The outdoor of the king is the next phase of the installation rites. The king, on this occasion, is publicly presented to his court and princes, for the first time. The king comes from the house where he lodged dressed in his installation regalia and is led to his skins in a procession which includes all his elders bearing the objects which characterize their office. The *Nayiri* is expected to walk at the pace of a snail (*gingari*). This snail pace of the *Nayiri* implies that he will do things in his way and should not be hurried. This is also a show of his status and power.

Significance of clothing of the *Nayiri* in death

Traditionally, the *Nayiri* is left alone to die. The belief is that he has so much power which could escape into another body around and this power could spell danger for the person. In the past, the death of the king was announced to the

elders by the ringing of a bell tied from the dying king's toe to a wooden beam in his bed-room. More recently, the king's death is announced to the elders by whoever saw him last (Drucker-Brown, 1992). The rites surrounding the death of the king manifest the fragility of the kingship as well as the uncontrollable nature of the forces of his office. As soon as the death of the king is known, an effigy of the king is created in the palace. The skins which he sat and slept on are collected by his grandchildren and piled high on the dais where he normally held his court. The pile is covered with a white sheet to show the sacredness of the king even in death. His cushions, spittoon, sandals and walking stick are arranged next to the skins. This collection is referred to as 'our grandfather'. The effigy remains in the palace throughout the interregnum of six months, attended by sisters of the deceased king and their children (Drucker-Brown, 1992). A grandson is chosen as a 'mock' king or a 'grandson-king'. This grandson is dressed in his grandfather's robes and hat and shares the dais in the palace forecourt with the senior elders for the period of the interregnum.

Once a king dies his corpse, together with his personal belongings and the skins he sat on, become a resting places for his vengeful spirit, an aspect of *naam* which remains in the palace throughout the interregnum. Throughout the interregnum those objects are only approached by women of the king's family and their children (the uterine grandchildren) (Drucker-Brown, 1992). This is probably because the women and their children, even males, cannot become *Nayiris* so they do not pose any threat to the throne.

A specialist, the *Sagadugunaba*, is paid to remove the skins which have been used to make the effigy. Only when they are removed and the palace cleansed, can King-River return and the investiture take place. As though to underline the continuing ambivalence of the forces present in them, the objects used during the investiture of a deceased king, together with the palace, are broken down and allowed to decay (Drucker-Brown, 1992).

On the death of a Nayiri, the *Tarana* takes immediate custody of the state's regalia. These are the Gbewa cap, the sceptre, and the two bracelets. Formerly the corpse of the Nayiri was bathed while on the back of a slave, who was then killed and buried with the king. The corpse could not be touched by his relatives or even by those who served him. The executioner lineages, which still bury the body, used medicated animal horns to roll the corpse into a pit, dug in a palace store-room where it was left to lie as it fell. This grave is made near where he died. He is buried with all the personal regalia he was enskinned with. Currently, Muslims bathe and clothe the body because they are perceived to have powers so it is possible they can confront the powers of the deceased king and keep them at bay or intercede with them on behalf of those who come to view the body.

Management of the clothing of the Nayiri

The clothes of the Nayiri are not handed down from king to king except the Gbewa cap, the sceptre, and the bracelettes, which are the property of the state. In life, the clothes of the Nayiri's are taken care of by his wives. In death his personal objects used during the investiture and his palace are left to decay.

Summary

Each symbol is a store of information, both for actors and investigators, but in order to specify just which set of themes any particular ritual or ritual episode contains, one must determine the relations between the ritual's symbols and their vehicles, including verbal symbolic behavior. The advantages of communication by means of rituals in non literate societies are clearly great, for the individual symbols and the patterned relations between them have a mnemonic function. The symbolic vocabulary and grammar to some extent make up for the lack of written records (Turner, 1973 p. 1103).

Ghanaian traditional culture abounds in symbolism and plays a significant role in the lives of the people. Some of these symbols are the basis of clothing used by the three kings. All the kings possess different kinds of regalia, namely garments, cloths, footwears and jewelry which portray their status in society and also their prestige and powers.

The footwear, apart from having a history, protects the kings from being desecrated. The foot is the only part of the body in direct contact with the surroundings so power can escape from there easily. The headwears portray the powers of the king, either as a political or religious leader. Depending on the potency of the powers attributed to the king, the headwear helps to draw attention of onlooker to the head wear instead of looking at the face of the king or hide the face of the king. The clothes or garments are imbued with symbolic meanings which are determined by the cultures of the different kingdoms. The type of

clothing symbol used is also influenced by the context and the message that is supposed to be communicated.

Installation embodies immense generative powers in the kings studied. Once a king to be is nominated, he is fortified physically and spiritually to ensure a good and long reign. This fortification has its roots in culture. The fortification provides the incumbent king powers that make him next to the gods so he becomes untouchable. This power is also to provide the king with a kind of status or/and prestige which places him above every member of their kingdom. The articles of clothing used by kings studied have a prime role of protecting the king spiritually. This protection is ensured during the installation process by the herbs and incantations used especially for the Nayiri and the Awoamefia. The fortification becomes part of the physical body so most of their clothing are simple and they do not show much fortification outside. The Asantehene, however, shows signs of outward fortification mainly in the form of talismans.

The study has shown the body as a social construct and its adornment consists of the construction of the individual as a social actor. Encoded on the bodies of the kings, through clothing, are a variety of signs communicating information about such things as a person's rank, authority, ethnicity, group membership and ritual condition. It also shows that the meaning of political systems lies not only in the formal structures and actions of political groups, but also in the less obvious realms of clothing, posture, and art (Cohen, 1986).

Almost all the clothing items used by the various kings, especially during their installation rites, have rich history as their basis; a history which is

understood and known mainly by the various king makers. In some cases however the meanings and significance of the items have been lost on some of the king makers themselves due to lack of documentation. The data collected shows that most of the clothing articles of significance used by the three kings are associated with rituals of their regal positions. The study confirms that the actors in the rituals of kingship use symbols as power and as meanings. Symbolic interactionists contend that objects or symbols have little meaning apart from situational contexts. Clothes and other forms of adornment play a role in social constructions; they may be regarded as props that can be used in a performance to provide symbolic information. Kings in the performance of their roles find themselves in different situation which are determined by their role as political leaders, spiritual leaders or both. Clothes are used as props in these situations to render credibility to their roles as kings and also to show the aspect of their role being portrayed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

USING CLOTHING SYMBOLISM OF KINGS TO PROMOTE TOURISM

Introduction

Despite the growing interest in the idea of regionalism, it is the idea of the nation that has become most important in narratives of international tourism (Robinson & Smith, 2006). Countries promote tourism as actual and potential source of external revenue (Robinson and Smith 2006).

