**Introduction**

The Techiman Traditional Council and the Techiman Metropolitan Assembly have plans to build a community-based cultural Centre to be known as “Nkwantananso: The Cultural Centre of Techiman” (NCCT). The Nkwantananso project aims at building a conference hall, a documentation centre and archives, a museum, an open air theatre, an artisans’ village, an arboretum, a commercial center and a folklore village within a reserved area known as Nsamankwa Forest, in the northern suburb of the Techiman metropolis. The plan of the Cultural Centre is being jointly drawn by the Department of Architecture, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, and the Department of Architecture, Michigan State University.

The Centre is intended to be the site for the celebration of Techiman’s multi-ethnic cultural heritage and the education of Techiman’s citizens, visitors, tourists, students and scholars on indigenous Bono artistic and cultural heritage. It is also intended to serve as “a repository for cultural information that will be accessible to policy makers, administrators, scholars, teachers, students, artists (both domestic and foreign) and other interested persons...; preserve the oral and written traditions of the Techiman area through the establishment of a local archives; document and disseminate local knowledge of the natural environment and support the community to sustain positive traditional concepts and practices to protect the environment; serve as a site for formal and informal education dealing with nature conservation, specifically the preservation of biodiversity; introduce and support cultural practices relevant to national planning and development policy and promote the objectives outlined in The Cultural Policy of Ghana (2004, Section 3.0) (Silverman 2005:1-2). It is hoped that the educational activities of the Cultural Centre will instill values in the Techiman community, especially among the younger generation “to respect, preserve and harness the area’s diverse cultural heritage and natural resources and to build and sustain a dynamic and prosperous democratic society”; “engender respect for the many cultural practices of Techiman’s diverse population...” and “play an important role in eradicating the prejudices and biases associated with ethnicity, gender, age, religion, physical challenges and economic status” (Silverman 2005:1).

The Nkwantananso Cultural Centre project has therefore cultural, educational and economic objectives and is intended to instruct, inform, contribute to the integration of Techiman’s diverse population, and generate revenue through tourism. These objectives are to be achieved through cultural and musical performances, drama, symposia, lectures, seminars, exhibitions and a living demonstration of the visual arts including textile and basket weaving, wood carving, leather working, bead making, blacksmithing, etc as well as story-telling, poetry recitation and research (Verlet 2000; Silverman 2005). In effect, the Cultural Centre will serve as a site for “remembering the past and celebrating the present cultural traditions” of the Techiman area (Silverman, 2005:1).

The Techiman metropolis, located in the Brong-Ahafo Region of Ghana (Figure 1) has a diverse population consisting of about sixty ethnic groups. Its food market, the largest in Ghana, attracts people from all parts of the country as well as from neighboring countries such as Burkina Faso, Togo, Niger, Cote d’Ivoire and Mali. With a current population of over 200,000 people, the municipality continues to attract people partly because of its position as a point of convergence from where people are linked to northern, southern and eastern Ghana and to Cote d’Ivoire. In addition, the comparatively low cost of living as well as the fertile soils attract people especially farmers and farm laborers from northern Ghana. Retailers of manufactured and imported goods also have a ready market for their goods which are patronized by villagers who flock to the municipality to sell their farm produce.

Given the municipality’s diverse population, the Traditional Council is particularly concerned about the cohesive and integrative role of the Nkwantananso Cultural Centre Project. For this reason, the heads of the various ethnic groups have been involved in the project, and have been encouraged to organize their
Figure 1. Map of Ghana showing Nsamankwa Forest and Amanfoom.
various groups to participate in the annual cultural performances organized by the Traditional Council as an integral part of the project. Other stakeholders in the project are the Municipal Director of Education, Motor Transport Association, Free Farmers Association, Visual and Performing Arts Association, Traditional Healers Association and various religious organizations.

The Techiman Archaeological project is closely linked with the Nkwantananso project, and is to assist the Techiman Traditional Council achieve some of its objectives by providing data on the culture or cultures of the ancient inhabitants of the Techiman area through archaeological research. It is hoped that archaeological investigations would make it possible to identify what actually constitutes the culture or cultures of the ancient inhabitants of the Techiman area and lead to an understanding of their life ways. The archaeological finds from excavations will serve as exhibits in the proposed museum when completed. The Department of Archaeology also intends to donate all archaeological finds from the Techiman area in its possession to the Techiman museum, and to train the staff to take care of the collections. The staff of the Department will also be involved in the educational programs of the Cultural Centre by participating in conferences, lectures, seminars, symposia and exhibitions of the Centre.

