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# The Significance of Cultural Practices and Beliefs in Ama Ata Aidoo's Anowa and Efua Sutherland's Edufa.

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#### Abstract

The study explores the relationship between literature and culture through an analysis of Ama Ata Aidoo's Anowa and Efua Sutherland's Edufa. The essay begins with a general discussion on the definition of culture by proponents like Stephen Greenblat, Mathew Arnold and Raymond Williams. This is followed by a discussion of each play, looking at their synopses and their themes that portray some aspects of the cultural practices and concepts of the Akans and the significance of these references. The conclusion gives a reflection of both writers having insights into cultural practices and beliefs and how they should be upheld. It also touches on how language and style enhance the presentation of the themes of both works. **Keywords:** Synopsis, Cultural Practices, Beliefs, Themes

1. Introduction

The term "culture" has been defined differently by various scholars. In general, culture describes the way of life of a group of people. Stephen Greenblat in his essay "culture", quotes the influential anthropologist, Edward B Tyler's definition of culture as : "Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and the habits acquired by man as a member of society." (p. 225). Greenblat's definition of culture seems to embody almost everything that is part of the society.

Raymond Willams (1983) also states in his Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, that the word "culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language." This he says is so partly because of the historical development of the word in several European languages. But basically, it is because the word "has now come to be used for the important concepts in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought." He further points out that the word's immediate forerunner is the latin word cultura which is derived from the latin word colere which means " cultivate, protect, honour with worship."(p.87) Williams recognizes three broad categories of the usage of the word culture as a result of the various stages through which the word has developed.

These are:

(1) the independent and abstract noun which described a general process of intellectual and aesthetic development;
(ii)the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, a period, a group or humanity in general, from Herder and Klemm. But we have also to recognize (iii) the independent abstract noun which describes the works and practices of and especially artistic activity. (p.90)

In his work, Culture and Anarchy, Mathew Arnold, one of the proponents of the term culture, defines it as:

A pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we now follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is virtue in the following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically. (p.6)

Arnold believes that no society can achieve total perfection without adhering to the values of its culture. He separates religion from culture and describes the perfection that society achieves through cultural adherence as "sweetness and light". He admits that religion plays a major role in perfecting society but that what religion achieves is inadequate. Arnold further points out that, society can only achieve true perfection through strict adherence to culture.

The various definitions of culture show that culture is indispensable. There is therefore the need to enforce cultural values in order to sustain the society. In much the same way, Stephen Greenblat points out that "western literature over a long period has been one of the great institutions for the enforcement of cultural boundaries through praise and blame."

Various definitions of culture have been given but for the purpose of this study, emphasis will be laid on the definition by Raymond William that is, "a particular way of life of a people."

The next word which has also been variously defined is literature. This study is interested in the definition by Mathew Arnold in culture and anarchy. According to him, "literature is a criticism of life". From this definition it can be deduced that literature criticizes every aspect of man's life. It should be noted that this kind of criticism deals not only with the bad aspects of human life but also with the good aspects.

Judging from these two chosen definitions of culture and literature, it is obvious that the two terms are closely related. Thus, while culture is a way of life of a particular people, literature also examines this same particular way of life. Hence both look at the issue of man's life.

#### 2. Synopsis and themes of the text, Anowa.

Anowa, the eponymous character, is presented as a beautiful young woman who refuses to marry any of her suitors until she meets Kofi Ako. Her mother in particular does not approve of Kofi Ako because she thinks he is lazy and will not make a good husband. Anowa ignores this advice and calls her mother a witch. She insists that she loves Kofi Ako and no one else. She quarrels with her mother over the issue and leaves the house for her husband's without the performance of the proper marriage rites.

Initially, life seems to be going well for the couple. They become prosperous and hire more people to help in their trade. Their relationship, however, begins to break down. Their problem stems from the fact that Anowa is unable to conceive. Anowa also greatly resents being told that she no longer needs to work as they have slaves to do the work for them. She also cannot bear the idea of possessing slaves as she deems it to be morally wrong. Kofi Ako sacrifices his manhood for material riches and as a result Anowa learns that he is impotent.

With all these disagreements and other reasons best known to Ako, he finally asks Anowa to leave her matrimonial home. Anowa insists that, Kofi Ako should give her a tangible reason before she leaves. She finally tells Ako that he is impotent. After this final confrontation, Ako realizes that Anowa has finally become aware of the truth. The play then ends with Kofi Ako committing suicide and Anowa also drowning herself.

