



# WEST AFRICAN Journal of ARCHAEOLOGY

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***Announcements:***

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# ***African Studies and the African Identity: An Essay on The Theory of Culture***

By

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## **Introduction**

The inauguration of African Studies Associations, and the proliferation of truly Africanist Institutes and centres are a sine qua non for the proper study and appreciation of African history, literature, art, music, anthropology, archaeology, drama or dance. The existence of such institutions are necessary to foster the development of knowledge in particular, as well as in diverse disciplines. It is particularly significant that decades after the formation of African studies fora in Britain and in America, institutions are responding to its activities by establishing Africana programmes within their frameworks and curricula. What we need however to tackle now is the problem of theory and methodology. Where disciplines are established and studied outside of their home bases and contexts, there exists the real possibility that their texts may be studied askew. This possibility is more real in the instance of African Studies where indigenous languages and traditions are crucial elements of culture. In this paper, therefore we shall attempt to highlight ingredients of culture, especially as disciplines of knowledge and conceptualise them as identity-specific materials. In this way we hope to show how learning and culture are ways of life indicative of specific identities. This can then serve as a beginning, a foundation for ascribing methods and theories to indices of culture. Studies of this kind are necessary now that much of African artifacts and skills continue to be siezed, and are only too rarely domesticated in cultures other than theirs.

### **1. Scholarship as hegemony:**

A most popular backdrop against which the analysis of African affairs is often predicated is colonialism. As Afigbo and others have

affirmed; "It was not one of the aims of colonialism to preserve the cultural identity of subject peoples. In fact the opposite was the case" (Afrigbo 1981: 384; Awe 1991: 5-6) Worse still, where colonialism has undermined or destroyed the basis of African traditions, economy and identity, it has produced no reliable substitute for the stability of the social and political life of Africans.

Earlier this century, about 1915, one of those who felt that new studies must begin on the Africanist question so that we can re-establish a new identity was W.E.B. DuBois. Although he realised that he was incapacitated by field work and data, he nevertheless wrote in the preface to his monograph, *The negro* (1970:3):

"The time has not yet come for a complete history of the Negro peoples. Archaeological research in Africa has just begun, and many sources of information in Arabian, Portuguese, and other tongues are not fully at our command; and, too, it must frankly be confessed, racial prejudice against darker peoples is still too strong in so-called civilized centres of judicial appraisalment of the peoples of Africa. Much intensive monographic work in history and science is needed to clear mooted points and quiet the controversialist who mistakes present personal desire for scientific proof."

The above passage is relevant for us because, today, the reality is as grim as ever. Africa remains, as ever, a continent of sharp contrasts and 'myths'; of muses and tragic events; of drought and plenty; of facts and fiction. Today, there is sufficient research on Africa, there is enough knowledge and resources to illuminate its dark areas, but the prejudices have also increased ten-fold and so continue to counter all efforts at illumination. Consequently in spite of the 'enormous amount of research and knowledge on Africa and its peoples, many still fall back on supposedly universal theories and histories to exclude Africa from the records. Such still avidly search for the dark continent and the "typical negro", preferring to discount the heritages of Carthage and Ethiopia, the civilizations of Egypt, Ghana, Congo and Zimbabwe? Given that such attitudes persist, it is little surprising and interesting to note that as late as the 70s, some of the most prominent writers of Africa have discovered that established institutions or key individuals in England and America "did not believe in any such mythical beast as 'African literature'" (Soyinka 1976:vii).

The continuation of these conflicting and opposite trends/traditions makes "Africa at once the most romantic and at the same time the

most tragic of continents" (Du Bois 1970: 5). The foregoing is indicative of at least two facts:

- a) That research and scholarship in culture are highly necessary for the advancement of particular civilizations.
- b) That each cultural area needs the support of sympathetic, *unbiased researchers* as well as cultural environment for its own advancement.

An instance of the way scholarship and research wield a hegemony is evidenced in the collaborative research in 1954 on the psychological effects of Kwashiorkor and children by Dean and (Ms) Geber at Mulgo hospital in Kampala, Uganda.