One of the factors militating against effective cultural resource management in Ghana is insufficient funding. Collaboration between institutions such as the Techiman Traditional Council and the Department of Archaeology can mitigate the problem of funding if resources of such institutions are pooled together for a common purpose. It is here relevant to mention that the Traditional Council supplemented the limited budget of the Department of Archaeology by providing housing, fuel, transportation and food to forty-five final year undergraduate students of the Department who participated in the project in January 2006.

Partnering with the Techiman Traditional Council also gave the research team credibility and made it acceptable to the local community. Archaeologists in Ghana are sometimes suspected to be treasure hunters, particularly in the villages (Boachie-Ansah 1982:49). Comments were made at Techiman by some individuals on a local FM radio station to this effect. This suspicion was reinforced by the fact that some people are said to have looted gold at Amanfoom, one of the sites excavated by the research team. It was also claimed that a laborer working for the Volta River Authority accidentally dug gold at Amanfoom when poles for electric cables were being erected. The Adontenhene of Techiman, Nana Baffour Asare Twi Brempong II, a member of the Nkwantaananso Cultural Centre Advisory Committee, and the Head of Department of Archaeology, Dr. Kodzo Gavua and other speakers had a panel discussion on a local radio station on the purpose and benefits of the archaeological project, and the research team was cordially received by the local community when it was explained that the Department of Archaeology was in partnership with the Traditional Council in a collaborative effort to achieve the objectives of the Nkwantaananso Cultural Centre project. Access to Amanfoom, a sacred grove prohibited to strangers and the public was also made easier because of the partnering with the traditional authority. Valuable information was also obtained from the chiefs.

There is an urgent need to redefine and improve the management of Ghana’s cultural resources by decentralizing the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, the under-funded body charged with the management of Ghana’s cultural resources by nurturing the support and participation of local communities in the preservation of the Ghanaian archaeological heritage (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004:96). The Department of Archaeology of the University of Ghana sees an opportunity in supporting the Nkwantaananso Cultural Centre Project as a means of effecting decentralization, albeit partly and indirectly, in Ghana’s cultural heritage management.

The need to bring the museum to the people cannot be over emphasized (Andah 1990:148-156; Momin and Okpoko 1990:170; Ekechukwu 1990:186). This need has been recognized by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, and the Draft Ghana Museums Bill of 2005 asserts in paragraph 20 that “there shall be in every Region and District and as much as practicable in every Local Community a Regional, District and Local Community Museum respectively of the [Ghana Museums] Service.” Functions of the proposed Ghana Museums Service also include “advising and providing technical assistance to local communities, the private sector, government and non-governmental institutions in establishing programmes, publicising and promoting knowledge of collections.”
Bringing the museum closer to the people and developing it in a way that is acceptable to them is one sure way of preventing the looting of archaeological sites and ensuring the preservation of cultural resources. The museum provides a visible physical structure that can produce a sense of local pride and a symbol of a community’s efforts to preserve its identity. A sense of local pride created by the presence of a museum can encourage a community to preserve its cultural resources and enlighten the public about the essence of protecting their cultural heritage. The Nkwantananso Cultural Project seeks to achieve this, and the Department of Archaeology sees it as a social and a civic responsibility to support such a project. The Nkwantananso project will also offer the Department an opportunity to disseminate research findings in a way digestible to the non-specialist audience of the Techiman community and the general public in the proposed Cultural Centre in which will be located a kind of a folk museum. Such a centre is likely to differ in many respects from the Department’s teaching museum and will provide a forum for the faculty of the Department to present and disseminate information in a popular and digestible manner acceptable to the non-specialist. The Department of Archaeology sees this as an educational opportunity to popularize archaeology. It is hoped that the Techiman Archaeological project, when successfully executed, will promote and encourage the establishment of similar projects in other parts of the country.