Many themes emerge from the action of the play. A dominant one is feminism. Anowa's effort and attitude in the play single her out as a woman who is not ready to be relegated to the background though she is not educated. First of all, she chooses her own husband without her parents' approval. She swears never to return no matter what happens. She says, "I will walk so well that I will not find my feet back here again."<sup>1</sup> . Culturally it is assumed parents must accept a child's partner for marriage before the marriage can be a blessing. According to Nukunya, (1992)

It is nonetheless true to say that parental interest in the marriage makes it obligatory for spouses not to alienate their parents (and other relations for that matter) in cases of

mate selection since this alienation often results in bitterness and souring of relations. Many Ghanaians try to come to terms with their relations on the issue so that in case of marital breakdown or other mishaps they can easily return to their kin groups. Those who defy their parents and kinsfolk always make it a point not to come back to them when things go bad. But such unfortunate situations are difficult to face without parental and kin group assistance, hence the need to exercise caution when it comes to defying parents and other relations.

When Anowa enters the marriage with Kofi Ako, she demands to be given the chance to express her opinion on all matters concerning the marriage. For instance, when Ako sacks her, she refuses to go without the former providing tangible reasons as to why he unilaterally decides to terminate their marriage as seen in the following conversation:

Anowa: Why are you sending me away from you? Kofi Ako: Just leave me alone. Anowa: What have I done wrong? Kofi Ako: Nothing. Anowa: Is it because I did not give you children? Do you want to take a new wife who would not like to see me around? Kofi Ako: Anowa, why do you want to go on asking foolish questions to which you know I cannot give you answers? Anowa: But they are not foolish questions. (Anowa p.56)

Anowa's fight for her rights as a woman leads her to a situation where she is branded by Kofi Ako and the old woman who serves as a sort of chorus throughout the play, as a wife who contravenes societal norms concerning the submissive role of women in the African society. Kofi Ako boldly asks Anowa why she cannot be like other women. Kofi Ako is portrayed as a traditional and an authoritative character. He upholds slavery which his wife vehemently opposes. When Anowa tries to discuss this issue of slavery with him, he flares up. He thinks that what he says is right and that Anowa is just a woman. He has an idea that a woman cannot give any better suggestion. So he says: "who are you to tell me what to do and what not to do." (Anowa p.29)

Another primary theme represented in the play is the power of tradition. Anowa flouts the traditions of her people. She does not marry early as is expected, and when she finally marries, she does not adhere to the cultural expectation that a woman does not work outside the home. Although her actions are the result of Anowa remaining true to her own beliefs, they have dire consequences within the context of her cultural unit.

#### 3. Synopsis of Edufa

<u>Edufa</u>, an adaptation of the classical greek tragedy Euripedes' Alcestes , is one of the early plays of Efua Sutherland. In Edufa, the eponymous character seeks to escape death by manipulating his wife, Ampomah, to die the death that has been predicted for him by the oracles. A diviner tells him he can avert his death if he can find someone to take his place. This makes him look for a substitute. He tells the members of his household that those who love him enough to die for him should so pledge their love. Edufa does not tell them the real consequences of this pledge, or the reasons why the topic has come up. Ampomah, his wife, unaware of Edufa's intentions, promises that she would die for him,. Sometime later, the gods descend on her, demanding that she makes true her pledge, that is , her death for Edufa's life. Ampoma accepts her approaching death and expresses her love for Edufa.

From the synopsis of Edufa, it can be realized that the text addresses the themes of witchcraft greed and commitment. Ampomah is so much committed to her husband to the extent of swearing an oath to Edufa of her unflinching love and faithfulness. Edufa, on the other hand, is filled with greed and therefore uses witchcraft in the form of charm to kill his wife. At the end of the play when Ampomah dies, Edufa tries, by his countenance, to show regret for the death of Ampomah, but it is obvious that he killed her in order to gain life. Based on these themes, a lot of cultural issues are raised and these will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

## 4. Cultural Practices in the Two Texts.

Marriage is the first cultural practice to be discussed. Marriage has been defined by Nukunya (1992) in Tradition and Change in Ghana as :

Any union in which the couple has gone through all procedures recognized in the society for the purpose of sexual intercourse, raising of a family, or companionship. To be legal, marriage must pass through the laid- down customary stages for the society. (p.42)

This is a very important institution in the African society. In view of this, society looks down on people who have attained marriageable age but are still single. On the part of a woman, the belief is that she can pass her marriageable age. This is the main reason why Badua, Anowa's mother, is worried about Anowa not accepting the numerous suitors who come her way.

