

(Zitenga, Ratenga, and Tatenga/Kirgitenga) overlies Berba, Dogon, and Fulse. Each layer is displaced as political chief (the Elder), master of the earth, assistants, sextons, "magicians," and "pure" horticulturalists. Genealogical horizons are reconstituted in "those who descended from the sky," "those who rise from the earth," the red and the black "masters of the earth." It is suggested that despite the qualification "conquest" installation of the state apparatus cannot occur except on the foundation of Konkomba-like kin-role devolution. That devolution varies from conquest state organization only in the temporary political and economic separations of "owners' people" and "earth's people" in a conception of force. It is, despite a biased ontology, perhaps opportune to consider the state to be what it has always been, peripheral. The difference between the two forms does not, as Maine (1861 [1909]: 95, 177) observed, necessitate "that intestate inheritance is a more ancient institution than testamentary succession." The state organization, as Leach (1954: 50) observed for the Gumsa, is feudal and large-scale: "Every group has a fixed relation to every other. Like the Roman Catholic Church it is all embracing; in theory factionalism is excluded."

Tait's field notes were not available at Legon. — I would like to thank the Konkomba that I met in Tamale for their wide-ranging discussions and demonstrations of things old and modern.

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