

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**

**CREATIVE PROCESSES, STRUCTURES AND PERFORMANCE OF  
SHRINE MUSIC OF THE NORTHERN EWES: THE CASE OF  
AWUDOME PEOPLE OF GHANA**

**SENYO ADZEI**

**2020**

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SHRINE MUSIC OF THE NORTHERN EWES: THE CASE OF  
AWUDOME PEOPLE OF GHANA**

**BY**

**SENYO ADZEI**

Thesis submitted to the Department of Music & Dance of the Faculty of Arts,  
College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in  
Ethnomusicology

MAY 2020

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature:



19/05/2020

Name: Senyo Adzei

### Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name: Prof. Florian Carl

Co-Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name: Dr. Ralf Alexander Kholer

## ABSTRACT

This thesis researched into the Creative Processes, Structures and Performance of Shrine Music of the Northern Ewes. I focused on three shrines at the Awudome Traditional Area in Ghana as a case study. As its methodological approaches, I combined focus groups discussion and one-on-one interviews. The overriding objectives of this study are to move the history of Awudome from the realm of oral tradition into a written document; and to investigate the creative processes in composition and performance of traditional music, using musicians at the shrine. The research, however, revealed four creative processes at the shrine in song composition: *Hadaɲugbledede/hakpakpa* (conceptualization or song meditation), *hakpakpa* (peeling of the song or composing) *hadada kpɔkpɔ or hanuɔ kpɔkpɔ* (meeting the mother or leader of songs/poet/cantor), **and finally** *haxexe* (catching the song). This finding is contrary to some views that the traditional musician only improvises and without following any creative procedures.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

‘To God be the Glory Great Things he has done .....’ (Methodist Hymn 313). I do not have to write an acknowledgement to my thesis, because it has become a traditional ritual in academia. Deservedly, however, I write this acknowledgement because, several individuals and institutions have contributed in no less a measure to the successes of this thesis; hence, they deserved their rightful place of commendations.

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**DEDICATION**

**In memory of my father, Andrews Kofi Adzei and Sister, Enyonam Afi Adzei.**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the study

Since I was a child, I have been fascinated by the performance of traditional African music. However, it was not until 2006, at the time when I began my graduate studies at the University of Ghana, Legon, where I realized that it could also be an object of research. Responsible for this change of mindset was one of my lecturers, the late Pascal Zabana Kongo. He encouraged me to go to the traditional musicians in my community and learn some of their traditional practices in musical creativity and performance. As he also happened to be my supervisor for my Master of Philosophy thesis. He asked me to employ the creative process of the traditional musicians in my final project. This project had a positive side effect: it allowed me to engage with the extant literature on creative processes and performance in traditional African music.

Much of the literature I found on creativity in African musical cultures seems to have dwelt more on creative and improvisation activities within a performance context. In other words, many of the existing works on creativity among African musicians seem to have been viewed as an activity that takes place within a performance setting. I have wondered all the time whether traditional musicians in the African communities do work on their compositions before they perform them. To be more precise, if they go through any compositional procedures before coming out with a piece of new music for performance. Also, if they do work on their composition or go through

compositional procedures, can they possibly explain the processes they go through? There are, however, other schools of thoughts which would claim that the African indigenous music is not based on any rationalism; that it is only improvisation without a clear structure.

Furthermore, would it have any similarities with music from elsewhere? Periods in music history as observed in (Grout, 1988), (Kamien, 2008) have established and revealed varied characteristics, forms, and traits of composition and as well as the compositional or the creative processes throughout music history of the evolution of the Western music History. In the same manner scholars such as, (Ampene, 2005), (Anku, 1997), (Agawu, 1995) (Arom, 1991) (Koetting, 1970) have all made significant strides researching various ethnic groups in Africa to explain African music concerning performance, composition/creativity, and the creators or composers, yet, these were not given the needed recognition, as some western music scholars may want us to believe that African music is nor structured. It is in the same spirit the scholars mentioned earlier that this research is conducted among the people of Awudome traditional area in the Volta Region of Ghana. It is vital to make it appear from this point that this study combined its focus on creative processes, structures and performance of shrine music through the migration and general performance cultures of the People of Awudome.

Mainly, the discourses, principally on non-structure African music as said earlier were the more compelling and convincing factors that aroused my interest to embark on this topic for my PhD Thesis.

Meanwhile, I was also aware that working on a study such as the combination of an ethnography in a cultural context with music, plus its systematic analysis in a situation where I will deliberate on the music in isolation, the people and the community as a whole could not be a straight forward adventure. Mainly, it requires interdisciplinary approaches and paradigms in related disciplines such as religion, linguistics, anthropology, sociology, history, and philosophy. Fortunately, these tools are incorporated into ethnomusicology (the study of non-Western music as a culture or the study of folk music in her cultural context).

In the meantime, the final decision to embark on this study came with another delicate question, that is, which traditional musical genre should I engage in the research project? To adequately deal with this statement and queries, I carefully reflected on the following issues as guiding omens, firstly, accessibility and secondly, availability of data. After a few days of reflections, I did not hesitate any further to settle on shrine (religious) music of Awudome people because of my previous working relationship with the Awudome community where the shrines are situated.

## **1.2 Traditional Religious Practices versus Christianity in Awudome**

Traditional religion practices in Awudome and Ghana for that matter has been classified over the years as paganism or evil by many uninformed individuals. Whereas some aspects of the traditional religious practices cannot be considered as an acceptable practice in the current century, that alone does not merit the total rejection of the practice. One cannot use a few negative occurrences to make a comprehensive statement about the religious practices of

Africa being evil or paganism. However, though, I believed in some cases, these classifications are primarily owed to misconceptions and reprehensible activities by some individuals within the traditional religious sect. Yes, nevertheless, the attack on traditional religious practices has significantly affected its existence; hence, it must not be countenanced.

In Awudome traditional area where this research took place, for example, there is a huge gap between traditional religious worshipers on the one hand and Christian religious worshipers on the other hand. Christians are always apprehensive about traditional religious worshipers as being evil, or the idea of persons belonging to the traditional religion amounts to meddling in devilish activities. This phenomenon in Awudome, in my opinion, is primarily due to the impression of apprehension, that came about as a result of the way and manner in which traditional African religious worship/worshipers are portrayed within the community by Christian worshipers.

There are too much misconception and panic about activities in the shrine. Besides, it is portrayed to appear as a horrific entity not worthy of any courtesy or reverence. In effect, traditional religious worship/worshipers have suffered segregation and derogatory annotations. Some of the disparaging remarks that have put traditional religious worship in a negative light are, African religion is ancestor worship, African religion is superstition, African religion is animism, African religion is fetishism among others, (Mbiti, 1975). Nukunya (2003) also underscores the attitude of Christian worshipers concerning traditional religious worship and states:

... it should be remembered that Christianity is opposed to many aspects of traditional life. In the first place, its tenets run counter to almost everything traditional religion stands for – beliefs in the various figures and practices in the religious hierarchy. Secondly, the fact that religion relates to other aspects of social life means that these related institutions and practices would be affected. Thirdly, missionaries opposed not only religious practices but also anything traditional or African and considered them pagan. (Nukunya, 2003:33)

The fallacies, mostly about the shrine, posed challenges to research and researchers. Undoubtedly, many researchers and scholars with Christian religious background find it uncharacteristic and mainly as a sin conducting research at the shrine (Nukunya, 2003). Referring to my personal experience, in this case, I suffered a backlash at the beginning of my preliminary inquiry into this research in August 2016. The backlash came about directly because of the limited understanding of the shrine by my Christian friends and relatives. The dichotomy then was that, by my mere association and visit to the shrine for preliminary enquiry, I must be expelled from the Church. It was assumed that I am associating with evil people who will influence me to become a traditional believer rather than the Christianity I already professed. Indeed, this situation could have been avoided, if information and workings at the shrine were available to the people in the community. In other words, a little education would have transformed the lousy relationship between Christians and

traditional religious believers to be better. In effect, ignorance in the workings at the shrine has been responsible for the chaos.

Missionaries and or Christian crusaders did not only oppose the traditional religious practices; they have fervently opposed all other aspects of it including the musical cultures, which are so much associated and remain an integral aspect of traditional religious worship. This misconception also led the early church to ban bringing indigenous African musical instruments into the church in Africa (Agordoh, 2011). Despite some of the negative concepts 'devilish' and suggestive thoughts about traditional religion and other related practices, values and norms and the related arts, several other studies have also established that there are very alluring and useful lessons that can be taken from such religious practices. Apart from the stereotypic statements that have been made and gained grounds concerning traditional religious worship, some well-thought-of assertions were also made about traditional religious worship for example "...the gods also play a prominent role in controlling immorality in West African societies. They generally abhor actions which may upset the harmony of the community or ruin the family life" (Opoku, 1978:46). Pieces of evidence to these effects can be found in the proverbs, philosophical and everyday sayings of the people. This is more profound in the Awudome traditional area where the roles played by the priest and priestess of the shrine in the evolution and development of Awudome cannot be underestimated. In the shrine music, pieces of evidence are adduced to the high moral ground of the traditional religious believers. The high moral standards exhibited by the



traditionalists should have compensated for the negative impressions created but to no avail.

### **1.3 Negativity of Traditional Religious worship and its Impacts on Awudome**

Growing up in the community where this study took place under the strict discipline of Christian principles from my parents as well as from the primary mission school I attended, we were told and made to believe that everything about traditional religious worship was evil and unacceptable. As children, we had no right to go out and watch or observe shrine music with the fear of being possessed by demons. We were made to accept that musical performances at the shrine are to glorify and invoke demons; hence, there was no need to respond or associate with it. Most outrageous of all was when you are found to have 'disrespect' your parents or the societal norms imposed by the segment of the community, particularly the Christians on the shrine, and you would be punished severely. If you are not punished at home by your parents, you are assured of being escorted to your school the next day for flogging. The irony of this phenomenon was that some of the children of these "so-called" evil people were our playmates and most of all, having relatives in the community. I dare say this misconception about the shrine and traditional religion still exist mainly among many Christian religious worshipers. Even though it might not be as widespread as thirty years ago due to the extinguishing or diminishing nature of the shrines and unwillingness of people to join in the traditional worship. However, without a shred of doubt, the problem persists.

The misconceptions which were created regarding the shrines, priests, priestesses, and devotees had adverse effects on children and adults alike. These effects became instinctive fear that overwhelmed the people concerning anything having to do with the worshipping of deities. There have been occasions when one needed to confront real circumstances of life both as a child and as an adult. Meeting a harmless priest or a priestess unexpectedly when running an errand. Bearing in mind, you were made to believe they are 'evil'. The encounters were not a pleasant situation for many people within the Awudome community. This scenario is to bring out the harmful effects of the assumption that traditional religious worshippers are 'evil'. I used the scenario above as an illustration of how much we were manipulated when we were growing up, not have anything to do with traditional believers at the shrines and its adverse effects on the community at large. The fantasies or images described above have remained with me for many years. This furthermore created a physical gap in the minds of traditional believers and Christians. It further affected good neighbourliness which hitherto was not so. In the words of Togbe Djasehene (one of the kingmakers in Tsito), 'the disunity in our societies is one of the remnants of colonialism, destruction of what binds the African together' (Djasehene September 2016)

Until recently, I still yielded to such stereotyped and uninformed sentiments expressed about the shrine and whatever is associated with the existence of the shrine. With hindsight, the situation becomes complicated to accept, such that differences in belief systems was so germane to disunity and segregation in a community such as Awudome at the introduction of another

religion. I am more persuaded now that differences in religious practices must not become breeding grounds for disunity.

Meanwhile, irrespective of the negative publicity associated with the traditional religious worshipers and the shrine, there is a strong belief that it is one of the traditional institutions that have upheld the musical heritage of the Ewe people (Nukunya, 2003). With the enormous insight from the above experiences in the Awudome community seeing the exceptional talent and ingenuity some of the musicians possess at the shrine, I resolved to research into the phenomenon in Awudome traditional area. Most importantly the role of the shrine in the establishment of the community; the musical aspects which form an integral facet of the culture of Awudome people, that which features indispensable in most of their religious rites and activities.

Given the above, my study examines the people and the environment where the shrines are built. This is to help us understand how and what types of compositional or creative choices are made, as well as the local ideas or concepts that support these choices. Amongst the many interests and intents, the study explored specific ways, choices, and conventions of creativity that represent the traditional musicians an ideal way of making music. In order to fully comprehend the creative processes and the creative person through cultural practices, this research is conducted through the narration of the history of the Awudome people. Since the religious practices played essential roles in the history of the settlement of the Awudome people at their current place, this research used the history, therefore as a launchpad.

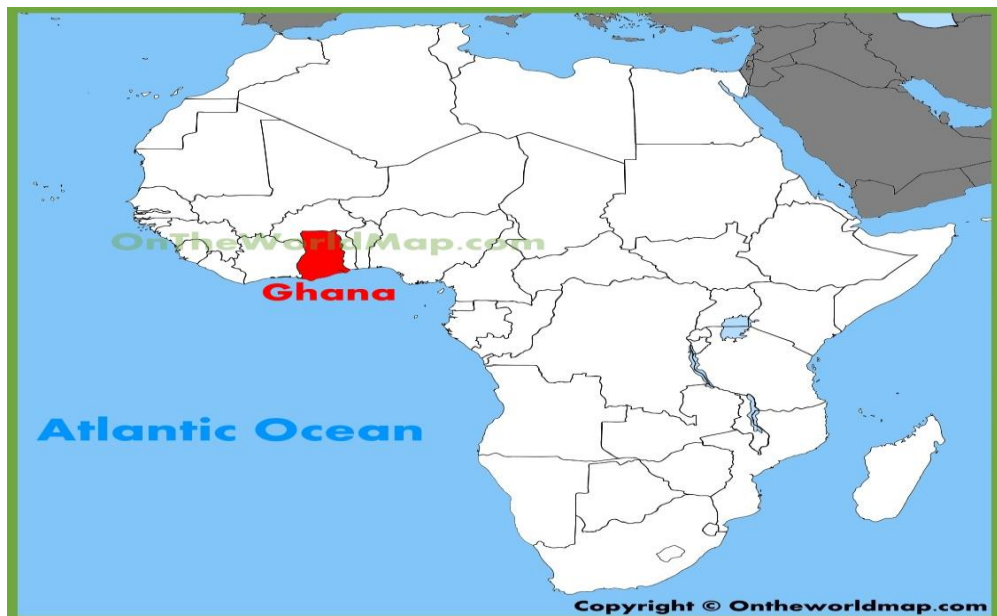
As a traditional drummer from the area where this research took place, I am already accustomed to many of the cultural practices of the people. My proximity to the community gave me a significant advantage of gaining access to the respondents such as the chiefs, opinion leaders and all other people who matter in data acquisition as well as entry into the shrines.

It is also true that research into African music has gained considerable attention and interest among many scholars from other cognate disciplines. Several approaches have been adopted to explain African music. Mainly, it has been successful even though some approaches to explain African music may prove more effective than others. Similarly, music composers look for new ways to compose music, others breaking existing norms and principles of compositional forms, especially from the 19th century to date. It is in the same wisdom that Akin Euba developed creative-ethnomusicology (using deliberately the outcome of original music research for contemporary composition). By and large, this concept is gaining recognition among young African composers. This, therefore, calls for more and more systemic music research in support of the creative-ethnomusicology concept.

This study presents extensive research, the purpose of the extensiveness of this study is to create an understanding of the musical culture in the shrines through various human endeavours that relate to his or her ability to create. Although I have focused on the Awudome migration, culture, and shrine music in this study, I have also considered general issues and debates within the broad context of Africa music and migration.

#### 1.4 Awudome and her place among the Ewes of Ghana

Awudome is a traditional area in Ghana where the inhabitants are referred to as the *Awudomeawo* (Awudome people). Awudome people are also referred to as Northern Ewes together with other Ewe-speaking people who live in the Eastern part of Ghana, West Africa. Their sectorial region is known as the Volta Region, with Ho Township as their administrative capital. 'Ewe' is a language, also known as *Gbegbɔgbɔ*, which is spoken in Ghana, Republic of Togo, Beni and Nigeria. The people in Ghana who speak Ewe are recognized as the Ewes or the Ewe people, and they are mostly settled in the Volta Region. See the map of Africa **Map. 1.1** where Ghana is indicated by the red portion.



Map 1.1 Map of Africa showing Ghana

As said earlier, the people of Awudome usually referred to as *Awudomeawo* were part of a whole Ewe community who claim ancestry to Ɔɔtsie (a town in Togo) in the early 14th century. They moved via different routes to their present settlement in Ghana. The significance of the migration

story to this thesis was the roles played by the priests and priestesses who were in charge of the shrines during the exodus from the ancestral home. The roles and functions of the deities, who were kept in the shrines, will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

**Map 1.2** is the map of Ghana, showing the sixteen administrative Regions and their capitals. Six of the Regions were created in 2019. The sea blue portion represents the Volta Region of Ghana, whose capital town is Ho.



**Map. 1.2** Map of Ghana showing the sixteen administrative regions

The Awudome traditional area consists of seven towns, namely, Anyirawase as the traditional head, Kɔnta, Bame, Anenui, Tsibu, Dafor, and Tsito. They speak the same Ewe language as all other Ewe-speaking people with

a very little dialectical difference. This dialect difference does not affect their general language culture; neither does it affect their values, customs, nor their belief systems. However, the language is key to this study because the creativity of composition and language cannot be separated. This assertion is confirmed by Agordoh (1996), who argues that ‘music and language are inseparable. (Agordoh, 1996: 54). Indeed, this study did not look at the dialectical or any other differences for that matter which exist in the life of Awudome, but the importance of language to the music plays a significant role in this work. This study primarily looks at the general cultural and religious practices particularly around the selected shrines of *Awudomewo*, shrine music, and the creative processes, the musicians at the shrines, the over-all music performance at the shrine and specific roles of the selected deities. What then is shrine music? The shrine music is, therefore, the music played at the shrine by traditional religious believers; whereas the shrine is the geographically located, physical space, where traditional religious activities regarding the deities and the Awudome community happens.

### **1.5 The study:**

In his research among the Southern Ewe of Ghana, which spans fifteen years, as indicated earlier, Friedson (2009) studied some Ewe shrines in the Northern three-town of Kpando municipalities. He combined the art of anthropology and musicology in a reflective narration in order to bring out an understanding of the culture of the people concerning traditional religious worship. The work remains mostly a representation of rituals and music, associated with a group of Ewe people of Ghana who worships deities called:

*brekete, kunde, adzo, banble* to name a few. These deities originated from Northern Ghana and migrated to the Volta Region. Friedson's study broadly represents an ethnographic account, offering a detailed description of how ritual activities are performed. Friedson discusses animal sacrifices known as *afa*, which translates as divination. One of the many findings Friedson emphasised is the idea that the rituals associated with the shrines are continuously being modified and changed. Similarly, fascinating is how Friedson describes the gods, *brekete, kunde, adzo, banble* and how the followers themselves understand their own beliefs and practices. He describes and asserts the sacrifices and divination as a fact instead of the perspectives of the followers. The lacuna in this well-written book, however, was the neglect of the musicians, the creative processes underlying their music history of the worshipers needed at the Shrine. This lack of attention creates the gap I seek to address in my study, which combines ethnography of the Awudome people and creative processes in shrine music. I will focus on the community and their general background, customs and wide-ranging knowledge in their culture, migration and settlements roles and functions of the deities and analysis of music materials, focusing on musicians/performers.

Mostly, ethnographic, and cultural debates will also be given prominence in the study to bring to the fore, the interrelation between the shrine and social life of Awudome people. Additionally, I examined the roles played by the deities in search of their settlement and the overall exodus from the ancestral home. I chose to adopt this method to show the relationship between the shrine and the Awudome people. It was evident that the religious life of the



Awudome people is not separated from their everyday life; their whole life, as well as the environment, impacted mainly on the musical activities at the shrine. The above trend is shadowed by systematic intrinsic musicological approaches, the system by which I observed the musical minds of the musicians working in the selected shrines of the deities. Consequently, I explored the concept of "creativity" in African artistic and oral cultures, particularly in three selected shrines of Awudome.

Specifically, I focus first, on documenting the socio-cultural undercurrents of the people, which advertently or involuntarily culminate in the provocation of the intrinsic musical factors. Second, this study examined what traditional musicians say about the compositional process and the factors that gave rise to or stimulate or inspire the creative process of the music. Third, the study investigated the discriminative factors in the shrine music repertoires of the selected shrines in the Awudome traditional area as a case, without waiving a comparison with the rest of the ethnic sector.

## 1.6 Deities

Even though the deities are discussed in detail in chapter three under the heading **shrines**, I tendered in this space the reasons for the choice of three deities and their shrines out of the many that existed in Awudome. In the pre-colonial and early part of the colonial eras, Awudome people worship (13) different types of deities, these deities are *atando*, *dafeamekpɔ*, *veto*, *wuve*, *tsawɔɛ*, *abia yao*, *tano*, *dindo*, *anyigba*, *zodzi*, *kpegã*, *agadzi* and *dente*. Unfortunately, though, many of the deities and shrines do not exist anymore,

they are either extinct or dilapidated because of inhabitants' disinterest in the worship of the deities and problems associated with them. Among the existing deities, three of them namely: *Ueto*, *tsawɔɛ*, *wuve* have been selected for reasons presented as follows; *Ueto* is the oldest male deity carried from their ancestral home. It is found in all the seven towns of Awudome. In each of the towns, its sovereignty is unique, as is true for all the deities. None of the deities in each of the towns is subordinate to each other. *Ueto* is popularly referred to as *Tɔgbe Ueto*, where *Tɔgbe* is a reserved title for the elderly and noble people in Awudome. Before the advent of Christianity, *Ueto* serve as the principal deity for the community whose roles and communal functions are enormous. Chief among them is protecting, ensuring a good harvest for food security, purifying and cleansing of the community and many more. Sometimes during an outbreak of an epidemic, the chief priest will consult the deities/gods and conduct divination through which a direction will be given. Prayers are offered after the divination to appease the gods to restore good health. It is worth noting that divinations, as well as prayers, are all carried out amidst musical activities at the shrine. The above statement, however, confirms the assertion by Friedson (2009) that music and rituals are not separated.

*Tsawɔɛ* is a female deity. Its selection allows me to speak to women and their involvement in the traditional religion. *Tsawɔɛ* is a female deity commonly referred to as *mama tsawɔɛ*. It is headed by a priestess even though the male counterparts do offer support to their female counterparts in the provision of drum music typically. Often, the rites and rituals are performed by

women even though male counterparts are always on hand to support them. Its functions are threefold: god of fertility, the god of protection and the god of direction. The belief of the people still holds that when a woman is unable to give birth, it is the doing of the evil one. Enshrined in the tradition is that infertility is, therefore, a sickness that can be cured by *mama tsawœ*. A day is set aside for the invocation of this deity, consequently, where all the women suspected to be infertile are taken for the fertility rites. It is noteworthy mentioning that this rite is performed accurately for women but not for men because the belief is that there is no problem with male productiveness in the Awudome tradition

*Wuve* is chosen because it is both a male and female stream deity/goddess. Its choice will help bring equity and balance on the issues of gender. *Wuve* is frequently referred to as *Tɔgbe/Mama wuve*. It functions in community cleansing rites mostly in the event of an outbreak of an epidemic or any major disaster. This information was given to me by my correspondents within the research area.

Other factors motivating the choice of the three deities include environmental factors, the sites where the shrines are built, musical activities at the shrines, type of rituals associated with the deity, and the individual, communal functions of each deity. It is believed all the deities have different functions, even though some of the functions sometimes overlap, they are at the same time exclusive to each deity.

### 1.7 Overview of African and Shrine Music

In order to understand the context within which shrine music is discussed in this study, it is essential to appreciate the broader issues on African and Ghanaian indigenous music. Several books and articles have been published on African music in the last sixty years. Issues raised ranged from traditional, neo-traditional, performance, theory, art, and popular music all within the general African music discourse.

There have been several usages of 'African music' and 'African music' over the years without much consensus. Does it hurt what the terminologies there are concerning musical performance in Africa? Thamosuza (2011) Argued against the usage of both African music and African pieces of music. Agordoh (2011) was emphatic with the usage of African music, and he has proceeded further to categorize African music into a) tradition and b) neo-traditional African genres. In my opinion, it does not necessarily hurt, whether African music exists or does not exist in a real sense.

The most critical issues, in my view, are to make clear from the onset what one is referring to by operationalizing the terms that are associated with a study. Therefore, I turned to accept and agree with the statement by Agawu (2016) that: 'African music tends to suggest different things to different people. Some think immediately of the popular dance forms originating in urban Africa, others of the ancient songs and drums associated with traditional societies, and still others of the new music composed for the concert hall. These are all legitimate forms of African music' (Agawu, 2016:2)

He believes that the domain does not stand to gain much from the debate over the use of the phrases *African music* or *African pieces of music* (in the plural) necessarily, whether by defining it or pigeonholing the phrase Africa music to a specific area of study. I will agree, therefore, with his suggestion, that it is essential to define what is referred to, as regards the use of the phrase *Africa music*. In that respect, readers will become abreast with the use of the meaning and the domain of genres being referred to.

I turned to agree with Agawu primarily that we must operationalize the terminologies this situation he espoused in the introduction to the book *The African Imagination in Music*. In my introduction, I tried to explain who the Ewe and Awudome people are. Reiterating my earlier discussions; Ewes are an ethnic group that migrated to Ghana and settled in the eastern part of Ghana on top of the ocean, moving up towards the Northern part, up to the middle belt whereas the Awudome people are a subset of the Ewe group. The language spoken by the Ewes is also referred to as the Ewe language. There have been several publications of the music of the Ewe people of Ghana, (Agawu, 1995;1988;1990), (Locke, 1998), (Avorgbedor, 1999), (Kafui, 2000), (Tedoku, 2004) (Agordoh, 2005), (Fiagbedzi, 2009), (Young, 2011) and many others. Many of the studies' have divided the Ewes into two groupings: Northern and Southern Ewes of Ghana. Some studies also divided them into three groups like Northern, Middle and Southern Ewe groups. This study abides by the laid down divisions by previous studies' who divided the Ewes into two groupings rather than three. I am more inclined to accept the two divisions of the Ewe groups because of the existence of the two different significant traditional musical

heritage. The Southern Ewe people which represents one group does have pentatonic (five-tone) modes dominating their musical arts whereas the Northern Ewes group employ mainly heptatonic (seven tones) modes.

Apart from the different types of modes, the two groups have other factors that turn to influence their music. Other factors do exist indeed because of several environmental issues and differences in dialects, many other scholars have also attributed some of the factors to religious activities, the occupation of the people, geographical location and issues relation to the history of migration and settlement.

Northern Ewe music and dances are different from the Anlo Ewe dances. The Anlo live in a coastal area where there is so much sand. Fast movements of the legs in a dance situation could not be very convenient, hence the transfer of the vigorous movement of the upper part of the body as in *Agbadza* dance. Similarly, Anlo drums are quite different from those from the Northern Ewe in terms of makeup. Making a drum shell in Northern Eweland could be more comfortable as regarded as the material. (Kafui, 2000:106)

The claims by Kafui is not only related to the musical instrument of the two Ewe groupings. Kafui went further to point-out differences in body movement or dance of the two Ewe groups. This affirmation of differences in the musical arts is evident in their general way of life, being the culture. The same Southern Ewe Anlo grouping can boast of pentatonic scales as their major vocal modes

and as well as heptatonic modes in some of their songs whereas the Northern Ewe music does not accommodate pentatonic modes except heptatonic modes.

Ensuing from the preceding discussion, I do have the latitude to discuss what constitutes Awudome musical resources. In this regard, I am refereeing to the cleavage in the musical traditions of Awudome, which includes all types of music, created, and performed by the Awudome people in the pre-and-post-colonial periods. This cleavage is considered under two significant groupings, namely traditional Awudome music and neo-tradition Awudome music. Traditional African music is described as various by various people. One of the definitions which resonate with this study is "the musical heritage of the contemporary African is a piece of music associated with traditional African institutions of the pre-colonial era" (Agordoh, 2005; 20) whereas neo-traditional African music is the new type of genre that emerged during and after the colonial era. In order words, neo-traditional African music is a fusion of Western and African idioms in music whereby both elements are influencing each other. The discussion here on musical resources did not isolate only the musical genres, but I also include both instrumental and vocal music of other art forms and cultural activities associated with them. It is, however, vital to make the point that the discussion here does not include mostly music perform by Christian and Islamic religious organisations. The explanation offered above is concerning the musical resources relating to traditional African institutions.

Almost all the data presented here came from the oral historical account from the people and my observations during the research. I limited myself to these two sources of data primarily due to an absence of music history or little

documentation on music and history of the Awudome people. From the viewpoint of this study, it is essential to ask rhetorically, what are the traditional musical resources of the Awudome people? The innocuous way to address the issues of music and musical resources and classification in Awudome firstly is to identify occasions and context within which music is performed. Just like other cultures in Africa, Awudome people have enormous repertoires of music and musical activities which are performed during and on several occasions and in different context, many authors acknowledge this and rightly written by Agawu 'context, and occasions for music-making in Africa are many, perhaps infinite' (Agawu 2016: 35). Sometimes, one wonders what occasion or activity in Awudome that does not have music as accompanying it. Some most frequent occasions for music-making in Awudome are; naming or outdooring of a newborn baby, initiation rites such as puberty or adolescence mostly for young girls, farm or agricultural activities, hunting, domestic chores, fishing, funeral celebration, singing in praise of the chiefs, calling the community together/communication among others.

Similarly, just as I enumerated above, Agawu presents a summary claim of context and occasions for music-making in some African countries as;

.... most frequent occasions for music-making .... are naming celebrations, initiation rites, marriages, Christians, Islamic and animist religious rites and celebrations, funerals, post-funeral celebrations agricultural and household works, harvest celebrations, and the praising of a chief,



elders, and other important men and women..." (Agawu, 2016:35)

Following available data and those gathered during this research, and from the above occasions and activities outlined for musical performances, I have the latitude, therefore, to divide the traditional musical genres and its resources of Awudome into three different groups. I employ the taxonomy espoused by Agordoh (2005) for *African music as Traditional and Contemporary*. These classifications are recreational/incidental, sacred/ritual, ceremonial/occasional, and music. Recreational music indicates all forms of music that are used for entertainment or to entertain including play songs and children's music, and recreational music could either be incidental or planned. Sacred music is all form of religious music, and these are music associated with the shrines, cults and other religious events whereas occasional music suggests musical arts associated with festival and other traditional institutions such the courts, death, and work songs rather than religious groups. Table 3.1 shows the various classification of the several musical genres in Awudome. Even though this study involves musical arts under the taxonomy of religious or sacred, music it is essential to identify other forms of musical genres that the people of Awudome have as part of their general musical culture. Even though the Awudome state used to be highly 'religious', other forms of musical performance help make up the life of the people complete. These musical types include recreational pieces of music and occasional musical genres.

There are more recreational and occasional musical types in Awudome than religious musical types. This is indicative of the fact that matters relating

to religion are considered highly revered, and musical activities are equally respected. This is the main reason why the religious music of the Awudome cannot be performed indiscriminately.

The human creative tendencies that reveal both the inborn capacity and the knowledge that is culturally acquired are of fundamentally relevant in understanding creativity, change, and continuity, most importantly in the selected musical genre of the shrine, and generally in any oral tradition. Dependent on these circumstances, the present study is concerned more towards the creative activities of individual composer-performers in the shrines, people who are understood to be making profound contributions through their creative activities, knowingly or instinctively and either through the influence of spirituality or environment to sustain the entire musical traditions of the shrines. Sometimes, change may also occur because of finding a solution to an existing problem. There is a problem already established as; the disinterest in the activities of the shrine. Do the current activities of indifference towards the shrine have any influence on the creative tendencies? The "inner zeal" or intrinsic motivations are considered essential choices with regards to this study. The simple facts remain that the tradition of every generation attempting to vary and add new ideas to the existing or inherited aspects of the institutional system that is already in existence cannot be ignored. The point that a present or new generation may have their creative tendencies and in addition to seeming differences in environmental factors, from their forefathers, can also be a compelling reason and provide a cause to create new ideas to suit their status.

This then becomes another motivational indication in considering the creative processes of the shrine music of the Awudome

Within the context of this study, creative processes in the shrine music are to be understood as compositional techniques, although derived from the musicologist's inquiries, a musicologist who is from the culture under study. Ethnographic and cultural debates were given prominence in the first part of the study. This approach allowed me to bring to the fore the interrelation between music and social life. I followed it up by systematic intrinsic musicological approaches, the system by which I observed the musical minds of the musicians working in the selected shrines of the deities.

### **1.8 Geographical Delimitation of the Study**

The Awudome traditional area in the Volta Region of Ghana is located at the feet of mountain Akwapim-Togo ranges/mountains (narrow belt of ridges and hills in Ghana extending about 200 miles to the border of Togo). It is in the Ho West District of the Volta Region of Ghana. Awudome lies 20 Kilometers North-West of the Volta Regional Capital Ho. Abutia bounds here in the South, Sokode, Akrofu, and Hlěfi on the East, Akwamu on the West and Gbi and Kpeve on the North.

Currently, Awudome included seven towns namely, Kɔnta, Anyirawase, Avennui, Bame, Tsibu, Dafɔ and Tsito. Their settlement occupies about 150 square kilometres (Asem, 1982). Awudome is the most significant tradition group within the Ho West Administrative district. The northern Ewe group can also be divided into two groups. The first group is generally called

*Uedomeawo* with a familiar migration story. The second group of the Northern Ewes speaks a variety of Guan and Akan languages and dialects (Gavua, 2002). Ewe is spoken as their second language. This group is said to have claim different origins to the first group. This indicates that among the Northern Ewe people of Ghana, where Awudome is situated does have different ethnic groups with diverse languages and dialects.

### **1.9 Problem Statement**

The research problem for this study are twofold; that which has to do with the concept of creativity and creative processes in the shrine music; and the general issue of documenting the existence of the fast diminishing shrines in Awudome. The problems can thus be summed up as **first**, ‘to prove that African music is not organized haphazardly or it is only full of spontaneous improvisation but it is well organized’ and **secondly**, ‘to document the history of the Awudome people which has never been documented’. It is imperative to note that changes permeate every facet of human endeavour. This underscores culture as a dynamic concept. Interest in the study of creativity, cut across scholarship manifesting itself in every human endeavour. There have been considerable efforts by (Nketia, 1962) (Blacking, 1970) (Yung, 1989), (Euba, 1990), (Agawu, 1990, 2016), (Nzewi, 1991), (Ampene, 2005) (Beeko, 2005) to explain the creative process, creative ability and creative individual in the literature of ethnomusicology, music theory, and music education. Many of the studies have also sought to address issues relating to; the meaning of creativity, a creative person, what individual and contextual factors or processes leading to a creative product, how are creative achievements identified and assessed,

and status of creativity as a concept and its implications for the status of music theory expansion.

Although in their works they discussed several issues, in various context and culture, real answers to most of the issues above may differ from one culture to the other, because of differences that may be associated, such as with creative personalities, creative procedures, and creative outcomes. In other to reiterate the problems this research sought to address, the issues enumerated above, therefore, makes it needful to explore the issues within the context of the Awudome shrine music, traditions, and culture. In a fast-changing world, traditional believers are rapidly diminishing in the Awudome traditional area in the face of 'modernity and Christianity; many of the shrines in Awudome are not existing any longer. This has become a grave concern to many of the Chiefs since the right to worship is a choice. In this modern era, no chief can compel his subjects to worship deity hence the crucial apprehension of some of the chiefs and elders in the Awudome community regarding the sustenance of these traditional religious practices.

Other problems that are inherent in the general way of life of the Awudome people are further remote causes, leading to rapid occurrences and disinterest in the activities of the shrine. This inevitably has affected the development of the traditional religious music of the people. The notion among specific people that everything about the shrine is 'evil', as established in the background is a challenge that has minimized interaction, communal growth, and social development and cohesion. This study hopes to demystify such notions, misconceptions, and stereotypes, which will make it easy to access and

above all, accommodative for public acceptance. The misconceptions exclude the use of the traditional/shrine musical resources in contemporary styles and leading to the absence of research on shrine music. There is little research on the Awudome traditional area. This research focuses mainly and presents the history of the Awudome people. Also, their litigations and conflicts with other Ewe migrants, other tribes and their contact with the Germans and the Danes (Asem, 1982). The nonexistence of ethnographic research on the Awudome people becomes a problem for many researchers for which this study fills that void.

### **1.10 Objectives**

The overriding objective of this study is to move the history of Awudome from the realm of oral tradition to written document; and to describe the creative processes in composition and performance of traditional music using musicians at the shrine, and the subsequent innovations that emerge out of these processes in the music of the Awudome people. This will enhance awareness of the compositional forms and techniques that are applied in the traditional environment. In doing so, this study will subsequently provide aspiring or performing composers, music theorists, and musicologists with most needed information in the form of traditional creative practices. This will eventually help African Art music composers in the combination of Western and African Idiom in their compositional practices.

In addition to the above, the study seeks to document the migration of Awudome people from their ancestral home and the concept underlining ritual activities of the selected shrines and their functions. The interventions of the

deities in the migration of Awudome to their present settlements cannot be discounted by no means; therefore, the current alarming diminishing and fading natures of the shrines make it imperative for its documentation. Shrine music performance during rituals to the deities is inseparable. During the migration of the people, any time the deities were consulted, it was through the music performance of the people. Following the above general objective of this study, the ensuing specific aims and objectives guided this study.

- This study examined the relationship of the community at large and the roles of the deities within the communities.
- The study explained the creative processes in the composition and performance of shrine music
- The study examined the processes by which new ideas are generated to create new music and in addition to how these are done because of the boundaries set by the deities in the form of taboos
- I documented by tracing the migration of the Awudome people from their ancestral home
- Finally, to examined and analyze the musical structures of the repertoires

### **1.11 Research questions**

Questions interrogated in this study are as follows:

- To what extent has Awudome state evolved culturally and her traditional institutions and governance structures? Also, what are the distinguishing features of the musical repertoires and their communal roles because of

the concept and individual activities? Did the shrine music and deities play any role/s in the emigration of the Awudome state?

- What are the intrinsic motivational factors for creating, recreating, or adding on to what already exists within the musical sub-culture of the shrine of the Awudome people?
- What are the creative processes that lead to change the musical resources at the shrines and how pervasive are these creative tendencies?
- With constraints imposed by the deities in the forms of taboos, how does the traditional musician function in the creative processes?
- Are there distinct musical parameters, rhythmical, instrumental or textual or just emotional in the shrine music?

### **1.12 Conceptual framework**

The underlining framework of the study draws from (a) historiography of the Ewe philosophy (b) creativity, interpretive, innovation (c) socio-musical practices (d) holistic approach to the study of drum music. The study takes the perspective that the general concept and belief of their existence as people and a community evolved from reliance on oral history and that they are not indigenes of their present places of settlements. The Ewe people firmly trust in the history of being migrants. This belief is supported by the fact that "... the Ewes are descendants of three major groups that migrated from Ɔɔtsie their ancestral home (Amenumey, 1997). With specific regards to Awudome people, their migration is central to their oral history, which is told during their annual yam festival celebration. Activities at the shrine are central to the celebration of



the annual yam festival; this is discussed thoroughly in chapter two. The migrant perspective binds Awudome people together and strengthens their belief in the importance of the oral transmission of their history through songs, religious worship, and other cultural activities.