After testing the first 37 infants Geber reported that "it was immediately obvious that the distribution of muscle tone in the African child differed from that of the European" (Wober 1975: 3) In European children, the 'Moro reflex' in response to shock was a bit more pronounced than in the African child. The Kampala children often had wide open eyes, and a 'lively look'. An unusually precocious action was seen in a day old child who, at birth, had received a slight scalp wound; it continually fingered the bandage over the wound. In all, Geber tested 107 Ugandan children and discovered early precocity in all of them. Factors of altitude (Kampala is about 4,000 ft above sea level) and climate and later on of material diet, attitudes, and other unknown factors were tested to find out which of these were responsible for precocity in African infants, all to no avail, and so attention was directed to the social classes and backgrounds of the babies, and the attitude of mothers to their pregnancies. Geber and Dean expanded the scope of their research on up to 183 infants deriving that the children tested better in natural social environments than when they were artificially isolated for the process of experiments. Wober further notes:

From this testing 'Gesell quotients' (analogous to intelligence quotients in the way they are calculated, but based on what Gesell found to be normal standards for American white in the 1930s) were calculated. For 33 infants aged six months or less, quotients ranged from 100, to 345 (for motor development) and 300 (for verbal or vocal development). By a year old the highest quotients were around 150; between two and three years old, among 36 children, motor activity quotients up to 137, language development quotients up to 130, and none less than 100 were reported. (Wober:5)

The research samples were in no way representative of African, nor even of Ugandans. However the experiment were strikingly confirmed in parallel experiments carried out in Senegal. When Geber and Dean could not find a proven explanation for the precocity of African infants, they concluded that it probably had a genetic basis. A lot of controversy has since attended Geber's thesis.

It is probably wise to say that genetically or racially determined values are not always fashionable. It may well be that the advantage that African infants have is determined by cultural or attitudinal values which are yet to be discovered. But now we have come to the crux of the matter. Would there have been much controversy if the experiments had discovered the same values in favour of white infants? Probably not; because in 1969 something happened. Some Western researchers had become uneasy that scientific, clinical experiments had proved that black children get a better 'head start', in life, than white children. Worse still the thesis was confirmed by white researchers themselves. Instead of these proposing a requisite, equally scientific, explanation based on Geber's findings, they resorted, as Mallory observes below, to racist insinuations.

For in 1969 a widespread controversy arose in Western countries following an article by Professor Arthur Jensen of Berkeley University, California. It was pointed out by some protagonists that it was characteristic of subhuman primates that their offspring matured more rapidly than among humans; and the insinuation was made, using reference to Geber's results that because their infants were precocious, Africans were genetically substandard compared with other types of humans. It is important to note that Madame Geber herself denies this interpretation of her results, which only arose at third hand following a phrase which inadvertently appeared in this one only of her many publications. (Wober: 5-6)

It ought to be noted that humanistic research and scholarship are often generally not the impersonal medium that they are supposed to be. Arthur Jensen is among those Dubois referred to as "the controversialist who mistakes present personal desire for scientific proof." Even in the so-called "progressive" or left-wing literatures of Western thought, there are abundant occasions of racist references all of which should certainly tell the African that he needs his own forum for promoting cultural research about his people and thence development. Referring to the black people of Algeria, Karl Marx noted that:

Out of all the inhabitants, it is most likely the Moors who least deserve any respect. As city-dwellers they are more inclined to



luxury than the Arabs and the Kabyles and, on account of the constant oppression of the Turkish governors, they are a timid race which has, notwithstanding, preserved their cruel and vindictive character while being of a very low moral level. (Ladimeji 1974: 40)

Friedrich Engels, Marx's close associate was really no different, asserting that:

The conquest of Algeria is an important and fortunate fact of the progress of civilization ... And, after all, the modern bourgeois, with civilization, industry, order, and at least relative enlightenment following him, is preferable to the feudal lord or the marauding robber with the barbarian state of society to which they belong. (Ladimeji 1974: 40).

If Engels defended brutal colonization and colonialism of Algeria, by France there is every reason to believe that he would defend same in Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe or any other part of the "colonies". He even went further to say that highly developed forms of thought such as mathematical axioms could only be for Europeans, and certainly not for Bushmen and Australian Negroes. (Ladimeji: 40). The implication is that for Mr. Engels and all like him the same "truth" holds for other intellectual forms of thought like history, literature, geography, art or philosophy. Such racial hypes clearly cast a great shadow on the contributions of their works to man's understanding of his historical development.

