Ritual processes may be understood as sequences of symbolic action which are highly complex and multi-dimensional. They involve actors, action, use of time and space, as well as other symbolic agencies and agents. In this paper I have chosen to focus on the use of space as one dimension of ritual which can be seen as a means of access to significant climaxes and culminations. This will be done through an examination of spatial ordering and spatial juxtapositions in a ritual of a modern West African religious movement. I hope to demonstrate that the structuring and utilization of ritual space is an aspect of the "form of enactment" that allows a deeper understanding of various viewpoints, classifications, orientations, and motivations which are brought to realization during the performance. It will be my major assumption that from the performer's standpoint the set-up and use of space constitutes a kind of communicative pronouncement. This pronouncement, as Edward Hall has put it, allows "space to speak" even though spatial structure and use are largely "out of consciousness" to the performers. I also assume that the language of space belongs to the fundamental categories and axioms of the society and culture in which the performance is carried out and can therefore be considered as an important source of group-specific motivation. This fact applies as well to segmental groups, movements, or sects, who develop a distinctive ideology or belief system while at the same time drawing on the fundamental orientations provided by the larger culture in which they exist.

The specific ritual to be considered here is part of a cycle of per-
formances carried out by a Ghanaian healing group known as the Church of the Twelve Apostles. Participants and adepts in this movement refer to the central action of the ritual as *edur s四周*, the act of collecting medicine from the sky. This action involves an adept healer who raises an enamel cup filled with water towards the sky. This raising of the cup is a daily event in the healing centres of the movement. It is carried out at the individual request of specific patients. The patient assumes a submissive posture on the ground in front of the adept who then holds the cup aloft. This action is generally the occasion for divination regarding the causes underlying the patient's state of disquietude or illness. The raising of the cup also constitutes, in the view of adherents, a transformation of common water (*nsu*) into holy medicine (*edur kr兩 kr兩*) to be used in the healing process.

Historically the Twelve Apostles people trace the origin of the cup-lifting to a wandering Liberian prophet, William Wade Harris. Harris, influenced by Western missionaries in his home country, underwent a "conversion" experience while imprisoned for his role in an indigenous uprising against the republic of Liberia. When he was set free he began a long journey by foot which took him across the Ivory Coast. In the year 1914 he entered what is now the Western Region of Ghana. The prophet, dressed in a long white robe and turban, carried with him a bamboo staff in the form of a cross, a half-calabash bowl, a tattered bible, and a calabash gourd rattle. As the prophet and his two wives progressed along the coast he performed a simple ritual baptism in each of the fishing villages he encountered along the way.

The result of these events was a mass-movement on the part of the native population which involved possession states and trances, the rejection of traditional medicines, and the burning of religious paraphernalia. Harris gathered the people around the cruciform staff and then poured water, contained in the calabash bowl, on their foreheads. During these actions his wives played on the calabash rattles in order to drive out bad spirits (*sunsum fi*) and call upon good spirits (*sunsum pa*). Informants who still remember Harris's visit say that

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3 An extensive literature has developed regarding the prophet Harris. An excellent summary of the Harris journey is to be found in the book by Halliburton, which also includes a good bibliographic sample of the key missionary and administrative reports on the activities of Harris and his followers. (Gordon M. Halliburton, *The Prophet Harris: a study of an African prophet and his mass-movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, 1913-1915*. London: Longmans, 1971, and New York: O.U.P., 1973).