THE RHYTHM OF
ATSIA DANCE DRUMMING
AMONG THE ANLO (EVE) OF ANYAKO

by

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PREFACE

The scope of this study is necessarily narrow. Because the serious, detailed study of West African polyrhythm by indigenous scholars has barely begun,\(^1\) direct, original research is the only effective approach at this time, albeit by an outsider.\(^2\)

The analysis presented here is of the instrumental rhythms of one part of one traditional dance as performed in one town in West Africa. It should not be taken as descriptive of rhythmic practice in a wider area. There are well over twenty other language groups surrounding the Ewe, according to the survey by Murdock.\(^3\) Rhythmic principles and practices may or

\(^1\) Anlo-Eves and others have made a start. See the bibliography for studies and general articles in English by S. D. Asiama, Seth D. Cudjoe, E. Y. Egblewogbe, Nissio S. Flagbedzi, B. Sinedzi Gadzekpo, Philip Gbeho, Kobla Ladzekpo, and Nicholas Z. Nayo. For Akan music, see J. H. Kwabena Nketia.

\(^2\) The outstanding work of A. M. Jones should be honored with parallel rather than derivative efforts at this stage, since any outsider's view contains ethnocentric bias.

may not be similar among them. Among the Eve themselves, musical practice in the north is so markedly different from musical practice in the south, that music is counted among the anthropologically significant criteria distinguishing the two areas.\(^1\)

Throughout this study I have used the vertical tablature notation first suggested by Moses Serwadda of Mukono, Uganda.\(^2\) Western musical notation uses a very difficult rhythmic system. Its symbols are to the timing of the music as the English alphabet is to the flow of spoken English: the relationship must be learned by rote. Furthermore, Western notation is a shorthand developed to cue learned behavior among a certain group of people, the art musicians of the Western European tradition. It is not reasonable to describe with these same cues the practice of a different group of people.\(^3\) It is even less reasonable that African scholars presently must use this particular set of cues, regardless of its appropriateness, to express the findings of their own research.

\(^1\)G. K. Nukunya, Kinship and marriage among the Anlo Ewe (New York: The Humanities Press, 1969), p. 8. The criteria he mentions are language, dancing, forms of salutation, and music. I would add that in vocal timbre alone the difference is striking: whereas the Anlo sing with a low-pitched, relaxed voice, the northern Eve use a high range and a tense tone.

\(^2\)Developed in "A possible notation for African dance drumming," by William Moses Serwadda and Hewitt Pantaleoni, African music, IV, 2 (1968), pp. 47-52. Exceptions will occur when the illustrations deal with specific pitch. (See the discussion of this in Appendix D below, pp. 410-11.)

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 49-51.
The subject of this study is a music learned and remembered aurally. To give it its proper context, therefore, I have quoted mostly from the oral tradition of the area. This was collected through interviews conducted during the summer of 1971, most of which appear in Appendix A. Rev. Natsuako's manuscript history, kindly loaned for copying during that period, forms Appendix B.

Without the warm and continued hospitality of the Ladzekpo family at Anyako, this work would not have been possible. In particular, I wish to thank Mr. Husunu Adonu Afadì, Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, and Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo. Mr. Afadì died in the summer of 1969. He was a great man who had the vision to anticipate the rise of Western interest in the art form of which he was a master and to direct that interest toward the rich cultural heritage of his birthplace.

Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, my teacher since the fall of 1968, has always given generously of his time. He arranged for most of the interviews recorded in Appendix A, conducting over half of them himself. He translated the Anlo texts and has checked and re-checked my manuscript. Without his help the work could not have been accomplished. My debt is great.

Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo was the first member of his family I met and the first to teach me Anlo drumming. He has always been most friendly and helpful towards my work.

Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo has given much of his time, both
in drum instruction and as an informant. He posed for the photographic studies of costume, dancing, and drumming. He has also given much time to the problems of translation and has checked over some parts of the manuscript. I thank him here most warmly.

Many others have helped my work progress, especially Togbi Dorvlo Anyiglă, Togbi Kofiga Honu Lawluvi, Togbi Kwaku Kpogo Ladzekpo, Mr. Rowland E. Gbedemah, Rev. Wilfred E. Ntsuako, Mr. Theophilus S. A. Togobo, Mr. Philip Gbeho, Mr. Joseph Wogba, Mr. Ekui Dotsevia, Mama Molotui Blibo, Madam Vinolia Gbomithah, Mr. Kosi Yamenu, Mr. Nyavohle Akogokini, Mr. Patrick Atiego, Mr. Kofi Wotoku Amega, Mr. Kofi Atsiego, Mr. Michael Badu, Mr. Emmanuel M. C. Dogboe, Togbi Badu III, Prophet C. K. N. Wovenu, Mr. Kwami Aheto Tsegah, Madam Hobudi Nază, Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, Mr. Gadzevodu Gawugah, Mr. Kwabla Agodo Gadri Ametefi, Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki Attipo, Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi, Mr. Laurentios Mensaga, Mr. Kosivi Ablengo Amilăha, Madam Nukuyi Abostivia, Mr. Kwabla Dogbe, Mr. Koku Atidama Aflakpui, Mr. Koblavi Sekle Aflakpui, Madam Beatrice Dzidzogbe Lawluvi, Miss Jacqueline Peters, Miss Elizabeth Tatar, Mrs. Christine Kitonyi, Mr. Yao Gbewonyo, and Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo. Mr. Kobla Blebu's patient instruction in the Anlo language was invaluable.

I wish also to thank the officers and members of the Atsiă Club of Woe Division in Anyako: Senior Patron Kwasi Dzokata Aflakpui, Patrons Adzamli Voyi Papraku and Mikpomda Ametefi,

Some of these members can be seen in Plate I, p. ix.

The photograph was taken in the courtyard of the home of the late Chief Attipoe II (see Plate III, p. 11, no. 3 on overlay) prior to a performance of Atsiа. Chief Aduklui Attipoe III did us the honor of attending both performances arranged at my request.
Miss Odette Blum of the University of Ohio looked over the pages of dance description and made many valuable suggestions. The continual help and highly competent reference work of the staff of the Milne Library of the State University College at Oneonta, New York, is gratefully acknowledged. Significant help has been given me by the Music Department of the college. Mr. Charles D. Winters took the black and white photographs for me. Mrs. Evelyn Duncan has helped me with matters of style.

Professor Theodore C. Grame has lent continued encouragement to this effort as advisor and has smoothed the way at critical times.
Standing (left to right)


Sitting (left to right)


Instruments (left to right)

Kaganu, kidi, sogo, atsimeyu (behind sogo), gankogui, and axatse (behind gankogui).
PLATE I. SOME LEADING MEMBERS OF THE ATSIA CLUB
OF WOE DIVISION, ANYAKO. JULY 8, 1971.
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Map

1. Southeastern West Africa

2. The Southeastern Corner of Ghana

3. The Thirty-Six Member Towns of the Anlo State
NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The Bureau of Ghana Languages lists thirty letters for the Eve alphabet.\(^1\) Seven of these do not exist in English. They are represented throughout the typed portions of this thesis by the nearest visual equivalent among our Roman letters, underlined, as follows:

\[ D, d = Ð, ã : \text{a voiced post-aveolar flap (one flap of a rolled } r \text{ in English, but set farther back)}; \]

\[ E, e = Ê, ë : \text{a lower-mid front unrounded vowel (English } e \text{ in men)}; \]

\[ F, f = Ì, í : \text{a voiceless bi-labial fricative (an } f \text{ with two lips)}; \]

\[ N, n = Ñ, ñ : \text{a voiced velar nasal (English } -ng \text{ with a very weak } g); \]

\[ O, o = Ò, ò : \text{a low back rounded vowel (English } aw \text{) often spelled } aw, \text{ wa, and or among the Anlo;} \]

\[ V, v = Û, û : \text{a voiced bi-labial fricative (a } v \text{ with two lips)}; \]

\[ Ê, ë = Ê, ë : \text{a voiced velar fricative (a very deep } y; \text{ not a guttural sound).} \]

In addition, the special pronunciation of the following Roman

letters should be noted:

\[
\begin{align*}
X, x &= \text{a voiceless soft-palatal fricative (German ch in noch)}; \\
E, e &= \text{the shwa, a lower-mid central unrounded vowel (the u in English but); there is, however, much variation;} \\
EE, ee &= \text{a mid front unrounded vowel (the a in English made);} \\
KP, kp &= \text{a voiceless implosive stop: a very small amount of vacuum in the mouth is filled by air that enters the mouth when the articulation is made. The lungs are not involved—it is not a breathing in;} \\
W, w &= \text{as in English, but very, very weak.}^1
\end{align*}
\]

Nasalization of vowel sounds is shown by the addition of a tilde (\(\sim\)) above the letters.

Since underlining has been chosen to indicate those letters peculiar to Anlo orthography, underlining will not be used to distinguish Anlo words from English words in the text. Where there is any possibility of confusion, the Anlo word will be enclosed in quotation marks.

The Eye texts appearing in Appendix A are not strictly orthographic. Mr. Fred Owusu transcribed them, at my request, with a mixture of orthographic and phonetic spellings. I wished to avoid any adjustment of the aural record which might result from imposing a concept of "proper speech."

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1Phonetic descriptions were derived from Westermann and Ward, ibid., and from Manual of articulatory phonetics by William A. Smalley (New York: Practical Anthropology, 1967).
PART I. DESCRIPTION
CHAPTER I

DANCE DRUMMING IN ANYAKO

On the macadam road from Accra to Lomé in West Africa, just beyond milestone 94, there is a junction marked by the canopies of a small market and, usually, by one or two lorries waiting for passengers. Out of sight to the right lies the town of Abor, northernmost of the Anlo gbota bla etô vo adê, the "thirty-six towns of Anlo" which tradition holds to be the first settlements of the Anlo branch of the Eve people in southeastern Ghana.¹

Six miles south of Abor, at the end of a wide road recently surfaced with reddish laterite, one reaches the semi-salt Keta Lagoon and the island town of Anyako. The land on either side of the road is flat and undulating, a part of the savannah plain that interrupts the tropical rain forest along the

¹See Maps 1, 2, and 3 on pp. 2-4 below. "The thirty-six towns" is a traditional phrase expressing the strong feeling of homogeneity which exists among the Anlo. Nukunya details this homogeneity on pp. 1-17.

Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo of Anyako recalls that in his school days (1940-1950) a printed map was in use showing the names and locations of the thirty-six towns. A copy of this map has not been located. From discussions with Mr. Theophilus S. A. Togobo of the Anlo capital of Anloga in 1971 (see below, pp. 267-68), I have made one, which appears as Map 3 on p. 4 below. For the Anlo move to this area, see below, pp. 24-26.
Map 1: Southeastern West Africa (see inset at right). Linguistic features from Murdock, Africa, its peopling and their culture history, map 17.
Map 2: Anlo gbota bla etô vo adê, the thirty-six member towns of the Anlo State, according to tradition as carried by Mr. Theophilus S. A. Togobo of Anloga. Physical features and town locations from maps at 1:62,500 published by the Survey of Ghana, Accra.
coast between central Ghana and eastern Dahomey. Shrubs, trees, and open grassland are distributed equally over the area, and the land is good for farming. In June plots of cassava and corn are ripening, and Massey-Ferguson tractors prepare the earth for tobacco.

At the edge of the Lagoon the ground rises slightly, providing a good building site in an area sometimes under water when heavy rains swell the streams. The place is called Anyako Kpota (Anyako Hill). It is part of the town of Anyako, which one can see lying half a mile off shore at the end of a long causeway.

Kpota played a part in the history of Anyako, during a crisis that is the subject of a song composed at the time:

1The Equatorial Maritime air mass forms over the Gulf of Guinea and follows the declination of the sun back and forth across the coast of West Africa. Some three hundred miles south of its northern edge this mass attains sufficient height to form rain clouds. These bring rain to the land when they move across it. They do not move as far north over the savannah plain as they do over the land on either side of it, however, because the Northeast Trades are deflected southwards against them at this point by the Atacora Ranges (the Togo-Akwapim Hills, or Togoland Mountains) which run from northern Togo down towards Accra. In addition, the warmest water actually lies some distance south of the shore at this point, and cooler water nearer to the land causes the humid air to lose some of its moisture before it reaches the coast. Finally, there are no coastal mountains here to force the north-moving air upwards, which would cause the moisture to precipitate. See J. C. Pugh and A. E. Perry, A short geography of West Africa (London: University of London Press, [1960]), pp. 30-44.

2These machines are loaned with their drivers at an inexpensive rate by the district agricultural station.

3See Plate II, p. 6, for this view.

4The composer is Mr. Gadzevodu Gawugah, who kindly checked over the text that follows for accuracy.
PLATE II. LOOKING SOUTH TOWARD THE ISLAND TOWN OF ANYAKO.
JULY 11, 1971.
WOAWOE ME NYÔ NE DU LA GBA,
But for them, ruined the town;

WOAWOE ME NYÔ,
But for them, ruined.

WOAWOE ME NYÔ NE DU LA GBA,
But for them, ruined the town;

WOAWOE ME NYÔ.
But for them, ruined.

É, NUTSUAKO KPLE GBEDEMAH,
Yes, Nutsuako and Gbedemah,

WOAWOE ME NYÔ,
But for them, ruined;

É, NUTSUAKO KPLE GBEDEMAH,
Yes, Nutsuako and Gbedemah,

WOAWOE ME NYÔ NE DU HIA GBA. 1
But for them, ruined this town.

Anlo composers are characteristically not overly specific in their texts. Often their words will allude to a situation known only to themselves, or to themselves and a few other people. Singers can enjoy such a song in whatever way they understand it, but they cannot appreciate its true meaning unless they ask one of those who really know; and without a correct understanding, the text is apt to become corrupted. 2

Most of the people who sing "Woawoe me nyô" today were children during the events that were the inspiration for the

1 From the singing of Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo of Anyako, at Anyako in the summer of 1969, with corrections by Mr. Gawugah.

2 Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, who teaches at the California Institute of the Arts, made it a point in Anyako during the summer of 1971 to ask those who knew to tell him about the texts he was singing with his students in the United States.
song. When today's children come to sing it, the meaning will probably be obscure. It was composed around 1932 to be sung with the dancing and drumming of Takada, one of many traditional styles of ensemble music performed in the town.

In 1929 the people of Anyako were threatened with the loss of the upper grades of their island mission school, an institution opened in 1860 by the fathers of the Norddeutsche Missionen Gesellschaft of Bremen. When the crisis came, in all of Anlo only Anyako and Keta could claim to offer instruction at senior school level. At Anyako only the first two of these four years were taught (grades 7 and 8), but the Director of Education of the Bremen Mission, Mr. D. J. Oman, was impressed enough by the work being done there to have promised Headmaster Wilfred E. Nutsuako "a complete senior school" (grades 7, 8, 9, and 10).

---

1. Mr. Kwami Aheto Tsegah, for instance, who was able to give us a very full account of the crisis. See below pp. 316-326 (11. 181-324).

2. The reference to Gonu Zowoada in the song sung on p. 88 below, for example, is now completely lost— but see n. 1, p. 302.


4. Throughout this study, "style" is used in the specific sense of an ensemble distinguished from other ensembles by any of the following: a different ostinato pattern in the bell; a different instrumentation; different drum rhythms. For a survey of these styles, see Appendix C, pp. 381-406.

5. Rev. Nutsuako's history of the Bremen fathers at Anyako is given along with his description of the school crisis, as Appendix B below, pp. 331-377. His story of the school crisis was published as A short history of the Anyako Anlo Awoame Fia School 1929-1932 (Cape Coast, Ghana: Mfantsimans Press, [1957]).
Trouble began when Rev. Hermann Nyalemegbe, a northern Ewe from Peki Blengo\(^1\) who was director of the mission station at Anyako, sought and received permission from the area Synod Committee to move the Anyako senior school to Abor, where farmland was available for an agricultural program he wished to add to the curriculum. The disadvantage of the move was that Anyako's older school children would have to board at Abor, at extra cost to their parents, or go without an education. In 1860, when the Anyako mission school opened, this would not have been an issue, for the Bremen missionaries of that time had to buy slaves and set them free in order to get pupils for their classes.\(^2\)

In 1929 attitudes were different. Rev. Nutsuako (at that time not yet an ordained minister) and Mr. Rowland E. Gbedemah, both of whom had had the benefit of a mission school education at Anyako and then at Keta, were able to raise wide support among the chiefs and elders of Anyako for their opposition to the move to Abor. Meetings were held, repairs were made on the Anyako station school, letters were written, and delegations sent, but the rift only widened. Finally the town took the unprecedented action of organizing and building its own school.

\(^1\)Twenty miles west of Ho, which is marked on Map 1, p. 2 above, near 0° longitude, 6° north latitude.

The three Divisions of the town\(^1\) agreed to put up one building each, large enough to contain three classrooms. The Badu family and the Tekpo-Adzohloe family donated land at Kpota.\(^2\) Mr. Gbedemah, who had personally underwritten many of the expenses of the fight, donated a tenth of the roofing of corrugated iron, the single most expensive item.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Anlo use the word "Division" to describe in English (which is the second language of all peoples in Ghana) an administrative unit of a town. The Anlo term is "to" (rhyming with "toe" in English). A Division is a collection of patri-linear groups and, historically, a military unit as well. Woe Division ("Woeto") provided the right wing of the army and led it into battle. Adotri Division ("Adotri") followed, and was the central and headquarters group. From Lasibi Division ("Lasibi") came the fighters of the left wing, which formed the rear guard. The English word "ward" suggested by Nukunya, pp. 13-14, does not allow for the fact that geographically separated areas in a town may be part of one such administrative and military unit. Such is the case in Anyako, where the Adotri Division has two separate areas of the town, Adotri-Afegame and Adotri-Atsigate. See Plate III on P. 11 below, nos. 8 and 11 on the overlay. When the Anlo meet together as a whole, they group themselves according to Divisions rather than by towns.

When people from one Division of a town pay a visit to another town, the members of the same Division in that town are obliged to put them up. Anyako is the only one of "the thirty-six towns" which has all three Divisions. Thus major deliberations that had to be attended by leaders from all three Divisions were usually held in Anyako, where visitors could be housed conveniently close to one another. Civic matters were considered publicly in the open square in Lasibi called Wonu ("court"), where three large trees were known as "the three shades." War matters were discussed in secret in a house in Adotri permanently set aside for the purpose and called Akuime.

\(^2\)See below, pp. 363, 327 (11. 337-350).

\(^3\)A short history of the ... School, p. 4; also below, pp.211,364, 366 No. 7. At one point in the struggle, the Bremen authorities even sought to cancel delivery of the roofing that the insurgents had ordered from a Bremen factory (see item 7 on p. 366 below).
PLATE III. AERIAL VIEW OF ANYAKO, WITH OVERLAY SHOWING DIVISIONS OF THE TOWN AND OTHER FEATURES. FLOWN FOR THE SURVEY OF GHANA JANUARY 7, 1964. OVERLAY BY HEWITT PANTALEONI AND FRED OWUSU GBEWONYO.

1. Gbeleme, a suburb
2. The market
3. Woeto, and Attipoe II's courtyard
4. V.K. Ladzekpo
5. Kgbia Ladzekpo
6. Ampo's steel kept here
7. Baka steel house
8. Adoji-Afegame, and Atpa's home
9. Little Drops
10. The Three Shades
11. Lagos
12. Adoji - Atofame
13. Landing for boats from Kola
14. Mission School
15. Mozambique, the inner lagoon
16. Toso, the outer lagoon
17. Kona
The school buildings went up in 1930.\textsuperscript{1} They were furnished in 1931 and dedicated January 24, 1932, by the Awoame Fia of Anlo, paramount chief of "the thirty-six towns," Togbi Sri II.\textsuperscript{2} This revolutionary achievement apparently persuaded the church authorities to grant complete senior schools to several applicant mission stations, and it inspired other schools to become independent\textsuperscript{3} of missionary control. Until recently, this event has been commemorated annually with a Civic Day of speeches and music held on the school grounds.\textsuperscript{4} The song I have quoted was probably composed for the first of these celebrations in 1932.

\textit{F, NUTSUAKO KPLE GBEDEMAH . . .}

The Anlo composer concerns himself with the here and now. Although he does not necessarily compose on the spot—in a flash of inspiration, so to speak\textsuperscript{5}—his texts reflect what happens to

\textsuperscript{1}Despite a serious quarrel that arose during the work and took the form of a "halo," a contest of abusive song. See pp. 367-373 below. For a brief description of halo, see B. Sinedzi Gadzekpo, "Making music in Eweland," West African review, XXIII, 299 (August, 1952), p. 819.

\textsuperscript{2}For the complete list of paramount chiefs of Anlo, see n. 5, p. 272 below. The speech of dedication made by Togbi Sri II appears on pp. 374-76.

\textsuperscript{3}Rev. Nutsuako mentions specifically the Some National School and the Anlo State School in A short history of the . . . School, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{4}For more details of this ceremony, see n. 1, p. 377 below.

\textsuperscript{5}The composer Kpeglo (Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo) has told me that in fact his songs do come to him in just this way. For Togbi Vinoko Akakpo Akpalu, on the other hand, the process seems to be more deliberate: "All his compositions are done by thinking
him from day to day. Here is how the most famous composer in Anlo today, Vinoko Akakpo Akpalu, lost a livelihood because his texts were too timely:

He later tried to be a canoeman, who rowed women from Anyako across the vast lagoon to the Keta market. This work prospered at first and many wanted to go with Akpalu for he would sing as he rowed to and fro the market. Soon, Akpalu began consciously or unconsciously to sing about his passengers. If you had nothing much to sell at the market that day or quarrelled on the way, you were most likely sooner or later going to hear your name mentioned in song another day by Akpalu. In short, Akpalu began to comment on people, and not everybody wanted his private life to be made known to the public so the saying spread, "who am I to go with Akpalu, or what were have I to be in Akpalu's canoe." Thus gradually Akpalu found himself without passengers and his canoe job failed.1

Among Anlo the vehicle for these contemporary texts is the music of recreational2 dance drumming. With this drumming they honor their dead, greet their visitors, and enhance all occasions of state. In a town the size of Anyako it is heard almost every day in one place or another.3 It might well be called the traditional Anlo music, to set it apart from the

of the text as he is inspired, reciting the words slowly to himself and then going off to sleep on it. By the morning, one would hear him singing to himself and very soon after that, he would announce to his wife that he has composed another song" (Nicholas Z. Nayo, "Akpalu and his songs, a study of the man and his music," unpublished thesis for the Diploma in African Music, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 1964, p. 43).

1Ibid., pp. 26-27.

2Performed for the purpose of entertainment, albeit on a serious occasion.

3Provisional returns for the 1970 Census, which I saw in the census office in Accra in the summer of 1971, indicate a population of between five and six thousand. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes that at times no drumming may be heard for a month or two.
popular recorded music of urban "high life" bands (which now have turned from "high life" to "soul" and "congo cha-cha")\(^1\) and from the more established European tunes of the Eye Presbyterian Church --the old Bremen mission organization renamed--which were imported in the second half of the nineteenth century and are as often heard around Anyako\(^2\) as are the sounds of dance drumming.

Perhaps, however, "traditional" implies something out of date or less than vital in a culture, something that a few people are struggling to preserve. If so, the word does not properly describe the recreational dance drumming of the Anlo, which is a very present, forceful part of their culture. Today at least thirty-seven different styles of dance drumming are practiced in Anyako alone, twenty-three of them recreational.\(^3\)

Each dance drumming has its own name, its own rhythms, its particular instrumentation, and its own repertoire of songs.

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\(^1\) Personal communication from Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, and my own observation during the summer of 1971.

\(^2\) At all-night wakes for Christians; in arrangement for brass ensemble, played by students at the mission school; and as songs casually sung for personal entertainment by individuals or small groups. Christian services in the area feature much hymn singing. The repertoire is carried in print as well as orally. There are versions with musical notation (in four parts) and without. Mr. Emmanuel M. C. Dogboe of Accra kindly made his personal copy available: Hadzigbalé na Ewe-Kristo-Hame (5th edition; Lahr-Dinglingen, Baden: Johannes Press, 1963). The Eve hymn texts date from 1867 to 1924, and at least one of the authors (Rev. E. L. K. Ayikutu) was an Anyako man. The tunes are often familiar ones (Crüger's "Nun danket alle Gott" is No. 1; No. 29 is "Trinity" by Giardini ["Come Thou Almighty King, ... "]).

One of them, Axatseyu, has several distinct song repertoires, each with its own name, which are never mixed in performance. None of this considerable body of music is written down. It is "passed from one player to the next and, to some extent, from one generation to the next by ear and example."\(^{1}\)

Some citizens of Anyako do not participate in any dance drumming. Most of these are Christians of middle age or older who were kept from it by their church and their church-oriented schools.\(^{2}\) The great majority of the townspeople take part in many of the dance drumming styles, however. A talented few can sing and drum and dance correctly in almost all styles.

A style of dance drumming can spread from one locality to another.

\[\ldots\] When a new dance style or music becomes popular and is liked by many people, others in the village, town or general area adopt the style. \[\ldots\] Africans, like any other peoples of the world, know what is good music and what is bad. They like to try new things, and they know what they think is beautiful. Therefore, if a group of people in a particular area see a new dance, and like the movements as well as the music, they will adopt it and

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\(^{2}\)All informants questioned about the attitude of church and school toward dance drumming in the past agreed that it was most hostile. Students would be lashed for even looking on at such an affair. See below, pp.213-15 (Mr. Gbedemah); and pp.259-260 (Rev. Nutsuako). Mr. Togobo also agreed, although not during the interview we have transcribed. The attitude today is different. Some ambiguity on the part of the authorities in the past is indicated by the account at p. 377, n. 1.
make it part of the village repertoire.¹

Here is a specific example of how a style of dance drumming spreads.

One day in 1952, dancers and drummers from the nearby town of Afiadényigba² visited Anyako and performed Gahũ, a dance drumming from Nigeria which certain Eve people brought back from their years of fishing at Badagry.³ Among those impressed with the music were two teenagers of the Ladzekpo family, in Lasibi Division. The very evening the visitors departed, the young people began singing the songs they had heard.

Doing this every evening to the accompaniment of drums fashioned from metal pails, they soon attracted a group of about thirty interested young people. The two teenagers decided to form a Gahũ club. First, they asked for the patronage and protection of an older member of the Ladzekpo family, the composer and drummer Husunu Adonu Afadi. He gave them an atsimeyu, or leading drum on which to practice and protected their right to play when other people objected. Next, they sent a request to the town of Afiadényigba for someone to come and teach them more of the songs, and Afiadényigba complied. This cooperation was the beginning of a long and friendly relationship between the two Gahũ groups.

¹Ladzekpo, pp. 11-12 in my copy.
²Map 3, p. 4 above, near 1° east, 6° north.
³The Eve call it Gbadagli. It is a town on the coastal lagoon between Lagos and the Dahomean border. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo has supplied this history. For Gahũ, see description on pp. 390-91.
When it seemed clear to the young Ladzekpos that their group was well on its way to becoming a true performing club, they collected dues from the members and purchased an agboba, the proper leading drum for Gahū music. Mr. Afadj allowed them to borrow the necessary smaller accompanying drums and they made their debut.¹

Usually dance clubs are started among people of the same age group, as in this case. Generally both men and women are included. If the community is large enough to have in it more than one Division, the club will almost always draw its membership from just one of them. It is a social group as well as a musical one.

Sometimes a club lasts no longer than its founders are able to remain active in it [or stay interested in it], and sometimes it survives the founders and accumulates representatives from successive generations.²

In either case, men and women are honored at their funerals by the playing of dance drumming associated with their age groups. Thus at the death of an elderly person one sometimes hears music that has not been played for years. For example, Atsiā drumming, which died out in Anyako before the turn of the century,³ was not heard

¹Recounted by Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo, one of the two founders.

²Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, pp. 6-7.

³The date of its demise is not actually entirely clear. According to the interview with Togbi Anyigib, it was around 1880 or earlier (see pp. 188-89). Rev. Nutsuako and Mr. Honu Lawluvi saw it performed later, but perhaps by a visiting group. See the discussion below, p. 31.
there again until the funeral of the grandfather of Mr. C. B. Kwami Aheto Tsegah in 1947.\(^1\)

When a dance drumming is revived to honor an elderly person who has died, those to whom the music is a novelty will sometimes take an interest in it and will form their own club to perform it. Thus the full life cycle of a style of dance drumming is apt to include one or more periods of hibernation followed by reawakening;\(^2\) and the event that causes the reawakening may be a funeral, or the visit of a performing group. Moreover, Anlo forming a colony somewhere may make a conscious effort to organize themselves socially around a musical nucleus and choose for this purpose a dance drumming of former times. Atsiâ has been revived in all three ways, as we shall see.

To learn a style of dance drumming, one can simply watch performances of it and imitate what one sees and hears.

It is considered good manners, however, to ask for instruction, which is the formal way of adopting a style, and which always creates good relations between neighbors. . . .

\(^1\)See below, pp. 294-95 (11. 39-44) and pp. 313-14 (11. 145-149).

\(^2\)Members of a nonaural society, especially one with archival tendencies, may well wonder how music can be retained over the years without notation. The problem does not seem to exist, consciously at least; certainly the revival may not duplicate the original in every way, but in an art form so very much alive among its practictioners, this is hardly a problem. Dance drumming is a music for the present, and change is part of its attractiveness. Atsiâ was performed at my request in the summer of 1971 after having been dormant for some fifteen years in Anyako. There was only one brief rehearsal of one of the songs, and no rehearsal at all of the instrumental music.
If the group consulted agrees to [the] request, they delegate two or four people to go and teach the new style. Usually the teachers will include a composer or a cantor, a drummer, and good dancers. They will live with the new group sometimes as long as a month, sometimes for only two or three weeks. . . . They begin by teaching the new group some of their songs. After this has been done for some time, a composer or composers in the newly formed group will take over the task of composing their own songs in the style of the mother group. This is why, for example, one can hear in the music of the Adzomani Club of the town of Anloga, some songs that have tune and text identical with songs in the repertoire of the Adzomani Club of Anyako, which did the teaching. Instruction in the dance and in playing the instrumental parts follows the same pattern.¹

I have discussed how dance drumming is passed around.

How the music gets started in the first place remains unclear. People often know from what town or country a style was adopted² in their own village or town, but they cannot discuss how it was created. Songs, however, are an exception.

A club is formed around a composer. He invents a distinctive melody, to which he sets all of the texts he creates. When he dies, or ceases to compose for the club, his successor will use a tune of his own for new texts while the repertoire that has been learned up to then will not be changed.³

¹Ladzekpo, pp. 13-14 in my copy. The Adzomani Club of Anloga learned its songs from his father, Mr. Kofi Zate Ladzekpo (1894/96-1970), composer for the Anyako club.

²Mr. Kofi Wotoku Amega told us Atsia came to Afiadenyigba from around Anexo (on the coast, forty miles east of Lomé; see p. 4 above). Mr. Michael Kwasi Badu of Dzelukofe told us it was brought to his town from Abeokuta (north of Lagos, Nigeria) by his grandfathers (see p. 201 below, 11. 70-74). Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo told me Mr. Tu-Kofi Agbaleko and Mr. Kodzo Gbede Ahlidza of Lasibi Division, Anyako, brought Gadzo to the town from Xevi and Kpêle respectively. For the origins of Gahù, see p. 16 above.

³Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, p. 7. Atsia songs as sung by the Anyako Club display a variety of melodies.
As for the drum rhythms and dance movements, I can only suggest in the following paragraphs how they might come to be created.

There are many degrees of exaggeration or understatement in the movements of Anlo dance. Embellishments are frequent and individual. Even the fundamental matter of timing varies considerably.\(^1\) Apparently, once the dancers have learned the new motions, they are free to work out individual ways of doing them.

Drumming patterns are traditional rather than improvised. A person familiar with the music, however, can distinguish the style of one man’s playing from that of another who may play the same part on a different occasion, or who may relieve the other man at his instrument during the course of a dance drumming afternoon. Differences do exist in the treatment of dynamics, timbre, and decorative embellishments and in the choice made among alternate versions of a pattern. Apparently, an experienced drummer may even work out a new rhythmic phrase appropriate to a certain music and add it to the repertoire.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Mr. Kufoadiame Avatsro Nyaxo (seated in photo, p. ix above) invited me to dance Afâ with him in the summer of 1971. The motions I knew, but his timing was unique, and beyond me.

\(^2\)I do not know yet just how this happens or just what constitutes appropriateness in a style. According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, his elder brother (Mr. Husunu Adonu Afadi) created a variation for the pattern with which the leading drummer directs a turning of the dancers in Atsiâ, drawing upon his knowledge of Yeve cult drumming. Mr. Vincent Ladzekpo says he and Husunu often created drum phrases which the people always accepted. An interesting example is Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki’s account of how he created Atsiâ patterns. See chapter two below, p. 32.
The instrumentalists of a new group will not, however, set themselves the task of composing new rhythms when their teachers leave. The song composers will create new texts, but the players simply try to reproduce as smoothly as possible the web of patterns they have been taught.

Drummers and dancers both draw upon more than they have learned from their teachers. They cannot help absorbing from the musical life around them. People who perform the traditional music of Anyako participate in the activity of many clubs. Good performers take a leading part in many different styles.¹ Many citizens who are not musicians can name the style of an isolated drumming passage from any one of several dance drummings when it is demonstrated. A person may be especially partial to one particular style of music, but learn the motions and patterns of many styles.

Thus the drummer and the dancer operate with two reservoirs of material: rhythms or motions traditional in a particular dance, and rhythms and motions appropriate to other occasions but always a source of ideas for the present one.²

¹See Appendix C for a survey of current dance drummings in Anyako. Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo is one of these good performers. In the space of a few weeks I saw him as song leader for performances of Adzida, Afâ, and Atsia. He composes for Axatsewu (Alosogbey songs).

²As Mr. Afadi demonstrated. See p. 20 above, n. 2.
Anlo society values tradition highly. The young do not correct the old. Formal aspects of behavior dictated by custom are considered pleasurable, not inconvenient. They are questioned by no one. Although specific information is lacking on this point, one can imagine that innovation introduced in small enough increments will delight, but that innovation beyond a certain limit will offend.

Two circumstances intensify innovation: the presence of unusually creative individuals, and the arrival of an especially important occasion. Creative people innovate more often and to a greater degree than those who are not creative, of course; and an important occasion will stimulate a group to try to make a striking impression, which they can readily do by introducing something their audience has never seen, or heard, before.

Two other factors bear on this question of where new dance drummings come from. One is contemporary, the other historical. In brief, the Anlo people seem always ready to adopt the elements of a different culture which strike them as attractive, and they have been in contact with many other cultures.

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1A work strongly recommended to me by many Anlo is permeated with this attitude: The fifth landing stage, a play in five acts by Dr. F. Kwasi Fiawoo (London: Lutterworth Press of the United Society for Christian Litterature, 1943). Dr. Fiawoo was founder and first president of the Zion College of West Africa (formerly New Africa University College) at Anloga.
Evidence suggests that since coming to their present location around the Keta Lagoon the Anlo have adopted a military organization from their war allies, the Ashantis,\(^1\) along with the talking drums those people use.\(^2\) More recent contact has been with the English, whose Western dress, shillings and pence,\(^3\) month names,\(^4\) and other useful cultural items have become part of Anlo daily life.

In music there have been few special barriers. The war drum of the Fantis to the west of Accra was adopted about one hundred years ago and replaced the Anlo's own war drum, Atrikpui.\(^5\) Gahũ dance drumming was adopted from Nigeria, as I have pointed out (p. 16). Presbyterian Hymnody is popular, although the style

\(^{\phantom{1}}\)Not proved, but strongly suspected from the term used to designate the heads of the three wings of the army: asafohenegâwo (singular, asafohenegâ) seems to be an Akan word (see Nukunya, p. 111). Further evidence might be the name for the central headquarters wing: Adotri. This word is derived by Mr. Gbedemah from the Akan "Agontehene" (see p. 237 below) and by Mr. Togobo from the Akan "Ädonten" (see p. 274 below).

\(^{\phantom{2}}\)Called "Atumpan," they are of solid wood carved in the shape of a goblet and are open at the foot. Played in pairs pitched a fourth apart or less, they follow the tune and rhythm of speech to produce language, which is Akan even when played by and for Anlo. Mr. Vincent Ladzekpo, however, now produces Anlo language on them.

\(^{\phantom{3}}\)English and German coinage was introduced at the beginning of this century. See pp. 243-44 and p. 283 below.

\(^{\phantom{4}}\)Anlo month names are used nowadays only by farmers, I was told. Most of the Anlo I met had to translate or count on their fingers in order to put an Anlo month name into its proper place in the calendar.

\(^{\phantom{5}}\)See pp. 280-81 below. Atrikpui is now recreational music.
of the tunes is not the style of traditional Anlo melody.  

Historically, the Anlo have had many opportunities to adopt music from other cultures. They have only recently ended a long period of migration from the east, perhaps from as far away as Sudan.  

They remember the names of settlements in Nigeria, Dahomey, and Togo where they paused on their way.  

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1This hymnody came to Anyako with the Bremen missionaries in 1857 (see Rev. Nutsuako's manuscript history below, p. 337). An important exception to this general adaptability is, probably, the music associated with fetish practices. At the turn of the century Heinrich Klose observed that "even rattles and the few drums along the coast [of the Ewe lands] would surely have disappeared long ago if the fetish priests and certain religious sects with them had not forcefully banned everything European from their strongholds." See "Musik, Tanz und Spiel in Togo," Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, LXXXIX, 4 (January, 1906), p. 70, col. 1: "Gewiss würden auch die Rasseln und die wenigen Trommeln an der Küste schon längst verschwunden sein, wenn nicht noch die Fetischpriester und mit diesen einzelne religiöse Sekten alles Europäische bei strenger Strafe von ihren Festen verbannen würden."  