The second theoretical position of this study view creativity, interpretation, and innovation of individuals as central to the making of a culture, as well as developing and protecting culture. As such, creative individuals may be considered as the "engine" or "bedrock" of society in terms of progress and advancement of the total wellbeing of the people. The theory underpinning this concept can be traced to the writings of Waterman (2005) who states that culture is dynamic and evolves, cultural continuity is not best thought of as static, but as a continues and repeated process.

The third theoretical perspective is "socio-musical practices" thus: (the involvements of everyday happenings and issues) as an orientation in the study of creative processes in the Ewe culture of the Awudome shrine musical genre. This primarily informed my assessment of the relationship between the deities, the devotees and the individuals in the community. Furthermore, this concept will aid the assessment and relationship of the community at large and the roles of the deities within the Awudome communities.

Lastly, this study is also informed with the proposition by Koeting (1970) that drum music should be studied holistically. The involvement of all instruments in an ensemble is central to its analysis. Analyzing a piece of music with the involvement of drums without taking into account all the instruments making the ensemble will signify, excluding some vital aspects of music. In the

shrine music of the Awudome people, various musical instruments constitute the ensemble. I hold the view that Koetting's proposition is paramount to the analysis of shrine music.

To analyze the patterns of a drum ensemble piece individually is to neglect the main characteristic of the music, which is the totality of sound produced by the interrelation of the various parts. This is particularly true in viewing the relationship between the master drum and the rest of the ensemble... What is needed is a comprehensive analysis that can encompass similarities and differences as components of the whole (Koetting, 1970: 130)

There are two significant components, coming together to form an ensemble. These components are the ostinato, regarded as the supporting drums and the master drum. In Koetting's view, both the ostinato and the master drum are central to the analysis of performance. One aspect must not be taken in isolation of the other.

After reviewing and celebrating Analyses from different eras of African musicology (Hornbostel, 1920s), (Jones, 1950s), (Blacking, 1960s), (Arom, 1980s) (Anku, 1990s;), Agawu (2003) states:

‘there is no way not to analyze African music, any and all ways are acceptable. The analysis that lacks value does not yet exist, which is not to deny that depending on the reasons for a particular adjudication, some approaches may prove more or less useful’ (Agawu, 2003:196).

This statement affirms the adaption of an inductive (the processes by which analysis will be derived from the data gathered) approach by scholars

such as, (Anku, 1994), (Arom, 1998), (Kongo, 2002) (Locke, 2011). Agawus's statements are also to caution against researchers being 'jacked pot' into thinking of one single way of analyzing African music. This position remains the primary approach which the study will employ in analyzing the various musical activities acquire from the shrine. The analysis will, therefore, underscore the working of the musical mind of the musicians in the selected shrines.

### **1.13 Research Design, Methods and Primary Data Collection**

Three major activities were undertaken in this research. They consist of the following (a) data collection, (b) transcription and translation, and (c) analysis and interpretation of data.

The research approach employed in this study is qualitative or an inductive approach using an ethnographic technique. The approach was holistic, based on worldview as established by Ross, 2006. In the whole scheme of the qualitative approach, the leading theory is grounded. The study was anchored on this theory so that I can systematically discover the aims and objectives I designed and intended for this study through the data gathered from the research filed. 'Grounded theory is designed to develop theory through a highly inductive but systematic process of discovery' (Cohen et al, 2007).

Data collection methods were in-depth one-on-one and focused groups interviews that included essential individuals of the communities. For example, at the onset of this research, it became apparent that I needed to bring together all the divisional chiefs to come to one place to kick-start the interviews. This was important because of the seeming chieftaincy conflict involving the

Awudome paramount stool (the principal chief of the seven towns) on the one hand and the sub-chiefs on the other hand. On another occasion, I needed to meet all the priest and priestesses together to focus on some ethical (issues relating to matters I need not include in the thesis for their sensitivity nature) issues as well as seek clearance on some fundamental misconceptions. This was followed by another focused group discussion of the only three surviving musicians at the shrine.

Field and participant observations were conducted from January 2015 to August 2017. I was involved in many activities in Awudome during this period. I took part in the weeding of two of the shrines. I was invited as a moderator on two occasions within the period to assist the planning committee of the 2015/16 yam festival celebration. I acted as the secretary of a committee within the period which was detailed to assist in resolving some land issues. Several communal labours were organized of which I took part: dredging some choked gutters, cleaning the stream which is the primary source of water to the communities. I was the master of ceremony (MC) during the 2016 annual yam festival, the accredited photographer during all the rituals in the shrines before the Yam Festival in 2015/16. This opportunity allowed me to observe several activities, sacrifices, and libations. I had the opportunity to perform with some of the musical ensembles. I made recording and took photos of events within the period. Within this period, I had an informal conversation with 11 people about their involvement in the activities in the shrine, the musical activities and their general views about the current state of the shrines. This informal interview informed my subsequent interactions with the priests, priestesses, Chief and

elders of Awudome. Apart from the priests, priestesses and devotees at the shrines, I focused on the Chiefs and elders also in the communities. The Chief as the custodians of the land has complete jurisdiction over all the shrine. The sampling I undertook was very purposeful to maintain the research focus.

Data from the field were transcribed as soon as I return from the field. Finally, a *finale* music software was used in all the musical transcriptions found. For each transcription, I checked with the musicians using playback to ensure the transcripts were accurate; some transcriptions had to be revised several times before they confirmed its accuracy. The study employed multiple analyses in addition to data reduction, condensation, and interpretation and reporting in presenting this work.

#### **1.14 Secondary Data Collection**

The secondary data collection involved a visit to archives and libraries in order to retrieve supporting documents for the analysis of filed materials. Libraries visited include University of Cape Coast, Department of Music Library, University of Cape Coast Main Library, University of Ghana Balme Library, International Centre for African Music and Dance (ICAMD) Library, Legon, University of Ghana School of Performing arts Library, University of Michigan Hatcher Graduate Library and University of Michigan School of Music, Theatre and Dance Library. Data collected from the two secondary sources, libraries and archives serve and provide documented evidence in support of the oral and works that have been conducted in this area.

### 1.15 The Study Participants and Interviews

All the study participants hailed from the Awudome traditional area. They were not restricted to only traditional religious belief. Since many people have abandoned the shrines, including some Chiefs, queens, and elders, their views were outstanding in enriching the study. In all, I interviewed six divisional Chiefs, eighteen sub-Chiefs (clan chief), thirty elders (heads of families), twenty-two queen mothers, two priests, one priestess, and sixteen devotees. It was also important to interview another 21 people from the Awudome community, other than those who have something directly to do with the selected shrines. The main criteria used for the selection of the participants were Occupying a high position in the community such as a Divisions Chief, Clans Chief, being an elder (head of a family), Queen Mothers. Other criteria were being a member of the shrine, the, participating in the music, and as well playing any leading role in the shrine. The three Chief musicians were given prominence in the selection process.

Interviews were conducted systematically, following the aims I set out from the begging of the research in the communities. This was to allow all-important persons needed for this work. The interviews started with the divisional Chiefs. Being the custodians of the land, the traditional rulers had to be my starting point. I could not speak to the paramount Chief of the Awudome traditional area because of ongoing stool litigation which pitched all the divisional chiefs against the paramount chief. The agreement not to speak to the purported paramount Chief was reached with the divisional chiefs before

clearance was issued by the council of the divisional chiefs for my research to start.

### **1.16 Observation**

Before my observation and documentation processes, one of the priests suggested I should be initiated in the shrine to gain full access, particularly to where the deities are kept. Since I was not ready to be initiated, the whole process of observing the sacrifices and entering the shrines delayed for two extra months until the divisional Chiefs intervened and explained that work was not for financial gain but academic purposes. This intervention gave me full access to every part of the shrine. My observations in the shrine consisted of two parts (a) structured observations and documentation of the creative processes through demonstration before or after musical performances, (b) structured observations and documentation of the creative processes during the moment of ritual activities.

### **1.17 Data Collection**

Data collected from the field regarding this thesis are presented in the form of interviews and notes gathered. Qualitative research data gathered is represented in the words as captured on tape, symbols either taken as photos or described and above all text (Bernard, 2009). In trying to understand and explain the subject's viewpoints, the procedures for the data analysis were conducted systematically, including preparation of the data, familiarisation with the data, searching for themes and reviewing emergent themes and transcription.

### 1.18 Analysis of Musical Repertories

Since the study was grounded more on what the composers shared in the interviews about what they think they do in the creative processes, I use limited musical analysis to validate the information employing both inductive and deductive methods. The pieces of music were analyzed by considering the following elements: **Tonal framework:** choice of scales or pitch sets, configurations of tones, melodic movement and tonal progression, modality. **Rhythmic framework:** considered the order and succession of basic durational units in linear structures characterization of the music using recurrent patterns and its permutations. **Text-tune relationships:** the techniques of text construction, the relationship between musical and verbal units of the structure. **Multi-Part organization/harmony:** principles of voice separation, polyrhythmic organization and procedures, the hocket technique and textural considerations. Finally, the sources of data analysis remain the musical repertory of the selected shrines.

### 1.19 The state of study on the subject

The concept of creativity can be regarded as an interdisciplinary issue. In light of this assertion and in order for the goals set out in this study to be achieved, I engaged several books. There has been enormous research, published and unpublished documents on the music of the Ewe people and other ethnic groups in Ghana. Many of the published papers have discussed the relationship between music and the related arts as well as the social institutions with which they are connected (Ampene, 2005; Agawu, 1995, 2003, 2016; Dor, 2004; Fiagbedzie, 2009; Avorgbedor, 2001; Anku 2002; Friedson, 2009). These



studies have raised issues that often relate music and dance, the role of music in an institution, music, and performance, music and structure, to mention a few.

In order to contextualize my study, placing it within the broader perspectives of vast published documents, and to further show the gaps I propose to fill, I interact with various extant literature. Under this section, but not limited to the following thematic areas: creative or generative processes in music; music theory, analysis and transcriptions; African traditional religious worship; migration and settlements in Ghana. Research into creative or generative processes in music has received quite an extensive attention in the study of African music. In Ghana, Dor, Beeko, and Ampere have all used creative processes to mean compositional processes. Nketia also used generative processes to mean compositional processes. In this research, however, I used both creative as well as generative processes interchangeably, all signifying compositional processes. In his book, *Female Song Tradition and the Akan of Ghana: The Creative Process in Nnwonkoro* Ampene (2005), for example, in addressing the creative process in Nnwonkro music, he focused on three broad sections. The first is 'compositional conventions and practices,' which emphasizes on the 'the musical organization of song units within a performance unit.' Secondly, he employed Akan (largest indigenous language in Ghana) linguistics knowledge to assess the 'the poetic nuances and the phonology in the song units' and thirdly, he focused on the melody of the songs, where he activates comparison in dealing with pitch relationships to examine 'melodic sequences and the modal orientation of the melody.' This approach of the investigation was expertly made by Ampene, where the musical genre was

on a traditional female song known as Nnwonkro among the largest ethnic group in Ghana, the Akans. My study drew from Ampene's analytical modules in the first and third categories in analyzing shrine music among the Awudome shrine music of the Ewe ethnic group.

Ampene was able to show how the nnwonkro performer-composer can draw on traditional Akan verbal art forms such as libation, funeral cries, jubilation chants and drum poetry in their creative and performance activities. This analogy indicates an affirmation of the involvement of the already existing cultural forms into the tradition of the female song of the Akan. This epitomizes and emboldens my position that the traditional composer or creator draws from existing traditional practices. The beauty of Ampene's discussion lies in the personal comments he added to the debate among 'various Christian communities in Ghana who questions the validity of traditional religious practices in modern times' (Ampene, 2005:127). Even though Ampene's discussions were on the *models of form and style*, his observation enforces my already conviction of holistic approach to discussing issues regarding traditional religious practices. This was also echoed and further endorsed by Nukunya (2003). He spoke against condemnations and hostile preconceptions towards traditional religious practices in Africa. Juxtaposing all these discussions, it will be proper in my view to conducting a study on traditional religious practices, bearing in mind, the positive aspects of their practices such as creative processes, songtext and many others that can be modernized or enhanced in support of the development of societies.

Whiles Ampene's discussions focus on the Akan traditions and community being the source of the creativity, Dor (2004) *Communal Creativity and Song Ownership in Anlo Ewe Musical Practice: The Case of Havolu* presents a sharp contrast. Discussing creativity and song ownership among the Anlo Ewe people's musical practice, Dor discussed perfectly how individual composers forego their egos and aspirations, come together based on an ethos, in the interest of togetherness to create music which is based on various forms of public research. Even though the *Havolu* musical tradition, as discussed by Dor admittedly privileges 'collectivism in creativity', the idea recognizes the 'interpretive framework' and 'the place of individuality' in the Anlo Ewe cultural community. This creative concept he argued further as reciprocity between the individuals and the community. Song ownership was crucial to Dor, whereas, in the shrine music of the Awudome people, creation and song ownership do not matter to the individuals or the community. The Awudome people instead focused on the use of a piece of music created, bearing in mind where, how and who uses a piece of shrine music.

Creativity must follow laid down or developed basic principles. These principles are to be followed through during creation. Even though Ampene in his study, did not identify the various processes involved in the creative processes of nnwonkro, he itemized the primary sources of materials for creativity. He argues that creativity goes beyond transforming texts into songs. He is of the view that 'the totality of the composer's lifetime experience' is also crucial' whereas Dor believes on the contrary approach of studying creative processes. Even though, acknowledging the source of materials are the crucial

segment of creativity to both Ampene and Dor, the latter believes the blow-by-blow or step-by-step procedures involved in the creative processes are very vital segments that must not be ignored. The approach adopted by both researchers: Ampene and Dor are not wrong. As Nettle (2005) suggested in his book *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* that emphasis, interest, and strength determines an outcome of ethnographic research. This is what I refer to as the driving force of a researcher becoming more paramount in the outcome of the research.

Whereas Ampene selected twenty-nine (29) songs, transcribed and analyze them based on melody, pitch, sequence, beginning and ending cadential points, transcription and its analysis were missing in the discussion of Dor's study on the other hand. Juxtaposing the two approaches to my research of shrine music of the Awudome people, I employed both procedures, sources of data for compositions and blow by blow account of composition in the shrine music to show how important they can support indigenous musical knowledge. To sum up, Dor in his work on the Havolu music of the southern Ewe people, compensated in particular for the processes, the creator, and the performer as the main focus of his research. Deliberately, he ignored transcription, analysis and musical types and form of the music as a focal point.

Several works have been done in the area of music and the related arts and culture. However, despite the enormous efforts of the preceding scholars and researchers, no apparent efforts were made to describe creative processes in the context of shrine music performance. For the earlier reasons alluded in the background to this study, research into traditional religious music was more or

less nonexistent. Closely related works that have so far been identified included authors such as (Nketia J.H.K., 1990. *Generative Processes in Seprewa Music*), (Willie O. Anku, 1994. *Structural Set Analysis of African Music: Adowa and Bawa*), (Kofi Agawu, 1995. *African Rhythm: A Northern Ewe Perspective*), (Pascal Zanana Kongo, 1997. *African Drum Music Slow Agbekor, Adowa Kpanlogo Agbadza*), (G. W. K. Dor, 2001. *Tonal Resources and Compositional Processes of Ewe Traditional Vocal Music*, PhD Diss., University of Pittsburgh), (Kwasi Ampene, 2005. *A Female Song Tradition of the Akan of Ghana: Creative Processes in Nnwonkro*), (Beeko Eric Odame 2005. *Creative Processes in Akan Musical Cultures: Innovation within Tradition*) (David Locke, 2011, *Metrix Matrix: Drum Gahu*)

However, Nketia, (1990); Anku, (1994); Ampene (2005); Beeko, (2005) have concentrated mainly on the creative processes in performance contexts in Akan musical traditions. As a result, many of the studies seemed to have provided, either more ethnographic accounts of music in their institutional contexts or altogether eschewing all contextual and philosophical approaches for the sake of the music itself as in the case of Anku and Kongo. The combination of both approaches, which my research favoured is either been nonexistence or scanty.

In his attempt to ethnographically explain rituals in an African traditional religious context, Friedson, in his book *Remains of Ritual: Northern Gods in a Southern Land* (2009) focuses on the Brekete/Gorovodu indigenous African religion of the Ewe people. Friedson (2009) presents a multifaceted understanding of the religious practice, with the performance of rites and rituals

through a historical and ethnographic study of one of the essential shrines, based in the southern coast of Ghana. The shrine used for the study by Friedson originated from the northern region of the country. His book is written in several chapters, and each of the sections considers a different aspect of ritual life, demonstrating throughout that none of them can be conceived of separately from their musicality in the Brekete world, music functions as ritual and ritual as music. He made the case that rituals and musical performance at the shrine are inseparable. Dance and possession, chanted calls to prayer, animal sacrifice, the sounds and movements of wake keeping, the play of the drums all come under Friedson's examination. Friedson expertly avoided musical transcription, whereas focusing on the rituals with musical activities, even though he made an emphatic assertion that music and rituals cannot be separated. His approach to the study excluded musical notations and transcription. I agree with his overall judgment of the inseparability of rituals and music. Even though my method to the study of the musical culture of the shrine music differs from his approach, I agree that music performs at the shrine should not be studied in isolation of the rites and rituals.

Having established some extant literature relating to this study either directly or tenuously, I can classify other cognate materials to this study into the following categories: works relating to the history of Ewes music and culture, music and traditional religion, and finally, form and structure in African music.

S. John, Mbiti, in his book *Introduction to African Religion*, Mbiti outlines some fundamental features as an introduction to the study of traditional African religions. The beginning chapter laid a solid foundation of the richness

of African heritage and legacies. The introduction attempted to link the development and origin of man to East Africa. The author traces the early forms of the man found in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, which dates to about two million years ago. The admission later by the author that the origin of man from Africa was not proven in any circumstance was an indication of the false claim in the first instance. Various empires and kingdoms that have come and gone in Africa were discussed extensively. This the author linked to the cultural heritage of African. Firstly, dealing with the issue of culture, the way the people live, behave and act, and their physical as well as intellectual achievements. He named some activities such as literature, music, dance drama, social organisations, and political systems, religion, ethics, morals, and philosophy as some of the activities through which culture manifests itself. The writer quickly acknowledges that each African people have their heritage. Even though some of our cultures are similar over the vast area of our continent, there are also many differences that add to the variety of African culture in general. He emphasised chiefly, the musical heritage of the African in addition to which dancing is associated. He mentioned colossal musical instruments as part of the heritage, with the commonest being the drum. Even though I agree with the writer in the case that drums are typical in Africa, they may not necessarily be the most common as he emphasises.

There are communities in Africa that hardly make use of drums in certain musical types; this makes the drum factor absent. Thus Agordoh (1996) states that the most common and most straightforward musical instruments in Africa are the idiophones. This is also evident in the music of the shrine of

Awudome. All the shrines visited so far have their drums but are not used during some of the ritual's activities except bells and rattles. Indeed, idiophones are the most straightforward instruments and less costly; hence, and many people tend to make use of them in music-making rather than drums. Mbiti talked about the sacred nature of some drums and how they cannot be used on any ordinary occasion. He mentioned other musical taxonomies such as chordophones and aerophones as parts of the collection of many musical instruments in Africa.

African Indigenous religion was exhaustively discussed as part of the cultural heritage of Africa. Mbiti (1990) puts it; Religion is by far the wealthiest part of the African Heritage. He showed how religion had dominated the life of the African through and through. He writes, 'religion has dominated the thinking of the African peoples to such an extent that it has shaped their cultures, their social life, their political organizations, and economic activities' (Mbiti,1990: 67)

Mbiti comprehensively addressed the issues relating to the place of African religion in his book. Some applied situations which were defined as upholding, or having a place for African religions were rituals, ceremonies, and festivals of the people. Examples such as the birth of a new child, giving of names, circumcisions and other initiation rites were some recognised applied situations. African religion is also found in the shrines, sacred places and in religious objects. The ownership of shrines was said to belong to families, and others belong to the communities and chiefs. Offers are made to the gods/deities at the shrine and sacred places with items such as utensils, tools, animals, fowls, and food. This is evident in the purification ritual ceremony of the Awudome



during the celebration of the yam festival. The items used for the rituals before the celebration of the yam festival were all new. Often, African art expresses religious ideas that are found in woods, stones, calabashes, sticks, pots, handicrafts, domestic animals and human bodies. African religion is also found in music and dance. Wherever Africans found themselves in any part of the world, they maintain their musical activities, which retained their religious aides. Other places where traditional African regions are found are names of people and places, myths and legends, beliefs and customs and above all, in all aspects of life.

In the book, Mbiti deals with how God is approached by people and the meaning and purpose of worship. Prayer was identified as the most common method of approaching God, which is found in all African societies. Prayers are offered individually or communally. These prayers are said either in public or in private. In the shrine of *veto*, for example, some prayers are in the darkroom (sacred room) where the deity is kept. Persons permitted to under the rules of the shrine can enter during prayer sessions. Another means through which people approach God is by singing and dancing. Through music and dance, people can participate emotionally and physically in the act of worship. This music and dancing, as said by Mbiti penetrate the very being of the worshipers, and in the process, some worshipers get possessed. The main reasons for people approaching God were to offer sacrifices or offerings and as intermediaries between God and man.

Mbiti admitted there are many types of spirits. God is their creator, as he created all other things. These spirits, therefore, mediate between God and

man. They are believed to be creations of God. Generally, two types of spirits are identified: the nature spirit and the human spirit. Mbiti further identified two types of nature spirits and two types of human spirits as sky spirits and earth's spirits, long-dead ghosts, and recently dead ghosts, respectively. The author describes the nature of the sky spirits as those associated with objects and forces in the sky, including the sun, the moon, stars, falling stars, rainbows, rain, storms, wind, thunder, and lightning. The nature of the spirits of earth were described as those associated with things and forces of the earth. Also, they are identified as the closest to human life. There are many such spirits on earth. Examples are hills, mountains, rock, stones, trees, forest, metals, water in various forms (such as lakes, ponds, rivers, waterfalls, lagoons and riverbanks), different animals and so on. These categorizations of the types of spirits perfectly suit my project, and I can say the nature of the shrines this research is taking place lies in the field of earth spirits. The book positively brought out and laid the basis of studies in traditional African religion without any assessment of the musical heritage except to mention music as a vehicle through which worshipers convey their messages and or communicate with God. As a scholar in traditional African regions, this study was bereft of assessment of the musical activities at the shrine.

A sociologist, Nukunya, in his book *Traditions and Change in Ghana, an introduction to Sociology* (2003), looks at various traditions and Changes that have occurred in Ghana. The author starts with the premise that, at the turn of the century, 'only a thorough knowledge of a traditional setup and institutions would enable one to fully understand contemporary Ghanaian society and

appreciate its problems' (Nukunya, 2003:67). This introductory statement is so profound in the sense that it supports my motivation for this research. Without being condemnatory, I will not support any attempt or effort by either Africans or non-Africans, for that matter to relegate African institutions with vibrant cultural heritage. In my introduction, I alluded to the attempts in the past, instances where disparaging remarks were made about African traditional religions. In as much as certain practices may violate some rights of the people and society at large, such tendencies do not necessarily negate the rich and significant insights that African tradition espouses.

In the Introductory chapter, the Nukunya looks at the overview of change and the concept of traditional societies, focusing his discussions on aspects of traditional life. This explains the concept of traditional, in Weberian sense to mean, that 'a society characterized by the type of domination based on the belief in the legitimacy of an authority that has always existed', (Klu, 2014:78). In that logic, pre-colonial Ghana was labelled as the traditional society. He explained sociology as a synoptic subject, which concerns itself with all aspects of life.

Following the introduction was the features of traditional societies; this is one of the few books that explain in detail the Kinship systems in Africa. The main issues emanating from the discussion on the chapter includes the importance of Kinship, descent groups, the clan, the lineage, some terms associated with Kinship, the patrilineal systems of kingship, successions and inheritance, other essential elements of patrilineal societies, the matrilineal system, the double unilateral system and bilateral system of kingship. The

author continues with the religious belief and practices of Africa societies. Nukunya enumerates these beliefs and practices of traditional religions are considered in the concept of religious levels. These concepts of religious levels of the forms of belief and practices start with; the high God, the small gods, the ancestors; witchcraft; magic and sorcery; divination; festivals and twins. I am therefore encouraged by Nukunya to discuss the indigenous or traditional political systems of the Awudome people, in other words, the entire governance structure of the Awudome. In discussing Ghanaian political institutions, Nukunya talked about various political systems such as the centralized political system, the Akan political system, political organizations of other Southern Groups, a political organization of the north and religious, ritual and political organization.

An essential aspect of the book, which is very relevant to my research, has to do with the trokosi system. Nukunya explained trokosi as a 'slave to a deity'. The practice is such that a young female virgin, who is yet to experience menarche, is given to a deity to atone for sin or offense committed by a relative; she thus becomes a slave also. She is called the wife of the deity, and some of them stay in the shrine from a few years to life, and some of them are used as sexual partners of the priest. In fact, in some cases, even after her death, another girl from her family must replace her in the shrine. This practice is very common among the southern ewe people in Ghana and some Ga people. In any case, there are differences in the system such that sometimes some of the young ladies can stay with their families and serve the shrine. The author admonished trokosi system must not be condemned from its face value, but the whole traditional

religious system must be studied. Nukunya, in his writing, is not opposed fundamentally to the concept of trokosi.

Whiles, the author focuses on the various aspects of the change of the global cultural and traditional systems of the Ghanaian societies, my research will focus on three shines from the Awudome traditional area. I will employ some of the propositions and concepts espoused in this book to unravel some of the cultural practices of these selected shines and forms of changes that have occurred over a period. Our point of departure will be my thesis focusing on the musical traditions of the shrines as an aspect of its subculture—individuals involved in music-making, musical instruments and other musical resources available at the shrine.

In his unpublished manuscript, 'Contemporary Political History of Awudome people', Asem (1982) presents a light account on the history of the people of Awudome. In his introduction, he briefly mentioned that the people of Awudome had their traditional form of religion consisting of the gods, fetishes, oaths and various forms of worship before the advent of Christianity in 1886. The Christian faith of the author was so profound in that his manuscript shows and or can best be described as biased in support of the Christian faith. The conclusion of the book can be said as a contributing factor in discouraging people from accepting traditional religion but rather a Christian religion. In concluding his observation and documentation, Asem states:

‘The future of Awudome depends greatly on how we can harness, develop and make use of these seven sinews of the strength of the

Awudome Traditional area. The attention of the citizens should first be drawn to the worship of God Jehovah through Jesus Christ His Only Begotten Son, by whose grace and power alone, can help the area stand and prosper'. (Asem, 1982:37)

What a contradiction? In the first place, Asem alluded and stated, 'all spiritual values must be harnessed and concluded that through Jesus Christ the only begotten so' (Asem 1982:64). This shows how biased the author wrote the manuscript. Even though it is recorded in the Holy Bible, John 3:16 that Jesus is the only son of God, Asem saw the need for harnessing all spiritual values yet, concluding that through Jesus Christ the only begotten son. This is my view does not present the account of the people near objectivity as one would have thought.

The manuscript revealed how the people of Awudome on many occasions, encountered countless difficulties in becoming a traditional independent area. The history of christening all the native states in the Transvolta, North of the coastal tribes as Krepees by the Danes, was adequately told. Krepees consisted of a few Guan-speaking people native states as well as all the Ewe-speaking native states and others who speak other languages and all who came with the northern and middle streams from Nɔtsie to settle in their present land. Awudome people fought several people to settle at their present location, some of the tribes they fought include, Akpafu and Lolobi people. After settling, they had to contend with several impositions as well as other neighbours such as Abutia and Akwamu people on many occasions. British

took control over Krepees, which hitherto was not their territory. The book gave the account of how the British House of Commons decree an act which legitimizes the takeover of Awudome from the Danes.

The appraisal of the manuscript also indicated how the Ashanti's invaded Krepees in 1869 after the British have taken over the Transvolta Togoland, the timely intervention by the acting administrator of the new area wrote to the Ashanti's to withdraw from the area since the British have taken over the area from the Danes. Several treaties were signed during this period legitimizing the new administrative district.

This document certainly is almost silent on the general culture (everyday life or way of life) of the Awudome people. It presented rather more wide-ranging account on the circular political situations of the Awudome people rather than ethnographic discourse that is directly connected to the daily lives, norms and values of the Awudome people. Nothing was said about the musical culture, values, and norms of the Awudome people, and this is where the book has created a gap for my research to gain ascendancy.

In his book *African Polyphony and Polyrhythm: Musical Structure and Methodology* published first in French in 1985 and later translated into English in 1991, Simha Arom extensively and pragmatically answers the query on a systematic analysis of musical structures in the music of Central African Republic, concentration on the playing of horn ensembles. The methodology employed by Arom serves, therefore as a novelty and model in music analysis of African music. His work concentrates on the intrinsic elements of music, thereby reducing the socio-cultural data to the most uncomplicated status. Arom

states how he spent time on the field recording musicians and as well as horns playing to be able to conduct a proper analysis. He transcribes the recording and later did the analysis, which employs numerals in the study.

In his book *Modern African Music*, (Euba, 1993), catalogues selected archival material at Iwalewa-Haus, University of Bayreuth, Germany. Euba started the book with an argument that musicologists have so far ignored the development of African art music. He believes everybody has focused on traditional music, with gradual attention on popular music, but the African art musicians have been ignored. This he said epitomizes Africa. This argument was linked by Euba, to a similar situation in the history of neo- African Literature. But not long, the situation in literature changed. He admonished scholars to rise to the challenge not to tarry until African art music becomes a fashionable field of study before people will be rushing to work with the discipline. He explained his introductory remarks were to highlight the significance of the archives of Iwalewa-Haus, the University of Bayreuth in Germany.

The book continued by explaining modern African music as the various musical types that have developed during the 20th century. He said some of the musical types are well known in Africa and are gaining international recognition. These musical types the author categorised into two groups namely

- 1) Christian religious music
- 2) Neo-African art music and music theatre

Christian Religious music was described as musical types which hitherto were not part of our traditional musical values; this he called church music. They emerged at the coming of Christianity in Africa. The presence of music as an



influential piece in traditional religion, the author identified as one of the elements that attracted African converts. The book indicated the history of church music in Africa might not be different after all from African societies. The first type of music performed in Yoruba (orthodox) churches were said to be the translation of European hymns. Three significant problems identified by the author were the setting of Yoruba languages to European hymns. Firstly, there was a conflict between the tunes and the linguistic intonations of the text since Yoruba is a tone language. The second one was some of the ideas expressed in the European hymns were culturally bound and not relevant to society. Thirdly, how forbidden it was to dance to hymn tunes as introduced by the missionaries. The entire problem as they appeared to put pressure on Yoruba musicians to compose hymns that were consistent with the stylistics and cultural context of Yoruba music. In 1902, composers began to compose original hymn tunes to Yoruba, which even though with somewhat problems. (Euba, 1993)

Neo-African Art music, in other words, was described by the author as not a new phenomenon, but that which has been part of interculturalism and can also be found in Asia and Latin America. The neo-African Art composer is said to have belonged to the generation of people having a viable and identifiable trait. The author divided neo-African art music into four broad categories. Namely, 1) Works based entirely on Western models and in which the composer has not consciously introduced any African elements. 2) Music whose thematic material is borrowed from African sources, but which is otherwise Western in idiom and instrumentation. 3) Music in African forms an integral part of the idiom (through the use of African instruments, or text, or stylistic concepts and

so forth) but which also includes non-African ideas. 4) Music, whose idiom is derived from African traditional culture, which employs African instruments and in which the composer has not consciously introduced non-African ideas. Various examples were given to support the categorization by the author.

African Pianism was another concept the author mentioned in the book. This he described as the keyboard music of African composers, which also includes Piano music of non-Africans with traces of African materials. The book presented a dossier of African composers with their profiles. This book is written purposely for composers who would like to follow the categories mentioned by the author for their compositions. My research has become, therefore, a victim of Euba's introductory criticism of African research focusing on traditional musical types rather than art music. The good news, therefore, is that the outcome of my study has the potency to assist art musicians eventually. The analysis will aid composers of Art music either by way of making use of the result of my data analysis in the form of creative application of the finding to Art music.

Nketia, 1962 in his book *Africa Music in Ghana, A survey of Traditional Forms* published by Longmans presents an inclusive organization of African music in Ghana. Amongst the crucial things discussed were musical types, performing groups, and their music. The contents of musical types, form, and technique in vocal music, melody, and harmony in vocal music, the rhythm of songs, instrumental resources and traditional ensembles were also argued. The introduction of the book was to point out and correct certain inadequate and misleading information that was presented by some earlier writers about

Ghanaian music, e.g. Bosman, Bowdich, Ellis. Ward was one of the previous writers who was also praised for their immense contribution to the development of African music. The introduction proposed that the study of African music should be in three streams or mediums, such as a. Folk/traditional music b. Popular music and c. Fine art music. The proposition does not differ from what is currently pertaining with regards to a music scholarship in the public universities in Ghana. It discusses another trend that has emerged among Ghanaians, which is the application of Western Theory analytical techniques to the study of their music to rediscover what the African music concept involves, the way it differs from one tradition to the other and how it can be applied to creative work. The book mentioned, however, what has been lacking is the systematic research.

The author talks about the organization of music in Ghana, along with activities of everyday life. Despite that, music is controlled socially, even though music is heard frequently. He spoke about not all organized events have music as part of it. There was a distinction identified such that not all events arranged around a program of musical activities and non-musical activity. Two types of musical events were broadly defined such that those in which the combination of music and non-musical events is traditional, and those in which combinations are spontaneous. It mentioned restrictions on the music of a chief as an example, and certain natural activities do not permit must make music in the process.

Just as is it happening in many parts of the world, Ghanaians also do not limit themselves to one or two types of musical events. Musical types are

created every time, which is distinguished from each other in many ways. Types of musical instruments employed, tempo, dominant rhythm, and phrasing were some of the distinguishing factors identified by the author. Music is a functional aspect of the Ghanaian people, and on that basis, three types of musical classifications were suggested, such as recreational music, occasional music, and incidental music. Recreational music being all forms of music used which are not ritually or ceremonially bound, mostly they are performed in the evenings for entertainment and on festive occasions to entertain. Occasional music, on the other hand, are those musical types associated or linked with rites and ceremonies, activities of kinship groups, Musical events associated with celebrations of events of life cycle namely; birth rites; puberty rites; marriage ceremonies and funerals; ceremonies and festivals of Chiefdoms, ceremonies of social groups and organizations, e.g. hunters' organizations and finally activities of cult groups. In this category identified by the author, he explained that they are differently performed and in the various Ghanaian communities. Incidental music was the last group of musical types discussed by the author as those associated with non-ritual or non-ceremonial nature and these includes; music associated with different types of occupation; music associated with nursing a baby/lullaby, musical types performed at various stages during social games, musical types performed at informal storytelling occasions. Emphasis was identified and the main distinguishing factor between occasional and incidental music.

The book emphasizes that the musical demands of the Ghanaian is not dependent solely on the activity or events but are also involved to a large extent

on its organization in terms of participants. Music is also performed based on sex and age. Another factor identified in the book is the concern of the content of the music in Ghanaian communities.

A significant discussion in the book was the form and technique in vocal music in Ghana. Two essential issues the author points out in this chapter were the mode of performance and voice quality. He proposed that there appear to be differences in usage between different ethnic groups in that the Akan, Gas, and the Ewe employ clear voice quality and evenness or gradual decrease in breath force towards the end of an extended musical sentence. Among the Dagbani, the Frafra, the Kassena-Nankani, and the Builsa, on the other hand, there is a mark to begin the musical sentence with a much louder voice decreasing abruptly soon after that. A few musical forms, as performed by Ghanaian communities based on observations, were enumerated in the book a. Call and response b. Solo and Chorus refrain c. Mixed sectional form d. Declamations.

Other aspects of Ghanaian musical events discussed by the author are the melody, tonal organization, intervals and patterns of movements, Intonation, and melodic movements as well as harmony/vertical organization of songs and the rhythm of songs. One important factor which was underlying in the Ghanaian songs is that the melody and the rhythm by the outline of the intonation and the relative duration of the syllables of the verbal text though, with some amount of Freedom (Nketia, 1962) . The book concluded on the distribution of musical instruments in Ghana, which does not differ in terms of the leading musical classification of musical instruments in Ghana under the categories of chordophones, idiophones, aerophones, and membranophones.

Indeed, the book presents quite a detailed general musical culture of the Ghanaian people. The focus is quite broad compared to my research. As stated, I am considering the music of the shrine people in one ethnic group with an analysis of their music, and again this brings my work to a different pedestal to this book.

Opoku, (1978) commenced his book, *West African Traditional Religion*, with a general introduction to African traditional religion. In the book, he looks at some people particularly Christian religious writer who attempts to look at traditional religious issues from the point of doctrine rather than practice. Some of these writers tend to conclude that African traditional religion offered no systematically expounded theology. This approach and assumption he condemned as fallacious, which confuses the intellectual formation of religion. Nonetheless, the book pointed out some other useful and sympathetic writers about African traditional religious writers. The author identified some main features of African traditional religion. He talked about a set of beliefs and practices which are a consequence of beliefs firstly, the belief in God who is known by various local names, secondly is the ancestral spirits who play a very important role in African traditional religion then thirdly, is the supernatural entities or lesser deities who derive their powers primarily from God. The book continued by identifying some names and attributes of God in West African societies. The author discussed some ancestral rites that are performed in West Africa, eg. the Adaye festival, Mende ancestral rites, Yoruba and Ibo ancestral rites etc.

Anku (1997), in his article *'Principles of Rhythm Integration in African drumming,'* published by the Black Music Research Journal, brings to various light procedures employed by dance music performers in African with the aid of computer notation system. Analyzing different drum music recorded, Anku describes his analysis as a structural set analysis. He outlined certain basic principles, such as the use of subsets or supersets, interpolation, masking, which the master drummer uses to develop on his performance. Following his analysis of recorded versions of the rhythms, Anku could reveal several creative possibilities that the master drummer engages in during a performance. He, therefore, established three different sets that will enhance transcription of traditional African music.

### **1.20 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presents the overall design of the study into the Creative Processes, Structures, and Performance of Shrine Music of the Northern Ewes. Using the Awudome People of the Volta Region of Ghana as a case study. I specified influencing reasons as well as my motivation why this research was necessary for the introduction and further provided the scope of the study. This chapter also interacted significantly with some extant literature. This literature laid the theoretical basis and the space available for this research. This chapter discusses the methods adopted for the research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **The Migration, Settlements and Socio-Political Dynamics of the Awudome**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

To enhance our understanding of traditional religious practices in Awudome traditional area, I discussed issues relating to socio-political, migration, and settlements of the people. Whereas the culture of worshipping of deities by the Awudome people was a common practice before their encounter with the Christian religious worshipers in the 18th century (Agordoh, 2011) (Gavua, 2002), same cannot be said of them in recent years. The people have acknowledged the roles played by the deities in their search for a place to settle. Also, before the pre-colonial period, the worshipping of deities was the only religion in Awudome and among the people. For this reason, discussion into the general norms and values of Awudome will enhance our understanding of the research at large.