## II. The Need for a National Culture:

We infer from the foregoing that Africans at the close of the twentieth century do not only need associations and an association; they need a forum as well as a frontier to articulate their worldview. This should help them to fashion distinctively African national cultures, and if possible, a continental culture and *lingua franca*. A heterogeneous but uniform culture and a shared linguistic medium, as we know from experience, help solidarity and the idea of a common destiny. The hard fact now is that even though Africans are inheritors of great civilizations and cultural legacy today, the civilizations of Ghana, Mali and Songhay the states of Hausaland, the Guinea and Central African forest regions, of the Swahili of the East coast, the Shonga Zimbabwe, the Bantu of South Africa and such others, lie buried under the sands of Africa, and much of what we now have to show for them consists in war, famine, hunger and drought. Lest we forget, these matters are complicated by the lack of any purposeful leadership in Africa of the present century. In this respect if we recount our past achievements, it is also well to record our present

lack of achievements. Indeed it is evident that the present day culturally authentic African intelligentsia realises that something is lost to the past which he must go back to re-discover. There is an African history somewhere which we haven't been able to find and cannot be found by Africans enslaved to European conception and methods of history but in which lies the key to the future.

Perhaps this largely accounts for the disillusionment of common African folks with Structural Adjustment Programmes and the rest of them - monetised economy, modernization of poverty etc. etc. The truth to all this is that colonialism, whether in the earlier forms or in its new attempts, can only foist on its outposts an artificial structured economy. In itself, it is a violent phenomenon which is capable of a growth which is outwardly directed, but lacking in genuine development. There will be more money in circulation but more poverty because the currencies in circulation carry little value, and are consequently less worthy. Echoes of this kind of situation are found in theories of the Martiniquan thinker and culture enthusiast, Frantz Fanon, who writes:

I admit that all the proofs of wonderful Songhai civilization will not change the fact that today the Songhais are underfed and illiterate, thrown between sky and water with empty heads and empty eyes. But it has been remarked several times that this passionate search for a national culture which existed before the colonial era finds its legitimate reason in the anxiety shared by native intellectuals to shrink away from that Western culture in which they all risk being swamped (1978: 168).

By its very nature, colonialism does not only enslave people to a new way of life, it also seeks to convince them that they have no past worthy of exhibition. Once it has misrepresented that past, the neo-colonial state is cut off from that fountain of history and its citizens are set adrift in a disembodied era. Once there is no past, and the present is unstable, institutions can hardly thrive or develop. Indeed colonial domination sets out to discredit a culture in such a way as to convince its owners that their whole history has been one dark patch on the world from which they must seek redemption. We illustrate this fact with one concrete example. At the inception of the colonial adventure, African artists were great carvers of wood, stone, and smelters of bronze for upwards of ten centuries. The skill had reached a stage of perfection that key explorers and missionaries were astounded by the civilization they met. Because these works had a high degree of consistency, it could no longer be denied that the art

was indigenous (Eyo 1977: 100). Besides, it proved that a great civilization had indeed flourished here before colonization began. Countless works of wood were committed to bonfires by "Missionaries" sometimes in an attempt to destroy the material evidence of such a civilization. But because the skill and the tradition had become entrenched, the more they burned, the more were produced. Nearly a century after these events, and long convinced that the evidence of these civilizations could not be destroyed, they now began the avid acquisition of these works.

Today, the best of African art works lie in European and American museums, and the ones left in private hands have become the target of speculators and quacks whose only appreciation of art lies in how much money it can yield.

