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LINKING THE AFRICAN PAST AND PRESENT: CORRECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN AMINATTA FORNA'S *ANCESTOR STONES*[1]

Starting from the observation that African women are often underrepresented and misrepresented in both African male literature and Western fiction, this paper offers evidence that Aminatta Forna's *Ancestor Stones* (2006) aims at inscribing African women into history by focusing on their experiences. Forna's debut novel not only challenges gender stereotyping but also deals with themes of women's position and marriage in past and present West African society. A close reading of the novel suggests that whereas the female principle was valued in Africa's pre-colonial era, in colonial Africa women were respected solely for their reproductive role. Precisely for this reason, women opted for marriage. The novel indicates that while marriage did mean security in the past, this is not the case in the present. The implication is that the changing historical and cultural circumstances necessitate a re-definition of the institution of marriage as a union based on equality and appreciation. *Ancestor Stones* acknowledges that there are greater opportunities for African women regarding access to education and occupations. However, this progress is overshadowed by the persistence of gender stereotypes and prejudice. Drawing on Nnaemeka's collection of essays *The Politics of (Mo)Othering: Womanhood, Identity and Resistance in African Literature*, the article argues that women, despite being oppressed, can and should fight against this state of affairs. By highlighting the examples of women who rebelled against inequality and humiliation, the novel points to the direction of action toward the desired liberation and empowerment of women.

Keywords: *Ancestor Stones*; Aminatta Forna; African women; past; present

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ancestor Stones (2006) is the debut novel of a diasporic African writer Aminatta Forna.This biracial writer (Sierra Leonean father and Scottish mother) had to leave Sierra Leone at the age of eleven after her father was hanged as an opponent of the regime. Many years later, Forna decided to write a memoir dedicated to her father, which was followed by *Ancestor Stones*, inspired by the true events in her motherland as seen through the eyes of four female characters. The publication of *Ancestor Stones* began establishing Forna as one of the emerging voices of African women writing. The aim of this article is twofold. The first is to interpret the novel from the perspective of challenging the misrepresentation and undrerrepresentation of women in African literature, which until recently was dominated by male writers. The second aim is to highlight the novel's endeavour to inscribe women into African history by focusing on the past and present through their particular experiences.

As Newell aptly observes, African "women ... are often appearing in negative and stereotyped forms" (2017: 6) in films and literature. Even though *Ancestor Stones* offers evidence that chances and options for African women have proliferated with time, it also indicates that the prevailing attitudes of some people toward African women, both outside and within Africa, are still biased. For example, Forna's novel questions the typical Western view of polygyny as completely disadvantageous for women. Starting from Nnaemeka's claim that "African women who are in polygynous marriages are not morons or powerless, exploited, downtrodden victims" (1997: 168), this article offers evidence that *Ancestor Stones* presents a complex interpretation of both polygyny with a focus on both advantages and disadvantages of this institution.

Moreover, in an attempt to correct this injustice toward female characters, Forna's novel challenges the stereotypical images of women as static, passive, and inferior. In delineating women as evolving and complex characters, *Ancestor Stones* exemplifies the trend in contemporary African women writing not only to "rewrite the female types according to a matrifocal principle" (Newell 2017: 7) but also to humanise them, representing them as both benevolent and malevolent, capable of solidarity and intrigue, of being victims and active agents. In changing entrenched gender stereotypes and prejudices, novels like Forna's debut are valuable since they transform women into complex figures who challenge the opposition between victims and agents capable not only of being creators of their own destinies but also of positively influencing others by their example.

The plot spans a long period (from 1926 to 2003) and consists of the stories of four half-sisters, Asana, Serah, Mariama, and Hawa, daughters of the wealthy chief Gibril Umaru Kholifa. As Annie Gagiano aptly observes, the sisters' tales are "ranging from the deeply personal, familial, communal, social and political dimensions of their own and their mothers' experiences" (2024: 269). These women's life stories are situated within a framework of tremendous changes in African life, changes that intrude upon the lives of the characters. As the lives of these female characters are largely shaped by the cultural and historical circumstances of their fictional worlds, the conclusion may be drawn that the personal is inseparable from the collective. In stories where the individual and the collective intertwine and permeate, a woman often becomes a metaphor for the nation.[2] When the individual stories of the stepsisters are collected and read together, they grow into a special kind of national history that is not based on facts – "a sensitive and personalised history of the country" (Lionnet, Mac Gregor 2017: 201).