Discussion of work done so far

In September, 2005, Raymond A. Silverman, a member of the Nkwantananso Cultural Centre Advisory Committee and the Director of the Museum Studies Program, University of Michigan, informed the writer of an urgent need to undertake excavations at the Nsamankwa Forest, the proposed site of the Nkwantananso Cultural Centre (Boachie-Ansah 2005:39). The site (Figures 1 and 2), originally a sacred grove covered with indigenous forest species was planted with teak after trespassers had exploited and destroyed the original forest vegetation. Houses have been built on a large portion of the site which now covers an area of about 1,006 m². The site was bulldozed in preparation for the building of the Cultural Centre, part of which has been constructed on the western portion of the site. It was feared that the building construction, likely to begin as soon as the architectural drawings were completed, would destroy archaeological remains on the site.

Believed to be the settlement of the three ancestors of the Fante, Obunumankoma, Odapagya and Osono, who migrated to Mankesim during a succession dispute in the ancient Bono State of Techiman (personal communication on with the Adontenhene of Techiman, Nana Baffour Asare Twi Brempong II, November 2005), Nsamankwa is also said to have been settled by a group of people from Denkyira (Verlet 2000). That the site was a settlement is suggested by the fact that the name “Nsamankwa” is a shortened form of the word “Nsamankwae” meaning “forest of the ancestors.” One of the leaders of later migrants who joined Obunumankoma, Odapagya and Osono at Mankesim just before the Bono-Asante war of 1722/23 was Nsamankwa, the same name as the sacred grove (Effah-Gyamfi 1974:51; 1975:23). The association of the site with an ancient settlement prompted me to visit the site on Friday 11th, and Saturday 12th November 2005. I was led to the site by the Paramount Chief of the Techiman Traditional Area, Nana Oseadeçyo Akumfi Ameyaw IV and some of his sub-chiefs including the Barimhene, Nana Apenteng Fosu Gyeabour II, the Kyidomhene, Nana Asa Akompanyin II, Nana Owusu Agyare II, the Akwamuhene, and Nana Baffour Asare Twi Brempong II, the Adontenhene. A two-day reconnaissance undertaken on the site revealed no evidence of ancient occupation. A few potsherds consisting of broken pieces of bowls (locally called apotoyewa) for grinding vegetables were found on the surface of the site. These are remnants of discarded pottery from the surrounding houses in the vicinity of the grove.

Between 3rd and 12th January 2006, 45 final year undergraduate students of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, Legon, were taken to Techiman to undertake excavations at the Nsamankwa Forest as part of their training. Seven test pits, each measuring 1m² were opened on the site. The pits were randomly sited in the middle of the site (Figure 2). The first test pit, named Pit 1, opened in the southern portion of the site was separated from the last test pit, Pit 7, located in the northern section of the site, by a distance of 203.3 meters.

The excavations which reached a sub-soil of reddish-brown clay at an average depth of 70cm did not produce evidence of occupation, and not even a
single artifact was found in all the seven excavated pits. A few mounds in the middle of the site were found to be ant hills.

An understanding had earlier been reached with the Traditional Council to provide an alternative site for the training of the students in case no evidence of human occupation was found at the Nsamankwa Forest. The research team was therefore sent to another site, a sacred grove known as Amanfoom, about 3 km to the south of the Nsamankwa Forest, and almost adjacent to the Old Techiman site excavated by James Anquandah in 1965. It is probable that the bulldozing had destroyed evidence of ancient human occupation.

The Amanfoom Grove, a forest characterised by forest species such as Blighia sapida (locally called Akyee), Alstonia boonei (locally called Nyame dua), Ceiba pedentra (locally called Nyina), Spathodia sp. (locally called Akokô nisuo), Cola nitida (locally called Bese), Bombax sp. (locally called Akata), Chlorophora sp. (locally called Odum), Cola gigantea (locally called Wabire) and Antiaris sp. (locally called Kyenkyen). It is a sacred site where rituals preceding the Apoo festival are performed. It is also the place where Nana Kwakye Ameyaw I, the paramount chief of the Bono State is said to have disappeared into the ground when the Bono State was defeated by the Asante army in 1722/23. The site has now been reserved as an arboretum.

Figure 2. Nsamankwa Forest showing plan of the excavations.
Figure 3. Ohene Ameyaw Anim showing plan of the excavations.
The portion of the grove where rituals are performed is walled (Figures 3). The area enclosed by the wall is 2,760 m². Within this area are 4 ritual huts: one for the Krontihene (the Commander-in-Chief) and his group; and one for the Akomfohene (i.e. the chief priest who is also the priest of the god Taa Mensah) and his group; one for the Gyaasehene (Chief of the royal household); and one for the Kyidomhene (Chief of Rear Guard). This area is called Ohene Ameyaw Anim which means “in front of,” “in the presence of,” or “in the court of” King Ameyaw. The hut for the Gyaasehene and his group encloses the area where King Ameyaw is said to have disappeared into the ground.