No sooner had African plastic arts rivalled the best in Hellenic and Roman civilizations than the likes of Arthur Jensen of Berkely began to liken precocity to primitivity and to tribality. The British art collector and critic, William Fagg, began a subtly racist campaign against the precocity of African Art (Eyo 1977: 38); Fagg 1963)k. He began to call them names, referring to them as 'images', and further desecrated them by referring to them as 'tribal art'. To Mr. Fagg, anything he could not understand in the tradition of European Art tradition does not qualify as modern art, rather they were tribal art. Well, the only thing humble critics like ourselves could have asked our Eurocentric critic was why he continued to acquire more of such art he gleefully called 'tribal' for the British Museum. Why would he not continue to acquire the art of his own environment in the same proportions? We have suffered for too long in the hands of prejudiced critics of African studies than to allow them their exclusive control of the field. The recent formation of an authentic African Studies Association in Nigeria is as necessary for all of Africa at it was a little over three decades ago; then, Fanon (1978: 172-5) noted of the African Cultural Society:

This society had been created by African intellectuals who wished to get to know each other and to compare their experiences and the results of their respective research work. The aim of this society was therefore to affirm the existence of an African Culture, to evaluate this culture on the plane of distinct nations and to reveal the internal motive forces of each of their national cultures. But at the same time this society fulfilled another need: the need to exist side by side with the European Cultural Society, which threatened to transform itself into a universal cultural society. There was

therefore at the bottom of this decision the anxiety to be present at the universal trysting place fully armed, with a culture springing from a very heart of the African continent ... If it is not accomplished there will be serious psychoaffective injuries and the result will be individuals without an anchor, without a horizon, colourless, stateless, rootless - a race of angels."

### III The Language Question

Some intellectuals believe that the determination of a true national culture depends on whether or not Africa could achieve a *lingua franca*, and make a clean break from the languages of Europe. Even if this desire were considered extreme, it makes a point nevertheless. Soon after the Second World War, the University of London set up overseas colleges in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Sierra Leone. The various departments of English taught the history of English Literature and the great traditions of the English language. Naturally, the literatures of the 'native' countries were considered inferior, especially as they were largely oral and bereft of a written tradition! The great dilemma therefore for the African student was to trace approximations in his own literature from the mainstream, dominant literature of the West. Apart from a cultural alienation of the African elite reared in such contexts, there was also the problem of what Fanon had earlier described as the "serious psycho-affective injuries" which the "native" might suffer from the assault of an alien culture.

Of course, we must not lose sight of the positive possibilities that this might equally engender through a medium of positive action. In this respect, a number of innovative students and scholars are likely to write their own literatures in the accepted or given traditions of the dominant literatures. Whilst we have suffered from the disadvantages of a colonial education, we have been able to wring some positive consequences from it as well.

Once this problem was highlighted, reactions to it have been in two forms, generally speaking. The first had been to advocate the teaching and writing of African literatures in the indigenous languages of Europe. The first *salva* came from David Diop, in 1956, who stated that:

The African creator, deprived of the use of his language and cut off from his people, might turn out to be only the representative of a literary trend (and that not necessarily the least gratuitous) of the conquering nation. His works, having become a perfect illustration of

the assimilationist policy through imagination and style, will doubtless rouse the warm applause of a certain group of critics. In fact, these praises will go mostly to colonialism which when it can no longer keep its subjects in slavery, transforms them into docile intellectuals patterned after western literary fashions which besides, is another more subtle form of bastardization. (Ngugi 1987: 25)

In an article in *Transition*, in 1963, Obi Wali declared that the uncritical acceptance of English and French as the media of educated writing in Africa is largely misdirected and that it will not advance the cause of African literature and culture. He further affirms that until African literatures are written in African languages, African writers are merely pursuing a dead end (Ngugi 1987: 25).

The gravity of what these writers are advocating is indicated by the fact that language and religious ideology (or faith) constitute and are two great cultural routes to the soul of any socio-cultural (ethnic?) group. It is not an exaggeration to say that language and faith (whether it be as religion or ideology) have remained at the fountain-springs of colonialist onslaught in Africa. It was thus in response to this call, that the Kenyan writer, Ngugi Wa Thiongo decided from about 1980 not to write any more in any other than Kikuyu language, his mother tongue, and the one indigenous language he knows very well. Accordingly, he called on all other African writers to write in their indigenous languages and merely cause the..English, French, Portuguese or Spanish versions of those works to be translations from their original languages. This is crucial because, for him,

"Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly" through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the social", production of wealth, at their entire relationship to a nature and to other beings. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world. (Ngugi 1987: 16).

He further observes that to control a people's economic and political life, colonialism mentally alienated them from their language and culture (1987: 16):

The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed, to control, in other words, the entire realm of the language of real life

... But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world ... To their tools of self-definition in relationship to others.