2According to Mr. Gbedemah (pp. 224-25 below), Mr. Tsegah (11. 6-14, p. 292 below), and Mr. Togobo (p.262f. below). It is consistently reported in earlier studies: Jakob Spieth, Die Ewe-Stämme. Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1906), pp. 2-10; W. E. F. Ward, A history of Ghana (3rd edition; London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 133-136; Manoukian, p. 12; E. Y. Aduamah, Ewe traditions No. 1, recorded by E. Y. Aduamah (Legon: Institute for African Studies, University of Ghana, April, 1965). Barbara Ward remarks that "certain internal evidence from the social structure as far as it is known" indicates that these people "have a long history of mobility behind them," in her article "Some notes on migration from Togoland," African affairs, XLIX, 195 (April, 1950), p. 134.  

3The names are Oyo, Adza, Adadame, Allada (Alada), Ketu (Kotu, Amedzofe), Tado (Atado, Tando), Dogbo, Notsie (Hogbe). See Mr. Gbedemah (p.224 below); Mr. Tsegah (11. 72-78, p. 308 below); Mr. Togobo's contribution was not recorded; Spieth, p. 2; W. E. F. Ward, p. 133; Aduamah, p. 18; Manoukian, p. 12; and J. D. Fage, Ghana, a historical interpretation (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 23.
last of these towns was Notsie (Nuatje, Nouatya, Nwachi), also
known as Hogbe in the oral tradition. Notsie is in Togo, due
north of Lomé. From here the migration is more clearly
remembered. The Eves split into three groups, undoubtedly along
family lines. One group went south and west to the Keta Lagoon
and became the Anlo. As F. G. Crowther remarked,

these facts can be recorded with some degree of assurance
as the larger families can trace their generations to the
time of this migration and the Fias of Awuna-Ga [Anloga]
at their installation continue to exchange presents with
the great fetich of Nwachi.

1Marked as "Nuatje" on Map 1, p. 2 above.
2The five lineal groups that moved south to become the
Anlo were led by members of one family. See below, pp. 269-272
and p. 288.
12. Great Britain signed a treaty with the Anlo in 1874 which
gave the British control along the coast as far east as Adafienu,
near Lomé (see Map 2 on p. 3 above). By the Anglo-German agree-
ment of 1899 the Anlo and the Krepi came under British rule, and
"virtually all the rest of the Ewe speaking people" under German
rule (Manoukian, pp. 12-13). Crowther was the British Secretary
for Native Affairs in 1912, when his report from which I have
quoted was first issued. That same year, on the basis of that
report, Great Britain formed an artificial "Anlo State" out of
Anlo and neighboring areas with the Anlo Awoame Fia as its head.
When Germany lost her possessions after World War I, the League
of Nations gave Great Britain the Anlo area as a trust territory
(by a mandate of 1922), and this area became known as "British
Togoland." In a plebiscite held on May 9, 1956, by the United
Nations, the people of British Togoland voted to join the British
Gold Coast Colony when it became an independent nation (March 6,
1957). With independence, the "Anlo State" was dissolved. See
Pugh and Perry, p. 135; Aduamah, p. 1; United Nations, Trustee-
ship Council, How to vote in the plebiscite in Togoland under
United Kingdom trusteeship (T/1258/Add. 1, Annex III, pp. 5-8),
exhibit B in The United Nations. Jackdaw No. 100, comp. by
The move from Notsie to the Keta Lagoon was accomplished within the latter half of the life of Venya, leader of the Anlo; or, as Mr. Togobo suggests, within a span of twenty to thirty years. It probably took place around 1600. Undoubtedly the Anlo received musical increments or substitutions, if not complete dances, from other cultures during their travels.

1 See below, p. 273.

2 J. D. Fage, p. 23, suggests the fifteenth century as the earliest the Ga and Ewe could have arrived in Ghana. Nukunya, p. 1, suggests—with more authority, as an Anlo presumably familiar with the genealogies—the seventeenth century. Our interviews suggest the very end of the sixteenth century. There are nine or ten generations, counting inclusively, from the first Awoame Fia of the Anlo, Sri I, to informants of today born around 1900. I am told that Anlo men traditionally came to marriage and family late in life. Mr. Togobo suggests an age between thirty-five and forty-five. Nine times the average of these two figures is 360 years, which places the birth of Sri I around 1540 (if the informant considers himself to be the tenth generation), or around 1580 (if he considers himself to be the ninth generation). Sri I was elected Fia while the Anlo were at Notsie and continued to rule when they settled at Anloga and Fiaxo. See below, pp. 223-24, 249-250, and 262-67. I give the three lineages below. For the relationship between Fui Agbeve and Adeladzea, consult n. 1, p. 270 below. Rev. Nutsuako told us his list is only incompletely remembered (see p. 250). Adodi Fuga’s generation is a guess.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Asogoe} & \rightarrow & \text{Asimadi} \\
\text{Adodi Fuga} & \text{Kokui} & \text{Togbi Sri I} \\
\text{Aleawo} & \text{Adeladzea} & \text{Fui Agbeve} \\
\text{Efli} & \ldots & \text{Zanyiedor} \\
\text{Deako} & \ldots & \text{Tokonugbekle} \\
\text{Klu-Åkpò} & \text{Honi} & \text{Dra} \\
\text{Badu} & \text{Agavu} & \text{Lotsu Togobo} \\
\text{Tenasu} & \text{Loxoxo} & \text{Ahia-taku} \\
\text{Agbeli} & \text{Sala} & \text{Afetomashie} \\
\text{Edugle} & \text{Nutsuako} & \text{T. S. A. Togobo} \\
\text{R.E. Gbedemah} & \text{W.E. Nutsuako} & \\
\end{array}
\]
CHAPTER II

THE ATSIAÑ DRUM

According to tradition, the Eves were dancing Atsiã before their stop at Dogbo, in Dahomey.¹

When the Anlos came to Dogbo, at that time the one leading them—or the chief in charge—they called him Asimadi.² He was the one who was chief in charge at that time, before they improved that [Atsiã] drum at Dogbo. It was a very important Anlo drum. Their various customs it would accompany. And it is a drum we have had on up to today, and so it reminds us of the olden days.³

Atsiã is not much in evidence today at Anyako, but Atsiã clubs at Dzelukofe and Afiađenyigbâ are fairly active.⁴ In addition to these organizations, there are clubs at Alakple and

¹See below, p. 292 (11. 5-9). Aduamah (p. 18) recounts from his knowledge as an Anlo the tradition that they moved to Dogbo from Ketu. He does not identify the towns or the date of the move. From Dogbo they moved to Notsie at a time when Venya (who later led the migration to the Keta Lagoon) was already an elder.

²Father of Sri I and brother-in-law of Venya. (See chart on p. 270, n. 1 below, where he is called "Asimadi"). The move to Dogbo was well within the sixteenth century, according to our reckoning above (p. 26, n. 2).

³See below, p. 300 (11. 116-123).

⁴Prior to the summer of 1971, the Atsiã group of Anyako had not danced since around 1956 (see above, p. 18, n. 2); the group at Dzelukofe had danced in April of 1971 (and in August of 1970—see below, pp. 200-201 [11. 57-69]); and the group at Afiađenyigbâ had danced in April of 1970 (see the interview with them below, pp. 173-74 [11. 13-15]).
Xedzranawo, making five in all. Earlier, Atsiâ was even more widely performed; but as Mr. Tsegah of Anyako observed,

from time to time they leave it, and then again they take it up. Now the present one [in Anyako], its revival started from Lomé. Some of our people who came to Lomé [to carry on trade], they wanted to get together to identify themselves as Anlos. When they got together, they found it good to drum. It was good to present what was the ancestors' ancient drum, which is called Atsiâ. So they revived it.

Madam Hobudi Nazâ Lawluvi, a leading singer in this Lomé group, elaborated.

For we do not know each other. We are just scattered about the town. So we decided to come together and know each other. We came to agree to form Atsiâ, [to agree] that it is only through that that we can all come together, so that when there is a funeral we can do it. Until today if some member dies, it is what we use.

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1 See Map 2 above, p. 3. Alakple is just below the L of the legend "Keta Lagoon." Xedzranawo is not shown on the maps but is on the beach between Denu and the ocean, in the region that Nukunya shows, p. 4, as Aflao. See Map 2, p. 3 above, near Lomé.

2 Mr. Tsegah. See pp. 292-93 below (11. 13-16).

3 For a listing of other drummings thought to have been performed before the migration from Notsie, see pp. 279-280 below.

4 Mr. Tsegah. See p. 293 below (11. 18-25).

5 From Mr. Tsegah's second interview, 11. 161-167 pp. 314-15. Atsiâ provided the nucleus at Lomé for an Anlo mutual aid society that is still functioning. Financial emergencies too great for individuals to meet are covered by the group. One such emergency is death. By custom, the Anlo is buried in his home community, and the cost of transporting a body can be considerable. For example, I paid the equivalent of $1.30 in 1971 to travel from Accra to Anyako by public lorry, a distance of 100 miles. It would cost $30-60 to send my body on the same journey, on the same lorry. Nayo, p. 15 describes a benevolent society in Accra formed around the songs of Vinoko Akpala (the drumming style is Atigo); another society there sings Vincent Ladzekpo's songs (the drumming style is Axatseyu).
They came together in 1945, and in the European atmosphere of Lomé there was not much traditional music. The drummers and song leaders needed were not to be found.¹

So they had an idea, the Anyako people among them, such as Mr. Koshikpui Lawluvi, now deceased, Madam Hobuđi Naz̄ Lawluvi, and Madam Novideto Dotse Lawluvi. They came to the people of Woe Division in Anyako. These people's drum it was, their ancestors' drum. So we [i.e., those in Anyako who were asked to teach] went there.²

Atsiā had died out in Anyako—or rather it had entered a period of hibernation (see p. 18). Togbi Dorvlo Anyiglā, whose age is reckoned at over one hundred by people in Anyako,³ places the end of Atsiā activity in the 1870's, when he was about ten years old.

What happened is, the time all the women who helped us sing and play--of the society--died, and there remained only the drum[ming]. So they know, the drummers, that they can't play, so everything stopped from there.⁴

And yet, in 1945, musicians from Woe Division in Anyako went to Lomé and helped start an Atsiā society there by teaching the songs, the drumming, and the dancing. How had the music survived?

¹See below, p. 293 (11. 26-27).

²Mr. Tsegah, pp. 293-94, below (11. 27-33).

³Mr. Kofiga Honu Lawluvi told me that Togbi Anyiglā started his family late in life, at age fifty. Togbi Anyiglā's son, Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, was in his fifties in 1971.

⁴Togbi Anyiglā, p. 188 below. Note that some conflicting evidence is cited on p. 17, n. 3 above, as to the date Atsiā activity ended in Anyako. Clearly, singing is an important element in dance drumming.
In the first place, although some of the active singers had died, the songs had never really died. Madam Hobudi Nazā Lawluvi of Anyako, one of those who returned from Lomé to ask for help, recalls that

my mother and the elders sang Atsiā songs to my hearing. My mother used to play with [the] children with Atsiā songs and rhythms, and from there I learned how to sing Atsiā songs.¹

Atsiā songs are traditional. Atsiā is not a music that, like Axatseyu dance drumming, forms around a composer.² The two composers who went to Lomé from Anyako in 1945 to help start Atsiā music, Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi and Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, brought with them songs they had learned in much the same way as had Madam Lawluvi.

In the second place, musicians in Anyako much younger than Togbi Anyiglā had at least one opportunity to see and learn from a full performance of Atsiā. In 1926 the mother of Chief Attipoe II of Woe Division died,³ and part of the funeral music was provided by the Zomayi Afe game Atsiā Drumming Group Abeokuta, from Dzelukofe. The leading singer and leading spirit of the group today is Mr. Michael Kwasi Badu. His father was a leading

¹As reported by Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo, who did the interviewing in Eve and translated the results. See p. 247.

²For some currently composed repertoires flourishing in Anyako to the accompaniment of Axatseyu rhythms, see "Axatseyu," p. 388. Two songs that have been composed for Atsiā by men active today are given below, pp. 36-40.

³Her granddaughter, Madam Dzedzowo Attipoe, kindly supplied Mr. Gbewonyo with this date. See below, p. 246.
singer before him; and his grandfather was also a leading singer and was among those who brought Atsiã dance drumming to Dzelukofe from Abeokuta, Nigeria,\(^1\) probably about 1850.\(^2\)

Some of the musicians who went to Lomé from Anyako recall that the performance they saw in Anyako was put on by the Dzelukofe group. One musician remembers only that he saw a performance when he was young.\(^3\) Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki Attipo, who

\(^1\)See below, pp. 198-99 (11. 31-39) and pp. 201-202 (11. 70-77). They went there to trade, taking a boat to Lagos, and then heading due north. See Map 1, p. 2 above.

\(^2\)Mr. Badu was born in 1907 when his father was forty-three years old. When Mr. Badu's father was born in 1864, Mr. Badu's grandfather was probably about forty years old, for Mr. Togobo of Anloga has suggested that in former times Anlo men used to marry fairly late, after they had accumulated sufficient resources. This suggests that the stay in Nigeria, which was for trading purposes, probably predates the birth of Mr. Badu's father.

The direct line of descent of the leadership of the Atsiã group in Dzelukofe suggests that the group has maintained its vitality from the time of its founding to the present. This continuity did not happen in Anyako, and Madam Lawluvi comments: "Here in Anyako, we like forming new drumming groups, [more] than keeping the old, old drumming styles. Atsiã was an old drumming group, but we liked it, so we learned both the songs and the rhythms, though we do not play it very often [nowadays]. But the coastal people [i.e., at Dzelukofe] do not like putting up new groups. That is why they keep to the old style and groups." See below, p. 247.

\(^3\)Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi (below, p. 247). Mr. Lawluvi gives enough information to place this performance around 1915. It may be the one to which his brother, Mr. Kofiga Honu Lawluvi, referred in the summer of 1971 when he said the last time he had seen Atsiã he was thirteen years old. Rev. Nutsuako says Mr. Honu Lawluvi was sixty-eight or sixty-nine in 1971 (see p. 259, below); thus the performance he saw was in 1915 or 1916. In 1897-98 Rev. Nutsuako joined an Atsiã club in Anyako, whose leading drummer was a member of Adotri, not Woe Division (see pp. 256-57 below). I have no further information about this Adotri group.
went as a drummer, apparently played a creative role as well. He says,

Although I had not ever seen Anyako Atsiă being played before, I witnessed both Dzelukofe and some drumming from Atiavi called Aguda Sika, and from these two drummings I made, or picked out, the suitable and interesting Atsiă rhythms. In fact, I can say that I never learned Atsiă rhythms from anybody, but through watching it played, and listening to the rhythms attentively, I composed my own Atsiă rhythms. And one of the oldest chief drummers confirmed that my rhythms were correct and were like those played during the olden days. Even Husunuke said they were much more interesting than the olden ones.2

Without mentioning composition, other musicians who went to Lomé agree that what they knew they had learned on their own, watching and listening "out of personal interest."3 Asked if he had passed on his knowledge of Atsiă rhythms to his son, Lumor, Togbi Anyigla gave a reply that sums up the view of musicians in Anyako about the process of learning music:

I only drum. I don't teach anybody how to sing or drum. Because everybody, what God gives you, that's what you have to do. So he himself, he knows how to compose and he knows how to play, so I did not teach him how to play or sing. If somebody knows how to do that thing, then he forces himself to do so.4

Between 1880 and 1945 Atsiă survived in Anyako first of all as a body of traditional song privately sung. Those who had a personal interest learned the accompanying instrumental rhythms

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1 Map 3, p. 4 above, near 0° 50' east, 5° 55' north.
2 See Mr. Gbewonyo's report, pp. 245-46 below.
3 Ibid., throughout.
4 See below, p. 187.
and dance motions from watching one or more performances in Anyako by outside groups. There was such a performance in 1915 or 1916, and the Dzelukofe club is known to have come over in 1926.

The group of musicians who went to Lomé in 1945 included as song leaders the composers already mentioned, Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi and Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, and Mr. Ekulenuanye Exoke, who is also a drummer and a good dancer.¹ Mr. Dumodzi Lawluvi, known as a dancer, was in the group. Drummers included Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi's young brother, Mr. Anani Agalâ Lawluvi; Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki Attipo; and Mr. Attipo's nephew, Mr. Koku Atidama Aflakpui.² They were accompanied by Mr. Komi Aheto Tsegah, a young man who was neither a drummer nor a composer, but who had a talent for organizing and had recognized business ability. "We were the ones who went," he recalls,

and we showed the drum to them. And it is a drum there at Lomé they have been drumming up to the present. After they started, in fact, we felt we also should revive it at Anyako here; and its revival was when my grandfather Tsegah died [in 1947].³ That day we revived it, drumming it for him as an elderly man's music. So it became a drum we have, and have been playing up to today.⁴

¹According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo. Mr. Exoke's father was drummer for the earlier Atsiâ club in Anyako to which Togbi Anyiglâ listened (see below, pp. 187-88).

²Mr. Aflakpui says he learned to play Atsiâ rhythms from his uncle. See below, p. 245. The names given here have been extracted from Mr. Tsegah's first interview, pp. 294-301 below (11. 33-135).

³See below, p. 294, n. 5.

⁴Mr. Tsegah's first interview, pp. 294-95 below (11. 36-44).
The complete Atsiã drum is not one music, but several. As with every dance club, Atsiã has music which is used for processing from the outskirts of town to the dancing area, and which is often similar to the music that will be used for dancing. This does not precede every dance session, but only occasions that are important beginnings.\(^1\) Whether the processional takes place or not, the performance itself will open with afã, which is a special singing and drumming performed as an invocation to the gods, and the same for every occasion and for every club.\(^2\)

Then comes the music of Atsiã itself. Forming a circle in front of the drums, or around them,\(^3\) the dancers listen to their song leader sing the first text. He does so in a free rhythm, going through the words and the tune once or sometimes twice. This singing forms an introduction to the dance drumming. To start the dance drumming, the song leader begins the text more forcefully in a strict rhythm that sets the tempo\(^4\) for the orchestra.

\(^1\)When the Atsiã club of Dzelukofi performed in Anyako at the installation of Chief Aduklu Attipo III of Woe Division in 1958, their processional lasted more than four hours—longer, in fact, than the dancing at the dancing area later. (According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo).

\(^2\)Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, p. 7.

\(^3\)At Anyako, the Atsiã dancing I saw was done in a circle in front of the drums. At Dzelukofi it began that way, but when I suggested that for the purposes of recording I did not want the singers dancing across in front of the drums, they formed their usual circle that went around the drums. At Afiadenyigbã, the dancers formed a circle around the drums from the beginning and did not change. See the diagrams below, pp. 86-87.

\(^4\)At Anyako the Atsiã dancers performed 162 steps per minute in the main dance figure; at Afiadenyigbã, 168; at Dzelukofi, 150.
The bell and the rattles enter first. The dancers begin to move in an understated way, carrying on the song as they do so. They will not really start dancing until the drums enter. The leading drummer, meanwhile, may tap the side of his instrument with his drumsticks to reinforce the tempo chosen by the song leader. When he feels the ensemble working together smoothly, he uses a special pattern to bring in the drums.\(^1\) The dancing then begins in earnest, and the singing goes on from song to song without a break until the leading drummer brings the movement to a close with another special pattern.

Between movements of dance drumming a more leisurely music is performed. The drums and rattles are silent, and the dancers move in a gentle, stylized walk. This interlude is the place for the singing of longer, more involved texts. The accompaniment is played entirely upon bells of forged iron.\(^2\)

\(^1\)The sequence from free solo singing through the entrance of the drums can be seen in score, pp. 413-423 below.

\(^2\)Two bells in the shape of pods open along one side are struck with iron nails to give the basic timing. One bell plays the same ostinato that coordinates the dance drumming orchestra. The other adds a simple and unvarying decoration. These bells are called toke or atoke and closely resemble the kemanak bells used in Java, as A. M. Jones first pointed out in "Indonesia and Africa: the xylophone as a culture indicator," *African music*, II, 3 (1960), p. 43, figs. 1a and 1b. See also his more complete study, *Africa and Indonesia: the evidence of the xylophone and other musical and cultural factors* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), pp. 157-161 and Plates IX and X. See also p. 59 below.

A pair of iron double bells of the type and pitch discussed in chapter three (pp. 58-60) adds to this basic timing an interlocking decoration of four different notes.
Without the driving sound of the rattles and the drums, and with a much more relaxed quality of movement, the interlude (or "hatsiātsiā," as it is called) seems slower than the dance drumming. Actually, the tempo of the basic, repeating pattern used for the movements does not change.¹

Dance drumming is a very present, forceful art form among the Anlo.² Even in a style like Atsiā, which is characterized by traditional song texts, a contemporary note will now and then appear. I quote below two examples. The first is a song composed for the interlude movement in Atsiā by Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi when he went to Lomé in 1945 to help establish the club there. The second is a song composed for the dance drumming movement in Atsiā by Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo when we came to Anyako in 1971 and asked to see a performance of this music.

Atsiā Hatsiātsiā Song by Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi

EVUA MIE FO LE LOME DEE!
The drum we play at Lomé, dee!

¹Occasionally one hears a third kind of music at the dancing ground, the singing of songs called "ayrowo." In Atsiā, the songs are in a free rhythm, the voices sounding in unison. Because these songs are followed immediately by the strict rhythm of the songs of the interlude movement, Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo has suggested the term "overture" as an appropriate name for them. Ayrowo were not sung at Anyako, but we heard them during the performances at Dzelukofe and Afiadenyigbā. At Afiadenyigbā they were sung by women alone, led by Mama Molotui Blibo, at the age of ninety-six one of the finest dancers and song leaders we met.

SEGGLAE LE DUAME KE DZI ME BLEA MIAWO O.¹
Segla is in town, so we have no fear.

GA EVEME ME VA KO DE AGBOA DZI.
At two o'clock I came to the dancing ground.

KE AMEGAWOE LE AVUAME.
And patrons of the society were there.

DOMENYO WOTO SOKPE DOGBE NE SEGLA.
That kind person² Sokpe greeted Segla.

NE EFIADÉ LE AFEME NE DO VA KPO MI DA.
If a chief is at home, he may come out and see us.

MENYE DZIKU NYAE WO NYE O.
It's not because of anger; it is not.

DOMEA FA NA MI. EYATAE MI DOGBE
Our stomachs are cool— that's why we have gathered

DE EVUA NU.
around the drum.

EVUA MIE FO HEE!
The drum we play, hee!

ATSÍÁ VUA MIE FO LOO HOO!
The Atsiá drum we play, loo hoo!

NE MIA KPO SEGGLAE FE XO NU HEE!
So that we see Segla's courtyard, hee!³

[Middle section.]

SOKPE LEE BE HAGBE NYO ME VO LE YE SI O.
Sokpe says: my good voice has not finished its song,

¹Segla, an Anlo from Tegbi (along the road south from Dzelukofe, near 1° east, 5°50' north on Map 3 above, p. 4), was evidently a patron of the newly formed group. See p. 310 below (1. 102).

²"That kind person" is a standard phrase used by Anlo composers to describe themselves in their songs.

³Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes, "What the composer means here is to greet Segla" as the Atsiá group moves in procession by his house.
ATSIĂ VUA MIE FO HEE!
The Atsiă drum we play, hee!

ATSIĂ VUA MIE GBA HEE!
Atsiă we play, hee!

NE MIA KPÔ SEGŁAE FE XO NU HEE!
So that we see Segla's courtyard, hee! ¹

Atsiă Dance Drumming Song by
Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorylo

KOBŁA LADZEKPO WO ANEDÔ² NAM
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me

BE MA FO ATSIĂ VUA NA YE, EE!
To play Atsiă for him, oh!

NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, O0!
When the sun shines, something else will happen, oh!

KOBŁA LADZEKPO WO ANEDÔ NAM
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me

BE MA FO AGOĤÜ NA YE, EE!
To play Agohü for him, oh!

NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, O0!
When the sun shines, something else will happen, oh!

[Middle section.]

EFLAWO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA KPE.
Efla people say, "When the sun shines we'll meet."

EWOEAWO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA DZOE, EE!
Woe people say, "When the sun shines, we'll go," oh!

¹From pp. 297-99 (11. 82-112) and pp. 309-310 (11. 85-97) below, translated by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo.

²This word is from the Anexo-Eve dialect of Togo. Words from the Fô language further east are also not uncommon in Anlo texts. See pp. 308-309 (11. 79-82) and pp. 311-12 (11. 119-127) below.
AGUA DZE DZE MIA KPE.
At the sun's shining, we'll meet.

EFLAWO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA KPE.
Efìa people say, "When the sun shines we'll meet."

[End of middle section.]

KOBLA LADZEKPO WO ANEDO NAM
KOBLa Ladzekpo sent for me

BE MA FO ATSIÀ VUA NA YE, ÒO!
To play Atsià for him, oh!

NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, ÒO!
When the sun shines, something else will happen, oh!

As these texts illustrate, the songs of the interlude section are much longer than those of the dance drumming. The balanced A-B-A form in both poems is typical of Anlo songs sung to traditional drumming.

1 From the interview with Togbi Anyiglá below, pp. 191-92. Note the slightly different text for the same song given on p. 194.
CHAPTER III

THE ENSEMBLE AND ITS RHYTHMS

Atsiā dance drumming is a circle dance lasting anywhere from one hour to five. Atsiā is performed in an open space among the houses of the community and, ideally, under a large tree planted especially to shade the dancers.¹ Sometimes a private courtyard is the setting for dance drumming, especially for a funeral observance or a cult ceremony. The Atsiā club of Anyako performed for us in a private courtyard, as shown in Plate IV on the next page, because the photographer needed a certain amount of seclusion in order to film the dancing.

The circle of dancers may form in front of the drums if it is small or if there are other special circumstances (such as the filming). Normally, however, the drums and other instruments are in the center of the circle. With them sit the patrons of the group and the elders of the community. Special guests may have seats to one side of the dancing ground but everyone else stands throughout the performance. During pauses between dance movements, the dancers remain in place.

¹See diagrams of the dance arrangements at Anyako, Dzelukofe, and Afiadenyigba, pp. 86-87 below, Figs. 2-4.
(a)  The courtyard of the home of the late Chief Attipoe II, in Woe Division.

(b)  In front of the drums, left to right: the leading singer, Mr. Dorvlo, with wand of horse tail, and Madam Hobudi Lawluvi. The circle is moving counter-clockwise.

(c)  The dancers remain in place during pauses between dance movements.
In overall charge of the occasion is the senior dance patron of the Division, who has specific responsibility for authorizing the time and place for the performance, overseeing the management of any money received, and presiding over any disciplinary actions that may have to be taken later. He does not sit to the front of the instrumental group, where he would have a privileged view of the proceedings, but to the rear with the other patrons and elders, where their venerable years insure that inimical forces do not enter the drums.\(^1\)

The composer has unquestioned authority over the actual performance of the music. Unless age prevents him from doing so, he will act as song leader, moving about the circle of dancers with his assistant song leaders, the badge of their office a horse's tail ("lāsi") held in the dominant hand. Since the song repertoire is traditional rather than contemporary, the composer's authority derives from the demonstration of his gift in some other dance drumming style. Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, who led the Atsī̀ performance in Woe Division, Anyako,\(^2\) is a respected composer for the Alọsogbey club of Woe Division, which performs Axatseyũ music.

The gift for composition marks a person for special

\(^1\)Another manifestation of the same attitude is that the large leading drum, atsimeyũ, is not to be moved from its initial position once the instruments have been set up. The senior dance patron of Woe Division is presently Mr. Kwasi Dzokata Aflakpui, shown seated at the far left in the photograph on p. ix above.

\(^2\)See Plate IV(b), p. 42 above. Photographs of the motions of song leading form Plate XII, p. 505 below.
notice, and even for wonder. Nicholas Nayo says of Mr. Vinoko Akakpo Akpalu that people in Anloga, and Anlo in the New Town area of Accra, believe he was

"caught" by "Akaye" from Hogbe [Notsie] the ancestral home of the Anlo. "Akaye" they said was the "song magic" which was passed [sic] on from one famous composer to another. A kind of song spirit which cannot be disobeyed, or one would become mad.\(^1\)

Although certainly an expression of awe for the composer's gifts, this is not an accurate report about Akaya.

Akaya is a protective force, not a creative one.\(^2\) Akaya is embodied in an object for a composer by a person gifted with the power to do so--a man or woman who is, usually, also a composer. This object is associated with the sound of music (Akpalu's Akaya, for example, was a rattle). The person making the Akaya fastens other objects to it, such as heads of songbirds. The person receiving the Akaya keeps it as his personal property. The Akaya protects his ability to compose and remember songs. It can be passed on to another composer by observing the proper ceremonies. If it is not passed on, it loses its power when its owner dies.

A composer can use Akaya or not, depending on how secure he feels about his gift for composition and his memory. The gift for composition itself, however, is not bestowed by Akaya. The late Mr. Agbadrive Ladzekpo of Anyako, a famous composer from

\(^1\)Nayo, p. 48.

\(^2\)Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo provided the following account.
Lasibi Division who died in 1966, always scorned the use of Akaya.\(^1\) The late Mr. Husunu Adonu Afađi, from the same Division in Anyako, widely known and respected as both a composer and a drummer, never owned an Akaya. Mr. Akpalu owned one made for him by the composer Dzenawo, a woman of nearby Atiavi. When he joined the modern Christian church known as the Apostles Revelation Society on February 9, 1964, his Akaya was taken and hidden by some of the elders in his drumming group.\(^2\)

The instrumental players of the Atsiā ensemble are directed by the leading drummer, usually stationed behind them,\(^3\) who plays the large atsimeyvu and takes his cues from the song leader. His playing tells the other drummers to begin, calls for a special figure from the dancers, and alone can bring the music to a close.

He is a master of ceremonies in a way, whose responsibility is that everyone have a good time. . . . he will drum

\(^1\)When he stood as champion against Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi of Woe Division in the fierce song war (or "halo") of 1930, he did accept an Akaya pressed upon him by his Division. He paid no attention to it, however.

\(^2\)Letter from Mawu Fe Ame C. K. N. Wovenu, founder and head of the Apostles Revelation Society. Akpalu's drumming group played a style of music formerly known as Atigo (which is described on pp. 386-87). His own songs have become so widely known and loved, however, that the style is now generally known as Akpalu. Now that he is a Christian, he composes for his church. His home in Anyako is his mother's house, near no. 8 on the overlay to Plate III, p. 11 above.

\(^3\)An exception to this occurred at Afiadenyigbā. See Figure 3, p. 86 below, which diagrams the dance arrangements.
compliments and comments on his instrument,\(^1\) and use it to call someone up to shake his hand;\(^2\) he times the length of the movements, . . . and keeps his musicians up to the mark, reminding them of patterns if they forget.\(^3\)

His instrument in the Atsiā ensemble, called atsimeyu or vuga, is a drum of barrel construction whose height ranges from just under five feet to over six feet. The drum-head measures from nine inches to a foot across, depending on the size of the instrument. The bottom is open, and always of a diameter somewhat less than that of the playing end. The head is of antelope skin laced to a reed hoop with ordinary cord. Loops from the lacing pass around wooden pegs set downward at a slant into the side of the shell near the top. The skin is brought to a moderate tautness\(^4\) by driving the hoop down over the smoothed ends of the slats that form the side and by driving the pegs in to increase the pull of the cord upon the hoop. Because of its height, atsimeyu is set at a tilt on a special stand, as illustrated on the next page.

\(^1\) Using one stick and one hand, the leading drummer can draw from his instrument tones of varied pitch and timbre which, when combined with the right timing, mimic the flow of spoken Anlo in a manner that communicates. A specific example of this drumming is scored in Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, p. 30 (cycle 38), and discussed on p. 18. John F. Carrington presents a clear picture of the principles of drum language, although from central Africa, in *Talking drums of Africa* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1949).

\(^2\) Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes, "People shake hands with a drummer [when he has played their name on the drum] as formality demands in Anlo etiquette, but it is not a must, nor is it a request on the part of the drummer."

\(^3\) Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, p. 20.

\(^4\) It is not as taut as the drum-heads of the Middle Eastern darbukka and the Carribean congo drums.
PLATE V. THE ATSIA DRUMS.

(a) The drums of Atsia: (l. to r.) sogo, kidi, small atsimeyu (only eight hoops), kaganu, atsimeyu stand. In front: drumsticks, wands of ram's hair (l.) and horse's tail (r.), sandals.

(b) Woe Division's Atsia drum set with Mr. Dorylo, song leader: (l. to r.) atsimeyu of medium size (ten hoops) leaning upon its stand, sogo, kidi, kaganu.

(c) Closed and open drum bottoms: (l. to r.) sogo, kidi, kaganu and atsimeyu.
In former times Anlo drums were fashioned from solid tree trunks rather than from slats. The practice has not died completely although finding trees suitable for the purpose is difficult in the Anlo area\(^1\) since it is savannah country. Slat construction has been practiced for at least fifty years in the area. Mr. Laurentios Mensaga of Abor recalls\(^2\) that in 1920, perhaps even earlier, a man from Togo, known to him only as "Koblavi," sold drums in the Keta market which were actually used commercial barrels that had been taken apart and reshaped. Mr. Mensaga is probably the first drummaker in the Anlo area to fashion his staves from raw lumber. He taught himself to do this at Adidome\(^3\) in 1930 and brought his art to Abor in 1932. Since then, men apprenticed to him by contract for a period of three to four years have become drummakers. One of these, Mr. Kwabla Dogbe of

\(^1\)Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo told me there are still atsimevuwo made from solid tree trunks at Anyako, two of them in his Division (Lasibi). I did not see them to make a description. S. D. Asiama shows one used at Pokuase, a town on the southern edge of the rain forest just north of Accra, in "Music and dancing in a Ghanaian community (Pokuase)" (unpublished thesis for the Diploma in African Music, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, [1965]), p. 25, Plate II. The instrument is six feet, nine inches long, with a drum-head one foot across. The Ewe speakers of southern Dahomey use drums carved from solid wood. See the description by Clément da Cruz, "Les instruments de musique dans le BasDahomey," Études dahoméennes, XII (1954), pp. 19-20. The male and female "sato" drums he describes on p. 25 have proportions similar to those of atsimevu. The kaganu in Plate V(b), p. 47 above, is of solid wood.

\(^2\)In an unrecorded interview with Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and me at Mr. Mensaga's shop in Abor, on August 9, 1971.

\(^3\)At the far left of Map 2, p. 3 above, near 6° north.
Akatsi,\textsuperscript{1} showed us how the barrel drums are made. His apprenticeship of four years ended October 25, 1954, and he is now the chief supplier of drums in the area. The following description is from observations made at his shop on August 17, 1971.

The staves.--A flat, smooth master template of thin, hard wood is placed upon a flat plank of rough odum lumber, and its outline is drawn. There are different templates for the different drums, and several for the atsimeyu, which is built in various sizes.\textsuperscript{2} They are all narrow, and tapered at both ends. The rough cut exceeds the measurements of the template by about one quarter of an inch, except at the middle, the widest part, where the cut and the outline coincide.

The sides of each stave are shaped, the inside concavely with a chisel, the outside convexly with a draw-knife. In this process, the ends of the stave are left thicker than the middle.

Bevelling the edges for their final fit into the curved shell of the barrel is done only by the master drummer, the vukpala himself, working entirely by eye. He uses a short hand plane for the main shaping, and one set in a longer block to get the final, even line required.

The hoops.--For bending the staves together to form a single shell, Mr. Dogbe uses a heavy-duty set of hoops made of iron, of which he has a great many in various sizes. For the permanent binding of the finished drum he uses hoops cut from the metal bands with which packing boxes are fastened. Whether iron or sheet metal, the ends of each hoop are fastened together with a rivet: a hole punched at one end is lined up with a hole punched at the other end, a short length of metal rod is passed through the two, and the rod is then pounded flat at each end.

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., six miles northwest of Abor on the Accra-Lomé road.

\textsuperscript{2}Mr. Kobla Ladjekpo ordered an especially small atsimeyu from Mr. Mensaga in 1958 which had never been built before. A new template had to be designed. He then used the drum for performances of Atsiabeko staged in Accra, where he was teaching drumming and dancing at the time. This small size can be seen in Plate V(a), p. 47 above. The one shown in Plate V(b) is larger. The largest I have seen were used for Atsi\textasciitilde by the Dzelukofe group. I would estimate their length at over six and one half feet.
The circumference of one edge of the hoop is made greater than that of the other edge by pounding with a metal mallet. This difference in size allows the hoop to fit the sloping contour of the shell of the barrel.

Flat, triangular glazing points are cut from the metal stripping with a cold chisel. When the hoops are to be fixed permanently to the shell of the drum, these points are driven into the wood along the smaller edge of each hoop to prevent slipping.

**Assembly of an atsimeyu.**—The slats are stacked vertically against one another, forming a cone. The ends that will form the foot of the drum are against the ground. The drummer stands on a bench alongside the cone, holding in his hand two of the heavy-duty hoops. He has chosen them carefully. The larger of the two approximates the outer diameter planned for the head of the drum, whereas the smaller one approximates the inner diameter. With the help of his assistants he proceeds to fit the end of each slat into the ring of space between these two hoops. When all the slats have been assembled, another hoop is placed over the cone, and an assistant pounds it into place with a great wooden mallet and a chisel that carries a groove rather than a cutting edge on its end.

The drummer checks the size and symmetry of the end of the drum just formed. Another hoop goes on, below the first, and above the second. The drummer taps the staves with his hammer. They must be even on the ends as well as snugly set, side to side. He holds the inner hoop against the inside of the formation to help him form the hole correctly. Hoops are added and subtracted until the upper half of the instrument has been properly gathered together.

The drum now resembles a circular tent. The gathering of the straight staves at the top has caused them to spread out in perfect symmetry at the bottom. To bring these ends together, the drum is first placed on its side. A strong rope is looped around the spreading staves. One end of the rope is tied to a tree, and three strong men pull on the other end. When the staves have been brought close enough together, a fourth man slips a heavy-duty hoop over them.

Now the drum is set on its head, and the staves of the foot are forced together by pounding hoops down around them. It is a hard job. When the foot has been properly formed, the ends are sawed off to make an even rim.