Cultural products draw attention to interest in experiencing and learning about different cultures. Ghana is marketed as the gateway to Africa in terms of trade but the country has potential on the cultural tourism front which needs to develop clearly defined strategies to market its uniqueness (Debes, 2011). The symbolism of clothing of the Asantehene, Awoamefia, and Nayiri within their cultural milieu has potential for cultural tourism. This is the focus of this chapter.

Tourists have very little time in any one location so they gravitate to what is heralded as the exceptional, rather than the norm (Ooi, 2001b; Robinson & Smith, 2006). Destinations in their bid to optimise their economic returns tend to prioritise their cultural high points. The symbolisms embedded in the clothing of the three kings studied could be brought to the fore as tourism objects.

Clothing of Ghanaian Kings as Tourism Products

Lewis and Chambers (1989) have proposed a concept of tourism products. They stated that a product can be viewed on three different levels: the 'formal product', or the product that the tourist believes one is buying; the 'core product',

or that product that the tourist is actually buying; and the 'augmented product', which is the combination of core product and any other value-added features and benefits provided by the supplier. With the clothing of the three kings, the formal product could be a festival or a museum. The core product becomes the clothing items; and the augmented product, the interpretation of the items of clothing.

Clothing symbolism of the kings studied are collective memories of a people. Collectivities of memory have an origin in a particular time and set of circumstances (Bajc, 2006). The narratives of collective memories, and the practices that accompany them, stimulate collective identity formation and create institutional ways through which collective memories become organized (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The symbolisms of clothing of three kings are stories that have been told over the years and have become an accepted historical elements of societies. The story of the *denkyemkye* representing the travel of Osei Tutu from Akwamu to Kumasi where he is made first Asantehene is one example which can be packaged. The sandals of the Awoamefia could have the story line of why each Awoamefia had to have his for sandals installation consecrated in Notsie. The stories could be enacted and tourists could be allowed to take pictures in the replicas of the clothing items of the kings.

Vehicles for promoting clothing of kings

Cultural heritage needs to be provided with meaning to acquire its value. The meaning should bring out both the physical attributes of the artefact and to its historical and cultural aspects (Harvey, 2001). The author stated that some

knowledge to visitors is needed for their appreciation of the cultural product (Harvey, 2001). Cultural products need to be situated in particular situations for them to be of use to visitors. These places or situations become the vehicles to promoting the cultural items. Events have become important attractions at destinations and event tourism is complementing the conventional tourism activities (Debes 2011). The author noted folk dance, cultural events, theatres and rituals as dimensions of authenticity reflective of destinations. This section suggests events that can be used to promote clothing of kings as tourism objects and roles of other people and institutions in the enhancing clothing of kings as tourism objects.

Festivals

Kingship and festivities have always been cultural attributes of Ghanaians (Addo 2011a). Festivals are celebrated in all 10 regions of Ghana. Historically, the festivals marked the local calendars with social events or important historical, religious, and cultural events (UNESCO, 2004). Festivals can provide a conduit for showing the clothing of the kings studied as tourism products.

Taking part in the state festivals of the Anlo, the Ashanti, and the Mamprugu, for example, provides the opportunity to see the clothing of these three kings. Narrating "The journey of Osei Tutu from Akwamu to Kumasi"; "The story of the *Batakarie Kesie*"; "The Awoamefia as a religious leader" "The management of the clothing of the Nayiri when he dies" with emphasis on the clothing items could add novelty to festivals. Festivals could be planned such that some days are used for the enactment of some of the stories surrounding the

clothing of the kings. Different themes could be developed to bring out the symbolism of clothing used on different occasions. Themes could also be built around items of clothing such as the hats/caps used, sandals, clothes, swords and staffs.

Museums

Museums are very important icons and guides to the history and geography of a people and nations. Whether material or intangible, a collection is at the heart of the museum's activities. "Museums have a duty to acquire, preserve and promote their collections as a contribution to the safeguarding of the natural, cultural and scientific heritage" (ICOM Code of Ethics, 2006, article 2).

The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) is the legal custodian of Ghana's material cultural heritage (movable and immovable) and its mission is to acquire, protect, conserve and document the material culture for posterity, for the purposes of research and for education (MoT 2012). Some of the clothing items of the kings such as the *batakari kesie* and the *denkyemkye* of the Asantehene, the straw hat and the *dabawu* of the Awoamefia which are rarely used can be exhibited periodically and pictures used as permanent exhibits. A particular museum can make the items of clothing of one king its collection at a point and at another time specific groups of items of clothing, eg. hats, from different kings.

According to ICOM (2006), museum collections become relevant provided that they are defined in relation to the accompanying documentation. This has led to a much wider meaning of a collection as a gathering of objects, each preserving

its individuality, and assembled intentionally according to a specific logic. The clothing items of kings preserve their own individuality as different clothing items. They preserve their collectivism as groups of clothing items and again as singular items from different areas (the hats of kings from the three different ethnic groups). In a presentation of all these groups of clothing the symbolisms being communicated should be projected. At the museum services such as lectures, guided tours, enactments and workshops (Chang, 2009) can be provided. Systematically collecting and storing of musealia make it possible for the items to be studied much better than if they were still in their original context.

When items of clothing become musealia, however, they are no longer in the real world, but in the imaginary world of the museum. Their function is removed and they have been 'decontextualised', which means that they will no longer serve their original purpose. Items of clothing of kings whether in museums or on the kings will always be carriers of symbols. Life size photographs, drawings or models of the real clothing items could be provided. Creation of substitutes helps in an all year exhibition and helps in the easy mobility of the musealia. Clothing of kings can be used as temporary exhibitions. Again, most of these regalia, especially those that are clothing items of the kings, have stories which can be told whether they are in their context or on display in a museum. When put on display, details of the clothing items will stand out and their stories can be articulated. Asiedu et. al. (2009) argued that:

What is considered private or public is by no means fixed or sacred: it is subject to historically changing conditions. For example, as

McLeod (1999:26) emphasizes, the Asante Palace used to be "far too sacred and too frightening" that not many ordinary Asante citizens ventured there in the past. The conversion of the old palace into a museum, however, has transformed that space from a private sacred royal residence into a public space and open to visitation. Commodification is implicated in this change (p.10).