Badua: Any mother would be concerned if her daughter refuses to get married six years after her puberty. If I do not worry about this, what shall I worry about? Besides, a woman is not a stone but a human being; she grows. (p. 10)

Though marriage is defined as a union between two lovers who have accepted to live harmoniously, Africans in general and Ghanaians in particular believe that marriage involves the families of both partners and the community as a whole. For this reason, Abena and Kankam, the sister and father of Edufa respectively show much interest in the marriage between Edufa and Ampoma.

Gyekye, (1998) further comments on the communal nature of marriage by stating that: "Marriage is not merely an affair between two individuals who have fallen in love and plan to spend the rest of their lives together. It is a matter in which the lineage groups of both the man and the woman are deeply interested. (p.78). In the light of this, when Anowa accepts to marry Kofi Ako, her father Osam proposes that Anowa's uncle be informed. By this Osam demonstrates the matrilineal system of inheritance which shows that children belong to the families of their mothers.

Osam: My wife, do remember I am a man, the son of a woman who also has five sisters. It is a long time since I gave up trying to understand the human female. Beside if you think well of it, I am not the one to decide finally whom Anowa can marry. Her uncle, your brother is there, is he not? You'd better consult him. (p.16)

This also shows that marriage is not a private affair but involves the extended members of the family and the country as a whole. If Anowa's parents had given out their daughter's hand in marriage that would have contravened the norms of the society in which they lived. Peggy Appiah, Kwame Anthony Appiah and Ivor-Duah Agyemang (2007) state in an article entitled "Akan Cultures: A Brief Introduction" that:

Unlike many African societies and most of those in contemporary Europe and north America, akan societies are matrilineal: children belong to the families of their mothers...the head of the family is typically a child's maternal uncle- his or her mother's brother or wofa. (p.7)

The second cultural practice worth discussing is childbearing and its significance to the society. This is an issue which is peculiar to African women writers. In African society women are expected first and foremost to procreate. This is to ensure continuity. Barrenness is therefore considered even today, a social stigma, and barren women are sometimes treated as outcasts. According to Mbiti (1989) a barren woman is "incomplete". Gyekye (1998) also says:

In the African view, the whole or ultimate purpose of marriage is procreation- to produce children who will continue with the heritage and name of the family, so that the family does not diminish or disappear. Barrenness and sterility are considered a threat to the continuity of human life and existence. Children are so important that in traditional life, the inability to bear children is considered a very great calamity, and the woman who fails to bear children suffers humiliation and sometimes, ridicule and abuse.

The reference to it in the two texts under study depicts how society upholds child bearing but abhors barrenness. As earlier stated, one major reason for marriage is for procreation. Therefore if one gets married for years and there is no issue, people begin to raise eyebrows. Ama Ata Aidoo describes the agony and the humiliation which barren women go through, in several of her works. The majority of them feel worthless as women because they have not been able to have the children society expects them to have John S. Mbiti states the importance of childbearing in marriage, in African Religion and Philosophy that:

In some African societies, marriage is not fully recognized or consummated until the wife has given birth. First pregnancy becomes therefore the final seal of marriage, the sign of the complete integration of the woman into her husband's family and kingship circle. Unhappy is the woman who fails to get children for, whatever other qualities she might possess, her failure to bear children is worse than committing genocide: she has become the dead end of human life, not only for the genealogical line but also for herself. When she dies there will be nobody of her own immediate blood to remember her, to keep her in a state of personal immortality. She will simply be "forgotten.

Anowa undergoes extreme anguish because she has no child. She is very worried and tries to find where the fault is coming from. She knows that, to be labeled barren is a bitter experience. Ampomah, on the other hand, is fortunate to have children; therefore the society has no problem with her. She is on the verge of dying and at that point the only thing she thinks of is the one to take proper care of her children. Her fear is that when she dies, Edufa will marry another woman who may maltreat her children because of the love their father will show towards them.

Ampoma: ... I am leaving our children motherless in your hands.
Let me hear you say you love them, though I know you do.
Edufa: I love them Ampomah
Ampomah: and will you keep them from harm? Protect them?
Edufa:...no harm shall come to the children that I can prevent.
Ampomah: I fear the harm that might come to them from another woman's dissatisfied heart. (p.9)

The final cultural practice to be discussed is libation. Culturally, it is believed that there is a strong relationship between the living and the ancestors. Therefore to prove this, pouring of libation is utilized in these texts under discussion. Libation is a prayer to the ancestors. In both texts, there is evidence of the invocation of the spirits of the ancestors. Mbiti, (1989) states that:

The departed, whether parents, brothers, sisters or children, form part of the family, and must therefore be kept in touch with their surviving relatives. Libation and the giving of food to the departed are tokens of fellowship, hospitality and respect; and the drink and food so given are symbols of family continuity and contact. (p. 9)

Kankam visits his son Edufa, he is offered water by Seguwa, Edufa's sister and he pours a little on the floor before he drinks it. This shows the belief in traditional prayers through the pouring of libation. In the same vein in Anowa, the old man in the prologue bends the fingers of his right-hand as though he were holding a cup, raises his hand up and acts out the motions of the pouring of a libation. He thanks the gods for their care and asks that all things may continue to be good and even get better.