**Finishing.**—An assistant smooths the outside of the shell by planing. Only one hoop at a time is removed. A circle is scored around the upper end, and the holes for the pegs are drilled along the line at a downward angle with a brace and bit. The number of staves in the shell is usually even, so that the peg holes can be set symmetrically around the drum—
head, one in every other stave, without having to drill into
the crack where one stave joins another.

The wooden pegs are roughly cut and shaped with a cutlass.
They are then trimmed and fitted with a hand knife. Part of
the trimming consists of providing the upper end of each peg
with an overhang that will catch the lacing from the drum-
head and keep it from slipping off the peg.

The drum-head.—A thin bundle of thin, tough reeds is
formed into a hoop by bending it around so that the ends dove-
tail with one another, and the juncture is bound with fine
cord. The inner diameter of this hoop is such that the hoop
will sit on the upper rim of the shell of the drum without
quite fitting down over the sides.
The drum-head is of untanned antelope or deer skin, from
which the hair has been rubbed with the edge of a board when
the skin is dry and hard.
The lacing is cord thick enough not to cut into the
leather.

Assembling the drum-head.—The leather is soaked in water
until quite soft. A piece is cut from it sufficient to cover
the upper rim of the shell of the drum with three inches left
over all around. If a carrying ring is wanted the leather is
cut so that there is a lobe of extra material about the size
of the palm of one's hand, or a little smaller, projecting
from the perimeter.
The wet leather is set over the head of the drum, hair
side up. The reed hoop is set on top of it. The margin of
leather projecting beyond the hoop is then turned up and over
the hoop at a point right above one of the pegs projecting
from the side of the drum. While someone else keeps the skin
firmly in position on the drum-head by pulling from the other
side, one presses the hoop tightly against the leather folded
over it and pierces a hole through both folds of the leather
with an awl, placing the hole as close to the inside of the
hoop as possible.

A loop of the lacing is passed through the hole from the
top by means of a long, flat strip of soft metal bent into
the shape of a hairpin. The loop is set over the head of the
wooden peg below.
The distance along the circumference of the hoop from this
loop to a point directly above the next peg is now estimated.
This distance is divided into thirds, and each third of the
way along, one folds the leather, pierces a hole, and passes
a loop of the lacing through as described above. The first
loop goes around the starting peg; the second goes around the
next peg. When the hole above this second peg is to be
pierced, the beginning point of the work cycle has again been
reached, and one proceeds as before.
Finishing the drum-head.—The final loop of the lacing goes around the starting peg, and the end is knotted to the beginning. There should be three loops for each peg. These are now taken off the peg and twisted together. The direction of the twist is upward and out, the three loops being rolled together as one between thumb and first finger. The twisted, multiple loop is put back around the pegs, which are not yet hammered down into the shell, but sit rather high in their holes.

If a lobe of leather has been left on the drum-skin to form a carrying ring, this lobe is now cut twice from side to side and once from the hoop outwards. The cuts stop within one half inch of the edge. The leather is turned up and out from the center of the lobe and curled around the edge. When it dries, it will hold the shape of a handle.

The setting of the finished head onto the shell of the drum is done carefully, and over a period of time. The hoop is hammered down a bit, evenly on all sides, with something heavy but smooth and broad, like the underside of an atoke (see Plate VI on p. 59 below; the head of a hammer will not do). The pegs then may be tapped in lightly to take up any slack created in the lacing. When hammering on the hoop, one turns back the fringe of excess leather extending in toward the center of the drum-head. The hammering soon causes this fringe to lie flat on the hoop.

Fig. 1.—Lacing the head of an Anlo drum.
The voice of atsimeyu is the lowest and freest in the Atsiã ensemble. The other instruments sound without ceasing during the dance drumming movement, but atsimeyu is often silent, for the player may enter into the music or leave it, as he pleases. The rhythms he may play constitute a known repertoire, but their choice and sequence are almost entirely up to him.

With one stick and one hand he plays the patterns that command: the signal for the other drums to begin to play; the passage that ends the dance drumming movement; the short compositions that bring the smaller drums into a call and response dialogue with him and that cause the dancers to change their movements. With two sticks he drums a variety of rhythms that add interest to the dance but do not command.

The rhythms of atsimeyu have several distinguishing characteristics. First of all, they are long. To build the rhythmic structures proper to the play of the leading drum, one takes a broader span for one's base than when playing any of the other instruments. Secondly, the repertoire is highly varied. Finally, and most important to the rest of the ensemble, the patterns are irregular: they do not create the feeling of a pulse. As the most prominent voice among the instruments, atsimeyu provides a refreshing contrast to the feeling of pulse generated by the other instruments.

1Traditionally, women do not drum in Anlo. There are exceptions, however, such as Madam Nukuyi Abotsivia of Anyako. She can play the atsimeyu part in the styles known as Axatsevu and Atigo, and she is also a composer of songs.
Two smaller drums play dialogues with atsimeyu from time to time: sogo and kidi (shown on p. 47 above, Plates V(a) and (c)). Nowadays, like atsimeyu, they are of barrel construction. The bottom of each is closed with a circular wooden plate of a diameter greater than the playing head.¹ The head, of antelope or deer skin, is fastened to the shell in the same manner as the head of atsimeyu. Just above the bottom hoop of each drum is a small hole that frees the air chamber and also allows wetting of the wood and leather from the inside when they become dry.

The larger of the two, sogo, stands around two feet two inches tall and has a vibrating head from eight and one half to nine inches across. In Atsiâ it is played only with the hands. It produces a soft, mellow baritone that contrasts with the loud and firm double bass of atsimeyu. In other styles of dance

¹I have found no study of the difference in sound which results from closing the open foot of a drum, or from different ratios between the diameters of the head and the foot. In these two respects, as Plate V shows, the largest and the smallest drums of the Atsiâ set are the same type (the foot is smaller in diameter than the head, and it is open), whereas the two drums of intermediate size are a different type (the foot is closed, and larger in diameter than the head). Studies by Terada and by Obata and Tesima point out that, whether the foot is open or has been closed by a firm plate, the fundamental tone of a cylindrical drum will become lower as the length of the column of air is increased. A convexly moulded air column was not considered. See T. Terada, "Note on vibrations of drum," Physico-Mathematical Society of Japan. Proceedings, IV, 17 (1908), p. 346; and Jûichi Obata and Takehiko Tesima, "Experimental studies on the sound and vibration of drum," Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, VI, 4 (1935), p. 274.
drumming sogo is often the leading drum.¹ In Atsiã its role is ambiguous, intermediate between leading and simply accompanying.² Sogo is not free to drop out of the ensemble as atsimeyũ is, and it must respond in a specific way to certain calls played on the leading drum. On the other hand,

when not involved in a dialogue sogo is free to sound patterns drawn from the repertoire established for the play of this instrument. . . . The player's art lies in choosing patterns to fit the play of atsimeyũ and the movement of the dancers, and in how smoothly he moves from one choice to another.³

The repertoire of sogo patterns is large, and atsimeyũ often drops out to allow the sogo player a period of solo display. During the performances of Atsiã at Dzelukofo and Afiadenyigbã, the sogo player took the role of leading drummer once in a while and initiated a drum dialogue with kidi while atsimeyũ remained silent.

When the sogo player initiates a drum dialogue, or responds to one, he performs rhythms characteristic of atsimeyũ:

¹Sogo takes the role of leading drum in sixteen of the thirty-seven different styles of dance drumming currently played in Anyako. Of the sixteen, eleven are styles performed as cult music; the other five are simply recreational styles. See the descriptive list below in Appendix C, pp. 382-395.

²In his study, Drumming in Akan communities of Ghana (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, for the University of Ghana, 1963), p. 24 and p. 179, Table 5A, the Ashanti scholar Joseph H. Kwabena Nketia uses this term "intermediate" as a classification for "drums that come in between, drums that cross" in Akan ensembles (for example, the drum apentemma is an "intermediate" drum in the style known as Kete).

they are relatively long and usually irregular. At all other
times, the play of sogo has a quite different style: the patterns
are relatively short and they generate a pulse because they are
regular. The player alters this pulse frequently, and smoothness
in the transition is one of the marks of a superior performer.
Another mark is the quality of his musical thought; although the
play of sogo draws upon a known repertoire of patterns, their
combination and development are created on the spot.

Standing some four inches shorter than sogo, kidi has a
vibrating head about seven inches across. Kidi is the tenor
voice of the ensemble and has a sweet sound more penetrating than
that of sogo. It is played with two sticks, which strike the
center of the head, rather than with the hands.

In none of the styles of dance drumming played at Anyako
does kidi have the role of leading drum. Yet kidi can be the
most crucial of the voices in certain styles, such as Agbadza, in
which it generates momentum for the dancers with various attract-
ive, shifting patterns. It does not do so in Atsiā. The momentum
for Atsiā dancing comes mainly from the rattles and the smallest
drum, kaganu. The attractive, shifting patterns are supplied by
sogo. Kidi thus has less importance in this music than in some
other styles of dance drumming. It plays but one pattern, or
variations of it, when not responding to the call for a drum
dialogue.

The remaining instruments take no part in these dialogues.
Each has a single, short rhythmic phrase that it repeats over and over. These various phrases combine to form a rhythmic complex that does not change during the dance drumming movement. Repeated continually, this complex provides a completely regular lattice-work that supports the play of the drums already described.

The players of sogo and kidi usually sit directly in front of the leading drum, atsimeyer. On either side of them sit the remaining players with their instruments.¹ The lowest in pitch is the smallest of the drums, a slender instrument slightly taller than kidi, which is called kaganu. Occasionally kaganu, like the one used by Woe Division for the performance of Atsia, is of solid wood. Nowadays, however, it is more often made out of staves and hoops.² The player uses one or two sticks³ on the center of a vibrating head little more than five inches across. The foot is open and is smaller than the head. The leather of the head is fastened to the shell in the same way as on the other drums and is tuned approximately one or two whole tones higher than kidi. To get the best tone, one tips the instrument when playing it, so that the opening at the foot is not obstructed by the surface of the dance ground.

¹This arrangement can be seen in Plate I, p. ix.

²The kaganu of solid wood can be seen at the far left in Plate I, p. ix, and at the far right in Plate V(b), p. 47. The kaganu of barrel construction appears in Plates V(a) and (c).

³The pattern allotted to this drum can be played either way.
The rhythm of kaganu in Atsiĩa is brief. Two strokes alternate without pause, the first being half the length of the second. By itself, the pattern carries a great deal of energy but little interest. As noted earlier, however, it is only one voice among several that combine into a single, repeating phrase. Taken with the rhythms that accompany it, kaganu has a most interesting part, as will be shown in the following chapter.

The gourd rattle, axatse, and the forged iron double bell, gankogui,\(^1\) provide these accompanying rhythms. Gankogui is specifically charged with the timing of Atsiĩa and of most other dance drumming in Anyako.\(^2\) "Whatever you play," Anlo musicians explain, "must fit with the bell."\(^3\) It is a fundamental principle of the music.

The best bells are not made in Anyako or in Akatsi, the town where one can buy them on market days. They come from the east, from Togo and Dahomey. They are forged in pairs. On the larger of the two instruments the higher bell sounds about one octave above the lower. On the smaller instrument this relationship is repeated approximately one whole tone or more higher. To illustrate this, the tunings of two pairs purchased

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\(^1\)See Plate VI, p. 59.

\(^2\)Of the thirty-seven dance drumming styles described on pp. 381-395 below, only three do not use this bell for timing.

\(^3\)The quotation is from Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, but every drummer I have questioned about timing has said in effect the same thing.
At the back: small and large iron double bells (gankogui), with wooden strikers.

Center, right: netted gourd rattle (axatse), with bamboo strikers.

Front, right: netted gourd rattle (axatse), with wooden beads for strikers.

Front, left: iron toke (atoke) with iron strikers, for accompanying the interlude music.
in Anlo are given below:

**PAIR I**

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To date, no study has been made of Anlo pitch. It must be assumed to be coincidence that the main sound of the lower note of both large bells has the same pitch.

Gankoguiwo are forged in pairs for use in Hati’atsi, the sung interlude music described in the previous chapter (pp. 35-36). In the dance drumming movement of Atsi, only one gankogui is heard, struck for the most part on the higher of the two bells. A beater of wood is used, for metal would crack the instrument. In the thick of the dancing and drumming, its sound is not prominent. A person unfamiliar with this type of music might at first overlook it entirely. Without a doubt, however, it is the most important instrument playing.

Any musical ensemble that performs strictly timed music needs some method whereby the various parts can be correctly registered upon one another. The members of an ensemble performing Western European art music share a series of equidistant beats (or counts) grouped into some repeating total (that can
change from time to time). The members of an Anlo Atsia ensemble share the pattern of the bell.

The seven strokes of this pattern are spaced unevenly and asymmetrically across a total span that never varies. They function like the pin holes that a printer lines up to insure the correct placement of pages that receive more than one impression; for the position of any pattern within the pattern of the bell is instantly and precisely described by the duet the players hear between the two. When the "fit" is not right, the player of the bell stays steadily on his course while the other player corrects himself. Obviously, the player of the bell must be able to keep strict and steady time independently.

The highest sound in the ensemble comes from the rattle. There may be as few as two of these in the group or as many as six. More are not used, for they would dominate the sound and give Atsia a quality foreign to its character.¹

The rattle is called axatse, an onomatopoetic name. It is of simple construction. The elements are (1) an empty gourd with a hard, smooth shell; (2) nylon string, cotton cord or, less frequently now than formerly, weaver's yarn; and (3) many small, hard objects of a uniform size which can be threaded

¹Styles of dance drumming dominated by the sound of the rattle are known in Anyako as Axatseyu, which literally means "rattle dance drumming." Styles dominated by the clapping of hands and wooden blocks are known as Akpeyu, or "clap dance drumming."
onto the string.

The gourd grown for the purpose of making these rattles is also. After a small hole has been cut in each end to permit water to enter, the gourd is soaked until the insides have rotted and this vegetable matter can be removed. The woody exterior remains smooth and hard: On some instruments the holes are afterward filled in.

The natural shape of the fruit includes a bulbous end and a more or less curving shaft. The bulb is the rattle part of the instrument and the shaft forms a convenient handle. A collar of string is tied around the gourd where the shaft swells out to form the bulb. From this collar a net of large mesh is woven around the bulb by tying strings to each other with square knots. The strings are gathered at the end of the gourd opposite the handle and tied together so that the net becomes fixed to the instrument.

Objects strung on this net produce the sound when they hit the hard shell of the gourd. Cowrie shells were formerly used for this, but are rarely seen on axatsewo today. They make a beautiful looking instrument. Although glass beads

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1See Plate VI, p. 59 above.

2They were also put inside the gourd (Klose, p. 10), but one does not find this today.

3We saw one during the summer of 1971, at Afiaedenyigba.
imported from Europe are still used, they tend to break.¹ Most commonly small pieces of bamboo are strung on the net. This relatively new material is very satisfactory. Even more recent is the use of wooden prayer beads stocked in the Accra market for purchase by Moslems. These produce a higher and lighter sound than bamboo.²

The rhythm of the rattle supports that of the bell. Whereas the sound of the bell is often faint, the rattle is always easy to hear, and its pattern reinforces what the bell plays.

The handclapping pattern used in Atsiah occurs in only two other dance drummings in Anyako.³ In Atsiah, handclapping is heard during some portions of the dance and not during others. Dancers often omit the clap altogether, and when they do use it, the overall effect is far from precise. It is, at the most, a decorative addition to the ensemble of sound.⁴

¹A fine, close-up view of an axatse strung with glass beads can be seen in Jones, Studies in African music (2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), I, Plate IV.

²Strikers made of wooden beads and strikers made of pieces of bamboo are shown in Plate VI above, p. 59. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo informs me that he introduced these wooden beads in 1958 as a substitute for the breakable glass ones. The first of this type he sold to Mr. Olatunji, and one of them can be seen on p. 52 of Musical instruments of Africa by Michael Babatunde Olatunji and Elizabeth Warner Dietz (New York: John Day, [1965]).

³Gakpa and Kete. See pattern (F₅), p. 404 below.

⁴This limited use of the clap contrasts with its role as found in other music of West Africa by Jones, Studies in African music, I, p. 17 ff. and p. 69, and by Nketia, Folk songs of Ghana (Legon: University of Ghana, 1963), p. 7.
The seven different sources of instrumental sound in Atsiään dance drumming have now been discussed. Four are drums and three are idiophones. The idiophones are the bell, the rattles, and the hands of the dancers; the drums, in descending order of pitch, are kaganu, kidi, sogo, and atsimeyu. The drums that are lower in pitch contribute a greater variety of rhythms than those that are higher.

The same combination of instruments appears in nine other drumming styles in Anyako,¹ and the same relationship of general pitch to musical role: the unchanging rhythmic framework is carried in the high voices, while the decoration of it goes on below. This relationship exists in all the dance drumming in Anyako. The leading instrument, the one with the greatest freedom in the ensemble, will almost always be the lowest in pitch; the fixed timing will always come from the high sound of the bell (except for Gakpa dance drumming, when it is clapped).

It is no accident that the chore of keeping time for the ensemble falls on the higher voices. Physicists have shown² that if one places an instant of sound accurately in time, one cannot have a clear idea of its pitch. The less clear the pitch

¹Adzikpo, Adzro, Ako, Axatsevu, Degbato (with wooden blocks as well), Dzado, Kedzanyi (with wooden blocks), Kete, and Kpomegbe (with wooden blocks). See below, pp. 383-392.

²I am indebted to a physicist and music lover, Mr. Niels Owen Young of Mason, New Hampshire, for pointing out the findings summarized below and for suggesting that they may explain why the higher voices are responsible for the timing.
of a sound, the more accurate it is for pin-pointing time. ¹ Noise is the name we give sounds of indeterminate pitch. The clap of a hand and the stroke of a rattle are examples of noise in Atsiä. Theoretically, these would be the best sounds with which to keep the time in this music. Neither one, however, gives the fundamental timing: handclapping is just not used much, and axatse is so constructed that most of its strokes produce groups of sounds rather than single sounds.

This leaves five instruments from which to choose, in Atsiä: four drums and a bell. All of them produce tone, which is sound that has a clear enough pitch for us to sing when we hear it. A simple tone is, in physical terms, the vibration of the air a certain number of times per second. The tone of these instruments is in every case complex: many different rates of vibration are established in the air at the same time.²

¹With Fourier analysis, Heisenberg’s uncertainty principle has been shown to apply to sound in time as well as to motion in space. Heisenberg said, in 1927, that if an experiment is conducted to establish with some degree of certainty the position of a moving object at a given moment, there will have to be a corresponding degree of uncertainty about its momentum (its mass times its velocity). Conversely, one can know about its momentum to the extent that one is willing to forego knowing about its position. The application of this principle to acoustics was first made by G. W. Stewart, “Problems suggested by an uncertainty principle in acoustics,” Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, II, 3 (January, 1931), pp. 325–329. In texts on Fourier analysis the principle is discussed in terms of the frequency and time duration of a signal, and applies equally to acoustics and to optics. See R. D. Stuart, An introduction to Fourier analysis (London: Science Paperbacks and Methuen & Co., 1956), pp. 62, 76.

²Nor are these vibrations simple multiples of one another, as are the "musical" tones produced by bowing a taut string.
Noise is sound made up of many different rates of vibration spread over such a wide range that our ears cannot identify any tone. The sounds of the drums and the bell are thus closer to noise than is the sound of a simple tone. The sound of the bell is the closer of the two to the sound of noise; therefore, according to the physical principle with which I started, the bell is better suited than the drums for marking a point in time.

Suppose that the smaller of the two bells carried on gankogui gives a" for its main note. This note is the highest sung by the average Western soprano voice, and it creates 880 vibrations in the air per second. Suppose, also, that in the complex of pitches produced when this bell is struck, one pitch is a semitone higher than the main note, vibrating approximately 933 times per second. The range in frequency represented by these two notes is 933 minus 880, or 53 vibrations per second.

For convenient comparison, suppose the main note sounded by sogo to be exactly three octaves lower than the main note sounded by the bell. This note will be A, at the bottom of the range of a Western baritone voice, and it creates 110 vibrations in the air per second. The pitch to which sogo is tuned in Atsia

vibrations of a drum-head form such simple multiples only when the head is loaded, as in the right hand drum of the tabla set of North India and the right hand drum-head of the mrdangam of South India. See C. V. Raman, "The Indian musical drums," Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences, I(A), 4 (1934), pp. 179-188; and K. Nagabhushana Rao, "Theory of the Indian musical drums. Part I," ibid., VII(A), 2 (1938), pp. 75-84.
lies in this range. If it is then supposed that in the complex of pitches produced when this drum is struck, one pitch is a semitone higher than the main note, it will vibrate approximately 117 times per second. The range in frequency represented by these two notes is 117 minus 110, or 7 vibrations per second.

The same complex of pitches--two notes a semitone apart--produces a greater range in vibrations the higher the complex is pitched. If the complexity of the sound of a drum is at all like the complexity of the sound of a bell, the high sound of the bell comes the closer of the two to the sound of noise and is therefore better suited to marking a point in time.

In every traditional style of dance drumming in Anyako, the time is given out by a bell (except for Gakpa, when it is clapped). One must conclude, then, that extremely precise timing is characteristic of this music. Participation confirms in practice what is evident in theory: the margin for error in the fit of one instrumental part with another is much smaller than that characterizing Western European art music.

The final elements of the Atsim ensemble and its rhythms to be discussed are the songs and the dancing. The performers view the singing of songs as the most important part of dance drumming.

To the Westerner the drumming is probably the most outstanding feature of a club's performance, but to the Eyeawo it is usually the songs. By its songs a club's individuality and
quality are most clearly established, and learning them is the first and most difficult thing a newly formed club must do.

Extended songs, like the one by Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi quoted in chapter two (pp. 36-39), do not appear during a movement of dance drumming. Short texts prevail, each being sung several times with an alternation of solo and chorus, as in the following example.

Solo

ME LE YO GE, YO GE, YO GE,
I will call, call, call,

GOWOE ME LE YO GE, AKLAGBA DZANYI LOO,
Always I will call--she has a fine skin, oh!

ME LE YO GE, YO GE, YO GE,
I will call, call, call,

GOWOE ME LE YO GE, NE WO VA AFEAME.
Always I will call her to come to the house.

Chorus

ME LE YO GE, YO GE, YO GE,
I will call, call, call,

GOWOE ME LE YO GE, AKLAGBA DZANYI LOO,
Always I will call--she has a fine skin, oh!

ME LE YO GE,
I will call,

1Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni, p. 7.

2Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo identifies this word as corrupted Fô meaning "always."

3A word of Northern Eye dialect meaning "skin." Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo sings "Аtsiа" instead. "It's one of the freedoms in our music: we interchange words."

4A form of "dze ani" meaning "fine, good."
GOWOE ME LE YO GE, NE WO VA AFEAME.
Always I will call her to come to the house.

[Repeat the first section.]

Solo

ME BE AHIAVI DZRE NUAWO DO.
I say: Love, keep the things [for me].

Chorus

AYE!
Yes!

Solo

AHIAVI DZRA ABATSIAWO DO
Love, keep the beds.

Chorus

AYE, AYE!
Yes, yes!

Solo

AYE, AHIAVI DZRE NUAWO DO.
Yes, love, keep the things [for me].

Chorus

AYE, AYE, DZRA ABATSIAWO DO, AYE!
Yes, yes, keep the beds, yes!

Solo

AHIAVI DZRE NU NYUIEWO DO.
Love, keep the good things [for me].

Chorus

AYE!
Yes!

Solo

AHIAVI DZRA ABATSIAWO DO.
Love, keep the beds.
Chorus

AYE, AYE!
Yes, yes!

Solo

AYE, AHIAVI DZRE NU NYUIEWO DO.
Yes, love, keep the good things.

Chorus

AYE!
Yes!

[End of middle section. Entire first section is sung once more.]

The vocal line does not reinforce any aspect of the instrumental music, either in the rhythms of its tune or in the broader rhythms of its phrasing. It fits with the bell, as does every other thread in the fabric of the dance movement, but it fits in its own particular way (including one or more points of complete congruence). To a Western ear; however, the song seems not to elaborate the rhythm of the instruments so much as to contribute a new and diverting flow of time.

Song follows song without pause throughout the movement. The words of some songs have an effect on other aspects of the performance. "Alinye vua mie fo" means "we play the waist music," and to the song that begins with these words the dancers at Dzelukofe placed their hands on their waists and emphasized their

1From the singing of Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, and Madam Beatrice Lawluvi at New Paltz, New York, in the spring of 1970, as transcribed in score, pp. 413-422 below.
left hips with every step.¹

When the singers begin the following text,

GŌHŪA DOGBEE, HAYEE!
The Go drum sounds, hayee!

ATSĪAHŪA DOGBEE, YA YA LO HOO!²
The Atsīā drum greets us, ya ya lo hoo!

the leading drummer takes up the text with his instrument, using
one hand and one stick to produce the required qualities of tone
and timing.

"Atsīā" literally means "display," and the dancers dress
in their best formal wear.

The way the old people used to play the music in the
past, they play in cloth. They wear the cloth over the
shoulder with a coin in their mouths. If you have a gold
coin, you can put it in your mouth when dancing. Now,
with our paper money, the youths hold this in their mouths
when dancing. In the past, the old men would put a coin
in the mouth. Either silver or gold, that's what you will
put in, but it's a decoration: whatever you yourself want
to do as an adornment before going to the performance, you
can do it.³

At Afiadenyigbā, we put paper money in our mouths when the song
was sung which begins

KATONGE MIE XO NE,
Sixpence we get.

¹My observation of August 11, 1971.

²Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes, "Here is another example of
the interchanging of words" (see above, p. 68, n. 3). He refers
to "Gohūa" being replaced by "Atsīāhūa."

³Spoken by Mr. Nyayohle Akogokini, elder member of the
Atsīā club of Afiadenyigbā. See below, pp. 176-77 (11. 50-60).
NE GA NYA KAVEGE MIE XO NE LO HOO!
If it's threepence, we receive it, lo hoo!  

A day's performance properly has two parts, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, and different clothes are worn for each occasion.

The women wear a blouse with or without sleeves, and an ankle-length skirt formed by wrapping a cloth around the waist and turning it outwards at the upper edge to fasten it. A second cloth about half the length of the inner one goes around the middle of the body. The head is covered with a kerchief tied at the back. The feet are bare or fitted with sandals, and many dancers carry a small cloth or handkerchief in their dominant hand. These features are illustrated in Plate VII on the next page.

The men wear knee-length shorts, and shirts with short sleeves. Elders also wear a small hat with a vertical brim. Sandals are optional. The main item of the costume is the toga (avo, or "cloth"), a large and often beautiful cloth that

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1 My observation of August 13, 1971. See also n. 2, p. 177.

2 See Plate I, p. ix, in which the patrons seated at either end of the front row wear this kind of hat. Senior Patron Kwasi Dzokata Aflakpui honored us by joining the dancing circle in the early part of the performance on July 8, 1971. He can be seen in the center background of Plate IX(c), p. 76, wearing his elder's hat.
PLATE VII. WHAT THE WOMEN WEAR IN ATSIĀ.

(a) Madam Christine Kitonyi wearing blouse and one cloth.
(b) The second cloth is worn shorter than the first.
(c) Dancing Atsiā in Anyako, July 8, 1971.
encircles the body diagonally, over the left shoulder and under the right arm. In Atsiâ, a cord or kerchief is tied around the toga at the waist. In everyday dress the cloth is not tied. The costume can be seen in Plates VIII and IX on the next two pages.

For most dance drumming in Anyako, the men do not wear the cloth as a toga. They roll it at the waist, as shown in Plates X and XI on pp. 77-78.

In Atsiâ you do not lower the cloth . . . ; you don't roll it at the waist as in other dances. You wear it over the shoulder. I think because of this they begin to offend some people. Because when you are an elder, you come with the cloth over you [i.e., as a toga], and when you are a member of the club, the same thing. Therefore they want to change it so that the club members roll it at the waist as in other dances. They refused, and said, What! . . .

MA DA AVO DE ABO DZIA, EYEE,
I'll wear the cloth over the shoulder always!

MA DA AVO DE ABO DZIA.
I'll wear the cloth over the shoulder.

NYENUTO MA NO MIAWO DE,
I myself live in my town;

MA DA AVO DE ABO DZIA.
I'll wear the cloth over the shoulder.

ME DZRO EGADE ALO EFIA DEKE WO DI ABO NAM O.
No elder or chief to take it off my shoulder. 1

Such a change was apparently made at one time in Afiadenyigbâ, for Mr. Joseph Amenyaglo Wogbah recalls that "in the past, when our fathers were going to perform, they rolled the cloth on their

1Mr. Tsegah in his second interview. See below, pp. 305-306 (11. 29-38 and 20-23).
(a) Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo holds the cloth across his back and out at each side. His left hand gathers it from underneath, his right hand gathers it from above.

(b) He brings the left side of the cloth forward and down over his left shoulder.

(c) He brings the right side of the cloth across in front of him, and throws the end of it over his left shoulder.

PLATE VIII. WHAT THE MEN WEAR. PUTTING ON THE TOGA - 1.
(a) Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo completes the draping of the cloth by bringing the part that hangs at his left side up and over on top of his left shoulder.

(b) He uses a head kerchief to tie the toga at his waist.

(c) Dancing at Anyako on July 8, 1971. The waist tie and the extra folds of cloth on the left shoulders of the male dancers can be clearly seen.

PLATE IX. WHAT THE MEN WEAR. PUTTING ON THE TOGA - 2.
(a) The short-sleeved shirt (jimper) and light-colored dancing pants (atsaka) are laid out on the cloth. Notice the sharp point on the inner seam of each leg of the atsaka. These points are turned to the back.

(b) Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo holds the cloth against his back and out to each side, shortening it by gathering it up in each hand.

(c) With feet set wide apart, he crosses the two ends in front of him.

(a) Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo rolls the upper edge of the cloth outward and down all around, letting the ends hang free.

(b) He secures the skirt with a head kerchief tied around the waist beneath the roll.

(c) At the dancing ground of the Yexoeose dance drumming club at Kotobabi in Accra on June 20, 1971. Note the sharp point of the dancing shorts (atsaka) on the man just visible to the left.
atsakas\textsuperscript{1} nicely, tied it nicely.\textsuperscript{2} In 1958 they went back to wearing the cloth as a toga.\textsuperscript{3}

The dancers form a circle facing the center and move to the right in a stance basic to all Anlo dancing: the knees are slightly bent, the arms more so; the back is straight but inclined forward a little. The main dance figure is a leisurely one taking exactly as long as one playing of the pattern of the bell. It has two parts, of three steps each: (1) a small move toward the center of the circle and back; (2) a small move to the right, causing the circle to progress in a counterclockwise direction. Occasionally a dancer performs these two parts of the figure with only two steps each. Both styles appear in the photographs that begin on p. 506 (Plates XIII-XIV).

The first step of the figure is a strong one toward the center of the circle, taken with the right foot, with some weight retained on the left foot. The torso turns easily to the left

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\textsuperscript{1}The short pants worn under the cloth. See Plate X(a), p. 77.

\textsuperscript{2}The Afiadenyigba interview, p. 175 below (11. 38-40). Mr. Nyavohle Agogokini recalls (ibid., 11. 50-25) that "the old people . . . in the past, they play in cloth. They wear the cloth over the shoulder." This is, apparently, how it was done before the change was made to rolling the cloth at the waist.

\textsuperscript{3}See below, p. 178 (11. 69-73). To show how it used to look with the cloth rolled at the waist, the Atsiñà club at Afiadenyigba danced that way on August 13, 1971. The practice at Dzelukofo "for a long, long time" has been for the dancers to wear the cloth as a toga but for the drummers and the song leaders to roll it at the waist. See below, pp.202-203 (11. 81-91). At Anyako even the drummers wear the cloth as a toga during Atsiñà (see Plate I on p. ix above).
with the step, and the right arm swings out from the body and across it. The palms meet in a clap that coincides exactly with the fall of the weight of the body onto the right foot and with the first stroke of the pattern of the bell.

The second step is weak, and with the same foot. It may be no more than a flexing of the right knee with the foot in place, accompanied by a small accent with the arms. When the figure is performed in two parts of two steps each, this weak step is omitted.

The third step is taken with the left foot, backward. The weight of the body moves away from the center of the circle, and the torso is turned a little further to the left, so that the step falls behind the position of the right foot. This concludes the first half of the figure.

The second half begins with a turn of the body to the right and, at the same time, a step to the right with the right foot. The left arm swings forward and across the body, and the right arm swings out and to the rear. Some of the weight of the body remains on the left foot.

The second step of the second half of the figure is a weak one with the right foot. The motion of the arms and torso is continued from the first step. When the figure is performed with only two steps in each half of the figure, this step is omitted.

The third and final step is a fairly strong one taken
with the left foot, which crosses to a position in front of the right foot. The torso begins to turn back to the left. The right arm starts to swing forward, and the left arm moves a little to the left. At this point the dancer stands a short distance to the right of where he was when he took the first of the six steps described.

There are variations. The dancer may execute the figure in four steps instead of six. The weak second step of each part of the figure is simply omitted, and the first step is made to last twice as long. Once in a while, one sees a variation of this variation: the dancer moves through the figure with four steps of equal duration, instead of alternating a long step with a short one.

By dancing especially vigorously, one member of the circle may begin a chain reaction in which all the dancers exaggerate their motions.\(^1\) For another variation, some men will take a fold of the toga in each hand and spread the cloth before them as they dance. This greatly reduces the turning of the torso and gives the main figure a different style.

Occasionally a dancer will leave the circle to dance alone inside it, using special, individual motions. Madam Hobudi Nazâ Lawluvi would do beautiful things with her hands dancing alone. The Anlo say, "Ele atsiâ dom" ("She is making styles"),

\(^1\)In the dance drumming style called Gahû, the dancers respond to a certain pattern on the leading drum by increasing the energy of their motions. There is no such cue in Atsiâ.
a statement that could apply to any of the special things a dancer may decide to do. "Atsiã" means "display," as pointed out in the discussion of costume (p. 71 above). The dance just described was known earlier as Kobazo (or Komazo), not as Atsiã.\(^1\) Because it was a vehicle for embellished dancing, however, the Anlo colony at Lomé gave it the name Atsiã when they chose it as the dance around which they would form their mutual aid society.\(^2\)

Thus far, only the main figure and variations on it have been discussed. The leading drummer can change this figure by introducing a drum dialogue. When he does so, the dancers respond by accompanying the dialogue with a particularly striking, energetic figure shown in Plate XI(c) above (p. 78) and in the photographs of Plate XV below, p. 508. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo calls it the "basic movement" in Anlo dance because it appears in so many dances that differ in other respects.\(^3\)

The "basic movement" is performed in the stance already described for the main figure: the knees slightly bent, the arms

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\(^1\)At least in Anyako, according to our interviews (Togbi Anyigli, p. 185; Rev. Nutsuako, p. 256; Mr. Tsegah, pp. 311-13, 11. 115-140). Mr. Togbo at Anloga had heard that Kobazo was an ancient drum, and thought that it "might" be the same as Atsiã (see below, p. 281). At Afadenyigious and Dzelukofe, Kobazo is known as a special song repertoire accompanied by the instruments of Atsiã and its rhythms. See below, pp. 178-181 (11. 79-115) and pp. 203-206 (11. 101-131).

\(^2\)Or because this was the name for Kobazo music used by the Atsiã club at Dzelukofe, which played an important role in preserving Atsiã at Anyako, as told in chapter two, pp. 30-33.

\(^3\)Ladzekpo, pp. 16-17 in my copy.
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\(^3\) Ladzekpo, pp. 16-17 in my copy.
more so, and the back straight but inclined forward a little. For this movement the elbows are held slightly out from the body and to the rear.

Every complete pattern of the bell has four steps: right, left, right, left. As each foot is raised, the dancer forms a concavity with the front of the torso, tips his pelvis backward, and moves his forearms down. As each foot is set down, the opposite happens: the back of the torso contracts, the pelvis tilts forward, and the forearms rise. The angle of the head does not change, nor the height of the shoulders above the ground (although when the dancer intensifies the movement, he crouches somewhat more).

In performing this figure, women lean forward more than men and perform the contractions with an emphasis on smooth, relaxed continuity. Men move more vigorously and disjunctly, projecting a feeling of tension. In other dance drumming styles, two or more people usually dance this figure together, shoulder to shoulder, most often men with men and women with women, but occasionally mixed. In Atsi the mixed circle formation is not broken. One can dance alone, therefore, or with one's neighbor on either side.

In addition to the main figure and the "basic movement," which appear in every performance of Atsi, there are other dance episodes that may or may not be introduced. A final example, taken from the performance by the Zomayi Afegame Atsi Drumming
Group Abeokuta of Dzelukofe on August 11, 1971, at Dzelukofe follows. It was introduced to accompany the following song:

(AFETO) ADJAVÔ MAYI MAMANU XOGBE LOO!
(Mr.) Adjavô says come and listen, loo!

ATSIÃ YU WOE LA DOGBE WOE.
Atsiã drum, you will call them.

AWU DEE? MITO SAYA.
Where's my dress? Sew a saya.¹

HAGO VI DEE AKAWO VIWOA.
"As you sow so shall you reap."²

Everyone faces to the right and moves forward around the circle. The feet perform a shuffling triplet: left-right-left, pause, right-left-right, pause, left-right-left, etc. Two triplets take up one complete pattern of the bell.

The arms are bent so that the wrists are at the level of the elbows or higher. On the first step, the arms swing out and back. On the third step the arms swing forward, and the wrists cross in front of the body. Various decorative motions can be added to this figure.

¹A long dress worn in former times.

²The text is given in its poetic form, for brevity, rather than with the repetitions and alternations between solo and chorus, which characterize its musical form. An example of a dance text set out in its musical form was given earlier, on pp. 68-70. Two features of the present text occur often in Año song: the introduction of a proverb (found here in the final line) and the use of words from a language spoken further to the east (the last four words of the first line and all the words of the final line are in Fô, which is spoken in southern Dahomey). Mr. Kobla Ladvzekpo provided both the text and its translation.
As noted earlier, dance songs fit with the play of the bell but do not reinforce the rhythms and phrasing of the instrumental accompaniment. They add instead new rhythm and new phrasing to the total sound. The same is true of the dancing: the broad outlines of the dance figures are tied to no music except the play of the bell. They enrich the effect of the dance drumming by contributing yet another shape to the flow of time, and this shape is felt by the drummers, who watch the dancing as they play. In return, the drummers enrich the dancing by giving the dancers many subtle motions to add to their patterns.