Development of educational material

Cultural tourism is also an effective way to stimulate a state's economy, as it increases opportunities for artists, encourages public participation in the arts and facilitates commerce (MoT 2012). Tourists may have knowledge of the origins or goals of the festival through what they read before arrival and through interactions with locals. However, the clothes that the kings wear are generally not understood even by most locals. Education of Ghanaians on the significance of the clothing of their kings will help in promoting cultural education. This can be done in several ways. For instance the DVD recording of *Asanteman Adaye Kese and the Fifth Anniversary Celebration of the Reign of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, Asantehene* in 2004, brought sacred objects into the public (Asiedu et al., 2009). Similarly educational materials in the form of videos, books and internet items can be developed to bring out the symbolism of the clothing of kings.

Role of tour guides

Interpretation is achieved directly or indirectly through different media and other means (poster, exhibit label, map or sketches, audio, both audio and visual guide, marked tourist trails, travel guides the like, which are indirect). Direct or

personal interpretation consists of face-to-face interaction and communication between visitors and tour guides, curator or other information providers (Rabotic, 2010).

Cheng (2005) has observed that visitors at a destination most frequently use indirect interpretation, but personal interpretation, has been found to be the most efficient method of achieving visitors' satisfaction. Quality interpretation demands comprehensive knowledge on the topic and presentation skills, which relies on committed individuals. The goal of interpretive commentary is achieved only when it connects the tangible (the Gbewa hat of Nayiri) with intangible aspects (cultural meanings and significance). Tour guides can bridge the gap between the products and the meanings that they carry. Therefore knowledge on the symbolism is important for the tour guides if they are to be effective interpreters to tourists interested in the clothing of kings.

Role of traditional leaders

There are several traditional rulers and leaders in Ghana who are custodians of their culture. These traditional leaders should be assisted to document the symbolism of their clothing. During the data collection period it became evident that some elders and leaders were the custodians of the culture and not the kings. The kings become privy to the knowledge upon nomination, during installation and reign as king. The kings together with the custodians of the culture should come together and document the items of clothing together with their symbolism. Traditional leaders can also organise theatres and storytelling sessions to bring out symbolisms embedded in their clothing. Storytelling has always been a part of

human society as a form of dialogue that promotes education. Theatres and stories can be recorded and used for education.

Role of other institutions

State agencies, universities and other research institutions can foster cultural tourism in a number of ways. For example, they can lead state-wide planning efforts, provide information and training sessions, conduct research, and offer and seek funding for local initiatives. Knowledgeable chiefs and elders could be invited to teach, give lectures, or be part of seminars and symposia to the public about their symbolism of clothing of chiefs. Through these activities information on symbolism of clothing to promote tourism can be properly documented and used.

Meeting Challenges of Commodification

There is anxiety of some chiefs over the exposure of some cultural heritage assets, fearing it will jeopardize their sacred nature and security (Asiedu et al. 2009). McLeod (1999) and Schildkrout (1999) pointed out that the custodians of the Manhyia palace regalia faced a problem in providing items for the opening of the Manhyia Palace Museum, which was commissioned in 1995. The argument was that the regalia could lose some of their meaning or efficacy when taken out of their ceremonial context and displayed in a museum.

On the other hand, Asiedu et al. (2009) noted the Asante initiative was to tap into a tourist market that seemed to be concentrated largely in southern Ghana. They also pointed to the crucial role documentation plays in the protection of

cultural heritage. They underscored the fact that objects that have not been photographed and adequately described, when stolen, are rarely recovered by law-enforcement officials. They noted that interest in and the demand for African art is on the increase and has created a lucrative international art market, resulting in the illegal export of movable cultural objects from the continent. *One Hundred Missing Objects: Looting in Africa*, a publication (ICOM 1997), catalogues numerous objects that have been stolen and taken out of Africa in violation of UNESCO's 1970 convention on the *Means of Prohibiting and Preventing Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*.

Documenting movable cultural property and openly putting them in museums could be one way of protecting them. While on display, these cultural properties are put in the full glare of the public thus making people aware of the properties as being owned by a particular kingdom so when stolen, selling these properties will be difficult. When on public display, these items are also guarded.

Summary

The resource of culture is certainly at the basis of tourism and has facilitated its growth and allowed various societies to become knowledgeable of other cultures. However, in commodifying culture it should be noted that the value and priority of culture relates to both its intrinsic worth and the ways that it is used. Knowledge of Ghanaian history and culture, part of which is in the symbolism of clothing items of kings is of value in tourism education.

There are various vehicles through which the knowledge on the symbolism of kings could be promoted. This study suggested festivals, museums, educational materials, tour guides, traditional leaders, government institutions, universities and other research institutions. At festivals various activities can be organised to stage stories of the items, tell stories of the items and bring out the collective memories on the items of clothing of a particular king. There are items of clothing of the three kings which are rarely used even on festive occasions. Museums can put these items of clothing on show instead of them being kept in storage. These rarely used clothing items can be exhibited to coincide with the festivals or they can be exhibited at other times that the museums find appropriate and have set aside for that purpose. Educational materials in form of videos, audios, internet resources and texts will be resourceful for both locals and visitors. Tour guides with knowledge will be in a position to tell short stories relating to the symbolism of the clothing of kings to tourists. Traditional leaders have the role of overcoming the fear of overexposure of cultural items. They should allow the symbolism of items of clothing of kings to be used for tourism for the advancement of their kingdoms. Others institutions in the country have the role of researching into how symbolism of clothing of kings can be best used in promoting tourism.

In conclusion, the knowledge documented in this study is a collective memory of various kingdoms which can be used in cultural places of memory. The objects and their narratives should be enacted and interpreted in ways that will make them conducive in attracting tourists. There are however challenges in

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

There are different types of clothing used in different sub-regions and countries of the world. Even within the same country there are differences in clothing which are influenced, among other factors, by the belief systems and location. Steiner (1990) stated that historians and social scientists have become increasingly aware that important clues to uncovering the mechanics and meaning of political systems lie not only in the formal structures and actions of political groups, but also in the less obvious realms of language, gesture, posture, and art. In Ghana the clothing of kings is one of its artistic cultural expressions. The clothing items of these kings and their narratives are collective memories of various kingdoms which can be interpreted in ways that will make them conducive in attracting tourists.

Summary

The main aim of this study was to analyse clothing items used by three kings of the Asante, the Anlo and the Mamprusi Kingdoms in Ghana, in order to bring out their symbolisms and their role in cultural tourism. The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. document clothing the selected kings wear on different occasions as an element of cultural forms.
2. analyse the cultural significance of the clothing of selected kings within their socio-cultural milieu.
3. discuss the management of clothing of the selected kings and
4. assess how information on clothing of the selected kings could be interpreted for tourism promotion in Ghana.