The roles of deities in the migration of the Awudome people cannot be discounted. The traditional priests and priestesses guided the Awudome migrants throughout their migration until they settled in their new home. Priest and priestesses revealed the wishes of the gods by consulting them through oracles to solve problems and overcome difficulties in their search for a new settlement. I discuss in this chapter the results of interviews with the Awudome under varied topics. These topics include the migration of the Awudome people from their ancestral home to their present settlement, Chieftaincy institutions, family life and the establishment of Awudome as a state vis a viz their struggle



to settle, the specific roles of deities and the evolution of Awudome state in the face of modernity. In documenting history, the concept of multivocality, multiple voices are critical. This emanates from the fact that “in history, it is accepted that different versions of the past are produced by different elements in society and by different societies.” (Reid and Lane, 2004:9). As a result, in amassing facts from data on the history of the people, the past and present are essential.

The Awudome state is governed by Chiefs who are the highest authority of the communities/towns. They wield the authority of the traditional political institutions (chieftaincy institution), and they are the custodians of the land, which makes them leaders of the shrines. As soon as a Chief in Awudome is enstooled and he swears allegiance to his people, his role becomes tripartite. He becomes the religious, judicial, and military head of the state. Hence, the relevancy of the chieftaincy institution and enstoolment for our overall understanding of the traditional religion in Awudome.

The religious authority of the Chiefs and people of Awudome are the deities at the shrine. The priest and priestesses at the shrines who perform rituals and consult deities through oracles are primarily the concierges of the shrines. In other words, they become caretakers of the shrines. They do that on behalf of the Chiefs and people of the Awudome state. This, in effect, epitomizes the fact that the deities do not belong to the concierges, neither can they claim ownership of the shrine. Because there is no ownership, worshipping deities a shared responsibility between the chiefs, the people, the priest, and priestesses.

The priests and priestesses at the shrine lead the community in the performance of rites and rituals on behalf of the traditional authorities of Awudome. Given the central and complementary roles between the Chiefs, the people of Awudome, and the priest and priestesses at the shrine, discussion of the chieftaincy institution which governs the Awudome becomes equally significant, and this will provide further and better understandings and workings at the shrines.

The narration of the legendary story of productive cultural practices and settlement of Awudome is woven into the most important annual festival of the Awudome people 'the yam festival'. The celebration of the yam festival recounts the migration to their new home and the powers and the roles of the deities. The yam festival also involves memorial prayer and libation. A commemorative prayer is said usually at the durbar (the climax of the yam festival) of chiefs and people of Awudome traditional area. Its purpose is to eulogize, seek permission and submit petitions and supplication to the gods and ancestors. At the October 30, 2015. durbar, Tsiami (a linguist) Tsoe of Avenui (one of the towns in Awudome) as part of his commemorative libation said; ... 'Awudome mawuwo fetee meyo mi, mede dzesi toxe miafe kpekpedeju hena mia togbuiwo le wofe mawawo me tso hogbefe ke vasede egbe' (I call you the gods of Awudome, and we particularly acknowledge your sustenance to our forefathers in their migration from their ancestral home until today). As indicated as part of the prayer, this statement encapsulates sustenance, supports and the roles of the gods in the migration account.

Additionally, it is indicative of the fact that the roles of the deities in the search, establishing a new home was not negligible, thereby signifying this knowledge of the yam festival as a key for the understanding of the whole subject on the shrine musical performance

Also, this chapter establishes the role and the place of Awudome people in the evolution of modern-day Volta/Ghana. Emphasizing on their encounter with the Europeans and the developments that have unfolded after that. In his address to the Awudome state on October 30, 2015, at the durbar of chiefs and people, the regent of the traditional area Mankrado Gbeklui of Avenui Awudome encouraged his subjects to be fearless in the developments of the Awudome state. He admonished them to be courageous and brave as their ancestors exhibited even in the face of unprovoked attacks and marginalization by their neighbours and throughout their journeys from the ancestral home. The re-counting of the past revealed rather selfless, dedicated and courageousness of the ancestors of Awudome, who were ready to go to all lengths to defend and protect their territory when duty called them. Having established the need for the migration, socio-political dynamics story of the Awudome people, life in the present situation will inform the tale of the past through the celebration of the cherished yam festival. This will afford me the latitude in the commentary, description, and interpretation of the migration in search of a new home for settlement. In other words, the migration story will be without an account of the cherished yam festival.

Friedson (2009), in his research to explain the understanding of the various gods, presented some historical accounts of the origin of the gods at the

shrine to have come from Northern Ghana. I do agree with his conclusion in the sense that migration of the gods from one part of the land to another part of the land enhances the complete understanding of the subject matter. In as much as I agree with the content of his finding, I believe a contextual presentation of the devotees would have enhanced the overall understanding of the subject. This underscores the need for me to reveal the origin of the deities, elaborate on the communities, thereby separating my study approach from that of Friedsons'.

Two keywords are at the heart of this chapter. They are migration and modernity. Each of these two words is considered pivotal to the migration and socio-political evolution of Ewes. These words have become crucial due to the movement of the people who worship the deities as well as the movement of the deities. The Awudome society is regarded as a structure, or multifaceted of construction, which has been produced and reproduced, also established and developed, through various processes over time. Wars, tribal conflicts, sicknesses were some of the incidents Awudome had to contend with before settling finally as a state. Various people have defined migration in various ways, mostly in support of the work they do. Let us consider the following two definitions of migration; 'migration is the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance', (Shaw, 1975:4), and another definition also states is the crossing of a spatial boundary by one or more persons involved in a change of residence' (Kok, 1999:20).

Even though the two definitions encapsulate migration as a movement of people, my study heavily relies on Shaw's definition, and this is operationalized and should be understood as the movement of Awudome from

their ancestral home Njotsie, to their present settlement Awudome. Several studies have been undertaken on migration studies in Ghana (Awumbila, et al 2008; Quartey, 2006; Opong, 2004; Twum-Baah, 2005; Owusu, 2000; Wyllie, 1997), but many of them focus on international migration having to do mainly with upkeep of relatives, reintegration issues rather than origins of ethnic groups. This was loud in the work of Awumbila who states, international migration concentrated mainly on issues such as "the benefits of remittances and the human capital effects of migration Ghana, especially the brain drains, the contributions of migrants to their communities of origin through knowledge transfer, re-integration, issues of undocumented migration and discrimination against migrants" (Awumbila, 2011:1). The few migration narrations that exist also exclude more significant portions of minority Ewes groups, including the Awudome state. The above statement validates the fact that there have been missing aspects in most of the migration research so far. These missing aspects, among others, include socio-cultural linkages, origins of ethnic groups and social safety networks in the migration process. It is safe to conclude on this note that most of the research on migration in Ghana focused on the new trends of migration. This implies that migration trends have changed an exodus of a whole ethnic group or a tribe moving relocation from an existing environment to a new environment.

Migration in Ghana has a long history, pre-dating colonialism. The migration and the settlement history of the Anlo (Ewe ethnic group in Ghana) of Ghana predate colonial times (Agbotadua, 2005). Agbotadua also indicates Anlos Ewes were engaged in several wars and the most important of these wars

were Nonobe war 1750, Ako war 1776, and the Danes war 1782. His work focuses on the migration of Anlo ethnic group even though both Awudome and Anlo ethnic groups claim the right to the same ancestry. This created a gap in the work of Agbotadua's, which opens the door for the relevance of my study. It is good to mention that conducting research on any Ewe ethnic groups or documenting the praxes of their existence can be an arduous task. This may explain why there is limited research documentation on the minority Ewe ethnic groups, yet, there is also a lot of the larger Ewe ethnic groupings. This enhances my position to discuss the socio-cultural praxes and migration of the Awudome.

Apart from the migration of people from other parts of the globe to settle in Ghana such as the Ewes, Akans Dagombas and the Gas, there are also reports and documented evidence that there was an internal migration of people of different ethnic groups (Boahen, 1975; Wyllie 1977). They move into areas already occupied by people in search of security during periods of wars and in search of new lands, fertile enough for farming.

## **2.2 Migration of Awudome**

How did Awudome arrive at the present location from their ancestral home? As part of the migration story of Awudome, I interviewed the following personalities Togbe Gobo Dake XII, *Dufia* (Chief) of Tsito, Tsiami Tsoe (linguist) of Avenui, Togbe Boasapa and Janet Gaga. Also, I interviewed some other divisional Chiefs who have all espoused the significant roles played by the deities through the priest and priestesses in the migration from the ancestral home, *Ŋɔtsie* to their present-day settlement. Their narratives were consistent to some extent with the apparent records of (Asem, 1982; Tedoku, 2004)

Awudome was part of the Ewe community who once lived in a walled city called Ɔɔtsie in the Current Republic of Togo. They live under the rulership of a tyrant king called Togbui Agorkorli I. Some authors, (Tedoku, 2004; Gavua, 2000; Kufoagbe, 1997) who traced the origin of the Ewes to the far East, crossing the Sahara Desert, through Oyo in Nigeria, moving to Tado in Beni Republic and finally settling at Ɔɔstie in a walled city where they were ruled with "iron hand". These assertions were upheld in the writing of Asem who states:

‘The Awudome people like all the Ewe-speaking people of Nigeria, the Republic of Beni, Togo and Ghana once lived near the River Niger, at about the same time the Yorubas of Nigeria, the Gas (Accra), the Adas all of Ghana, also dwelt in the same neighborhood. All the Ewe-speaking people dwelt together in one walled city called Ketu which they proudly referred to as Amedzofe (meaning the origin of man) or Mawufe (The bode of God)’,  
(Asem, 1982: 28)

Amenume, (1997) disagreed with the history of Ewe people as crossing the Sahara. He acknowledged that even though there are views to that effect, there is no evidence to the claim that Ewe people migrated across the Sahara Desert. The account of the origin and migration of the Ewes in general, including

Awudome, becomes complicated as the narration of their origin goes beyond Ɔɔstie. The fact has been established and acknowledged that Awudome people did not accept Ɔɔstie as their origin. They knew their origin goes beyond the walled city, but they remained indifferent towards what transpired before their arrival and exodus from Ɔɔstie. The council of the divisional Chiefs in Awudome was not ready to meddle in the various theories regarding their origin. This position thereby emboldens my desire to begin to tell the migration of Awudome from Ɔɔstie in the Republic of Togo. In the account of Tedoku (2004), Gavua (2000), Amenum (1997), Agbodeka (1997), Asem (1982), their narrations recounted the origin of the Ewe ethnic group which also included the Awudome state. The council of the divisional chief admitted, in responding to the accounts of the origin of the Awudome as reported in the works of the above authors. However, they have unanimously rejected the assertion by Asem, referring to Amedzofe as Mawufe. Togbe Gobo Dake XII Dufia (Chief) of Tsito further stated the reference by Asem to Amedzofe as Mawufe presents the sign of his Christian religious predisposition and bias. He contended there was no way such a name was possible before the arrival and propagation of Christianity. Indeed, aside from the unpublished paper of Asem, no other documented evidence or oral narration refers to Amedzofe as Mawufe. This, in my view, lends credence to the bias in the work of Asem.



### 2.3 Exodus from Ɔɔstie

The life of Awudome during their stay at Ɔɔstie (their ancestral home) was certainly not a pleasant experience. The King of the Ɔɔstie at the time was so cruel that the people became fed up and desirous of absconding. They could not withstand the cruelty of the tyrant King Togbui Agorkorli I. However, absconding from Ɔɔstie must also be appropriately strategized; otherwise, whoever was caught involved in such a plot will lose his or her life. In his book, *the migration saga of the Anlo Ewes'*, Agbotadua Kumassah (2005) presented a vivid account on the Exodus of the Ewes from Ɔɔstie. In the final analysis, it was well arranged such that, the best way to escape was to break the wall in which they were living. The thickness of the wall as it were does not make it very easy also, for it to be broken for escape. For this reason, everybody was requested to pour wastewater including urine on a selected portion of the wall in or order to desecrate the wall and to make it softer so as breaking it down will be easy. Before this, a few people were sent out to locate a suitable place, where they will settle after absconding. On the return of the spies, it was noted the wall became soft, and the people collapsed it an escape through the broken part of the wall. This was how the generality of the Ewe people including Awudome people left Ɔɔstie.

As stated in Chapter one, Awudome people absconding from Ɔɔstie came about as a protest to the wickedness and tyrannical rule of King Agorkorli I, the then King of Ɔɔstie. Their departure saw them moved out in three

different groups in the search for a new settlement. The exodus from Nostie was in three groups northern, middle and southern groups. Taking through three different routes, Gavua, (2004). The people of Awudome traveled together with their counterparts in the third escaped group. They moved towards the North and settled at Kpele in the Republic of Togo. Kpele is a traditional settlement in North-West Togo.

#### **2.4 Awudome at Kpele and the Cruelty of Two Men.**

The stay of Awudome people at Kpele where they settled after absconding from the tyrant rule was short-lived. Their short stay was as a result of a heinous crime committed by two young men who attempted to outwit each other in a gamble and a show of traditional powers. According to the narration by both Togbe Gobo Dake XII, Dufia (chief) of Tsito and Togbui Boasapa of Konta, two men walking on the street of Kpele saw a pregnant woman approaching, and an argument ensued between the two men. The argument which ensued between the two young men was about determining the sex of the fetus, which was in the woman's womb. One said it was a male, and the other said it was female.

The only way to determine the sex of the fetus in that instance was to tarry until the lady delivers a baby. It will be only after giving birth that they will be able to tell who won the gamble. Being anxious and not ready to wait until when the woman brings forth, they decided to do the unthinkable. They decided to perform surgery on the pregnant woman in the determination of the sex of the fetus. It is essential to state, however, that their intention was not to kill the pregnant woman. They believed in their mystical powers that after the

'surgery,' the woman would not die. It is worth mentioning on this note that until this day, many people in Awudome still believe in the use of mystical powers in several endeavours.

The two men then lured the pregnant woman into a nearby forest, slashed her stomach, pulled out the baby to see who won the bet by determining the sex. In an attempt to give the kiss of life back to the woman, she died in her cold blood. The young men went back to the town to solicit for further and more robust support to resuscitate the woman, unfortunately, she passed, it was too late, and she died. The news of this killing spread quickly to the town. To ascertain the truth in this episode, I went to interview the current Chief of Kpele Togbe Fiti IV if he knew about this sad incidence murdering a pregnant woman by the Awudome people. He confirmed the story that his forefather told him but added quickly, and it must be left to history. He admonished me after our conversation that, my interview with him should end my inquiry into the truth or otherwise of the incidence. He asked me not to speak to any other person on the issue, particularly in Kpele since he is not sure if the further inquiry will resurrect the issue, which may compel his people subjects who might want to seek revenge.

This detestable and dastardly act of the two young men brought a fight between the Kpele and Awudome people. In this instance, it became compelling for the Awudome people to leave and get to look for a new place to settle. Eventually, Awudome people have been driven away and banned from Kpele because of the murder of the pregnant woman and the subsequent fight that ensued. This act of impunity killing consequently became an albatross, hanging

around the Awudome people in their immigration. This narration was corroborated for the second time by the Chief of Kpele Togbe Fiti IV when he visited Ghana in 2016 before the celebration of the Awudome yam festival. I approached him for the second time with the same issues. On this note, he was clear and emphatic; it was long overdue for the two communities to put behind them what transpired in the past to move ahead in unity and as one people.

## **2.5 From Kpele to the present settlement**

The migration story of Awudome continued from Kpele in early 1700 According to Tobge Boasapa and Togbe Gobo Dake XII. They left Kpele and moved to the west. They walked through the forest and arrived at Kpalime (a town in Togo). News had already gotten to Kpalime about the abominable act of the two young men Kpalime was not ready to entertain Awudome people for a day. Their journey continued until they arrived at in Atakpame (One of the border towns in Togo). There they crossed the border and entered Ghanaian territory. Their migration took them through the following towns in Ghana, Kpedze, Dzolo, Akrofu until they were with another with a calamity. Even though the emigration was not without difficulties such as strange sicknesses, snake bites and other diseases, the biggest disaster was yet to befall them. When they moved southwest of Akrofu, they came to a point known as *awo* (a slough) where they had to contend with the slough, a very muddy or wetland. The ground they were walking was so much muddy such that, many migrants who step into the mud were getting 'swallowed'.

There arose a suspicion that the gods might have been angry. This got the chief among them at the time, who instructed the chief priest who was

guiding and protecting the journey to consult the gods for oracles. The chief priest's divination revealed that the gods were angry, and human sacrifices were needed to appease the gods. The anger of the gods can as a result of the curses, resulting from their previous fight with the Kpele people, after the murder of the pregnant woman by the two young men. The Leader of the migration Togbe Awudomefia of Avenui clan was requested to provide the two persons for the sacrifice. Unfortunately, he was not able to honor the request of the gods to appease the soul of the dead. Until this point, the emigration was headed by Togbe Awudomefia of Avenui as the Chief and leader of the migration.

Togbe Awudomefi's inability to provide two persons for the sacrifice led to a new treaty. A decree was made that any family who provides male and female for the sacrifice will from then on become the Chief and leader of the Awudome migrants. Moreover, the family who provides a female will become the queen. This decree was accepted by all the parties and different families and clans.

The leader of Anyirawase clan volunteered and offered his son called Adum and his niece, Sekpe. They were used eventually for the sacrifice to appease the gods for travelling mercies. Indeed, according to Togbe Boasapa, and Togbe Gobo Dake XII, travelling mercies were secured just after the sacrifices. The slough dried up allowing for the passage of Awudome emigrants. Before this, and as stated earlier, Avenui clan was the Chief and leader of the migration. Now the implementation of the decree by the chief priest saw Anyirawase becoming the Chief and leader of the Awudome people. The mantle of leadership changed in recognition of the sacrifices by the Anyirawase

clan. This development gave the absolute leadership rights and privileges to two families: Danso and Sekpe in Anyirawase township until today. These two families alternate the Installation of a paramount Chief and Queen mother for the Awudome traditional area.

The migration in search of new settlements continued relentlessly after the sacrifices were offered. They moved towards the south-west, and after walking about 2 kilometres from where the sacrifices were made, Awudome came to a place where they saw the gigantic stone. This stone provided shelter for them for days. Indeed, the environment where they met the stone was not conducive enough for them to settle; hence, the emigration had to continue. When Awudome arrived at the current location of the Kɔnta Township, they needed to send other clans which eventually became towns to occupy other places to acquire more lands for their game and farming purposes.

Unfortunately, Awudome must contend with people who were already settled on the land. The Akpafu and Lolobi were the two different ethnic groups already settled on the land they so desired to occupy. Once again, the gods must be consulted, whether Awudome should engage them in a battle to drive them out on the land or not to engage them. The Priest and priestesses have assembled once again for the divination. The outcome of the divination revealed, engaging in a battle was the only solution, and they will be conquered; hence there was no hesitation to stoke a fight with Akpafu and Lolobi. Awudome fought this fight until they overcame their opponents. Togbe Gobo Dake XII remarked this is the main reason why Akpafu people are witnessing to Awudome people at the courts over land litigation with their neighbors, Peki people. When

Awudome settled finally after the experiences at the slough, they instituted an annual pilgrimage to the slough in remembrance of the fallen and sacrificed people. This pilgrimage became an integral part of their annual festival called yam festival.

## 2.6 Celebration of Yam Festival

The yam festival is celebrated annually by Awudome people. From its inception, it is celebrated as a month-long festival. It is always scheduled between last Saturday in September to the last Saturday in October. The last Saturday in October becomes the durbar of Chiefs and people of Awudome. Several activities, including rituals and sacrifices, are interlaced with the month-long celebration. The people of Awudome come together during this period to renew their faith and share fellowship. The festival also provides an opportunity to the concierges and the devotees of the shrines to offer sacrifices to the deities and on behalf of the Awudome state. It also provides the opportunity to the Chiefs and elders who are well versed in the migration of Awudome to educate the community on the history of the exodus, settlement and the establishment of the Awudome as a state. Three major activities are undertaken as a precursor during the one-month celebration of the final grand durbar of the chief and people of Awudome's yam festival. The three activities that herald the main celebration *awomedede* – (a visit to a slough), *akatidada* – (fire procession) and *vetomɔtata* – (sprinkling of mashed yam). These activities will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Inferring from most of the stories that are told in recent celebrations and the interviews granted to me, the community has evolved in many endeavors. One of such developments is somewhat to the decline of participating and people getting involved in the activities at the shrines. Some of the shrines are entirely nonexistent. The whole community seems disinterested in the activities of traditional religious worship. This can be mainly attributed to the invasion of the gospel of Christianity in the Area. Which eventually branded the worship of deities as evil. Because of this, Togbe Boasapa of Kɔnta has the cause to lament when he was offered the opportunity to narrate the Migration of Awudome state at the 2016 yam festival celebration when they visited the slough. As part of his preliminary engagements of the people, Boasapa was emphatic 'that the tragedy of Awudome today is because of disregard and disrespect of the deities'. He asserted 'Awudome of yesterday is not the same as Awudome today'. He was of the view that the Awudome state had been confronted with many challenges in recent years because the gods of their ancestors are unhappy with the way they have been neglected. He felt that the gods who have brought their ancestors thus far had been left to rot. Boasapa further stated 'the neglect of the shrines has culminated largely in the waywardness, thefts, poor rainfall pattern and other crimes in the land of Awudome. He used the opportunity to admonish the community to rekindle their interest in the activities of the shrines and the rituals during the celebration of the yam festival.



### **2.6.1 Awomedede – (Annual Pilgrimage to the Slough)**

The visit of Awudome to the slough is an annual ritual. It is done as part of the celebration of the annual yam festival. Homage is paid to the people who lost their lives and those used for sacrifices at the slough. The chief priest determines the day on which to visit the slough. This is particularly so because they must consult the gods to avert any ill that may happen during the visit. It is believed that when the gods did not permit the pilgrimage, the calamity which befell their ancestors might happen again hence the need for the Priests to seek permission and the direction of the gods. The occasion is also used by the asafo (warrior) groups to showcase mystical powers and bravery. This is to affirm their readiness to defend the Awudome state in the face of any aggression. **Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3** show the procession of the Awudome people to the slough in 2016 to pour libation (traditional prayers offered with alcoholic drinks and water) and to perform remembrance rituals in memory of those who died before the sacrifice as well as the two sacrificed persons. **Figure 2.4** is purportedly the exact point at the slough, where the two persons were sacrificed. Pouring the libation in **Figure 2.5** is Tsiami Tsoe of Avenui, wearing red cloth tied around his neck and waist while some elders looked on. The photos were taken in July 2016 during the celebration of the yam festival.



**Figure 2.1. Procession on the main road to the slough**

Figure 2.1 above shows a procession to the slough. The procession is led by a warrior, as the photo indicated. In his left hand is a horsetail while in his right hand is a locally made whistles. The whistle is blown for two reasons first is to indicate the coming of the people to the slough and second is to let those behind know of how far the procession has gone. The second person in the photo is a warrior, having a gun. The gun is in readiness to ward off people or enemies who will attempt to fight the visit to the slough. Figure 2.2 is the procession of the main road into the forest. Young men are allowed to lead the procession at this point with the reason they will be able e to clear the path for the older people.



Figure 2.2. The procession continues in the bush



Figure 2.3. Crossing remnants of the slough to exact point where the sacrifice took place



**Figure 2.4. The purported spot of the sacrifice where libation is poured**

Figure 2.4 shows Tsimi Tsoe, in his hand is calabash of palm wine (locally brewed beer from palm tree). He is offering libation at the purported spot where the sacrifices took place about 400 years ago. Since the pilgrimage is an annual event, the people cannot lose the exact spot.

### **2.6.2 Libation at the Slough**

Listening to and observing the prayers during the libation critically, it was obvious Tsimi Tsoe recounted parts of the history and the migration of Awudome. This comes as an affirmation of the interviews I had conducted previously with some elders already within the Awudome community. Three prayers were offered at the slough. Prayer one was offered with water to inform, first as a remembrance prayer, to ask permission from the gods, ancestors, and the Chiefs and people of Awudome for the pilgrimage. It was also to calm the

gods who are believed to be angry now. Prayer two of the libation was to pronounce curses on enemies within and outside the Awudome community. Finally, the third prayer was to ask for consecration and protection for the Awudome people. The cultural ingenuity and the extempore prayer of Tsiami Tsoe were remarkable. The transcript of the prayers was in Awudome Ewe dialect, but not in the standard Ewe language:

### 2.6. 3 Prayer I at the slough

"Awudome Togbewo Meklamilo Yoo, Meklami Ayoo  
Awudome ɲutsu Awudome nyɔnu migedɛ miadzi  
Efetoto efedɔli, enya ke xe foo mele ɔ  
Menye enye Tsiami Tsoe be akɔta sunu yoo  
Awudomeawoe dɔm be mafo, Miase be ɔ  
Le miatɔgbewo be tsotso, he zɔmɔ kakaka vaɔ kpele  
Hevayi Awudome, hafi Awudome nye Awudome egbe eɔ,  
Evahia be ebaa gãã ɔ nɔ efi, alebe tsitsiawo bianu, eye  
Wova hia be woana ɲutsu ɔka kple nyɔnu ɔka  
Tsitsiawo wɔ sigbe dɔ alebe mia ameketɔwe xe leefi ɔ  
Awudomeawo be ame minyo, ta miɔɔ ɲku miadzi.  
Ne mibe miwɔ miabe teɔduɔ kɔnuwo, mivaa miagbɔ godoo  
Afa ebaa aga zɔdzo, eɔ ke wɔfe miva ɔ fafa neva lo  
Miabe dza tsi eke fafa na mi...."

The above prayer is translated below as:

Awudome Chiefs, Elders, I seek permission from you, I seek permission  
Awudome son, Awudome daughter, we visit you  
A year is gone and a year has come, whatever I say today  
It does not come from me Tsiami Tsoe  
Awudome sent me to say, and hear it that  
In the migration of our ancestors through Kpele  
Also, arrived in Awudome and making it a town today  
There was a colossal slough here and the elders ought to consult  
It became apparent to sacrifice a man and a woman  
Elders obeyed the gods and did as instructed  
Those of you sacrificed here are our relatives, so we remember you  
When we celebrate our yam festival, we visit you customarily  
Walk in the mud. Let peace abound in whatever we are here to do  
This is your holy water

This first part of the prayer at the slough sought permission from the elders of Awudome recounting the migration in an abridged version and outlined reasons for the visit to the slough. The use of water in this prayer is customary signifying peace also to calm the gods and ancestors, so as they will listen to the subsequent prayers.

#### 2.6.4 Prayer II at the slough

Atinu ha enye ke, xedzi tsitisawo zɔɔ  
Menye enye begbe dzi yoo lo  
Awudomea fetee be susu dɛdɛ yo  
Azɔ miasee, Awudome alekekwole tsã  
Megale sigbeo, tɔtrɔ gãã dɛ ba va  
Evɔdɛ, miawo dzi mizɔ afe va to kɛ dɛ Awudome  
Nukee le dzɔdzɔ makukɔ dɛ yadzi miase eme nam  
Miawo ɲutɔ minya be le Amugodoo dɛ Awudome be ɲkɔ dje  
Gake nɔnɔmɔ ke xe le tome fifie dɛ, tso afetɔ dɛgbɔ  
Xe misusu be amenuie woyo anɔ mianu gake  
Ava wɛe be Awudome boɲu be ɲkɔ vayi dɛ to  
Tsitsiawo be manɔ sigbeoo, miwoya miawɔ mia be dɔ  
Be miatatawo kple nanawo be taa nayidzi  
Miayrami, Awudome fia dɛsiadɛ netoke netoke  
Ne mia etviwo ne vu foxle. Ne fafa neva.

The translation of prayer two is as follows:

This is a palm wine, which our elders use  
Not in my authority  
But the Awudome state in one mind  
And now listen, Awudome is not as it used to be  
There has been a significant change  
Meanwhile, you were those who carried us out to settle  
I will murmur over what is happening, you will understand me  
You know that Awudome is numbered among the great states in Volta Region  
But the situation is not as it used to be because of one man  
Whom we thought could lead us, but has destroyed us  
The elders say it must not be so we will do our work  
That you our ancestors will be glorified  
Bless us, that every chief in Awudome should be rooted, rooted.  
And we the subjects will grow around them let Peace prevail.

This prayer was said to ask the gods and the ancestors to bless the land and protect the people from calamity and evil. This prayer also requested the gods to support the bond of peace for Awudome.

### 2.6.5 Prayer III at the slough

Mise be xe midzemɔ xe gbɔɔ efi ɖe  
Ame eve ɖewo wodɔ be efieke miva ɖe  
Ne woka ebaa, newo ku etsi vene yiowe abe ɖɔyɔgbe  
Ne Amede wɔ sigbe nu le miadome le efi  
Ne mega ɖo afemeo, mifoe fu anyi  
Azɔ ne nuketɔwo ka sigbe mewo dometɔ ɖesi  
Ne woa zu poizin ɖe wobe nu  
Ne wobe yewoanɔ mianɔ oo miɖe wo ɖa  
Ne agbe ne nɔ any na agbeawo.  
Wudome newɔ ɖeka  
Miabe nu nesɔ

The third and final prayer translate as:

We heard on our way here that  
Two people sent emissaries to us  
That they should bring them earth and water to use for healing  
If anyone does that amongst us here today  
Let the person not return home, eliminate him or her  
But if any of the items get to any of those two people  
Let it become poisonous as they use  
If they don't want to live by us eliminate them  
So, we can have our life to live  
Awudome should be united  
To speak with one voice

This prayer can be said to be a prayer at war! The loud voice of the pilgrims in support of the above prayer was unanimous. The prayer was an all-out attack on adversaries. The Tsiami did not mince words in inviting the anger of the gods against people who are against the progress of the Awudome state.

At the end of the prayers, I asked them to know if they knew some of the enemies they prayed against. It was apparent the current chieftaincy dispute within the area was one of the issues informing the third prayer.

### **2.6.6 Eba kaka (Fetching of Earth)**

*Ebaa kaka* (fetching of the earth) is part of the activities at the slough as a sign of strong belief and faith in the earth. *Awudomewo* believed in supernatural powers of deities and the spirits of their ancestors. They can be said to be a highly traditional religious state in the past, but the same cannot be said of them today. They are ready to abide by any spiritual influence and directions imposed by their cultural practices and deities. Spiritual beliefs that will help them alleviate their suffering, bring fortunes, successes and provide them with reliefs are observed with truthfulness. One such belief is the use of *ebaa kaka* from the slough. There is an old belief which *Awudome* still holds firmly is that the spirit of those who were sacrificed for the traveling mercies through the slough and others who died along the way remains powerful. For this reason, when citizens visit the slough during the annual sacrifices, they fetch *ebaa* (earth). The *ebaa* can be used for several medicinal reasons, and other things, including good sales; market women keep it in their wares for sale in the market. Farmers drop a bit on their fields for a good harvest. Other people believed in the use of *ebaa* for a successful marriage, and others drop a bit into their food. Several reasons abound for the use of *ebaa*, taken from the slough on the day of the pilgrim. **Figure 2.5** shows some women, going home with *ebaa* (mud) from the slough.





Figure 2.5. Women were not left out, carrying earth

### 2.6.7 *Akatidada* – (fire procession)

The strong religious belief of Awudome as a state in the past cannot be discounted in any of the narrations so far. It is in the same spirit that they establish *akatifidada* (fire processions night). The aim of *akatifidada* is to drive away evils spirits and calamities that have engulfed the Awudome state in the past year. This is done by every home preparing *akati* (palm fronds tied together to become like firewood) during the day. As the people are done with their evening chores on the selected date, they wait for an instruction from the Chiefs through the towns-crier to herald the evening fire processions.

A particular time is set for all the seven towns to begin the procession in their various towns. The town's criers who are also known as gongon bitters in all the towns will visit their respective divisional Chiefs with their gongon (a

bell played to making a public announcement). The Chiefs will invite one of the traditional priests to pour libation in his palace. When this is done, gongon beater's take the gongon, walk throughout the town and announce the message of the Chief for the evil spirits to be driven out. Immediately he gets back to the Chief's palace; the Chief will set on fire and throw it out of the palace. This action marks the beginning of the procession. The procession usually begins from the eastern end of the town to the western end. **Figure 2.6** is the gongon beater called *Ganuɔ Avakpe*, announcing the start of driving out the evil spirits from the town in Tsito. **Figure 2.7** shows scenes of the procession as it happened in the 2016 yam festival celebration. The end of this ritual signifies the annual rebirth of Awudome state.



**Fig. 2.6.** The gongon beater, *Togbe Ganuɔ Avakpe* in short announcing the fire procession



**Fig.2. 7. Fire procession in progress**

#### **2.6.8 *Uetomɔtata* – (Sprinkling of mashed yam)**

*Uetomɔtata* (sprinkling of mashed yam) is a spiritual exercise or ritual which is expected to be performed in every household. Yam is cooked and mashed in red oil with cooking ingredients such as onion, ginger, pepper, tomatoes, etc. and sprinkled in in every home for all the ancestors. First, to perform this ritual is the *Uetonuɔ*. *Uetonuɔ* is the priest-in-charge of one *veto*, one of the selected deities for this study. In the morning of the said day, all other priests and priestesses in each of the towns will gather at the shrine of the *veto*. They will offer a libation to the gods at the shrine and then cook yam, mash it and move in a convoy through the principal street in the towns until they arrive at

*dentekpo*. *Dentekpo* is a protective deity built with earth and it is at the entrance to every town in Awudome. When they arrive at where *dentekpo* is stationed, libation is offered again, seeking permission for the community feeds their ancestors. They will return to the palace of the divisional Chief who will now announce the start of the sprinkling of mashed yam. From then on, each family is expected to be involved in the sprinkling. The current situation regarding this ritual is that it is left to a few households. Because of people's belief that it is fetish practice.



**Figure 2.8** Procession to *dentekpo*

The procession to *dentekpo* is led by two musical instrument *vukpo* (talking drum) and *kpodoga* (bell) that are played. The *vukpo* is played not necessarily by a professional drummer or a musician. Any child available who is capable of playing can be called to lead the procession. There is only one set of rhythmic patterns played on the drum throughout the procession but at different tempos. See **rhythm 2.1** and **rhythm 2.2** for the drum and bell patterns respectively.



### Rhythm 2.1



### Rhythm 2.2

Unlike the *wukpo*, which is played by anybody at a site, the bell playing is not so. The bell is believed to be a god and only the gongon beater or his regent can play it. Indeed, an adult is permitted to play it during the procession. This ritual is very critical to the climax of the celebration of the yam festival. It is constantly performed on the last Wednesday, before the final Durbar of the yam festival. **Figure 9** shows the procession to the *dentekpo* with a drummer leading the procession while **Figure 10** shows one of the priests offering a libation in front of *dentekpo*. It is important to note that all the rituals that are performed as part of the festival happen simultaneously in all the seven towns of Awudome.



**Figure 2.9. Libation at *dentekpo***

## 2.7 Establishing Awudome as a State

After the victory over their adversaries, seven towns Anyirawase, Avenui Kɔnta, Tsibu, Dafor, Bame and Tsito as it were today remained as the main towns of Awudome traditional. However, the settlement in the various towns happened over a period.

**Anyirawase:** Anyirawase remained the capital town of the Awudome traditional area. The paramount chief is selected from and rotated between two families, Sekpe and Danso families. The two families have the privilege to commemorate the Sekpe and Adom, the lady and the man respectively sacrificed at the slough for passage. Selected members of these families are enstooled as paramount chief under the stool name Adai Kwasi. Due to chieftaincy litigation, it is most regrettable that the current paramount Chief of Awudome traditional area, Togbe Adai Kwasi III was not recognised by all the divisional Chiefs of Awudome. According to Togbe Boasapa, asafofia of Kɔnta (the chief of the warriors) of Awudome explained that the current paramount chief had violated the ascension plan to the paramount stool; consequently, he will not be recognized or acknowledged by the Awudome state under the current circumstance.

**Kɔnta:** Kɔnta remained the oldest settlement of the Awudome traditional area. It is essential to point out that this town has led the traditional area during warfare, and till today, they maintained the headship of the warriors. Togbe Boasapa currently occupies the position as the asafofiaga. They also have two families Foli and Dza who rotate the divisional Chief of the town under the

stool name Adzima. Even though Kōnta was the first settlement of all the eight towns, it remained the smallest town in terms of inhabitants as well as the land space they occupy. This can largely be attributed to people going out to look for a new environment with their neighbors.

**Avenui:** Equally, succession to the royal stool in Avenui is by rotation between three families, namely, Wedzee, Agbenya, and Teni. The three families adopted three different stool names until recently when they all accepted to adopt one stool name Akodake. I mentioned earlier that Avenui was initially the paramount stool until they arrive at the slough. Since the implementation of the slough treaty, Avenui stopped to be the paramount seat. However, the original stool they brought from Hogbefe was not taken away from them, and that remained the stool for the divisional Chief. Instead of the black wooden stool used by all the towns, Avenui maintained a stone stool they brought from Hogbefe. Even though Avenui does not occupy the paramount seat anymore, they enjoy a great deal of supremacy, and they are respected as such. Whoever becomes the paramount Chief of Awudome must swear allegiance to the divisional Chief of Avenui who is referred to as the Mankrado (town owner). Mankrado of Avenui is the sole person with the final responsibility to pronounce a blessing on the Paramount Chief selected from Anyirawase during enstoolment. This makes assuming the stool as the paramount Chief very complicated such that if you violate the ascension plan, you will not receive the blessing from the Mankrado. Neither will you be recognized nor accepted by the communities hence the current dilemma of paramount stool litigation confronting Awudome.

**Tsibu:** Tsibu, just like all other towns' they alternate chieftaincy between two families Adzadi Kpaku and Dake families, are the two families, among which the chief is chosen at any point. Tsibu in the scheme of things has experienced quite a lot of disruption and stool litigation over the years. The paramountcy had been on hand always to step in to resolve the issues and restores sanity; unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the paramountcy today as it is engaged in the litigations itself.

Most of the disputes recorded over the years were because of abdication. The Awudome traditional council has decreed, therefore, that if a person relinquishes the stool, it should rotate automatically to the next candidate to be chosen from the next family. This has brought lucidity in the system.

**Dafor:** Dafor and Tsibu are the only Awudomoe towns situated in the North behind the Akwapin Togo Range Mountains. Here again, two families rotate the chief under the stool name Zavu. The two families are Zavu and Kodzoku.