In the illustrations that follow (pp. 86-87), the plan of the Atsiä dance performed in each of three Anlo towns is indicated. Atsiä is a recreational dance, but as the dignity of the men’s costume might suggest, it is used for something more than everyday recreation. In the early days, before the Anlo came to the Keta Lagoon, it was a war drum.

Whenever they sing the songs you feel brave, you want to do something. It makes you feel some sort of spirit in you. Likewise Atrikpui, and other [drumming]--the song alone will fire you.2

It was also used on other special occasions, for "it was a very important Anlo drum. Their various customs it would accompany."3 Long ago, however, it lost its function as a war drum, as the old

1See p. 70 above.
2Mr. Togobo, p. 280 below.
3Mr. Tsegah, p. 300 below (ll. 120-21).
Fig. 2.--Plan of the Atsiã dance at Anyako (July 8, 1971).

Fig. 3.--Plan of the Atsiã dance at Afiadenyigbã (August 13, 1971).
(a) At first, dancing in front of the instruments.

(b) Later on, dancing around the instruments.

Fig. 4.—Plans of the Aṣià dance at Dzelukofe (August 11, 1971).
Atsiätig dancing song seems to tell us:

FÔWO DO AHO VE.
The Fô have waged war.

NYE ME KIiswa NE AMEADÉWO O.
I don't care what people do.

BE DUDUGBE, TUTUGBE  
"One day you eat, one day you vomit."  HEE!

GONU ZOWOADA,
Gonu Zowoada,

MEA WO NU DEE NA ATSIÂ VUA HEE!
I've done something for Atsiатег music, hee!

MIE DO AHO VE NYE ME SI O.
You have waged a war I do not hear.

FÔWO DO AHO VE.
The Fô have waged a war.

NYE ME KIiswa NA AMEADÉWO O.
I don't care what people do.

BE DUDUGBE, TUTUGBE  
"One day you eat, one day you vomit."  HEE!

None of our informants felt that it was associated nowadays with war. One said, "If you take that dance to war, you will be defeated." 2 Another said

when you're back, when you all safely return, you can play it to enjoy yourselves at home. 3

Atsiатег remains connected with occasions of importance, however. At Afiadenyigbâ it was performed as part of the Jubilee

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1From quotations of the song below, pp. 301-302 (11. 140-151) and pp. 310-11 (11. 104-114).

2Mr. Woobah, at the Afiadenyigbâ interview, 11. 117-18 (p. 181 below).

3Mr. Badu, p. 207 below (11. 155-57).
Celebration of the founding of the Christian mission there in 1858. When the large and flourishing Apostles Revelation Society held its rally at Lomé in 1969, Atsiã was danced. It was performed at the installation of Chief Aduklu Attipoe III of Woe Division, Anyako, in 1958.

Two important religious observances coincided at Dzelukofe in the spring of 1971, and the Atsiã club of Dzelukofe planned a performance accordingly.

Recently we held a stool festival; during a "weed off" ceremony we cleansed the stool. This was, I think, at Easter, just after Easter. We went to church, we came back and we played.

Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi, the composer who went to Lomé to help start the Atsiã club there in 1945, sums up the role of Atsiã in the traditional life of Anyako: "The elders sang Atsiã songs if great things happened."

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1Afia denyigba interview, 11. 71-73 (p. 178 below).

2A modern Christian protestant church with headquarters just north of Abor, at Tadzevu (see Map 2, p. 3). The founder and head, Prophet C. K. N. Wovenu, has told me that his flock of over 80,000 has more than 300 churches in Ghana, more than 200 in Togo, and sub-branches in Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States.

3At Tadzevu, members of the Society have formed the Tudu drumming group, which performs Axatsevyu music after Sunday morning services. Rev. Nutsuako mentions Atsiã at the rally of 1969, p. 258 below.

4According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo.

5P. 200 below (11. 59-62). The significance of the stool festival is explained there.

6Mr. Gbewonyo's report, p. 246 below.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE GROUND

Performers of Atsiā keep time by listening to the play of the forged iron bell, gankogui. Gankogui has a single pattern that is played steadily and unceasingly until the leading drum calls for an end to the movement. Two other instruments support it with fixed patterns completely in phase with it. I shall call the total rhythmic complex produced by these three instruments the ground, for the play of Atsiā as a whole depends upon it.

The voices of the ground are the highest in the Atsiā ensemble. Gankogui is the most important of the three because its sound is the most precise, and its asymmetrical pattern provides the means whereby every other player places his part correctly in the total sound. The matter of precision has already been discussed (pp. 64-67). The value of the asymmetrical pattern has been described in general terms (p. 61). This

1See Plate VI, p. 59.

2I would like to thank Hugh T. Tracey, Director of the International Library of African Music at Roodepoort, South Africa, for suggesting this term to me. Nketia uses it in Drumming in Akan Communities of Ghana, p. 23, the MS for which was completed by 1957.
analysis will begin with specific examples of how the asymmetrical pattern functions.

The pattern of the bell moulds time like a relief map, so that every moment stands in unique relation to the rest of the span. When another part is played against the bell, a duet is created with a special quality derived from the interaction of the two lines. If one plays the same part against the same bell pattern but begins at a different point in the bell pattern, a completely different interaction is created. This principle forms the basis of rhythmic coordination in the Ateña ensemble.

Two of the instruments of the ground illustrate this principle: the bell and the small, slender drum, kaganu. To notate these parts I represent time as a straight line running from the bottom of the page upwards, as in Figure 5(a) on the next page. Short horizontal lines intersecting this line mark the passage of time, as in Figure 5(b). The horizontals are equally spaced because both the bell and the drum parts can be described precisely in terms of a single unit of duration. This unit of duration is introduced only as a notational device. The

\[1\]

The notation developed here was first suggested by Mr. William Moses Serwadda of Mukono, Uganda, and was published by Moses Serwadda and Hewitt Pantaleoni (see bibliography). We decided on a vertical time line because it allows the notation for each hand to appear on the side of the line where the drummer's hand actually is as he views the page. We decided to run the notation upwards because this is the direction used in the most widely accepted system of dance notation (Labanotation) and thus allows for the eventual coordination of a drum score with the score of the dance it accompanies.
Fig. 5.--The vertical time line.
reader is cautioned not to assume that it represents the musical thinking of the players.¹

A circle, placed on the time line at the moment the sound occurs, represents the stroke of a stick. If the circle is left empty, the stroke is one that bounces off the surface of the instrument. If the circle is filled in, the stick remains in contact with the surface of the instrument while the sound is produced. The difference in the symbols represents a real difference in the sounds.²

Gankogui is played with bounced strokes. These are shown in Figure 6(a) on the next page, set on the right side of the time line to reflect the assumption that the instrument is being held in the left hand and struck with a stick held in the right hand. The stick bounces off the metal surface of the instrument

¹This unit of duration has been a helpful tool for measuring and laying out the rhythmic parts. It does not seem to be a familiar concept to the African drummers who have worked with me, nor one easy for them to use once it has been explained. Perhaps it is simply difficult for a performer to think like an analyst, but in the absence of positive support for this concept from the musicians themselves, I cannot assume that this convenient analytical tool corresponds to a basic pulse or time unit existing in the music itself. In this I disagree with A. M. Dauer, "Musik-Landschaften in Afrika," Sonderbeilage zur Zeitschrift "Afrika heute", No. 23 (December 1, 1966), p. 1, col. 2; and with James Koetting, "Analysis and notation of West African drum ensemble music," Selected reports, I, 3 (Los Angeles: Institute of Ethnomusicology, University of California at Los Angeles, 1970), p. 127.

²The stroke that bounces off the instrument will be referred to here as a "bounced stroke," a "bounced shot," or an "open stroke." The stroke that remains in contact with the instrument will be called a "pressed stroke," a "pressed shot," or a "stopped stroke."
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Gankogui.  
Kaganu.

Fig. 6.—Rhythms of the ground.
and allows the tone to ring. Usually only the upper of the two bells is played during the dancing.

Tapping out time line (a) of Figure 6, will show that there are only two kinds of strokes in the series, one half the length of the other. The pattern of their combination is asymmetrical: a group of two long strokes alternates with a group of three long strokes, and one short stroke sounds between each group. One complete cycle is seven strokes in length. The point at which the time keepers always start is taken here for the beginning note of the pattern, and the repetition of the pattern is shown with a curved phrase line placed to the left of time line (a) and labelled "repetition."

The part played on the drum of highest pitch, kaganu, is shown in Figure 6(b). It consists of the same two strokes used by the bell, but arranged in alternation (the simplest possible form of asymmetry). The strokes are bounced. The point of beginning is the stroke with which the player always starts. One complete pattern of the cycle is only two strokes long, and four cycles equal the length of one playing of the bell pattern.

---

1. The notation does not show the extension of sound in time but only the point at which it begins. Whether the signal has prolonged resonance or rapidly decays depends on the instrument. When the tone is stopped by damping, however, the damping is notated.

2. This pattern is used for keeping time among people as far away from Ghana as south central Africa. See Jones, Studies in African music, pp. 212-13. It is common among the Akan just west of Anlo (Nketia, Folk songs of Ghana, p. 24ff.).

3. Kaganu has this pattern in many dances in Anyako.
The principle that coordinates each instrumental part with the play of the bell is rhythmic interaction: the duet created between the two. A player who knows the correct duet can easily keep his strokes in time regardless of how complicated a pattern they may form by themselves and regardless of whether other players share his particular fit with the bell. Thus the principle works equally well in music of few simultaneous rhythms or many. Rhythmic complexity and multiplicity place no strain at all upon this system of timing.

The correct duet between kaganu and gankogui for Atsiâ dance drumming appears as Figure 7(a) on the next page. The time lines of the two instruments have been placed close together, and the strokes of the bell ("Gan.") are brought over as double horizontal lines to cross the time line of kaganu ("Kag."). The play of the bell can thus be seen even when one is reading only the kaganu part (just as the play of the bell can be heard when one is playing only the kaganu part). In this example many of the drum strokes coincide with strokes on the bell. Obviously, timing the one according to the other is easy if the correct duet is known.

Two other placements of the play of the drum will produce moments when both instruments are struck at the same time. These placements are shown in examples (b) and (c) of Figure 7. Are these other placements equally correct? No, because they do not produce the same duet, as anyone can hear who performs the
Fig. 7.--The duet between kagaru and gankogui.
examples. The music of each of these two duets is different from example (a) and wrong for Atsiā.¹

Like the play of kaganu, every pattern of every instrument in Atsiā has but one placement in the play of the bell; every pattern is actually fixed as part of a duet. When a drummer plays his part alone, for example, he clicks the rhythm of the bell in his mouth.² He is providing the missing part of the duet, although the need for precise coordination with other players does not exist.

The musical lines in the Atsiā ensemble are not found in the time lines of any of the individual parts but in the interaction of each of these lines with the play of the bell. The rhythm of Atsiā as a whole is a combination of duets. What the late Percival Kirby called "the deliberate opposition of simple powerful rhythms"³ among the drums is to be understood as

¹The difference can readily be seen if one tries to find in either example (b) or example (c) the same musical effect that occurs in example (a) at the third and fourth strokes of the bell (and again at the tenth and eleventh strokes of the bell). At this point in example (a), bell and drum play in unison. In all of example (b) there is no such unison passage. In example (c) there is one at the seventh and eighth strokes of the bell (and another at the fourteenth and fifteenth strokes of the bell, when the same point in the duet comes around again). Example (c) is not like example (a), however, because the music that follows the unison passage in example (c) is not the same as the music that follows it in example (a). Therefore neither (b) nor (c) represents the same duet as (a).

²He usually forms the click with the back of his tongue against the back of the roof of his mouth.

³In Jones, "African drumming: a study in the combination of rhythms in African music," Bantu studies, VIII, 1 (March,
opposition around a common center--the bell or its equivalent.

The ensemble effect of an Atsiá pattern is a fundamental quality of the pattern and not something extra that happens to it. Philip Gbèho supplies an authentic and confirming voice:

The cross rhythm, i.e., one rhythm against another rhythm, is the foundation of African music. I cannot describe in words the effect of all these rhythms upon a mind that has learnt to listen to them effectively. The average educated African lacks this important musical education because of lack of interest in his early days and because of the failure of the schools to foster and maintain that interest. . . . The constant listening to the cross beats provided by the drums and other percussive instruments, the singing and the hand clapping to these beats, and above all the ability to dance to them at the same time, are the factors which give the African his strong sense of rhythm.

Children born in a place where drumming still prevails acquire this talent unconsciously. They become even more proficient if they can take part in the music going on around them, and I consider myself lucky to have been in the little village of Vodzah¹ in the Keta district where we knew of nothing but the indigenous music.²

Sinedzi Gadzekpo put this point of view to a practical test. An Eve, he feels that

in our indigenous music the drumming, the singing and the dancing form one complete unit--music. Separate them from one another, and there is chaos, for they are all interdependent.

---

¹See Map 2, p. 3 above. Vodza is the southernmost town located at 1° east longitude.

I once experimented on a band of village musicians at play. When the music had played for a short time, I wished to be satisfied with the clarity of the drumming and the singing, and so I thought I might rehearse each of the smaller instruments separately. When the singing started without the instruments it lacked the usual precision and vigour which characterise indigenous music. The singing was crippled by the absence of the instruments which keep time for the singers. I next turned to the drums and asked the players to play without the other instruments and the singing—with the same result. The dancing obviously could not be performed effectively without the drumming and the singing. When, however, the drummers beat time with empty tins, tapped the ground with their feet, and improvised the sound of shakers with their mouths the dancing was easier. Now, why did not the orchestra achieve satisfactory results when the various sections operated separately? The reason is that indigenous music is a combination of singing, drumming, and dancing. (p. 819)

The third and last member of the instrumental ground in Atsiā is the netted rattle, axatse. Its pattern is as long as the bell's and similar to it. The player holds the shaft of the gourd in his dominant hand and uses two kinds of strokes: (1) downward against the thigh, and (2) upward against the opposite hand, which moves to strike it.

The two sounds are not the same: a shorter sound with a sharper beginning results from the upward motion.¹ It is advisable for this reason to distinguish between downward and upward strokes in notating this pattern, as in Figure 8(a) on page 103. The player is assumed to be right-handed, and the downstroke is therefore notated on the right side of the time line because it

¹Jones judges the pitch difference between the sound of the two strokes to be a fifth, but he specifies neither the material of the strikers nor the measurements of the instrument tested. (Studies in African music, I, pp. 55-56.)
is produced entirely by the action of the right hand. A circle that has been filled in is used to show that this is (loosely speaking) a stick stroke and that the "stick" does not bounce but remains for a moment firmly placed against the thigh.

To differentiate the upward stroke from the downward in the score, the off hand (in this case the left one) is emphasized: the stroke is notated on the left of the time line, and the symbol represents the left hand—a straight line for the flat of the palm, thickly drawn to show that contact with the rattle is prolonged.

The notation of the rattle pattern begins with the sound that coincides with the first stroke of the pattern of the bell. The sound can be made either on the thigh or against the hand. Only the more common practice is shown here, that of striking the rattle against the off hand.

Performing the pattern shown in Figure 8(a), with the fist used as the bulb of the gourd and brought down against the thigh and then against the off hand as the notation directs, will give something of the feeling of the rhythm. In the duet scored as example (b) of the same figure, playing the axatse part ("Ax.") and singing the Gankogui part ("Gan.") with the syllables "king, king, king," will give the complete feeling of the rattle pattern.

---

1The descriptive score of the Atsiã performance at New Paltz, New York, shows that neither of the two rattles actually begins at this point in the pattern. See the bottom of p. 413 f. below. If there is indeed a musical "beginning point," it is probably the second stroke of the series.
Fig. 8.--The play of axatse and the bell.
The rattle reinforces the pattern of the bell: all the downward strokes of the rattle, and its initial upward stroke, coincide with strokes of the bell. The off hand carries a different rhythm. This off hand rhythm is worth considering, for it is one of the standard fragments of rhythmic vocabulary in the music of Anyako. It is in halves of six units each. The first half is shaped into two triplets, the second into three pairs. ¹

This alternation between a section in two equal parts and one of the same length in three equal parts is part of a child's earliest musical training.

Music starts at an early age in Eweländ. There are many games designed not only for amusement, but also for developing a strong feeling for compound rhythms. In one such game, the child is held between two adults by the arms and legs and swung to and fro, gently at first and violently later, to the following accompaniment [the horizontal time line is my addition, along with the capital letter S to mark the swing]:

```
De-vi ma-se nu do'o da ne,
S     S     S
```

```
Wlaya wlaya do'o da ne.²
S     S     S
```

¹In the left hand part of the axatse time line in example (a) or (b) of Figure 8, each of the first two strokes is followed by two units of rest. The stroke and its rests form a group three units long; hence the term "triplet." Two appearances of this pattern take up six units.

The pattern then changes: each of three strokes is followed by one unit of rest. The stroke and its rest occupy two units of time; hence the term "pair." Three pairs appear, which total six units of time, the same length occupied by two triplets; thus the pairs occupy one half of the pattern and the triplets occupy the other. The total length is the same as the pattern of the bell.

²S. D[agbe] Cudjoe, "The techniques of Ewe drumming and the
As Cudjoie points out following the passage quoted above, each of the two verses is made up of two triplets followed by three pairs. The way the swing runs against the three pairs in the second half of each line illustrates Kirby's "deliberate opposition of simple powerful rhythms."

Here is another game song in which three pairs alternate with two triplets:

```
Thick porridge I cut, I cut!  
KPLE TSU MA KA,MA KAI

The cat I cut, I cut!  
DA- DI MA KA,MA KAI
```

Many examples of such alternation occur among the songs of children in Anyako.

This alternation is also found in other music of the town. It provides a handclapping pattern in the dance drumming styles

social importance of music in Africa," Phylon, XIV, 3 (1953), pp. 280-81, printed without the music. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo provided the timing and the orthography shown below. The translation is by Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo.

```
DEVI MA SE NU DEWO DA NE,
A child who won't listen, you swing it,

VLAYA, VLAYA, DEWO DA NE.
Vlaya, Vlaya, you swing it.
```

1Recorded by me from the singing of the Ladzekpo family in Anyako, August 19, 1971. Eve and translation by Mr. Yao Gbewonyo.
known as Agbadza and Takada,⁴ and it is the rhythmic framework
for one of the dialogues between atsimeyu and the smaller drums
recorded in Appendix D below.²

The rhythm of the ground as a whole is shown as Figure 9 on the next page. So that the figure will be as simple as
possible, only two of the three time lines are shown: those of
the rattle and the small drum. The play of the bell lies across
both of these in the form of doubled horizontal lines. In this
way the bell becomes a pattern on which the symbols for the other
two patterns are imposed. This notation corresponds closely to
the musical reality of the relationships among the instruments.

How the rhythms are heard together probably varies with
the individual. Clearly, however, the first half of the phrase
is a time of arrival, of rest, of balance; and the second half
is different---a time of unrest, imbalance, and departure. The
duet between gankogui and axatse is an example: the only pause
occurs right after the first stroke of the bell, and in the
musical context of these two lines the pause comes as a point of
arrival and momentary rest. The same effect is created at the
second stroke of the bell in the duet between gankogui and kaganu.

¹See rhythmic pattern (G), p. 405 below. I have also
heard it as a rattle pattern during the course of a full after-
noon of Afâm dance drumming. It is the rhythm of the rattle in
the processional music of Atsiagbeke and in Takada dance drumming.

²Beginning at cycle 136, unit 8 (p. 474), and again at
cycle 175, unit 10 (p. 493).
Fig. 9.--The complete ground.
Short of having an actual pause in time, the most restful rhythmic combination is that of unison playing. All three parts are in complete unison on the third and fourth strokes of the bell. Thus from the first unit of time through the sixth various rhythmic combinations pause, or arrive at restful agreement. They do not pause in the second half, nor do they maintain a unison relationship long enough to generate restfulness.

The duet between axatse and kaganu illustrates balance and imbalance. During the first half of the phrase, these two lines work together to create two triplets, each formed by an off hand axatse stroke followed by two kaganu strokes. During the second half of the phrase the combination is not so simple and not balanced: the axatse pattern cycles more rapidly than the kaganu pattern, departs from the relationship of the first half, and does not return until the first stroke of the next phrase.

The musical phrase created by the ground starts in the second half of the bell pattern and resolves in the first half of the next playing of this pattern. The performers are held together by the duet principle, which allows any number of differing lines to be brought together and timed precisely. These lines fit just one way into the play of the bell; the cross rhythms among them are rhythms opposed around a common center.

The shape discovered in the repeating music of the ground is the shape of other motions in the ensemble as well: the
dancers' phrases move toward a resolution on the first stroke of the bell;¹ and every drum pattern longer than six units, whether played by atsiméyu or sogo, resolves within the first third of the bell pattern.² All the parts move in rhythms opposed to one another, but also in a single ebb and flow.

¹See the motion photographs of the dance patterns, pp. 506-507 below.

²Shorter patterns also resolve here, as well as elsewhere. Therefore, it was possible to set up the score in Appendix D with a page turn at the end of unit 4 of the cycle, for no drum patterns cross this point unless they are part of a figure used for extending the normal phrase.
CHAPTER V

THE PLAY OF KIDI

The regular play of kidi is shown in Figure 10 on the next page, at the right side of the ensemble. The performer uses a stick in each hand. The first two strokes are bounced off the center of the drum-head,¹ and the next four are pressed against the same spot. The pattern can be described precisely in terms of the unit of time introduced in the previous chapter. It repeats every six units.

The pressed strokes are not as prominent as the bounced strokes, although they take more effort to play. The syllables used in Anyako to describe this pattern reflect the sound values of these strokes; voiceless consonants represent the quiet presses, and vowels without terminal consonants represent the open strokes.

Such syllables are known as evugbewo, which literally means "drum words." Each syllable is given the duration and relative pitch position of the stroke it represents. The choice of consonant and vowel indicates other qualities of the stroke (what the position of the hand on the drum-head is and whether

¹The player begins his part in Atsiā with the first two kidi strokes notated at the bottom of Figure 10.
Fig. 10.--The regular play of kidi and the ground.
the membrane is free or muted when it is struck).

No research is available on the lexicon and grammar of eyugbewo as used by the Anlo. Nketia has described the practice among the Akan, and most of what he writes could have been written about Anlo drumming.¹

The choice of vowels depends largely on the quality of the drum beat or the sonority of the drum. Front vowels are commoner than back vowels, . . . (pp. 33-34).

For sounds of high pitch the vowel in Anlo is generally high front (English ee in peek). For deeper sounds the vowel is mid front (English e in men) or mid central (English e in brother). For the lowest sounds the vowel is usually lower-low central (English a in father).

All syllables are open except long syllables which are closed by m or n. Syllables are generally of the plosive type (p, b, t, d, k, g) . . . (p. 33).

Among the Anlo the voiced velar nasal n also closes long syllables, as shown alongside the time line for kaganu in Figure 10 above.

The hard g seems weaker than d,² and

an impression of shortness or rapidity is generally conveyed by the presence of r in the sequence of nonsense syllables;

¹Drumming in Akan communities of Ghana, chapter four. Sufficient grounds do not exist, however, for accepting as descriptive of Anlo drumming his conclusion that drum patterns originally had a semantic value that has now been lost in many cases.

²Nketia finds that consonants like "k, g represent heavy beats while others like t, d represent light beats" (ibid., pp. 34-35), but syllables accompanying the atsimevu part on p. 169 below, for example, do not confirm this as descriptive of Anlo practice.
the syllable before the rolled consonant is comparatively shorter than the syllable which begins with it.\footnote{Ibid., p. 33. See Fig. 11(c) and (d) on p. 115 below.}

A difference in syllables distinguishes qualities other than pitch or duration. For example, the leading drummer in Atsi:\textsuperscript{a} may produce a series of strokes with his off hand which are verbalized either as

\textit{GA GI}\textsuperscript{2} GA GI GA, GA

or as

\textit{GA DZI GA DZI GA, GA},

depending upon whether the second and fourth sounds, which are stopped strokes, are played close to the rim of the drum-head (GI) or midway between the rim and the center (DZI).	extsuperscript{3} The sogo player produces the high pitched sound called KI when he makes a stopped shot with his off hand near the rim, the fingers close together. When he strikes the drum-head further toward the center with his dominant hand, making a stopped shot with his fingers apart, the sound is also high in pitch but has less tone and more noise. It is called TSIA.\textsuperscript{4}

\textit{A phrase of eyugbewo may represent either the part for}

\textsuperscript{2}The G is hard.

\textsuperscript{3}According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo.

\textsuperscript{4}According to Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo.
Fig. 11.--Variations in the play of kidi.
The principle these examples illustrate applies equally well to the play of any instrument in the Atsiā ensemble: the core of the pattern must remain unobscured. The core of the kidi pattern is the two bounced strokes that repeat every six units. In example (b) an extra bounced stroke is added to alternate presentations of the pattern; in examples (c) and (d) rapid decorative strokes are added; the core strokes are never disturbed.

In addition to playing this pattern and its variations, the kidi player takes part in drum dialogues. These dialogues do not resemble the normal play of his instrument. They are twelve units long rather than six, and within this longer span the rhythmic grouping is asymmetrical. The dialogues are more like the normal play of atsimevu and will be discussed as part of the analysis of atsimevu in chapter seven.
CHAPTER VI

THE PLAY OF SOGO

Sogo has a large and varied repertoire, performed according to the principles already discussed: every pattern has one proper place in the play of the bell, and a rhythmic core that is never disturbed. The strokes can be measured clearly with the unit of duration which measures the bell pattern.

The play of sogo is based on time relationships, not on relationships of pitch, dynamic levels, or timbre. Pitch, dynamics, and timbre are essential to the musical expression; a player who neglects them is inadequate. One who gets the timing wrong, however, is replaced in the ensemble.

Discussions by Africans of African rhythm indicate that dynamic emphasis plays a secondary role.\(^2\) Certainly the rhythmic organization of the sogo part can be understood, without referring to dynamics, simply by observing repetitions in the sequence

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\(^1\) This chapter is a revised version of my article "Toward understanding the play of sogo in Atsi".


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of durations, timbres, and pitches.¹

There are seven characteristics of sogo rhythm in Atsia: (1) two core strokes fixed and equidistant in the repeating play of the bell; (2) regular pulse; (3) change of pulse; (4) rhyming;² (5) subdivision of durations; (6) variation and development; (7) agreement with the overall ebb and flow of the ensemble rhythm. This observation is based on my own experience while learning to drum, on performances of Atsia in Anlo, and on the audiovisual record³ of a brief demonstration of Atsia at the State University College at New Paltz, New York, in the spring of 1970.

¹If a series of different sound events occurs at a rate that lies within reasonable limits, repetition in the series will stimulate a perception of rhythm. See Robert MacDougall, "The structure of simple rhythmic forms," Harvard psychological studies, I ("The psychological review series of monograph supplements," IV, 1; January, 1903), pp. 318-326.

²I know of only one case in which differences in volume among the strokes form the pattern, and not differences in timing or in any other quality. See pp. 454-56 below, from cycle 97 through cycle 100, where sogo responds to a call for a drum dialogue with a repeating pattern of six strokes. This pattern appears to be a simplification introduced so that beginning American students could take part in this dialogue without becoming confused. The pattern is very like the kidi part, which means that there is a simple relationship between sogo and kidi. The correct response, as shown me by Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo, is not so close to the kidi part and presents differences of timbre among the strokes.

³As pointed out by R. H. Stetson, "Rhythm and rhyme," ibid., p. 416, "recurrent qualitative factors, like rhyme, . . . function, evidently, in the main, as factors determining the periods or larger phrases of the rhythm structure--the verses and stanzas of poetry and nonsense verse."

³State University College at Oneonta, New York, Instructional Resources Center, African rhythm (TV tape SP-204), second section. Transcribed in Appendix D below.
Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and his younger brother, Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, demonstrated Atsiá for television at New Paltz, assisted by Madam Beatrice Dzidzogbe Lawluvi of Anyako and three American students of Anlo drumming: Miss Jacqueline Peters of Virginia, Miss Elizabeth Tatar of New York City, and me. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo played atsimeyユーザ。Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo played sogo. Madam Lawluvi played axatse and later danced (both are not done at the same time). Miss Peters played kidi, I played kaganu, and Miss Tatar played gankogui. My analysis of the play of sogo is largely based on the record of this performance. Certain limitations of this record should therefore be made clear.

The televised performance was not long enough to be a true demonstration of Anlo recreational dance drumming. It lasted only seven minutes and thirteen seconds rather than the usual thirty to forty-five minutes. For this reason the normal spacing of musical ideas was telescoped and their variety limited.

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1 I started learning to drum in the summer of 1968 at Berkeley, California, under Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo. Later that same summer I continued this study at the School of Music and Dance of the University of Ghana, just north of Accra, under Mr. Ladzekpo's elder brother, Mr. Husunu Adonu Afadi. Upon returning to the United States I took weekly lessons with Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo at New Paltz for two winters and took part in several of his concerts. I was in Anyako for a month in the summer of 1969 and studied drumming there with Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo. In the summer of 1971 I spent three months there and took drumming lessons with Mr. Koku Atidama Aflakpui and Mr. Koblavi Sekle Aflakpui, both of whom drum Atsiá for Woe Division. For a brief biographical sketch of Kobla and Alfred Ladzekpo, see below, pp. 407-408. The Aflakpui cousins appear in Plate I, p. ix above. A brief biographical sketch of Vincent Ladzekpo is on p. 504.
Interplay between drummers and dancers is important in Anlo dance drumming, but no dancers were moving to the music transcribed in Appendix D. In a normal performance the leading drummer and the sogo player may play patterns in response to the dancing of a particular person; and the dancers may call for special drumming by singing certain songs (see p. 71 above).

There was no audience at the New Paltz demonstration. In Anyako it is impossible to drum without attracting a crowd, and the responses of the crowd inspire both the drummers and the dancers.

We recorded late at night, following a busy day of traveling which included three school assembly programs. The performers were tired. The amount of variety introduced by those playing the lower drums may have been limited by fatigue as well as by the brevity of the demonstration. Furthermore, the artists playing these drums were the teachers of those assisting them. They knew the limitations of their American students and avoided unfamiliar patterns and variations that might cause confusion during the performance or puzzle me during the process of transcribing.

Without these limitations in the demonstration, the audiovisual record of it would still have been an unsatisfactory document for study. Television tape cannot be run in slow motion, for example. The tape can be stopped and the image frozen on the screen, but the image is not clear. Turning the reel by hand produces disjunct motion and does not improve the image. Only at
normal operating speed does the screen give the viewer intelligible information. At normal speed, however, it is difficult to see what happens during the faster drumming. I had to rely heavily on my own knowledge of the play.

The audio record can be taken from the television tape and run at half speed or less. For the study of atsimevu this was helpful; the play of the leading drum is clearly audible. Sogo has a soft voice, however. The sounds of atsimevu generally obscured it.

Finally, there is the record of the notation to consider. Sogo is a hand drum in Atsiā. Hand shape, finger tension, looseness of the wrist, the relation of hand to forearm, placement of the hand on the drum-head—these and other details continually vary and cause changes in the quality of the sound (the way it begins and ends, its pitch and volume, and its general timbre).

A complete transcription of sogo drumming should carry full information about all these details at every moment of the play. Such complete information is not necessary, however, for an understanding of the organization of sogo rhythms. Consider written English: a full phonetic transcription of the sounds of a sentence gives no more semantic information than its normal orthography (except for intonation, which is, of course, meaningful). In the play of sogo many slight differences in timbre, pitch, dynamics, and timing can be found between two playings of the same rhythmic idea if the measurement of these particulars is made precisely enough. The notation of these differences would
tell us nothing more about the rhythmic idea although the notation
would contribute much to a study of drumming technique and style.
The purpose of the transcription in Appendix D is to study the
general principles of how the players shape the flow of time. For
this purpose slight variations\(^1\) need not be noted.

Six main actions performed by the sogo player affect the
organization of the rhythms of this drum. Because the play
communicates musical ideas, I call these actions signs.

The most prominent and common sign is the **ringing sound**, made by bringing down the distal edge of the palm smartly against the rim of the drum-head with the fingers straight, together, and somewhat tense. The forearm ends its downward motion slightly below the drum-head. The wrist bends downward as the forearm descends, giving extra speed to the fingers.

The palm produces hardly any sound, for the leather is not free to vibrate at the rim of the drum-head. The fingers make the sound. Propelled by the action of the wrist as well as by the downward motion of the forearm, they are carried by their own momentum beyond the stopping point of the palm and hit the

\(^{1}\) For a parallel in spoken Ewe, see Gilbert Ansre, *The Tonal structure of Ewe* ("Hartford studies in linguistics," No. 1; Hartford: Gilbert Ansre, April, 1965), pp. 18-19. The relative pitch of a syllable spoken in this language is, in general, part of its meaning. There are three recognized pitch levels: high, mid, and low. There are only two levels of pitch, however, which affect the meaning of syllables: high and non-high. Without damaging the communication any more than to give it a foreign accent, one can go from either a low tone to a mid tone to a high tone, and from a high tone to either a mid tone or a low tone. Whichever non-high tone is used, the concept is the same.
outer part of the sounding area of the drum-head.

The tenseness of the fingers gives them elasticity. Immediately after contacting the leather they snap back to their former position as straight extensions of the line of the hand. This recovery is so fast that no part of the fingers touches the rebounding leather, and the sound is clear and ringing.\(^1\) Its pitch is about A:

\[ \text{\textbf{G}} \]

Sogo produces a satisfactory resonance within a broad range of pitch. It can be tuned as low as F or F-sharp, a minor third below the A indicated above, and as high as g, a minor seventh higher than this A. When sogo is the leading drum of an ensemble—as in the dance drumming known as Agbadza—it is tuned higher than when it is a supporting drum, as in Atsia.\(^2\)

\(^1\)For motion photographs of this stroke see below, p. 509.

\(^2\)According to Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo. There is no study of Anlo tunings, nor of the acoustics of Anlo drums. The literature dealing with the behavior of drum membranes and their supporting air cavities is not extensive. Most of the work has been with the loaded drum-heads of India (see entries in the bibliography under R. N. Gosh, B. S. Ramakrishna, C. V. Raman, K. N. Rao, and T. Sarojini). Japanese research has included consideration of the air column (see entries in the bibliography under J. Obata and T. Terada). For the patterns of vibrating plates of various shapes and for a thorough coverage of earlier studies of vibrating surfaces, see Mary D. Waller, Chladni figures; a study in symmetry (London: G. Bell, 1961). Jean-Claude Risset and Max V. Mathews discuss temporal evolution and decay of tones in "Analysis of musical-instrument tones," Physics today, XXII, 2 (February, 1969), pp. 23-30. They suggest computer synthesizing as a way of checking on the validity of the description evolved from experimental observation. I am
Figure 12 on the next page shows a top view of the drumhead and the placement of the ringing sound on it. Any one of several evugbewo can represent the ringing sound. They are all pronounced with a mid tone (see p. 122, n. 1), and most of them have the lower-mid central vowel (the English e in brother). Those representing a stroke longer than one time unit terminate, usually, in a nasal consonant. Those representing shorter strokes have open vowel sounds.

The main difference among these evugbewo is in the initial consonant, as can be seen in the partial list below.²

When a ringing sound is primary (i.e., when it stands alone or as

indebted to Professors Albert J. Read and John Truman for help in locating these sources.

The ringing sound seems to be a prominent overtone created when the membrane vibrates in two parts with one diametral nodal line.

¹A straight line stands for the hand with fingers straight and together. The distal edge of the palm appears as a curved line crossing the line of the hand. The palm does not rise from its lowest position until the stroke is over; therefore this curved line and that part of the line of the hand representing the rest of the palm are thick to show that they carry weight. Where the line of the hand represents the fingers it is thin to show that the fingers bounce away from the point of contact.

Serwadda first suggested this use of thick and thin lines as an adaptation of Rudolf Laban's notation for the level of a dancer's body above the level of the floor. See Serwadda and Pantaleoni, p. 48. For an illustration of the Laban system, see Nadia Chilkovsky, Three Rs for dancing (in Labanotation). Book one: elementary (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, n.d.), p. 3, left hand column.

²Compiled from the syllables supplied by Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo for the so go part transcribed in Appendix D. This list is not a complete representation of his practice, and my observations do not necessarily apply to the practice of other Anlo drummers.
Fig. 12.--The ringing sound shown on the sogo drum-head.

Fig. 13.--The symbols for damping.

Fig. 14.--The center stroke shown on the sogo drum-head.
the first member of a fast pair or triplet), the syllable that represents it starts with d, g, gb, k, kp, or t. When the ringing sound is secondary (i.e., when it follows a primary stroke), the syllable representing it starts with a b, d, d, r, or z. Only d is common to the beginning of both primary and secondary syllables.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de, den, de-</td>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbim</td>
<td>-de, -den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge-</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi, gin</td>
<td>-rem, -ren, -re-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>-rēn, -rēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>-ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpem, kpen, kpe-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tem, ten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These syllables do not group themselves into such clear categories on any other basis. I suggest that by this choice of initial consonant the player recognizes a musical difference between primary and secondary strokes. This point will bear on the discussion of dynamic stress on pp. 136-38.