Apart from the cultural practices, some cultural beliefs are also raised. These include the belief in ancestral spirits, witchcrafts, suicidal death and respect for the elderly. The belief in the ancestral spirits is the first cultural

concept to be discussed. Akans believe that the ancestors play an important role in the lives of men. According to Sarpong ,(1974)

The ancestors are said to send help to their relatives. One ancestor may indicate to one of his own people the remedy to an illness in his dream. Another may send material things , such as money, clothing etc. another may see to it that the girls of his lineage are endowed with fecundity- the greatest blessing for the Ghanaian woman.(p. 41)

In view of this, when Anowa is not ready to get married, Osam calls on the ancestral spirits to help him. "and may the ancestral spirits help me, but what man would I order from the heavens to please the difficult eye of my daughter anowa."(p.11)

This illustrates the belief in the potency of ancestral spirits in the Akan society. Whenever one is in trouble, one can call on these spirits for help.

On the issue of Anowa being wild too, Osam suggests that she be apprenticed "to a priestess to quieten her down" (p.11). When Badua rejects this idea of her daughter becoming a dancer priestess, Osam again reminds her of the fact that she consulted the priestess when she was childless. "did you not consult them over and over again when you could not get a single child from your womb to live beyond one day" this shows that Badua's children died the very day they were born. She therefore had to consult these oracles so that her subsequent children would live. It is believed that these oracles work hand in hand with the ancestors.

In Edufa too, the issue of consulting diviners is raised. This also has to do with consulting ancestral spirits. The diviners deal with spirits. According to Mbiti, (1989) in African Religions and Philosophy:

Diviners as their name implies, are concerned primarily with acts of divination... they are the agents of unveiling mysteries of human life. This is done through the use of mediums, oracles, being possessed, divination objects, common sense, intuitive knowledge and insight, hypnotism and other secrete knowledge... people resort to them freely for both private and public affairs. (p.172)

Edufa's wife, Ampoma, is seriously ill and according to Kankam, Edufa's father, he had consulted a diviner on his own health and what comes from the diviner concerns his son. After the usual practice of diviners, that is, the spreading of a holy handful of sand, the lighting of candles, the making of incantations over a sacred bowl of water and the scrawling of mystic symbols in the sand, the diviners see through his divination that Edufa had consulted a diviner about four years earlier and had been told that death was hanging over his life but said that he could avert the danger by the sacrifice of another life. He is given a charm on to which the person who is prepared to die for him will swear an oath. His wife unknowingly swears to die in his place. Kankam reiterates the power of an oath and adds that "if she does not die it will be by the intervention of some great power alone. An oath once sworn will always ride its swearer. But there must be a chance to save her."(p.11).Through the action here, the reader is given an insight into how powerful diviners are to some extent of knowing hidden things in the hearts of men. Had it not been for Kankam's consultation of the diviner, the source of Edufa's death will never have been known.

The next cultural concept is the belief in witchcraft. Witchcraft is a traditional religious belief. Angmor, (1996) states in Contemporary Literature in Ghana 1911-1978. A Critical Evaluation that equally strong in Ghanaian aetiology is the belief in witchcraft. This is another issue related to mysteries of life. Culturally, there is the belief that these witches and wizards can harm man. It is the belief that some people have within them some super human essence which gives them the power to affect persons and things away from them without physical contact. The power is generally regarded as evil and selfish and therefore anybody who is known to have it or practice it is unpopular in the community. It is common knowledge that many misfortunes like death, sickness, barrenness, economic failure and accidents are attributed to witchcraft.