A significant part of *Ancestor Stones*' version of history is one that tackles the bloody civil war (1991–2002) due to which the country gained a bad reputation. However, the novel does not deal with the war in much detail but aims to portray this notorious part of Sierra Leonean history from a female perspective. While the atrocities committed during the armed conflict are well known, the novel also reveals the other side of the war, i.e. what the war looked like from the perspective of women, and by describing their non-military experiences, it sheds a whole new light on the infamous period. In focusing on the women's emotional perception of war, *Ancestor Stones* aims to broaden the reader's knowledge of Sierra Leonean history to include "all the things that have never been spoken" (Forna 2006: 13).

In offering a corrective narrative of West African history, Forna's novel challenges the often "denigratory, condescending and distorting accounts of their lives and deeds" (Gagiano 2024: 262). Due to Forna's African roots and the extensive research that preceded the writing of the novel, *Ancestor Stones* provides an intricate knowledge of African history and customs, and the narrative strikes a delicate balance of critique and praise for what is best in Forna's homeland and its people. Forna's novel aims to displace the stories of strangers that "would make sure nobody ever wanted to come here" (Forna 2006: 33) in order to challenge and revise entrenched opinions, prejudices, and stereotypes about Africa. In doing so, *Ancestor Stones* offers captivating tales about African past and present, with a special emphasis on the women's place within its socio-cultural framework.

2 For example, the story of Serah's ill friend who pretended that everything was fine is allegorical and corresponds to the pre-civil war condition of the nation.

2. AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

2.1. Distant African past – respect for the female principle

As Sherry Ortner argues, women have traditionally been associated with nature because of their reproductive role (1974: 73). Critics such as Gaard assert that Western society has always valued everything related to men and society more than women and nature (1993: 5). The reason is, as stated by Ortner, that culture possesses the ability to transform (cultivate) nature (1974: 73). However, the association of women with nature has not always been aimed at belittling them, especially on the African continent. As Okuyade asserts, people "held aspects of nature sacred" (2013: vi) in traditional African society. Consequently, nature was considered a partner and was an integral aspect of the spirituality of the Africans (Ibid.). This strong connection between the human and nonhuman world is indicated by *Ancestor Stones*. The nexus is strong and intricate at the novel's beginning, which goes back to the distant past, five centuries ago. As told by Abie, sailors from Europe who first reached the Cape Verde islands were astonished by nature's abundance: While from the ends of their elegant stalks pineapples nodded encouragingly, sweet potatoes and yams peeped from the earth, and great hands of bananas reached down to them. The sailors thought they found no less a place than the Garden of Eden (Forna 2006: 10).

However, the narrator is quick to add that what was perceived by sailors as a natural bounty was actually the fruit of hard work and efforts of women who cultivated various crops: "They thought that they had found Eden and perhaps they had. But it was an Eden created not by God, but the hands of women" (Forna 2006: 11). This extract simultaneously testifies to the interconnectedness of women and nature and challenges their linking based upon dualisms. In contrast with the dominant Western ideology, African women are represented as those in charge of cultivating nature. Hence, the novel suggests that the female principle was valued in the African past.

2.2. Polygynous past: marriage as security

The prologue, in which Abie looks back to the distant past, is followed by the stories of the four wives of Gibril Umaru Kholifa and is set in colonial West Africa. While women in the distant past were respected, the novel implies that circumstances have changed considerably. Admittedly, women's connection to nature is still emphasised.

For example, women are represented as healers who know how to use herbs as natural medicines. Moreover, female characters are delineated as not only performing heavy agricultural work but also doing it in a group, thus contributing to the survival and development of the community. In addition, female characters are also portrayed as bearers of tradition who preserve traditional customs and practices. They are shown taking part in activities such as dancing, drumming, and gatherings in forests to perform their spiritual rituals. However, these activities are increasingly frowned upon with the strengthening of the influence of Islam and Christianity. Simultaneously with the displacement of traditional customs, the unnamed country, once a symbol of heaven on earth, slowly "deteriorates, as decadence creeps in" (Bangura 2025: 65). Still, not all traditional practices are rejected in West Africa with the growing influx of external influences. One striking example is the polygynous institution of marriage, "the bedrock of the life of the community, which is presented as the normal fact of the socio-cultural reality of traditional Sierra Leone" (Bangura 2025: 65).