---

1 Primary syllables are followed by a hyphen in this list when they represent the first member of a fast pair or triplet (in which case the stroke lasts only half of one unit of time or less). The hyphen preceding a secondary syllable indicates that one of these fast primary strokes comes before the stroke this syllable represents.
The ringing sound is often accompanied by the **damp**. This is produced when the player's fingers stop the resonance of a ringing sound by pressing silently on the vibrating head.\(^1\) This action changes slightly the sound of the stroke before stopping it. Occasionally the change is reflected in the evugbe by adding a nasal consonant to the end of the vowel. The symbols for damping appear in Figure 13, p. 125.\(^2\)

The **center stroke** is produced when the full flat of the hand bounces off the center of the drum-head. The pitch of the ringing sound is the tone most clearly heard, but pitches a third or fourth below this are also present. The forearm moves as one with the hand, for the wrist does not bend. The hand cannot quit the surface of the leather as quickly as the fingers do in the ringing sound. A certain amount of contact, which damps the tone a little and adds some noise to it, occurs between the palm and the drum-head after the initial impact.\(^3\) The placement of the

---

\(^1\)For motion photographs of this action see below, p. 513.

\(^2\)The short, thick line in each symbol stands for the fingers in prolonged contact with the drum-head. Curved, this line represents the fingertips; straight, with two thin cross strokes added, it represents the flat of the fingers from the middle joints to the tips. The brackets indicate that the action of damping is silent.

\(^3\)For motion photographs of this action see below, p. 510. The sound of the center stroke is weak. Unless he is an experienced drummer the analyst is apt not to hear this stroke in an audio recording, for microphones do not pick it up well.

Unfamiliar ensemble drumming leaves an audio record even less clear than drumming on a single instrument. The risk is even greater that the analyst will miss significant signs, and he may well confuse one drum with another. Thus the evidence
center stroke on the drum-head appears in Figure 14, p. 125.¹

Eyugbewo for this sign are few. They are all pronounced with a low tone (indicated below by a grave accent: ȧ), and most of them have the lower-low central vowel (the English a in father). The vowel is usually open whether the stroke represented is long or short. The choice of initial consonant depends, as in the case of the ringing sound, on whether the sign is primary or secondary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>˚ga, ˚gan, ˚ga-</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>˚gbã</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>˚ge-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These low tones are spoken about a fourth below the mid tone of the syllables representing the ringing sound.

The pressed stroke sounds the highest of the one-handed signs. The player strikes the outer portion of the sounding area of the drum-head with the forward part of the fingers, which are together and straight. The wrist bends downward only slightly during the downward motion of the forearm. The line of the arm from elbow to fingertips is straight at the moment of contact. After contact the fingers press on the leather while the forearm rises. The fingertips are the last part of the hand to leave the

¹The palm and fingers form a straight line, which is thin because the stroke bounces. The curve of the proximal end of the palm crosses the end of this line.

Offered in support of her analysis of African drum rhythms by Rose Brandel (see bibliography) is not acceptable, for she worked entirely from audio recordings.
surface of the drum-head.\(^1\)

Pressing on the drum-head increases its tension. The pitch of this sign is a third to a fifth above the pitch of the ringing sound, depending on how much pressure is applied.

\[\text{\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{diagram.png}}\]

The sound is brief because the fingers damp the drum-head. The symbol for this sign appears in Figure 15 on the next page.\(^2\)

The pressed stroke was not used at New Paltz as often as the ringing sound or the center stroke. Evugbewo for this sign are pronounced with a high tone (indicated below by an acute accent: \(\acute{}\)) and have the high front unrounded vowel (the English e in peek). These high tones are spoken about a second or third above the mid tone of syllables representing the ringing sound. The stroke is never secondary.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Primary} \\
\acute{\text{dzi}} \\
\acute{\text{ki}} \\
\acute{\text{tsi}}
\end{align*}
\]

Two hands produce the \textit{slap stroke}. Its sound is high but

\(^1\)For motion photographs of this stroke, see p. 511 below.

\(^2\)The forward part of the line of the hand is thick to show the press of the fingers. Because the palm of the hand does not carry weight, as it does in the case of the ringing sound, the rear part of the line of the hand is thin. Two parallel curved lines separate the line of the palm from the line of the fingers to show that the pressing portion of the hand is between the fingertips and the second finger joints.
Fig. 15.--The pressed stroke shown on the sogo drum-head.

Fig. 16.--The slap stroke shown with its mute.
indeterminate in pitch. First, the off hand\(^1\) mutes the drum-head (with a silent action of the fingers as described for the damp on p. 127 above). The stroke of the dominant hand which then follows resembles the action that produces the ringing sound: the wrist bends downward as the forearm descends, and the distal edge of the palm strikes the rim of the drum-head. The fingers, however, are relaxed and apart. They have no elasticity, and remain on the leather after contact. The wrist rises and rotates outward, raising the index finger and all but the pads of the remaining fingers off the drum-head.\(^2\)

Only the ringing sound appears more often than the slap stroke in the play of sogo at New Paltz. In Anyako the slap stroke was not used as frequently.\(^3\) It is always a primary stroke and has but one evugbe, which is pronounced with a high tone.

**Primary īsia**

The symbols for the slap stroke appear in Figure 16, p. 130.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Handedness matters. Because I am right-handed my left-handed drum teacher, Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo, often reminded me to reverse the strokes he showed me.

\(^2\)For motion photographs of this stroke, see p. 512 below.

\(^3\)The slap stroke often has the value of a filler, marking time between more substantial patterns in Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo's play at New Paltz. In Anyako, Mr. Koblavi Sekle Aflakpui preferred silence between substantial patterns.

\(^4\)The muting is represented on the left by a straight, thick line bracketed to show that it creates no sound. This line has two thin lines crossing it, representing the knuckles and the
This concludes the description of the six main signs of the play of sogo at New Paltz. They are summarized below.

The ringing sound (○): the most common sign; loud; played with either hand; represented with mid-tone syllables; pitched at about the low baritone A, or

The slap stroke (←○): the next most common sign; moderately loud; played by the dominant hand; of high but indeterminate pitch; represented with high-tone syllables.

The center stroke (←): the third most common sign; soft; played with either hand; represented with low-tone syllables; the main pitch is the pitch of the ringing sound, but others sound a third and a fourth below that, as shown.

The pressed stroke (→): infrequently used; moderately loud; played with either hand; represented with high-tone syllables; pitched above the ringing sound, as shown.

The damp ([•]/[•]): a silent action by either hand which terminates the response of the drum-head.

The mute ([•]/[•]): a silent action for the off hand which qualifies the subsequent response of the drum-head to another stroke.

Some signs express or influence the flow of the music but have no precise point in the rhythm. For example, the sogo player expresses a pause between patterns by giving his instrument a small middle joint of the fingers and showing that the contact with the drum-head is from the middle joints to the tips. A line runs upward from the mute to show how long it is sustained. On the right, muting is shown as a short, thick, curved line representing contact by the tips of the fingers.

The slap is performed after the mute has been established. Its symbol therefore appears higher on the page than that of the mute. Thin lines indicate that the palm and most of the flat of the fingers quit the playing surface of the drum immediately. The branching of the line of the fingers shows that they are spread. All but one of these branches are thick, because all but one of the fingers remain in contact with the drum-head.
counterclockwise turn (see cycle 152 in the score, p. 482 below). These signs do not enter into the rhythmic analysis below.

Drum melody is closer to speech than to song. The speech of the drums, therefore, is written alongside the notation of the signs. When convenient these syllables will be used to represent patterns in the following discussion.

The play of sogo is mostly in single strokes falling at the beginning of units of time. Figure 17(a) on the next page illustrates this play with a brief excerpt: ¹

$$kpim, \text{tsia}, \text{tsia}, kpim.$$ ¹

Through rhyming, a phrase like this can be expanded into a larger phrase, as in Figure 17(b) on the following page.

$$ge-rem, \text{tsia}, \text{tsia}, kpim,$$

$$\text{tsia}, \text{ga}, ge-ren;$$

$$\text{tsia, tsia}, kpim,$$

$$\text{tsia, ga}, ge-ren.$$ ¹

The core of the play of sogo is two sounding strokes—almost always ringing sounds—equidistant in the cycle of the bell. ² Most patterns start after one core stroke and end with

---

¹ Signs before and after this quotation have been suppressed for simplicity. Doubled horizontals stand for strokes of the bell. The first stroke of every cycle of the bell carries a number that is the number of the cycle in the score (Appendix D).

² In Figure 17 and later illustrations they are pointed out with small arrows placed to the left of the time line. One core stroke always falls at the beginning of unit 4, the other at the beginning of unit 10.
Fig. 17.--Rhyming a timbre pattern.
the next (as in Figure 17), generating the feeling of a repeating span six units long. Sometimes the player cycles a pattern only four units long which runs across the core strokes, so to speak (see Figure 20, p. 141). This short pattern is evidently felt to be out of phase with the basic play, for it never lasts long.

Sogo rhythms are first of all patterns of durations, and secondly patterns of timbre and pitch decorating the fundamental timing. If pitch or timbre were the basic rhythmic material, then a certain sequence of pitches or timbres would repeat with varied timing. Such repetition never occurs.\(^1\) Instead, a certain sequence of durations will be varied in pitch and timbre.

Sogo rhythms are formed by division. The span between core strokes is broken up into two, three, or four equal portions by the strokes of the play, thus creating a corresponding pulse of three units, two units, or one and one-half units.\(^2\) If the rhythmic process were not one of division, subspans of unequal lengths would appear within the span of six units between core strokes (for example, one unit plus two units plus three units).

---

\(^1\) Alterations in the timing of atsimeyu strokes will be discussed in the next chapter (pp. 154-56). Pitch and timbre are important, of course. In private lessons my drum teachers worked as much on tone as on timing, if not more; but in ensemble play my timing was always corrected on the spot, not my tone. Certain alterations in timing may be part of the play of sogo, but I have not encountered them.

\(^2\) Figure 17, p. 134, illustrates the two-unit pulse. The other two pulses appear in examples (a) and (b) of Figure 18 on p. 137 below.
Unequal lengths almost never occur.  

The pulse of two units is the most common one. It falls on either side of the first stroke of the bell (see Figure 17(b), p. 134). The steps of the most common dance figure in Atsiâ are also two units apart but fall between the points of this pulse (the most emphatic step coinciding with the first stroke of the bell). Thus sogo most often enlivens the dancing with strokes in deliberate opposition to the steps, while in the same way the sight of the dancing enlivens the playing of sogo.

In Figure 19, p. 139, four examples of the two-unit pulse show another common feature of this drumming: the interchange of single with double strokes to produce variant forms of the same musical idea. These examples occur in cycles that are close to one another, for typically in the play of sogo one or two figures dominate an entire passage either in the form of variations, as here, or as rhythmic material that is developed.

Double strokes pose a rhythmic problem. Up to now this analysis has disregarded dynamic stress, but double strokes are

---

1 Figure 18(c) on the next page illustrates the exception: two units plus four units (never four units plus two units), in which the subspan of four units is further divided into three equal parts. This triplet is recognized as a deviation from the normal play, for Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo calls the effect "evugbedemi" or "evumamla," which means "to put the stroke inside the time, to leave the timing and come back to it again."

2 The first three single strokes in example (a) of Figure 19 appear as double strokes in at least one of the other three examples (the slap stroke is never doubled simply because it cannot be).
(a) Three units.
(b) One and one-half units.
(c) Six units.

Fig. 18.---Pulses.
played in a way that suggests stress may be important after all. Either member of a double stroke can coincide with the beginning of a unit of time and thus with a musical pulse. The dominant hand almost always plays the pulse stroke. Thus pulse may have stress value: when the secondary stroke coincides (as at the beginning of Figure 19(c)) the stress pattern may be iambic (soft-loud); and when the primary stroke coincides the pattern may be trochaic (loud-soft, as in the same example just before the beginning of cycle 87).

The behavior of the evugbewo representing double ringing sounds runs counter to this evidence of handedness, for the same verbal expression can represent these double strokes whether it is the primary or the secondary member that coincides with the pulse. This suggests that there is no musical difference between iambic (left to right) and trochaic (right to left) pairs.

Whatever its stress value, pulse is carried in the dominant hand of the sogo player throughout the record of the

---

1Exceptions occur at cycle 38, unit 8; cycle 62, unit 1; cycle 106, units 2 and 4; cycle 133, unit 2; and cycle 165, unit 12.

2It is not significant that in Figure 19 all iambic double strokes are ringing sounds and all trochaic double strokes are center strokes.

3Additional evidence denying the stress implications of handedness was pointed out earlier (pp. 124, 126): every double ringing sound does not have the same pair of evugbewo, but the first stroke is always represented by one kind of initial consonant and the second stroke by another, regardless of handedness.
Fig. 19.--Single and double strokes.
New Paltz demonstration. His off hand carries single pulses in alternation with his dominant hand, but seldom carries a series of them.

There are passages of development in the play of sogo. An example occurs between cycles 110 and 113. Mr. Ladzekpo introduces a pattern only four units long, repeats it twice, and ends with an expanded version of it, now six units long. The final version seems to grow out of the first one. This passage is quoted in Figure 20(c), p. 141, and brief excerpts appear as examples (a) and (b) of the same Figure to show the relationship between the first and final versions. This relationship can be seen in a comparison of their evugbewo.

(a) Ga-ze, gi, de-rēn.

(b) Ga-ze, gi, de, ga, de-rēn.

---

1See Jones and L. Kombe, The Icila dance old style. A study in African music and dance of the Lala tribe of Northern Rhodesia (Roodepoort: Longmans, Green and Co. for the African Music Society, 1952), p. 36. Mr. Kombe was demonstrating some variations for the ikulu drum, which has the most difficult and highly varied part in the Icila ensemble, when Jones realized that his "Left hand keeps a regular pulse (about 140), while the Right hand does all the variations [italics omitted]." Jones does not say whether Mr. Kombe is right-handed or left-handed. He calls the pulse hand the "off-hand," apparently not in the sense of handedness but to signify that it plays a lesser role in the formation of the variations (for he observes, ibid., that "in the case of the Ikulu drum, the Right hand is predominant and so we may call the Left hand the OFF-hand").

The exception occurs with the six-unit pulse. An example can be seen in Figure 18(c), p. 137: the pulse stroke is the core stroke, carried in the off hand throughout the passage. The normal relationship of hand to pulse is illustrated in Figure 17, p. 134; in the first two examples of Figure 18; and in Figure 20(c), p. 141.
Fig. 20.--Development.
The repeating pattern in this passage runs across the core strokes. Identical repetitions in the sequence of signs define the rhythmic grouping as one of four units, whereas the core strokes occur six units apart.

\[ \text{Ga-ze, gin, de-rēn. Ga-ze, gin, de-rēn. Ga-ze, gin, de-rēn.} \]
\[ \text{core stroke} \quad \text{core stroke} \]

Phrasing that runs across the core strokes in this way never lasts long. In this example it occupies only one cycle of the bell.

The play of sogo is a play of both patterns and pulses, which change, often artfully, from time to time.\(^1\) By analogy with another highly developed art, these changes can be called modulations.\(^2\) They can be unexpected, expected but abrupt.

---

\(^1\) The pulse of six units runs throughout the play of sogo (except when the patterns temporarily run across the core strokes, as in Figure 20(c), p. 141). In this sense the play has a basic pulse, and the changes to be described are among secondary pulses that subdivide this basic one. The six-unit pulse is not, however, basic in the sense that it provides the timing of the sogo part. Timing comes from the play of the bell, which carries no pulse because it is asymmetrical. Let the bell player adapt his strokes to whatever pulse is being generated by the drumming, and the music falls apart. Pulse, therefore, is just one aspect of the rhythms created against the timing of the bell. I do not find in the music of Atsia "the presence of a basic musical beat" in the late Richard Waterman's sense of a metronomic pulse. See Waterman, "African influence on the music of the Americas," Acculturation in the Americas ("Proceedings and selected papers of the XXIXth International congress of Americanists" [3 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952]), II, pp. 212-13.

\(^2\) That is, going from one set of time relationships to another resembles going from one set of pitch relationships to another.
or smooth.

Unexpected modulations occur without transition and are not anticipated by the listener. Figure 21(a), on the next page, shows one of these. Expected but abrupt modulations occur without transition but are anticipated, as in Figure 21(b).

Smooth modulation depends on a common ground where the new can stand for a moment beside the old without signalling a change. This common ground can be achieved by giving both sides of the actual point of modulation a similar character, creating a transitional passage as in Figure 22, p. 145.

Another kind of common ground is a rhythmic figure that lends itself to more than one interpretation. The drummer establishes such a figure in one context and then uses it as the beginning of another context. The modulation takes place before

1In cycle 171, one hears the sign change at unit 6, the pulse at unit 7. The preceding passage contains no hint of what is to come, so the change is unexpected.

2The first modulation (cycle 165, unit 12) is unexpected, like the modulation in example (a). In example (b), when the first modulation ends with a return to the music that preceded it, the listener is alerted for another modulation the next time unit 12 comes around. This occurs when expected, and abruptly.

3The play of cycle 119 is mostly ringing sounds and double strokes. From the middle of cycle 120 on, most of the signs are single slap strokes. The common ground--from unit 12 of cycle 119 to unit 6 of cycle 120--mixes the two kinds of patterns. It starts with a single slap stroke (which looks ahead) and concludes with ringing sounds and double strokes (which look back). At unit 6 of cycle 120 the listener is equally ready for a pattern of single slap strokes or one of ringing sounds with double strokes (or for a repeat of the transitional mixture).
Fig. 21.—Modulations without transitions.
Fig. 22.—Modulation with transition.

OLD PATTERN

RINGING SOUNDS AND DOUBLE STROKES

COMMON GROUND BEGINS

NEW PATTERN BEGINS

COMMON GROUND REPORTS AS A RHyme

LOOKS BACK

--- ANTICIPATES ---
the listener is aware of it. Figure 23 illustrates this on the next page.  

A final point about the play of sogo is that it fits with the general phrasing of Atsiā. The instrumentalists and dancers more or less oppose one another in the detail of their rhythms, but every line moves to its conclusion in the first few units of the cycle of the bell. The core stroke at unit 4 is the major terminal for the phrases created by the sogo player.  

---

1The player changes from a pulse of two units to a pulse of one and one-half units, and from a timbre of slap strokes and ringing sounds to one of slap strokes and center strokes. The center stroke introduced at the beginning of unit 1 in cycles 45 and 46 sounds, in that context, like a simple filling in of the span of two units between pulses. In the middle of cycle 46 the center stroke appears to be the same kind of stroke, and at first the listener assumes he is hearing yet another filling in of the pulse. The player uses this center stroke in a different sense, however: it is the first stroke of his new pulse of one and one-half units, in which he plans to alternate center and slap strokes. The listener is not aware of the changed context until he hears the slap stroke that falls in the middle of unit 8 of cycle 46.

2The drummer starts his play after this point (see cycles 33 and 152, pp. 423 and 482 below). Patterns that run across the core strokes end here (see cycles 50 and 82, pp. 431 and 447 below). Among patterns built between core strokes the variation in a series will usually appear after unit 10, thus making the core stroke at unit 4 the more important terminal of the two (see cycles 115-17, p. 464 below, for an example).
CHAPTER VII

THE PLAY OF ATSIMEVU

Atsimevu speaks with the lowest voice and the freest rhythm in the Atsiā ensemble. It is called the leading drum (or master drum) because it alone may command the other performers. With one specific pattern the player calls upon the smaller drums to begin their music. With another he brings the dance drumming to a close. Between commands he may play dialogues from time to time (repeating patterns that require special responses from sogo, kidi, and the dancers).

The dancers respond to these dialogues. They change from the main Atsiā figure to the more vigorous "basic movement" (see pp. 79-83). The sogo and kidi players respond in unison with whatever pattern atsimevu calls for. The instrumentalists of the ground do not respond; in the new context they continue what they have been playing.

A dialogue adds variety to the flow of the music. Asymmetrical in form, it intensifies the rhythmic interplay of

---

1Atsimevu has this role in every dance drumming in which it takes part. In ensembles that do not use atsimevu the commanding voice, which has the freest rhythms, is almost always the drum of the lowest pitch (for an exception, see the description of Vugā below, p. 394). In Anlo a drummer is called azagunọ or eyuno whether he plays the leading instrument or not.
the parts because it is more tightly constructed and more vigorously performed than the rest of the dance drumming. Because it generates this intensity, a dialogue is usually brief.

The leading drummer uses one hand and one stick for all dialogues.¹ To open a dialogue he first signals that something is going to happen. He does so by cycling a brief triplet figure, as shown in Figure 24 on the next page.² These triplets always start at the beginning of the cycle of the bell and end at the beginning of the dialogue. Each dialogue starts at a different point in the play of the bell. Playing a signal of any length is made easy by the brevity of the triplet figure, and the point at which the signal ends identifies the dialogue for the players of sogo and kidi.

In Atsiá, playing a dialogue once takes twelve units of time. Because this is the length of the bell pattern, a dialogue can be cycled any number of times without changing the relation

¹He holds the stick in his dominant hand, between the index or the middle finger and the thumb. Other fingers supplement this control, as when the stick is held against the drum rather than bounced off it. The off hand forms its strokes as described in the previous chapter. Motion photographs of the play of atsimeyu are given below, pp. 509-514.

²Starting at the beginning of cycle 135, Mr. Ladzekpo makes a series of bounced stick strokes one unit apart. Between them he alternately leaves silence and inserts a ringing sound with his off hand. The series of stick strokes is thus turned into a series of triplets: stick stroke--ringing sound--stick stroke / stick stroke--ringing sound--stick stroke. Each triplet occupies two units of time, and the series creates a two-unit pulse. The pulse is marked with short, curved phrase lines placed to the left of the time line.
Fig. 24.--The roll.

(The stick taps the side of the shell to mark the time)
between bell and drums. During this repetition sogo and kidi never alter their response, but atsimeyvü may introduce variations in the call once the dialogue is well established. Figure 25 on the next page illustrates an Atsiä dialogue.¹

During a dialogue all three drums play continuously. Between calls atsimeyvü doubles the response played by sogo and kidi, or adds variations of its own. Between responses the smaller drums double the call played by atsimeyvü with quiet pressed strokes. For the sake of clarity this additional material has been omitted from Figure 25. The passage is thus misrepresented for the call and response form a single and continuous flow of music for all three players.

The flow illustrated in Figure 25 is asymmetrical: the call spans seven units and the response five. A pulse generated by two phrases of equal length, or by two phrases that were multiples of some factor of twelve would have been found if the rhythm were organized like the play of sogo.² Evidently the play

¹ Atsimeyvü plays the call, and the smaller drums answer in unison. Atsimeyvü plays the call again, starting at the same point in the cycle of the bell as for the previous call, and the smaller drums make their response again, starting at the same point in the play of the bell as for the previous response. The two responses are identical; the two calls are not. (Atsimeyvü plays a slightly different ending each time, varying both the timing and the sign.)

² The possibilities would be: (1) a call and response of six units each; (2) three rhythmic groups of four units each, with one or two groups allotted to the call and the remaining two, or one allotted to the response; (3) four rhythmic groups of three units each with one, two, or three rhythmic groups allotted to the call and the remaining three, two, or one allotted to the response; (4) six rhythmic groups of two units each with one, two,
Fig. 25.—A dialogue.
of atsimevu is not formed by the same rhythmic process as the play of sogo, i.e., the process of dividing time.

In rhythm by division the drummer places his strokes at equal intervals across a span of time established independently of these strokes. He generates a pulse with them which is in phase with the terminal point of this span. There is no pulse in the play of atsimevu, except when a small fragment is cycled (as in the signal for a dialogue shown in Figure 24 above).

Could the play of atsimevu represent a process of adding small time units rather than of dividing a large one? In rhythm by addition the drummer plays strokes of various durations to reach whatever total he has in mind. The arrangement of these durations can be symmetrical or not, and their total may or may not coincide with the total length of some other span such as the cycle of the bell.

The asymmetrical pattern of the dialogue in Figure 25 suggests that the timing process is additive. On the other hand, that the length of the pattern (and of every pattern in AtsiĂą) matches the length of the cycle of the bell suggests that the timing is divisive.

three, four, or five groups allotted to the call and the remaining five, four, three, two, or one allotted to the response.

\(^{1}\) The concept of divisive and additive rhythm was expounded first by Curt Sachs. See his Rhythm and tempo (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), pp. 24-25. He does not suggest that the presence of the one excludes the other in a piece of music. I do so here only to distinguish the concepts more clearly.
Dividing time and adding it do not explain the rhythm of the play of atsimevu as simply and completely as the following proposition: the bell provides a basic span of asymmetrical shape, and the drummer plays from point to point within it. Sometimes the strokes are equally spaced (see the first three units of cycles 137 and 138 in Figure 25, p. 152); sometimes, when the drummer moves from one configuration with the bell to the next, the strokes are not equally spaced (see the strokes that open each example in Figure 26 on the next page). When the concept of a duet suffices, to argue for either the divisive or the additive principle does not seem particularly useful.

Syncopation is part of the play of atsimevu both inside and outside dialogues. The second call shown in Figure 25 ends with a syncopated effect.\(^1\) Another such effect occurs in Mr. Ladzekpo's playing of the pattern that terminates every dialogue, which is shown in Figure 26 on the next page.\(^2\) Syncopation always spreads strokes farther apart rather than crowding them closer together, because in Anlo drumming smoothness and relax-

\(^1\) Apparently the fifth stroke of the pattern belongs on the first stroke of the cycle of the bell, as found in cycle 137. When this felt point is avoided, as at the beginning of cycle 138, the drummers say the stroke has been put "inside the time" ("vugbedemi" or "yumamla"). This effect was noted earlier, in discussing sogo rhythm (pp. 136-137).

\(^2\) Example (a) shows the unsyncopated pattern. Example (b) shows how Mr. Ladzekpo plays it: the fourth in a series of five center strokes is slightly delayed, as indicated by the two arrows. The stroke has been "put inside the time."
Fig. 26.--Going "inside the time."
ation are preferred to abruptness and tension.\textsuperscript{1}

Every atsim\textsc{e}vu pattern has a core. In Figure 27 on the next page the core of the syncopated pattern discussed above is extracted from variant presentations of this pattern at New Paltz.\textsuperscript{2} Three points should be noted about this pattern.

First, it is played by the off hand (except for the final stroke). Conversely, in the play of sogo, the dominant hand carries the core strokes most of the time.

Second, the core of the core, so to speak—the strokes that change neither timing nor sign—lies toward the end of the pattern; the variation takes place at the beginning of the pattern. The same idea on a smaller scale characterizes the play of sogo: each pattern terminates in the core stroke (see p. 146, especially n. 2).

Third, the loudest strokes—the unmuted stick shots—do

\textsuperscript{1}This preference indicates that to categorize Anlo drumming as percussive is like insisting that all piano music is percussive. Beyond the basic mechanism of sound production there is little to indicate that Atsi\textsc{a} illustrates the "percussive concept of performance" which Merriam finds idiomatic of African music (Alan P. Merriam, "The African idiom in music," Journal of the American Folklore Society, LXXV (1962), p. 125).

\textsuperscript{2}From the eleven versions of this pattern in Appendix D, four have been placed side by side as examples (a) through (d) of Figure 27. On the time line to the right of these, which is labelled (e), are summarized strokes and timings common to all four examples. Strokes that are the same in every version appear on the summary line. Strokes that change only in sign appear on the summary line as an X (to show that either hand plays them) or as an L (to show that only the left, or off hand plays them). Strokes that change their place in the timing or that do not appear in every version are omitted. Line (e) thus represents the core of the pattern.
Fig. 27.---The core of a pattern.
not have a place in the core of the pattern. Their absence further indicates that dynamic stress is not structural in Atsiũ.

Dialogues provide typical examples of the play of atsimevu when it is commanding other instruments. When it is not commanding, the play is much the same: core strokes lie at the end of patterns, and the loudest strokes are not part of the core. Atsimevu rhythms that do not command the other players will be called commentary.

Commentary is performed with two sticks and contributes to a generalized call and response structure. The call consists of the core strokes of whatever pattern the atsimevu player uses. The response consists of the combined core strokes of kidi and sogo. The core strokes of kidi and sogo are always heard in the same position in the cycle of the bell except when a dialogue interrupts the commentary. This collective, unchanging response is illustrated in Figure 28 on the next page.¹ The core of an atsimevu commentary pattern fits with this response, as shown in Figure 29, p. 160.²

¹Example (a) shows one cycle of sogo music from which the core strokes—both plain and decorated—have been copied onto time line (b). Example (c) shows one cycle of kidi music from which the core strokes have also been copied onto time line (b). Example (b) is thus a summary of the core strokes of both sogo and kidi and represents their collective response.

²Example (a) shows the commentary pattern as it is formed around the beginning of cycle 120. Example (b) shows another version of the same pattern formed around the beginning of cycle 121. In example (c) the three core strokes of this commentary pattern are set alongside the collective response of sogo and kidi. Anlo drummers are very aware of the way the core strokes
Fig. 28.--The unchanging response to the commentary.
Fig. 29.--The core of an atsimevu commentary pattern and how it fits with the collective response.
The call and response pattern of the commentary sections is loosely constructed. The collective response is only a small part of the play of sogo, for example; often phrases may be developed on this drum which run right across the collective response and obscure it. The sogo player never obscures his response in the dialogues.

Furthermore, atsimeyú is often silent between dialogues, playing only intermittently during the commentary portions of the music. Frequently, in other words, the collective response of sogo and kidi cycles by itself without a call. When atsimeyú speaks, however, the call is heard to dovetail with the response.

Atsimeyú patterns acting as commentary are asymmetrical and usually not more than six to nine units long. Techniques in the play of these patterns include variation,\(^1\) expansion, syncopation (discussed above), and modulation.

Variation can be used to build large rhythmic groups out of small ones. Rhyming is possible, though Mr. Ladzekpo did not use it much in the commentary played at New Paltz. An example of rhyming from that demonstration is given in Figure 30 on the next page.\(^2\) Also possible is negative rhyming, in which the most

played on atsimeyú in this pattern dovetail with the core strokes played on sogo and kidi.

\(^1\)This term denotes the presence of patterns differing from each other in small degree. It does not mean that one of these patterns is the fundamental expression from which the others are derived.

\(^2\) Examples (a) through (d) follow one after the other in the transcript, as their cycle numbers indicate. By scanning
Fig. 30.—Rhyming patterns of the commentary.
different of a group of variants stands in relief as the high point of a somewhat homogeneous series. This is illustrated in Figure 31 on the next page.¹

Some phrases of the commentary are obviously expanded versions of others. This expansion works in either direction: the leading drummer may preface a short phrase with additional material, or he may play on through the core strokes without dislodging them. Prefacing is illustrated in Figure 32, p. 165.²

Extension forward results from cycling a small rhythmic group. This process has two characteristics. First, the cycled group is a fragment found in unextended patterns. In fact, it usually appears in an unextended pattern one cycle before the fragment is used as a vehicle for extension. Second, the place of this fragment in the play of the bell is never lost. When the cycle of the ground repeats, the fragment appears in its old

the four examples horizontally one can see that the right hand follows the same timing in each case (except for the first stroke of example (a)). In the decoration of this timing by the left hand there are differences that produce rhyming. Examples (b) and (d) are made to sound identical (except that example (d) goes on to become an extended figure almost three cycles long, whereas example (b) lasts for only nine units). Examples (a) and (c) are not identical, nor decorated like examples (b) and (d). The rhyme scheme is ABCB.

¹A series of five consecutive patterns is shown, labelled (a) through (e). The right hand timing of all but example (d) is the same (allowing for syncopation of the penultimate stroke in examples (b), (c), and (e)). Examples (a) and (e) are identical, thus helping to form the series into a single group. The rhyme is AAABA.

²The longer phrase of example (b) is a decorated version of (a) prefaced by two muted stick shots.
Fig. 31.--Negative rhyming.
Fig. 32.—Extension by means of a preface.
Because of this second characteristic, extension by cycling can theoretically create a phrase of great length. Mr. Ladzekpo, however, never uses this kind of extension to add more than two cycles of the ground to his original pattern. The same restraint was observed in performances of Atsiã in Anlo. Figure 33 on the next page illustrates extension by cycling.¹

Although atsimeyu may be silent at various times during the dance drumming, it is always silent at the beginning (after atsimeyu has invited the other drums to start) and when a dialogue has ended.² On these two occasions the leading drummer lets the very different sound of sogo decorate the dancing for a while. He re-enters the play after these particular silences with a smoothly modulating passage that recalls the sogo techniques discussed in the previous chapter: (1) a rhythmic idea common to two successive patterns becomes the point of transition

¹Curved phrase lines to the left of the time lines mark the spans of the cycled fragment. Example (a) shows a single phrase of commentary containing the fragment that will later be cycled. Example (b) shows the drumming that follows immediately after example (a); the fragment is cycled four times. Note that the core strokes do not lose their original position when the extension is performed. The handedness changes, and the tone quality (from muted to open), but not the timing. In example (c) a similarly extended pattern is shown which includes syncopation (marked "syn.").

²The leading drummer, however, will mark time by tapping his sticks against the shell of his instrument. This play is called koga. It is usually a simple pulse of one and one-half units, or a doubling of the bell or the rattle. For an example of a more complicated koga, see cycles 107-110, pp. 459-461 below.
Fig. 33.—Extension by cycling.
between them; (2) decoration in the central part of the passage is anticipated at the beginning and echoed at the end. An example of this modulation appears in Figure 34 on the next page.  

Atsiā is founded on the play of the bell. The duet of the bell with every part forms the primary relationship among the performers.

Upon this foundation secondary relationships are built which give each musical occasion its particular shape. Atsimeyu calls and the smaller drums respond. The instruments of the ground create an ebb and flow of intensity, and the lower, freer voices support them. Sogo and atsimeyu move away from this regular pattern on occasion; the singers stand quite apart from it.

The American poet Donald Petersen has responded to the art of Anlo dance drumming in words that evoke this web of relationships.

On the big and little drums, the stick shots, the hand shots Sure and quick,  
The rests, the mutations, the outcry of vowels, ever and now, The Ti-gi-desh of the little  
Stretched against

The opening four unit fragment includes a double stroke in anticipation of the characteristic decoration of the five unit fragment that follows it at unit 4 of cycle 43. This second pattern of five units alternates with an extended version of itself seven units long and leads into a typical nine unit pattern of the commentary. Points of transition are marked in the Figure.
Fig. 34.—Modulation during atsimeyu's re-entry.
The Ga Ga Ke-resh of the big ones--this goes on (no fugue, No concerto, no theme with variations
More nicely mixed)
To the brilliant crashing pulse of the bead-meshed rattles
And the king-kang
Of the iron bell, stick-struck, a trim duet wholly beyond the
Notations of Mozart,
Speaking of union and discord, pulsation, the moment-to-moment
Rushing together and pulling apart
Of everything far and near, . . .

1Quoted by permission from his unpublished poem, "If
not for them."
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS

THE AFIADENYIGBÄ GROUP

Background Notes

In the early afternoon of August 13, 1971, Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and I met with elders and patrons of the Atsiã performing group of Afiadenyigbã, on the shore of the Keta Lagoon. The meeting was held at the home of Madam Vinolia Abla Gbomitah.

The interview was conducted in Eve. The chief patron of the club is Mr. Joseph Amenyaaglo Wobjah, seventy-eight years old, who did most of the answering for the people present. Assisting him was Mama Molotui Blibo, ninety-six years old, who proved to be a fine dancer and an energetic song leader in the performance given later that day.

Others assisting were Mr. Ekui Dotsevia, Mr. Kosi Yamenu, Mr. Nyavohle Akogokini, Mr. Patrick Kosi Atiego, Mr. Kofi Wotoku Amega, and Mr. Kofi Atieigo.

Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo transcribed the Eve text from the tape recording. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo translated it with some modification by me. The version given here is an abridgment of the original.
Text of the Interview

1 Ladzekpo: EE, ME DI BE MANYA TSO MIA GBO NENYE BE EE, Well, I'd like to know from you whether

2 ATSIĩ VU HI FO GE MIALA NA MI YETRO HIA the Atsiĩ drum you are going to play for us this afternoon

3 NENYE BE EGALI DU BUBUA DE ME HA, HIKE LE MIA FE ANLO is in any other town in our Anlo

4 NYIGBA DZI WO FO NA MIE NYA? land where they play it, to your knowledge?

5 Wogbah: ELE DZELUKOFE ME NYA; ELE ALAKPLE ME NYA; It's at Dzelukofe, I know, and Alakple;

6 AFIMAWOKPLE EVE KOE ME NYA. these are the only two places I know.

7 Ladzekpo: ENUHI DE, EE, ATSIĩ VUA ALEKEE WODZE GOMEE Now, how did Atsiĩ start

8 LE MIAGBO AFIADENYIGBĩ AFIHI? ALO YEKAYIE WO DZE GOME among you here at Afiadenyigbĩ? Or when did it start,

9 NENYE BE WO NĶU ANO EFEA DZI? If you can remember the year?

10 Wogbah: LE ATSIĩA, FE GOME DZEDZEA, ETSO MIA TOGBUIWO Atsiĩ's beginning was with our grandfathers

11 DZI VASEDE MIA FOFOWO DZI. KOA NYE ME NYE NKEKE KA and then to our fathers. Only I do not know the date

12 TSITSITSI MEE, WO DZE GOME YA O. exactly when it started.

13 Ladzekpo: YEKAYIE NYE HIE MAMLETO MIEFO ATSIĩ HAFIE When did you last play Atsiĩ before

14 GA FO GE EGBA? going to play again today?
15 Wogbah: EE, EFE HI VAYI ME, 1970, APRIL.  
    Oh, that was the year 1970, April.