This social phenomenon also finds expression both in Anowa and Edufa. Kofi Ako is said to have involved

himself in witchcraft and this leads to losing of his potency. As a result, there is no issue from his marriage. Again, in the Akan society, anyone who becomes a thorn in another's flesh is considered a witch. As a result of this we hear Anowa accusing her mother of being a witch when she disapproves of her marriage to Kofi Ako. Ako also accuses Anowa of being a witch when she refuses to leave him until he gives the reason for the divorce. Kofi Ako: "Everyone said you were a witch, I should have believed them." (p.60)

It could be said that, Edufa also uses a form of witchcraft to kill his own wife. Seguwa, a matronly member of the household, states that Edufa is very dangerous. This is because he uses an evil charm on which his wife swears an oath. He later burns the charm but the deed had already been done. By burying the charm, he buries his wife. These references made to witchcrafts depict the fact there is nothing good that can come out of this practice. Readers are therefore cautioned to desist from such a practice.

The third cultural belief used is the issue of suicidal death. Death is inevitable in man's life, but Africans in general and Akans in particular frown on suicidal death. This is because there is the belief that natural death is one of the conditions for ancestorship. Sarpong (1974) condemns suicidal death as an anti-social act. He claims that one who kills himself or herself is an enemy of everybody. He further states that:

A suicide is traditionally considered a wicked and his spirit is simply dreaded. He is supposed to have taken his life because he must have committed some crime in secret whose revelation was imminent. He takes this simple course of action in order to avoid detection, with its subsequent arrest and trial.(p.35)

As a result of this, for Kofi Ako and Anowa to die through suicide is an abomination in African culture. It is believed that this is a taboo and such people will face some kind of consequences in the second world. The Old Woman wails. Old woman: puei puei puei.

Finally the old lady reiterates the fact that, if there is life after death, Anowa's spirit will certainly answer for her deed. Ampomah's death, on the other hand, is caused by Edufa, who later regrets this decision but must definitely face the penalty while he lives.

The final cultural belief is respect for the elderly. Sarpong (1974) observes that:

Old age is sacred as the old person is thought to be in closer proximity to the ancestors- he is likely to die before others- than the young. The mysterious and the spiritual acquire their character by reason of their being sacred. Hence it is in relation to the sacred that a respectful attitude should be shown towards authority, old age, the mysterious and the spiritual. (p.65)

Anowa's tragic end paves way for one to advise that the advice of the elderly must be adhered to. The elderly are to be respected because they are regarded as repositories of wisdom. Their experiences constitute a treasure; hence the younger generation needs to listen to their advice. Most of the time, people who refuse to listen to the admonishment of the elderly end up miserably. This is reflective of Anowa's situation. Her parents try as much as possible to make her refrain from going with Ako without going through the proper marriage rites. The man is supposed to pay a bride price before Anowa is fully recognized as his wife but Anowa rejects this parental advice and even accuses her mother of being a witch. Her end becomes tragic because she drowns herself to death.

Edufa also shows disrespect to his father, Kankam, when the latter confronts him about the sickness of his wife. It is revealed to Kankan through a diviner that Edufa is the cause of the sickness. He reprimands Edufa for visiting a diviner to exchange Ampomah's life for his to enable him live and prosper. Edufa insults his father. "Father are you mad?" He even accuses his father of envy and calls him an enemy. Society frowns on this behavior put up by Edufa. His father therefore parts with him, threatening never to see his son anymore. His wife Ampomah dies in the end and he now yearns for his father. Edufa: "if you see my father, call him back that I may weep on his shoulder." (p.59) This shows that the younger generation will always come to realize the sense in the words of the elderly. This also proves the extent to which the elderly is a necessity in the lives of the young

ones. The references made to the disrespect to the elderly and their consequences serve a reprimand to readers.

#### 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, one can confidently say from the analysis of the two plays that both Aidoo and Sutherland are playwrights who have good insights into cultural practices and beliefs and these reflect in their writings. Their references to these cultural practices such as marriage, the importance of childbearing and libation; and cultural beliefs like the belief in ancestral spirits, witchcraft, suicidal death and respect for the elderly, are significant. The values placed on some of them, for instance marriage and respect for the elderly, show how they still need to be upheld in this contemporary time in order to obtain a better society.

However, one cannot lose sight of the fact that culture is dynamic; hence certain cultural practices should be modified to meet the challenges of modern times. Cultural issues like parents choosing spouses for their children; background of family members used as a yardstick to determine the character of will- be spouse; extended family members' intrusion in marriage and human sacrifice should be changed to suit the demands of the present. These plays cannot be classified as literature on the bases of themes and issues raised only, but rather and more importantly, on the bases of the literary use of language. In Anowa, Aidoo uses language in a way that leaves a lasting impression on the reader. She uses proverbs, similes and borrowing from the Akan language. Sutherland also uses traditional ritual and symbolism, monologues, suspense, simile and borrowing of local words and phrases. All these are meant to give the plays a traditional touch.

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