A special permission had to be granted to the research team to excavate the site. This is because anyone who is not an indigene of Techiman is not allowed to enter the sacred grove. The permission provided us with an opportunity to establish the chronology and cultural affinity of the site. This was considered important since no excavation has been conducted in the grove.

Two trenches labeled Pit 1 and Pit 2 were dug within the walls enclosing the ritual huts. The pits were opened in areas and on mounds considered appropriate by the Barimhene who ensured that excavations were conducted in areas not likely to desecrate the site. Two other trenches, namely Pit 3 and Pit 4 were dug just outside the southern walls in a cocoa farm (Figure 3). Each of Pits 1, 3 and 4 measured 2 x 4 m. Pit 2, originally measuring 2 x 4 m was extended at the request of the Barimhene (Chief of the Royal Mausoleum), Nana Apenteng Fosu Gyeabour II, who wanted the pit to be extended southwards, close to the fence wall where several bones (which were later found to be cattle bones) and potsherds were unearthed when the foundation of the wall was being dug. In anticipation that important finds would be found in the area close to the wall, the Barimhene insisted that the pit be extended. The southern wall of the pit was therefore extended by 80 cm. Another extension of the pit measuring 1.93 x 0.8 m was dug perpendicular to the western wall making the pit L-shaped (Figure 3). The pit was in effect two rectangles joined together – one extending from north to south and measuring 2 x 4 m and the other extending from west to east and measuring 3.93 x 0.8 m.

The soil was wet and it was difficult to differentiate stratigraphic levels on the basis of soil color. An arbitrary level of 20 cm each was therefore adopted. Pit 1 was shallow and the levels with cultural materials attained a depth of 60 cm. Pit 2, opened 1 m to the south-west of Pit 1 attained a depth of 1 m, and Pit 3 dug 6 m south of Pit 2 attained a depth of 1.4 m. Lastly, Pit 4, opened 19.5 m to the northwest of Pit 3 attained a depth of 1.6 m. The predominant finds from the excavations consist of potsherds, a total of 11,232 of which were recovered.

The potsherds consisted of four main wares. Samples of the wares have been submitted to the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission for analysis the results of which are being awaited. The first ware, comprising 10,022 sherds and constituting 89.2% of the total sherds is characterized by glittering specks of mica and quartz fragments in the inner and outer fabric. The mica was not applied as a decorative substance, but was part of the clay from which the vessels were manufactured. A total of 7,194 or 71.8% of the sherds were burnished, the remaining 2,828 (28.2%) were not. The majority of the sherds (74.7%) are undecorated and only 1.5% are red-slipped. The predominant decoration consists of single and multiple grooves which constitute 39.3% and 54.8% respectively of the total decorations of the ware. Grooves may be straight and horizontal, horizontal and wavy, or curvilinear. One sherd is decorated with grooves in the form of crosses, crescents and straight lines.

Other decorations on the micaceous ware sherd s include single incisions (1.3%), multiple incisions (2.3%), cord roulette (0.3%), corn cob roulette (0.9%), comb stamps (0.3%), dot stamps (0.4%), rim-lip notches (0.5%), perforations (0.03%), triangular stamps (0.1%), and crescentic stamps (0.03%). In some cases, two or three decorations were combined and applied on the same vessels. The combined decorations are grooves and triangular stamps (0.03%), grooves and cord roulette (0.2%), grooves and comb stamps (0.2%), grooves and incisions (0.03%), grooves and dot stamps (0.1%), grooves and corn cob roulette (0.2%), and grooves, dot stamps and incisions (0.1%). Grooves are usually found on rim lips, rims, necks shoulders and bodies of vessels; incisions on necks, shoulders and bodies; cord and corn cob roulette on body sherd s; triangular stamps on shoulders and rims; comb stamps on body, rim and neck sherd s, and notches on rim-lips. Corn cob- and cord-rouletted decorations on spherical bodies may have been functional for they improve hand grip.
and thereby facilitate the lifting of vessels particularly when wet.