Ancestor Stones deals with the rise and fall of the Kholifa family, a large polygynous family with as many as eleven wives. Unsurprisingly, the wives are subjugated to their husband, a wealthy chief and a coffee plantation owner. The father, the head of the family, lives in the central house, while each woman lives in a separate unit with her children. Being co-wives, they have to share their husband and are expected to serve and cook for him according to a set schedule.

Moreover, as evidenced by the novel, the polygynous arrangement implies a strict and traditional division of roles along gender lines. All important decisions (such as where to move and build a house) are made by the father, while wives are responsible for cooking, washing, and cleaning. However, the status of a husband in a polygynous family is not only privileged but also extremely accountable. The husband is the provider "responsible for the general welfare and maintenance" (Nnaemeka 1997: 173) of the household, but wives also have to perform their duties. This not only includes responsibility for household chores and one's own children but also obedience to the husband's directions when it comes to preserving the family's reputation. Co-wives are taken care of within Gibril's household on the condition that they observe unwritten but deeply ingrained codes of conduct.

Precisely because they fail to observe the codes, two wives are forced to leave the family. Mariama's mother, Tenkamu, is punished for her unwillingness to abandon traditional customs that were considered blasphemous with the advent of Islam. When she is deprived of the stones she keeps as a memento of her ancestors, Tenkamu suffers a mental breakdown and flees to the nearby forest. Soon afterward, she dies.

Tenkamu's death, like the death of any woman, is described as an insignificant event that does not have much impact on the environment:

> "A man marries expecting to lose a wife or two. Wives pass on all the time bringing new lives into the world. Nobody dresses up all in black, only the hem of a lappa trailed in black dye. Relatives arrive to stay in her house, lay claim to her gowns, her cooking pots, her jewelry, even her little guitar which none could play but someone could sell.
> And when the week is over everything is gone. Only her children are there still to be disposed of." (Forna 2006: 66–67)

This extract suggests that women in colonial Africa were respected primarily as mothers and wives, therefore, for their procreative role. As Cook notes, "an unmarried woman is blasphemy" (2007: 234) in Africa. Or, as Mariama narrates, "unmarried women were Black Dogs" (Forna 2006: 40) during the increasing influence of the radical Haidera Kontorfili. Precisely for this reason, women opted for marriage. However, their position in the polygynous family was precarious and could easily be threatened by rumors. As it turns out, both women who fall into Gibril's disfavor become the subject of gossip. Gossip undeniably ruins a family's reputation, which influences the head of the family, who acts as the main instrument and an extended arm of society and its rules, to take the lead and restore order among its ranks.

Saffie, Serah's mother, is accused of adultery and found guilty by the court of elders. She is ordered to abandon the family and pay off the bride price to Gibril. It is important to note that she is the only one of the eleven co-wives willing to leave her husband and take care of herself. This suggests that marriage meant security for women in the traditional African family. Although women were economically dependent on their husbands, they were disposed to become part of a polygynous family, especially a family like Gibril's, since they could "benefit from their husband's wealth" (Ng'umbi 2017: 93).

Forna's ambivalent vision of polygynous marriage testifies to her endeavour to represent it in all its complexity, to highlight both the advantages and disadvantages of this institution, all with the aim of destroying Western prejudices about polygyny. On the one hand, as indicated by the novel, there is necessarily rivalry among the co-wives, especially towards Tenkamu, the only woman personally chosen by Gibril. On the other hand, the book is careful to suggest that although co-wives were inevitably rivals for their husband's attention, they also cooperated. The large number of wives implied a parceling of household chores among them. As Hawa mentions, there is a special Themne word for a co-wife – "ores". As she explains, co-wives are

> "The women who share your husband with you.The women with whom you take turns to cook.The women you give whatever is leftover in your own pot. The women who are the other mothers of your children, who suckle your baby when your own milk has dried up or unexpectedly soured." (Forna 2006: 57)