16 Ladzekpo: MIA DOME TOA DE NYA AFHIHI DZIE EVU ATSIAA,  
    Does anybody here know where the Atsiā drum 

17 FIHI DZIE WO TSOA?    FIHI MIA TOGBUIWO KPOE  
    originated from?    Where your grandfathers saw it before 

18 LE EDOA?  
    bringing it here? 

19 Wogbah: NYE ME NYA AFIKE WO KPOE LE EDO YA O.  
    I don't know where they adopted it from.

20 Mama Blibo: EVUA NUTO DODO MEA?    ATSIA? ME NYE  
    The formation of the Club? Atsiā? It's 

21 FOFO NYE WO VUE!  
    my fathers' dance!

22 Ladzekpo: AFIKE FOFOWOAWO KPO TSOE?  
    Where did your fathers see it? 

23 Mama Blibo: AFIHIE WO KPO ATSIA TSOEA, YIKOE  
    Where they see Atsiā, that's the only 

24 NYE ME NYA O.  
    thing I do not know.

25 Amega: ANYIE WOKPOE TSOE.  
    They see it in Togoland.

26 Ladzekpo: ANYI WO DU KA ME?  
    What town in Togo? 

27 Amega: OO, EDUA ME KOE.      ANYE WO KPOE TSOE  
    0, the town I don't know. They see it in Togo
Afadenyigba

28 LE ANEHOR GO DZIE.
in the Anexo area.

29 Ladzekpo: OO, NUFO LAEWO GBLO BE SI EVUAA, MIA
Oh, some informants said this drum, our

30 TOGBUIWO DE WO TSOE TSOE HOGBE   HAFI EVA ANLO
forefathers brought it from Hogbe, and then to Anlo

31 NYIGBA DZI. MIESI ALEA KPOA?
land. Have you ever heard this?

32 AII: ÈÈ.
Yes.

33 Ladzekpo: ALEKEE NYE MIAFE NUDODO DE EVUA NU ABE,
How do you dress to do this dance?

34 LE KPODENU ME ABE ALEHI AKPA BA BLA   KPLE
For example, rolling the cloth at the waist, and some

35 NU MAWO YINAE ENE. LE HI MIE WO NEE FIFIA,
other things. The way you have been doing it now,

36 ALA KOE WONYE TSO KEKE TITITI LO ALO MIEVA WO ASI
has it been like this for ages, or have you made

37 TOTROA DE TSO EDUTSI?
some changes in it?

38 Wogbah: MA GBLOE BE ETSAA NE MIA FOFOWO
Let me say that in the past, when our fathers

39 EVUA FOM MAA DEWO BLA AKPA
were going to perform, they rolled the cloth

40 EDANADE ATSAAKE DZI NYUIE, EBLA EDZI NYUIE, GAKE FIFIA
on their atsakas nicely, tied it nicely, but now

---

1 On the Togo coast, about forty miles east of Lomé.

2 See Plates X and XI, pp. 77-78.

3 Dancing pants, knee-length, with a very full waist gathered with a draw string. The cloth is shaped to a point at
MIE DEVIWO KO AVO KOE DA NA DE ABO TA
we, the young men, we wear the cloth over the shoulder.

GAKE EHIA FO GE MIA LA EGBA, ME GBLOE NA WO BE
But for this drumming today, I told them to

WO BLA AKPA HAFI MIA FUI KOKEN NE
roll the cloth at the waist before we play, so that

WO DZE MO ANYI. KE AMEGAWO KOE ADE AVO
it looks neat. Only the elders will wear the cloth

DE ABO. over the shoulder.

Ladzekpo: TA ERTSA MIA FOFOWOA, ...
So in the past your fathers ...

Woobab: AKPAE WO BLA NA.
They would roll it at the waist.

Ladzekpo: AMESIA ME BLA AKPA ABE ALEHIA KO MIE BLA
Everyone rolls it just as we do

AKPA DE AHIAVI VU DESIADE NUTSI ENE.
In all our club dances?

Akogokini: EKPO TO. ALE AMEGA XOXOWO
Not quite. The way the old people used to

FOA EVU LE TSA, AVO WO FO NE.
play the music in the past, they play in cloth.

AVO WO DA NA DE ABO NE WO DE ABO DE ABO WO TSO EGA DEA
They wear the cloth over the shoulder with a coin in

ENU. ASIKA GALE ASIWO
their mouths. If you have a gold coin, you can put it

NA DI ENU HAFIANO EVUA FO MEE. FIFI WOTRO ZU EGA GBALE,
in your mouth when dancing. Now, with our paper money,

the back of each leg. See Plate X(a), p. 77.
GA GBALE DEVIWO LE NA DE ENU HAFI MIE NOA EVUA FO MEE. The youths hold this in their mouths when dancing.

ETSÆ AMEGAXAOAWO EGANO DEA ENU ME. In the past, the old men would put a coin in the mouth.

KLOSALE ELE ASIWO ASIKA LE ASIWO YE NE NUME DEGE, GAKE. Either silver or gold, that's what you will put in, but

ATSIO DO NUE, NUHIKE WONUTO NE DZI BE. It's a decoration: whatever you yourself want to do

YA DO ATSOE HAFI AYI EVU GBO KQ. As an adornment before going to the performance,

YA TSO WO NUTO GOWO. You can do it.

Ladzekpo: EGADEDE NU ME MA DE GOME SENSE KE LI NE ... What is the meaning of putting money in
your mouth ...

Akogokini: ATSIAE WO NOWO ME. They use it in making some styles. Some

TSO NE DOA NGONU AMEWO DE NE NU ME. NE MIE put it on the forehead, some in the mouth. When you

ATSIA WOMA MIA TUI DE NUME NE are doing the movement, you pass it by mouth to the

MIA NOEWO. mouth of your neighbor.

Ladzekpo: MIE WOGE NENEMA EGBA? Will you do it like that today?

Mama Blibo: ENYA DE DZO GE EGBA. There's going to be something today.²

¹Or motions. "Atsia" has the meaning of "display."

²There was. During the afternoon's performance, to the song that begins "Katonge mie xona ..." ("We receive six-
69 Ladzekpo: NOW, EBE ETSA YE WO DZILAWO DEWO
   Now, you said in the past your parents used
   to roll the cloth, and recently the youths started

70 BLA AKPA KE FIFIA KOE DEVIWO VA NO
   FIFIA ABE TSO EFE KA ME
   wearing it over the shoulder. This was in what year

72 ENE, YE WO TROE TE AVO DADADE ABO.
   that they changed to wearing it over the shoulder?

73 Atiego: 1958, LE JUBILY DZI.
   In 1958, at the [mission] Jubilee celebration.

74 Ladzekpo: NOW, DE EVUA FE, EFE TSOTSOE NYENYE ALO EFE
   Now about the music's being fast or its
   being slow, or however they play it, what we

76 YO NE BE TIME, KO NENEMA KO WONYEA?
   call "time," has it always been the same?

77 Wogbah: ALEHIA KO MIE FO NE, MIA DZILAWO FO NE TSA
   Just the way we play, our parents used to play;

78 KOA NENEMA KO MIE FO NE.
   in the same way, we play.

79 Ladzekpo: ME NO NKO DE YOM HIKE, WO YOE NA MIE
   I have been mentioning a name which

80 MIE SE LE TEFE BUBUA DEWO WO BE KOBAZO, HIKE [YEMA] MAMA
   we heard elsewhere pronounced Kôbazo, which Mama1

81 VA GBLO BE AKOMASU. NOW EVU HIA DEE KPAKPLE ATSIÅ DEE,
   said was Akômasu. Now this dance and Atsiā,

   pence ..."), the dancers put currency notes on their foreheads
   or in their mouths. Madam Gbômitah exchanged one with me.
82 EVU DEKA WONYE LOO, ALO VOLOTO LE WO DOME. 
   are they one drum, or is there a difference between them?

83 Mama Blibo: GAKE WOKPAKPLE VU DEKAWO KO WO NYE 
   Though they are both one style of music,

84 GAKE YA NYE AKOMASU. YA WO FOA YIHA VOVO. ALEHIA MIE 
   but one is Akomasu - it is played differently. The way we

85 FOA ATSIA ME NYE NENEMA KE MIE FOA AKOMASU LE O. 
   play Atsia is not the same way we play Akomasu.

86 Ladzekpo: ALEKE MIE FOA AKOMASUA YAE. 
   How do you play Akomasu?

87 Mama Blibo: AHA! NYEA KOMA SUA NYEA ME NLOE BE KENKEN O. 
   Oh! As for Akomasu people, I've forgotten

88 them all. There is not even one.

89 Ladzekpo: O! KE EHA WOE TO VOVOA, AKOMASU? 
   O! Is it the Akomasu songs which are different?

90 Mama Blibo: NE EYI AGBONUGA, YEYIYI HI HUSUNUVUWO 
   If you went to Agbonugá when Husunuvi's group

91 NO ANYIA, MIA WOE DO AKOMASUA. 
   was there, we're the ones who form the Akomasu club.

92 WO TSOE TSOE BLAHAMDOE 
   They brought it from Blamezado⁰ and we formed it at

93 AGBONUGA AFIMA. 
   Agbonugá there.

94 Atsiego: AKOMASU VIA DEKE ME GA LI FIA O DE. 
   There is no more Akomasu people.

⁰See p. 4, Map 3: 0° 45' east, 5° 55' north.
Afiadenyigbä

95 Mama Blibo: AO! AKOMASU VIA DEKE ME GA LI O.
              No! No more Akomasu people.

96 Wogbah: YEMAYIA MIE NOA ZIKPUI DZIA?
            At that time did you usually sit?

97 Mama Blibo: ÈÈ, AKOMASUE.
               Yes, for Akomasu.

98 Wogbah: YA ATSITRE MIE NO NAE?
          Do you remain standing?

99 Mama Blibo: YIHA ATSITRE MIE NO NA. ÈÈ, ATSITRE MIE
              We also remain standing. Yes, standing we

100 NO NA ABE ATSIÃ KO ENE.
            usually do it, just as in Atsiã.

101 Ladzekpo: MIE DEA ETO GODO.
              You form a circle.

102 Mama Blibo: EHÈÈ
               That's it.

103 Wogbah: EVUA FOFOA, ATSIÃ DE, ATSIÃ, DE MIE TUA
            In Atsiã drumming, in Atsiã, we usually put

104 EVUA DE TOA ME HAFI MIE FOA XLAIE.
            the drum in the circle, and danced around it.

105 Ladzekpo: EHE, FIFIA ME BE AKOMASUA DE
            Right. Now I want to know if Akomasu is also

106 YIHA NENEMAE, YIHA DE WO TUA VUA DE TOA MEA?
            like this: do they put the drum in the circle?

107 Mama Blibo: YIHA NENEMA KO WO WO NE.
               It is also done just like that.
Afiadenyigbà

108 Ladzekpo: NUTSUWO DE, DEWO DEA AVO DE ABOA
    Do the men wear the cloth over the shoulder,

109 ALO WO BLAA AKPA?
    or do they roll it at the waist?

110 Mama Blibo: AMEWO BLAA AKPA, AMEWO DEA AVO
    Some roll it, some wear the cloth

111 DE ABO.  YIHA DEWO LE ABE ALE HIKO MIE NOA
    over the shoulder. In this too, our arm movements, we

112 ABO DEMEE DE ATSIÁÁ DZI KOA NENEMA KOE NYE AKOMASUA HA.
    move them in Atsiá in just the same way as in Akomasu.

113 Ladzekpo: KE EHAWO TO VOVOE?
    So is it the songs which differ?

114 Mama Blibo: EE, AKOMASU HAWO TO VOVO.
    Yes, Akomasu songs are different.

115 Atiego: YA HE NYE VU BLEWUU.
    And it is a slow music.

116 Ladzekpo: ENUHIA DEE, ATSIÁÁ DEE EE AVADE VUE WO NYEAB?
    Tell me now, is Atsiá a war dance?

117 Wogbah: NE ETSO VU MA YA AYAE, AYA ASIWO.
    If you take that dance to war you will be

118 defeated.

119 Ladzekpo: KE MA ATENU AFUI AYA MEGBE
    But you play it after you have returned

120 YA NE ETSO AYA GBOA.
    from the battle front.

121 Wogbah: EGBO EKPO DZIDZOABA, YA
    When you are back, and feel happy, you
Afiadenyigba

122 ATENUA FUI YA. can play it.

123 Ladzekpo: ENYA GBE AKOMASUA DEE GOME. DEDE KAE LI NE? Does "Akomasu" have a meaning?

124 Mama Blibo: NYA NYE ME NYA EGOME O. EVU KO WONYE I do not know the meaning. It's just a

125 MIE DO. WO VA DO NA MI MIE club we form. They came and formed it for us and we

126 FO KO GADE ASIE ENU, XOXO. played for some time and ceased playing, long ago.

127 MEA DEKE ME GA LI O. There is not even a single member around.

128 Someone: MIE DEVI HIAWO MIAWO MIE SE We young men have not even heard of that

129 EVUA NKU HA KPO O. dance before.

130 Ladzekpo: KE NUHI DEE MIA ME NENIE LE ATSIĘ HABOBOA Well now, how many of you in the Atsię Club

131 ME FIFIA LE FIAADENYIGBA KPONGA AFIIHE? here at Afiadenyigba Kponuga at the moment?

132 Woobah: MEHIWO NYE ATSIĘ VIAWO KOA, OH, Those who are Atsię club members, oh,

133 XEXLENU ME LE SI O MAGBLO FIA O. there is no number I can give now.

134 Ladzekpo: XEXLENU ME LI O. KE MA FIA BE No exact number. So that means it is for

1The average age of the elders being interviewed was around seventy.
Afiadenyigba

122 ATENUA FUI YA. can play it.

123 Ladzekpo: ENYA GBE AKOMASUA DEE GOME. DEDE KAE LI NE? Does "Akomasu" have a meaning?

124 Mama Blibo: NYA NYE ME NYA EGOME O. EVU KO WONYE I do not know the meaning. It's just a

125 MIE DO. WO VA DO NA MI MIE club we form. They came and formed it for us and we

126 FO KO GADE ASIE ENU, XOXO. played for some time and ceased playing, long ago.

127 MEA DEKE ME GA LI O. There is not even a single member around.

128 Someone: MIE DEVI HIAWO MIAWO MIE SE We young men have not even heard of that

129 EVUA NKQ HA KPO O. dance before.

130 Ladzekpo: KE NUHI DEE MIA ME NENIE LE ATSIÀ HABOBQA Well now, how many of you in the Atsià club

131 ME FIFIA LE FIADENYIGBÀ KPOPUGA AFIHIE? here at Afiadenyigba Kponuga at the moment?

132 Wagbah: MEHIWO NYE ATSIÀ VIAWO KOA, OH, Those who are Atsià club members, oh,

133 XEXLENU ME LE SI O MAGBLO FIA O. there is no number I can give now.

134 Ladzekpo: XEXLENU ME LI O. KE MA FIA BE No exact number. So that means it is for

1The average age of the elders being interviewed was around seventy.
ETOKOA KATÁA KOE. FE VU KO WONYE TOKOA KOE
the entire Division. It is their dance; the Division

BLAA AKPA DENU KO FO NE.
gets together and plays it.

Mama Blibo: AM EHIEWO NYE ATSIĩ VIWO YA WOKU.
Those who are real Atsiĩ members.

Ladzekpo: NE AMEHIKE ME VE VUA FOFE O,
Those who do not come to the performance,

ABE ALE HIKO WONYIA SE AME ENE KOA YIHA WOANYI SE.
you are always fined as it is normally done.

Wogbah: EE, WONYIA SE NENEMA.
Yes, they fine him that way.

Ladzekpo: AHA. KE ABE ALEHI MIE GBOE ENEA, NE NYE
Okay. Then as you said, when we want

BE WOABE WOAYO NKO NA HABOBOA KOA, ATSIĩ HABOBOA
to name this club it should be: Atsiĩ Haboboa

DOME KPONUGA ANLO AFIADENYIGBA, YAE NYE NKOA.
Dome Kponuga Anlo Afiadenyigba.1

Wogbah: EE, YAE NYE NKOA.
Yes, it is the name.

1There is another Afiadenyigba north of Tadzevu, so
this town name is prefixed with "Anlo." Kponuga is the name
of the Division.
TOGBI ANYIGLÄ

Background Notes

Togbi Dorvlo Anyiglã of Woe Division was interviewed at his mother's house in Adotri Division, Anyako, on August 24, 1971. Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo acted as interpreter. Also assisting was Mr. Anyiglã's son, Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo, who is a composer and song leader.

According to Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo's father-in-law, Togbi Honu Lawluvi of Woe Division, Togbi Anyiglã started his family when he was fifty years old.¹ His son Lumor is in his fifties.² Therefore Togbi Anyiglã is over 100 years old. When he speaks of his childhood, he is referring to the years around 1865-1875. Although he was frail, his handshake was firm and his eyes bright. He walks without assistance.

The text is a slightly abridged version of the actual interview.

¹This delay would not have been considered unusual in the nineteenth century and earlier, according to Togbi Theophilus S. A. Togobo.

²Lumor has an older sister. She is the wife of the senior dance patron of Woeto, Mr. Kosi Dzokata Aflakpui.
Text of the Interview

Pantaleoni: I'd like to ask first, is there any difference between Atesa and Komazo, or Kobazo?

Anyigla: [Lumor adds some comments prior to his answer] It is the same thing.

Pantaleoni: The same thing. Do they drum the same thing?

Anyigla: The same rhythms.

Pantaleoni: The same instruments? The same drums?

Anyigla: The same.

Pantaleoni: The same songs?

Anyigla: The same things.

Pantaleoni: When Togbi Anyigla was drumming, how many Kobazo groups in Anyako were there?

Anyigla: There was only one.

Pantaleoni: That was in Adotri, or Woeto?

Anyigla: It was only played in Woeto, and by our fathers.

Pantaleoni: When did that one group start?

Anyigla: We were very young, before they used to play this music, so people who listened carefully to what they were doing know
Anyiglā

how to play, and people who listen carefully know how to sing.
And so I can't say the time.

Pantaleoni: But they were playing this music when you were very young?

Anyiglā: Yes, very young.

Pantaleoni: Did anyone ever say to you where it came from?

Anyiglā: I hear that . . . the elders said that this music comes from the place we are from before coming down here.

Pantaleoni: Notsie?

Anyiglā: Yes, or the place we come from [before that].

Pantaleoni: The music is an old music. But at Anyako, maybe it was learned by going to some other town in Anlo state. That is what I'm wondering about.

Anyiglā: I don't know whether they learned it from anybody. Were there some of them alive, they could tell me whether they learned it from somebody, or what.

Pantaleoni: I would like to know the names of some of the composers of the Kobazo songs, in your time.

Anyiglā: Yexoeneke; Segbedzi; the grandfather of Lumor Agbagli; they were the composers, they lead in singing.
Pantaleoni: Is it correct that you were a drummer with this group that we are talking about?

Anyiglă: I can't say that I'm a member of that group, because I was so young at that time. I only know how to play. I'm not a life member of the Kobazo section.

Pantaleoni: Later on, did you become a member of the Kobazo --or Atsiă--group?

Anyiglă: I know how to play, and I used to hear the rhythms, but I don't play actually [i.e., as a member].

Pantaleoni: Did you teach Lumor Dorylo to play?

Anyiglă: I only drum. I don't teach anybody how to sing or drum. Because everybody, what God gives you, that's what you have to do. So he himself, he knows how to compose and he knows how to play, so I did not teach him how to play or sing. I didn't do that. If somebody knows how to do that thing, then he forces himself to do so.

Pantaleoni: Yes, yes. You were not in an Atsiă group, but there was a group around 1900, around the youth of Mr. Nutsuako.¹ Who was the drummer for that group?

Anyiglă: Just two of them who played for our Kobazo society: ¹

¹See pp. 256-57.
one is Mr. Exoke, the father of Ekulenuanye Exoke.\(^1\)

**Pantaleoni:** Was that group in Woeto? Or was that group Adatri?

**Anyiglā:** It's not in Adatri Division at all.

**Pantaleoni:** Your grandfathers' group, the old group that you heard when a child, when did that stop? While you were a child, or later on?

**Anyiglā:** Immediately, the drummers and the singers all died, and everything got stopped.

**Pantaleoni:** Were you then a child, or a young man?

**Anyiglā:** I was a child.

**Pantaleoni:** The group for which Togbi Exoke drummed, when did that stop?

**Anyiglā:** What happened is, the time all the women who helped us sing and play---of the society---died, and there remained only the drum[ming]. So they know, the drummers, they can't play, so everything stopped from there.

**Pantaleoni:** About what time in your life was that?

**Anyiglā:** I was about ten years [old].

\(^1\)See p. 294 (11. 33-34).
Anyiglâ

Pantaleoni: So this is the same, the old group?

Anyiglâ: Yes.

Pantaleoni: We asked a while ago about the group Mr. Natsuako heard. This would be a different group, later on. Do you know of this? It was around 1900.

Anyiglâ: I cannot say at this time.

Pantaleoni: In this old group that you saw when you were a child, what was the dress? The costume?

Anyiglâ: In Kobazo, the man put the cloth on his shoulder and they use this scarf—that one—to tie up the top.

Pantaleoni: To tie around here [indicates waist].

Anyiglâ: And the women, they dress normally.

Pantaleoni: How fast was that [i.e., Kobazo]?

Anyiglâ: It was very slow.

Pantaleoni: Let me play gôn-gôn, and you will say, "No, it's too fast," or . . .

[Mr. Gbewonyo explains, and I tap out three successive versions of the Atsiâ bell pattern: (1) with the longer strokes at 168 per minute; (2) with the longer strokes at 108 per minute; and (3) with the longer strokes at 84 per minute.]
Anyiglā

Anyiglā: [In response to (1) above] It's too fast.

Pantaleoni: All right, let me try another one.

Anyiglā: [In response to (2) above] This is better than the first one.

Pantaleoni: Oh, fine. Let me try another one.

Anyiglā: [Laughs in response to (3) above] It's too slow.

Pantaleoni: Thank you very much. Perhaps Lumor could help us with this: there may be some Atsia songs that you know, that Lumor knows, [but] that the group didn't sing because they hadn't ever been together enough. I want to know if that's so. If it is, perhaps you could sing one.

Anyiglā: Your name? [Laughs].

Pantaleoni: My name is Hewitt Pantaleoni. Italian.

Anyiglā: [Laughs]. You are troublesome! Play the gōn-gōn.

[I use my hand to tap my chair in the Atsia bell rhythm, allowing the longer strokes to have a speed of 120 per minute. Togbi Anyiglā sings two songs.]

Pantaleoni: [To Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo] Do you know that?

1The Atsia group that performed on July 8th and on August 21st in Woe Division, Anyako. Mr. Lumor Agbagli was song leader at both performances.
Dorvlo: No.

Pantaleoni: Perhaps you would sing the new song you made about Kobla [Ladzekpo], which I would also like to have.

[Mr. Dorvlo sings it to tapping by Mr. Pantaleoni at the same speed as before.]

Dorvlo: KOBLA LADZEKPOE WO ANEDO¹ NAM
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me

BE MA FO ATSIÄ VUA NA YE, EE!
To play Atsiä for him, oh!

NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, OO!
When the sun shines, something else will happen, oh!

KOBLA LADZEKPOE WO ANEDO NAM
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me

BE MA FO AGOHŨ NA YE, EE!
To play Agohũ for him, oh!

NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, OO!
When the sun shines, something else will happen.

EFLAWO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA KPE.
Efla people say, "When the sun shines we'll meet."

EWORLDW AO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA DZOE, EE!
Woe people say, "When the sun shines we'll go," oh!

AGUA DZE DZE MIA KPE.
At the sun's shining we'll meet.

EFLAWO BE AGUA DZE KO MIA KPE.
Efla people say, "When the sun shines we'll meet."

¹This is the form in Anexo-Eve (spoken in southern Togo) of the Anlo-Eve verb "amado." For a description of the geographical distribution of Eve dialects see Diedrich Westermann, A study of the Ewe language, translated by A. L. Bickford-Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 197-98. Certain changes in the text will be found in the version quoted on p. 194 below as an addendum to this interview.
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me
BE MA FO ATSIÃ VUA NA YE, OO!
To play Atsiã for him, oh!
NE AGUA DZE KO NU BUE DZO, OO!
When the sun shines, something else will happen, oh!¹

Pantaleoni: He asked for a slow tempo [for this last song]
but the group today [i.e., nowadays] sings faster.
[To Dorvlo] I'd like your comment about that: does the
group sing the way it should, or should it be slower? Does
he like it as fast as it is?

Dorvlo: Slowly is the best.

Pantaleoni: Why do they sing fast?

Dorvlo: It is the mistake of the gôn-gôn player.

Pantaleoni: I was thinking, perhaps Atidama² preferred the
faster speed.

Dorvlo: He's only drumming. This is a mistake of the
gôn-gôn player.

Pantaleoni: In the Hatsiãtsiã [the interlude music, in which
there is no drumming]?

¹Sung for the first time on August 21, 1971.
²Mr. Koku Atidama Aflakpui was the leading drummer at
both Atsiã performances in Woe Division, July 8 and August 21,
1971.
Anyiglã

Dorvlo: Yes. It is a mistake of the gôn-gôn player because by that time he'd only seen him playing [not] many times.

Pantaleoni: How about the speed of the dancing?

Dorvlo: Slow is the best in dancing, but faster makes a wrong movement.

Pantaleoni: So the group was going too fast, is that it?

Dorvlo: Because of the fastness of the rhythm, the gôn-gôn player, that's why, when they change the rhythm for dancing, they don't sing; because they feel tired to be dancing and singing at the same time.

Pantaleoni: So when they were dancing they weren't too good at singing, because of the speed?

Dorvlo: Yes.

---

1 When they go from the bell rhythms of the Hatsâtsi (interlude music, in which the dancers move in a relaxed manner) to the rhythms of the dance drumming ensemble.
KOBLA LADZEKPO WO ANE DO NAM BE
Kobla Ladzekpo sent a message for me

MA FO ATSIĂ VUNYE NA YE HEE
To play my Atsiă drum for him

AGUE DZE KO MIA DO GO HOO
When the sun rises we shall meet

KOBLA LADZEKPOE WO ANE DO NAM BE
Kobla Ladzekpo sent for me

MA FO ATSIĂ VUNYE NA YE HEE
To play Atsiă drum for him

AGUE DZE KO MIA DO GO HOO.
When the sun rises we shall meet.

NE AGUE DZE KO MIA DZO
When the sun rises we shall go

FLAWO BE NE AGUE DZE KO MIA KPE
Fla people said when the sun rises we meet

AGUE DZE KO MIA DZO
When the sun rises we shall go

WOEWO BE AGUE DZE KO MIA KPE
Woe people said when the sun rises we shall meet

KOBLA LADZEKPOE WO ANE DO NAM BE
Kobla Ladzekpo sent a message for me

MA FO ATSIĂ VUNYE NA YE HEE
To play my Atsiă drum for him

AGUE DZE MIA DO GO HOO.
When the sun rises we shall meet.¹

¹Mr. Agodo Gadri Ametefi of Woe Division supplied the
Eve text of this song. He can be seen standing at the far right
in Plate I, p. ix above. Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo did the
translation. A slightly different version appears on pp. 191-
192 above.
MR. BADU

Background Notes

Michael Kwashie Badu was interviewed on August 11, 1971, at his home in Afegame Division, Dzelukofo, by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, with my help. The interview was conducted in Eye.

Mr. Badu is considered a fine singer and leads the group that performs Atsiā in Dzelukofo. His father was chief song leader before him, and his father's father before that.

Anyako and Dzelukofo have maintained friendly relations for many years through their dance clubs (see pp. 30-31). Chief Sokpui of Afegame Division showed us photographs of Atsiagbeko dancers from Lasibi Division of Anyako performing at his installation ceremonies in 1952. The Atsiā club of Dzelukofo performed by invitation at the installation ceremonies of Chief Aduklu Attipoe III of Woe Division in Anyako in the fall of 1958.

The text of the following interview has been slightly abridged. The translation is by Mr. Ladzekpo, occasionally modified. Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo transcribed the Eye from the tape recording.

195
Text of the Interview

1 Ladzekpo: AFETO BADU, ME DZI BE MIA NYA NENYE BE
Mr. Badu, we want to know whether the

2 ATSIÅ VU HIKE LE MIA SI DZELUKOFE AFIHIA,
Atsiå drum which you have here at Dzeluko, do you

3 ENYA NE EGA LE EDU BUBUDEWO HAME HIKE WO FO NA?
know if it is also, in some other towns, still played?

4 Badu: E, EGA LE EDU BUBUME WO HA WO GA FO NA.
Yes, it's also still performed in some other towns.

5 EGBÅ YENYE DZELUKOFE DUAME, ABEOKUTA. EVELIA YENYE
First, it is in Dzeluko, Abeokuta. Second, it is in

6 ANYAKO. ETÔLIA YENYE AFIAZHENYIGBA. ENELIA YENYE
Anyako. Third, it is in Afiazenyigba. Fourth, it is in

7 ALAKPLE. ATÔLIA YENYE XEDZRANAWO AFIMA TOWA
Alakple. Fifth, it is in Xedzranawo.1 They're the people

8 WOWOE GA FO NE GA KPE NA DE MIA, AME HIWO ME YO NU.
who still play it in addition to us, these I've named.

9 Ladzekpo: YEAYIE MIE TE FOFO LE DZELUKOFE AFIHIA,
When did you start playing it at Dzeluko here,

10 ALO YEAYIE WO DUI LE DZELUKOFE AFIHIA? WO
or when was the club formed here at Dzeluko? Can you

11 NKAU ANO EFEA DZIA?
recall the year?

12 Badu: YEAYI WO DUI LE DZELUKOFE AFIHIA,
When they formed the Dzeluko club here, my

13 TOGBUINYE WOE DUI. TOGBUINYE WOWOE DO EVUA.
grandfather did it; my grandfather started the drum.

---

1Not shown on the maps included in this study,
Xedzranawo is south of Denu, on the coast near Lomé. See Map 2,
p. 3, for Denu (on the right, above the legend "6° N").
Badu

14 Ladzekpo: TOGBUI WOHI DZI FOFO WOA?  
    The grandfather who begot your father?

15 Badu: Ê, XEHIDZIFOFONYEWOWOEDO  
    Yes, the one who begot my father. He formed

16 EVUMA.  
    EVU MA WO DO FIA EGBO ME TSO O.  
    the club. That drum, they started it a long time ago.

17 Ladzekpo: EKPO BE ADE EFE ALOFADEKA?  
    Do you think about one hundred years?

18 Badu: EVU MA FIA EDE EFE ALOFADEKA KPLE EVO.  
    That dance is over one hundred years old.

19 Ladzekpo: EFE NENIE FOFOWO XO  
    HAFIE  
    How many years did your father have when

20 KU?  
    he died?

21 Badu: FOFONYEAEYO, 98 MA WO XO.  
    My father was 98.

22 Ladzekpo: LE EFE KAME?  
    In what year?

    He died on November 23rd, 1962.¹

24 Ladzekpo: WO NUTODEEFE NENIE NE XO?  
    How old are you, yourself?

25 Badu: NYENUTO, ME LE 63 ME. I was born 1907.  
    Myself, I'm in my 63rd year. I was born in 1907.

¹The expression of dates and ages in English numerals is common among Anlo.
26 Ladzekpo: NE MIE TWOE NE TOGBUIWO ABE, ANYE TOGBUIWOFE
   If we assume it was your grandfathers'

27 DEKAKPUIME WO DUI . . .
   club when they were youths . . .

28 Badu: Ê. WO GBLOE.
   Yes. They said so.

29 Ladzekpo: KO KE EVUA EKPO (FE ABE) EWU EFE ALOFADEKA
   Then the drum is somewhat more than one hundred

30 BLAAATÔ, MIA GBLO ME.
   fifty years old, we may say.

31 Badu: YEMAYIA WO NO ASITSA GBEME,
   That time when they were trading in the hinterland,

32 KEKE LEGOS FE INTERIOR, ABEOKUTA, AFIMAE WO VA
   far in the Interior of Lagos, Abeokuta, there they

33 TSO EVUA TSOE HAFIE VA DO.
   brought this dance, before they started it here.¹

34 Ladzekpo: KE NUMATAE MIE NO MIA DOKUI YOM BE ABEOKUTA?
   So that is why you call yourselves Abeokuta people?

35 Badu: ÊÊ. MIA FE TOKO ME YA DZA KOA ABEOKUTAE.
   Yes. In our Division alone it's Abeokuta. It is

36 ABE TOKOME NKO KOWONYE MIE TSO, AFIE MIA
   just a name we have adopted, the place where our

37 TOGBUIWO YA NO ASITSAME LE HAFIE VA NOA DEKAKPUI
   grandfathers stayed to trade and buy materials

38 NYAHEM LE TEFEA. NE WO DO EVU KO
   to adorn themselves. When they formed this group, and

¹Abeokuta is about one hundred miles due north of the coastal settlement of Lagos. Because the Dzelukofe traders went there by boat (see line 43), Abeokuta was indeed "in the interior," behind Lagos.
WO NQA FOMA, YE WO NO GBOGBLO BE YE WO ABEOKUTA VIWO, \\
were playing, they used to say we're the Abeokuta people.

Ladzekpo: AH! ELABE AFIMAE WO KPO KESINONUE TSUI. \\
Ah! Because their wealth came from there.

Badu: Ë. AFIMAE WOTSÄLE; NE WO LE ASI \\
Yes. There's where they hawked; when they took

GBA DE TAA WONO YIM KOA, AFIMAE WO NONA. KPELE NE WO 
their goods for sale, they went there. And when they

DE EFUGODO MELIE TSÖ WO. WOLE MELIME WO VA 
go overseas, they go by ship. In the ship they go and

WO DO EFUGODO GBOA. Ë, AFIMAWO GODZIE WO FLA 
work overseas and return. Yes, there's where they buy

FEVUNUWO LE NA HAFI VA WOA, ZA WO DOKUI 
their luxurious things before they come and use them

NE EVUA FOFO. 
when they play the drum.

Ladzekpo: NKO BUBUA DEKE MELE MIA ASI HAFI ABEOKUTA 
Was there another name you had before Abeokuta

VA KPE DE NUA? 
came to be adopted?

Badu: NKOE VA KPE DE NUA, WO GBLO NA BE ATSIÅ 
Before it was adopted, they used to say Atsiå

AMAGO VIAWO, YE WOE NYE ATSIÅ AMAGO VIAWO. 
Amago Children; it was the Atsiå Amago Group.

Ladzekpo: KE AFIKE NYE AFEGAMEYAA? 
Now what is Afegame?

1Literally "children," a standard expression composers 
use to identify their dance clubs in their song texts ("Yevavo 
viawo"; "Yexoese viawo"; etc.).
Badu: É, YENYE NKO XOXOA YENYE MIA TOGBUIWO.
Yes, it's the old name for our grandfathers.

Ladzekpo: KE ABEOKUTA YA ASITSATSA, YE WO ASITSAM
So Abeokuta is a name they got when trading

YE WO VAE DO NKO ME.
when they were travelling.

Badu: É, MIA DE TOKO ME KOA, MIA TOKO ME,
Yes, in our town, particularly in our Division,

ABE YE WO FE TOKO MEE NYE HIA KO YE NYE ABEOKUTA YAA.
to talk about your Division, you say it is Abeokuta.

Ladzekpo: ATENU ADO NKUE Dzi YEYIYIE NYE HIE MOMLOETO MIE FO
Can you remember when you last performed

ATSIĂ HAFIE GA FOGE NA MIE GBA?
Atsiă before playing for us today?

Badu: É, NYITSO MIE WO, MIE LE ETSINE ZIKPUIA, MIE WO
Yes, recently we held a stool festival; during a

WEED OFF NE ZIKPUIA, MIE LE TSI NEA
"weed off" ceremony we cleansed the stool. This

MIE LIA ME XOSE BE NUHIE MA ESTER, ESTER VA YI ŠÊ MAA.
was, I think, at Easter, just after Easter.

MIE YI DE CHURCH, MIE GBO YE MIE VA FUI.
We went to church, we came back and we played.

1"...[there are] many ways by which individuals express belief in the ever-watchful presence of the ancestors, while the lineage in a group do so in the periodic ancestral or stool festivals, afedo-nu or zikpui-nu." (Nukunya, p. 27).

2Marking the end of a period of mourning for one who has died. This coincided with the stool festival.

3Sunday, April 11, 1971.
Ladzekpo: YEYIYI HIA NYE HIE MOMLOETO MIE FUIA HAFI
When was the last time you played before

EFUI LE EFE HIA ME APRIL MEA, WO NKU ANO YA DZIA?
you played in April of this year, can you remember?

Badu: É, YEMAYI MIE FUI, MIA FE HAME MEGĀ DE KOE
Yes, the time we played, one of our elders in the

KU. ENYE AMEGA XOXO, ENYE MIA FO, YA KOE MIE
group died. He was an old man, our senior, and we

GA FUI ME LE EKU TEFE.
played for him at his funeral.

Ladzekpo: ANYE EFE HIAME LOO, ALO EFE KEMEE ME?
Would that be this year or last?

Badu: EFE MEE ME. AUGUST MĒΕ MA MIE FUI.
Last year. It was in August that we played.

Ladzekpo: ENUHIA DE, EVU ATSIĀ DE ANYE AFIHIDZI WO
Now about this, about the Atsiā drum, where did it

TSOA, HAFI MIA TOGBUIWO HE EDO AFIHIA
come from before your grandfathers started it here at

DZELUKOFΕ NOA FOFOΜΑ?
Dzelukofo and went on playing it?

Badu: É, NIGERIA YE WOWO WO KPOE TSUI. ABEOKUTA
Yes, Nigeria is the place they saw it. Abeokuta

YE WO KPOE TSUI.
is the place they saw it.

Ladzekpo: ANYE EFE NENI WOE NYE HI ALO ME NYANYA GE 0.
How many years is that, or don't you know?

Badu: ANYE EFE ALOFA DEKA BLADRÊ ALO ALOFA DEKA
Perhaps one hundred seventy or one hundred
77 BLAENYI.
eighty years.

78 LADZEKPO: EM NUHIDE, ABEALEHI MIE ZA ENUE
As for this matter, what is the costume

79 NE EVU. ABE ALE FIFIA EDO ATSAKA
for the drum? For example, now you are wearing atsaka 1

80 DO JUMPER. ME XOSE BE EGBO NA VE AVO TAGEDE
with jumper. 2 I believe you are going to wear cloth

81 EDZI. ALEHIA MIE BLA AKPAE
over it. This way you roll the cloth around your waist 3

82 NE EVU FOFO FIFIA DE ALA KOE MIA TOGBUIWO,
for drumming nowadays, did your grandfathers start it,

83 TOGBUIWO WOE WO VA TSO FOFOWO DO, VA TSO MIAWO HA DO,
and pass it on to your fathers, and then on to you,

84 ALO MIA WOE VA TROE ALA?
or have you people changed it?

85 BADU: ELI XOXOXO.
It has been this way for a long, long time.

86 LADZEKPO: WO BLA AKPA ALA?
They roll the cloth around the waist like this?

87 BADU: È. HENOWO WO BLA AKPA, ZAGUNOWO WO BLA AKPA.
Yes. The song leaders and drummers roll it around.

88 ETOA TO NOLAWOA WO WO DA AVO DE ABOTA.
Those in the circle wear the cloth over the shoulder.

1 Knee-length pants with a very full waist gathered with a draw-string. The cloth is shaped to a point at the back of each leg. See Plate XI(c), p. 78.