Sherds of the ware have been found by Anquandah (1965:113-114, 116-117) at the Techiman Secondary School Site and two other nearby sites as well as at Tanoboasi, a site located a few kilometres to Techiman on the Techiman-Manso road. At Bono Manso, the ancient Techiman capital, the ware has been found by Effah-Gyamfi (1974:240-249) who first named it as Bono Ware II and later as Phase III Ware (Effah-Gyamfi 1985:130-140). A similar ware has also been found at Bonoso and Ahwene Koko, two ancient Wenchi settlements (Boachie-Ansah 1985:56; 1986:94-116, 172-186; 2000a:31-32; 2000b:7-11). The claim that the ware is peculiar to the Bono State of Techiman (Effah-Gyamfi 1974:241) must therefore be abandoned. It is also possible that the vessels of the micaceous ware at Bono Manso were made at the Ohene Ameyaw Anim area rather than imported from Ahwene Koko as suggested by Effah-Gyamfi (1985:167).

Many of the vessels belonging to the ware have flowing rather than angular profiles. This can be seen from the fact that only 22 sherds constituting 0.2% of the total sherds of the ware are carinated. Jars usually characterised by everted rims with rim diameter ranging from 10 to 28 cm are more popular than bowls and constitute 97.9% of the total vessel forms. Hemispherical bowls constitute only 2.1% of the total vessel forms of the ware.

One sherd with a rim diameter of 14 cm, certainly a fragment of a hearth was found in Level 3 of Pit 4. The sherd is covered with clay laminations or layers easily distinguishable from one another. The layers of clay are the result of regular coating of hearth pots with red clay, a morning chore of Akan women.

The second ware constitutes 7.5% of the total sherds from the site. It consists of 840 sherds with a sandy texture, occasional inclusions of quartz and laterite fragments in the fabric, and a sparse inconspicuous scattering of tiny mica flakes on the outer surface. As is the case with Phase I Ware from Bono Manso (Effah-Gyamfi 1985:106), the exterior of the sherds is well oxidised while the exterior is shadowed. Sherds are fine-grained and colors are black, buff or gray. The fabric is well fired and hard, and in some cases difficult to break. Burnished sherds are comparatively few and constitute 23.8% of the total sherds of the ware. Only 20.1% of the sherds are decorated. Red slipping is unpopular and was applied to only 6.5% of the sherds. A few of the sherds appears to have been deliberately smudged.

Decoration consists of single grooves (25.4%), multiple grooves (39.6%) which may be horizontal, wavy, curvilinear or a combination of horizontal and curvilinear, single horizontal incisions (5.3%), multiple incisions (1.8%), cord roulette (3.6%), corn cob roulette (13.0%), comb stamps (1.8%), rim-tip notches (1.2%), grooves-on-cord roulette (1.8%); grooves and comb stamps (1.8%), grooves and corn cob roulette (0.6%); grooves and incisions (1.2%); grooves and triangular stamps (1.2%), grooves and dot stamps (0.6%) and a combination of grooves, triangular stamps and cord roulette (1.2%).

Vessels of the second ware have gently flowing profiles and carinations constitute only 1.9% of the total sherds of the ware. Jars with everted rims are popular than bowls and constitute 64.4% of the total vessel forms of the ware. Bowls are hemispherical in shape and constitute 36.6% of the vessels.

The third ware constitutes only 2.0% of the sherds from the site. Represented by 228 sherds, the ware is the best fired and the hardest among all the wares. The fabric consists of hard, cement-like clay. Dark lateritic concretions and quartz grains are found in the fabric. The latter predominates over the former as the constituent of the fabric. Color is either buff or gray with buff predominating.