However, not all wives in a polygynous family have the same rights and obligations. As stated by Merand: "The first wife enjoys undispued authority over her co-wives" (1980: 89). Accordingly, it is the senior wife, Ya Namina, who decides on the division of responsibilities among co-wives in the Gibril's polygynous compound: "it was she who had the authority to decide which of the women should cook for my father, or travel with him when he went away on business" (Forna 2006: 30). As narrated by Asana, her daughter, the senior wife in Gibril's family "... was always too busy. ... Busy in my father's house counting little piles of stones. ... how many trees we had planted, how much the first harvest might yield, how rich we would surely become" (Forna 2006: 23). As the novel suggests, women in traditional African family might not have been present in the public sphere, they might not have access to education and employment, but the role of the senior wife in a polygynous family was extremely significant: "She paid the workers their wages and held the keys to the store; she ordered the provisions and hired the servants" (2006: 30).

This stands in stark contrast with a typical Western view of polygyny which emphasises the husband as the only beneficiary of the institution (Nnameka 1997: 188). Moreover, the fact that the senior wife was in charge of the household and made decisions implies that in addition to being patriarchal, the traditional African family was conceived in such a way that it observed a strict hierarchy. As Nnaemeka aptly notes, only respect for hierarchy could maintain peace and order in such a complex institution as the traditional polygynous family (1997: 174). This claim is supported by the fact that even Gibril did not dare to defy Ya Namina in some matters. As Asana narrates, "Even her [my] father would not confront my mother, for she was older than him in years" (Forna 2006: 30).

This extract is in contrast with Gagiano's claim that wives are "under the absolute reign of Gibril Kholifa, their husband" (2013: 56). Rather, both the husband and the wives have to obey the imposed rules and give the impression of a harmonious family in which everyone knows their place and behaves accordingly.

2.3. The present – abandoning security to step forward

As the plot unfolds, the novel tackles the stories of the next generation, Abie's aunts. Their stories testify to Newell's claim that "West African women are born into fluid social worlds" (2017: 1). *Ancestor Stones* bears witness to the changing times in terms of the position of women in West Africa. Abie's aunts live in a world in which the opportunities for women are much more diverse than the chances and options their mothers had. As the respective life trajectories of Asana, Hawa, Mariama, and Serah indicate, women get bigger rights and their voices can be heard in the public sphere during the run-up to independence and especially after. However, the novel raises the question of whether the lives of African women have fundamentally altered, or whether the availability of education and presence in the public sphere are just a facade behind which unchanged entrenched values and prejudices are lurking.

As the reader learns, education in the West is now available to African women. Mariama is given the opportunity to be educated in Great Britain, albeit in a convent. This event, which at first glance testifies to historical changes, hides beneath its surface a racist and prejudiced image of Britain in which, according to Mariama, people believe in the stereotype that all Africans steal. In such an unsociable and hostile environment, the sensitive Mariama suffers so much that she experiences, just like her mother, a mental breakdown.

As it turns out, all Abie's aunts follow in their mothers' footsteps. Asana and Hawa want to continue the family tradition by opting for polygyny, which turns out to be an unwise decision. Both marriages collapse, albeit for different reasons. Asana's marriage to Osman Iscandari fails due to his sadistic behaviour, whereas Hawa loses her husband due to a medical intervention that prevents her from bearing a child. As the novel implies, divorce does not mean the end of a woman's life, but rather provides an opportunity for a new beginning. Marriages like the two that Asana and Hawa found themselves in are synonymous with a yoke that women should be freed from. To do so, Asana receives unexpected assistance from Ngadia, Osman's senior wife. After a marital breakdown, Asana becomes the creator of her own life. Despite her aunts' advice to remarry, she decides to start a trading business with Madam Turay. As it turns out, the commerce is developing. Asana's risk pays off and she becomes a homemaker who supports her family. In an unexpected turn of events, she grows from a victim of domestic violence into a strong, independent, and self-confident woman respected in her community. As the reader learns, Asana becomes a special kind of woman called "mambore" in Africa:

> "They were women who became members of men's society, not like the sill girls. [...] No, rather these were women who were already married and borne their children, women of age and wisdom, who had earned a certain kind of respect and whom the society had honoured with their title." (Forna 2006: 205)

As Hawa and Asana's respective divorces indicate, marriage does not mean security for women in postcolonial Africa. Even though women have bigger rights and more opportunities, not all men are inclined to accept the changed state of affairs and treat women accordingly. (Un)fortunately, all four aunts engage in relationships with men who have gender biases. As Gagiano notices, "In the failed relationships, all the women are shown to be at a disadvantage brought or exacerbated by their gendered position in the family or broader society" (2013: 57). However, all of them succeed in overcoming their marital breakdowns. Rather than disposed to be reduced to a reflection in the eyes of their husbands, they struggle to be independent and find their own ways.