The second form of reaction to the language and culture question was a bit more variegated. This consisted largely in the founding of various departments of African languages and literatures which would, in turn, intensify the intellectual study and analyses of African languages, African oral as well as new forms of literary writings. The names of African writers and philosophers now came on the college curricula and a new historiography complemented what used to be 'imported' forms of African history. Along with this new awareness came the formation of the Institutes of African Studies, Centres of Cultural Studies and other research and documentation Centres on African culture and tradition. The Institutes of African Studies were supposed to focus on field research, collect new data and preserve various forms of African culture for documentation as well as for analyses. It was realised at the time that knowledge in the conventional departments within the humanities was too Eurocentric to make a lasting model of African personality and identity. We are all witnesses to the little that those efforts have been able to achieve so far. For me, the language question goes beyond a mere *lingua franca*. The farthest implications of what Ngugi advocates will be the invention of a mode of discourse in speech, writing and cultural communication.

#### IV Philosophy and Natural Science

Racist views such as those of Friedrich Engels claiming that Africans, and other black peoples are incapable of highly developed forms of thought such as mathematical axioms, and by implication, science have been used in the past as a subtle but potent form of mental conditioning to discourage so called developing nations from the discovery of science and advanced technology. The tragedy of this kind of mental conditioning is that it has actually dissuaded many African leaders from pursuing an independent policy on scientific development. Instead they rely on the West to transfer technology and science to them. Although we are used to hearing such phrases as 'the transfer of technology', discerning minds are well aware that there is no such thing as *transfer* of technology. No nation will gladly give up her hard-earned ideas of science and development gratis.

Technology is never given out; it is either built or derived according to the peculiarities of one's own culture. We also affirm that science and technology, like civilization, are not the exclusive preserve of any one race or culture; they are mankind's heritage. However, it is also a fact that a flourishing culture of art, architecture, drama, music and literature normally precedes and associated is with the evolution of science and a flourishing technology. Without the art and culture of the Greek and Romans, there would have been no Western science and technology as we know it today.

Those who discount African peoples (races) as incapable of technological development often foist the mystery of magic and fetish on the black man. The truth however is that all human cultures possess the history of magic, fetish or witchcraft, and the practice of religion and soothsaying. What other advanced (particularly Western) cultures have done is to advance the rudiments of magic into science. A somewhat convincing example is that was generally believed in medieval times that witches flew like aeroplanes, or on broomsticks. It was also believed that they have inimical powers against human beings and other natural elements. The Church and State therefore legislated against witchcraft. The most important ecclesiastical directive being granted by Pope Innocent VII in 1484.

"The use of torture to extract confessions provided what was taken to be convincing evidence of guilt, and these confessions confirmed the superstitions of the ignorant. At times witch-hunting became a mania and the climax came in England and Scotland, and in America, in the 17th century. Great numbers of people were cruelly put to death, commonly by burning." It was however reported that by the early 18th century, people had become sceptical. In 1736 therefore, all legislation against witches was repealed in England and Scotland. (Watson 1980:1264).

If the imagination of people could invent flying witches even when they didn't see them, and would tie them to the stakes and burn them so long as they confessed what nobody witnessed or confirmed; then why couldn't machines be invented to fly as aeroplanes? Where such great ideas are treated as myth and metaphysics, they remain in human imaginations and dreams. But where they are reduced to technological principles and material science, they manifest as machines in flight. Science explains the world in principles, myth and

magic relationalise it. In both instances however, the material medium is culture.

The more balanced philosophical position by Placide Tempels (1959: 40-41), counters only to some extent the arrogant, racist abuse by Hume and Hegel that Africans are inferior to whites (Hegel 1956: 91-9; Ngugi 1987: 18). Unlike these others, Tempels admits that:

For the Bantu there is interaction of being with being, that is to say of force with force. Transcending the mechanical, chemical and psychological interactions, they see a relationship of forces which we should call ontological. In the *created force* (a contingent being) the Bantu sees a causal action emanating from the very nature of that created force and influencing other forces. One force will reinforce or weaken another. This causality is in no way supernatural in the sense of going beyond the proper attributes of created nature. It is on the contrary, a metaphysical action which flows out of the very nature of a created being. General knowledge of these activities belongs to the realm of natural knowledge and constitutes *philosophy* properly so called. The observation of the action of these forces in their specific concrete applications would constitute Bantu natural science."