The study was conducted within the framework of qualitative enquiry. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and analyses of documents. The main findings, conclusion, recommendations for further study are presented in this chapter.

Key findings of the study:

Based on the results and discussions the major findings of the study are as follows.

1. The rituals of kingship help distinguish the office of the king, from his person as an individual, putting the kings in the category of the sacred. Being sacred, their clothing items are of significance in their cultures.
2. The clothing articles of symbolism used by the three kings include head wears, clothes, foot wear, and jewellery. These clothing articles are used on different occasions to bring out their significance. These occasions include installation ceremonies such as confinement,

- investiture, enstooling or enskinning, and outdoorings. Other occasions are festivals, funerals of their predecessors, and death of the kings.
3. Once installed, the king plays the role of a spiritual leader and an administrator. These roles are performed with different clothing items which are in turn influenced by their ethnic origins in terms of materials used, and how various symbols such as plants, animals and colours and numbers are interpreted.
 4. The materials used in making the clothing of the three kings consist of metals, leather, fabrics, flora, fauna, and clays. Gold is the most common metal used in adorning the Asantehene, while in Mamprugu it is copper and iron. The Awoamefia uses some amount of gold but beads are more commonly used.
 5. In the use of flora, all the three kings have plant materials incorporated in their talismans. In preparing medicines and fortifications for the Asantehene the *nsumankwaa* use herbs. The Awoamefia and the Nayiri used herbs in bathing during their installation procedures. The Awoamefia uses raffia, considered to be very resistant to deterioration, for hat and necklace as a chief priest of the *nyigbla* deity. The Nayiri also uses a straw hat while the Asantehene uses fresh ceyenne pepper and fresh fern leaf stuck in his hat when mourning.
 6. Leather is used in the foot wears, garments, and jewellery of all the kings. Leather is used for talismans and amulets on garments,

wristlets, anklets and bangles. Clay is one of the items of symbolism used in the clothing of the kings studied. The Asantehene and the Awoamefia use both white and red clays as part of their adornment. White clay stripes are worn as symbols of celebration, innocence and state of grace and a sign of supernatural manifestation. Red Clay is used while mourning and it stands for impurity and danger. *Eto* is used by the Awoamefia in dyeing some of his priestly clothes to imbue them with spiritual powers.

7. One symbolic item common to the three kings, is the talisman. A talisman is an object considered to possess supernatural or magical powers that are placed on the object by an outside force. The Awoamefia and the Nayiri, however, use fewer talismans than the Asantehene. The Asantehene has amulets and talismans on almost all his clothing items, either in their original form or in gold. The *batakari kesie* of the Asantehene has the largest amount of talismans. The fly whisk is used by the Awoamefia and the Asantehene for their spiritual protection.
8. Golden images of plants and animals are found in the Asantehene's jewellery. Some of the king's cloths have the images of plant and animals embroidered, woven, appliquéd or stamped in them. These plants and animals have meanings depending on how they are perceived by the Asantes. The Awoamefia and the Nayiri however rarely use symbols from nature probably because they do not have

much in terms of flora and fauna as the Asante Kingdom. Another symbol common in the clothing of the Asantehene but not with the Awoamefia and Nayiri are the *adinkra* symbols.

9. Numbers are important in all the kingdoms, with three (3) and seven (7) mostly employed. The numbers three and seven seem to have similar meanings in all three kingdoms, three being a lucky number and seven a perfect number. For the Asante, three is a lucky number representing the human essence of water, air and earth and the three souls of the universe. For example, the *denkyemkye* is placed on the king elect's head three times while he is being crowned. For the Anlo, three represents the elements of the air, land and water, while seven represents the three elements of the earth plus the four elements of inheritance from one's parents and grandparents. For example the straw, hat is placed on the head of Awoamefia three times while he is being crowned as the chief priest of the *nyigblah* deity. The Nayiri is bathed seven times during his installation rites.
10. The use of specific colours is to be common to all the three kings studied. White is a sign of purity for all three kings. The colours black, red and white are of spiritual value to the Asantehene. The three fundamental ritual and symbolic colours, red, black, and white of the Asante parallel the universe's three souls - elements of land, wind and water. Sorrow, passion and anger, are and illustrated by red. Red also holds protective powers. Black stands for darkness, loss, and

death. The Asantehene uses the colour gold to represent status and serenity and green symbolises life.

11. The three kings have hats that are worn on different occasions to show their spiritual powers and political leadership. The Asantehene has his *denkyemkye*, the Awoamefia his straw hat, and the Nayiri his Gbewa cap as the most important hats of these kingdoms. The *denkyemkye* and the Gbewa caps are head wears that were made for the first kings of Asante and Mamprusi respectively and are handed down from one king to the other. The straw hat of the Awoamefia on the other hand is made for each individual king. The symbolism of the *denkyemkye* and the Gbewa cap lies in stories connected with the founders of the states: Osei Tutu I for the Asantes and Na Gbewa for the Mamprusis. The straw hat of the Awoamefia shows his position as the high priest of the *nyigbla* deity.
12. The Asantehene's other head wears are the *abotire*, *krobonkye*, and a chain with a pendant. The Awoamefia has fabric hats and the Nayiri has the red fez hat, the stringed hat, the turban and the '*alchaba* hood'. The hats of the Asantehene are usually studded with golden symbols of *adinkra*, talisman, plants or animals. The Asantehene also wears hats without gold, but with other attachments when in mourning. The *achalba* hood of the Nayiri is meant to hide the face of the king, which is sacred, from the onlookers. The headwears of

- the Asantehene are generally emblems which draw attention to the king and show the wealth and power of the kingdom.
13. The *batakerie kesie* of Asantehene is a war gown for protection. The Awoamefia has a *dabawu* to provide him with spiritual protection and show his position as the chief priest of the nyigbla deity. Nayiri's special garments are the white gowns for installation to depict his purity and power.
14. In all three kingdoms studied the divinity and sacredness of the body of the king cannot be overemphasised. Once a king is enstooled, he becomes a brother of the gods. His body enters into a new realm and possesses powers which are not allowed to escape through any part of the body. The feet are the only part of the body in constant contact with the ground; it must be continuously protected. In Mamprugu, the king just has to place his bare feet on the ground and the kingdom will be in a crisis of skin rashes. The Asantehene has the golden sandals which were originally made for the first king and has been handed down to all subsequent kings. The Awoamefia has his sandals for installation consecrated at Notsie. The foot wear for the installation of the Nayiri are consentrated specially for each king.
15. The Nayiri and the Awoamefia have staffs of office but the Asantehene does not have one. These staffs are spiritual and used by kings to guard their kingdoms. Amongst the three kings, it is only the Asantehene who uses swords, *mponponsuo* and *busumuru*

swords, and these are for swearing allegiance to his people. The *mponponsuo* sword is a sign of dedication while the *busumuru* sword signifies the importance of the *ntoro* in eligibility as an Asantehene.