Initially, Abie's aunts, Asana and Hawa in particular are determined to be traditional. However, their decisions prove unwise since they fail to follow their mother's guidance on how to sail into the peaceful harbour of marriage. The case of Serah and Ambrose's marriage is particularly striking. During their stay in Britain, Ambrose behaves like an emancipated man. For example, in a restaurant, he gives the impression of a true gentleman who gives preference to the lady: "When the food came, those same waiters served me first, only coming to Ambrose second. And he behaved as though this was the way it should be, and I pretended I was used to it although the opposite was true" (Forna 2006: 179). However, once they return to their homeland, Ambrose adapts to the prevailing African codes of conduct. Ambrose forbids Serah from smoking, from working, and to top it all off, he engages in an affair with her best friend Hannah. When Ambrose learns that his liaison has been discovered, he does not attempt to deny it, makes no excuses, or apologises. His explanation is simple and devastating: "'Now, Serah, you must understand. This is Africa. We are in Africa now. And I am an African man. That's just the way it is'" (2006: 191).

Finally, Ambrose and Serah get divorced, albeit not due to adultery, but because Serah "succumbed" to gossip and beat up Hanna. Ironically, in the end, Ambrose accuses Serah of tarnishing the family's reputation:

> "That might come as a surprise to your way of thinking, but it's true. In the city appearances were the thing that mattered most. I had caused us to lose face; next to that Ambrose's infidelity was unimportant. Of the two of us, it seemed, I was the one who was in the wrong." (Forna 2006: 192)

As this discouraging view of marriage suggests, although opportunities and chances for women have improved significantly in West Africa, for some, appearances and reputation remain paramount, just as in the case of Serah's mother. However, Serah remains true to her mother's teaching and is not inclined to abide by a spouse who disrespects her and violates her dignity. Although raised traditionally, these women are self-aware and courageous enough not to accept humiliation. This is important to note so as not to go to extremes and misinterpret the novel's vision as a declaration of war on men. Even though all four aunts remain without partners, this is not due to any radical attitude or misandry. Rather, their decisions to continue alone are a consequence of their maturity and raised awareness. Therefore, the stories should not be interpreted as arguments against marriage, but as appeals for redefining the institution of marriage as a union based on respect and appreciation. Only such a marriage is worth the enormous effort and compromise required to nurture this institution.

Ancestor Stones does not deny that the world its female characters live within is a male world permeated with gender stereotypes and prejudice. However, it also indicates that the African women are not hapless victims. Rather, they are represented as not only survivors but also active agents who influence not only their own but also the fate of the entire nation. After falling, these women get up even stronger and more determined. In this respect, their stories are important not only as a testimony to patriarchal domination and oppression, but also as an example that women and society in general should not turn a blind eye to such a state of affairs, but rather resist and fight. Through stories of rising from the ashes, women's writing is transformed into a powerful tool for changing gender inequality in society:

> „[...]not that women should accept the status quo without question but rather that they should equip themselves for effective resistance and participation for societal transformation. We see women who faced discrimination as agents of change; beaten down but not out, and actively participating in nation-building". (Nnaemeka 1997: 21)

That there is hope for a better tomorrow for African women is best illustrated by the example of Abie, an educated and successful woman who lives in contemporary London. Abie is recognised as someone who could revive the failing family coffee plantation, once a thriving business. The very fact that a woman is acknowledged as someone capable of turning the situation around points to the direction of action toward the desired gender equality and equity. As implied by the novel, instead of overlooking women's contributions, society should encourage them to take advantage

of the availability of education and economic independence. The epilogue, symbolically entitled "Women's Gardens II", suggests that appreciation of women and their empowerment may restore West Africa to its former state of earthly paradise.