Although this interaction of beings has been denoted by the word "magic". Tempels takes issue with it because it is not really in conformity with the content of Bantu thought. For according to him "in what Europeans call "primitive magic" there is, to primitive eyes, no operation of supernatural, indeterminate forces, but simply the interaction between natural forces, as they were created by God and as they were put by him at the disposal of men. He note that Whatever the resemblance, contact, or the expression of desire,

authors discern in their studies of magic "imitative, "Sympathetic", "contagious magic", "magic of expressed desire", etc. does not arise out of the essence of what is indicated by magic, that is to say, the interaction of creatures. The very fact that there should have been recourse to different terms to distinguish the "kinds" of magic, proves that any attempt to penetrate to the real nature of magic has been given up in favour of a classification in terms of secondary characters only.

Tempels also observes that the contention by European observers "that "beings" only acquire "power" to act upon other beings or forces through the intervention of spirits and manes. This contention emanates from European observers, it does not exist in the minds of Africans. The dead intervene on occasion to *make* known to the living the nature and quality of certain forces, but they do not thereby



*change* that nature at those qualities which are preordained as belonging to that force. Africans expressly say that creatures *are* forces, created by God as such; and that the intervention of spirits or manes changes nothing: such changes are a white man's idea."

Tempel may not be all correct regarding the nature of Bantu philosophy and science but he, coming from the same cultural milieu as Hume and Hegel, shows a much better grasp of African philosophy and science than these others, and consequently resists more successfully the temptation to substitute personal sentiments for scientific facts.

## V. Towards an Africanist Renaissance

The fact that African studies have taken root in alien cultures which had hitherto remained hostile is a mark of the fact that it has something to contribute to world civilization. The test of its lasting value is borne out by the endurance it has shown in the African diaspora and the New World. There is therefore little doubt that scholars and artists will continue to take African Studies very seriously, even at the risk of stretching their point. The hard facts that much of African thought and traditions are still waiting to be unearthed, collected, documented and analysed in the field. The real need to derive the genuine interpretation of available data will therefore attract more and more indigenous scholars who know the culture at first hand. It will also attract genuine, honest researchers, whatever their circumstances of birth or nationality. My feeling here is fairly well captured by another African of the present generation. He writes:

I believe that in the years to come, African art will take on new dimensions that no one has yet imagined - discussions that will not only connect it more fully and effectively with cognate academic disciplines, but will also fulfil many of the yearnings and aspirations of distinguished scholars in the field. Present interest in the exploration of African art through "sight" and "sound" will include the element of "soul". By this I mean that the current conventional anthropological and art-historical approaches - which emphasize direct representational reaction and formal analysis to the detriment of culturally based studies in aesthetics and art criticism - will make full use of the philosophies of the African peoples.

There will be renewed interest in field research, but this time around, the role and involvement of African scholars will be much greater. The goal will be to interpret African art from inside the culture that gave it birth rather than from outside. In a bid to allow

the culture to speak for itself, scholars will give more credibility and importance to primary sources, which consist *mainly of oral traditions than to secondary sources, which may have become authoritative simply because they were in print.* Oral traditions will become a highly efficient means of studying culture, retrieving history, and reconstructing artistic values. Used properly, oral traditions will reveal forgotten meanings that would be hard or even impossible to obtain from the most cooperative informant.

The recognition of how important African languages and literatures are to the understanding of African art will lead to a reconsideration of many "closed" issues, theoretical frameworks, and artistic concepts, a redefinition of much terminology; and a reappraisal of the present style and techniques of displaying African art objects in museums and exhibition halls. I believe that these changes will mark the beginning of a truly interdisciplinary study and lay the foundation of a joint search for those values and concepts which lie behind the creation of African art. (Abiodun; 1990: 64)

All we need do is substitute the word "studies" for the word "art" in the above quotation, and the message and vision remains the same. It is my fervent belief that the inauguration of African Studies Associations and allied institutions on African soil (i.e. home spun) is a healthy development. It may well mark the beginning of a truly new "Africanist" advance in this field.

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