16. In destooling an Asante chief or king, it is the sandals that are removed and the bare feet allowed to touch the ground. Among the Anlos and the Mamprusis, since the establishment of the two kingdoms there has been no official removal of a king. A king is installed for life. This is because the rites performed to fortify the body make the body not only sacred but also dangerous. These powers cannot be possessed by two individuals in the same kingdom at the same time.
17. The Asantehene and the Awoamefia are laid in state for viewing and finally buried. The Awoamefia is finally buried in his Nyigblah priest attire. Asantehene is dressed in full regalia. His clothes are changed five times each day for as long as he is laid in state. For both kings, the final burial is done in secret. The Nayiri's is buried with the 'personal' clothes he was enskinned in. The rest of his clothing items are considered as powerful as the body of the king, so the *Sarandugunaba*, a special priest has the special duty of disposing of the clothes of the late king.
18. The regalia of the Asantehene, belong to the whole state and chiefs are in charge of the various groups of items. The regalia items of the

Asantehene are therefore managed by the state. Each Asantehene adds more regalia, leading to a perpetual expansion and accumulation. The Asantehene has the most elaborate form of clothing among the three kings in terms of quantity of clothing and types of symbols used. The regalia of the Awoamefia and the Nayiri are acquired by the kings themselves except for the installation clothing items which are bought by their clansmen. Once their installation is over the care and storage of the regalia are carried out by the households of these kings. In the Mamprugu only a few items of clothing regalia, (diamond bangles, Gbewa hat, staff) owned by the state are returned to the state when the king dies. With the Awoamefia no clothing item goes back to the state when he dies.

Evaluation of the Conceptual Framework

The study used the Person Perception Communication Model developed by Stanley (1986), to examine the symbolism of clothing of three Ghanaian kings and the value of this knowledge in tourism. The main components of the framework were a sender and a receiver of a message, the social context within which the message is sent, and the environment of the sender and the receiver.

Putting the Person Perception Model against dramaturgy approach of symbolic interaction the king uses props (clothing) on a stage (social context of installation, festivals etc) with a script (message which is the symbolism of the

clothing that was brought out by this study). The audience react depending on whether they understand the message or not, and also how they appreciate of the message.

The major drawback of this framework is the fact that it does not make room for noise which might exist during the communication process. In this study, noise due to cultural differences could make it difficult for tourists to understand the message embedded in the clothing. There is therefore the need to introduce an element of interpretation during the receiving stage to allow for the messages carried by the clothing to be understood by the tourist.

Proposed Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework for symbolism of clothing of three Ghanaian kings and its value to tourism has been proposed (Figure 3) using the Person Perception Model of Stanley as a basis. This model has the same four basic components as the Stanley's Model. These are sender, receivers, social context and environment. The proposed model divides the receiver into two groups. The two groups of receivers compose of one group who understand the significance and symbolism of the message and a second group of receivers who do not understand the symbols. This second group need the interpretation process for effective communication to take place.

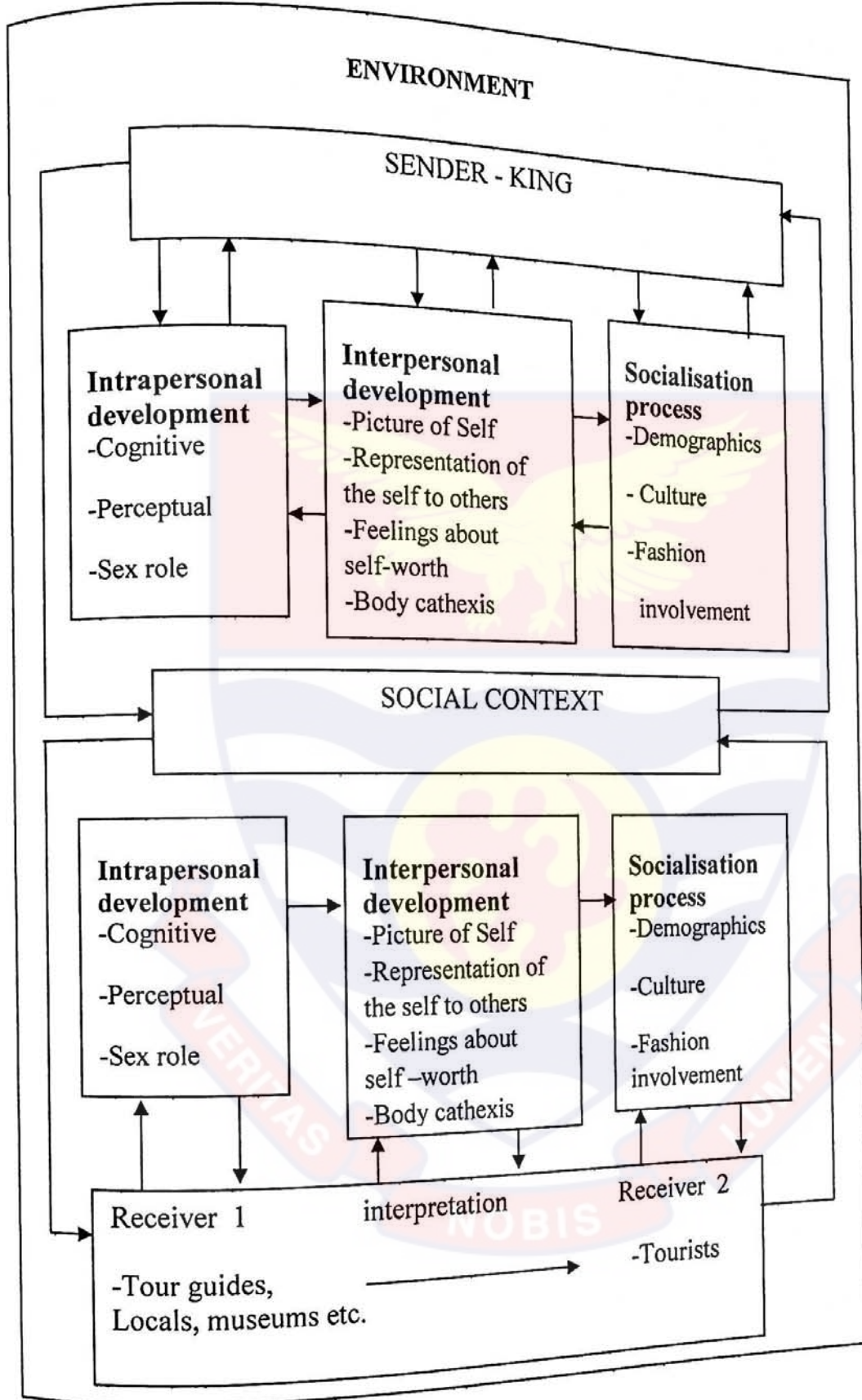


Figure 3: Person perception in non-verbal communication for tourism.