The ware has been found at Bonoso, the ancestral home of the Wenchi people (see Boachie-Ansah, 1985:49-51; 1986:121-128; 2000a:32-37; 2000b:14-15). Carinations constitute only 0.4% of the total vessel parts, an indication that vessels with sharp angular profiles were unpopular. Only 54 sherds (23.7%) are decorated. Unlike the other wares, the majority of the sherds (62.7%) are burnished. Only 12.7% of the sherds are red-slipped. The predominant decorations on the sherds are grooves. Single and multiple grooves constitute 16.7% and 25.9% respectively of the total decorations on the ware. Other decorations include single incisions (5.6%), comb stamps (1.9%), short linear stabs (1.9%), multiple incisions (1.9%), cord roulette (5.6%), corn cob roulette (27.8%), grooves and short linear stabs (1.9%), grooves and cord roulette (3.7%); and grooves and triangular stamps (1.9%). Both jar and bowl forms are represented in the sherds.
The fourth and last ware from Ohene Ameyaw Anim is Begho Ware. The ware is identical to Begho Ware sherds from Begho and is characterized by a well-fired fabric. The sherds contain dark round lateritic concretions and quartz grains. The former predominates over the latter as a constituent of the fabric. The ware is represented by a total of 142 sherds and constitutes only 1.3% of the wares from the site. It has the highest percentage of carinated sherds. Carinations constitute 9.2% of the total sherds of the ware. This suggests that the ware has more vessels with angular profiles than the other wares. Carinations therefore distinguish Begho Ware from the three other wares. Other features which distinguish Begho Ware from the other three wares are high percentages of decorated, burnished and red-slipped sherds. These constitute 48.6%, 65.5% and 69.0% respectively of the Begho Ware sherds. It is also the ware with the highest number of sherds decorated with rouletted motifs. It can be concluded that carinations, together with decorations and surface finish characteristics isolate Begho Ware as a product of a different culture from that of the other wares from Ohene Ameyaw Anim.

Body sherds of Begho Ware are thin and therefore break easily. Carinated portions of vessels are however thick and do not break easily. Carinated sherds are therefore comparatively larger than sherds without carinations. The red slip adheres and sticks very well to the sherds and do not peel off easily. Decorations consist of single horizontal grooves (11.6%); multiple horizontal grooves (15.9%); cord roulette (21.7%); corn cob roulette (39.1%); and grooves and cord roulette (11.6%). The jars are vessels with everted rims and constricted necks, while the bowls are all hemispherical in shape.

Begho Ware, the predominant ware at the Begho sites in north-west Brong-Ahafo seemed to have been patronized in a wide area. The ware has been found at Bono Manso and nearby sites of Asekye I, Nyinase and Dwomoo (Effah-Gyamfi 1985:140-148); Ahwene Koko (Boachie-Ansah, 1985: 1986:160-172) and Kuulo Kataa in the Banda area (Stahl 2001:116). At Bono Manso, the ware is found in Phase I contexts (i.e. from 1250 to 1450 AD), and it continued to be used in Phase II (1450 to 1600 AD) and Phase III (1600 to 1750 AD) times (see Effah-Gyamfi 1985:148). The presence of the ware at Ohene Ameyaw Anim in seventeenth and eighteenth century contexts as suggested by the dates of the smoking pipes and the German stoneware is a further confirmation that the Techiman area was involved in trade with the Begho area. The ceramic evidence at Ohene Ameyaw Anim thus provides an important data on internal trade in north-western Brong-Ahafo.

The similarities observed between the finds from Ohene Ameyaw Anim and Bono Manso is not only restricted to paste characteristics or the nature of the fabric of the pottery. Other similarities include the use of pottery as hearths and of sandstone, common in the Techiman area (Effah-Gyamfi 1985:96) as grindstone. The similarities in the ceramics support the traditional claim of a common origin of the inhabitants of the two sites. The finds also indicate that the excavated area is a single occupation site with no evidence of change in the ceramics. Similar pottery and decorations were found in all the levels.

On the basis of visual identification it can be said that there are several similarities in the pottery of several sites in north-west Brong-Ahafo. Whether or not the clays of these wares are from the same sources can only be proven by mineralogical analyses. Sherds from Bonoso, Ahwene Koko, Bono Manso, Begho and Ohene Ameyaw Anim, which look similar, have been submitted to the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission for detailed analyses that would help determine the sources of the clay used in the manufacture of the pottery. It is hoped that the analyses would be valuable in drawing factual conclusions rather than reasoned speculations on the ceramic traditions and relationships in the Begho-Wenchi-Techiman area of Brong-Ahafo. Trade at Ohene Ameyaw Anim is also represented by a piece of mirror from Level 3 of Pit 4; a cuprous needle and a finger ring from Level 3 of Pit 3; a piece of a Rhenish stoneware and a greenstone (probably used as a sharpener for iron razors) from Level 3 of Pit 3. The Rhenish stoneware is part of a salt-glazed, light gray jug painted in cobalt blue and identical to a find collected by Ivor Hume at Martin’s Hundred in Virginia, said to have been discarded about 1621 (Hume 1983: Figure 16). The type is paralleled in several Dutch paintings of the mid-seventeenth century. The stoneware was found in association with foliate-based pipes (Ozanne’s Type 3 pipes) usually dated to the period from 1690 to 1724. Such pipes are typical of eighteenth century sites and the association of the stoneware with the pipe type would seem to suggest that the stoneware found its way to Ohene Ameyaw Anim during the eighteenth century. It is known that
salt-glazed pottery continued to be manufactured into the mid-eighteenth century (DeCorse 1998:9).