**Tsito:** Tsito is the last of the seven towns to settle. After all the six-towns settled, every family in all the six towns volunteered people to go and combat some people still hanging around believed to be Akpafu people. After the battle where Awudome won, the warriors decided to settle where they defeated the adversaries. Hence Tsito is nicknamed *dzɔkpeawo* (amalgamates). This, therefore, makes Tsito the largest town both in land size and inhabitants. The ascension to the stool in Tisto was unique from the beginning and completely different from what pertains to the other towns. The stool was rotated through three different clans Tsanonyigbe – Tsanodome - Tsanodza with different



family's ascension onto the stool. There have been certain occurrences which led to the clan rotational system to be abrogated. An agreement was reached, and the stool remained at Tsanonyigbe with only one stool name Gobo Dake. The Adza Kumi family of the Tsononyigbe clan is the sole family from which a chief is elected.

It should be noted, therefore, the practice of queenship, that is to install a female as a traditional ruler, is also a common practice among the Awudome people. The various families who rotate the selection of Chiefs are the same family who rotates the selection of Queen Mothers. It is therefore of no conflict to have the Chief and Queen Mother coming from the same family if the rotation of ascension on a vacant stool is practised judiciously and not interrupted. The role of the Queen Mothers in the Awudome traditional area is mainly an advisory. This role is played mostly in issues having to do with women. They are called upon to mobilize the women when it becomes necessary.

## **2.8 The Traditional Authority and Governance Chiefship Practices**

Throughout the migration process of Awudome, they were led by a Chief who reigned and was assisted by elders. Kufoagbe, (1997: 53) affirms this when he states, 'from time immemorial, the Anlos (Ewe ethnic group), like other Ewe states have been a monarchy, the Chief is the constitutional Head'. This supports the claim that The Chief led the Awudome migration. Before we proceed and delve into the procedures and practices of enstoolment of a Chief in Awudome, let me advance quickly to discuss the creation of a 'black stool'. The 'black stool' is fundamentally a unique stool that is created and 'cooked' by the forefather of every Chief. The black stool serves as the royal stool, which is

kept for the use only the Chief occasionally. It is said not to be an ordinary stool. There is one of such stools at the level of each clan in Awudome, one for each divisional Chief and one for the Paramount Chief. This stool is kept continuously in the darkroom without windows. People are not allowed to customarily see this stool except the Chief makers. It is considered defiled when a woman touches it; that is why it is kept in a particular place. Women are not permitted under any circumstance to enter the room where the black stool is kept.

I wish to emphasize that the traditional ruler of the Awudome is called a Chief but not a King; as it exists among the Ashantis (the largest ethnic group in Ghana) (Ampene, 1999) and other ethnic origins in Ghana. This is as a result of the structure of the traditional authority system adopted by the Ewe of Ghana, The Republic Togo and Peoples Republic of Beni in general. Every traditional paramount is autonomous. The paramount stools are not accountable to any other traditional ruler. The Ewes of Ghana which includes Awudome, The Ewes in the Republic of Togo and the Ewes in People's Republic of Beni adopted this traditional rulership structure because of the past bitter experiences and cruelty they had to endure under the tyranny of King Agorkoli I. In any case, the Akans, Gas, Fates all of Ghana practices the Kingship.

May I also underscore, that the two titles a King or a Chief is all about wielding traditional authority in Ghana. The concepts of both practices are absolutely the same; hence this thesis uses both titles substitutable. In the Kingship system, all paramount Chiefs are under the authority of the King. They report issues under their jurisdiction to the King, and the King has freedom of

entry into any parts of the Kingdom (the king here refers to the landmarks under his jurisdiction). The King is clothed to decree and dethrone a paramount Chief or any divisional Chief. This is where the significant difference between the Kinship and the Chiefship practices are acknowledged.

The roles, duties, and responsibilities of all Chiefs are based on territorial authority. For example, the paramount chief of Awudome has territorial power over the whole Awudome traditional area. The divisional chief has wielded power and authority over their various towns. Meanwhile, the chiefs of the various clans' wilds and exhibit power in their jurisdictions. It is imperative to recall here that the priest and priestesses of the various shrines in Awudome represent the religious authority of the Chiefs. They are therefore called upon to intercede in circumstances which lie in their domain.

The Chiefs in Awudome are the most revered individual in society. Therefore, dignitaries visiting the community, be it a public figure or a circular politician, they first pay homage to the chiefs and elders in the palace to seek the permission of entry. Furthermore, all other institutions and practices in the Awudome area are under the rulership of the chief. (Nukunya 2003) States, the Kingship forms the basis of all organizations and institutions; therefore, its importance cannot be overemphasized. The Chiefship system is highly regarded by the Awudome as a sacred institution hence the people are always ready to protect its existence. This makes ascension unto a vacant throne a difficult task for the Awudome people.

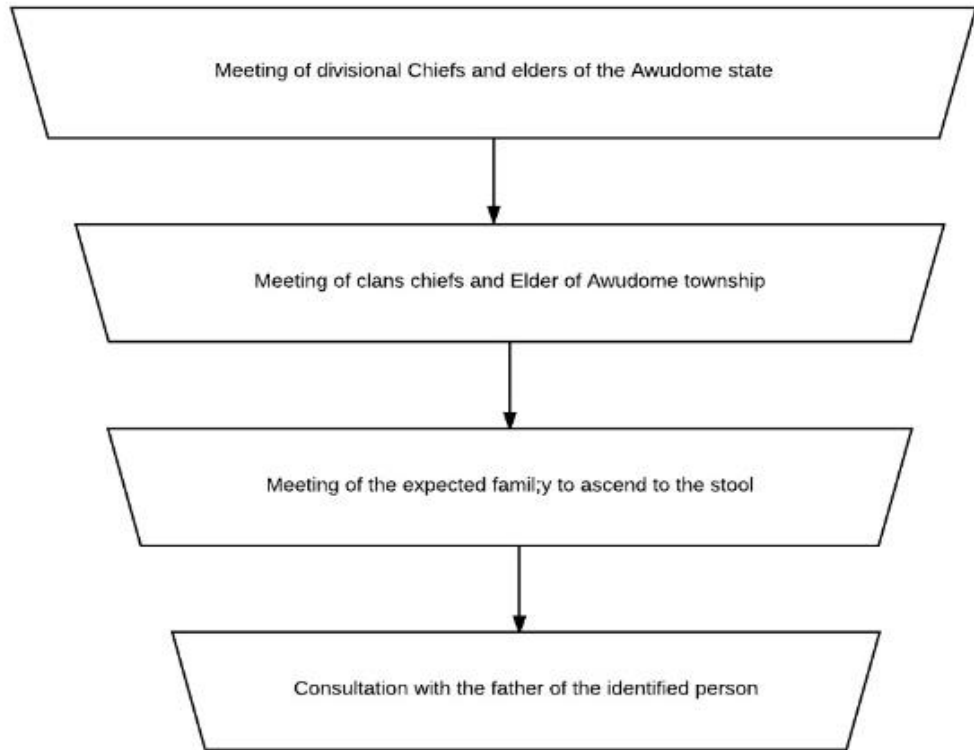
In all the seven towns of Awudome, there are other sub-chiefs who are referred to as clan chiefs. They operate under the command of the divisional

chiefs. The rites and rituals associated with the investiture of a chief in Awudome remain the same from the Paramount Chief down to the Clan Chief. The divisional Chiefs who are also referred to as the town Chiefs swore allegiance to the Paramount Chief. The Clan Chief also swore allegiance to their divisional Chiefs. In effect, there are three levels of traditional authority in Awudome traditional area; the Paramount Chief who is the highest traditional authority but without powers to de-stool (remove) a divisional chief. Then the Divisional Chiefs coming as the second in command and the clan Chiefs wielding the least of the traditional powers. Equally, the processes to select a Chief to occupy a vacant stool do not vary between the three levels of traditional authority. The selection processes of a person to occupy a vacant stool are rather rigorous, and the individuals who decide for each instance vary from one chief to the other.

In the selection and installation of a paramount chief to occupy a vacant stool, there is first a meeting of all divisional chiefs and other elders. This meeting is referred to as the traditional council of divisional chiefs and elders of Awudome State. They meet to deliberate over the vacant stool, after which the issues are referred to as the elders of Anyirawase Township. The Anyirawase town then convenes a meeting of clan Chiefs and elders to fixed and later refer the matter to the next family in line to ascend to the empty throne. The family whose turn it is to ascend the throne becomes virtually the search team of the replacement of a chief. When the family identifies any person worthy of being a Chief, the father is consulted officially and informed. Subject to the positive response of the father, the processes will reverse again upwards.

The same channels are followed back to the traditional council of elders.

**Diagram 2.1** below shows the consultation roots, in the enstoolment Paramount Chief in Awudome.

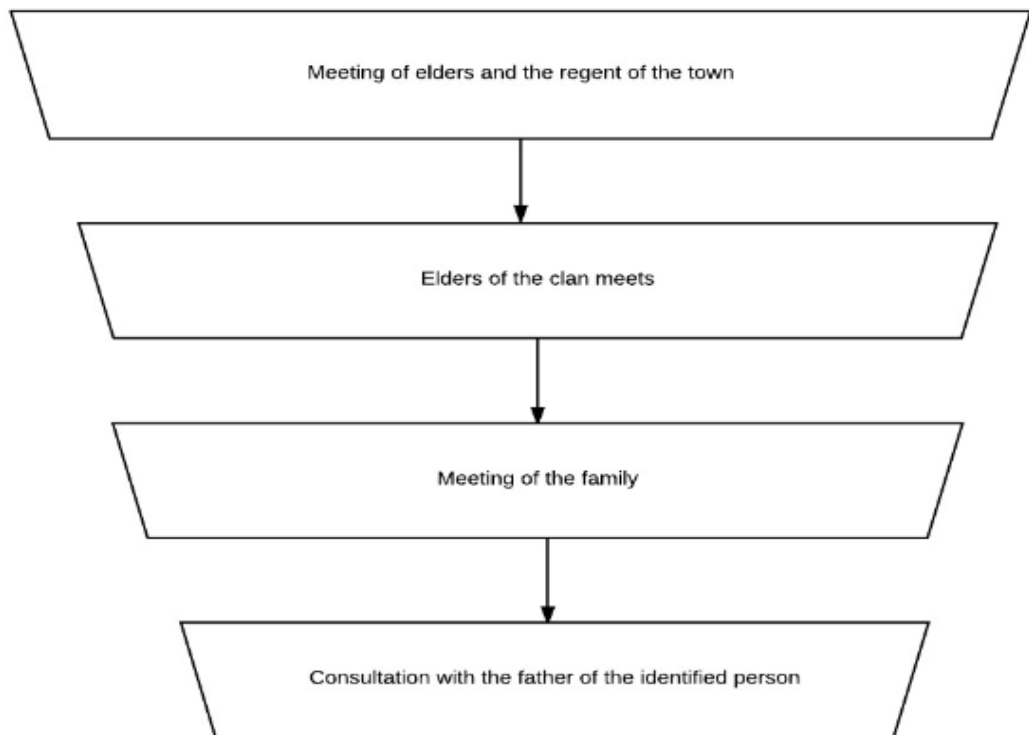


**Diag. 1 Consultation route of selecting a paramount chief**

Usually, these processes can sometimes travel for five (5) years or more. The prolonged nature of finding a successor may occur because of probable objection to a nominee. In any case, the objection is not raised arbitrarily. It may happen when due diligence is conducted, and it is found out that the candidate may not be fit after all for the position.

In the case of selecting a divisional Chief, the council of elders headed by a regent of the town including the entire clan chiefs will assemble. When a decision is taken, the clan is then notified of the vacancy of the stool and the readiness of the town to seek a replacement. The family where the Chief will

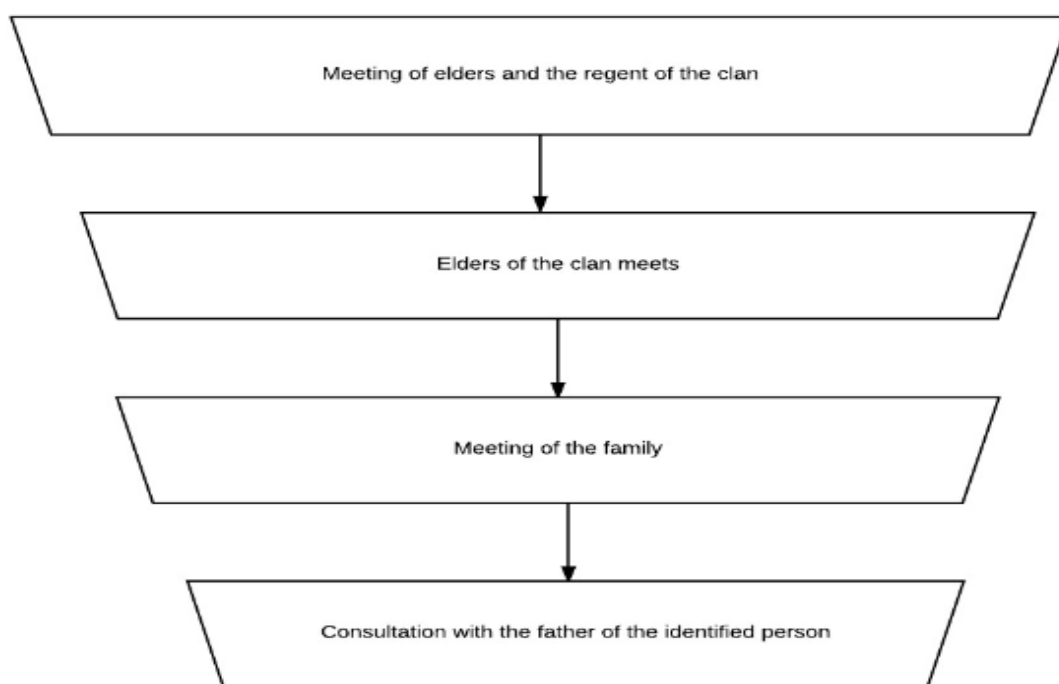
eventually come from convenes and then notify the family responsible for occupying the throne to make their nomination. The elders of the family will also meet, and this is where an individual is identified. When this is done, the father of the identified person is informed, and the processes reverse back to the Elders of the town subject to the acceptance of the idea. Diagram 2 shows the consultation root iv enstoolment of a divisional Chief



**Diag. 2 Consultation of enstoolment of a divisional chief**

Finally, in the case of selecting a candidate to occupy a vacant stool in a clan as a Chief, the regent of the clan will convene a meeting of the council of elders of the whole clan. They will begin the deliberation of occupying the stool process. They will refer the issues to the head of an extended family of whichever family's turn it is. The extended family head will call a meeting where a nuclear family will be agreed upon to provide one person. All the males

in that nuclear family then come together under the umbrella of their father. In this case, there is always the need for the father to explain the processes to the children but will not tell them which of them will be recommended. That is, the decision is the sole prerogative of the father. As soon as he takes the decision, he goes back to report to the head of the family, and the process returns all over again to the top. The third **Diagram 3** is the consultation roots in enstoolment of a Clan Chief



**Diag. 3 is the consultation route of enstoolment of a clan chief**

Where lays the voice of women in all the decision-making of selection and enstoolment of Chiefs and Queens in Awudome? Unlike the Akan ethnic groups in Ghana, where the sole decision to elect a Nana (the King) rests solely with women, the same cannot be said about the Awudome. Women have a minimal role to play in the entire process. On many occasions, the decision is taken, the chief is captured before women get to know about this in public. Not

even the mother of the Chief or Queen has informed ahead of the capture. According to 76 years old Mama Yaa Pokua of Anyirawase, the non-involvement of women in the decision to elect Chiefs have always resulted in conflict and sometimes in an open fight with kingmakers. Mothers struggle and fight hard to prevent their children from becoming a Chief or Queen mother. Mama Yaa Pokua contended that involvement of women in the whole process right from the beginning would save the whole community from public ridicule, open fight and quarrels that are often associated with an enstoolment of a Chief.

Why are women not involved in the whole process of selecting a Chief in Awudome? Togbe Akodake XI, Dufia (Chief) of Avenui noted, not many people will accept to be a Chief in Awudome traditional area. He further explained that there are no incentives for being a chief. The Chief is instead expected to be resourceful and entrepreneurial enough to help the community. This position makes it therefore very difficult for many women to allow their children to become Chiefs; hence if women get to know about the plot, they will encourage their children to abscond. Since women note of the attitude asking their relatives to abscond, they believe it is better to hide the decision from them; else, people will abscond from their right to become a Chief. He asserted there had been several instances that serve as a precedent for the Awudome state seclude women from this process.

## **2.9 Establishing traditional authority/ Enstooling**

When everything is done, and all the are satisfied with the selection process of a Chief, a date is fixed for a capture. To capture is to pick the proposed chief unknowing to him, and even sometimes unknowing to the father



who gave him out. Togbe Adzadi Kpaku Dufia, the Chief of Tsibu lamented sometimes, some of the identified persons get wind of the capture and go into hiding before the team arrives. When this situation occurs, then it becomes necessary that the process will have to start all over again to identify a new person. This statement contradicts the position taken by women in the whole process of getting a chief to occupy a vacant stool. I asked to know how come women were not part of the decision-making, yet the news of capture leaked to the person identified. Togbe said, "there are some men who cannot keep secret; some of those men might have leaked the news". This answer does not give any merit, therefore, to exclude women for leaking information in the process of finding a replacement for vacant stool. When asked if Awudome traditional council will be ready to amend their stance on excluding women in the process and the search team of prospective Chief, he answered 'no' adding 'that cannot happen' and that 'custom cannot be broken'. The locus of the council is entirely unacceptable, but there is not much I can do within the circumstance as a researcher.

## **2.10 Capturing and Mentoring of a Chief**

The capture is not done on any day. It is either Wednesday, Friday, or Sunday which Awudome people termed *afenɔɛgbe* (resting day). Warriors are assigned by the council of elders at any level of the Chiefs where the replacement is taking place to look for and capture the prospective Chief. The rites and rituals begin immediately; they are successful with the capture. He is then carried on shoulder high, taken through the principal streets of the town to announce to the community. Sometimes they are met with robust resistance

from family members of the incoming chief who are aggrieved simply because they would not want their relative to become a Chief. This resistance sometimes as a result in a physical fight where people are injured and must be taken to the Hospital. When those resisting the capture manages to get one of the legs of the incoming Chief to touch the ground, this negates the capture, and he must be allowed to go ending the whole process. This scenario has not arisen in the last 100 years within the Awudome traditional area.

The captured incoming Chief is kept in the dark black stool room for seven days. This period is referred to as the gestation period. During the gestation period, the black stool is covered since some close female relatives of the incoming Chief will be visiting him. Meanwhile, any woman in her menstrual cycle is NOT allowed to enter the house, let alone go into the darkroom. In the interim, too, if you are staying in the house and you menstruate within the period when the seven days rites are taking place, you must relocate to stay with a relative until you finish menstruation. They would not want the situation whereby a view of the black stool by any woman will result in defilement thereby requesting purification of the stool. These are all precautionary measures taken by the traditional authorities. The incoming Chief is mentored under the tutelage of experienced and older men and women in the community. Other Chiefs from all the three levels can visit him and congratulate him. Throughout the period, traditional warriors are entrusted to protect and guide him.

### **2.11 Outdooring of a New Chief in Awudome**

The captured Chief is outdoors on the eighth day of staying in the darkroom. He is brought to the public, where he is officially shown and introduced to his subjects. On this occasion, he will swear an oath and allegiance to the appropriate hierarchy or authority of Chief. He is also adorned in full royal regalia, and also, he will carry the symbols of the power of the office he occupies. One after the other, other, subjects and Chiefs come around to support and greet him and welcome him into the position of honor.

Over the years, the strict adherence to the rules and principles governing the selection of a Chief to occupy a vacant stool in Awudome have changed. The rules are not rigorously enforced anymore. This observation came to the fore when Togbe Gobo Dake XII told me he is a Christian first and foremost before becoming a Chief, therefore, he is not obliged to abide by all the rules and principles especially those he deemed out-of-date cultural practices. He affirmed the same principle applies to other Chiefs. The current situation in Awudome is that there is a little premium, and importance placed on kingship practices. The selection of chief does not have to follow necessarily a genealogy as described earlier. Age and maturity are no longer an element in the search for a new chief in Awudome. This is what (Nukunya, 2003) describes as a ‘decline in the importance of Kingship as the basis of social life.

### **2.12 The Queen Mother**

There is no difference in the processes leading to a selection of a Queen Mother from selecting the Chief. The same processes are followed in the search and outdooring practices. It is only during the mentoring period that elderly and

experience women are much more involved. However, they also have no role to play in the selection processes.

### **2.13 The Awudome Family Structure**

Awudome traditions believe in the patriarchal family system. Including other tribes in Ghana, they also believe in the concept of three major types of family. Nukunya (2003) outlines the three types of family systems in Ghana as 'the nuclear family which refers to a married couple and their children', polygamous family unit comprising 'a man and his wives and children' and finally the extended family which comprises 'series of close relatives built around either a patrilineal or matrilineal line'. A couple without children in Awudome does not constitute a family, even though the system allows adoption from any family member. This does not make you, yet as a family in any respect. In this case, the couples are considered members of their original families. These three types of the family system constitute a social unit among the Awudome and the Ewe people in general. The family units thus serve as a support structure and prove as the first point of call for a family member in need. The family units can be "a universal, social phenomenon and the basic centre of emotional expression and social organization. It is the main source of a perpetuation of the race, and the first point of contact in the process of socialization." (Assimeng, 1988.64)

The family phenomenon in Ghana and for that matter, Africa is a decisive factor of the culture in many ways. This is no different from what happens in Awudome. Everybody in the first place is born into a family and must be identified with a family. The Awudome people believe, one must be

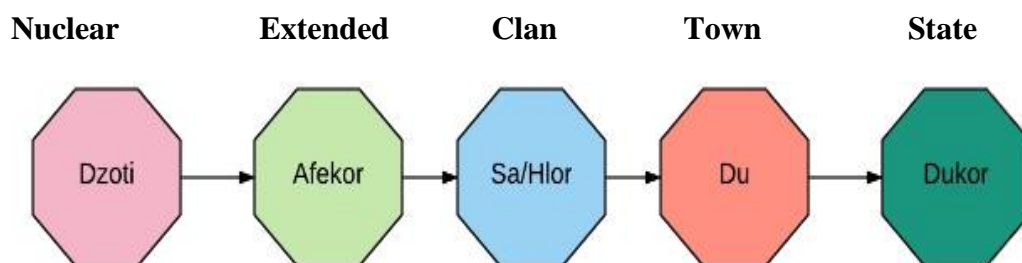
identified with a family without that; there is no sense of belonging. This sense of belonging is what the Awudome people use to trace their ancestral roots. Even though these phenomena may not be as laborious as it used to be, there are still remnants and traces of the concept in several dimensions.

#### **2.14 The Family Tree**

‘Different systems of a family have existed throughout human history’ (Badasu, 2011:8). A functional structure of power and chain of command is responsible for maintaining the family relations among members. This chain of command and structure is still revered in Awudome even though several changes have occurred. There is no uniqueness in the family structure in Awudome compared to other Ewe ethnic groups. Every family in the Awudome traditional area is just like other Ewe ethnic groups. Every family has the highest decision-making group, known as the council of elders in every family. This council of elders moves across all family levels. Usually, a family is considered as having come from one or two lineages. These family elders come together or sometimes nominate representatives, who represent them at the highest decision-making bodies at the levels of a clan, town and the state. These representatives are referred to at all the levels as the council of elders. This practice is a common phenomenon among many other ethnic groups in Ghana.

Every family has a tree, and the tree has two lineages. The two lineages are patrilineal and matrilineal. The two-family trees come together to form what is known as *dzoti* (nuclear family) by the Awudome. The subsequent expansion of the family tree gives birth to *afekor* (extended family). When *Afekor*

expands, it becomes *sā/hlō* (clan) and subsequently hl- does become du (town). The amalgamation of *duwo* (towns) is what is known today as the Awudome *dukō* (state). The use of state is to represent a society that is governed by a traditional political institution Agordoh (2011) and Haas, (1982) also discussed the evolution of prehistoric states referring to traditional institutions that govern her people. The following format is the ensuing order in the expansion of Awudome dukō; dzoti < afekō < sā /hlō < du < dukō. This is also shown pictorially in the flowchart as shown below in **diagram 4**. A succession of this family tree is essential to the Awudome state. It is the major vehicle by which family lineages are identified.



**Diag. 4 the expansion order of Awudome**

By the preliminary assessment, we can refer to the Awudome family units as social structure, governed by a system, firstly a kinship system which governs the state. This system also defines lineage relations: each person lives in a relationship with kin, connected to an ancestral root, which crosses over several generations back into history. In the "thought" of the Awudome, they believe a person is not born alone, or to him- or herself, but into a relationship with others who constitute his or her extended family. Some changes have occurred in the practice of the extended family system over the years. These

changes have occurred due to several factors such as inter-tribal marriages, migration of young men and women in search of greener pastures, the practice of different religious beliefs and many others and modernization. Transformations in family relations already set in motion by the process of modernization are compounded by migration (Oppong, 2004). In the process of the transformation in family systems and relations, some values are lost, and this has become a difficulty to the council of Chiefs of Awudome state.

### **2.15 Philosophical Thoughts of Awudome**

The insightful spiritual and physical activities that correspond to the beliefs, concepts, customs, and expression of Awudome can be summed up as their philosophical thought. These thoughts are rooted or premised on certain necessary foundations rooted in their historical beliefs, including the past and present experiences that take cognizance of what pertains to another jurisdiction. These thoughts if expressed are so consequently referred to as an embodiment of the wisdom of Awudome. The deep-thinking thought of Awudome is not discriminatory. The Awudome believe their philosophical thoughts come with procreation and it is inheritable, that is why they refer to the philosophical thought as *dzɔdzɔmenunya*. This *dzɔdzɔmenunya* is expected to be demonstrated outwardly by all. *Dzɔdzɔmenunya* encapsulate tradition in its entirety, thereby involving basic ideological principles, moral values and most important religious beliefs.

Apart from *dzɔdzɔmenunya* as expressed above, Awudome has *adaganawo* (philosophical sayings), which guides the people in everyday life.

This *adaganawo* have enjoyed many spaces with their musical traditions. They are used in talking drum appellations, songs of praise to the deities, Chiefs and other important men and women in the society. Some of the philosophical sayings are *Vid̄it̄o mew̄a t̄o nugbe* o ('a child who resembles the father does not do what the father does'), *maalee maalee d̄iwotsie* ('I'll bath, Ill bath will sleep with dirty') *avuḍufu meḍuna ga oo* ('the dog eats bone, but does not eat rod') *kpe le t̄ome edzo le eme* ('there is fire in the stone in water), *nyaseto menye abaka o* ('a hearing ear is not a basket') to mention a few. Many of these sayings have evolved as a response to many of the challenges encountered at different moments in their existence and experiences. This consequently has become a guiding principle on which citizens of Awudome rest their faith and builds their life.

The creation of many of this 'thought' the philosophical sayings can be classified as part of the intellectual reserves of the Awudome state. On many occasions, some of these thoughts or sayings are interpreted by an older adult in the community. Sometimes when Awudome does not want strangers to understand them, they resort to some of these sayings. Philosophical thoughts or sayings are not exclusive to Awudome people. Many cultures all over the world have it as part of their culture, but the ideas on which these philosophies of Awudome are established may differ. Perhaps if they share some of the experiences with other cultures, the spiritual, emotional, and psychological reactions which may give rise to some of these sayings may differ.



Some of the effects of these wise saying are that it engages and admonishes individuals in the state to share mutual respect, abhor violence and be dutiful and reverential traditional authorities. We can also say some of these wise sayings are a traditional regulatory instrument in the Awudome state. Even though there is the belief that everybody has *dzadzɔmenya*, it is not everybody who can create a philosophical saying or even understands it all. It takes people with special creative skills within the community, either having an extraordinary encounter with the creator or the ancestors. It calls for deep thinking and thinkers to be able to create a philosophical saying with meaning, that which will attract usages.

There are several socio-cultural practices that are identified within the Awudome traditional setup. These practices constitute the very dynamic aspects of the total Awudome social and cultural phenomenon. This also relates to other cultural groupings that exist within the state. Some of the Cultural practices that have engaged my attention during this research are housing, food, clothing, dialects, hunting, trade, marriage, naming, music, religion, death puberty rites and much more.

## **2.16 Evolution of Awudome State as a Modern state**

In the commentary of the migration story, it was apparent, therefore, that Awudome was confronted with several challenges in their quest to find a new home. Without a doubt, Awudome has shown thus far the tenacity and courage in the evolution of their state. In the face of clearly frightening circumstances, they did not surrender as it were in the migration and establishment of many towns, villages, and nations.

On this note, let me make a declaration, that the socio-cultural practices constitute the entire Awudome culture. It has always been established that culture is dynamic, and it evolves. The discussions hereafter represent the dynamic aspects of the whole Awudome socio-cultural spectacles. This comprises the changes and transformations that occur in the culture since the establishment of the Awudome state. The discussions here affirmed the general belief of the dynamism of culture. It has also revealed the capacity willfully or involuntarily of Awudome to transform and effect changes as it were in their community. These changes have come both in material and institutional aspects of their culture, such as religious, musical, material and in no small extent farming cultures.

The evolution in Awudome again came about because of the awareness of the people's effort, exhibited consciously to create and organize their environment in the face of several encounters and threats. This disposition is also to indicate that creativity has been part of the general wellbeing of the Awudome state, indicating that creativity travels with them throughout their emigration. Evolution, in this case, is to be understood as a structural modification as established by (Haas, 1982) which happened over a period. This process of evolution in Awudome has produced different kinds of structure, which is entirely different from what was inherited from their ancestors, even though there is an attempt by some elders to keep a hold on some of the practices they deemed sacred.

## 2.17 The Change and Transformation of Awudome

Two factors can be mentioned as contributing to the gradual evolution of Awudome as a modern state. Firstly, Awudome's encounter with the European missionaries. According to Togbe Boasapa, Awudome was not directly affected by the 'slave trade'. The first encounter of Awudome with the Europeans was with the Germans when Christianity reached Awudome in 1886 (Asem, 1982). This encounter with the Europeans has transformed the whole traditional religious set up of Awudome, even though they initially rejected Christianity. Awudome was unsure of the aim of the Bremen missionaries from Germany. When Awudome rejected the missionaries, they moved to Peki, a neighbouring town of Awudome where they were accepted. Peki accepted the first Bremen missionaries from Germany in the 18th century (Agordoh, 2011). Their acceptance in Peki saw the introduction of western formal education. This later attracted Awudome, who eventually accepts them on their second return.

This European encounter was not a pleasant one to a large extent, according to Togbe Boasapa. Awudome was compelled to adjust to systems that work out good for the missionaries. People were being compelled to accept Christ. You can only attend their schools if you accept Christ. In this case, a line was drawn between Christians and Traditional worshippers. People who worship traditionally became known as 'pagans' or 'people possessive of evil spirits,' this was what persisted until today leading to almost everybody abandoning the worship of deities.

The second factor attributed to the evolution of Awudome was the fiercely fought conflict with the Ashantis (the largest ethnic group) of Ghana.

The Ashanti war with Awudome was a trans-ethnic war. An amalgamation of Ewe communities was initially involved in a war with the Akwamus (a small Akan ethnic group in Ghana). Sensing a total elimination of this tribe, their related tribe, which is the largest ethnic group in Ghana the Ashantis, decided to co-join the war and help their relations. The amalgamated Ewe groups also involved the Awudome as one of the leaders. This war saw Ashantis descended slowly on the total Northern Ewe territories. Unknowing to the Ewes, this war had a political undercurrent. Ashantis were being used by the British to fight to gain more areas in the Transvolta, which locates outside the British territory, (Asem, 1982) Unfortunately, Amalgamation of the Ewe groups put up stiff resistance and finally defeated the Ashantis and held some of the hostage and war captives.

The end of the war signaled the second major factor in the evolution of the Awudome state. Immediate changes that have occurred in this period were a mixture of Akan names with Ewe names. Names such as; Owusu, Adjei, Appiah, Addae, Asuo, Adom and much more which are Ashanti names have found their existence and acceptance in Awudome. These two factors, the encounter with the European missionaries and the Ashanti war significantly affected the dynamics of the traditional setup of the Awudome traditional area and their beliefs, cultural norms and values. The impact of the Awudome state during the war was overwhelming, thereby earning them recognition in the Regional House of Chiefs (a conference of paramount chiefs), a position the paramount Chief occupies until today.

Accordingly, I discuss first the migration and socio-cultural practices within the Awudome traditional area. I continued with their evolution and the geographical location and the extent to which they had to endure the cruelty under the tyranny in their ancestral home. I have also discussed the predicaments associated with their first settlement at Kpele and the many difficulties they had to endure in their migration process before settling finally at the present location. Their faith and trust in the supernatural powers of the gods and the settlement of the various towns. I examined further the traditional authority and the enstoolment processed of a chief as well as the family tree. This was followed by mentioning changes and transformations that have occurred in their socio-cultural practices, including religion and music. This is to lay the foundation for the next chapter which discusses the "Musical Tradition and Custom of the Awudome people".

### **2.18 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the migration and settlements of the Awudome people, which is preserved in their oral traditions as a way of enhancing our overall understanding of the Awudome traditional religious culture. Yam festival, an annual festival of the Awudome and other cultural practices were discussed. This chapter established the invaluable roles of deities, through the priest of the shrines. The chapter showed the delimitation of the research sites. Finally, the Chapter discussed various philosophical thought and concluded with the evolution of Awudome as a state

## CHAPTER THREE

### The shrine and Musical Traditions

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the shrines and selected ritual activities, the traditional religious beliefs and practices, and their impact on the evolution of Awudome Culture. Shrine music belongs to a musical category popularly referred to as ‘traditional African music,’ therefore, discussing this music without reference to the general background of the musical types of the Ewe/Awudome music would serve to isolate a musical genre. To connect shrine music to Ewe/Awudome music, this section offers a general account of the overall background to the Ewe/Awudome musical culture, functional and evolving nature of music among the Ewe/Awudome societies of Ghana. This discussion will serve to contextualize shrine music.

#### 3.2 The Shrine

The shrine is a geographical location that refers to a place of worship, and it is a physical space where traditional religious believers in Awudome tradition gather in worship. As such, the shrine is a consecrated place, a compound solely dedicated to believers and devotees (followers of traditional religious worship). The shrine also serves as a place where deities/gods are kept. The shrine is also gathering place for devotees who come to worship deities/gods, offer sacrifices and perform rites and rituals associated with the deities. Contrary to many people’s belief that the shrine itself is a deity, the shrine does not refer to either an object or a deity. Some people in other religious

organizations incorrectly think of the shrine as an injurious spirit or an entity. Other people have the perception or a feeling that a shrine is a dangerous place, where criminal and antisocial activities or behaviors such as murder, disobedience, fraud, and or subversive activities take place. In this study, I want to make it explicitly clear that it is not the case with the shrines in Awudome. Awudome shrines can be likened to the mosque, where Islamic religious believers gather to worship Allah or a chapel or church, where Christians congregate to worship God. The shrine is the place where traditional religious believers in Awudome meet to perform their religious activities and nothing more. The shrine is not a secret society, and it is a voluntary organization open to everybody. Therefore, the shrine of Awudome must be understood as a holy place where believers encounter their gods.

Shrines are exclusive to each deity, as such, all the deities in Awudome, enumerated in Chapter one has their separate shrines. Two different deities cannot share the same shrine. The only exception is where a deity is both male and female as in the case of *mama wuwe*. Even though the shrines are exclusive to each deity, priests, priestesses, and devotees come together to support each other during religious activities at any of the shrines where rituals take place. Apart from the priest and priestesses who are caretakers of the shrines, devotees are not bound to belong to one shrine. The idea that somebody belongs to this shrine or the other does not exist among the devotees. The shrines are usually built or located in the outskirts of a town devoid of public interference. This allows worshipers to concentrate or demonstrate the spirit of the gods freely in

worship, most notably when the spirits of the gods possess people, a time when they need to express themselves devoid of interference and distractions.

At the shrine, every deity has an object that represents its image, and this imagery of a deity is kept in an about 4 square meter dark cubicle within the shrine. The cubicle where the imagery of the deity is housed can be described as the holiest of holy places in the shrine. This place is not accessible to everybody. In the cubicle where the deity is kept, the priest or priestess has a daily prayer. Also, the priests and the priestess together with selected elders of the shrine, go into this cubicle once each month or as necessary to offer libation and or perform mandatory rites and rituals. Unauthorized persons who enter the cubicle of the shrine will have to undergo cleansing to protect them from falling sick or suffering from the wrath of the gods.

Generally, a traditional cupola or pavilion is erected or built at the shrine to accommodate devotees or worshipers during worship or when no activity is happening to serve as a place to relax. Access to the shrine is not restricted, and it is open to every community member as well as any visitor or stranger who comes to the community. Whether one belongs, believes, or disregards the traditional way of worship, the shrine is open. This is consistent with the widely held belief that a shrine is a place for everybody. The deities that are housed at the shrines are the gods of the land; hence their children are the citizenry of Awudome. They can come into the shrine wherever they so wished. As indicated, an exception is that they are not allowed into the cubicle where the deity is kept. People who have access to the holiest of holy places in the shrine



have undergone specific initiation. The typical shrine in Awudome is shown in **Figure 3.1.** on page 128.

Dating back to the pre-colonial era, Awudome traditional area boasts of several shrines belonging to the community. Unfortunately, since the advent of Christianity, they have been diminishing at an alarming rate, and as of 2016, the people of Awudome could only count five (5) out of the earlier 18 shrines. Even the five remaining shrines are in a very precarious condition. There are a few members who currently belong to the shrines, and some of them do not even have a substantive priest. This phenomenon has caused a general apprehension among the chiefs, elders, and the traditional believers, regarding the survival of the shrines shortly. This apprehension is more pronounced and heightened as traditional religious believers continue to lose their membership to modernity and other religious organizations, such as Christianity. Many people also believe the end of traditional worship in Awudome is over.

### **3.3 Traditional Religious Practices and the Deities in Awudome**

The awareness of religion among the African people long existed before the arrival of European Christian missionaries in the seventeenth century. Africans believe in a supreme being and recognize him as omnipotent and omnipresent. The Awudome and Ewe people of Ghana are no exception in this belief. In every situation, be it a sad or joyous moment, work, farm, and in sickness, Awudome people look up to God, whom they also refer to as the creator, the healer and a provider of all things. My point here is that religion and the belief in a supreme being is not an importation of European ideas. Africans

recognize the need to be faithful to their maker and the provider of his needs.

This belief is affirmed by Kufoagbe when he wrote:

The traditional worldview of the Ewes of Ghana, through its underlying religious life, aims at the satisfaction of materials needs to the full, thereby exposing a pre-occupation with this-worldly concern. Religion then must help humans find meaning and purpose in the human condition rather than the sacred sector of life. Humans must concentrate their attention on making life in the here and now liveable for each and all.