Source: Adapted from Stanley, (1986).

Using this model, the media of communication are the various articles of clothing that kings use on various occasions. This aspect of the model focuses mainly on a documentation of the material or physical artefacts of the clothing and how they are worn. The next step of the model looks into the what material artefacts of clothing are intended to communicate on the different occasions. The different occasions become the social contexts within which to interpret or define the role of the clothing items. Individual kings' actions are defined by their particular societies. The study, therefore, examines the extent to which the location, traditions, and cultures of the various societies of the kings influence the kinds of clothing regalia used.

Finally the model addresses how information gathered on symbolism of clothing of the king can, through interpretation, be of benefit to the tourism industry. The concept of interpretation is premised on the fact that the often taken-for-granted common social and cultural objects in our daily lives are culturally meaningful. There are objects we see but may not be understood immediately and there are others that may be recognized but not understood. Interpretation is needed to decode the cultural meanings of objects that are foreign to our accumulated knowledge (Ooi, 2001a). Ooi noted that cultural meanings and their decoding and unlocking have become important aspects of cultural tourism; firstly, because cultural meanings bring to life ordinary objects and sights; and, secondly, destinations can be culturally complex, and a tourist can easily misunderstand, ignore or not even notice many cultural aspects of the destination.

In summary the king is the actor, the stage is the context, and the clothing acts as props to add credibility to the act. The message is sent to a first receiver which in this case is a tour guide, the indigenes or a museum. The tour guide, the indigene or the museum then interprets this message (Clothing) in a meaningful way taking into consideration the background and environment of the king and the tourists.

Conclusions

Generally, the clothing of the three kings studied is a reflection of their culture, perception of life, and geographical locations. The symbols and materials used are from their environment or have been part of their cultural history. The Asantehene, whose kingdom is situated in the forest, uses gold, animals and plants to communicate symbolically. The Awoamefia and the Nayiri who are from savannah regions of Ghana, rely more on their religions and traditions to portray symbolism of clothing in kingship.

Within their socialization processes the three kings used their clothing of significance mainly during the performances of rituals in the installation processes, festivals, death, and burial. In these contexts the kings are portrayed either as administrative heads and/or religious heads and the clothing symbolise these offices. The clothing of the various kings that are owned by the state are handed down from king to king and managed by the state while those owned by the king are managed by his household.

Due to the arbitrary nature of symbolism in clothing, in body decoration the relationship between a symbol and what it means has no necessary, natural, or predetermined logic that can apply across the boundaries of different cultures. One cannot, therefore, disaggregate cultural practices from their ethnographic context and compare them among different societies across Ghana. There is, however, the possibility that the details of some clothing practices may be something less than arbitrary and when looked within the total context of a culture it may be possible to state that certain body decorations have similar meanings across cultures as seen in the use of the number three and the three ritual colours (that is red, black and white) by the Asantehene and the Awoamefia.

The clothing items of the various kings have been shown to be symbolic and have histories and stories that can be brought to the fore by studies like this one. This documentation provides a basis for the interpretation of the clothing used at festivals and other public occasions for visitors, including tourists. The rituals can also be enacted as part of traditional festivals with stories written to highlight the symbolism of the clothing. These histories and stories can be made into films for viewing at museums, apart from the museums displaying the articles of clothing together with their accompanying stories and symbolism. Tour guides and those in the tourism industry whom tourists rely on for information should research and make their presentations more entertaining for the tourists.

The current study offers a basis for the conventional practice of the use of symbols in the portraying of the culture of a people and the significance of these symbols. It has also brought to light the clothing behaviour of kings from three

different cultural jurisdictions in Ghana. The study has added to knowledge on the symbolism of clothing in different cultures. Finally, it has provided documentation on the symbolism of clothing of three kings within their socio-cultural milieu and the potential of such knowledge in promoting cultural tourism, which can serve as a basis for further research.

Recommendations

This study investigated symbolism of clothing of three selected kings and discussed how this knowledge can be used to enhance tourism in Ghana. The cultural significance of some rituals involving clothing are still shrouded in secrecy and considered classified. Those in charge are not necessarily documenting the knowledge. Apart from some researches that the research accessed for the Asante kingdom, the other two kingdoms could not show any documentation on their clothing. As a result, the cultural significance and philosophical basis of the some items are getting lost. It should also be noted that passing knowledge down by word of mouth could result in not only some of the knowledge being lost but also adulteration of the real significance of the clothing. Custodians of knowledge on the significance of clothing items of kings should be more receptive to research aimed at documenting the symbolism of these items. The various kingdoms and chiefdoms should also come up with projects aimed at documenting their cultures especially in the area of the significance of clothing which has received very little attention.

The MoT should pay attention to the use of clothing beyond aesthetics to its symbolism and use the knowledge in promoting cultural tourism. Clothing of kings could be documented in various forms – videos, stories, pictures. Museums should be built in the various kingdoms where clothing articles of kings can be exhibited and their significance and stories told.

Suggestions for Further Research

Only three kings in Ghana were covered so areas for further research should include the cataloguing of the clothing of the kings and chiefs in Ghana. This will make it possible to have a comprehensive documentation of clothing as used in various areas of Ghana and their symbolism.

The Asante king seems to be one kingdom with the most extensive clothing items. The jewellery of the Asantehene is vast and made of a variety of symbols and materials. There could also be a research aimed at studying just the jewellery alone of the Asantehene to add on to the few that were covered in this research. The research could cover the history of the items and their symbolism.

During data collection it came to light that the Asantehene as a king is the highest person of honour in the kingdom and this is portrayed even in the regalia used by the Asantehene in relation to other chiefs of the kingdom. With this background, in the Asante kingdom there could be a documenting of the differences in symbolism of clothing of a king and the other chiefs in the same

kingdom and that of royalty and ordinary citizens especially at the same function or when visiting the palace.