Two pieces of blue and white Rhenish pottery collected by Oliver Davies and Anquandah at the nearby site of Tanoboasi in 1964 (Anquandah 1965:117); cuprous spoons and needles; bracelets; rings and a knife found in fifteenth to eighteenth century contexts at Bono Manso, as well as two pieces of German salt-glazed stoneware from the same site, manufactured in the first and the second half of the eighteenth century (Effah-Gyamfi 1985:87-93; 202) indicate that the Rhenish pottery from Ohene Ameyaw Anim is not an isolated find and that European ceramics and metal ware were important trade items in the Techiman area.

Much has been said about the trade in greenstone particularly in Neolithic times (Davies 1964: 192-195, 1967:200; Ozanne 1971:47; Posnansky 1971:111). Davies (1964:1993) has however noted that much of the trade in greenstone “may in fact be post-neolithic.” Greenstone is a fine-grained rock which grinds to a beautiful edge. It could therefore be ground to a sharp blade from both faces. Its superior tool properties made it a treasured stone for manufacturing polished stone axes. One polished greenstone axe has been found at Bono Manso and Effah-Gyamfi (1985:98) has commented, “it may not have come from the immediate area” and “could have been a stray find and would either have been kept for its aesthetic or ritual value.”

Greenstone is a good sharpener and until quite recently, many elderly men who used iron razors traditionally known as yiwan kept greenstone sharpeners as treasured properties. The nearest source of greenstone would have been in areas of Birrimian Formation rocks such as the area south of Akumadan, about 40 to 50 km away, or in the Banda-Bui area, about 100km to the north-west. Greenstone is not found in the Voltain Formation rocks in the Techiman area and may have been acquired through trade.

A total of 137 fragments of locally manufactured smoking-pipes were recovered from the excavations. Many of the pipes are fragmentary and it is therefore impossible to place them in Ozanne’s (1962; n. d.) typological sequence. The majority of the pipes which are big enough for identification belongs to Ozanne’s foliate pipes (Type 3) usually dated from 1690 to 1724. Two of the pipes with stems which join the bowl just above the base, belong to Ozanne’s Type 2 usually dated to 1655/60 to 1690. The smoking pipes from the excavations therefore date the site to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Other finds from the excavations are a clay spindle whorl, pieces of iron slag and the right side of a pair of a lady’s sandals, made of synthetic material and recovered from a disturbed area in Level 2 of Pit 4. The sandal is modern and can be found in markets across the country. It may have been left there by one of the farmers who cultivate cassava and plantain on the site.

A total of 527 bones were recovered from the excavations. Of these, 391 (74.2%) are domestic cattle, 105 (19.9%) are bovids, 8 (1.5%) are reptiles, 2 (0.4%) are birds, 2 (0.4%) are insectivores, 1 (0.2%) is a rodent, 1 (0.2%) is a carnivore, and 17 (3.2%) could not be identified. Only 1 bovid bone could be identified, and is a goat. The single bone identified as a rodent is a bone of a squirrel, and the 2 insectivore bones are those of a mole, an animal not eaten by the indigenes of Techiman. The faunal analysis suggests that the inhabitants of Ohene Ameyaw Anim were rich enough to afford beef. In several sites in Ghana, bones of wild animals are more numerous than bones of domestic cattle. This is because wild game could be hunted or trapped by all and sundry but domestic cattle were owned only by the rich. Beef had to be purchased by individuals who did not have cattle. The abundance of cattle bones suggests that individuals could afford beef.