2 A short-sleeved shirt.

3 See Plate XI(a), p. 78.
WO WO DOA ATSAKA ADO JUMPER ATSO AVQ ADA DE
They wear atsaka with jumper, and the cloth over the

ABOTA. HENOWO KPLE EVU FOLAWO WOWO WO AKPA BLA GE, shoulder. Song leaders and drummers will roll it around,

ALE LASHI DE ASI. holding horse tails.

Ladzekpo: WELL, LE NUHIMEA LE YU FOFO ALO YEYUDU KPLE
Well, generally in drumming, dancing and

HADZIDZI NUHIMO MEA, NUHIA DE LI TSOTSO MEA DE NO ANYI. singing there is some kind of fixed tempo.

ENUNIA DEE ATSÍA DEE ALEHIA MIE FO MEE FIFIA,
In particular, the tempo of Atsiá as you play it here,

NE DE WOLA TSOTSO MEO NE DE WOLA LE BLEWU O, DEE ALA whether it is fast or slow, it is it the

KOE WO FO NE TSA LOO ALO YI HA DE MIE VA GBUGBOE TRO? way it has always been, or has it been changed?

Badu: ALE KO AMEGA XOGOWO FO NE TSA KOA,
The way the old people used to play it, it is

NENEMA KOE MIE FO MEE FIFIA DE DODOA NU. the same way we have been playing it here.

Ladzekpo: NENEMA KOE. Just the same.

Badu: Ë. Yes.

Ladzekpo: KE ESIE KPO, EVUA DE HINYE AMEGA XOGOWO FE
Now, have you ever heard of an old people's

VU, WO YO NA BE KOBAZO?
drum called "Kobazo"?

1This interview was held prior to the performance, at which the longer strokes of the bell were at the rate of 150 per minute.
Badu: Ẹ, ME SE ENKO KPO. ELE DZELUKOFÉ AFÍHIA.
Yes, I've heard the name. It is in Dzelukofé here.

E LI, WO FO NE GAKE AME HIWO FO NE WOWO
It's here, they play it, but those who play it, they

HA WO VA VO. DEVIA DEWO SI KO WO LE WOWO HA
too are all gone. It is only some young boys who are

WO NÖA PLASI WÖME NU.
making the effort.

Ladzekpo: EM, ALEKE WO FO NE, VOVO TOTOA DE LE
Ah! How is it played? Is there any difference

WO KPLE ATSIA MEA?
between it and Atsiá?

Badu: WO WO HA WO FO NE ABE ATSIA ENE, GAKE EHA
They play it like Atsiá except the songs

KO ME SUGBO WO SI 0.
are not that many.

They also play it like Atsiá, in that also

TONU NOLAWO DA AVO DE ABO.
the dancers wear the cloth over the shoulder.

Badu: Ẹ, WO FO NE ABE ATSIA ENE, GAKE WO FE HADZIDZIO
Yes, they play like Atsiá, but their songs

KO ME SOGBO, ELABE EVUA VIAWO WO DZO. EYE ME KPO
aren't many, for the members are gone. And I think

BE DEVÍ HIWO LI FIA DE ME WO LA SROE WO DZILAWO
that these youngsters maybe have not learned the songs

GBO O HIA.
from their parents.

Ladzekpo: ETO KA MEE WO LE, MIA FE TOA KEA?
In what Division is it? Is it your Division?
Badu

118 **Badu:** NO. ELE NUHI, AGBOZO HAWO FE KOME WO LE. No, it's in the Agbozo family's Division.

119 WOWOE NYE AGBOME. WOWOA WO WOE FO NE. They are in Agbome. They are the ones who play it.

120 **Ladzekpo:** VUGBEA DEE WO KPLE ATSIA VUGBE WONGE VUGBE Is its rhythm and that of Atsiä, are they

121 DEKA LOO ALO VOVOTOTO LE WO KPLE ATSIA VUGBE MOW the very same, or is there a difference

122 DOME? between them?

123 **Badu:** VOVOTOTO LE WO KPLE ATSIA There is a difference between it and Atsiä

124 VUGBEA ME, YA VUGBE DEKA VUGBE EVE KO WONGE NENEME. rhythm in that there are just one or two rhythms.

125 **Ladzekpo:** EVU NENIE WOTSO NA FO NAE? How many drums do they use?

126 **Badu:** ALEKO MIA FE ATSIA VUA WO LE KOA, NENEMA KOE Just as how our Atsiä drums are, the same:

127 SOGO, KIDI, KAGAN, KPLE ATSIMEVU EVE, sogo, kidi, kagan, and two atsiemvu.

128 **Ladzekpo:** KE ESIE KPO BE NUHIA EVU HIA, Have you ever heard that this drum,

129 EVU XOXO HIA KOBAZOA YI KOE WO VA TRO NKO NA EMGBE this old drum "Kobazo," it changed its name later on

130 WO VA ZU ATSIA. ESIE KPOE A? to Atsiä. Have you ever heard it?

1\textsuperscript{1}Played one at a time.
131 Badu: NYE ME SIE KPO O.
    I've never heard it.

132 Ladzekpo: ENU FOLADEWO GBLO MIE SE LE TEFE. BUBUADEWO
    Some of our informants at other places
    BE KOBAZOA YE WO VA TRO WO ZU ATSIA TEFEDADEWO.
    said that Kobazo became changed to Atsia at some places.

134 Badu: ENYE ME SIE KPO O, ABE MIA FE HA HI
    I have never heard it. You see, our songs

135 MIE DZI NA DE EVUA NUTSIA EDE NGO WU WO WO FE
    we sing to accompany the drum are better than their
    HADZIDZI.
    singing.

137 Ladzekpo: EHA HI WO DZIM MIE LE DEE WO NYE
    Those songs you have been singing, are

138 MIA NUTO WO MIA FE HA KPAKPA WO LOO ALO ENYE EHA
    some your own compositions, or are they

139 XOXO WO?
    old ones?

140 Badu: EHA XOXO HIA WO MIA TOGBUIW O DZI NA KOO,
    Those old songs your grandfathers used to sing,

141 YI KOE MIE WO MIE TENUE KPA EHA DEKEO.
    those are the only ones we have been singing.

142 Ladzekpo: KE MIE KPA EHA DEKE YEYEA DEKE DE EME O?
    So you mean you have never added any new?

143 EHA XOXOA KO DZIM MIE LE.
    You are singing only the old ones.

^1Mr. Tsegah. See p. 311, n. 1.
Badu: EHA XOXOWO KOE LI.
    There are only the old ones.

Ladzekpo: KE WO GBLOE NE SE KPO BE, ATSIĀ ENYE.
    Have you ever heard that Atsiā is a
AVA DE VU ALO MENYE AVA DE VU.
    war drum or not.

Badu: AO, ME DEA AVA O. E BIAM HIEKAHO.
    No, it doesn't go to war. You asked me once.

ME DEA AVA O, YA OCCASION DEWO HIKE MIE VE WOWO GE
    It is not a war dance; you only use it at times
YE MIE TSO GE grand tefea le.
    to "grand" an occasion.

Ladzekpo: ADO DZIDZO NE MIA DOKUI. KE LEKPODENUME
    To enjoy yourselves. Then for example,
NENYE BE ABE ALE ETSA AVA NYA LE NE MIA
    like in the old days, when war was important to our
TOGBUIWO, MIA TOGBUIWO DEA AVA KPLE ETOMEAWO
    grandfathers, they go to war and other places.
NENYE BE AMEWO TSO AVA GBO DEE WO TENU AFUI
    After they have returned from battle, can one play it
ABE DZIDZO DODO NE ASRAFOWO ENE.
    for the entertainment of soldiers?

Badu: ÊÈ. NE MIE GBO NE MIE LE ETE VIETENUE
    Yes. When you're back, when you all safely
YIE GBO KOA, MIA TENU AVA TSOE VA DO DZIDZO
    return, you can play it to enjoy
NE MIA DOKUIWO AFE ME.
    yourselves at home.

Ladzekpo: ATENU AGBLO AME XEXLE ME ALEHI LE
    Can you tell us the number of people in
159 MIA FE ATSIA HABOBO ME LE DZELUKOF EAFIHIA?
your Atsiã group at Dzeluko here?

160 **Badu:** MIA FE ATSIA HABOBO MEA, YA NE MIE VE
In our Atsiã group, whenever we are going to

161 FO GE KOA, YA EDUA KOE KPE NA DE MIA NU MIE FO NE.
play the whole town joins us in playing.

162 MIE FO NE, MIE TOKOME TOWOE DO NE HAFI,
We play it. We in the Division take the initiative.

163 NE MIE NE KAKLA EDUA ME HI TSO BE
When we inform the town, each and every one claims,

164 YE TOGBUI FOA VUA, YI HA TSO BE YE TOGBUI FOA VUA KOO
"The dance belongs to my grandfather," they say, and so

165 WO VA NA VA KPE NA DE MIA NU MIE FO NE MIAWO
they all come to join us and we play together. We

166 KOE DUI KO GAKE EZU WO LEA NOVISI KOA
form the club, but because of friendships,...

167 **Ladzekpo:** NOVISI WOWO WO VA ZU
This sort of friendship has made it to be

168 ABE EDU VU ENE MIE FO NA.
as if it's for the whole town.

169 **Badu:** KO WO WOA WO VANYEA KPEDENU TOWO, ME DE WO NYE
So they become our helpers, for not many of them

170 EHAE DZIDZI O, GAKE WO NO TONU KPLI MI.
know the songs, but they dance in the circle with us.1

171 **Ladzekpo:** NKO BUBUA DE LE MIA SIA NE EVUA, NE EHABOBOA,
Do you have any other name for the dance club,

172 ALO ATSIA, DZELUKOF EATSIA HABOBO KOE WO YO NA
or you are just called "Dzeluko Atsiã Club".

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1The Dzeluko club forms its circle around the drums (see Figure 4, p. 87 above). Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo recalls the
circle this way when the club danced at Anyako in 1958.
173 NA NE NKO?
Is that the name?¹

¹Mr. Badu concurred; but we learned later that the full, correct name of the group is Zomayi Afegame Atsià Drumming Group Abeokuta.
MR. GBEDEMAH

Background Notes

Mr. Rowland Dulekpom Edugle Gbedemah was interviewed twice at his home in Accra by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and me, first on June 19, 1971, and then on July 27, 1971. Educated in the mission schools of Anyako and Keta, Mr. Gbedemah reads, writes, and speaks both Ewe and English. The interview was conducted in English.

Mr. Gbedemah was born in 1890 and was for many years a successful businessman. He took a leading role in the fight that developed in 1929 to keep the senior grades of the mission school at Anyako from being relocated at Abor; and he made significant financial contributions to the building of the new school at Anyako Kpota when the town decided that this was the only way to accomplish its purpose.

At eighty-one Mr. Gbedemah is alert and good humored, with a clear memory of his past and its traditions. The family name has become nationally known through the career of Mr. Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, his nephew, one of the architects of the new nation of Ghana.

This transcription abridges the interview somewhat.
Text of the Interview

Ladzekpo: Uncle, we just sang a song entitled "Nutsuako kple Gbedemah wowoe menyô ne dulagba." I want you to tell us about this song, how this song came about.

Gbedemah: In the year 1929, there was some trouble in Anyako School. The organizers of the school were trying to play some trick to remove the school from Anyako to Abor, to establish it as a compulsory school of education. And we foresaw all the plan they made about it, and then we were vehemently up against it. Nutsuako and I were the only two people who had organized against it. Going on, the members of the church there also understood the whole thing, and they all joined us to fight against this thing. Then going on, going, going on, we are allowed to move the school from Anyako and establish it at Modui Kpota. And there, I can say, it is my family land. I'm a member of the Bagu family.\(^1\) So there we have started a school with personal efforts. I give a hundred iron [roofing] sheets free, apart from my personal help I'm giving. But I mean to say that it was not a small job. In those faraway days it was a very, very dangerous [i.e., untried, risky] practice. But we were well backed up by some European friends under whom I was working at Keta.\(^2\) They are very encouraging:

\(^1\)Mr. Ladzekpo is also a member of this family.

\(^2\)At the John Holt company.
"It is a thing concerning education. 'Tis not a political matter, so therefore you can do all what you can to assist it." So go, go, going on, the school got established, and then this song has been made, and there was being sung.

Ladzekpo: Well, uncle, when did the children start going to the new school?

Gbedemah: As far as I can remember, the children started the new, reopened school in 1930, and from there the school was going on 'til now.

Ladzekpo: Can you tell us roughly when the old mission school at Anyako started? Can you tell us what year?

Gbedemah: Well then, I can only say the coming of the missionaries. They came to Anyako in the year 1857.

Ladzekpo: Why did they name [the new school] Anlo Awoame Fia School?

Gbedemah: Yes, because we have taken action in such a way that our paramount chief of Anlo, Togbi Fia Sri II, was also very highly interested in the school; and even, he came and opened it, personally, himself.¹

¹See Mr. Nutsuako's account of this below, pp. 374-77. The Fia's speech appears there and in A short history of the ... School, pp. 16-18. Sponsorship at the highest level helped secure Government support.
Ladzekpo: So, talking about this song then, it's like sort of saying "Thank you" by the people of Anyako, since they cannot pay you, you know, cash for the work that you did --that's why they composed this song. Is that correct?

Gbedemah: Yes, I take it like that.¹

Ladzekpo: There is a practice which still prevails in some of the schools that they don't encourage the traditional African music, or in the Anlo land, the Anlo or the Ewe music, which is our drumming. Could you tell us how it was during your days: was it encouraged, or was it discouraged?

Gbedemah: Oh, in our school days, the missionaries were diametrically up against our connection with any native affair. You can not even, when they are playing drums, you can't go and listen. Nothing at all! They mix up fetishism and our social affairs altogether, and put it away, and then only base the whole thing on Christianity, that's all. Because, personally, I stayed with the missionaries from the beginning to the end of my stay² there, and I know all about it. You [can] have nothing

¹Mr. Gbedemah knew that there was such a song, but until we sang it for him at the beginning of the interview, he had never actually heard it.

²One year and a half at Anyako, starting in January of 1900.
to do with your drumming and all this. And even, I had a case [i.e., discussion] with Reverend G. Gerber, German missionary. He came to Keta, and then I went and met with him. And I said, "According to our Anlo custom, our fetish drumming and affairs, they're a separate thing. But our social drumming is a thing everybody can reach for and join in. But they, the missionaries, they group all together and they call it a 'fetishism'." Then he said, "It was an innocent mistake." That's what the Reverend G. Gerber told me.

Pantaleoni: What year was this?

Gbedemah: That must be around about 1933.

Ladzekpo: How was your impression of Christianity in those days: was it forced upon the people that you should be a member of the church, or if you don't want to be a member, that's up to you--was it a forced issue, or not?

Gbedemah: No, they don't force anybody, but they make it in a way that our social affairs were messed up into Christianity. Our own Anlo customary, usual affairs, which are purely social, have nothing to do with religion, they

1Mr. Gbedemah showed us Rev. Gerber's picture on p. 9 of Fred B. Kwami's pamphlet Eweawo fe blemanyawo le Hogbe kple etsotonuti (Agbosome: F. B. Kwami, 1970), where he is identified as Paul Wiegräbe, who came to Keta in 1926.
mess all up together, so that some of us who say we are
Christians, we don't know what we are doing, honestly speaking.

Ladzekpo: How did you get the name Rowland?

Gbedemah: Oh, this is a very nice thing that you ask me, and
I can tell you. In the olden days, when they are about to
baptize you, you were to take a Christian name. But at the
time we attended lessons, I had my native name already,
that's Dulekpom,¹ and the time they were to baptize us [Mr.
Gbedemah and Mr. Nutsuako], we went together, sat down in
the room, and then they were asking for names. First, they
asked Mr. Nutsuako to give his Christian name. He said,
"My name is Ahiekpɔ." So they assume this wasn't any
Christian name. My God, it was a terrible thing! They
howled on him with abuses and all the rest of it. And then
I was sitting next to him, then the turn came to me, and I
said, "My name is Dulekpom," and then, "that is my name,
that is all." Christ me, it was a horrible thing! They
say, "When your brother, they talked to your brother just
now, didn't you hear it? And do you still want to persist?
And to say what?" So at that time we were learning history,
and we were on Rowland Hill, the man who introduced the
penny postage into the world. My hand was in the book.

¹Mr. Gbedemah later gives the meaning of this name and
tells how he got it. See p. 218.
[It seemed that] if I don't do it, they won't baptize me. I looked in the book: well, uh, Rowland Hill. "Well, then, I'd better take Rowland." That time they say, "Aha, yes, yes, yes, yes, then you come to our way now," and they put the "Rowland" down. The "Dulekpom," they don't want it anyhow. They say, "The 'D' must stand for another Christian name. [So] you can put 'Daniel' there." Then, from all this, they have baptized us. So today, when I hear some people were baptizing their children with our African names, I'm highly surprised. And I say, once I've suffered for this thing, my children and my grandchildren all must get Christian names until when I die and go they can change it again. Because I have suffered for the thing actually, too much. We foresaw it and were against it, but there we dare not; and today the door is open now.

Ladzekpo: It seems to me that even some of the names, they're not Christian names but rather European names, because if you want to go by the Christian names, then it will be only those in the Bible, is that not true?

Gbedemah: Yes, you are quite right. We take all the European names as Christian names. Like "Rowland" is not a Christian name, but is a Scottish name. But what is a European name, they take it as a Christian name.
Ladzekpo: So in other words they want you to take a European name.

Gbedemah: That's right. I do agree to that.

Ladzekpo: Don't you think that probably they were finding it difficult to pronounce the names, for instance "Dulekpom" or "Ahiekpō," or what not; that's why they ruled it that we should take European names?

Gbedemah: No, not that. For example, I've stayed with the missionaries, and then "Dulekpom," they call it "Dawk-pom"; "Ahiekpō," they call it "Ze-kpom." We're not against it. We do like it.

Ladzekpo: Because, at least they will say whatever they are saying correctly?

Gbedemah: Yes.

Pantaleoni: They wanted to feel that you were being European, would you say?

Gbedemah: Well, it's only the Christianity they're after. Everything will be Christian. So we too, in our days, we take all these names as Christian names, although I know that "Rowland" is a Scottish name.

Ladzekpo: So what is the meaning of your African name, your
given name "Dulekpom"?

Gbedemah: Well, the name has some background for it. My mother was a barren woman. And then, in those days, as a barren woman, she went to fetish priests and all these, seeking to buy her belly. And then she has succeeded, and that is the reason why there are these marks on my face. These are not a tribal mark. We, the Anlos, we have no tribal mark on anybody's face. We are against it. It is a fetish mark. So they give me this fetish mark, and then the mother of the present Chief Dzokoto of Anyako has given the name, to mean--(I was born in Keta and brought to Anyako)--that "Dulekpom" means "Everybody has seen the barrenness of my mother, Setakpe"--"The barrenness has been seen: Dulekpom,--the people, they have seen it." "Dulekpom," I mean, is a name very, very ... I grew with it. Still, the missionaries, they don't do anything [i.e., they don't change it, at first]. I grew very well before I was baptized. But my mother did not mind their calling me "Dawk-pom, Dawk-pom." But when the time came for baptism, now, hey! Trouble comes. And I say, "No, I'll not allow it." But because of the baptism, I did allow it, and they have done it. And so, therefore, I will say I will sign

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1One of five chiefs in Lasibi Division. His stool, or office, is judged to be the senior one of the whole town.
Gbedemah I

the "Rowland" 'til I die with it.

Ladzekpo: You've been saying all along that you stayed with
the missionaries throughout your school days.

Gbedemah: Yes, from beginning to end.

Ladzekpo: Do you think now, as an old man, that your staying
with the missionaries deprived you culturally?

Gbedemah: That is very, very easy and simple. Not me alone.
It has deprived all of us who have attended school in those
days. The way and manner that they handled our affairs is
such that we don't know of native culture. Anybody who
knows something about it, that might be only from family
background. If your family's around you, you're listening
to something, you pick it up. But the missionaries, they
block the way.

Pantaleoni: What year were you born?

Gbedemah: I was born in Keta on March 19, 1890. This last
March I was eighty-one. When I was conceived, and my
mother was about to bear me, the Tenge Shime War was raging.
And then Mama¹ Woduiva of Keta came to Anyako and advised
my mother to come to Keta and deliver her child there. I
was delivered in Keta and brought back to Anyako.

¹A title of respect accorded elderly women.
Ladzekpo: In what year do you think your late cousin Zate was born, my father?\footnote{Kofi Zate Ladzekpo (1894/96-1970), famous composer, Chief Linguist to the late Chief Tenge, Dzokoto III.}

Gbedemah: Well, I can say he might have been born about 1894. But mine was written down.

Pantaleoni: That was quite unusual at the time, to have a date written down?

Gbedemah: Very, very, very unusual. But luckily for me, my father can write in Eve, and all our birthdays were written down. I came in 1890. Then another boy was born after me; then he died, quickly. Then a son, 1894. 1897, they bore another one. 1900, 1903, and then the last child of my mother was Eyi, [one of] twin children. That was in 1906.

Pantaleoni: In our country, the Christian families write those kinds of information right in the first page of the Bible, usually. Where do you write things?

Gbedemah: On whatever paper they can get.

Ladzekpo: Because I know my father, although he was not educated, he had one of those ledgers, you know, called "Record," in which he would put down certain things. My
brother Husunu\(^1\) did the same thing. You know there's a "Record" which you can get hold of now with all his compositions [listed]. He asked someone to put down the titles. In fact, the first person who was doing it did a very nice job, in that he put down almost every song. But the second party did a very poor job--he didn't write them down. And he himself, because he cannot read and write, there was no way of checking. If the guy came and gave him the "Record," he just put it back. Not until he [my brother] died, before I found out that the second party was not doing the work properly.

**Gbedemah:** Even sometimes they were born recently, but they don't know their back days.

**Ladzekpo:** Now, tell us something about the town, Anyako. How did the town get this name, "Anyako"? Or, in other words, what is the meaning of "Anyako"?\(^2\)

**Gbedemah:** Honestly speaking, I don't want to say anything which I don't know. I do not know the meaning of "Anyako."

But all what I know about the place, that it's an island,

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\(^1\)Husunu Adonu Afadi (1921-1969), a composer, drummer, and leader of men. Mr. Ladzekpo is currently working on a collection of his songs.

\(^2\)Every Anlo town name has a meaning. "Keta," for example, refers to the sand ("ke") that characterizes the area.
not for the Anlos but for the Tsiame people. And then
Anloga people used to come and fish there. And then going
on, going on, they were settling there. But when somebody
died, they got to carry the dead body to Anloga, so they say,
"No--let us ask the big men" to give us a burial chance in
Anyako." So they gave them the chance to bury their people
there, and they become settled there. But no Anyako man
can claim himself to be a citizen of Anyako, except he knows
where he comes from. They come mainly from Anloga. A very
few of them, some from Woe, Tegbi and all these, one, one,
one. But the main body, they are Anloga people. So if
you're an Anyako man and you don't know where you come from,
then you are lost. But I come from Keta, because my grand-
mother who bore my father Edugle is a cousin to Rowland
Amegasi Afeku. When, after the 1844 trouble, they came
together, from--they are Atiavi people. They come there
[i.e., Keta] and settled there. At that time the Some people
have gone already, long, long years ago, since 1820. Then
Keta rightly was only a small thing around the fort--the
fort was there already--a small village around the fort.
In 1844 there was a trouble. Then the Danes have called a
merchant ship, and they came and threw some splashes to the
town, and they all ran away. It was my grandmother and

1Elders; "amegawo" in Anlo. ("Ame" means person;
"ga" means big; "wo" makes the word plural.)
Rowland Amegasi, they came back. Therefore, I claim Keta as a town lived in by Somes, better than to claim Anyako, which is an island belonging to Tsiame people. Tsiame people are a section of people by themselves.

[During a break for changing tapes, some interesting conversation developed.]

Ladzekpo: We want you to repeat that again, because we didn't get part of it.

Gbedemah: Well, these three people, a Bate man called Adeladzea, a Like man called Atogolo, and a Klevi clan man called Adodi Fugar, were three hunters who hunted when our people were at Notsie. They came over this way and discovered the land between Aflao and Atiteti. After they discover it, they went back to Notsie. And then that man Agokoli was giving trouble to them. We're all Eyes. They all move away.¹ But our three people told them--their own branch--that they have discovered the land on the sea coast here. So our branch came over. That is, Venya and Togbi Sri I. They all came over to the coast and got settled here. That is the way.

Pantaleoni: Could you now name the names right down to

¹Three branches of the Eye people dispersed from Notsie, according to tradition. See W. E. F. Ward, pp. 133-136.
Gbedemah I

yourself from that gentleman . . .

Gbedemah: Starting from Adodi Fuga, then Aleawo, from
Aleawo we go to Efli. Efli, Deako. Deako bore Klu-Akpo.
Klu-Akpo bore Badu. Badu bore Tenasu. Tenasu bore
Agbeli Gbedemah. Agbeli Gbedemah bore Edugle, and then
Edugle bore me, Rowland. That's how I've got it, ten.

[Another break]

Gbedemah: We Ghanaians, most of us were from Sudan. I
know it by history because of fetishism. That is why
Reverend Edward Smith wrote in his book that the West
African can never be a good Christian. You ask where
Sudan is. You know Egypt is there. Sudan follows. Then
the southern portion, they're proper Sudan, the African
Sudan.

Pantaleoni: Like Kano, for instance?

Gbedemah: Yes. And then we were there with our fetishism,
deism, plenty of gods. That's what we used to serve.
Then Mohammed crossed the Red Sea, shouting "Allah ou'akbar,
Allah y laha, y laha! Y lah, y laha, y laha!" What!
Plenty of gods, like this, somebody says "One God!"? We
can't do this. Because of fetishism, we went away from
Sudan. And then we were going. They let us, our branch--
I don't know how far they have gone--settle at Notsie.
Notsie is not a settlement. They are there to continue the journey. Then when they were there, our three ancestors, they were hunting, came and found this place.

Pantaleoni: Have you ever heard the name Dogbo as a town they were at before Notsie?

Gbedemah: Yes, I've heard the name Dogbo. One of the places where they settled. And then, people, too, don't know this: the Ga, the Adangbe, the Shais, the Krobos, and then the Eyes, those are the Sudanese section of Ghana.

Ladzekpo: Taking it from Notsie, can you name some of the towns where they stopped on the way? Because during our school days we heard a little bit about this history: that when our ancestors were coming from Notsie, they stopped at certain places, for example, the present town in Togo called Tsevie. And there's a story--I don't know how far that is true--that some of them were there farming, and they planted beans, and so forth. And then friends wanted them to leave. They said, well, the beans must grow a bit before they leave, "Ayia ne tsevie," that's how the town Tsevie got its name. So could you tell us a little bit more about this event, places they have stopped like Tsevie, until they have reached Anloga, which is our capital now?
Gbedemah: The places where they passed--this Tsevie has got so many towns around it: Tsevie; another one called Davie; another town called Gblovie; and so many others. We might have passed through some other towns. But then you've got to know that by this point the population then was very thin and small. There were very, very few people. Small, small villages only.

Pantaleoni: How many would you estimate?

Gbedemah: The whole Eye group can be about 100,000. Of course, why I say this, as a small boy going to school in Keta, the population of Keta was just around 4,000 people.¹ But recently, before the flooding,² Keta was 15,000. Well, if you take it from that angle, the population was very small.

Ladzekpo: What do you think would be the population of Anyako at that time?

Gbedemah: Anyako would be near a thousand. It could be below

¹Mr. Nutsuako estimates that forty years earlier, in the 1850's, Keta was "a village of 3-5 huts and very few people." See below, p. 335.

²The disaster of August 16, 1968, when a canal at Kedzi which was opened to let the swollen waters of the Keta Lagoon out brought the sea in instead. The reference could possibly be to an equally disastrous canal opening of November 10, 1963. See Kakabiku's 1971 almanac [by Fred B. Kwami (Agbosome: F. B. Kwami, 1970)].
a thousand.

Ladzekpo: When the three hunters went and reported to their people back at Notsie that they have discovered land by the sea coast, and so when Agokoli [their cruel host in that town] was disturbing them and then they left—at that time, when they were coming to Anlo, who was the chief, or who was their leader? Yes, the paramount chief at that time.

Gbedemah: Well, according to history, they used to mention Venya. And then the Fia, our paramount chief, Fia Sri I. They were carrying him [Venya]. Not as a chief. Because he was weak. He can't walk. So when they reach Anloga, Anlo, then they wanted to continue the journey. Then he said, "No, I'm old, I'm folded up"—"Anlo" means "folded up." Venya said this. Fia Sri I was his nephew.

Ladzekpo: So actually, Venya was the chief at that time, he was the one they were carrying.

Gbedemah: He was the leading man.

Ladzekpo: Tell us about the Vuti War. When was it fought and what was the cause?

Gbedemah: The real cause of the war I do not know to state. But I know that the war was fought in the year 1884, February, and it has got a very strong connection with the late Giraldo,
who the white men called Giraldo De Lima.

Ladzekpo: This name Giraldo is what I think our people call
Dzanado, right?

Gbedemah: Yes, that's what they call Dzanado--Giraldo De Lima,
the proper name. He's a slave trade leader for the old
Giraldo De Lima--De Lima's clerk, I can say: De Lima's
clerk in the slave trade, Atiolbi Giraldo De Lima. He has
adopted his master's name. Anexo man.

Ladzekpo: And where was he living then?

Gbedemah: At Vodza, doing the slave trade.

Ladzekpo: Did they have a place there where they keep the
slaves?

Gbedemah: At Vodza.¹ And then they get another one they call
"Barracks," which we call "Blekusu"--which is "Barracks."

We corrupt and call "Blekusu." And then we have Adina,
which we call "Elmina Tsi Tsim," "Small Elmina."²

Ladzekpo: How about Tenge [Dzokoto, senior chief in Anyako],

¹Vodza and the two other slave headquarters mentioned
here--Blekusu and Adina--are up the coast from Keta. See Map 2,
p. 3 above, 1° east, 6° north.

²The great European coastal fort at Elmina, about
eighty miles west of Accra, was well known.
Gbedemah I

how was Tenge involved in this Yuti War?

Gbedemah: Yes, he was involved against Chief Tamakloe, and others I've forgot.

Ladzekpo: Was Tamakloe on the side of the slave traders, the Europeans, and Tenge and his followers against?

Gbedemah: Tenge and his followers were against; Tamakloe was in favor—his people were behind the slave trade. Then there was no peace in the country. You can't travel from here [Accra] to Osu—Osu is just a mile and a half away—They will arrest you one time. Say Keta: Keta and Dzelukofo are just a mile apart. You can't go because of the slave trade. It was a horrible thing.

Ladzekpo: We hear that sometimes people who were sold into slavery, sometimes they were prisoners, people that they captured from the war. Sometimes people just go out and attack innocent people, people who cannot defend themselves, catch them and then sell them into slavery. Are these stories true?

Gbedemah: Yes. The whole thing was like this. Sometime, if somebody commits a crime, then they bring him before their own native court. When they find him guilty, and they find that you are to be hanged, then they go to Tokoatolia.
There, they go and kill you there. But when going, they're going to sell them into slavery and then get the money. They don't kill them.

**Ladzekpo:** So in the first place they used to kill them at Tokoatòlia. Then later on they started selling them into slavery. Did they think that selling them into slavery was better than killing them?

**Gbedemah:** No. I can only interpret that money is a big power. Money is the leading power of the whole world. They don't want to kill the man, but to sell it and get the money and come and chop [i.e., eat]. Then they share it. But the people who tried the case, their idea was these people [the criminals] were taken and murdered at Tokoatòlia.²

**Pantaleoni:** The court you referred to, is this white-imposed?

**Gbedemah:** A traditional court.

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¹ In his play *The fifth landing stage*, the late Dr. F. Kwasi Fiawoo has evoked the manners and attitudes behind this practice in a way highly regarded by his fellow Anlos. "Toko" means "place by the water" and "atòlia" means "fifth." Tokoatòlia was the fifth landing spot for canoes approaching Anloga on the Lagoon side.

² Dr. Fiawoo pictures traditional Anlo justice as an extremely rational and restrained process that expressed the consensus of opinion among the elders. Mr. Gbedemah agrees with this view. See also Nukunya, p. 11.
Ladzekpo: When they say "Awoame Fia," what does it mean?

Gbedemah: That means the Fia who lives in a sacred place, a consecrated place. Usually the Chief goes and lives in a special, consecrated place. 1

Ladzekpo: Today we know about sixteen clans in Anlo. Do you have any idea of how many clans travelled from Notsie to our present home?

Gbedemah: Honestly speaking, I do not know. But the clans have increased. Some clans have got sub-branches. They get to become clans, and they are added to the number. They are increasing. Now about sixteen—ten or twelve when they came.

Ladzekpo: Do you know how the clan system started among our people?

Gbedemah: No. But the clan system is purely a paternal affair to guide our people on the paternal side of the family.

Ladzekpo: Do you know anything about the relationship between the Anlos and the Yorubas? 2

Gbedemah: No. I have heard they were related, but how these

1 See also Nukunya, pp. 9-10.
2 See p. 2, Map 1: 4° east, 8° north.
relationships stand I do not know, only they are all so far away. I don't know whether they are also from part of Sudan, as we are from Sudan. ... No, I can only say that how the Gas used to dress, that's the way they used to dress—we, the Sudanese: this atako, the Gas' big shorts.

Ladzekpo: What is also called Dzokoto?

Gbedemah: Dzokoto, that is the thing we used to wear—they [i.e., the Sudanese] used to wear for those drums. But when it is Agbeko's time, they cut it at the back and make it very stylish, and that's the way they play that Agbeko music. And it's much more acceptable to everybody.

Ladzekpo: Do they wear something on the top, like a jumper,¹ as we do today?

Gbedemah: Surely—they [i.e., the Sudanese ancestors] wear jumpers, and all these things.

Text of the Second Interview

Ladzekpo: Uncle, I would like you to tell us about the three Divisions of Anlo. I remember that last time you said that Anyako is the only town in the Anlo Confederacy that has the three Divisions. How did this happen?

Gbedemah: The whole thing happened like this. The Anlos were

¹See Plate X(a), p. 77.
in three Divisions. But after the Somes were driven away.\footnote{In 1820, according to Mr. Gbedemah. See p. 222.} there remained two Divisions, Lasibi and Adotri. Then they say, "Well, it should be three Divisions, to consult our affairs together. What shall we do?" Then they said, "All right, let us leave the Adotri alone, as the leading Division." And then they cut a part of Lasibi \footnote{A literal rendering of the title of respect given a leader, "Amega."} to form Woe, so that we are still three Divisions in the Anlo State.

\textbf{Pantaleoni:} Do you think Anyako was settled before the Somes were driven out? Or was Anyako settled after the Some War?

\textbf{Gbedemah:} Anyako is only an island. \footnote{We used] to come and fish there. So Anyako was there in a small way before the Some War.

\textbf{Pantaleoni:} Is there any way of establishing some date when, you would say, at this point Anyako was founded? Like, perhaps, the time when they first began burying their own people there.

\textbf{Gbedemah:} That might have been a long ways \footnote{Back}. Because it is only an island: you need the fishermen to come and settle there; then after they ask their big men to allow them to bury people there, they will become settled. I can
say that that might have been long [ago] even before the
Somes have gone.

Ladzekpo: The big men at where?

Gbedemah: Always at Anloga. Anloga was the head, all the
time. Our Paramount Chief is from Anloga, and there is
our headquarters.\textsuperscript{1} Anyako is an island belonging to
Tsiames, and Tsiames were also a separate Division by
themselves. That is one point most people do not understand
and do not follow.

Ladzekpo: So you mean that before the people of Anyako started
burying their dead people at Anyako, they asked permission
from their elders at Anloga. Is that it?

Gbedemah: Yes. Because, when the people died, they had to
carry them to Anloga, and bury there. They find that it's
getting troublesome. "Why don't we bury [here], and finish
with it?"

Pantaleoni: Did they have to ask permission of the Tsiame
people, to bury them in Anyako?

Gbedemah: No, they did not have permission from the Tsiame
people, but from the Paramount Chief of Anloga.

\textsuperscript{1}The chieftancy descends through the male lines of the
Adzovia and Bate clans in alternation. Only members of these
clan who live at Anloga have been elected.
Pantaleoni: Could you explain about Tsiame being a separate Division? Do you mean Right, Left and Center? You use "Division" in that sense? Or do you mean that they are outside Anlo?

Gbedemah: The whole of our State, during the paramountcy of Fia Sri II, they grouped the whole State [together], and people thought that the States were one [State] by itself. They were all separate things. The proper Anlo State by itself... the Tsiames are a set of people who came by themselves. The Klikors and all were separate groups, they were all different segments of people. And many young men and people who do not know the history of the country thought the Tsiames, the Afifes, the Avenors, and all these people, were one group who came together [to the Keta Lagoon]. Never so: they were different groups who came to the country by themselves. The Anlos also came by themselves, through Venya.

Ladzekpo: So Atiame is one of the towns that form the thirty-six towns of Anlo?

\[\text{\footnote{The colonial government formed an "Anlo State" in 1912 by putting the non-Anlo states of Some, Aflao, Klikor, Fenyi, Weta, Afife, Avenor, Dzodze, Tagba Xevi, Ave, and Mafi under the Awoame Fia, Sri II. See Aduamah, \textit{Ewe traditions no. 1}, p. 1. Map in Nukunya, p. 4. See also p. 25 above, n. 3.}}\]
Gbedemah: No, never. Tsiame didn't form part of the thirty-six towns of Anlo.