(Kufoagbe, 1997:101)

Religion and religious practices world over have always appeared to be contentious issues. People are ready to kill sometimes in the name of religion. Divided opinions surface most often when the issue of religion and religious practices come up. For this reason, I wish to explain in simple terms what I refer to as traditional religion in this study, most importantly concerning the Awudome traditional area. Awudome people believe religion is the belief and performance of rites and rituals to the *Mawugã* (Almighty God/Supernatural/High God) through their deities. The use of *Mawugã*, in this case, espouses the people's belief in the supernatural. Religion then makes life meaningful and comfortable to the Awudome people. 'The concept of High

God also described as the Supreme Being appears to have been common to all Ghanaian societies long before the advent of Christianity and Islam' (Nukunya 2003:55). This affirms my argument that the Awudome people knew and worshipped an Almighty God long before the advent of foreign religious practices. Their acceptance and worship of the Almighty God can also be found in their attributes and appellations to Him as *nuwo katā wɔla* (creator of all things), *ɲusewo katā tɔ* (the most powerful) *agakpe sēsē* (rock of ages) etc. these attributes are in recognition of the existence of the Almighty God.

It is not the religion of the Awudome people that *Mawugā* resides in the shrine. Instead, he resides above all humans in a different land known as *dzifo* (heaven). The people firmly believe that even though they worship deities at the shrine, their worship goes beyond the deities to the supreme being, namely, *Mawugā* the sustainer and provider of life. They further believe that he responds to their prayers and make their existence in its entirety comfortable or uncomfortable. The total understanding of the religion of the Awudome people is *life without supernatural intervention, and support* can be challenging and possibly not worth living; hence their religion becomes the bedrock of their existence. The extension of their belief is that both the supernatural and the deities possess a share of the sacred power which belongs to the supreme. This religious conviction is embodied further in the roles and functions of the deities which will be discussed shortly. Among the people of Awudome, it can be challenging to distinguish aspects of religious and nonreligious life. The religious life of the Awudome is communally prevalent in their undertakings;

hence when one is born into the Awudome society, one's whole life and existence is one way or the other tied to the worshipping of deities. It is impossible to deny being part of the shrine worship since the prayers and libations offered to the gods are done on behalf of the whole community. This is observed in the work of Kwame Gyekye *African Cultural Values*, 'To be born into the African society is to be born into a culture that is intensely and pervasively religious and that means, and requires participating in the religious beliefs and rituals of the community. One cannot detach one's self from the religion of the community to do so will be to isolate one's self from the group and to destroy one's sense of communal membership and security and lose much of the meaning of life', (Gyekye 1988:5). The observation by Gyekye was the norm in the Awudome state in that everybody within the community belonged to the traditional religious worship.

The profound belief that the world is ruled by *Mawugā* through *trōwo* (deities) whom He created to be His agents and messengers in the world could not be compromised. The shrines were always full when it was time to perform rituals. The Chiefs and the priests interviewed were convinced that the deities at the shrines provided security to their society as well as individuals benefiting from them. The deities protected the community from epidemics and directed them during the war. In his book *Female Ritual Bondage in Ghana: A Study of the Trōxosi system Among the Ewes of Ghana*, Akpabli-Honu (2014) writes 'Having realized the ubiquitous, invincible and inescapable nature of the deities, individuals contemplating indulging in criminal behavior often have second

thoughts' (Akpabli-Honu, 2014: 103). These were the norms in Awudome before the arrival of foreign religious practices. Unfortunately, membership of the traditional religious organizations began to dwindle after the people started accepting different religious practices.

Moreover, since then, worshipping in the shrines has become a paradox. In general, the people no longer believe, neither in existence, influences, nor the effectiveness of the once-powerful deities. This phenomenon was aptly described by Assimeng (1999), who argues that one of the ways Africans were rendered powerless was to take away their religious beliefs and replace it with foreign religions practices.

The consequences of the current attitude towards traditional religious belief have left the Awudome community socially and morally is becoming more deficient in every endeavor. People have become delighted in doing the wrong things and hurting neighbors at will. They no longer feel guilty about committing a crime of any magnitude. Furthermore, there has been an upsurge in the activities of deviants in the communities since the fear of being punished by the gods does not exist. This has become a grave concern for the Chief's elders. The chiefs and the people interviewed did not address my inquiry of whether a solution could be found to address these concerns, and in my observation, it will be difficult for the present situation to be reversed since the current generation is not ready to accept the traditional religious practices in Awudome. These observations and findings led me to focus on the deities and their functions.

### 3.4 The Deities/Gods

To begin a discussion on the deities, I wish to state that the word ‘deity’ and ‘god’ are synonyms. Both words refer to the divinity, which is kept and worshipped at the shrine. In this study, both words will be used synonymously. The worship of deities, gods, ancestors, divinities and other forms can be classified under traditional African religions. The worshipping of deities among the Awudome people comes under the category of traditional religion. Deities live by a unique name that is why Awudome people have names for all their deities. The generic name for deities in Awudome *trɔ̃*. Every deity is known as *trɔ̃*; hence, no single deity is referred to as such. The names of the deities advertently become the name to the shrines. Apart from the generic name, each deity has his or her unique name. For example, the deity of war is called *agadzi*. The shrine is also known as *trɔ̃kpɔ̃me*, whereas the building/house cubicle where the deities are kept is called *trɔ̃xɔ̃*. *Trɔ̃kpɔ̃me* and *Trɔ̃xɔ̃* are mergers of two words: *trɔ̃* (deity) and *kpɔ̃me* (Compound) thereby becoming *Trɔ̃kpɔ̃me* and the case of *trɔ̃xɔ̃ xɔ̃* (building) the two words then become *trɔ̃xɔ̃*. The priests and priestesses who are the caretakers or leaders of the shrines are known as (*trɔ̃nuɔ̃*) which a merger of *trɔ̃* and *nuɔ̃* (leader/caretaker).

Among the Ewes of Ghana in general, deities belong to the entire community. No single individual or a family owns a deity. The deities support the devotees in all their endeavors. ‘The *trɔ̃wo* (deities) which belongs to the entire community, assist their devotees in the business of life’ (Opoku, 1978:25). Also, when the community worships the deities faithfully, they, in

return, protect them from harm and injury and support the community in every endeavor. The support deities provide to the community includes: restoring fertility of women, people who seek prosperity in their endeavors such as farming and hunting and other businesses, spouses, and also to protect people against their enemies whether perceived or real, people who require cure for their illnesses and above all provide justice for people who complain of a miscarriage of justice. Despite all the right things the community receives from the deities, when their displeasure is incurred either collectively or by an individual, they impose punishment on them. These punishments are in the form of an epidemic, diseases, drought and hunger and above all death. It is essential to make the distinction between the worship of deity and sorcery (occultism). Worshipping deities is not a secret association as it were, but it an open system of worship. There is nothing secret about the shrines that the community is unaware about. Sorcery, on the other hand, is the phenomenon of individuals or a group of individuals acquiring mystical powers, which are used for nefarious activities. They can harness individual or collective powers that can be used for injurious and personal beneficial purposes. This practice is known as *Edzoka* among the Ewes. Because of its misapplication by miscreants, it is not accepted at the shrine. Commenting on this phenomenon among the southern Ewes of Ghana Opoku (2007) states that the lowest manifestation of *Se*, also known as *Mawu* (God) is what the Ewe calls *Edzowo*. These are occult forces which can be harnessed by individuals or group of individuals and can be used to foment destruction. 'Because of their remarkable and potential for pernicious abuse, the *trɔwo* prohibits us' (Opoku, 2007: 27). Broadly, I can conclude that the

misapprehension of traditional religious beliefs was conceived because of the above phenomenon, which can be attributed inappropriately to ignorance.

### 3.5 The designated shrines

As mentioned in the first chapter, I chose three shrines *veto*, *wuve*, *tsawɔɛ*, for this study. To recapitulate, reasons for the choices were *veto* was chosen because it is a male deity and the oldest deity for the Awudome community. It is the only deity that has its separate shrine in all the seven towns in Awudome. This allowed me to interview traditional religious believers in all of the seven towns in Awudome. *Tsawɔɛ* is a female deity, and its selection affords me the freedom to speak to women and their involvement in traditional religion. *Wuve* was chosen because it is both male and female, which will help bring equity and balance to the issues of gender. *Wuve* being both a male and female deity is an exceptional case. Since, usually, a deity is either a male or female. The same deity cannot share an identity, but in the case of *wuve*, the issues are different.

**Ueto Shrine:** *veto* is the name of *trɔ* (deity), which is a mountain deity. The shrine of this deity is called *vetokpɔme*. The word *veto* comes from two different Ewe words: *ve*, which translates as Ewes and *to* which is a mountain. Merging the two words becomes *veto*. **Ueto** is also the name given to the shrine of this most senior and powerful deity in the Awudome traditional area. It is the main deity that migrated together with people from their ancestral home *Ŋɔtsie*. *veto* led the migration in spiritual matters when they moved out of *Ŋɔtsie* their ancestral home. The priest was consulted in all spiritual matters and their search



for a new settlement. It was the priest of *veto* who consulted the gods at the slough and performed the sacrifices for their passage, as discussed in the previous chapter of the study.

The Background about its establishment, unfortunately, did not survive in the narration of oral history among the Awudome people. No one could tell how *veto* was established back in the ancestral home. The conduct of rites and rituals associated with it is the only activity still in the memory of the elders, and this remained so because of the consistent performance of rituals and sacrifices associated with it. Because it is a deity which was brought from an Ancestral home, each of the seven towns in Awudome has built separate shrines and all the shrines have different priests in charge. However, it is agreed that if the paramount chief of Awudome must perform any ritual, all the priests will converge at the shrine in Tsito and the *Uetonuo* in-charge at Tsito will lead the sacrifices. **Figure 3.1** shows the *vetokpome* (*veto* shrine) in Tsito. This photo was taken during the celebration of the yam festival in 2016. The shrine was renovated by the family who takes care of it. The photograph shows devotee sitting under a pavilion. They were designated to cook after the overnight ritual, which signifies the start of the celebration of the yam festival. In the picture are also yam in a pot that is being boiled. The boiled yam was later used for *tebakabaka* (mashed yam) which was sprinkled in and around the shrine. This was done to feed the deity and dead ancestors of the shrine. Also, in the photo is a pink building/cubicle within the white wall at the top right corner of the photo. This is the building that houses the deity.



**Fig. 3.1** *ɔetopkpɔme* and *ɔetoxɔ*

Togbe is a title used as a prefix to *ɔeto*. Togbe is also a title used among the Ewe people for older men as a sign of respect. Also, since *ɔeto* is highly regarded and revered among the Awudome people, its name is prefixed with Togbe in reverence to the deity. Hence the name Togbe *ɔeto*, as it is officially known. Before the advent of Christianity, Togbe *ɔeto* served as the central community deity. The council of elders in Awudome were unanimous in their praise for this deity when the communities were submissive in their worship of *ɔeto*; unfortunately, the same cannot be said of this deity in recent years. Its activities and response to calls cannot be felt, and Togbe Adivo of Avenui said, ‘we have defiled the god and the shrines, and they have abandoned us’. His view is attributed to the ineffectiveness of the Togbe *ɔeto*. Many people in the community have alluded to the fact that the deity has not been effective in many years. They, however, attribute this to their neglect, which angered the gods, causing them to depart the community. However, the few people who remained loyal to *ɔeto* contests this claim. They still firmly believe *Togbe ɔeto*, despite

his neglect by the masses of the land, it remains relevant and at work with high potency. Their disagreement emanates from the fact that until the rites and rituals are performed, people of Awudome cannot do certain things, for example, celebrate the yam festival, and annual cleansing of the community which opens the heavens for rain leading to a good harvest.

Togbe *veto* plays an enormous communal function in the community. Amid the functions are it is the protection of the citizenry, revealing the wishes of *Mawugã* (Almighty God), purifying/cleansing the communities in the instance of calamity, and opening the heavens for rain during a drought. *Togbe veto* also finds the cause of people's sicknesses and misfortune, looks for lost property, giving direction to ensure success. It is to be noted that all rites and rituals associated with the Chieftaincy institutions are undertaken at this shrine.

*Tsawæ*: is the second goddess selected for the study. It is strictly a female deity called Mama *tsawæ*. Mama is a title prefixing name for elderly and respected women as well as queen mothers. As a sign of reverence to this deity, it is prefixed with Mama. *Tsawæ* is a lake flowing underneath Amedzɔfe mountain, also known as Gemi mountain, which is the highest human settlement in Ghana. It is located in a mountainous area of the Ho District, North of Ho, the capital town of the Volta Region. The source of lake *tsawæ* is traced to underneath of Mountain Gemi. As the water gushed out of the mountain, Gemi flew down to the south and spread, expanding down to the south of the mountain. This lake eventually became a land boundary between

the Awudome traditional area and their neighbors in the south Abutia traditional area.

Mama *tsawɔɛ*'s history of establishment as a deity has also been lost in the oral narration of the Awudome history. What is still known is that it is a goddess of fertility and food. The last initiated priest of Mama *tsawɔɛ* died in 2008, and since then, no recognized initiated priestess has taken charge of activities at the shrine. Even so, there are devotees who have been delegated by the elders of Awudome to be in charge of the shrine until a substantive priest is chosen and initiated. Though it is headed by a female priest mainly, their male counterparts from other shrines do offer them support in every endeavor, most notably during the performance of rites and rituals. Apart from being a goddess of fertility and food, it serves also as a goddess of protection and direction. Anybody who loses an item or anything valuable can come and consult this deity for direction to retrieve whatever he or she has lost. It is important to emphasize that deities can have overlapping roles. The choice to consult depends mostly on a client.

Childbirth Among the Awudome has religious importance. Having more children is regarded as a divine blessing from the supreme being. People who are childless are treated as breaching a tribal taboo as being subjected to some machinations of witches and wizards by which a woman's womb is removed. In effect, the belief of the people still holds that the inability to give birth is the doing of the devil. Also, everybody, male or female, must be able to procreate. Infertility is, therefore, a sickness that ought to be cured by Mama *tsawɔɛ*. A

day is set aside, consequently for procreation rites to be performed for women. During the procreation rite, all the women who want to have children of their own will assemble at the shrine. Each of them has a bowl. In the middle of the night, they will all walk without sandals to a specific spot at the lake. During the march to the lakeside, no one can speak in the group, ensuring that they will walk quietly until they arrive. While walking to the lakeside, they will carry their bowls with *kakle* (herb luffa) with a precious gift that will be used as an oath at the shore to the goddess. This oath is part of the fertility rites.

When they arrive at the shore of the lake, they will remove their clothes and become entirely naked. One after the other, the priestess will bath them with the *kakle* in the lake. The priestess chants, calling the goddess and asking her to grant mercy to the childless ladies who are naked before her. When the 'holy-bath' (the bath in the lake) is done, they will all throw their presents into the lake as an offering, telling the goddess their wishes. They will then return to the shrine, not through the same road they used when clothed. Back at the shrine, each of them will take a turn to go into the room where the goddess is kept. A man is waiting in the room with the goddess, and he will pour libation as the final rite for each of them. When all is done, they will all dance to music at the shrine and later dine with the priestess. It is worth mentioning that this rite is performed only for women, but not for men. I asked the devotees whether they believed the rites for only women is discriminatory and they answered, 'this is how their forebears have performed this ritual without any problem' In their opinion, their forefathers could never have been wrong in their choice of taking women through the procreation rite and rituals.

My assessment of the situation and further interrogation of some of the women who have gone through this procreation rite revealed at least some of them have children, and others do not. It is rather difficult to ascertain or verify whether the gods are responsible for their ability to give birth or not. There was one woman I interviewed whose husband left her because of infertility, even though she went through the fertility rite. She remarried and had children with her new husband. I brought this to the attention of the devotees asking if they think there was a problem instead with the man. They said without their fertility rites; the woman would not be able to give birth. The woman who remarried was liberated and fortified to give birth because of the rites she went through; meanwhile, the former husband is still childless, even though he remarried too.

Another activity associated with Mama *tsawæ* is fishing. The lake provides a means for the people of Awudome to go fishing annually for a period, even though they are predominantly farmers. The fishing period is set by the goddess and commences from the first Saturday in August to the last Saturday in October. However, before the fishing activities, the priest leads the community in a ritual to cleanse the lake and seek protection and pray for a good catch and the fishermen who will step into the lake. It is forbidden to go fishing in the lake outside the designated period. It is a taboo to find anybody finishing in mama *Tsawæ* (the lake) outside the designated period. If someone fishes outside the designated period, he is summoned before the deity, and fined to pacify the goddess for violating a decree of the goddess. When the pacification

ritual is not performed for a deviant person, the repercussions are lethal. The community is aware of this taboo, so they are obedient to the goddess.

**Wuve:** This is a unique deity in terms of its priesthood among the deities in the Awudome tradition area because it is both male and female. Its exceptionality is the primary purpose of its choice for this study. *Wuve* is a stream deity and goddess, as shown in **figure 3.2**.



**Figure 3.2. Togbe/Mama wuve**

The community has built a dam at the point where the photo was taken. The stream has been harnessed, harvested, processed and distributed to the communities through pipes as clean water for domestic uses. This god/goddess is the primary source of water for the people of Awudome. In the narration of establishing this deity, it is said that many years ago, there was a time when all the bodies of water that provides Awudome with water evaporated. It was challenging to get water close to the community, so people resorted to walking long distances to find it. However, water fortune smiled at the Awudome

community when a hunter came to a point where water was springing out from the earth. He quickly ran back to the town to call the town folks to the arena to this. The news of water springing outspread quickly throughout the town.

Following the news of this strange water flow, many people ran to the place to see the miracle. They called this occurrence a miraculous intervention of the gods because the incident happened during a dry season (draught), where everything dried up. It would not have been as miraculous if it had happened in a rainy season. After assessing the situation, the chiefs ordered the *Uetonua* to the scene where the water was flowing out to offer libation, seek an explanation for the event and seek a way forward because it was strange for water to come out of the earth in a dry period. When the *Uetonua* came and offered the libation, it was revealed that the gods opened the earth to reveal the water to the people in the Awudome communities as a response to earlier prayers offered by the *Uetonua*. Eventually, this place became the primary source of water for the people to this day. Another revelation by the *Uetonua* was that for the stream not to dry up, and it must become a god for the people worship. A declaration and oath were taken by the family of the hunter who discovered this water, and since then, it has been a deity. Another strange incident occurred at the time *Uetonua* was offering the libation. Two persons, a male and a female, became possessed and further divination revealed they must both be made a priest and priestess respectively for the water (god/goddess) hence the reason for having two gendered spiritual leaders at the shrine of Wuve as Togbe/Mana *wuve*. There is one primary function attributed to this deity. In the



event of an outbreak of an epidemic or any major natural disaster or diseases, a rite of cleansing is undertaken in this shrine to cleanse the community of any misfortune by both the priest and priestess in-charge.

### **3.6 Priesthood and Initiation rites**

Writing on the topic *Abidjan mamiwater as a priest*, Kofi Asare Opoku wrote that ‘the priesthood is a remarkable category of religious officialdom in the religious heritage of Africa and it is open to both men and women’. This observation is established in the traditional religious practices in the Awudome traditional area where both males and females whom the deities choose are initiated as priest or priestess, respectively. The traditional priesthood is not restricted to only male or female but to assume the position of a priest or a priestess in the Awudome, there are traditional norms, values and processes to follow. In line with the norms, values and processes at the shrines, it is the deity that identifies or chooses a person first and foremost, and to will occupy the high office of the priest/priestess. The priest serves as an intermediary between the deities in the world of the spirit and the humans in the physicality. The priest or priestess becomes the chief servant of the deities and functionary of the society. How does the deity choose a priest or priestess as the head of a shrine? This is done through cryptograms and indicators before his or her initiation. The processes of becoming a shrine do not vary from one shrine to the other; the same processes have adhered during the selection and initiation processes. Meanwhile, some basic cryptograms and indicators will show that the gods have arrested (chosen) somebody to be initiated and tutelage as a priest. The cryptograms and indicators for an initiation rite for a priest are many and

become apparent in the one whom the deities have chosen. Also, when the signs begin to manifest, and the initiation does not take place early enough, the person may suffer from a life-threatening ailment or perpetual psychological imbalance, and sometimes he or she can die. This means that it is imperative to do the initiation as soon as possible to avoid any calamity.

First, every deity has a family from where a priest or priestess is chosen. The deity does not just choose randomly from among the community members. Even in the families that are responsible for the priesthood, the choice to be in high office is always done with caution. The cryptograms and indicators which show a deity has chosen a person to become a priest include constant illnesses, often unusual behaviors, suddenly speaking with nasal sound and strange words, having terrifying dreams or nightmares and going into a trance even when there is no music. When these cryptograms are noticed in anybody in the family of the shrine caretakers, the person is protected and given special attention until another experienced priest confirms the selection through divination. When it is confirmed, a day set aside for his or her initiation rites to commence. Kofi Asare Opoku in discussing the priesthood in Africa, wrote about choosing a priest and said:

‘the candidate authenticate itself in a call, whose symptoms, to the uninitiated or inexperienced observer recall the onset of mental derangements. But this apparent confusion is eliminated when the candidate for the priesthood is taken to an experienced priest or priestess who, after performing diagnostic rituals

determines that the person conditions is evidence of a call to the priesthood rather than the onset of mental illness. The candidate is therefore sent to a shrine to undergo the requisite training'. (Opoku, 2007:28)

The processes of becoming a priest in Awudome are affirmed by the work of Opoku, except the tutelage of the priest or priestess, which takes place after the initiation ceremonies, not before the initiation as it may happen in other traditions or jurisdiction.

The initiation ceremony is an enormous and elaborate occasion which attracts a priest and priestess from far and near the Awudome community. When the date for the initiation is fixed, the invitation goes around to the shrines in the Awudome traditional area and beyond, requesting their presence to support the initiation. Aspects of the account of the initiation ceremony can best be described as a traditional music 'jam'. The show of music and dance is so overwhelming during this occasion. The traditional religious devotees believe in music as their primary vehicle to carry their messages to *Mawugã*. At this time, deities are happier and carry their messages when the music is 'thick' and 'heavy'. Usually, the initiation rites take seven days, and it is interspersed with rituals. This invitation is honored mostly with enthusiasm in most cases. The initiation always takes place at night. The devotees sing, drum, dance all night this to keep everybody awake, usually interspersed with storytelling, while animal rituals are performed to invoke the gods. The rituals are mostly to invoke the gods and commit to the priest and seek protection, and all the powers he/she

needs to direct the shrine. Initiation rituals take place only at night, which is believed to be the best moment to commune with the supreme being without interruption or disturbance. The whole event lasts for seven nights, and each of the nights, an animal is slaughtered, and the blood is used for rituals. The blood of each animal that is killed is poured on the legs of the candidate as part of the ritual.

On the seventh night, which is the climax of the initiation ceremony, the final initiation rites take place at midnight. The initiate dresses in all-white attire, walking without footwear, and the head is covered with a red cloth leaving just the eyes exposed. In other words, the initiate is masked. He or she is sent into the small dark room where the deity is kept at the shrine. The entry into the room marks the first time he or she interacts with the gods, and he sits. Sitting on the consecrated stool becomes the symbol of religious authority. The priest or priestess remains in the room while a sacramental meal is prepared for him/her to eat with the other priests and priestesses who are available. During this period, the musicians and the devotees continue to make music in the shrine. The music will continue until the initiate comes out from the room to do his first priest dance. It is believed that during his first dance, he or she will be possessed by the spirits of the deity. This is when he/she will speak for the first time in a trance, and an interpreter will interpret it. The interpretation takes place when the speech is not audible. Some priests and priestesses speak with explicit language, and in that case, there is no need for interpretation. The interpretation occurs only when the speech is not clear or in an unknown language.

Importantly, initiation rites in Awudome traditional areas do not vary from one shrine to the other. Thus, the processes for a candidate to be chosen by a deity to occupy the highest religious office does not vary. Immediately after the initiation, the priest becomes a disciple under the tutelage of an elderly or experienced priest. Usually, there is no fixed duration for the training of the priest or priestess. The time to spend with the trainer largely depends on the interventions of deities, which will signal that the priest can take charge of his/her shrine. However, inferring from available records and the interviews granted me, the duration of the training of a priest is estimated to be between one to two years with the trainer.

The completion of the training of the priest heralds his/her assumption of duties and responsibilities as a priest in his/her shrine. He or she becomes the leader of all rituals to be undertaken in the shrine. He or she has become the chief servant at the shrine. The priest is expected at all time to be present for every ritual to be undertaken. Also, when a devotee or non-devotee pay homage or pilgrimage to the shrine, the priest or priestess is expected to receive them. Due to this extra responsibility, some shrines in Awudome used to have housing facilities within the shrine for the priest or the priestess, but as of January 2017, unfortunately, only one shrine has a housing facility for the priest.

Performance of rituals at the shrines in Awudome varies from one shrine to the other, but in some instances, some of the rituals may appear similar. The similarities largely depended on the functions of the deities, which sometimes overlap. Most important rituals at the shrines include initiation of the devotees, healing, purification, cleansing, empowerment, the invocation of the deity to act

in defence of a person or the community and annual festival in honour of the deities. Many of the rituals and sacrifices are performed at the shrine with the blood of an animal. The animals commonly used are ram, goat, and a fowl. The choice of an animal is determined by the type of ritual, which is to be performed and, in some cases, the priest consults the deities through divination to determine which animal is needed.

Evidence from my research indicates that the office of a priest in the Awudome traditional area used to be a position of integrity and reverence; hence, becoming a priest was prestigious. People used to pray for the deities to choose them or their children to occupy the highest religious office. Unfortunately, the situation is now different due to the deterioration and disinterest in the traditional religious worship, many of the shrines are either defunct or without priest and priestess

### **3.7 Women in the Shrine**

The involvement of women in the shrine in Awudome is, to some extent, better, compared to what has been reported among the Southern Ewe people, as discussed by Akpabli-Honu (2014). According to Akpabli-Honu the practice of *trɔkosi* (the tradition of sending virgin young girls between the ages of 12 and 15 to serve in a shrine as an atonement for the sins of a family member) is primarily seen as a form of oppression by the many. This practice does not exist among the Awudome people, which opts for voluntary female participation. However, there are other forms of criminal tendencies towards women in the shrine.

The Ewes believe that their primary divinity created and rules the world through *Mawu sogbla*, who is a male deity and represents the punitive aspect of the primary divinity and *Mawu sodza* who is a female deity, reflecting the maternal aspects of the creator (Opoku, 2007). The assertion by Opoku gives yet the indication as to how women and men are thought of in terms of responsibilities at the shrine. Mostly, Awudome people see the priest as having the power to exert authority to discipline those who are found to have offended the gods and women always plead for clemency. This attitude reflects the nature of how they perceived the supreme being.

This belief does not inhibit women from participating in traditional religious activities. Even though women do have some constraints compared to men, they are recognized as equally important in the roles they play at the shrine, just as the men are recognized in traditional religious worship. Even though they are so recognized and accepted to participate fully in the rites and rituals, they are sometimes deprived of essential opportunities due to biology. Women who are menstruating are not allowed in the shrine except the priestesses who are in their menses. Priestesses who are menstruating are treated differently from other women during their menses. They can enter the shrine regardless of menstruation. The reasons for permitting a priestess in her menses into the shrine are twofold. Firstly, as soon as a woman becomes a priestess, she becomes a wife to a spirit. She is not permitted to marry. She will forever remain a spinster. Their male counterparts, however, can marry as many as they wish simply because the culture encourages polygamy. I believe this practice is discriminatory. I pointed out this to the priests, chiefs and elders of the

community but they disagreed with my view. They believe the priestesses are married spiritually to deities, and if they attempt to marry or go to bed with any other man, they will lose their lives. This circumstance is made clear to them from the beginning of their initiation as a priestess. The second reason why priestesses are allowed into the shrine in their menses is that they have specific roles they play during rituals. Some specific roles are solely for priestesses; hence they must enter the shrine even though they may be responding to nature's invite to fulfil their roles.

### **3.8 Shrine Musical Heritage**

The musical heritage at the shrines can be said to have traveled with the Awudome people from Hogbefe. To trace the musical heritage at the shrine, all the respondents alluded to the fact it was passed down to them by their forefathers. After listening to compare the various recording from the different periods, I agreed mainly with the musicians that what has been passed to the present generation has not seen any significant change.

### **3.9 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the shrines and selected ritual activities associated with them. The Chapter explained the shrine as a geographical location that refers to a place of worship. The traditional religious beliefs and practices and their impact on the evolution of Awudome Culture. Furthermore, I outlined the processes by which priests and priestesses are selected. This chapter explained that deities live in the shrines, and shrines are therefore not a monster or any fearful entity. The chapter concluded with the involvement of women in traditional religious worship in Awudome.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CONCEPTS CREATIVITY AND CREATIVE PROCESSES

#### 4.1 Introduction

The issues discussed in this chapter are based on my interactions with the musicians at the *veto*, *wuve* and *tsawɔe* shrines and some of the devotees as well as relevant prior research. I support my discussions further with personal experiences with my late uncle Kofi Anani, who was a master drummer in the shrines named earlier. He was also a master drummer for *wuga* (a royal ensemble) in the palace of the Chief in Tsito. My upbringing in the Awudome traditional area, even with restrictions regarding interactions with the musical performances and activities at the shrines, allowed me to have primary and first-hand knowledge. This insider knowledge (emic) based on my relationship with these communities has informed and enriched my discussions in this chapter.

In chapter one, I raised essential topics as underlining factors of creativity, which formed the bedrock of this study. The relevant topics include the artists' view of creativity, as opposed to what is written about by scholars in musical creativity, and my view which constitutes the creative processes in Awudome society. In this chapter, issues to be raised and discussed include the following. Who is a musically creative person as defined by the community of the selected shrines? How is a creative person identified? What individual and contextual factors lead to a creative musical product? How are creative achievements identified and assessed? Does the creative person possess certain qualities and abilities? I conclude the chapter with my findings on creative processes in the Awudome shrine music.

Indigenous music in the general Ewe cultural context has been described by Dor (2004) and Ampene (2005) and Beeko (2005) and Amegago (2014) have compellingly written about how cultural attributes contribute significantly to the fundamental issues of creativity among the Akans – the largest ethnic group in Ghana. These same concepts of cultural attributes informing creative processes among the Akans apply to the shrine music in Awudome. Here, I focus only on the shrine musical culture of the Awudome people – a subset of the traditional area in the Ewe-land of Ghana, as already discussed in Chapters One and Two. The shrine music cannot be isolated from the cultural attributes, and therefore they become more important as part of the broader issues regarding the concept of creativity and other factors such as the creative person and his or her procedures and the end-product of creativity. Even though my focus is on the shrine music, I will make occasional references to the broader Ewe culture. This expansion and periodic reference to the Ewe culture are necessary because it will broaden our understanding of music and creativity in the shrine as some other scholars (Dor 2004) and (Amegago, 2014), have discussed. These references must consequently not be viewed as digressions but as critical to our overall appreciation of the issues on creativity and the creative people at the shrine. This approach will eventually and ultimately enhance and support my aim in this chapter, which is to look broadly at the concrete frameworks that underline Awudome shrine musical creativity.

By the preceding assumptions and assertions, I examine the Awudome shrine concepts of the musically creative person and the creative processes. The creative activities in the Ewe/shrine musical traditions can be said to be a

process as long as music remains an integral part of all the rites and rituals at the shrine. Also, music creation or composition and improvisation remains an essential part of the shrine. Even though there have been differences associated with different epochs, compositions largely remained a necessary part of shrine music. According to Asempa Komla – one of the musicians I interviewed in this study – ‘the variances in different eras have primarily affected the shrine musical genre performance in recent years; hence, they have mainly depended on the old repertoires. In any case, I have been able to discuss the several processes of creativity or composition they go through in the shrine. While creativity in shrine music could happen spontaneously through improvisation in some instances, it is not as common as in other indigenous recreational genres such as: *borborbor*, *zigi*, *asiko*, *zibo*, *baya* and many others among the Ewe people. These other recreational musical genres do not have strict creative processes to follow, making the shrine music unique.

Before I launch into the main discussions in this chapter, may I point out two issues regarding the composer at the shrine and his or her music. That the creator or the composer in the shrine must publicly display culturally acceptable norms and values and secondly, that the performed works must have basic distinctive features that are acceptable to the Ewe/Awudome shrine cultural practices. The composer is culturally bound and under cultural obligations to produce music that will be acceptable and culturally based on apparent distinctive features. These issues are crucial and obligatory, and even with me as a researcher, they were emphasized as part of my orientation, before the final clearance was given to me by the traditional authorities to start this research.

These two issues primarily do become the main characteristics of a composer in the shrine.

#### **4.2 Acceptance of Shrine music**

In chapter one, as part of my research questions, I highlighted my interest in explaining how composers can compose within cultural impositions, constrains, and taboos. Other scholars (Ampene, 2005), (Dor, 2004) and (Nketia, 1974) have noted that there are significant cultural impositions, norms, values such as taboos that are conditional and obligatory to the indigenous musician in Africa. They are obliged to create or compose within those cultures and boundaries. One of those cultural and acceptable impositions in Awudome as revealed is that a composer in the shrine is recognized only if he or she is over and above the age of 40. Apart from the priest and priestesses, all other persons who enter the sacred room where a deity is kept must be at least 40 years. No one less than 40 years, can go into the sacred room and since every new music composed in the shrine must be performed first in the sacred room, young persons must credit their composition to an older composer who can perform it to the chief priest in the sacred room. Secondly, composers are recognized sometimes as historians, praise singers and educators and thereby restrained from being inappropriate and vulgar, either in conversation or music. It is believed that younger persons are more likely to engage in vulgarity which the deities abhor. This belief makes younger composers unacceptable until they are deemed matured and taken through the necessary rites. I drew the attention of one of the priests by asking if he knows maturity does not lie in age? He answered in the affirmative, however, added but the older people can better be

managed than the younger ones. Culturally, a composer must go through tutelage for a period. If during the tutelage he or she is inspired to compose, his or her composition is credited to an adult composer. Reasons are that every new song must be sung first and foremost to the chief priest in the sacred room of the deity, that is if the song has gone through all the processes (to be discussed later in this chapter). As part of the taboos and conditions imposed by the deities, composers must not have more than one wife and must not be promiscuous, even though other persons within the shrine are allowed polygamous marriage including the priests, but not the priestesses.

Acceptance of music in the shrine is also dependent on other criteria that are fundamental to our understanding of the concept of creation of the Ewes in general. This is the '*persona/self-creative process*' and refers to the day to day personal processes or step by step procedures of the composer to compose new music. This process is not directly noticeable or considered, whether to accept a piece of new music or not, but it constitutes a critical factor in creativity. In my view, given the restrictions and norms and values that exist at the shrine, the day-to-day procedures the composers go through are equally essential. Composers are required to follow to the later basic cultural processes leading to the outcome of their composition and since going through the procedures are requirements, day-to-day personal processes must be one of the reasons for accepting or rejecting a composition in my view. Having established the discussion on accepting or rejecting a composition of shrine music among the Awudome people, I move on to the attributes of a creative person.

### 4.3 The Creative Person in Music

Discussion on the creative persons in the shrine music cannot be complete without first identifying or indicating who is considered as a musician, creative person, or a composer. I begin the discussion by emphasizing that musical performances in the shrine are communal, which means that everybody in the shrine is involved in them. In other words, no one is left out when it comes to musical performances. However, not everybody who joins in the performance in the shrine is regarded as a musician or a composer. Agordoh (1994) in his book *'African music: Traditional and Contemporary'* observed that there is no difference between observers and performances of indigenous African musicians. Be that as it may, among the performers themselves, however, differences between composers and performers are salient, even though that differentiation may not necessarily be seen during a performance.

Among the Awudome people, therefore, shrine musicians are regarded as highly musically creative persons at the shrine. They are regarded as not only musically talented but also as divinely gifted with musically creative skills. A shrine musician is said to possess two distinguishing behavioral traits, that is spiritual – motivated by the spirits of the gods – and innate – a trait they are born with. These traits must eventually manifest into certain predispositions that points to the production of culturally acceptable music. In effect, if these traits guide composers and they are properly managed, this will enhance and increase the chances that their compositions will be accepted as part of the repertoires at the shrine.

In addition to the Awudome perspective, the Ewe, in general, see indigenous composers as having –the divine endowment conception of the traditional musicians. This general conception of the Ewes aligns how the Awudome shrine people also conceptualize the musician in the shrine. Generally, Ewes see a composer concerning *Mawu* (God) *nuwokatā wɔla* (the creator of all things) and a traditional music composer or creator. Even though I generally discussed the culture and the belief system of the Ewe and Awudome in Chapter Two and Three, it is pertinent to briefly refer, once again to this subject of an ethnological conception of the Ewe to the creator (*wɔla*) while I expand the discussion on the creative person. The Ewe ethnic group belief is that the creative person is divinely endowed and draws inspiration from the creator. It is assumed consequently that he or she must always have inspiration from the *Mawugā* (Almighty God). *Mawu* (God) is conceptualized as responsible for all the good and beautiful things created and the Awudome and Ewes, in general, do not associate evil with the creator. Therefore, every creative work among the Ewe musicians is considered to be inspired by God the creator (*Mawu nuwokatā wɔla*).

#### **4.4 Awudome shrine musicians**

Amongst the traditional believers in Awudome, shrine musicians are classified into two different categories and are given the following titles: *dzenɔ* or *hakpala* (songwriter/composer/soloist) and *zagunɔ* (chief/master drummer). The title as a composer is conferred on a person first by the leader, who is the oldest of all the musicians in the shrine. After the conferment of the title, he or

she is then initiated by the priest or a priestess. Recognition as a composer is given only if the title is conferred and the person/s is/are initiated. These two categories of musicians in the shrines support each other's efforts in music-making. *Dzenɔ* or *hakpala* is the creative person responsible for composing all vocal works or songs. This person can either be a male or a female, as the title as *dzenɔ* is not gender specific. However, the *zagunɔ*, who is the master drummer, is gender predisposed. He is responsible for creating new rhythmic patterns that are either in the form of the appellation (praise singing on the drums) or appropriate rhythmic patterns to accompany existing or new songs. In some instances, in the past, where one person exhibits competences as both *dzenɔ* and *zagunɔ*, this implies that *dzenɔ* can also be a *zagunɔ* concurrently. Even though this practice of a person combining roles as a soloist and drummer is still valid, in recent times, no one at the shrine presently doubles as both *dzenɔ* and *zagunɔ*.