**Future Research**

It is hoped that sites not yet excavated but which feature prominently in Techiman traditions will be excavated in subsequent research. Some of these sites were identified and categorized by Effah-Gyamfi (1985:20-30). They include settlements of mythical or uncertain foundation associated with caves and rockshelters and believed to be the earliest settlements in the Bono State. Among these are sites such as Gyamma 1 (7°37′N, 1°57′W), Nkyiraa I (7°53′N,1°54′W) and Kokuman (7°53′N, 1°44′W). The second category of sites are those which were the provincial capitals of Bono sub-chiefs and include Asekye 1 (7°37′N, 1°44′W), Amoman (7°46′N, 1°53′W), and Twema (7°41′W, 1°52′W). The third group of settlements are those founded through the movement of people for better land due to discontent in the parent region.
settlement such as Longoro Nkwanta (7°26'N, 1°40'W). Other types of settlements are those founded for commercial or agricultural purposes such as Kagbrema (7°36'N, 1°59'W), Kramokrom (7°43'N, 1°59'W); settlements founded by hunters such as Dwomoo (7°35'N, 1°53'W) and settlements founded through the advice of deities such as Tanobuasi (7°39'N, 1°52'W) and Gyamma II (7°36'N, 1°57'W). Sites will be selected from the various categories listed above for excavations. The Techiman Traditional Council has also identified the beautiful landscape in the vicinity of Forikrom where granite outcrops and caves including one in which the ancient Bono Kings were buried for development as tourist centers. Reconnaissance will be undertaken in this area to identify sites for future excavations.

Conclusions

The excavations at Ohene Ameyaw Anim have produced material culture similar to that recovered by earlier researchers such as Anquandah (1965) and Effah-Gyamfi (1974; 1985) and have given a broad idea about the material culture of the Bono State of Techiman. It is hoped that future research will add to our knowledge and help define what actually constitutes ancient Bono culture and thereby provide data for use in exhibitions of the proposed cultural Centre at Techiman. The finds have also provided information about trade, both internal and external, as well as some aspects of the dietary habits of the people.

The dating of Ohene Ameyaw Anim to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is important in one respect. Effah-Gyamfi (1985:140, 203) has dated Phase III Ware (i.e., the micaceous ware similar to the micaceous ware from Ohene Ameyaw Anim) at Bono Manso to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ohene Ameyaw Anim was therefore partly contemporaneous with Bono Manso as asserted by Techiman traditions which claim that the site was founded by Takyi Firi, a sub-chief of the Bono king who himself lived at Bono Manso but whose provincial capital was Techiman (Warren and Brempong 1971:19; Effah-Gyamfi, 1985:22, 25; personal communication with the late Nana Kwame Mensah, the Akomfohene and priest of Taa Mensah, January 2006). The chronology of the site allows for the possibility of interaction between Bono Manso and the area excavated, and for the possibility that it was the source of the micaceous ware claimed by Effah-Gyamfi to have been imported from Ahwene Koko to Bono Manso. The evidence also suggests that the site was in existence before the Bono-Ashanti war of 1722/23.

The chronology established for Ohene Ameyaw Anim in this paper is broadly in agreement with that established for the Techiman Secondary School Site by Anquandah (1965:114-116) and Effah-Gyamfi (1985:27). The former has concluded that the site was used before 1722/23 and survived into the eighteenth century because in addition to the foliate-based pipes he also found flat-based pipes usually dated to the seventeenth century. The latter dated the site to 1600-1750 AD on the basis of the pottery found on the site and the dates of identical pottery from Bono Manso. It is perhaps reasonable to see Ohene Ameyaw Anim and the Techiman Secondary School and related sites close by as a site complex rather than individual sites since the area now referred to as Techiman was named after Takyi Firi and it is said to have been founded by him.

The Techiman Archaeological project has demonstrated the immense potentials of collaborating with traditional authorities in the pursuit of research objectives. Chiefs, as custodians of our culture have a genuine interest in preserving our cultural heritage and are therefore good bed-fellows of researchers genuinely interested in heritage studies. One indication which augurs well for heritage management in Ghana is the effort being made by traditional authorities at preserving cultural property. A clear case in point is the establishment of a museum in 1995 in the Old Palace of the Asantehene in Kumasi with technical assistance from the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (Schildrout 1996:36-46; Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004:94). As Kankpeyeng and DeCorse (2004:94) have rightly pointed out, “the efforts of traditional authorities at preservation emphasize the potential importance of partnering of government and non-governmental institutions.” It is hoped that the Techiman Archaeological project will yield fruitful results to the mutual benefit of the two partnering institutions.

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