The research looked at the potential of clothing of kings as tourism products and discussed difficulties that can be faced in commodifying such items. There could be a further research to look into the attitude of different kingdoms towards the commodification of cultural items especially regalia of chief which are usually considered as sacred.

Contribution to Knowledge

In the area of doctoral research Philip and Pugh (1994) have argued that an original contribution to knowledge is very difficult to say. Contribution to knowledge, these authors asserted does not mean any big breakthrough in the subject content; it rather demonstrates that the writer has a good control of how research is normally done in her/his subject or content area. Silverman (2005) also submitted that in the context of demonstrating independent thought, the researcher could contribute knowledge in the four areas of developing a concept or methodology; thinking critically about your approach; building on existing study; and being prepared to change direction.

In the current research which was based on the clothing used by three kings of Ghana and its potential for use in tourism, the following could be outlined as areas of modest contributions:

1. Most of the studies in tourism in the area of clothing have concentrated on the visual aspect of the clothes and their accessories. This study has however to a large extent provided comparative documentation on the symbolism of clothing of three kings within their socio-cultural milieu and the potential of such knowledge in promoting cultural tourism.
2. The research was able to build on an existing conceptual framework (Figure 1) by Stanley (1986). Her study provided a framework for use of clothing perception in non-verbal communication. Stanley's study focused on the symbolism of clothing at different levels of socialisation between the sender and receiver within a social context. However the present research added another dimension to the receiver which provided for any noises that might occur during communication due to differences mainly in culture (Figure 3). At the receiver level the current study provides for interpretation between two receivers for purposes of tourism. One receiver being a person who understands the symbolism of the clothing and can interpret it for the other receiver, the tourists, who sees the only beauty and elegance of the clothing with no knowledge of the cultural symbolism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire is intended to investigate the cultural significance of clothing used by kings in Ghana and propose how it can be used in tourism promotion. The study is purely for academic work and you are ensured of confidentiality and anonymity in any information that you provide. We are interested in learning from you about all you know on the topic. I need all your comments on the topic. To enable us record our discussions with you we kindly ask you to allow us to tape record the discussions.

Thank you in advance.

Engagement questions:

1. How is your king nominated?
Probe: What are the clothing used during the nomination?
2. What are the rites the king goes through during his installation?

Exploration Questions:

3. Describe the capturing of the king?
Probe: What is put on the king once he is captured?
4. Describe what happens during the king's confinement?
Probe: Describe any headwear, jewellery, body ointments and powders used.

Explain the symbolism of the various clothes used.

5. Describe what happens after the confinement and the clothing used?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

6. How does the king dress for his outdoor ceremony?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used.

7. How does the king dress at home?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

8. How does the king dress when leaving the house?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

9. How does the king dress for your festival?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

10. How is the king dressed when he dies?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

11. In which clothes is the king buried?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

12. Who is responsible for managing the king's clothes?

Probe : Who is responsible for purchasing the clothes.

Exit question:

13. Is there anything else you would like to say about clothing used by the king and its symbolism?

APPENDIX B

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE WITH INFORMANTS

Dear respondents

The purpose of this study is to investigate the significance of clothing used by kings in Ghana and proposes how it can be used in tourism promotion. The study is purely for academic work and you are ensured of confidentiality and anonymity in any information that you provide. We are interested in learning from you about all you know on the topic. I need all your comments on the topic. To enable us record our discussions with you we kindly ask you to allow us to tape record the discussions.

Thank you in advance.

Engagement questions:

1. How is your king nominated?

Probe: What are the clothing used during the nomination?

2. What are the rites the king goes through during his installation?

Exploration Questions:

3. Describe the capturing of the king?

Probe: What is put on the king once he is captured?

4. Describe what happens during the king's confinement?

Probe: Describe any headwear, jewellery, body ointments and powders used.

Explain the symbolism of the various clothes used.

5. Describe what happens after the confinement and the clothing used?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

6. How does the king dress for his outdoor ceremony?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used.

7. How does the king dress at home?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

8. How does the king dress when leaving the house?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

9. How does the king dress for your festival?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

10. How is the king dressed when he dies?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

11. In which clothes is the king buried?

Probe : Describe the symbolism of the various clothes used

12. Who is responsible for managing the king's clothes?

Probe : Who is responsible for purchasing the clothes.

Exit question:

13. Is there anything else you would like to say about clothing used by the king and its symbolism?

APPENDIX C

Some Symbols used in the clothing of Asantehene and their meanings

| Symbol | Proverb and / or meaning |
|---|--|
| The elephant | " <i>wo di sono akyi a asuo nka wo</i> ", (when you follow the elephant you do not get wet). Power and strength. |
| Leopard | strength |
| Lion. | strength |
| Porcupine (<i>Kotoko</i>) | It is emblematic of the martial virtues of the Asante. This identification was derived from its quills. As with its defensive quills, so with the Asante soldiery-'if you were to kill one thousand, one thousand more would come' (<i>wokum apem a, apem be ba</i>) |
| The fern | <i>Sinsam, wu san abe ase kwa, aya na ayefro wornu. Aya shi mea a enhyi.</i> perseverance, endurance, being resourceful |
| Ceyene pepper | Pain |
| A bunch of palm fruits | It suggests the stability and endurance of the Asante royal dynasty (Kyerematen 1961:12). |
| Pineapple | Those of a common stock share the same origin |
| <i>nsoroma</i> | Depicts the Asantehene as the shining star who lights the way for his people. |
| The star or starburst | |
| A gunpowder keg | The military strength of the state. |
| <i>Kuduo</i> - brass container used as a treasure casket. | The King has a responsibility for catering for the material needs of his people (Kyerematen, 1961 p.13). The big pot provides for many" (<i>Esen kесеe gye adededoo</i>) (Fraser, 1972:145). |
| A bird and its nest. | "its message is that if the nest was not made by the bird himself, he must have inherited it from the mother or one of his ancestors" (Kyerematen, 1961 p.12). The unity of the royal family and the ruling continuity of the lineage and state. |
| A hen with her chicks. | A hen steps on her chicks not to hurt them but to correct their behavior (Kyerematen 1961 p.10,14). |
| Ram horns | A ram fights with its heart not its horns (<i>Ogwenin sisi a ode ne korona enye ne mmen</i>), suggesting strength of commitment is more important than a warrior's weapons. (Quarcoo, 1975 p.35) |
| Mudfish | The mudfish is generally viewed as the "chief" of fresh-water fish. A symbol of power and status. |
| Rainbow | " <i>Kontonkurowi, eda amansan kon mu</i> " (the rainbow is around the neck of every nation) which is said to have two meanings referring to the Asantehene. First, it means that the Asantehene has power over everybody in |

Asanteland and second, reminds the Asantehene that death is the ultimate for every human being, including him, and so he should rule with kindness and humility.