#### **4.5 Creative Tendencies and Conceptualization**

Awudome shrine musicians in two categories conceptualize musical creativity; first is the ability and willingness to produce musical ideas by a person entrusted to do so, which must be original and not an add on to existing musical ideas or practices. Effectively, the composer/creator exclusively deals with new ideas of musical materials in a logical and procedural manner or working according to the rules governing composition/creativity. The second category of musical creativity is the ability to add on to the already existing ideas or musical practices. This second concept can be said to be 'improvisation'



in performance. Beeko (2005) referred to this two-creative approach as ‘ideational’ and ‘psychomotor’ mode of creativity. In Beeko’s conceptualization of the two approaches, ‘ideational’ refers to a new idea employed in a new composition. He defines a psychomotor mode of creativity as the ‘spontaneous generation and application of novel musical ideas through performance’. Beeko’s psychomotor approach does not consist of isolated musical ideas, directed at creating an entirely new song; this differs from the new ideas generated within the ‘ideational mode’. In the ideational mode, concepts apply to create a new song. The psychomotor ideas, as explained further by Beeko are new variations that emerge from the performance of already existing music, and these are generated on the spur of the moment as the performance proceeds. Contextualizing the approach of ‘psychomotor mode’ that is improvisation during performance creativity in the shrine music occurs in response to the heightened moment, trance situations (presence of the spirits), creative dancing skills and the performers’ level of excitement. In effect, improvisation is recognized on the one hand, as creativity and a creative process, even though it might not be a new idea. This, Anku (1997) also refers to as composition within existing modules. This point is integral to the musicians’ descriptions of the creative processes in this mode of improvisation; the mind produces the ideas, and the body actualizes or brings them to life. In effect, both the mind and the body are primarily responsible for the improvisation and coordination of creativity. Finally, the two creative concepts I have discussed are evident and communally accepted among the shrine musicians and in the shrine music. Unfortunately, due to the low levels of

participation in recent years, the creative concepts described above have become increasingly less common.

Apart from the composer's communal conceptualization of the composers of the shrine music, there are certain personality traits that are thought to be connected to creativity, which are equally important factors in the life of the shrine composer. The personality becomes a significant influence on the creative concepts and practices of the shrine musicians. Considering a creative person and his work without acknowledging the influence of personality would ignore an essential aspect of the creative processes. Even though personality may not be viewed as highly relevant, it must be considered within specific domains. It is within these domains of personality that Martindale (1981) points out that the 'creative cognition tends to occur only within a certain configuration of personality qualities' (Martindale 1981:191).

However, in all the circumstances, my discussions on an ethnographic account of the Awudome and their belief system have established the foundation of how the Awudome people conceptualize a person in a relationship with *Mawuga* (Almighty God). This approach I wish to state again becomes primary to our understanding of the concept of the creative person and tendencies among Awudome shrine musicians, from the perspective of the shrine musicians.

Given this relationship, the ethnological account of the Ewe concept of a *person* in relation to God becomes crucial. It is essential because understanding the Ewe's view of a person, in general, will be to make room for the thoughtfulness of the concept of the creative person that is espoused in the shrine music of the Awudome people. This presumption emerged once again to

provide us with an overall understanding of why creative persons among the Ewe/shrine are generally regarded as peacemakers, historians, mediators, intermediary figures, and are seen to be accountable to both *Mawu nuwokatã wɔla* (God the creator of all things) and the community in which they live.

In the case of music creation, certain principles are used for assessing and accepting new music. These principles require that the music should be unique and new and should not be a repetition of what already exists at least within the community.

Basic processes are available in the shrine to check the newness and originality or otherwise of the music. The traditional musicians, as well as the people in the community and the traditionally religious persons, believe that the new music should go beyond existing ones. At the same time, it must bring fulfilment and excitement and refreshment into their worship. Furthermore, the new musical ideas must of necessity be of spiritual, aesthetic and socially balanced and culturally worth listening to or playing and ultimately be of great benefit to the deities, priest, devotees and as well as to exult *Mawuga* (Almighty God). In recent years, the traditional creative persons/composers have been dwindling among the Awudome people. At the start of this research, there were only three shrine musicians, namely Asempa Komla, Gbolo Komla and Sila Kodzo. As of this day 2019, only two shrine musicians are living; Asempa Komla also died last year, 2018. Thus, the survival of the traditional religious musical practices amongst the Awudome people rests precariously on the two living composers. Comparatively, the situation is less difficult among

composers in the Southern Ewe traditional religious believers. The traditional religious practice among the Southern Ewe people of Ghana continues to enjoy relatively high patronage and participation. This became evident when Awudome was performing ‘*reviving rituals*’ (rituals to reawake a deity) for *Togbe Ueto*, one of the selected deities for this study in 2015. The authorities at the shrine brought in traditional believers and their musicians from another shrine in Akatsi, a town in the southern part of the Ewe-land. Unfortunately, though, even though the Akatsi people are Ewes, the musical traditions are different from that of the Awudome people.

With regards to the second concept of creativity at the shrine, adding on to the already existing musical ideas and practices, the creative procedures are quite straightforward. There are no checks and balances, as in the application of cultural practices compared to the case of creativity with originality, as narrated earlier. The idea in this instance is merely combining a bit of already existing composition, musical idea or a pattern to a new idea mostly during the performance. This creative process is referred to as ‘improvisation.’ It is accepted among the shrine musicians as a way of demonstrating creativity but not necessarily composition. These two concepts, therefore, indicate how sensitive the traditional musicians in the shrine show their respect for what they do in terms of music-making and creation or composition.

Generally, in the creative efforts among the Ewe, and for that matter Awudome people, one is expected to be refined in his or her creative endeavors or output with ultimate responsibility on the composer. By the position composers occupy at the shrine; they are held responsible for anything that is

put out for the general consumption of the people. They are also deemed as the mouthpiece of the devotees and are accountable for their words in songs, either dignify, praise or bring God's name into disrepute. For this reason, the God factor is crucial to the composer at the shrine. Among the Awudome people, the musically creative person in the shrine is not one who is only talented. He or she is also divinely endowed with musically creative skills. He/she may be said to possess unusually deep-rooted qualities. These qualities may exhibit both spiritual and physical and manifests positive predispositions that point to the production of a culturally accepted music. They believe that culturally acceptable music is also acceptable to the gods.

There is little doubt that the creative persons among the Ewes generally occupy a unique and prominent position in society. Composers are highly regarded and honored for the work they do in terms of keeping the musical traditions 'alive'. At the shrines in Awudome mainly, the composers are well-regarded and highly respected, such that in a hierarchy of importance, they are next to the priest. They are expected to live a life worthy of emulation by other people and without any form of reproach.

#### **4.6 Creative Ability in Music**

Musicians and artists all over the world may derive their creative abilities from different sources. Assessment of available data indicates that Awudome shrine musicians derive their creative abilities from three sources. This is supported by the view expressed by the then three surviving musicians interviewed at the Shrines. The sources of creative abilities are *inborn talent or ability, inherited ability and the godly (heavenly) ability*. *Inborn talent or ability* refers to the

ability exhibited by a musician in the shrine that he/she was born with. This is someone with musical talent that does not have a record of a past or present musician in his or her family. The ability to become a musician is derived from birth. The second source of creative ability in music at the shrine is by *inheritance*. *Inherited Ability* is passed on from one generation to another. In this instance, the musician was not born as a talent and without any ability, but by a family member being a musician, the person's musicality relies heavily on family members' prowess. This ability is acquired and exhibited through observation and retention. Usually, such abilities needed more mentoring than others. The ultimate source of creative ability among the shrine musicians is supposed to have come from *Mawuga* (Almighty God), this is known as a *divine gift or heavenly ability*. The distinction must be made between the third creative ability and the first. The divine gift is received directly from God. This usually happens in the process of creating a musical piece or composing. In this case, the spirituality of the shrine is considered as vital where the composer relies heavily on the spirit. Even though it is recognized that every composer, one way or another relies on God, they also believe God has blessed some with compositional skills. This 'God' factor enjoyed critical assessment from Amegago, (2014), where he argues that 'in the mythos, every single artistic talent, whether visual, verbal or musical is ultimately credited to the various divinities' (Amegago, 2014:72). At one point during my research, I was amazed at the skills and abilities of Sila Kodzo one of the composers in Anyirawase during a midnight ritual. The dexterity exhibited by this drummer was excellent. I approached him after the rituals to find out how he was able to perform so

exceptionally and how he acquired his talent, and he responded ecstatically ‘*Mawue nam*’, (It is a gift from God) with smiles. Even though the composers and musicians themselves hardly accept the relevance of the *inborn talent* and *inheritance* – the first and second sources of creative abilities, my assessment of the situation demonstrates the impacts of the two sources are non-negligible.

Having established the sources of creative abilities of shrine musicians in Awudome, some fundamental and intrinsic characteristics form the foundation and an integral part of the creative abilities. These inherent characteristics are some of the foundational attributes of determining the maturity of a musician who is a composer or a creator. These characteristics are not just intangibles or imaginary, but they manifest themselves through certain noticeable behavioral characters such as listening, performing, improvisation, composing and analyzing. Showing the above characteristics involves three underlying potentials every composer possesses. Beeko (2005) also discuss these potentials, where he enumerated them as aptitude, capacity and achievements, he writes:

‘...the first potential is an *aptitude*, which refers to the part of ability resulting from a combination of genetic endowments and environmental experiences with music.’ This is also used to indicate the potential for learning music, especially where the development of musical skills comes in.

The second potential is *capacity*, which is an inborn trait referring to a part of a person's ability that he or she possesses as a result of genetic endowment and maturation. It is a biological potential that serves as a framework within which one develops musical actions. Also, it refers to something with which a person is born that enables him or her to develop excellent musicianship. The third potential is an *achievement*, which refers to "specific musical accomplishment, often the result of specific instruction (Beeko, 2005:112)'.

These principles laid down a broad definition of musical ability and creative ability of musicians in Awudome shrine, which leads to the improvisation and or creation of new music. However, it must be understood that the ability of the creator or a composer to compose new music or improvise upon existing music traverses the above discussions. It encompasses other factors such as knowledge about the shrines and deities, being fluent, softness, and originality of thought, and other factors may be necessary to appraise oneself. These are all important for the creator and composer in the shrine.



#### 4.7 The ‘Building Blocks’ (Creative Structures) in Shrine Music

There are essential creative elements or parameters which are the building blocks, constituting the fundamental structures of creating and composing music in the shrine. These elements primarily complement or come together interactively; these structures, when twined together then become the musical composition and creative work. In this study, however, I refer to these elements as the ‘building blocks’ or ‘musical structures. In the shrine music of the Awudome people, these musical structures include the *pitch* (compliance with the language contour or musical language) *verbal text* (the language), and *rhythm* (the structure which unites the strength of pitch and language). These three structures are crucial to the composer in creating or composing music in the shrine. Strict adherence to the dictates of the contour of the language which cuts across both song (vocal) and instrumental compositions becomes a fundamental rule for the composer to observe; in any case, these structures do not differ from other forms of music.

To discuss language with pitch and rhythm in shrine music, I refer to Agawu (2016), who stated that ‘Without language, there will be no song; without song, African music will not exist. Language and music are thus tied, as if by an umbilical cord. No one who ignores its linguistics aspects can hope to reach a profound understanding of African music’ (Agawu, 2016:113). Agawus’s statement provides an answer to how essential issues relating to creating music in the shrine are regarded. It also gives us an inclination to the processes of the music and language culture to be discussed shortly. Many African languages are considered as ‘*tonal*’ (to follow the undulating nature of

the language); hence a composer at the shrine must abide by the dictates of the Ewe language in order to fulfil the demands of the culture of the language. An example of adherence to the ‘contour’ of the language is demonstrated in rhythm 4.1. *Mawugā* (Great God) and 4.2. *Mawuto* (God’s own), these two phrases relate to God but are pronounced differently at different pitches. Rhythm 4.1 as a three-syllabic word is pronounced at the same level hence the pitches remained at the same level, whereas rhythm 4.2 is pronounced at two different pitches; hence, the last syllable dropped five steps. Senghor (1964) observed these phenomena about African languages and wrote: ‘The languages are themselves pregnant with music, for these are tone languages in which each syllable has its pitch, intensity and duration and in which each word may be given a musical notation’ (Senghor, 1964:238). He stated further: ‘the intimacy between word and music cannot be disassociated or separated by the creative expression’. Following my assessment of the issues, no matter the personal creative feelings of the composer or creator at the shrine, it is mandatory to observe and abide by the dictates of the language in expressing his or her original emotional state, the dictates of the language cannot be circumvented.



**Rhythm 4.1 shows of contour at the same level**

Ma wu ga



**Rhythm 4.2 Shows of contour with lowered voice**

Ma wu to

By the prescriptions of the musical language a composer must place the pitches of this three-syllabic word of rhythm 4.1 at the same level unlike the second phrase, which also has three syllabic words but with different levels of

phonetic sound. The composer is thereby required by the dictates of the musical language to locate the pitches of the syllables differently. It is important to emphasize that there are no two ways of handling issues of this nature in creativity both in the verbal (songs) or instrumental music; the approach remains the same. Musical instruments at the shrine are also considered as speech surrogates; hence, they can communicate at the same level as the human voice in terms of the tonal structure. Meanwhile, text and tune construction and relationship in shrine music engage the appropriate usage and choice of words. Arom (1991) emphasized this connection between language and music when he wrote ‘... music and language are interconnected, the phonetic structure of the languages having a powerful constraining effect on the melodic structures of the songs’ (Arom, 1991:11). Apart from language’s importance to music at the shrine, it is also essential to other art forms such as poetry, appellation, libation, and in keeping the oral traditions. The concept of song text and text-tune relationship in Africa music has received quite an extensive discussion by several scholars (Agawu, 2016; Agordoh, 1994; Arom, 1991; Nketia, 1974; Senghor, 1964) therefore, language and music related issues must not be belaboured at this point, but I must indicate consequently that ‘language or text’ is one of the fundamental building blocks of shrine music.

The pitches of the musical language, either in the verbal (song) composition or instrument composition are derived from the Ewe language. In other words, the text informs the contour and movement of the pitches of the music, as demonstrated in Example 4.1 and 4.2. There are always instances where words or text are referred to or used to explain or develop a musical

composition or concept. In the words of Asempa Komla ‘without text, we cannot make music pleasing to the god’s’ he stated further ‘there is the need for the gods to understand whatever music we make first and foremost’. This then chooses words for music-making very important. Words or choice of text for creative purposes in the shrine must and has always been meaningful, rational, educative, and consistent with the dictates of the general and musical language culture of the Ewes.

#### **4.8 The Creative Processes**

At the onset of the study, I explained that the creative processes should be understood as the compositional processes or procedures that the musicians in the shrine go through to write music. These process or procedures can, however, be summed up as the means of *actualizing* or a *physical manifestation* of an inward feeling of a musician, which is transformed into music either by way of a song or a manipulation of a drum, through fundamental and laid down procedures and sometimes personal feelings. Beeko (2005) also referred to the concept of musical creation as a complete set of ordered behaviors that are outward manifestations of both conscious and subconscious processes through which creative energies are released and converted into culturally approved musical behaviors.

The discussions presented hereafter are the findings concerning the necessary and self-applied compositional processes, followed by the musicians in the Awudome shrine. The findings are thus discussed in two-fold, first about the *dzenɔ*, who is a song composer, and second, *zagunɔ* (the master drummer).

*Dzeno* in the shrine is a significant personality when it comes to verbal or vocal music. He or she composes and serves as a cantor (soloist) during performances. One cardinal attribute of a *dzeno* is to have a good voice which is the leading vehicle used in teaching and carrying the songs from one generation to the other. The songs are not written down; therefore, whoever composes or creates a new song must have a good voice to be able to communicate or sing to teach at the shrine. Having command over the Ewe language is another implied urgent requirement of a good composer. As the composer grows older, the assumption is that he or she has matured in the language. This maturity is often reflected in the song he/she composes. Age is critical in distinguishing maturity at the shrine which is why a composer is expected to attain at least the age of 40 as a first of maturity before he or she is accepted and inducted as *dzeno or zaguno*.

For a song to be accepted in the shrine as a new composition, there are several laid down compositional processes that are mandatory and which a composer in the shrine is expected to follow expansively during the composition. The laid down rules and processes cannot be ignored when a composer is composing. During my interview with Togbe Alornu Korsi one of the priests of the selected shrines, he said of new compositions that ‘no matter how good or in-depth a song may be or sound, if it does not pass the test of originality through the mandatory process, it will not be accepted in the shrine’ (Interview, 2015). All the composers are aware of this mythos, and they knew what to do as soon as an idea to compose a new song occurs to them. I will

emphasize at this point that, the compositional processes discussed here do not apply to improvisation; the discussions here solely relate to a composition of a new song, those processes which relate to improvisation will be discussed subsequently.

Following my observation and analysis of available data, I identified two levels of compositional processes or procedures, which are very necessary for a composer to go through at the shrine. Adherence to the processes makes it easier and paves the way for a composition to be accepted into shrine music repertoires. These levels of processes, as I decided to call them are: *‘the cultural’* and *‘the composer’s’* levels of compositional processes. The *‘cultural’* level is limited to all the processes imposed by the cultural practices at the shrine, whereas the composer’s level is limited to the self/personal creative processes a composer uses in order to come out with a new composition. Furthermore, the composer level can also be described as the physical manifestations of the intrinsic abilities of a composer. The two levels of compositional processes are applied concurrently.

The main compositional processes discovered at the shrine are classified into four different stages: *Hadaɲugbledede/hakpakpa* (conceptualization/song meditation), *Hakpakpa* (pealing of the song/composing) *hadada kpɔkpɔ or hanuɔ kpɔkpɔ* (meeting the mother/leader of songs/poet/cantor), and finally *haxexe* (‘catching the song’).



**Rhythm 4.3.**

Ma wu ga

Rhythm 4.3, as seen above, shows the succession order of compositional processes. Once again, I emphasize that the two levels of compositional processes described earlier do not operate virtually autonomously or at entirely different levels from each other in the scheme. Both levels may occur concurrently within the four compositional categories cited above. In effect, while the composer is composing his or her music with the intrinsic tendencies, the cultural level which includes the norms and values imposed by the culture, are not thrown out or ignored but are also observed consequently.

*Hadaɲugbledede*: conceptualization/song meditation marks the beginning of a process of creating a new shrine composition. The period when an idea occurs to a composer or when he or she is commissioned by a priest or some elders to compose or create a song for an occasion or a deity concerning a specific rite or rituals are all under *hadaɲugbledede* (conceptualization). In effect, the thoughtful moment, or the period when one is commissioned effectively comes under *Hadaɲugbledede*. In the Ewe language, *ɲugbledede* and *ha* translate as *meditation* and *song* (ha) added thus, therefore, become *hadaɲugbledede*; this means song meditation or song conceptualization. This first stage in the compositional process is very crucial to the composer. Composers' attitude during *hadaɲugbledede* vary from one composer to the other. Some composers or creators go to the forest to conceptualize or organize their thoughts. Sila Komla, one of the surviving composers, told me he used 'to go to communicate with the birds and leaves.' Others wake up in the middle of the night to meditate, and some spend days at the shrine, all to come out with

great creative work. In any case, the circumstances under which to meditate depends mainly on the request for creative work or the individual creator.

*Hakpakpa* (pealing the song/composing) is the period when the composer does the real compositing. All the events that occur during the conceptualization period are now brought out to bear, culminating eventually in the composition of a song. During the compositional period, the composer satisfies him or herself artistically, making sure that the composition is watertight, making sure that the quality of creative work is not compromised. The originality of the idea, choice of lyrics, and the contour of the composition are all checked to be intact. When the composer is satisfied with his or her work, he or she then moves to the next stage of the compositional process which is to meet *hadada* for *hakɔsasa* (editing).

*Hadada kpɔkpɔ* is a meeting of the (mother of songs) for editing and is the penultimate stage in the Awudome shrine music compositional processes. This is the period when a determination is made whether to reject, accept, or correct a new song before moving to the next level. *Hadada* is an experienced elder songster who is also referred to as *hanuo* (leader of the song). He or she is chosen among the many musicians in the shrine and initiated to be in charge of all the musicians. Issues relating to performance solely lie with *hadada*; he or she appoints and assigns duties to musicians during a performance and is also responsible for editing new compositions. When a new composition gets to him or her, he or she listens while the composer sings. Sometimes *hadada* edits the song by adding new things, taking away, or replacing words deemed to be

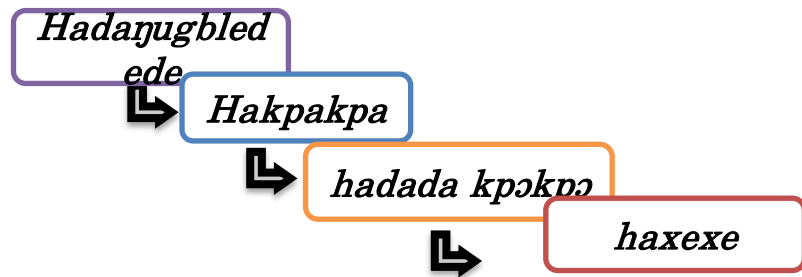


inappropriate, replacing phrases or a whole line depending on the individual cases. When the review of the song is done, *hakpala* (the composer) together with the *hadada* go to present the new song to the priest/priestess in the sacred room. Usually, the priest or the priestess only listens and is not required to make any correction or suggestions. Accepting or refusing a composition is the sole prerogative of the *hadada*. When the composition is considered perfect, then it is taken through the final processes called *haxexe* ('catching the song').

*Haxexe* (song catching) is the period when *haxelawo* (song catchers) are brought together to learn and rehearse a new song with the senior songster and the composer. At the meeting, the composer raises the song and is known as *hadodoḍa* (raising a song). When the composer raises the song, *haxelawo* (song catchers) responds to catch the song while it is thrown at them. Temporarily, the composer and the *hadada* take turns to demonstrate the song and its response to them. Catching the song is akin to a dialogue between a soloist and the chorus. Some of the devotees are selected to participate in this exercise because songs are not written down in any form; hence the best way to remember the song during a performance is to teach a core of people who will lead the rest during a performance. What is significant during this compositional process is that *zagunɔ* is invited to join the rehearsal. They listen to the song and develop rhythmic patterns to accompany the song. When everything seems acceptable, a day is fixed for *hahhevego* (outdooring of the song).

The fact that traditional musicians go through several compositional processes to compose their songs runs contrary to the long-held view that

traditional African musicians do not compose, but they only improvise or extemporize. This long-held view is flawed considering the evidence adduced in the above discussions. Even though the traditional composers at the shrine in Awudome do not hold a pencil to paper to compose, their rigorous compositional processes are evident. They strictly adhere to laid down processes and procedures, sanctioned by the cultural practices in the shrine on one level and inherent personal spirits on other levels in order to come out with a new composition. Diagram, as shown below, is a pictorial view of the compositional processes.



Diag. 5. Compositional Processes in Shrine music

The second category of creativity by the *henɔ* occurs during a performance. In this case, creativity happens extemporaneously. There are no hard and fast rules a composer or a musician must follow in exhibiting creative predispositions during a performance. In other words, the cultural and personal creative processes discussed already do not apply strictly to creativity when performance is ongoing. However, whatever is created or composed must conform to the norms and values imposed by the cultural practices at the shrine, even though they will not be subjected to any form of scrutiny or assessment.

Despite the absence of culturally imposed creative processes, some factors influence creativity when a performance is ongoing. These factors, as

observed, were confirmed by informants when I showed them the video recording of previous performances. The first significant factor is when an individual goes into 'trance'. A trance is a period when the spirit of the deities possesses a priest, priestess or a devotee. During this period, the possessed person does not act or say things on his or her will, but according to the dictates of the spirit. Usually, a possessed person becomes the mouthpiece, the vehicle carrying the words of the gods. As he or she commences to speak, the composer deliberately picks words that are spoken by the person in a trance; the composer then uses these words creatively in an existing song by improvisation.

Another factor contributing to creative activities during a performance is the ability of the musicians to use the attributes of the gods and the ancestors. I have already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the essential historical knowledge being an attribute of shrine musicians. During the performance, these attributes are artistically combined to show the creative skills of shrine musicians as they sing the praise of the god and the ancestors. In all circumstances, the ability to generate and organize musical ideas and themes within a performance context primarily lie with capabilities and the control of the creative individual. Meanwhile, the foremost apparent context of creativity, about a person in a trance vis-a-vis a musician is then, the ability to generate, frame and then refine musical thoughts in a conscious manner without being carried away. One major point I need to point out in this context of creative abilities and processes is the experience of having 'control' over the events as a musician.

### *Zagunɔ*

The creative processes of *zagunɔ* are not the same as those the *henɔ* goes through to create a new song. *Zagunɔ* relies heavily on existing modules and, consequently, does not have any cultural dictates, as in the case of *henɔ*. Mostly, the creative abilities, behaviors and attributes of *zagunɔ* come from three different sources. (1) Innate or an in-born – a specific creative quality that is not acquired or attributed to environmental or cultural influences but one that a person was born with. (2) Culturally acquired – these are attributes that manifest itself as a result of environmental influences and finally. (3) A culturally acquired behavior—a trait that is learned through experience and knowledge of culture, and not attributed to environmental influences. This observation among the musicians in the Awudome shrine is mentioned by Meki Nzewi (1991) where he explains that improvisation is determined by uncontrollable contingent factors of traditional musical creativity which could be musical, emotive, and contextual. Detailed analysis of the *zagunɔ*'s creative and improvisatory skills are presented and analyzed later in chapter five.

There are two significant musical renditions or performance styles at the shrines, and these are: (1) the music performed during rites and rituals and (2) the music which is performed during worship and praise of deities. The compositional processes in both performances' styles remain the same. There are no differences in the creative processes of music for rites and rituals and worship. Once again, it became apparent that there are no differences in the creative processes in the three selected shrines, except to indicate that there is

male dominance among the musicians even in the female goddess shrine. The male dominance among the musicians is attributed to natural occurrences ‘menstruation’ among women. Women are accepted and initiated as *deznɔ* when they stop to menstruate. Menstruation is a big issue at the shrine. Apart from the priestess, a woman in her menstrual cycle is not supposed to enter the shrine. Strangely, women against their own fellow women instead enforce this cultural norm. Details of shrine music performance and involvement of women are discussed in the next chapter.

#### 4.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented, amongst many other things my research findings. Where I described pieces of music that can be classified as shrine music. Who is qualified to be called as a shrine musician. Here, we got to understand that there are two types of musicians at the shrine. *Zagunɔ* and *Henɔ*. I discussed the creative abilities, the creative processes that are mandatory at the shrine, those that will make a song acceptable or not. It was evident that age at the shrine is an essential ingredient in participating in certain rituals and activities. There are four unique stages of creative processes at the shrine *Hadaɲugbledede/hakpakpa* (conceptualization/song meditation), *Hakpakpa* (pealing of the song/composing) *hadada kpɔkpɔ* or *hanuɔ kpɔkpɔ* (meeting the mother/leader of songs/poet/cantor), and finally *haxexe* (‘catching the song’). These processes are rigorously enforced in considering or in accepting a song at the shrine.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Shrine music Performance Practices, Context, and Structure

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is organized into three sections: I first discussed the performance practices of shrine music in Awudome. Second, I describe all the instruments used and their functions. In the third, I present eight songs from my corpus of selected songs together with transcriptions. I also provide the drummer's rhythmic pattern together with the ostinato for context, text and structural analysis. The selected songs for analysis were carefully chosen to represent different facets of the music. In all, sixty-six songs were gathered during my fieldwork from five different sources. These sources were: my recordings of twenty-seven songs spanning the period of January 2015 to July 2017. Thirteen recordings were given to me by Togbe Dake, 11 songs from Togbe Boasapa 9 songs from Togbe Alornu Korsi, and six recorded songs from Mama Dafeameɔkɔ. Even though they were unable to confirm the specific periods when the recordings were done, I was able to confirm that these recordings were done before 1990. Some of them sounded as though they were recorded at the same performance.

#### 5.2 Shrine Music Repertory

In the local Ewe language, a musical repertory is called *vu* which is also the name for a drum. The shrine musical repertories are called *trɔvu*. In order not to confuse the usage of the word *vu* for the repertories and drums, I restrict myself to the use of shrine – musical repertory. Shrine music repertories and

their performance remain solely a religious activity, which means it cannot be performed elsewhere or during any other occasion except during religious activity. This caveat does not preclude traditional believers from singing their favourite songs in their private moments when they feel like singing it. In effect, it implies that traditional religious believers can sing any of the religious songs but only to themselves and for their comfort or soul upliftment. Two different rhythmic types of traditional musical repertoires are associated with the shrine music in Awudome. Thus, the one played for or during rituals or sacrifice, and the music played for or during worship. Ritual music or music performed during rituals is music played when the shrine is observing special moments with the deities such as offering libation, praying for a request e.g., during healing, good harvests, rainfall during a drought, and in commemoration of ancestors. The musical repertoires that accompany all these activities are known and regarded as *ritual music*. Music for worship can best be described as leisurely musical repertoires in the shrines. They are repertoires not necessarily associated with any activity or rituals. Worship music is performed for people to dance and to make merry in most cases in the shrine. Because this musical repertory is employed for worship, the tempo is slower than the ritual musical type. Also, the tempo is a bit slower because it is performed in a longer period and is associated with dance. My comparison of the two repertoires reveals that the slower nature of worship repertory affords the musicians, dancers and singers to conserve energy. This, in turn, allows them to perform for a longer duration, unlike the ritual music which demands lots of energy to play. Whereas worship music can be performed for as long as four to five hours non-stop, ritual music

begins and ends with ritual activity. The most extended period, that ritual music may be performed ranges between 10 to 30 minutes and even if it takes about 30 minutes. If it takes about 30 minutes long, it is believed the spirits have come to the shrine, and some people have become possessed, and the music will continue until the spirit depart, or they become unpossessed.

The same musical instruments are used for both the ritual and the worship musical repertoires, (instruments which will be discussed shortly); however, the rhythmic patterns differ from one repertoire to the other. This can be seen simply by listening to both musical repertoires and without any formal structural analysis. **Rhythm 5.1** and **5.2** represent a transcription of the bell patterns of the two different musical repertoires. As shown in **rhythm 5.1**, two bells are employed in the musical repertoire for worship activities, which I transcribed in four measures.

Two staves of musical notation in 2/4 time. The top staff shows four measures of eighth notes with fingerings: 1, 2 3 4 5, 6 7 1, 2 3 4 5, 6 7. The bottom staff shows four measures of quarter notes with fingerings: 1 2, 3 4, 1 2, 3 4.

**Rhythm 5.1** Two measures of the bell patterns used in worship ensemble

A single staff of musical notation in 2/4 time with a double bar line. It contains four measures of eighth notes with fingerings: 1 3, 2 3, 3 3, 4 3.

**Rhythm . 5.2** two measures of the bell pattern used in ritual activities



In the ritual's activities, one bell is employed in the performance, as shown in **rhythm 5.2**, which is also transcribed in four measures. For ritual music, the tempo in the music is faster than the tempo in the worship music, as I have alluded to earlier. Whereas the worship music plays a quarter (♩) note to 60-speed time, the quarter (♩) note of the ritual music is played to 75 speeds in the ritual music. It is important to emphasize here, that both musical repertoires are danceable rhythms and indeed, people at the shrines dance to both repertoires. However, because of the speed at which it is played, the music performed during rituals makes people get tired too quickly. According to Asempa Komla, despite the tiredness associated with the fast tempo at which ritual music repertory is performed, it helps in the speedy and early arrival of the spirits of the gods which is a central feature of the music. It is essential to experience the spirits of the gods in the shrine during rituals, the presence of which is reflected by people getting into trance. The chances of the spirits arriving when the tempo of the music is dull and or slow are very slim.

### **5.3 Performance of Shrine Music**

Discussion on worship shrine music performance is in two folds: one, when worshipers are called to a spot in the shrine referred to as *vuwɔfɛ* (performance arena) to have a concentrated performance. The second is when worshipers sit independently and indiscriminately with no purposeful agenda or proper coordination at the shrine where they listen and respond to songs raised by the soloist. Sometimes, this ad-hoc musical sense happens as a precursor or prelude to the central performance, or it happens after the performance when people are exhausted and would like to have a free movement to rest.

During the resting period, when singing continues, there is no drumming or other percussive instruments. Since at this moment, singing is done to keep people awake and does not form a significant part of the performance at the shrine. Given the secondary nature of this music, my focus is only on the coordinated performance, which happens in the performance arenas at the selected shrines.

One very significant practice during the performance at the shrine is paying homage or show reverence to the gods. This serves as a signal which signifies notification or information when to begin the performance. Since the deity/ies is/are not brought out during the performance and not every worshiper is allowed into the sacred place where the deities are kept, all reverence due the deity is given to the priest/priestess. The priest/priestess, being the religious head, inadvertently becomes the most respected or revered persons at the shrine. In every endeavor, therefore, the priests/priestesses are shown reverence. Reverence to the priests/priestesses is regarded as being submissive to the gods or goddesses. There are many ways to show reverence to the priest or priestess. The most standard way of showing or giving reverence to the priest/priestess before performance is to bow or kneel before him/her. While he or she is seated at his or her designated place in the shrine, mostly at the entrance to the sacred place on his shrine stool – a stool reserved for a priest or priestess people come one after the other to pay reverence to bow or kneel before him/her. Others prefer to lie flat on the floor in front of him/her; still, others choose to put their fore/index finger deep in the sand in front of him or her and then touch their tongue. Everybody presents at the shrine takes a turn to pay homage to the

priests or priestesses as a prelude to the performance. This action by the gathering signifies the start of a performance. The practice of bowing and greeting the Priests/priestesses, however, are known as *uwawogbedodo*. This happened when the priest or priestess are already seated in their designated place within the shrine, waiting for the performance to commence.

While the performance is in progress, there is another moment where it becomes mandatory once again to show respect to the priests and the priestesses. While the performance is going on, whoever decides to take to the dance floor must follow the earlier routine or protocol established to show respect to the priests and priestesses. This time, anybody who chooses to dance walk to where the priests and priestesses are seated bends before him/her or fall prostrate on the floor before the spiritual head being the priests or priestesses. No Dancer can get into the designated arena to dance without the show of veneration to the religious head; therefore, the reverence once again becomes mandatory. Whether you showed reference before the beginning of the dance or not, you must go back to the holy one – holy one being the priest/priestess to show respect and seek permission to dance. The permission aspect is also a very crucial element for going back the second time to bow to the holy one. Whatever goes on at the shrine must receive the blessing of the holy one. For this reason, you must receive permission from the priest or priestess before mounting the floor to dance.

After the first homage to the holy one, which everyone is expected to undertake, the *zagunɔ*, (master drummer) plays introductory specific rhythmic

patterns on the master drum. This initial discriminatory and corresponding drumming is known as *uuyuyru* (invocation). During the invocation, the name of the ancestors, priests and priestesses who are dead are mentioned and invoked. The invocation is also an invitation to the ancestors to partake in the performance. Inviting the ancestors to partake in the performance is a spiritual belief. The reasons behind it are that when they come and join in the performance, the performance will be more successful and pleasurable and entertaining. After the invocation of the ancestors, the master drummer will now mention the names of the surviving and respected people, chiefs, priests, and priestesses of other shrines. This segment is known as *kakɔdodɔdɛdzi* (appellation). The appellation is to praise the gods, priests and all-important personalities within the communities. While the master drummer continues with his invocation and appellation, the *dzenɔ* (soloist) is also heard singing speech likely song (recitative), also singing the praises of the Chiefs, priests and priestesses' other essential personalities. This occurrence happens simultaneously between the master drummer and the soloist. Another reason for the dialogue between the *zagunɔ* and *dzenɔ* is that it allows both the opportunity to show their mastery on the drum and oratories before the central musical performance. When the simultaneous section of praise comes to an end, then the real performance begins, signified by a bell. The performance period is known as *uwɔwɔ*.

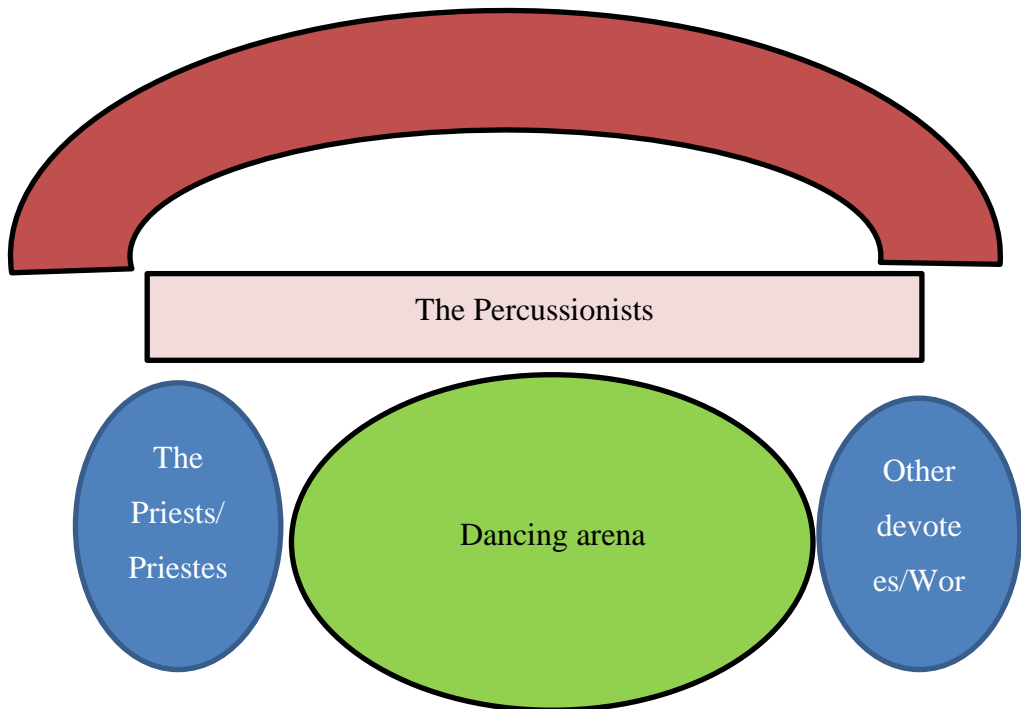
It is a common practice mostly in traditional African music performance that the bell serves as the guiding timeline. Because of this, the bell becomes

the first always to start playing in an ensemble (Anku 2002). The bell is followed by other supporting drums and the master drummer/s being the last to start. As the discussions so far indicate, there is a standard order for the instruments to follow in traditional African music performance: the bell, supporting drums and master drum. This scenario is entirely the opposite in the Awudome worship shrine music performance. In this case, the master drummer starts, and the bell players find a cue to join, and the two supporting drummers follow this. In any case, before the master drummer starting, there is already a dialogue between the soloist and the chorus, meaning the songs start before the mater drummer. This narration applies strictly to the worship ensemble performance only and not the ensemble relating to the rituals.