3. CONCLUSION

Ancestor Stones is a women-centered narrative. It is not only written and narrated by a female writer but also deals with the experience of African women during a long historical period. Its scope is intentionally wide – by observing the African past and present from a female perspective, it aims not only to revise African history to include the female experience but also to scrutinise the position of women within the framework of changing historical and cultural circumstances. As implied by the novel, the women in colonial Africa were valued primarily for their procreative role. Therefore, the stories of Abie's aunts' mothers portray them exclusively as wives and mothers. In a traditional polygynous family, a strict hierarchy and gender division of roles are observed. However, as suggested by *Ancestor Stones*, women were willing to marry and become part of a polygynous family in colonial Africa because marriage meant financial comfort and respect, while an unmarried woman was condemned to pennilessness and struggle. Therefore, though Gibril's wives are ranked lower than their husbands in the polygynous hierarchy, they are not represented as victims, but as pragmatic and rational women who have weighed their alternatives and made a choice.

However, not all wives within a polygynous arrangement have the same rights. The senior wife is the undisputed authority when it comes to the internal affairs of the household and all the co-wives are subordinate to her. *Ancestor Stones* evidences that women in colonial Africa were not independent since they were denied access to professions and education. However, it also implies that, provided they entered into marriages wisely, they had certain privileges (such as reduced amount of chores and economic security), in particular as senior wives of wealthy husbands.

The stories of Abie's aunts testify to the changing force of history in terms of women's possibilities and alternatives. As indicated by the narratives of Mariama and Serah, education is available to women in the run-up to the independence of West African countries and especially after. However, as the respective relationships of the four half-sisters with men imply, even though the circumstances might have changed, some men are still gender-biased and treat women unfairly. Consequently, the step-sisters decide to leave relationships in which they are not valued as equal partners

and move on alone. It is important to note that Forna's novel simultaneously represents women as victims and active agents capable not only of becoming the creators of their own destinies but also of positively influencing others. It is time for women to understand that marriage is not a necessity that offers security, but rather that it should represent an equal partnership based on mutual respect, understanding, and tolerance. Therefore, the novel should not be interpreted as an argument for divorce and a life without men, but as an appeal for equality and equity. Although times and circumstances have changed, changing entrenched attitudes is proving to be the most difficult. These crucial changes require narratives like this one about brave women who have gone through numerous trials and tribulations to emerge stronger and more prepared to face the harsh reality.

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POVEZIVANJE AFRIČKE PROŠLOSTI I SADAŠNJOSTI: KOREKTIVNA REPREZENTACIJA ŽENA U *KAMENJU PREDAKA* AMINATE FORNE

Sažetak:

Polazeći od zapažanja da su žene često nedovoljno i pogrešno predstavljene kako u muškoj afričkoj književnosti, tako i u zapadnoj prozi, ovaj rad nudi dokaz da *Kamenje predaka* Aminate Forne ima za cilj da afričke žene upiše u istoriju usredsređivanjem na njihovo iskustvo. Fornin roman prvenac ne samo da dovodi u pitanje rodne stereotipe, već se bavi i temama ženskog položaja i braka u prošlom u sadašnjem zapadnoafričkom društvu. Pomno čitanje romana sugeriše da dok je ženski princip bio uvažavan u prekolonijalnoj Africi, u kolonijalnoj Africi žene su bile vrednovane isključivo zbog svoje reproduktivne uloge. Upravo iz tog razloga, žene su se odlučivale za brak. *Kamenje predaka* ukazuje na to da brak možda jeste značio sigurnost u prošlosti, ali to nije slučaj u sadašnjosti. Roman implicira da promena istorijskih i kulturnih okolnosti ukazuje na potrebu za redefinisanjem institucije braka tako da predstavlja zajedništvo zasnovano na jednakosti, poštovanju i uvažavanju. *Kamenje predaka* potvrđuje veće mogućnosti za afričke žene u pogledu dostupnosti obrazovanja i profesija. Međutim, ovaj napredak

je zamagljen uvreženošću rodnih stereotipa i predrasuda. Oslanjajući se na Nemekinu zbirku eseja *Politika majčinstva: ženstvenost, identitet i otpornost u afričkoj književnosti*, članak tvrdi da uprkos ugnjetavanju, žene mogu i treba da se bore protiv takvog stanja stvari. Isticanjem primera žena koje su se pobunile protiv nejednakosti i poniženja, roman ukazuje na pravac akcije ka željenom oslobađanju i osnaživanju žena.

Ključne reči: *Kamenje predaka*; Aminata Forna; afričke žene; prošlost; sadašnjost

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