Tortoise with a fly on its back

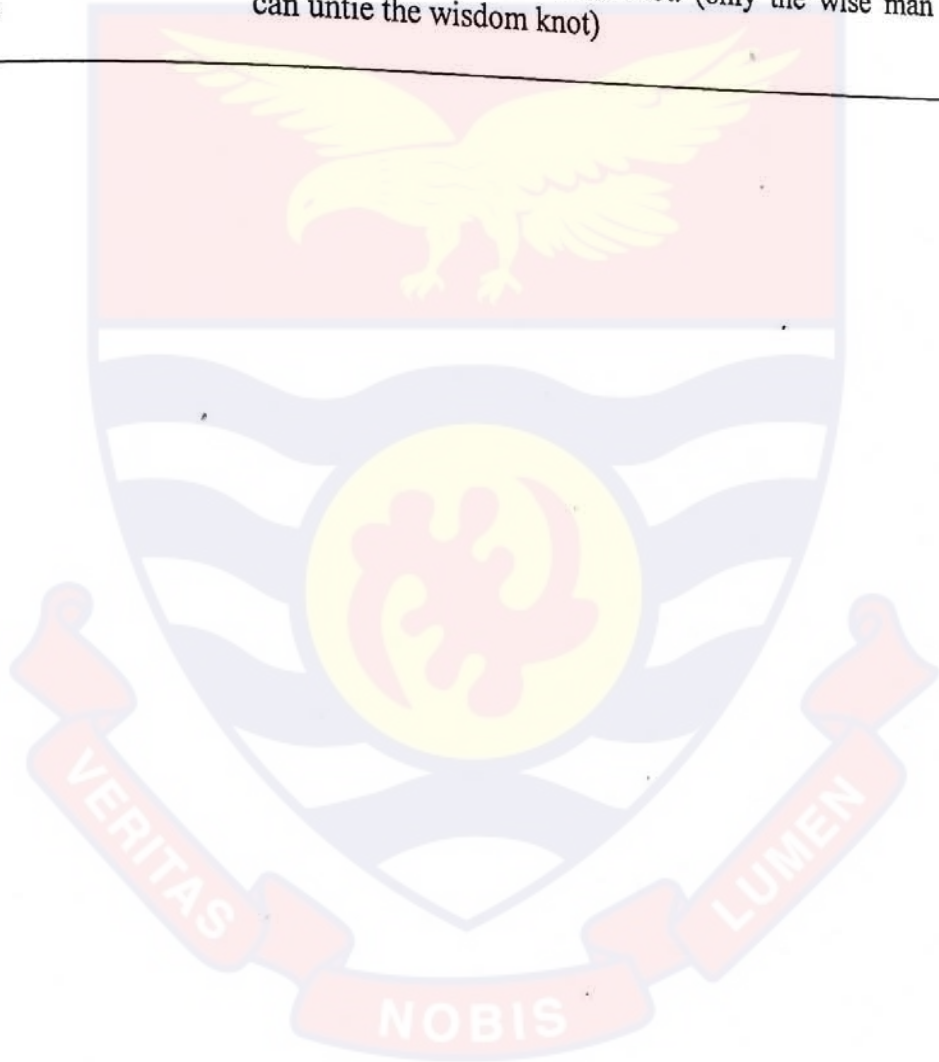
"*Hrue si akyekyedee akyi kwa*" signifies the King's invincibility since it is an attempt in futility, for a fly to draw blood through the back of a tortoise.

The knotted elephant tusk

is said to have originated in 1701 when during the war with Denkyira, Okomfo Anokye sent to a famous rival enemy priest an elephant tusk tied in a knot, challenging him to untie it. The rival enemy priest could not untie it. (Rattray, 1929)

nyansapo (wisdom knot),

nyansapo wo sane no badwenba (only the wise man can untie the wisdom knot)



APPENDIX D

FORTY-DAY CALENDAR OF THE ASANTES

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1- <i>Nwonawukuo</i> Wednesday | 22- <i>Kwawukuo</i> Wednesday |
| 2- <i>Nkyiyawo</i> Thursday | 23- <i>Monoyawo</i> Thursday |
| 3- <i>Kurufie</i> Friday | 24- <i>Fofie</i> Friday |
| 4- <i>Kwamemene</i> Saturday | 25- <i>Nwonamemene</i> Saturday |
| 5- <i>Monokwasie</i> Sunday | 26- <i>Nkyikwasie</i> Sunday |
| 6- <i>Fodwo</i> Monday | 27- <i>Kurudwo</i> Monday |
| 7- <i>Nwonebena</i> Tuesday | 28- <i>Kwabena</i> Tuesday |
| 8- <i>Nkyiwukuo</i> Wednesday | 29- <i>Monowukuo</i> Wednesday |
| 9- <i>Kuruyawo</i> Thursday | 30- <i>Foyawo</i> Thursday |
| 10- <i>Kwafie</i> Friday | 31- <i>Nwonafie</i> Friday |
| 11- <i>Monomemene</i> Saturday | 32- <i>Nkyimemene</i> Saturday |
| 12- <i>Fokwasie</i> Sunday | 33- <i>Kurukwasie</i> Sunday |
| 13- <i>Nwonadwo</i> Monday | 34- <i>Kwadwo</i> Monday |
| 14- <i>Nkyibena</i> Tuesday | 35- <i>Monobena</i> Tuesday |
| 15- <i>Kurudapaawukuo</i> Wednesday | 36- <i>Fowukuo</i> Wednesday |
| 16- <i>Kwayawo</i> Thursday | 37- <i>Nwonayawo</i> Thursday |
| 17- <i>Monofie</i> Friday | 38- <i>Nkyifie</i> Friday |
| 18- <i>Fomemene</i> Saturday | 39- <i>Kurumemene</i> Saturday |
| 19- <i>Nwonakwasie</i> Sunday | 40- <i>Kwakwasie</i> Sunday |
| 20- <i>Nkyidwo</i> Monday | 41- <i>Monodwo</i> Monday |
| 21- <i>Kurubena</i> Tuesday | 42- <i>Fobena</i> Tuesday |