#### **4.4 Performance Setting**

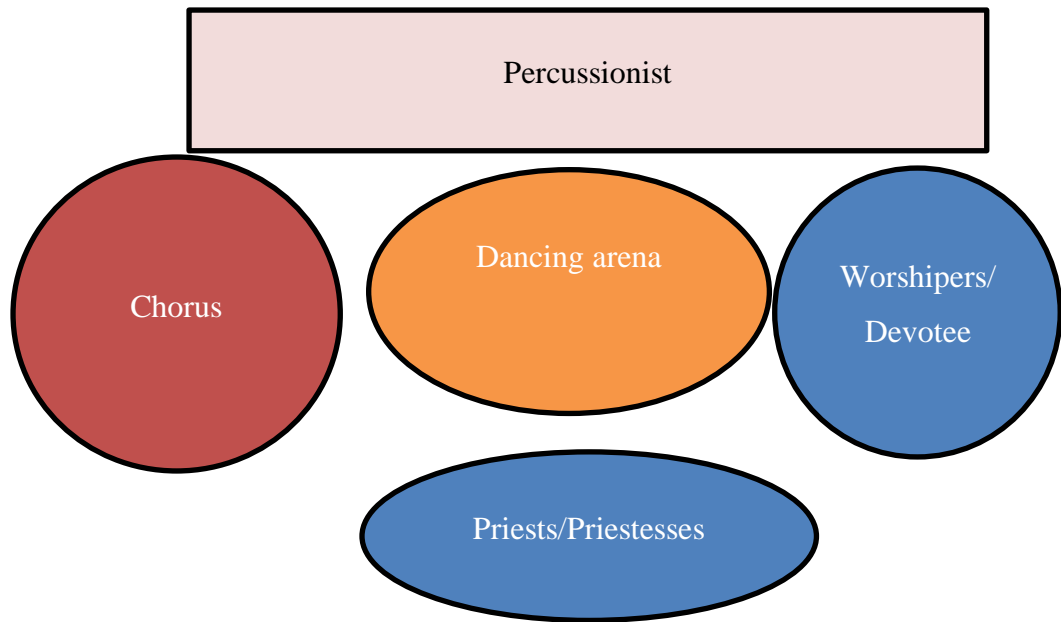
The performance setting refers to sitting or standing, referring to a specific set up and arrangement of the arena where the performance takes place at the shrines and how musicians and other performers arrange themselves for perform. The performance setting at the three shrines is unique with regards to the music performed for rituals and during worship. Sitting arrangements differ from one shrine to the other. Even though reasons such as the locations of the sacred room and stationing of the *trɔ̃nuɔ̃zikpi* (the chair for the priest) were cited for the differences in the performance setting, I also discovered that the topography and landscaping in the shrine contributed to the differences in the performance settings at the shrines. As I already established in the third chapter of this study, there are no differences in the two musical repertoires – the ritual – and – the worship musics at the three shrines. The same repertoires are

performed at all three shrines. The only differences that can be associated with the shrine are the differences in a performance setting. Some of the songs that are also restricted to specific shrines, may have the names of the specific shrine mention when it must appear in the song.

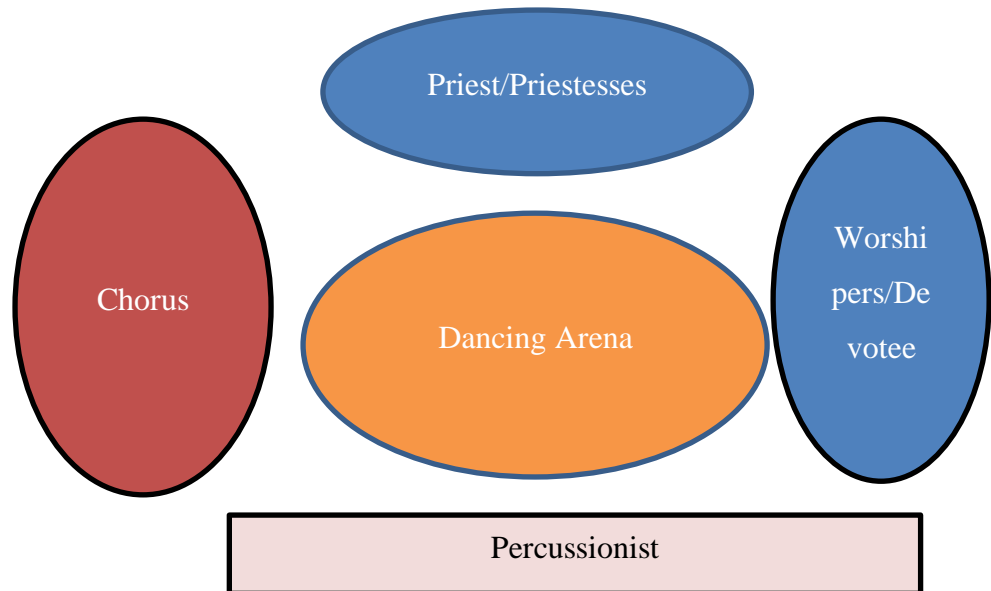


**Diag. 6. The performance setting at the *veto* shrine**

Other than these differences, everything surrounding shrine music remains the same. Diagrams 6, 7, 8 show the performance setting in the three shrines. The performance set up is very essential in each shrine as shown in the diagram above. The performance of ritual music can best be described or to a large extent said to be spontaneous. The priests and the priestesses gather with the musicians to begin some aspects of the ritual music performance from the sacred room.



Diag 7. The performance setting at the *wuvɛ* shrine



Diag. 8. The performance setting at the *tsawɛ* shrine

In my discussions earlier in the fourth chapter, I explained why a composer/creator must attain a certain age before he or she is recognized as a shrine musician. Most often, the ritual music begins from the sacred, and as my

earlier discussion established, the age limit imposed on shrine musicians is supported and justified in this case. In the sacred place/room, as soon as the holy one (priest/priestess) begins his chants of prayers, the bell players will start, and the other instrument will take turns at a cue to follow. During this period, the musicians are not seated when performing ritual music. As the libation, and invocation proceeds in the sacred room, that is the time devotees get possessed and begin to speak the mind of the deities. When the ritual is done in the sacred place, they all move outside, where they are met at the entrance by those who were unable to join them in the room as I said there are no rules that govern this performance that is why I described it earlier as spontaneous. Persons who have possessed moves up and down in the shrine, they are not confined, and as they move, the drummers together with the soloists and some sections of the chorus follow them. The music will continue to play until the spirits depart from him or her.

Let me also indicate that it is not all rituals and rites associated with the shrines that are performed in the sacred place. Some of the rites and rituals are performed in the open spaces at the shrine and sometimes without the accompaniment of music. These types of open place or outdoor performance of rituals and sacrifices without music or spectacles and pageantries are the regular or daily rituals that are performed. The daily rituals and sacrifices as it were can also be performed by one or two persons together with the priest or the priestess, it does not need many people at the shrine, but when it becomes necessary for music to accompany an outdoor sacrifice or ritual, people are invited to participate with all the musical instruments.



Let me mention on this note that music at the shrine is always performed at night either for ritual or for worship. Only in exceptional cases, that the performance of shrine music take place in the day. On other days that performance happens in a day are rare occasions or when a member dies, and the funeral must be performed in the day time, or when there is a revelation or prophesy for any ritual to be performed in broad daylight otherwise, all activities are carried out at night.

#### **4.5 Musical Instruments**

Over the years, it is clear the musical instruments used in shrine music have evolved, having gone through several changes because of wars, trade and migration as discussed in chapter two. Even though the musical instruments have evolved over the years at the shrines, it is inevitable that since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, there have been no changes or additions to the shrine musical instruments. My discussion on the musical instruments relates to those that are used and recognized among the musicians since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. One important factor about the musical instrument is that they are made from materials available within the Awudome traditional area. Apart from the musical instruments that are used during performances, other sound-producing instruments are found in the shrine. These other sounds producing instruments discovered at the shrine are not necessarily regarded as musical instruments by the musicians because they are only used to produce sounds in communicating with the gods.

All other musical instruments found at the shrines will be discussed in this chapter base on the musical sounds they produced and according to their functions in the ensembles.

There are two major types or taxonomies of musical instruments that are employed in the shrine musical performance. These instruments are in the taxonomies of **bells** and the **drums**. Two different bells are used, and these are *gakokoe* and *akɔge*. The drums are *asivugã*, (master drum), *asivuvi* (first supporting drum) *dondon* (second supporting drum). *Akɔge* together with *asivugã*, (master drum), *asivuvi* (first supporting drum) *dondon* (second supporting drum) see (Anku, 2002) which sometimes complements and alternates with the master drum. These are the instruments used in the ritual music repertory. **Fig. 5.1** is the photo of the musical instrument as exhibited at the shrine after a performance.



**Fig. 5.1** The set of musical instruments at the shrine

In the performance of the shrine worship music repertory, the two bells *gakokoe*, and *akoge* are combined with all the drums. The bells alternate each other in an interlocking manner, as shown in **Fig. 5.1** The bells are made from an iron, whereas the drums are made from an explicit wood called *adewudati* and the skin/hire of an animal. Even though generally, domestic, farm and or bush animal's skins/hire are used to cover the open part of a carved drum (Agordoh, 1996), unfortunately, it is not the case with regards to drums used in the shrines in that any skin/hire is used to cover the open part of the drums for sound production.

The drums that are employed in Awudome shrines have specific requirements with regards to the skin that are used to cover the open part of the carved drum. The first requirement is that the skin of animals must be an animal that lives in the forest and hunt from the forest. It must not be a domestic or a farm animal. Secondly, at the point of hunting or butchering the animal, it 'must' spill blood on the earth. Meanwhile, a forest animal caught in a trap that does not spill blood on the ground will not be used for drums in the shrine. For this reason, the musicians prefer to use the skin of an animal from a hunter, using the gun or bow and arrow. In this case, they are assured of having a fresh animal skin which spills blood. The belief is that by the use these hunting implements, there is the assurance and optimism that the hunted animal will spill blood, which will help them not to violate an essential requirement in order not to incur the wrath of the gods. This requirement also makes the musicians always keep the extra skin of an animal, and this happens for the reason that they not to be found helpless when a drum is broken. In **fig. 5.1**, as shown above, there is a bottle of *castle*

*bridge dry gin* an (alcoholic beverage), standing between two drums tuned with nylon ropes. The drink was my gift to the drummers on that day after their performance. This act of giving a bottle of drink to the musicians, priests and priestesses happens from time to time. Those two drums sandwiching the bottle of drink are called *dondon* with drumming sticks lying across the two. There is a black object in the middle of the drums, that is one of the bells called *gakogoe*. Also, the little drum, tilting to the left with a little hole at the beneath the wood with the bell resting on the head, is called *asivuvi*, and finally, the biggest drum in the picture with a little tail is called *asivuga*.

### 5.6 Roles of the instruments

Each musical instrument, as mentioned above, has a role/s, well defined during a performance. The roles are complementary to a successful performance. Because there is an implicit theory that guides all these instruments, it is crucial to keep conscientiously to the theories in order not to disrupt the performance.

***Gakokoe*** – this instrument’s role is to keep the timeline (Nketia, 1974) or a steady pulse of the ensemble.

It plays a constant rhythmic pattern, a recurring phrase that characteristically provides a revolving point to all other instruments. In the event of any instrument missing out on the main flow of the rhythm of the performance, *gakogoe* helps the missed-out drummer, think internally to return into the performance. ***Akoge*** – *akoge* just like the *gakogoe*, this bell serves as the timing referent for each other facet of the performance. It also

supports the *gakɔgoe* in an interlocking play mode. The interactive nature of the two bells makes listening to them much tighter for the performance. Bell players at the shrine are not regarded as shrine musicians, but their role is extremely vital in the ensemble; therefore, an experienced person is always encouraged to play the bell during a performance. *Asivuvi* – is a high tuned or pitched small drum. As the first supporting drum, it plays a repetitive rhythmic pattern throughout the performance. It provides extra support together with the bell, as they serve as the ostinato. *Dondon* – is the second supporting drum, also known as the hourglass drum (Agordoh, 1994). Even though *dondon* has specific rhythmic patterns that it plays, it also serves as the support to the master drum in a dialogue. There are moments during performances that the *dondon* and the master drum engages in a call and response. Both sides of *dondon* are played with a drumming stitch. *Asivuga* – as the lead or master drum places a call to the second supporting drum also known as response drum and they interact with each other. This instrument plays the most prominent rhythmic pattern throughout the performance. It changes the overall effect of the ensemble when the master drummer engages in improvisation. This drum provides various rhythmic patterns for the dancers who dance according to the dictates of the master drummer's manipulations.

### **5.7 Rhythmic Structures in Shrine Music**

The complexities in the shrine music of the Awudome, which is heavily built with polyrhythms, are not different from the other traditional musical genres in Africa. In the last forty to fifty years, there has been an upsurge in the

study of rhythm in African music. More ethnomusicologists, musicologists and music theorists have emerged and have paid increasing attention to topics such as perception, structure, transcription and different forms of rhythm in African music. This is aptly acknowledged in Agawu's book *The African Imagination in Music* where he wrote 'more ink has been spilt on rhythm than on any other topic in African music studies' (Agawu, 2016:154). The overwhelming interests in the study of rhythm have not happened to add to the already existing one. Scholars such as (Jones, 1954; Koeting, 1970; Chernoff, 1979; Arom, 1991; Agawu, 1995, 2006; Anku, 1997; Locke, 1982; Kongo 2002; 1997;) and many more have contributed to the subject of rhythm in African music. Indeed, I agreed with Agawu (2003), where he writes that there have been many sophisticated and convincing discussions and debates from one scholar to the other. Among these studies of African rhythm, three perspectives (Arom 1991), (Anku, 1997), (Locke, 1998) have become especially relevant to my discussion on the rhythm of the shrine music of the Awudome.

In addition to my discussion on instrumental rhythm, Agawu (2016) discusses rhythm in terms of speech – the rhythms of speech are the durational, accentual and periodic patterns produced in the cause of speaking: the rhythms of the body are dance rhythms, rhythms that can produce movement of people. Even though both (the rhythm of speech and the body) can be found in the endeavors at the shrines, my discussions of rhythm are centred on rhythms of the body rather than the rhythms of speech. The two types of musical repertoires ritual and worship in the Awudome shrines are both danceable rhythms, and in other words, they are musical rhythms. They are so organized in such a way that

both musical types involve dance. Indeed, I observed some moments of speech rhythm activities during libation, where only the priest or the priestess make statements that have nothing to do with music or in other words are unmusical. However, the focus of this study remains the shrine music hence, my decision to focus mainly on the rhythm of the body, that which has to do with dance and movements and not very much on the speech rhythm.

In order to explain the structures, creative processes in the drumming of shrine music, I employed structural set theory espoused by Anku (2002) in my analysis. Anku as part of his contribution to the study of rhythm in African music, he suggests in his paper *Principles of Rhythm Integration in African Music* that two valuable analytical perspectives must be taken into focus and these are: (a) the drummer's "internal" holistic perspective and (b) the "external" holistic perspective. The holistic perspective, in this case, refers to the overall understanding of a drummer in light of coexistence or synchronizing with other instruments in an ensemble. The drummers and to some extent, performers and all persons present at the shrine in time of performance can tell when a rhythmic pattern is off. By the intuition of the implicit theory of the 'internal holistic perspective' which is very vital to the overall success of the performance, guides the people to determine when something is wrong. They do not need any 'expert on the rhythmic pattern' to tell them when a rhythmic pattern is not playing or dovetailing well or when an instrument misses out on the flow or get lost during performance.

This inherent intuition of the musicians helps them to correct each other during performances. The missing out on rhythm is termed in the shrine as

*evuada* – meaning literally – the drum or the performance is bent, or the performance is not going straight. In the shrine and mainly among traditional Ewe drummers, they have several expressions and terminologies that are used during a performance. Whenever one misses the rhythm, he is referred to, pointed or singled out and told *edavua* – you are out of time. When this happens, the drummer must stop and look for an entry and join the performance and again at an internally perceived instance. Remember, there are five musical instruments involved in the shrine music ensemble; therefore, one must find the appropriate cue considering all the other instruments performing before restarting. This feeling and awareness of something have gone wrong, and that one needs to stop and re-start at the appropriate time is what Anku refers to as an ‘internal holistic perspective.’ In addition to this relationship, Anku again mentions the occurrence of ‘momentary shifts in focus’ as an internal holistic perspective. This ‘shift in focus’ relates to drumming at a higher intensity, where two instruments interact with each other and seek recognition. Apparently, within such high intensity and seeking recognition, they interact with each other, perhaps in a destructive manner. This scenario occurs very frequently in shrine music between the *asivuga* player and *dondon* player. In any case, a shift in focus does not necessarily result in a negative influence on the consistent flow of the performance, but instead, it brings out the best in drummers. Meanwhile, in order for any repertory not to be thrown out of rhythm, as I indicated, one musical instrument ought to protect all other instruments. Usually, the bell – serves as the facilitator for the two interactive



instruments engaging in the shift I focus, keeping them in check, serving as the reference point for both instruments so as they do not miss out on the flow of the ensemble but keeping to the consistency.

Regarding tuning of drums, musicians can tell when the sound of a drum is not in tune with others. In this case, one of the musicians or the *zagunɔ* will draw the attention of the concerned musician by saying either *evua gble or evua me he oa*. Meaning the membrane is not in tune the or the drum is loosened. These expressions help the musicians to communicate as professionals during a performance.

Anku believes that there is a principle that guides rhythmic articulation in the performance of dance music, particularly, indigenous African drumming. These principles he articulates as:

‘In drumming, rhythms are articulated into groups of various structural units. These rhythmic groups may be perceived on various either (a) a span of two patterns (on a third synthesis level); The pattern span itself (on a second synthesis level); (c) in groups of halves (on a first synthesis level), and (d) in four equidistant divisions tern as beat units. (Anku, 2002: 214)

Since Anku relates this conception to only danceable music, this has made his concept and perspective of theory on African rhythm rather crucial for my assessment of the Shrine rhythmic patterns.

While Anku believes there is an implicit theory, guiding traditional musicians and performance in Africa, Arom (1991) thinks otherwise. Arom claims that traditional musicians in Central Africa do not have any theory or inherent attributes in their performance, let alone guiding musicians. This assessment by Arom cannot be accurate since musicians at the shrine are fully aware of whatever creative processes, structures and improvisation methods that they use and which one to adopt at any given moment. They can talk, discuss and explain all the approaches and intricacies in their terminologies as they have practised over the years at the shrine. Arom's assessment and conclusion can only be attributed to the "multi rhythmic" perception in drumming, that is the method by listening to the various composite patterns together in an integrated manner. When it happens this way, the temptation is high to conclude just as Arom. I strongly recommend that after listening to holistically rhythmic patterns, it is essential to perceive them in isolated units.

Assuming traditional musicians have no implicit theory guiding the evolution of rhythmic patterns in performance and creativity as it was assumed by many western scholars, how then, are they able to tell when one or two drummers or a soloist goes off in a rhythmic pattern or in the flow of a performance or even in pitch? Being unable to document or write down and defend theoretical principles and conceptions do not give credence to the non-existence of theory in traditional African music creative processes or

performance. However, I endorse Anku's positions on the principles of a rhythmic organization in dance rhythm in the indigenous African music repertory. That is; implicit theories are guiding traditional musicians and performance in Africa. Subsequently, I show in my rhythmic analysis that theories and concepts underlying shrine music performance coupled with what has been discussed so far in this chapter and chapter four are an affirmation of theoretical principles, even though unwritten in indigenous African music but transmitted orally.

### **5.8 Transcriptions**

Again, in this chapter, I present several musical examples in the form of transcription and in addition to those found in the appendix of the study. However, I deem it essential to explain the methodology used in the processes of transcription of the excerpts used for analysis in this chapter and the appendix. Transcription has been contentious issues among many scholars since the rise in the interest of studying rhythm in African music. Legitimately, I agree with the contentions simply because transcription and notation are a Western idea and used to be a preserve of Western music. In any case, its application to African music has gone through several phases. There have been differences in issues regarding meter, stress, beat, phrase and many more Western terminologies, all in an effort to aid transcription and analysis of African music. Whiles I do not intend to meddle in the more extensive debate of transcription and its associated differences among many music scholars and investigators: (Jones, 1958; Kubik, 1966; 1985; Blacking, 1995; Agawu, 1995;). I will quickly look at the views of two personalities (Arom, 1991; Anku, 1997) who

have influenced me in terms of their work on Africa music, rhythm and transcription. Even though I will refer to any of the works by any other scholars, my intentions are not to meddle in the long-ranging debates. I agree with Agawu (2003) in his book *Representing African music Post-Colonial Notes, Queries and Positions* when commenting on musical analysis, said that ‘there is obviously no way not to analyse African music. Any and all ways are acceptable’ (Agawu, 2003:197). Amid all the debates, arguments and differences, no one person can lay claim to being correct in terms of transcription. I will, however, add that insofar as each scholar can present and explain modes and methods used in transcribing, we cannot continue in the debate of right and wrong. I can only add my voice to say that transcription that lack value does not yet exist.

### **5.9 Rhythmic Analysis of the musical instruments**

The rhythmic excerpt transcription below: **5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4**, which I relabeled ‘A’, ‘B’, ‘C’ and ‘D’ are extractions from appendix A. Appendix A is a complete transcription of 10 minutes of shrine worship instrumental repertory performance. These excerpts show four major rhythmic patterns of which the whole performance was predicated by the master drummer. I chose to focus on the master drummer because he changes/improvises on his rhythmic patterns, unlike the ostinato involving: the bells and the two supporting drums, which play a constant rhythmic pattern.

**Rhythm 5. 3 Transcription of the rhythm one of worship repertory**

Apart from all these excerpts which are established here as complete rhythmic set (Anku, 2002), all other rhythmic patterns transcribed and shown in the appendix concerning the worship repertory falls within the category of creativity and demonstration of virtuosity by the master drummer. All the excerpts from the staff numbers 1 to 4 shows the systematic rhythmic patterns of the bells and the supporting drums. Also, they remain constant throughout the performance except when the *dondon* must complete the master drum. This is done by responding to a few phrases on a few occasions as indicated in the Appendix A. For referencing and analysis, I labelled the attack points – the contact time of the instruments – of the bell (*gakogoe*) and the master drum (*Asiwuga*) patterns with numbers 1 to 7 and 2 to 8 respectively.

In **Rhythm 5.3**, the rhythmic pattern of the bell begins, preferably with an anacrusis as the starting point of the rhythm labelled number 1. Since the bell plays a constant patter pattern, I can say, therefore, inference and practice, that the rhythmic pattern of the bell remains on anacrusis starts through the performance. The second bell (*akoge*) and the first supporting drum (*asiwuvi*)

starts instead on the second note of the main bell pattern. The second supporting drum *dondon* begins of the 4<sup>th</sup> attack point of the main bell whereas the master drum begins on the 2<sup>nd</sup> attack point.

**Rhythm 5. 4-second rhythmic pattern of worship repertory**

In **Rhythm 5.4** which shows the second rhythmic pattern of the master drum the interactive activities and relationship which occurs between the main bell pattern, the second bell, and the supporting drums remained unchanged, however, in the case of the materdrumer, the starting point of the rhythmic pattern changed from 2<sup>nd</sup> attack point of the bell to the 6<sup>th</sup> attack position. This development shows a change in orientation of the master drum with the ostinato. Whereas the second rhythmic pattern has nine attack points including a rest, the first rhythmic patterns have 7 seven attack points to occupy the two set measures.

The musical score for Rhythm 5.5 is presented in five staves. The top staff, Gakogoe 1, uses a common time signature (C) and a 2/4 time signature. It features a sequence of notes across three measures, with the second and third measures marked '1' and '2' respectively. The second staff, Akogoe 2, also uses a 2/4 time signature and shows a similar rhythmic pattern. The third staff, Asiwuvi 3, and the fourth staff, Dondon 4, continue the rhythmic development. The bottom staff, Asiwuga 5, is marked with a 2/4 time signature and includes nine numbered attack points (1-9) below the notes, indicating specific rhythmic events. The score is divided into three measures, with the first measure starting with a common time signature and the subsequent measures marked with '1', '2', and '3'.

**Rhythm 5.5 third rhythmic pattern of worship repertory**

Rhythm 5.5, as shown above, is the third rhythmic patterns, as indicated in the transcription by the master drummer. Again, the ostinato patterns remained unchanged, whereas the pattern for the master drum changed completely in structure. Whereas the starting attack point of the **rhythm 5.3** and **5.4** started on the first note in the measures one and two, respectively, **rhythm 5.5** shows a different scenario regarding starting orientation. Having nine attack points with no rest as it were, the rhythm begun in the second measure, and on the second half of the first note. About the main bell pattern, the rhythm began between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> attack points, thereby creating a syncopation. The pattern starts with a 1/8<sup>th</sup> note and ends with the same. This orientation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> rhythmic pattern created an agitation in the performance, but the agitation was resolved by the second supporting drum with its steady rhythmic patterns. Structurally, **rhythm 5.3** as indicated in the master drummers (*asiwuga*) staff employed three different durational values of notes whereas that is not the case in **rhythm 5.3** and **5.4.**, which have two different durational values of notes. This indicates the aggressive nature of the rhythmic patterns concerning the ostinato. During a

performance, this kind of scenario, as created by the third rhythmic pattern arises when the performance reaches its highest peak. **Rhythm 5.5** comes with another stable rhythmic pattern, indicating almost an anticlimax of the performance.

The musical score for Rhythm 5.4 consists of five staves, each representing a different instrument or voice part. The time signature is 2/4. The score is divided into three measures. The first measure has 8 attack points, the second has 8, and the third has 8. The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests.

**Rhythm 5.4 fourth rhythmic patterns of worship repertory**

This the fourth rhythmic pattern, as indicated above, has eight attack points. Even though not evenly distributed in the two measures, we can say structurally, and it presents an even number just like the rhythm 5.1 and 5.2. The rhythm began in the first bar with the first attack point on the first note. This rhythm shares a lot in semblance with the second supporting drum (*dondon*), an indication of showing a balance since the repertory is nearing an end. This then becomes important for all rhythmic agitations and aggressiveness to be resolved in order that the music can end in a seemingly good mood.

**Rhythm 5.5, 5.6**, are transcriptions extracted from Appendix B, which is the instrumental transcription of the performance of ritual music repertory at the Awudome shrines. This performance was recorded in 2015 before the celebration of the yam festival in Awudome. The excerpts involves the three



instruments comprising the ostinato namely *gakogoe* (bell), *asiwuvi* second supporting drum *dondon* (the hourglass drum) being the second supporting drum.

**Rhythm 5.5 the first set of ritual rhythmic repertory**

In the four instruments as indicated above, staff one shows the rhythmic pattern of the bell; staff two is the second supporting drum, staff three third supporting drum, and staff four is the master drum. The bell patterns, as usual, are numbered 1 to 10, which are in two measures representing a complete set. Letter 1 to 5 are the exact representation of letters 6 to 10 in the second measure. Apart from the set cycle in the two measures being repetitive or a cycle, the pattern in measure one is the same in measure two, and after that, the combined measures became the primary cycle of the bell pattern. The other development in this rhythmic pattern is the introduction of the triplets in the set or cycle of the bell, which gives a syncopated feeling to the pattern. The first supporting drum *asiwuvi* rhythmic patterns look unique such that, the first rhythm of the first beat area in measure one, or in other words, the rhythm in one half of the measure is repeated throughout as the primary rhythmic cycle of this supporting

drum. The second supporting drum *dondon* remained constant with on rhythmic pattern in both measures forming the on cycle.

The master drum (*asivuga*), which is transcribed in staff number four, started the cycle of the rhythmic pattern on the fifth attacking point of the bell pattern in the first measure. The starting point of the cycle of the bell pattern gives the rhythm instead of an aggressive syncopated start, an indication of somewhat and a serious happening or about to happen. Apart from two  $1/16^{\text{th}}$  notes and an  $8^{\text{th}}$  note rest in the rhythmic cycle, all other notes, out of the nine-attack points are quavers. In effect, the rhythm combines just two different durational values of notes, being  $1/8^{\text{th}}$  and  $1/16^{\text{th}}$  note in creating the cycle of the first rhythmic pattern of the master drum. Because the ritual repertory in the shrine does not last long as a performance of the worship repertory, the use of short and straightforward repetitive patters will not make it dull or uninteresting. This leads us to the second rhythmic pattern as discovered in the transcription of the ritual music repertory and shown in **rhythm 5.6** below. The second rhythmic pattern began on a first note in the first measure of the bell pattern which is the first attacking point of the cycle of the bell. Even though the pattern began on the first note, which usually must bring stability to the overall performance, unfortunately, it was just a false start of the rhythmic pattern. The rhythmic pattern instead introduces triplets immediately at the start of the new orientation of the rhythm which instead epitomizes much more aggressiveness rather than the first rhythmic pattern. This confirms my earlier claim of this repertory being aggressive.

**Excerpt 5.6 the first set of ritual rhythmic repertory**

From the analysis of the rhythmic patterns so far, it is that in the imagination and performance of the shrine music, there is an indication as to how to organize rhythmic patterns coherently. It is not as if they do not have any written or documented underlining theory; hence, they perform anyhow.

### 5.10 Analysis of selected Songs

All the songs transcribed for analysis are in three staves. The front staff represents the transcription of bell patters, the other staff is the soloist, and the third staff represents the chorus. All the songs selected for analysis are transcribed in key ‘C’ Major. This does not mean the people sing their songs in key ‘C’ major. I chose this key because it was convenient when I was going through a playback control system with the people; it was convenient for them to sing along the playback.

#### **Song 1. Nyemaku O (I will not die)**

Example 5. 3 is song number one, selected from the repertoires used during worship titled *Nyemaku o* (I will not die). This song was recorded in

1982 at *Konta in the veto* shrine. The song was part of the collections I received from Togbe Boasapa.

This song is one of the many songs that are sung during worship at the shrines and for worshipers to dance. It is a song that has been in existence for long, so the author is unknown. As I said in chapter four, shrine music is not owned by any person. As soon as the song comes to public and the worshipers learn it, it becomes a communal song, and nobody can claim ownership of it hence the composer of this song is unknown. This song is sung as an encouragement to oneself or to encourage one other in times of troubles, trials or persecution.

### Nyemeku o

♩ = 120

**Gakorkoe**

**Soloist 1**  
 Duafocso subemeku loo — Duafocsu subemeku yeee — meafocsu subemeku loo —

**Chorus 2**

13

**Gk**

**Sol. 1**  
 — na yee — nyemeku ooo — meleagbe loooo —

**Chor. 2**  
 Duafocso subemeku loo — Duafocsu subemeku

26

**Gk**

**Sol. 1**

**Chor. 2**  
 yeee — meafocsu subemeku loo — na yee — nyemeku ooo — meleagbe loooo —

Example 5.3 Song number one use during a worship

**The text**

**Translation**

<i>Duafewo susube meku loo</i>	‘some folks thought I am dead
<i>Duafewo susube meku yee</i>	‘some folks thought I am dead
<i>Duafewo susube meku loo</i>	‘some folks thought I am dead

*Nayaa, nyemeku ooo mele agabe looo* 'Maa, I am not dead, I'm alive

Even though this song began with the word *Duadewo*, which translate as 'some towns', the composer used it figuratively, in other words, metaphorically. It does not refer to any town but refers to people. The philosophy behind this song is to indicate the protective nature of the gods. People may wish you evil, dead or something drastic should happen to you, so you become a laughingstock, yet you are protected by the gods. The best way to let them know is to express it through song.

The song comes or is sung to tease and tell enemies about oneself, to praise, and to show appreciation to the gods. Again, this song is and can be sung by anybody who has come out of a terrible setback. At the end of the first, second and third lines of the song, the composer uses non-lexical words looo, yeeee looo, these words are used to express how one is feeling and to lay emphasis. It is commonly used in the Ewe language; hence, the composer uses the words to emphasize how joyous or pleasant it feels to overcome a setback.

The song appeared to be in two segments. Lines one to three being the first segment, and the fourth line is representing the second segment. The third phrase being an exact repetition of the first phrase except in the last measure of the third phrase in measure 13, where the second segment began on anacrusis by taking the last crochet from the third phrase. In any case, that did not distort the coherence and the flow of the song. In all, the soloist sang the melody in 18 measures, making use of lips and step where the lips appeared in measures 2,3,7,10 11. The significant thing about the lips is that they are all in four

intervals. The lipped intervals in measures 2,7 and 10 are perfect 4<sup>th</sup>, whereas the lipped intervals in intervals in measures 3 and 11 are augmented four<sup>th</sup>. The melody appeared on a heptatonic scale, but in the 15<sup>th</sup> measure, the 7<sup>th</sup> was not flattened, but that did not affect the smooth landing of a perfect cadence at the end of the melody. The chorus sang the songs mostly in the harmony of 3rds and with occasional fourths.

### **Song 2. Mewɔya (Feel empty)**

Example 5.4. is a song entitled mewɔyaa – I feel empty. This is one of the songs used during worship at the shrines. Mewɔya is strictly a song used for lamentation. The composer combined lexical and non-lexical words, long and short notes to portray a state of somebody who feels empty in every endeavour. This song is one of my recordings in 2015 at Anyirawase. It was recorded when traditional religious believers gather at ueto shrine to perform a sacrifice of cleansing also known as purification rite for two young people; a male and a female, who were caught to have besmirched the land by having sexual intercourse in a forest on a bare floor which was a taboo. Without this rite for them, they would have suffered the wrath of the god and die. The rite was performed to avert the anger of the gods.

<b>The text</b>	<b>Translation</b>
Mewɔya yeee mewɔ ya	I feel Empty
Mewɔya yeee mewɔ ya	I feel Empty
Mewɔya nyeme dzivi oo mewɔ ya	I have no child, feel Empty
Mewɔya nyemedesrɔ oo mewɔ ya	I'm not married, feel Empty

Mewɔya yeee ayoooo

I feel empty

This song has four different non-lexical words: ya, yee, lo and yooo. All these words do not mean anything in the Ewe language. What the composer does, in this case, was to bring to the fore the desperation of a situation, which is brought before the gods for redress. When this song was performed in 2015 at Anyirawase, the soloist showed much dexterity in terms of improvisation. At a point, she virtually mentioned the names of all who were present and their worries for about 20 minutes. The manner the song was performed demonstrates the desperation of the congregants, asking the gods to have mercy upon the offenders and the communities at large. The song was sung as part of the reverence, before the ritual of the day while the congregants wait for the priests and priestesses to begin the ritual. The phrase *mewɔya* runs throughout the song, indicating a strong emphasis. Even though the song was not composed purposely for the ritual of the day, it was most appropriate for the occasion, whereas the soloist shows her creativity, improvising and choosing texts which fit for the instance. The way and a manner this song was performed again show the ingenuity among the shrine musicians. The texts of the phrases throughout the song show statements or declaration of emptiness. Unlike song number one whose first, second and third phrases were statements with the fourth line being a response, the same cannot be said of this song as it stood only as a supplication from the beginning to end.



### Mewor yaa

Gakorgoe

Soloist 1  
Mewoya ye ye yemenoya... mewoya lo yo yomewoya... mewoya nyamedzivi

Chorus 2

12

Gk

Sol. 1  
o mewoya... mewoya nyanedesro o mewoya... mewoya lo yo yooo a yoooo...

Chor. 2  
Mewoya ye ye

24

Gk

Sol. 1

Chor. 2  
yemenoya... mewoya lo yo yomewoya... mewoya nyamedzivi o mewoya... mewoya nyanedesro

**Example 5.4 song number 2 mewoya**

The melody is superbly organized within one octave of a heptatonic scale. It is sung in 20 measures which were prolonged into the 21st measure. The prolongation of the last note by the soloist shows an overlapping between the soloist and the chorus in measure 22. An interrupted cadence occurred at the end of all the phrases except in the last phrase, which ended with a perfect

cadence. Again, the 7th note of the scale was flattened in measure 14 just as the 7th note in the first song was also flattened and whereas the intervals in this song remained mostly seconds, there are a few thirds and fourths which interspersed with the seconds. While the texture remained homophonic throughout, the chorus was harmonized in two parts with major and minor thirds except in measure 25, where the harmony became diminished fourths. Soon after three notes of diminished fourth harmony, the song returned into major and minor thirds until the end of the song.

**Song No. 3 Gbome megble za** (Have I destroyed a town?)

**Example 5.5** *gbome me gble za?* (Have I destroyed a town?) This is a transcription of one of the selected songs used during ritual performances at the shrines. Again, I transcribed this song in Key ‘C’ major with the bell pattern as an accompaniment.

**The Text**

**Translation**

Soloist: *Gbome megble za Gbome megble za?* – town destructive person?

Soloist: *Taku, Naku looo* - Parents are dead

Chorus: *Gbome megble za?* - I’m town destructive person?

Soloist: *Tavinnye wo deee?* - Where is my sibling?

Chorus: *Gbome megble za* - I’m town destructive person?

Soloist: *Taku noku looo* - Parents are dead

Chorus: *Gbome megble za* - I’m town destructive person?

Soloist: *Navi nyewo deee* - Where are my sibling?

Chorus: *Gbome megble za*

- I'm town destructive person?

*Gbome megble za*

$\text{♩} = 160$

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a tempo of 160. It consists of three systems. The first system features Akorke (Akordeon) and Soloist parts. The Akorke part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with triplets. The Soloist part has lyrics: "GBO ME ME GBLE ZA GBO ME ME GLE ZA GBO DO ME NU NOE TO KU NO KU LOOO". The Chorus part is silent. The second system features AG (Akorke) and SOL (Soloist) parts. The AG part has the same rhythmic pattern. The SOL part has lyrics: "TO VI NYE MO DEEE TO KO NO KU LOO". The CHOR part has lyrics: "5 GBO ME ME GBLE ZA GBO ME ME GLE ZA". The third system features AG and SOL parts. The AG part has the same rhythmic pattern. The SOL part has lyrics: "NO VI NYE MO DEE". The CHOR part has lyrics: "9 GBO ME ME GBLE ZA GBO ME ME GBLE ZA".

Example 5.5 *Gbome me gble za*

As the words indicate, it sounds like a lamentation of a person under compulsion or stress, asking the gods whether his or her presence in the town is destructive. The lamentation includes the statements that my parents are dead. This statement is followed by a rhetorical question, in the song that can be attributed to the philosophical saying at the shrine to seek intervention from the gods. The song questions whether the absence of parents could cause problems as it were for any person in the town, whose sibling who have also abandoned him or her.

In the structure of this song, the soloist sings four-bar phrases after which the chorus responded with a question in one bar phrase. This was followed by a one-bar phrase as a statement from the soloist which receive one bar response from the chorus and this dialogue of one bar statements from the soloist and response by the chorus continued until the end of the song. Even though the chorus was responding with the same question throughout the song, the notes are in sequences. In all, both the soloist and the chorus are all together in twelve measures, but it can be performed as long as possible during the rituals. There is no restriction on how many times a song should be sung. The soloist determines when to change the song from one to the other. The scale employed in this song is the heptatonic scale where the seventh note of the scale is not sung in the melody except appearing in the chorus during the harmony. It is essential to indicate the melody in the chorus is different from the melody sung by the soloist. The song ended on the perfect cadence. Even though the rhythmic patterns in the song are simple with two different durational note values, they appeared very thick, quick and fast

**Tsitutu (showering of Blessing)**

$\text{♩} = 160$

**GAKOGOE**

**SOLOIST**

**CHORUS**

MA NUO NO YRA NU DO ME DUO NO YRA MI LOOO VO VLO NU TU TSI NAI MI

**Gg**

**SOL**

**CHOR**

7

LOO YOO DU FIE NO XE GBE GBLEA NO LOO NO NA YA YRA NE

**Gg**

**VA**

**CHOR**

13

MA NUO NO YRA NU DO ME DUO NO YRA MI LOOO VO VLO NU TU TSI NAI MI

Example 5.6 *Tsitutu* transcription

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a song. Each system consists of a guitar part (G6), a vocal melody (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

**System 1 (Measures 19-24):**  
 G6: Six measures of eighth-note triplets.  
 Lyrics: 19 LOO YOO DU FIE MO XE GBE GBLEA MO LOO NO NA YA YRA NE

**System 2 (Measures 25-30):**  
 G6: Six measures of eighth-note triplets.  
 Lyrics: 25 VA TSI NA MI LO TSI NA MI YE TSI NA MI LO TSI NA MI NO NA YA YRA NE VA

**System 3 (Measures 31-33):**  
 G6: Three measures of eighth-note triplets.  
 Lyrics: 31 LOO NO NA YA YRA NE VA NO NA YA YRA NE VA

Example 5.6 Contd'

**Song N0. 4 Tsitutu (showering of Blessing)**

Example 5.6, as shown above, is one of the few songs that has a melody, with the call from the soloist with more than ten measures. The song with the title *tsitutu* (showering of blessing) is one of the songs sung during ritual activities which is fundamentally asking for a blessing for the Awudome

state. The melody of the soloist is featured in 12 measures comprising four phrases. The first two phrases appeared longer than the second two phrases. The phrases are all independent. They do not have antecedent and consequence effects whereby depending on each other. This phenomenon creates a suspension in the melody until the end, which instead appeared abruptly even though on a perfect cadence. The chorus responded immediately. The soloist ended the solo as usual with harmony. The upper part of the chorus repeated exactly the melody sung by the soloist, whereas the lower part of the chorus supported the upper part with thirds throughout from the 13th measure until they finished in the 25<sup>th</sup> measure. The soloist created an interesting scenario in the 25<sup>th</sup> measure as soon as the chorus ended by improvising on the melody in measure 6. This improvisation received an on-measure response from the chorus. The ending of the song from measure 25 to measure 33 instead created antecedent and consequence feeling in the repertoire. This scenario also created the feeling of the unpredictable nature of soloist and responses from shrine music performance. The texture remained homophonic with the lower part being the harmony in thirds, ending the song in perfect cadence.

**The Text**

**Translation**

*Mawuowo no yra 'wudome duwo* - May the Gods bless Awudome towns

*Noyra mi loooo* they should bless us

*Vovlowo no tu sti na mi loo yooo* The spirits should bless us

*Dufiewo noxe gbleawo nu loo* Ancestors should bless us

*No na yayra neva* They should let the blessing come

The text of this repertoire is one of the repertoires that uses the Ewe dialect of the Awudome people extensively. The song is virtually seeking the blessing of the gods, and we can admit that this song can be sung or performed during rituals regarding draught. Even though the song is performed during rituals concerning draught, it can also be performed during other occasions, asking or seeking forgiveness and blessings from the gods.

**Song No. 5. Agu Madza (Unfallen dew)**

**Agumadza**

The musical score for 'Agumadza' is presented in three systems. Each system includes parts for Akorge (percussion), Soloist (vocal), and Chorus (vocal). The lyrics are in Ewe.

**System 1:**

- Akorge:** 2/4 time signature, rhythmic accompaniment.
- Soloist:** Melodic line with lyrics: yawoe doasiagu dzi lo yooo yawoe doasiagu dzi looo yooo yawoe doasiagu
- Chorus:** Rests.

**System 2:**

- Akg:** 12/8 time signature, rhythmic accompaniment.
- Sol.:** Melodic line with lyrics: dzilo yoo yawoe doasiagu dzibe a gumalzaoo
- Chor.:** Chorus part with lyrics: yawoe doasia gu dziloo yoooo yawoe

**System 3:**

- Akg:** 3/8 time signature, rhythmic accompaniment.
- Sol.:** Rests.
- Chor.:** Chorus part with lyrics: doasia gu dziloo yooo yawoe doasia gu dzi lo yooo yawoe doasia gu dzibe a guma dzaooo



Song number five which translates as an unfallen dew, is one of the proverbial songs that is sung during worship at the shrine. This song is sung across all the shrines in Awudome. Even though the song translates literally as unfallen dew, it is not referring to dews in the literal sense, but rather it is philosophical. The meaning behind this song is that unsuccessfulness of a person is attributed to machinations by enemies or people who may wish one evil. The song is sung more like a lamentation rather than praising or worship the deities.

<b>The Text</b>	<b>Translation</b>
Yawoe dɔ asi agudzi lo yoooo 3x	They silenced the dews 3x
Yawoe dɔ asi agube agu dzi be	They silenced the dews that
Agu madza ooo	It must not fall

The song began with the soloist in the introduction, and the seventeenth measure, the responses from the chorus started. It is a sixteen measures song, which is harmonized in mostly in thirds. The seventh note is lowered.

#### **Song No. 6. Milala Viee (Wait for a while)**

Song number six is performed all together in 24 measures. This comprises the solo and the Chorus. The song *Milala vie* translated as wait for a while is one of the songs sung, during a performance of rituals. It is sung while people get possessed with the spirits of the gods. They are asked to stay with the people. This is to enable them to live together always.

## Milala vie

The musical score for "Milala vie" is written in 2/4 time and consists of three systems. Each system includes parts for Akorge (percussion), Soloist (melody), and Chorus (harmony). The Akorge part features a continuous pattern of eighth-note triplets. The Soloist part includes lyrics: "Mi la la vie mi la la vie mi la la vie miadoabo de ka". The Chorus part includes lyrics: "mi la la", "vie mi la la vie mi la la vie miadoabo de kaa", and "miadoabo de kaa". Measure numbers 10 and 19 are indicated at the start of the second and third systems, respectively.

*Milala vie* is sung repeated in three measures, ending with two phrases before the chorus responded in the ninth measure repeating the same as the soloist. It is harmonized in thirds. After the 3<sup>rd</sup> measure, a dialogue of eight bars ensued between the soloist and the chorus. The song combined only the quavers and semibreves as the notes in both the solo and the responses whereas in most case,

the semibreves are prolonged and tied to the other notes throughout the performance.

**The Text**

**Translation**

*Milala vie*

Wait for a while

*Miado abɔ de ka*

We shall be together

**Song No. 7. Adzo wue (It is tale drum)**

Song number seven translated as a tale drum/song/an ensemble. It is altogether performed in twenty measures, and this is comprising the solo and the chorus. The song combined semiquavers, quavers, crochets, and semibreves. It is one of the few songs which made use of four different notes. Yee adzo wue is sung repeatedly in eight measures and while ending with two bar phrases in the ninth and tenth measures. In all, the soloists sung it in ten measures and the chorus responded in the eleventh measure with the same melody harmonizing it in thirds.

**The Text**

**Translation**

*Yee adzo wue* 4x

Yes, it is a tale drum

*Tɔwo ko menyɛ daa*

I am forever yours

## Adzowue

The musical score for 'Adzowue' is written in 2/4 time and consists of three systems. Each system includes parts for Akorge (percussion), Soloist (vocal), and Chorus (vocal). The Akorge part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in groups of three, marked with a '3' above each group. The Soloist part has lyrics underneath the notes, and the Chorus part provides harmonic support.

**System 1:**

- Akorge:** 8 measures of eighth-note triplets.
- Soloist:** 8 measures of melody with lyrics: "Ye a dzo wu yee\_\_ ye a dzo wuee ye a dzo woe".
- Chorus:** 8 measures of accompaniment.

**System 2:**

- Akorge:** 8 measures (measures 9-16) of eighth-note triplets.
- Sol.:** 8 measures (measures 9-16) of melody with lyrics: "ye a dzo wu yeee towokowonye daaa".
- Chor.:** 8 measures (measures 9-16) of accompaniment with lyrics: "ye a dzo wu yee\_\_ ye adzowu yee".

**System 3:**

- Akorge:** 6 measures (measures 17-22) of eighth-note triplets.
- Sol.:** 6 measures (measures 17-22) of accompaniment.
- Chor.:** 6 measures (measures 17-22) of accompaniment with lyrics: "ye a dzo wu yee ye a dzo wueee\_\_ towokowonye daa".

### Song No. 8. Wəm Zu letididi (Make me a shining star)

Song number eight, wəm zu letididi (make me a shining star), is one of the worship songs. It is a song that is sung to the gods, indulging their blessings. All blessing comes from the gods hence during worship, these songs are sung to worship and offer supplications as well. It begins with the soloist from measure one to the eighteenth measure. It is harmonized in thirds using leaps

and steps to define the melodic movements. It also combines semiquavers, quavers, dotted quavers, crotchets, dotted crotchets, and semibreves in composing the rhythmic patterns in the melody and subsequently in the chorus. Nonlexical words such as *yeee*, *daaaa* and *yooo* were employed as an embellishment and bridges connecting the phrases.

**The Text**

**Translation**

*Wɔm mu zu leti dɔdɔ yeeee*

Make me a shining star

*Yeeee*

Yeeee

*Manɔ yome looooo*

I shall follow you

*Yeeee manɔ gbɔ wo daaaa*

Yeee, I will be with you

*Ayooo*

Ayoo

# LETI DIDI

♩ = 180

Akorge



Soloist




wo mu\_\_ zu le ti di di yee\_\_\_\_\_ yecee\_\_\_\_\_

Chorus




8

Akg




8

Solo




ma no yoo me looo\_\_\_\_\_ yecee\_\_\_\_\_ ma no gbo wo

Chor.



16

Akg




16

Solo



daaaa\_\_\_\_\_ a yooooo\_\_\_\_\_

Chor.



wo mu\_\_ zu le ti di di yee\_\_\_\_\_

## LETI DIDI

$\text{♩} = 180$

**System 1:**

- Akorge:** [Musical notation]
- Soloist:** wo mu zu le ti di di yee yeeee
- Chorus:** [Musical notation]

**System 2:**

- Akg:** [Musical notation]
- Solo:** ma no yoo me looo yeeee ma no gbo wo
- Chor.:** [Musical notation]

**System 3:**

- Akg:** [Musical notation]
- Solo:** daaaa a yoooo
- Chor.:** wo mu zu le ti di di yee

### Chapter Summary

This chapter focused mainly on the performance practices of music at the shrines. Even though the performance practices do not change from one shrine to the other, the performance setting varies from one shrine to the other. I provided vivid descriptions of musical instruments and their functions in an ensemble. Finally, I analyzed selected songs and rhythmic patterns based on the differences they present. Generally, the songs that are sung during rituals are shorter and repetitive than those used for worship.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Shrine Music in Modern Awudome and Conclusion**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

My take-off point in this chapter is to quickly examine the outstanding issues regarding the status and rituals in the face of modernity at the shrine, Christianity, and the future thereof. In light of what pertains to the modern world vis-à-vis Christianity and technology, I wish to discuss the place of traditional religious worship their musical culture and their places in modernity. Finally, conclusions are drawn on the central issues discussed in the thesis, where necessary, recommendations are accordingly proffered.

#### **6.2 Christianity in Awudome Traditional Area**

Christianity in Awudome is deeply rooted such that it has almost wiped out the traditional religious activities within the Awudome traditional area and its surrounding and settler villages. Before Christianity, traditional religious practice was the main religion for the people. There were no options for any western or foreign religious forms. Today, Christian religious worship has taken over the whole area; more than 95% of the people are said to be Christians (Asem,1982). The remaining 5% of the populace is shared between Islamic and traditional religious believers. In recent times, it has become much more challenging to identify people who are traditional religious worshipers in the Awudome area. The most painful and heartbreaking issue is that there is no real effort by the very few people left within the traditional religion to convert people to join them in their practices. The inability to get people to join the traditional religions is mostly due citizens not being interested or wanting to be associated



with traditional religion because of some of the earlier issues discussed in Chapter I, which mainly has to do with the religion being evil.

Renovation of the veto shrine 2019 revealed that many people in the towns and clans where these shrines are build have resolved, not to have anything done with either the shrine or the deity, except a few people. One member from the Addae family (the priest of veto is chosen from this Addae family) in Tsito named Gustav Addae, single-handedly decided to revive the shrine in Tsito and the worship of the veto deities. Gustav told me ‘I was convinced that our collective refusal to worship the gods and perform the needed rituals were responsible for waywardness and misfortune of citizens; hence, I decided to refurbish the shrine and revive worshipping of the deities’ (Interview with Gustave February, 2019). This attempt, however, of a refurbishment of the shrine, unfortunately, did to tickle many into believing in the worshipping at the shrine.

### **6.3 Overall Design and Findings**

The thesis is in six chapters. The first chapter laid bare the overall design, and that led to the background of the study. The second Chapter presented the scope, restricted to the migration of the Awudome, settlement and social dynamics and the palace of Awudome in the Volta Region of Ghana. The third chapter focused on the selected shrines, Priest and priestesses as well as the devotees. Chapter four focused on the concept of creativity in the shrine, creative persons based on extant literature and interaction with the musicians at the selected shrines. In the fifth Chapter, I dedicated it to the performance

practices at the shrine, context of creativity and analysis of selected repertoires of the shrine music. Chapter six, as the final chapter herewith conveyed the conclusion and recommendations.

#### **6.4 Issues raised from chapter one**

In my submissions in the first chapter of this thesis, I brought to the fore the general issues I set out to investigate, including questions I answered in the subsequent chapters. This first chapter also presents the overall design of the study into the Creative Processes, Structures and Performance of Shrine Music of the Northern Ewes while using the Awudome People of the Volta Region of Ghana as a case study. I specified my reasons as well as motivations why this research was necessary. As part of this chapter, I provided the scope of the study in terms of demarcation of the area as well as extant literature. The scope, however, led me to interact with extant literature. These works nevertheless laid the theoretical basis and opened the vacuum, within which my research has filled. Extensively, this chapter discusses the methodology adopted for the research.

I established, however, in the first chapter that there is a considerable gap, which has developed into personal hatred between traditional religious worshipers on the one hand and Christian religious worshipers on the other hand. This evidence is found in the day to day activities and the relationship of the people.

Nevertheless, this attitude of hatred in Awudome for traditional religion, in my findings, is primarily due to the impression of apprehension that came about as a result of the way traditional African religious worship/worshipers are

portrayed within the community by Christian worshipers primarily. Besides, this gap is also bothered by issues of trust and mistrust. Most often, Christian religious worshipers are suspicious of traditional religious worshipers; that they are evildoers. Christians have been told, and according to their beliefs, that they were not to have anything done with traditional religious practitioners. Christians are always apprehensive about traditional religious worshipers as being evil, or the idea of persons belonging to the traditional religion amounts to meddling in devilish activities.

There are too much misapprehension and panic about activities that go on in the shrine. Besides, it is portrayed to appear as a horrific entity not worthy of any consideration or respect. In effect, traditional religious worship/worshipers have suffered slander, segregation, and offensive annotations. There have been several derogatory remarks and insinuations about the traditional religion. Some of the derogatory remarks that have jackpot traditional religious worship in Awudome as negative tendencies are traditional religion is ancestor worship, superstition, animism, fetishism.

My findings, however, revealed that contrary to the overall misapprehensions of traditional religious practices in the Awudome traditional area, the practices are just as any other religious practice by any human race anywhere. They are also lovable and welcoming people, as well as accommodating others. I, therefore, argued that no one should be influenced by what other religious practices portray. I also attribute the negative tendencies towards traditional religion as rampant colonialism (Agawu, 2003). Finally, other people's perceptions of traditional religious practices must not be an

obstacle to any researcher as they were in the past. I have gone ahead to use my personal experiences as an illustration to provide evidence and to encourage other researchers who may intend to embark on research within such a secluded subject.

There is also the necessity for constant education on the need of people to coexist, irrespective of one's religion, race, colour or tribe or other forms of differences for that matter. It is only in the moment of such continuing education and awareness that people can understand each other's belief systems that there is on hidden evil in the worship. Religion is just an approach, and a means to commune with God.

### **6.5 Addressing the problem statement of the study**

The overall problem statement of this research is to demonstrate that 'African music is not organized haphazardly, or it is not loaded, and full of spontaneous improvisation, but on the contrary, it is well organized, bearing in mind basic creative principles. Secondly, it is also 'to document the history of the Awudome people which has never been documented'. Whereas the objectives of the study are 'to move the history of Awudome from the realm of oral tradition into a written document; and to describe the creative processes in composition and performance of traditional music using musicians at the shrine. Moreover, the subsequent originations that emerge out of these processes in the music of the Awudome people'. In order to fulfil the above problem statements and achieve the objectives outlined earlier, the following questions were addressed.

- To what extent has Awudome state evolved culturally and her traditional institutions and governance structures?
- What are the distinguishing features of the musical repertoires and their communal roles given the concept and individual activities? Did the shrine music and deities play any role/s in the emigration of the Awudome state?
- What are the intrinsic motivational factors for creating, recreating, or adding on to what already exists within the musical sub-culture of the shrine of the Awudome people?
- What are the creative processes that lead to change the musical resources at the shrines, and how pervasive are these creative tendencies?
- With constraints imposed by the deities in the forms of taboos, how does the traditional musician function in the creative processes?
- Are there distinct musical parameters, rhythmical, instrumental or textual or just emotional in the shrine music?

Answers to the above questions are in the findings as presented below:

I theorised that to enhance our understanding of traditional religious practices which involves primarily the worship of deities/gods at the shrine in the Awudome traditional area, the musical cultures and the creative processes of the devotees, it is imperative to discuss: issues about their environment, and the general culture of the people and how they came about. This approach had become more important because, before other forms of western religious

practices came to the Awudome area, traditional religious worship was the only means to worship, (Agordoh, 2011; Gavua, 2002). It becomes essential to conduct a holistic study in the shrine, leaving out.

I established that the deities in Awudome played significant roles in the migration journey of the Awudome people from their ancestral home to their present settlement. The traditional priests and priestesses were the spiritual guides throughout their migration until they settled in their new home. Priests and priestesses revealed the wishes of the gods by consulting them through oracles, which led to solving problems and overcoming difficulties in their search for a new settlement. This is becoming more important why a study into the musical cultures at the shrine must not be conducted in isolation.

Until the emergence and evolution of modern states and the western governance system, Awudome was ruled by Chiefs who are the highest authority of the communities/towns. They wield the authority of the traditional political institutions (chieftaincy institution), and they are the custodians of the land, which make them automatic leaders of the shrines. As soon as a Chief in Awudome is enstooled and he swears allegiance to a higher authority and his people, his role becomes tripartite. He becomes the religious, judicial and military head of the Awudome state. I made this case for its relevance to the chieftaincy institution and enstoolment for our overall understanding of the traditional religion in Awudome. The religious authority of the Chiefs and people of Awudome, which is the subject matter of this study, are the deities. I established that the deities are kept in the shrines. The priest and priestesses at the shrines perform rituals and consult deities through oracles on behalf of the

chiefs and the people of the Awudome land. The priests and priestesses are just concierges of the shrines. This, in effect, epitomizes the fact that the deities do not belong to the concierges, neither can they claim ownership of the shrine. As the Awudome state developed, it became apparent that individuals within Awudome owned their deities. However, my research concentrated on communal deities and shrines.

I finally established that the narration of the legendary story of the productive cultural practices and settlement of Awudome is woven into the most important annual festival of the Awudome people 'the yam festival'. The celebration of the yam festival recounts the migration from their ancestral home to their new home; this comprised the narration of the powers and the varied roles the deities played through the priests and priestesses. The yam festival also involves memorial prayer and libation.

In all the narrations from my research finding and extant literature, it was recognized that Awudome people migrated from  $\text{N}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{sie}$  as their ancestral home. Their migration was fraught with several difficulties, but for the interventions of the religious leaders, they would have recorded much more catastrophic occurrences. The exodus of the Awudome people as well as other Ewe speaking people from their ancestral home was as a result of their cruel King of  $\text{N}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{sie}$ , ( $\text{N}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{sie}$  is the town the Ewe absconded from). In the book of Agbotadua, (2005) 'the migration saga of the Anlo Ewes', Agbotadua presented a vivid account on the Exodus of the Ewes from  $\text{N}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{sie}$ .

My findings revealed pretty much cruelties of some of the Awudome people during their migration, and they were also confronted with several challenges as they search for a new home. On one instance, some young men were involved in a detestable and dastardly act by murdering a pregnant woman at Kpele in Togo. This led to their expulsion from that community during the migration. Other despicable things that happened include human sacrifices that were made to allow for easy passage at some point when the gods were consulted. Until they arrived at their present destination, the priests and priestesses played significant roles in their journey. It is for this reason that the role of the deities in the life of the Awudome cannot easily be discounted.

#### **6.6 Shrines and The Deities**

In the third chapter, I talked about the three shrines I selected for this study and reasons for which I chose them. I discussed the various ritual, activities that are associated with them. Also, the traditional religious beliefs and practices and their impact on the evolution of Awudome Culture and state. Contrary to many people's belief that the shrine is a deity, the shrine does not refer to either an object or an entity. I established that the shrine is the space and a place for worshipping deities. It is also the place where the deities are kept and worshipped. But not a dangerous place; where criminal and antisocial activities or behaviours such as murder, disobedience, fraud and or subversive activities take place. Awudome shrines can be likened to the mosque, where Islamic religious believers gather to worship Allah, or it is the place where traditional religious believers in Awudome meet to perform their religious activities and nothing more. The shrine is not a secret society, and it is a voluntary



organization open to everybody. There are other religious organizations, who incorrectly think of the shrine as an injurious spirit or an entity. This is contrary to my findings.

I chose three shrines *ueto*, *wuve*, and *tsawœ* for this study. Each was chosen based on different characteristics of the present. They were carefully chosen in order to give me verities of activities and musical heritage.

### **6.7 The Musician and the creation of music at the Shrine**

Shrine music is the music performed at the shrine. It is a music that does not belong to any person. Shrine music is usually composed in the shrine by shrine musicians. The composer in the shrine in Awudome is one that publicly displays certain culturally acceptable norms and values, and secondly, that the performed works must have basic distinctive features that are acceptable to the Ewe/Awudome shrine cultural practices. The shrine composer is bound culturally, and he/she is also under strict cultural obligations to produce music that will be acceptable and culturally based on apparent distinctive features that are available.

The sources of the creative ability of the shrine musicians are threefold *inborn talent or ability, inherited ability, and the godly (heavenly) ability*. This is supported by the views expressed by the three surviving musicians at the Shrines. It is also believed that all powers regarding creativity are gifts from the Almighty God. Even though the composers and musicians themselves hardly accept the relevance of the *inborn talent* and *inheritance* – the first and second sources of creative abilities, my assessment of the situation demonstrates the impacts of the two sources are non-negligible.

There are essential creative elements that constitute the fundamental structures of creating and composing music in the shrine. These elements are complementary. I refer to these elements as the primary ‘building blocks’ or musical structures. In the shrine music of the Awudome people, these musical structures include the *pitch* (compliance with the language contour or musical language) *verbal text* (the language), and *rhythm* (the structure which unites the strength of pitch and language). These three structures are crucial to the composer in creating or composing music in the shrine. Strick adherence to the dictates of the contour of the language which cuts across both song (vocal) and instrumental compositions becomes a fundamental rule for the composer to observe. In any case, these structures do not differ from other forms of music.

There are two categories of musicians at the shrine *dzenɔ*, who is a song composer and *zagunɔ* (the master drummer). *Dzenɔ* in the shrine is a vital personality when it comes to verbal or vocal music. He or she composes and also serves as a cantor (soloist) during performances. One cardinal attribute of a *dzenɔ* is to have a good voice, which is the leading vehicle used in teaching and carrying the songs from one generation to the other. The songs are not written down; therefore, whoever composes or creates a new song must have a good voice to be able to communicate or sing to teach at the shrine.

There are two levels of compositional processes or procedures which are very necessary for a composer to go through at the shrine. These levels of processes, as I decided to call them, ‘*the cultural*’ and ‘*the composer’s*’ levels of compositional processes. The ‘*cultural*’ level is limited to all the processes

imposed by the cultural practices at the shrine, whereas the composer's level is limited to the self/personal creative processes a composer uses in order to come out with a new composition. Furthermore, the composer's level can also be described as the physical manifestations of the intrinsic abilities of a composer. The two levels of compositional processes are applied concurrently.

The main compositional processes at the shrine in Awudome are categorized into four or in other words, there are four stages of compositional process a composer must follow, these are *Hadaɲugbledede/hakpakpa* (conceptualization/song meditation), *Hakpakpa* (pealing of the song/composing) *hadada kpɔkpɔ or hanuɔ kpɔkpɔ* (meeting the mother/leader of songs/poet/cantor), and finally *haxexe* ('catching the song').

I emphasize hereafter that it is evident that there are laid down processes that shrine music composers go through. Since I established that traditional musicians go through several compositional processes to compose their songs, this, therefore, runs contrary to the long-held view that traditional African musicians do not compose, but they only improvise or extemporize.

The creative processes of *zagunɔ* are not the same as that of the *henɔ*, who goes through all the processes to create a new song. *Zagunɔ's* relies heavily on existing modules and consequently, do not have any cultural dictates, as in the case of *henɔ*. Broadly, the creative abilities, behaviours, and attributes of *zagunɔ* come from three different sources: (1) innate or an in-born –specific creative qualities that are not acquired or attributed to environmental or cultural influences, but one that a person was born with; (2) culturally acquired – these

are attributes that manifest itself as a result of environmental influences and finally; (3) a culturally acquired behaviour—a trait that is learned through experience and knowledge of culture and not attributed to environmental influences. (1) The music performed during rites and rituals and (2) the music which is performed during worship and praise of deities. The compositional processes in both performances' styles remain the same. It is imperative, however, to emphasize that shrine music repertoires, and their performance remains a religious activity solely. For this reason, these musical genres are not taken out of the shrine for performance elsewhere. On no occasions are shrine musical repertoires are performed.

The music performed at the chosen shines in this study are two types, these are: (1) the music performed during rites and rituals and (2) the music which is performed during worship and praise of deities. However, there are no differences in the processes applied during the composition. The compositional processes in both performances' styles remain the same. There are no differences in the creative processes of music for rites and rituals and worship. Once again, it became apparent that there are no differences in the creative processes in the three selected shrines, except to indicate that there is male dominance among the musicians even in the female goddess shrine. The male dominance among the musicians is attributed to natural occurrences 'menstruation' among women. Women are accepted and initiated as *deznɔ* when they stop to menstruate. Menstruation is a big issue at the shrine. Apart from the priestesses, a woman in her menstrual cycle is not supposed to enter

the shrine. Strangely, this cultural norm is rather strongly enforced by women against their fellow women.

There are two different performance settings in the shrine. The first one is where worshipers gather at one spot called *vuwɔfɛ* (performance arena). The following performance setting is that when worshipers sit independently and indiscriminately with no purposeful agenda or proper coordination at the shrine where, where they will usually listen and respond to songs raised by the soloist. This ad-hoc performance is known as the prelude to the central performance, and it does not require any formal organization.

There are three segments during performances at the shrines. These segments are *vuyuyru* (invocation), *kɔkɔdododɔdzi* (appellation), *vuwɔwɔ* (Performance). When all various stages have adhered during the performance, then the central performance begins. Unlike the common practice mostly in traditional African music performance, that the bell serves as the guiding timeline and the first to start in every performance, the scenario does not apply to the performance of shrine music in Awudome. In Awudome, the master drummer starts, and the bell players find a cue to join based on sound judgment to find the exact entry point. Also, this is shadowed by the two supporting drummers. However, there is always a moment of dialogue between the soloist and the chorus, which always precedes the master drummer. I have identified two different types of musical performances at the shrines; that which relates to the performance of rituals and that which is identified or related to worship. It

is crucial to indicate that the four segments established in this case apply only to the worship of performance segments.

Meanwhile, there are no differences in the two musical repertoires – the ritual – and – the worship musics at the three shrines. The same repertoires are performed at all three shrines. The only two significant differences that can be associated with the shrines are the sitting arrangements concerning performance, and some of the songs are restricted to specific shrines have names of the ancestors and great personalities that have contributed to the development of the shrines.

There are variations in the performance setting at the three shrines. These variations in the performance settings and sitting arrangements are as a result of the locations of the sacred rooms and stationing of the *trɔ̃nuɔ̃zikpi* (the chair for the priest). Landscaping and topography at the shrines have also largely contributed to the differences in the performance settings and sittings at the shrines.

Musical performances at the shrines take place at night. It is only in exceptional cases, that performance takes place in the day at the shrines. Such rare occasions are when a member of the group dies, and the funeral has to be performed in the day. Other such rare occasions are when there is a revelation for specific rituals to be conducted in the day. It is said that the deities do not want obstructions; hence, the night performances.

Two major taxonomies of musical instruments are employed in the shrine musical performance. These taxonomies are the **bells** on the one hand and **drums** on the other hand. The two bells that are used in the shrines are, and

these are *gakokoe* and *akoge*. The drums are *asivugã*, (master drum), *asivuvi* (first supporting drum) *dondon* (second supporting drum). In the performance of the shrine worship music repertory, the two bells *gakokoe*, and *akoge* are combined concurrently with all the drums. The bells are played at the same time while they interlock each other. The bells are made from an iron/metal, whereas the drums are made from an explicit wood called *adewudati* and the skin/hire of an animal. Even though generally, domestic, farm and or bush animal's skins/hire are used to cover the open part of a carved drum (Agordoh, 2005), unfortunately, it is not the case with regards to drums used in the shrines in Awudome.

The drums that are employed in Awudome shrines have specific requirements with regards to the use of the skin that is used to cover the open part of the carved drum. The first requirement is that the skin of animals must be an animal that lives in the forest and hunt from the forest. It must not be a domestic or a farm animal. Secondly, at the point of hunting or butchering the animal, it **'must'** spill blood on the earth. Meanwhile, a forest animal caught in a trap that does not spill blood on the ground will not be used for drums in the shrine.

For this reason, the musicians prefer to use the skin of an animal from a hunter, using the gun or bow and arrow. In this case, they are assured of having a fresh animal skin which spills blood. The belief is that by the use these hunting implements, and there is the assurance and optimism that the hunted animal will spill blood, which will help them not to violate the most crucial requirement in

order not to incur the wrath of the gods. This requirement also makes the musicians always keep extra skin of an animal, and this happens for the reason that they not to be found helpless when a drum is broken.

**Gakokoe** – this instrument’s role is to keep the timeline (Nketia, 1974) or a steady pulse of the ensemble. It plays a constant rhythmic pattern, a recurring phrase that characteristically provides a revolving point to all other instruments. In the event of any instrument missing out on the main flow of the rhythm of the performance, *gakogoe* helps the missed-out drummer, think internally to return into the performance. **Akoge** – *akoge* just like the *gakogoe*, this bell serves as the timing referent for each other facet of the performance. It also supports the *gakogoe* in an interlocking play mode. The interactive nature of the two bells makes listening to them much tighter for the performance. Bell players at the shrine are not regarded as shrine musicians, but their role is extremely vital in the ensemble; therefore, an experienced person is always encouraged to play the bell during the performance. **Asivuvi** – is a high tuned or pitched small drum. As the first supporting drum, it plays a repetitive rhythmic pattern throughout the performance. It provides extra support together with the bell, as they serve as the ostinato. **Dondon** – is the second supporting drum, also known as the hourglass drum (Agordoh, 1994). Even though *dondon* has specific rhythmic patterns that it plays, it also serves as the support to the mater drum in a dialogue. There are moments during performances that the *dondon* and the master drum engages in a call and response. Both sides of *dondon* are played with a drumming stick. **Asivuga** – as the lead or master



drum places a call to the second supporting drum, also known as response drum and they interact with each other. This instrument plays the most prominent rhythmic pattern throughout the performance. It changes the overall effect of the ensemble when the master drummer engages in improvisation. This drum provides various rhythmic patterns for the dancers who dance according to the dictates of the master drummer's manipulations.

This inherent intuition of the musicians helps them to correct each other during performances. The missing out on rhythm is termed in the shrine as *evuada* – meaning literally – the drum or the performance is bent, or the performance is not going straight. In the shrine and primarily among traditional ewe drummers, they have several expressions and terminologies that are used during the performance. Whenever one misses the rhythm, he is referred to pointed or singled out and told *edavua* – you miss the rhythm. Regarding tuning of drums, musicians can tell when a voice of drum is not in tune with others. In this case, one of the musicians or the *zagunɔ* will draw the attention of the concerned musician by saying either *evua gblɔ or evua me he oo*. Meaning the drum is not in tune; the drum is loose. These expressions help the musicians to communicate as professionals during the performance.

The melodies of all the songs as the shrines are based on the Ewe language of the Awudome people and it followed each of the songs followed the contour of the language. Some of the songs are composed as praise songs, others as songs of request, and some as educative modelled in philosophical sayings. All the songs are written in the Western Heptatonic scale with

consecutive harmonisations in thirds, fourths and fifths and eighths. The rhythmic partners are combined but shorts and longs durational values of notes, whereas the pitches are more often in the intervals of seconds and thirds with occasional leaps of 4ths.

In recommendation, I will first of all propose: that in order to make critical statements concerning music in or as culture, it becomes imperative for the researcher to approach the study in its cultural context to be able to make an informed critic of indigenous African music. Furthermore, I recommend further studies on the theoretical approaches of indigenous musical traditions in Africa. There are several theoretically inspired by indigenous Africa music. The lack of it being written down as it cannot be generalized African music is not coherent.

This study of Creative Processes, Structures, and Performance of Shrine Music of the Northern Ewes which focused on the Awudome People of Ghana in the Volta Region' is the first of its kind, to have been done within the jurisdiction. The work, however, underscores the fact that the Awudome community, apart from constituting a distinct community of taste, that created and maintained its indigenous art forms and indigenous African religious activities, it also maintained her distinctive stylistic musical repertoires in the shrines over the years. Within the various shrines that existed in the communities, they have universal operational principles and essential forms, structures and performance practices that have existed and shared among the people and across the shrines.

Again, the creative individuals within the shrines, are very much aware of all the creative processes available and the constraints with which they have

to operate in their compositional and performance practices. The sanctity of the musical traditions and performances practices, forms, and structures have not been compromised over the years. The conservative manner in which they have preserved their musical traditions and other religious rites and rituals have primarily accounted for the unconcerned manner and also show how the people have refused to participate in their activities leading to the extinction of indigenous religious activities in the Community. Despite the invasion of Western forms of religions in the Awudome community, the people have resisted embracing new forms of social formations, new ideologies and new ways of life that came to displace the traditions or to complement them. The people have not adjusted to any western form of acculturation to change the social, religious and musical order at the shrine.

Finally, I have sought to establish in this study that the Shrine musical traditions over the years have not seen any transformational changes in terms of form, structure performance, and compositional practices. The culture that was created through their creative abilities and rituals are still upheld. The traditional religious community herself has not been desirous of any form of change since the fear of the unknown spiritual consequences cannot be determined for the future. For this and many other reasons in this study, as a result of data analysis, I project therefore that there shall be no shrine musician in the next decade in Awudome traditional area if no drastic measures are taken to safeguard the phenomenon.

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## APPENDIX A

### Drums for the Worsip Ensemble

Musical score for the first set of drums, featuring five parts: Gakokoe, Akorge, Asiwuvi, Dondon, and Asiwuga. The score is written in 2/4 time. Gakokoe plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Akorge plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Asiwuvi plays a pattern of eighth notes with a slight delay. Dondon plays a complex pattern of eighth notes with rests. Asiwuga plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Musical score for the second set of drums, featuring five parts: Gako, Akor, Asi, Don, and Wuga. The score is written in 2/4 time. Gako plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Akor plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Asi plays a pattern of eighth notes with a slight delay. Don plays a complex pattern of eighth notes with rests. Wuga plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment.



2  
16

Gako  
Akor  
Asi  
Don  
Wuga

Detailed description: This musical score covers measures 1 to 16. It is written in 2/16 time. The Gako part consists of eighth notes in a steady pattern. The Akor part consists of quarter notes. The Asi part consists of eighth notes. The Don part features a complex rhythmic pattern with groups of eighth notes and quarter notes. The Wuga part consists of eighth notes with some rests.

24

Gako  
Akor  
Asi  
Don  
Wuga

Detailed description: This musical score covers measures 17 to 30. It continues the same rhythmic patterns as the first system. The Gako part consists of eighth notes. The Akor part consists of quarter notes. The Asi part consists of eighth notes. The Don part features a complex rhythmic pattern with groups of eighth notes and quarter notes. The Wuga part consists of eighth notes with some rests.

The image displays a musical score for five instruments: Gako, Akor, Asi, Don, and Wuga. The score is organized into two systems. The first system begins at measure 32 and the second system begins at measure 40. Each system consists of five staves, one for each instrument. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The Gako and Akor parts feature a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Asi part has a similar eighth-note pattern. The Don part is characterized by a complex, syncopated rhythm with frequent rests. The Wuga part provides a rhythmic foundation with a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

The image displays a musical score for five instruments: Gako, Akor, Asi, Don, and Wuga. The score is organized into two systems. The first system begins at measure 48 and the second system begins at measure 56. Each system consists of five staves, one for each instrument. The notation is rhythmic, featuring various note values and rests. The Gako part consists of a series of eighth notes. The Akor part consists of a series of quarter notes. The Asi part consists of a series of eighth notes. The Don part consists of a series of eighth notes with rests. The Wuga part consists of a series of eighth notes with rests. The score ends with a double bar line at the end of the second system.

## Appendix B

### Drums Rythmic pattern for Rituals

The image displays two systems of musical notation for drum rhythms, each in 2/4 time. The first system includes Gakorgoe, Asiwuvi, Dondon, and Asiwuga. The second system includes Gako, wuvi, Dond, and Wuga. The notation uses stems with flags for eighth notes and beams for sixteenth notes. Triplet markings (3) are used for groups of three notes. The Gakorgoe and Gako parts feature a consistent triplet pattern. The Asiwuvi and wuvi parts have a steady eighth-note pattern. The Dondon and Dond parts have a pattern of eighth notes with occasional rests. The Asiwuga and Wuga parts have a more complex pattern with eighth notes and rests.

13

Musical score for measures 13-18. The score is written for four parts: Gako, wuvi, Dond, and Wuga. Each part is on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The Gako part features a continuous sequence of eighth-note triplets, each marked with a '3' below it. The wuvi part consists of eighth-note pairs. The Dond part features eighth-note pairs. The Wuga part begins with two eighth-note pairs, followed by eighth-note pairs and single notes. The measures are grouped into six measures per system.

19

Musical score for measures 19-24. The score is written for four parts: Gako, wuvi, Dond, and Wuga. Each part is on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The Gako part features a continuous sequence of eighth-note triplets, each marked with a '3' below it. The wuvi part consists of eighth-note pairs. The Dond part features eighth-note pairs. The Wuga part begins with two eighth-note pairs, followed by eighth-note pairs and single notes. The measures are grouped into six measures per system.

37

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

43

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

49

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

55

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

61

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

This musical system covers measures 61 to 66. It features four staves: Gako, wuvi, Dond, and Wuga. The Gako staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a triplet of eighth notes. The wuvi staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The Dond staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The Wuga staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The first measure of the Wuga staff includes a quarter rest.

67

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga

This musical system covers measures 67 to 72. It features four staves: Gako, wuvi, Dond, and Wuga. The Gako staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a triplet of eighth notes. The wuvi staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The Dond staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The Wuga staff contains six measures of music, each consisting of a pair of eighth notes. The first measure of the Wuga staff includes a quarter rest.



73

Gako

wuvi

Dond

Wuga