Ladzekpo: Could you name those thirty-six towns that form the Confederacy of Anlo?

Gbedemah: Oh, I can only mention some few, but I can't remember all definitely now.¹

Ladzekpo: How about Afife and Weta? They came as a group by themselves, but later on...

Gbedemah: Later on they were all grouped [into the "Anlo State" by the colonial government].

Ladzekpo: Is Denu a Some town, or Anlo?

Gbedemah: Some. It is only on the sea coast and the edge of the Lagoon and surrounding it, that's all Anlo.

Ladzekpo: What is the meaning of "Lasibi," "Adotri," "Woe"?

Gbedemah: I do not know where the names come from. All what I know is that "Adotri" is the main body, leading the other two. But from what I can understand now, [in] our mixture

¹In the discussion that followed, Mr. Gbedemah named the towns that are listed here alphabetically: Afiadenyigba, Alakple, Anloga, Anyako, Anyanui, Atiavi, Atiteti, Atorkor, (Blekusu), Dzelukofe, Dzita, Dudu, Fiaxo, Hatogodo, Kendzi, Keta, Kodzi, Konu, (Seva), Srogboe, Tegbi, Vodza, (Vui), Woe, Wuti. Those in parentheses are not on Mr. Togobo's list of the original thirty-six. See pp. 267-268.
with the Akans we have adopted some names from them. So they say "Agontehene," so there we get this "Adotri"--"the main body." But "Moe" and "Lasibi," I do not really know where the names are from.

**Ladzekpo:** Can you name some of the early scholars produced by the Anyako mission school? Some of the old people, like yourself--I don't know for sure if you finished school at Anyako, did you?

**Gbedemah:** No, I went to school in Anyako only for a year and a half, and then at Keta. But I know at our time we had some elderly people like my late uncle, Old Blagogee, old Akaba, all educated in those days at Anyako. Old Van Lare, the late magistrate's father, was educated at Anyako.\(^2\) Because, when the Bremen missionaries came to Keta, they wanted to go to the hinterland. Atiavi, all the people refused them, but Anyako accepted them, so they came and settled there. So Anyako people were one of the first people to be [?], like old Blagogee.

**Ladzekpo:** Do you know Mr. Blagogee's initials?

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\(^1\) As military allies.

\(^2\) Rev. Natsuak0 lists these men in his manuscript history. See pp. 340-41 below.
Gbedemah: Yes. He was my uncle, a cousin to my mother.¹ It's Jonathan Amekoutu Blagogee.

Ladzekpo: How about Mr. Akaba?

Gbedemah: They called him J. B. Akaba, but I don't know what the J. and the B. are from.

Ladzekpo: Do you know roughly the year in which Tenge Dzokoto I ruled as a chief of Anyako?

Gbedemah: Yes, he was reigning before even I was born [in 1890]. But because of the war palaver—the last final war of 1889, what we call the Shime War—he left, they extradited him. He went to Kpedzi and stayed there until they brought him back in 1902 to Accra, and then they brought him back to Anyako and gave him freedom to go and fight again.

Pantaleoni: That's the chief who's called Tenge Dzokoto II.

Gbedemah: Yes, he was Tenge Dzokoto II.

Pantaleoni: I was wondering when Tenge Dzokoto started, and when his father started. About what date would you say Tenge Dzokoto the father, the old one, became chief?

Gbedemah: Long, long, long ago. In those days they don't keep

¹"Uncle" and "brother" have a broader application in Anlo society than among English speaking peoples.
the year, but Tenge Dzokoto, the old Dzokoto: by the year 1844 he was already a young man, because he [?] to the death at the Keta fort, and that brought about a big palaver. So when he was there in 1844, well that might take him back about 1820 he might have been born already. In 1844 he was a young man, a settled man, trading.

Ladzekpo: So Tenge's father was Dzokoto, and when Dzokoto died, then his son Tenge was installed.

Gbedemah: Yes. Badu installed old Dzokoto.

Ladzekpo: Was Badu a chief by then?

Gbedemah: He was a big, mighty man, but he didn't come to any chieftancy. He was already ruling.

Ladzekpo: You mean that Badu was not officially installed as a chief?

Gbedemah: Yes, because the chieftancy is in their line already, so he was rather installing other people.

Pantaleoni: Was there a chief before old Dzokoto?

Gbedemah: As far as I know, there was no chief in their line and their house before him.

Pantaleoni: That means there was no chief in Anyako before Dzokoto I.
Gbedemah II

Gbedemah: Well, they are fishermen, who come to fish.

Ladzekpo: The old man was Dzokoto. His son's name is Tenge, so when you say Tenge Dzokoto, you are referring to the second, not the first.

Gbedemah: The first is Dzokoto, Dzokoto Glegui.

Ladzekpo: Because I remember my uncle, Agbadrive [Ladzekpo] refers to this in one of his songs, you know, "From Dzokoto to Tenge Dzokoto . . . ."

Pantaleoni: Badu had the right to install chiefs just because he was a very powerful man? Or because of his clan?

Gbedemah: At that time he was a very, very powerful man, Badu, and his ancestry were the people who came and formed the Anlo State. So I am here now, I can claim my descendancy from the time our people came from Notsie. I can claim my descendancy straight away from the coming to Anlo till now, only we don't know it by years.

Pantaleoni: By name. Mr. Nukunya was given a list of the fifteen clans of Anlo made public in 1962 at the Hogbetsotso in Anloga, and he lists them in a certain order, saying "This is the order of seniority."¹ I was just wondering if it would correspond to your idea of the order of seniority, if

¹Nukunya, p. 22 with n. 1.
Gbedemah II

we read them to you.

Gbedemah: Well, I may agree with some, I may not agree with some. But I know the clans were not many in those days [at Notsie], they were very few. But today we are something like fifteen. Some people say even sixteen. They were increasing. But in the olden days, there might be ten, or even less.¹

Ladzekpo: Well, according to his list, this is the order that he put down: the Lafe clan, according to him, is the most senior one.

Gbedemah: Because this man [Venya] is the one who brought the Anlos to the place where they are now, the Lafe man.

Ladzekpo: I see. And then the second one, he has Amlade.

Gbedemah: That's my mother's clan. Yes.

Ladzekpo: And then the third clan he has is Adzovia; then the Bate clan, the Like clan, the Bamee clan, the Klevie clan, the Tovie clan, the Tsiame clan, the Agave clan, Ame, Dzevie, Vifeme, Yetsofia, and Blu the fifteenth. Do you agree with this order?

Gbedemah: Yes, I can agree to it. It is a proper order in

¹See Mr. Togobo's account below, pp. 269-272.
Gbedemah II

which that was arranged.

Ladzekpo: In the Anlo custom, some of the clans have some special functions, especially when it comes to certain state ceremonies, like the installation of the chief. What do you know of the Klevie clan? What is their special function? Do you know anything about it?

Gbedemah: No, I do not know anything of it. I'm a Klevie man, that is my clan, and we with the Bates and the Likes, we came and found the land, and brought the Anlo people. The Eves were going away [from Notsie]. Our ancestors came to Anlo as hunters. Then they travelled from Aflao to Atitete¹ through hunting only, so they found the land. So when they went back to Notsie, then they said they were there. Then when it became [so] troublesome that they leave--the Eves (we were only one group as a whole), the Eves were going away--but our people advised a section that, We have found a land on the sea coast. And they came here.

Pantaleoni: Do you know if the land they found had no people on it, or if they had to push some people out?

Gbedemah: Nobody was on the land.²

¹See Map 2, p. 3: from next to Lomé on the east to the mouth of the Volta River on the west.

²Confirmed in oral traditions collected by Aduamah at Anloga, Ewe traditions No. 1, p. 21.
Pantaleoni: I had read something about the Klevie clan having the right to fire the first ceremonial shots when they were going to start a war.

Gbedemah: Well, because they came and found it, the three clans, the Bates, the Likes and the Klevies, so they had to take advantage of that: they can fire [the shots]. They were people who like fighting palaver [laughs].

Ladzekpo: Do you know when our people stopped using cowries as money?

Gbedemah: But even, I read in one of the papers yesterday, it says in some of the areas in Ghana, people are using cowries . . .

Ladzekpo: Yes, we saw it. It was something interesting. Lawra. We went there, and then we saw it the next day, and there was an article about it--I was going to tell you.

Pantaleoni: We were talking with the man who's from Lawra¹ and we were talking somehow about cowries, and he said, "Oh, we use cowries for money. We don't use them in the stores, but in the market." And he said it's eight hundred cowries for one cedi.² That's the rate right now, today.

¹Mr. Charles D. Dikpe, graduate in dance from the School of Music and Dance of the University of Ghana.

²One cedi is currently exchanged officially at the value of $0.98. It is a decimal currency.
**Ladzekpo:** We went to his house, and they were going to serve us with some pito, which is a local beer. And I saw the father counting cowries, and I was curious to know. I didn't ask there, but I was just asking myself, "What are they going to use it for?" But later on I got to know that that's what they used to buy the pito with.

**Pantaleoni:** Kobla [Ladzekpo] doesn't recall ever in his time having cowries as money in Anlo. But earlier, it was, yes?

**Gbedemah:** Yes, we used it. I met cowries; really. Cowries stopped being used as money in Anlo between 1900 and 1902.

**Pantaleoni:** You put that very precisely.

**Gbedemah:** Yes, because I was a very small boy. I was born in 1890. By 1900 I'm ten.

**Pantaleoni:** Was there some force to stop them? Was the European doing something to make it stop just then?

**Gbedemah:** No, there's no force. They brought the penny, the English penny and the German penny. In those days, the German currency and the English currency were used together, at the same value. So they brought the pennies and the shillings and all these; and then, gradually, the cowries vanish away. It was only, as I mentioned, as late as 1902. By 1902, no more cowries.
MR. GBEWONYO’S REPORT

Background Notes

In December of 1971 Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo interviewed several of the musicians who had helped to form an Atsiā dance drumming society at Lomé in 1945. After forming the society they revived this style of music at Anyako. The details of the story are summarized above in chapter two, pp. 28-34.

Mr. Gbewonyo, a young man of twenty-one, is the nephew of Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo. He wrote out the Eye texts presented in some of the interviews in this Appendix and as interpreter provided the English recorded as Togbi Anyiglá’s response, pp. 185-193 above. Following is his report, which he wrote in English. I have occasionally altered spellings and punctuation.

Text of Report

Mr. Koku Atidama Aflakpui

Mr. Atidamah said he learned how to play Atsiā rhythm from his uncle, Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki [Attipto].

Mr. Mortakli Dzemeki Attipto

Although I had not ever seen Anyako Atsiā being played before, I witnessed both Dzelukofo and some drumming from Atiavi called Aguda Sika, and from these two drummings I made, or
picked out, the suitable and interesting Atsiä rhythms. In fact, I can say that I never learned Atsiä rhythms from anybody, but through watching it played, and listening to the rhythms attentively, I composed my own Atsiä rhythms. And one of the oldest chief drummers confirmed that my rhythms were correct and were like those played during the olden days. Even Husunukpe said they were much more interesting than the olden ones.

Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvlo

I witnessed Atsiä played once by the Dzelukofe Atsiä Society. At the time it was played, I was very young. Out of personal interest and appreciation for the style and rhythm, I forced myself to learn it without any coach in the year. Neither the drumming nor singing the songs was I taught by anybody, so I feel it a gift from God.

It was said by my uncles that Atsiä was played for some time at Anyako and they used to sing the songs to my hearing, but my first time to witness an Atsiä drumming performance was when it was played by the Dzelukofe Atsiä Society at the death of Chief Kwaku Attipoe's mother in the year 1926.

Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi

My grandfather, my father and some other elder used to sing Atsiä songs to my hearing, and from them I got the Atsiä songs. The elders sang Atsiä songs if great things happened.
I was not taught drumming, singing, or composing; to me, Sokpe, [it] was only out of my personal interest. For example your father\(^1\) can compose, but you, his son, cannot even sing. Both drumming and singing are out of personal interest and careful listening.

I can remember I witnessed Atsiä played before, but I forget the society [which] performed, and at that time I was young. I am [now] about sixty-four years of age.

Madam Hobudi Nazã Lawluvi

From my birth, I have never watched Atsiä drumming performed until we people of Anyako formed an Atsiä club at Lomé. My mother and the elders sang Atsiä songs to my hearing. My mother used to play with [the] children with Atsiä songs and rhythms, and from there I learned how to sing Atsiä songs.

I remember I once witnessed Atsiä drumming performances at Dzelukofe. Here in Anyako, we like forming new drumming groups, [more] than keeping the old, old drumming styles. Atsiä was an old drumming group, but we liked it, so we learned both the songs and the rhythms, though we do not play it very often [nowadays]. But the coastal people [i.e., at Dzelukofe] do not like forming new groups. That is why they keep to the old style and groups.

\(^1\)He is talking to Mr. Gbewonyo.
REV. NUTSUAKO

Background Notes

Reverend Wilfred Elliott Nutsuako was interviewed on July 11, 1971, at his home in New Tadzevu, and on August 23, 1971, in Anyako.

New Tadzevu is a modern, planned village laid out next to Tadzevu by Prophet C. K. N. Wovenu, founder and vigorous head of the Apostles Revelation Society, in which Reverend Nutsuako is an ordained minister.

Rev. Nutsuako was born in 1891 in Anyako and is one of its most highly respected elder citizens. After attending the mission schools in Anyako and Keta, he taught in Anyako from 1909 to 1950. From 1912 on, he was headmaster. He was a vigorous promoter of education at the local level and with his fellow workers expanded the enrollment ten-fold, added higher grades to the school, and finally fought the mission authorities successfully to establish a complete and independent elementary school system for the town—ten grades plus a kindergarten.

Rev. Nutsuako is alert and articulate at eighty-one. He is the author of a manuscript history of the Anyako mission included in this thesis as Appendix B. The first interview was conducted in English by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and me. It is
Text of the First Interview

Pantaleoni: [Can you name for us the descent] of your lineage from the three hunters to yourself?

Nutsuako: My lineage is from Adeladzea, the Bate [clan] man. He was one of the messengers sent to Notsie to go and bring back the stool forgotten by Sri in their flight from that place.² The Fia, Sri, before he died, he made a vow that when he died, this man Adeladzea should be made king after him.³ From this, the house of kings was divided into the two. When the one party died, the other takes the stool.

Ladzekpo: You mean the two clans, the Adzovia clan and the Bate clan?⁴

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¹The taped record of this interview begins after the interview itself had started.

²The Eye formed a foreign colony at Notsie. So much tension developed between them and their hosts that they had to flee the town. The wooden stool, as the stool of their paramount chief, symbolizes the whole Anlo people.

³Sri's son, Fuji Agbeve, refused to go to Notsie on this mission, and fled. Adeladzea was the son of Sri's sister. See Aduaman, Ewe traditions No. 1, p. 5, and Nukunya, p. 10.

⁴Clans are strictly patrilineal among the Anlo. Sri's sister Kokui married a Bate man. Her son Adeladzea was thus a Bate and not an Adzovia like his uncle, Sri. The genealogy on p. 270, n. 1, may clarify this. The elders of Anloga choose the new Fia from among citizens of Anloga who belong to the right clan. For two listings of the Fias of Anlo, see below, p. 272, n. 5.
Nutsuako: Yes. They reign as Fias of Anlo. When one dies the other takes it, and so they continue. My great-grandfather Adeladzea begat Honi. Honi begat Agayu. Agayu begat Loxoxo. Loxoxo begat Sala. Sala begat Nutsuako, my father. Nutsuako begat me. So we are called Afiadenyigbatiwo.

Ladzekpo: What does that mean?

Nutsuako: The Bate clan is divided into two. One looks after the fetish, and the other the affairs of the kingdom.

Pantaleoni: Mr. Gbedemah listed—he is the tenth generation, and you are the seventh. [See p. 224].

Nutsuako: He counted to the tenth? It is the same with me, only I cannot remember the people.

Pantaleoni: It's the only way I can think of placing the year, in general, when the hunters found the area: by counting the generations. Do you know of another way of dating what time that was?

Ladzekpo: Kakabiku has this on his calendar, that they came in 1600. Do you think this is right?

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1The Keta Lagoon. They were Adeladzea (Bate clan), Atogolo (Like clan), and Adodi Fuga (Klewi clan). See Mr. Gbedemah's interview, p. 223.

2In the column headlined "Some landmarks in the history of the Ewe people," Kakabiku's 1971 almanac [by Kwami].
Nutsuako: 1600. That's what I was going to say. About.

Pantaleoni: I was wondering, of course, when you say that your ancestor was the messenger sent back to Notsie to get the stool; I would think they would have killed him, because the people left, and they were trying to them, and then he comes back. I would think he would have trouble.

Ladzekpo: No, they didn't kill him. Is it not because Adeladzea himself was a nephew to Agokoli?¹

Nutsuako: No, not that. They made a trick. The king of Notsie asked them to go and bring the head of the old king [Sri]. So, he [Sri] has got a deformity of the hand. So a certain slave also got the same deformity of hand. So they cut the slave's hand and decided, "Well, I'll show it to the king [Agokoli]." And they went, [and said that] the old man was too stricken with age, that they found it not necessary to cut his head, so [since] they know about his hand, so they brought it. And Agokoli exactly saw the hand as that of the Awoame Fia.

Ladzekpo: And he was satisfied.

Nutsuako: Yes. He was surprised that they were so bold to do it, and so he sent back the stool.

¹Chief of the people who had been the Eves' hosts at Notsie.
Pantaleoni: Mr. Gbedemah mentioned that when the Anlo people came to Anyako, the Tsiame were there. [See pp. 221-22].

Nutsuako: They were not really called the Tsiame. They were called the Tsofowo. They were settled in the hinterland, but they had their farms on the Anyako island. They stayed at Fiadokpodzi--they had lands there--before they go to Kleveeme, and have their farms here at Anyako.¹

Ladzekpo: So though the land of Anyako belonged to them, they were not at that time living on the land, so that's why they gave it to the Anyako people? [Mr. Nutsuako concurs]. And also, I remember Uncle Gbedemah² said that when the people came from Anlo ga to Anyako, in those days if someone died they have to carry the corpse all the way back to Anlo ga. Can you comment on this?

Nutsuako: Yes, that's what I heard. It was a custom in our country that wherever you are when you die, you must be brought to your home town. That's why they consider all the other places they have founded as villages: they don't want their people to stay, to be buried there, so they used to carry them back to Anlo ga. By and by, civilization grew some;

¹Kleveeme is the large peninsula west of Anyako island. See p. 4, Map 3: 0° 55' east, 6° north.

²Mr. Ladzekpo and Mr. Gbedemah are both members of the Badu family.
they started to bury them in their places.

Pantaleoni: I wonder if you could tell us what you know about slaving and the Eye in Anyako--slave practice, either the European, or without the European.

Nutsuako: The Europeans together with the natives. The Europeans brought slavery.

Pantaleoni: There was no form of slavery in the Anlo system before the Europeans came? Or was there?

Nutsuako: All people, people taken from war--in those days it was a matter of the survival of the fittest. So sometimes the stronger nation, or the stronger people, went to the weaker ones, fought them, took them slaves. Then, before we took back the slave, we had to pay a large sum of money. If you can't pay, then the slave remains for the man and becomes his property.

Ladzekpo: That was the kind of slavery . . .

Nutsuako: . . . before the white man came.

Pantaleoni: Was there any selling of people when a family would be very poor?

Nutsuako: There was. Even up to 1901. It was done secretly, before it was stopped. I remember they brought a young, very
young man for sale from the business. I remember exactly--a young man was sold, I think for seven pounds, or seven pounds ten, thereabout, in my own presence. But then, privately. Old grandfather Badu got plenty of slaves. My personal grandfather--great-grandfather, maternally--got plenty of slaves, some from Anfoe in the interior.

Ladzekpo: Are these slaves treated as members of the family, or are they treated as outsiders?

Nutsuako: In some families, they are just treated as members of the family. Only, inheritance, they have no share.

Pantaleoni: How about in marriage? Could they marry into the family?

Nutsuako: They do. Sometimes when you buy a female slave to work for you, and she is fine looking and docile, you marry her yourself. Sometimes, when you buy man and woman, a girl and a young boy, when they grow, you will marry them together, just to increase your family.

Pantaleoni: How about a man slave. Would he be allowed to marry a daughter of the family?

Nutsuako: Sometimes they do.

Pantaleoni: What about the European slavery?
Nutsuako: European slavery. In the time of our old, old fathers, the laws of God which they call the Decalogue was then ruling among them. They don't want any rascality. They don't want any stealing, don't want all kinds of rascality—robbery, adultery, everything which is not good. All vices are hated by our great-grandfathers. So when the child is found to be the doer of one of these vices, they handed it over to go and sell, to be transported to America and some West Indian islands. That's what they do. And when that was not in force, they send them to Tokoaśia, they send them to Anloga, and there they are killed by their people themselves.

Pantaleoni: Mr. Gbedemah mentioned that sometimes they would be sent to this place to be killed, but the people taking them would sell them to the Europeans.

Nutsuako: Rightly so, yes. These people, the Tokoaśia people, to get money, they sometimes do it like that.

Ladzekpo: What is the meaning of Tokoaśia?

Nutsuako: The landing places in Anloga were five in number. And the wood wherein they used to kill the people is in the fifth landing place.

Pantaleoni: What's the "fifth landing place"?

Ladzekpo: See, when you go to Anloga, when the canoes go there,
the spot where they go to land--like how ships come to
dock--the fifth one, that's where they used to send these
people.

Pantaleoni: Did the Europeans, or Arabs, or anyone, ever make
raids to capture people for slavery? Ever do it by force?

Nutsuako: The Eyes?

Pantaleoni: The Europeans, or people hired by the Europeans.

Nutsuako: I've never heard that before.

Text of the Second Interview

Pantaleoni: At that time [i.e., when Mr. Nutsuako used to
dance Atsiâ] Atsiâ had a different name, is that correct?
Could you tell us that name?

Nutsuako: ATSIȧ VUA BE KOMAZO.
The Atsiâ drum they called Komazo.

Pantaleoni: Have you ever heard it called Kobazo?

Nutsuako: Kobazo. I was young then, but I knew it was called
like that, too. I wish to pronounce it in [my way], Komazo.
Not "-ba-", not Kobazo.

Pantaleoni: When was that? Could you place that, about?

Nutsuako: The time I joined the club--'97 and '98, like that:
Pantaleoni: Who was the lead drummer, the atsimeyu fola.

Nutsuako: Here at Anyako?

Pantaleoni: Yes.

Nutsuako: One Dovlo.

Pantaleoni: Dovlo Anyigla, the father of Lumor Dovlo? 2

Nutsuako: He also. But another Dovlo. Dovlo Atigate. Dovlo of this Adotri Division. He also used to ...

Pantaleoni: That would be a different family?

Nutsuako: Different family.

Pantaleoni: Were you ever a drummer? Or just a dancer, yourself?

Nutsuako: No, I'm not a drummer. I'm a dancer.

Pantaleoni: Could you tell me—or could you show me—about how fast you remember the dance used to go? I could do the

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1 At the age of seven or eight Rev. Nutsuako did not join the club formally but was a follower of one of his uncles, who was a member.

2 Togbi Anyigla was interviewed the next day. His memory of the background of Atsi at Anyako is different from Mr. Nutsuako's. See pp. 185-88.
gōn-gōn here, and you could say "That's too fast," or "That's too slow."

Nutsuako: All right. We try.

[I tap the Atsiā rhythm with the longer strokes at a speed of 153 per minute. Mr. Nutsuako stops me, and sets up instead a speed for the longer strokes of 126 per minute.]

Pantaleoni: When was the last time you danced Atsiā?

Nutsuako: Oh, I danced the last, two years ago. We had it at Lomé, when we went to Lomé for preaching, for this rally.

Pantaleoni: Connected with the Apostles Revelation Society?¹

Nutsuako: Yes. We went to Lomé maybe in '69.

Pantaleoni: When was the last time in Anyako, do you think, that you remember hearing it [Atsiā]?

Nutsuako: That I can't remember.

Pantaleoni: Togbi Honu Lawluvi, he suggested was back around 1908, when he was thirteen.²

¹A large and flourishing indigenous Christian Church.

²The father-in-law of Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, and a fine drummer in his time, especially for the music of the Yeye cult. Mr. Ladzekpo and I had interviewed him at his home in Anyako, Woe Division, the previous day, August 23rd, 1971. That interview was not recorded.
Nutsuako II

Nutsuako: Honu? I'm older than Honu.

Pantaleoni: How old are you yourself?

Nutsuako: Eighty-one years.

Pantaleoni: We thought Honu might be seventy-six, about. Do you think that, sir?

Nutsuako: I don't think [so]. I think sixty-eight or sixty-nine.

Pantaleoni: Did you ever hear how Atsi started at Anyako?

Komazo?

Nutsuako: No, I can't say that. I was young. Then, immediately, I went to school. Then I can't tell the proper history of it.

Pantaleoni: Several people have said, once they started school, the school teachers were very much against people watching the dances.

Nutsuako: That's true, yes. In those days the missionaries who came here, they thought all our customs heathen customs. And our own, the old presbyters whom they ordained, they also sided with them, and told them that any time you started to dance or invent some drumming, all the young men and the young ladies, they used to--right from there, from the drum, they marry. So they consider the whole thing as not good. So they prevent us. In our time you can't go even to see
when the people are dancing. You can't go to see them. If you go, they punish you. In the classroom we write rules [he illustrates putting writing on a vertical board]. And going to dancing, and dancing, one of the rules. If you go, you have some unbearable lashes. Six or more, especially if you dance to it. Even from 1908 and 1909 when I started teaching here, I used to be very strict in all things.

Pantaleoni: You yourself.

Nutsuako: Oh, I prevented it, though in my childhood I knew all dancings: Atsiā, Atsiagbeko, Gadzo too—all these I know. But because we are forbidden to do it, I have too stood against it.

Pantaleoni: You felt at that time it was right to stand against it?

Nutsuako: Yes. I thought it was right to stand against it.

Pantaleoni: Do you feel that way now?

Nutsuako: Not now, not now. Now I have changed.

Pantaleoni: How old were you when you started going to school?

Nutsuako: I was about ten when I entered the classroom.

Pantaleoni: And at that time you stopped dancing, is that right?
Nutsuako II

Nutsuako: That is quite right.

Pantaleoni: So your dancing would be when you were ten and younger--when you were a child.

Nutsuako: When I was a child--I think five or six years. My uncle was a very good dancer. He used to take me to every dance.
MR. TOGOBO

Background Notes

Mr. Theophilus S. A. Togobo was interviewed by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo and me at his home in Anloga, the capital of the Anlo traditional area, on August 3, 1971; and by me alone the next day, again at his home.

Mr. Togofo, born in 1900, is a prosperous and respected elder of the town. He is extremely interested in Anlo history. Together with other leaders of the town he has been planning to establish archives to serve the many researchers who come to Anloga to learn about the Anlo past. His own particular interest lies in tracing the lineage of families.

Both interviews were conducted in English. Only the first was recorded on tape. It is given with some abridgement in the following pages. Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo helped in transcribing the tape recording.

Text of the First Interview

Pantaleoni: Well, Mr. Togofo, you're an elder of the cultural center in Anlo, and so I'd like to ask you first if you will tell us about where the Anlo came from.

Togofo: Historically, we are made to understand we are part and

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parcel of the Sudanese. We removed from that area and came along to a place called Tando—which is a place we know definitely about—and again up to Notsie. The histories say Notsie was the eighth place where our ancestors settled, definitely not with the intention to remove, but circumstances forced them to stride along to this place [Anloga].

Pantaleoni: Is there, in that list of places, the name Dogbo?

Togobo: Dogbo is one of the stations, we heard.

Pantaleoni: Then, coming down from Notsie, how did that come about?

Togobo: That was when the Fia\(^1\) of Tando—Adza Asimadi he was called—happened to will the inheritance of his stool to one of his sons who was brought forth to him by a Dogbo woman, a sister of Venya.\(^2\) And the other brothers or the half brothers of the Fia raised objections to his occupation of the stool, and that brought misunderstanding, and the stool was removed. And they travelled all along to Notsie, where—Kponoe the man was called, whose descendant I am, together with my cousin before you\(^3\)—where he was installed,

\(^1\)Chief.
\(^2\)Leader of the group that settled Anloga.
\(^3\)Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo.
at Notsie. But at the time, the name "Fia" was not in
existence; they were all known as "Amega." During the
installation, when Srs's uncles, Venya and Adedze Nyaki, per-
formed the ceremony, who are the members of the Lafe clan and
the Amlade clan, they show him to the people. "He is our
nephew. We show him to you. From now on, you should respect
him." And the name Sroeda, or Sroe, originates; and then it is
corrupted to Fia Sroe Da: "I show him unto you, and from now
on you have to respect him."

There they stay, peacefully, with his other followers--
because those at Notsie, too, were part and parcel of them;
they have only gone ahead. They all remain nicely, and in the
course of time there was misunderstanding. That's how the
Israelites started to bring forth, and the Egyptians don't
like them, [and] they started to give them some sort of treat-
ment. Then one day, out of that treatment [of the Eve at
Notsie] our people [came] to have planned. When there was a
fight between the chief of Notsie's son and one of our people's
son, our people's son was wounded. Then they hid the wounded
man, and started to say that he died. Eventually, according
to the law of the country, when a man kills he must be killed.
They have forced the Fia of Notsie to offer his son, and the
son was killed. This secret came out: the man has not died;
the sores healed and the man is still living. A very close
friend of Fia Agokoli, he went around. And there was somebody
called Agbekpaku—he's among our people, a friend to one of them. He came and made detective work, and gave our people up, and the condition grew worse. And our people, knowing that they couldn't stand the treatment any more, they have planned, and removed [from the town]. This so far is the history we know about our people, and we have covered a very large field which I cannot at the moment, expand.

When they came, they settled all along the way, and formed their groups. Now this place [i.e., Anlo] they don't intend to stay here. They sent their spies all along, even up to Accra, Adâ, other places. They found a hardship there, for the land was so dry they would not find this really comfortable: there was no water there at the time to drink; there was no way out. Here, whenever they grow anything, they live on it: wheat, beans and other things, that's the only industry they have. So they said that the ground is good for it, the water is behind them; when they go in, they get sufficient fish to live, and they find themselves very comfortable here; so they settled. When the spy came back and informed the elder, Togbi Venya, "Heavens," he declared, "you can't go any farther." So from that, we bear the name Anlo: we couldn't go farther any more. The place where Venya declared is still in Anlo town, which you must come and see, if you so desire.

From that time is when all the towns go into industries:
two or three people go out to other places, and when they
find it comfortable, they settle.

Pantaleoni: The coming down along this land [from Notsie] I
heard was in two groups.

Togobo: Definitely: one party on the beach, one party in the
interior, the Lagoon side.

Pantaleoni: Which side got Anloga, and which side got Fiaxo?

Togobo: Fiaxo lies over the Lagoon. When you get down to the
Lagoon side of Anloga, you can see it plainly. It is just
about two miles or three miles away.

Pantaleoni: Was Anloga settled about the same time as Fiaxo,
or was Fiaxo first?

Togobo: Anloga was settled [first], that's what I heard. But
when those people travelled inland [i.e., along the Lagoon
side], they came there [to Fiaxo]. They started to see the
forest, or the coast belt [i.e., the strip of land lying
south of Fiaxo, across the Lagoon]. When they asked, they said,

1The "inland" or "Lagoon side" is the land on the
northern and western periphery of the Keta Lagoon, settled
by Anlo under Fia Sri I. The "beach party" under Togbi Venya
went along the coastal strip that forms the southern and
eastern border of the Lagoon. Fiaxo can be seen due north of
Anloga. See p. 4, Map 3: 0° 55' east, 5° 50' north.
Well, their old man Venya just lived there. And they were compelled to come.¹

Pantaleoni: Who was the leader of those people, at Fiaxo?

Togobo: Togbi Sri, the Awoame Fia himself, was leading the group that settled at Fiaxo.

Ladzekpo: Do you suppose that's why the town got the name "Fiaxo"?

Togobo: Yes. He put up the building there, and when the group went to this place [i.e., Anloga, to make contact with Venya], and started to see the building, they said "Whose building is that?" They said, "No, that building is for the Fia--'Fia fe xo,' 'Fia's house.'"

Pantaleoni: When they got through with all their settling, tradition has it there were thirty-six towns.

Togobo: Yes.

Pantaleoni: We were interested in having the names of those towns.

Togobo: [Consults a prepared list.] The names so far as my

¹Because Venya was the senior leader, the junior leader was obliged to make the connection.
knowledge is concerned, are: Atiteti-Anyanui,\(^1\) Dzita, Atorkor, Srogboe, Wuti, Anloga, Woe, Tegbi, Vui,\(^2\) Dzelukofe, Keta, Vodza, Kedzi, Blekusu-Xove,\(^3\) Afiadenyigba, Nolofri ["Nortorpi" on Map 3], Aborlorve, Konu, Anyako,\(^4\) Atiavi, Hatorgodo,\(^2\) Dudu, Fiax, Alakple, Kodzi, Atsito, Tregui, Tsrekume, Bleamezado, Badadzi, Akploafudzi, Afoato,\(^5\) Kpordui,\(^2\) Avuto,\(^2\) Aghobledokui,\(^2\) Tsiamo, Asadame, Heluvi, Weme, Abor.\(^6\)

Pantaleoni: How many is that? I see you have the numbers.

Togobo: There are about fifty, practically, you see, but I only called the major ones.

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\(^1\)The original member town is Atiteti, but it has been obliterated by the action of the surf. Its people have joined the larger town of Anyanui, north of it (where the road ends, lower left corner, Map 3, p. 4).

\(^2\)Not one of the original thirty-six towns. Mr. Togobo's list was general, naming the Anlo towns of importance today. To ascertain the names of the original thirty-six, I checked with him the next day.

\(^3\)Neither settlement belongs to the original thirty-six. About Blekusu, see p. 228.

\(^4\)Founded from Anloga (see pp. 221-22 above, pp. 333-34 below) or from Kleveme (see pp. 328-29 and n. 3, p. 277 below).

\(^5\)At this point he skipped over Agoteoe and Galo, which were on his list. They were also among the original thirty-six towns of Anlo, according to him.

\(^6\)Map 3, p. 4, was drawn up on the basis of this list and the supplementary discussion of it on August 4, 1971.
Pantaleoni: We had heard that the Tsiame people were thought of as outside Anlo.¹

Togobo: No, they are not. They are part and parcel, one of the original thirty-six. They came by the inner line, and settled there. They are ancestors to most of these [Tsiame] people. They are only, in the course of time, removed to this place. That's why the Tsiame people form one of the major clans of Anlo: Tsiameawo.

Pantaleoni: As a matter of fact, I was going to ask you, when they left Notsie, about what were the clans then? They weren't all fifteen, I understand.²

Togobo: No. When they left Notsie, there were no clans at all, to my understanding. They came here and settled. Then from their own actions, the clans originate. That is what we were told.

Ladzekpo: Some people say that there were about five clans when they left Notsie, and out of these five . . .

¹See the interview with Mr. Gbedemah, p. 223 and pp. 235-36.

²The official list, given out by the Awoame Fia at Anloga in 1962 at the annual celebration of the migration from Notsie, lists the clans as follows, "according to seniority": Lafe, Amlade, Adzovia, Bate, Like, Bamee, Klevi, Tovi, Tsiame, Agave, Ame, Dzevi, Vifeme, Yetsofe, and Blu. See Nukunya, p. 22.
Togobo: They were five closest relations, as it was then known. ¹
These people are the descendants of Venya and the brothers—I mean Venya, Kspotsui and Setsi; then, their cousin Adeladzie Nyaki, known as Adedze Nyaki, [his descendants] are known as Amamadadawo—now corrupted to Amladeawo. Venya and the brothers are known as Nofeawo, now corrupted to Lafeawo . . .

Ladzekpo: Nofeawo or Lofeawo?

Togobo: Well, some say Nofeawo, some say Lofeawo, you see.

But I simply want you to believe the word "Nofeawo" because when these people left, the people in Notsie said they didn't

¹The following genealogical summary may help the reader to follow what Mr. Togobo says about the ancestors of the Anlo here and near the end of the interview.
want Venya and his brothers to go. They wanted them to remain.¹
What should they go for? That's what they said. Some said, when they came here [to Anloga], Venya said, "I tell you people that you love your own brothers. People in your own household, you should love them." But they started to make quarrels. Some say like this. So between the two, Nofeawo and Lófeawo, it is corrupted to Lafeawo. So we know them now as the Lafe clan.

That's two. Now we come to Togbi Sri and his brothers' descendants. That's known as Adza Asimadeviwo, corrupted to Adzovia. That's three.

We come to the fourth, which is the descendants of Togbi Adeladzea and the brothers, which is the Bate.

We come to Amesimeku, known as Atogolo, and the brothers. They are called, and they adopted the clan, Likeawo.

So these five principal clans are just like a man, the nephews, the uncles, and grand-nephews: family groups moved down.

Pantaleoni: So far as the traditions goes, there were five family groups.

Togobo: Yes. Before then, we have the higher group from whom

¹"No" means "stay" in Anlo; "nifeawo," "of the people who stayed." "Lo" means "love" in Anlo; "lofeawo," "of the people who loved." Names derived from meaningful phrases of the language are the rule rather than the exception among the Anlo.
they all descended. It's called Gbe. So far as my knowledge is concerned, Togbi Gbe was the ancestor of all of us. Gbe begat Gemedrah. Gemedrah begat Atsu and Tse. Tse begat Adedzenyaki.¹ Atsu begat Venya, Kpotsui, Setsi, and Asogoe. From Asogoe we get Kokui and Abui. They begat Amešimeku² and the brothers. And one begat Tsatsu,³ or Fui Avoky⁴ and the brothers. Then Asogoe begat Kponoe, who is now known and installed as Togbi Sri I.⁵ This is the family group.

Pantaleoni: Why is the Hogbetsotso Festival⁶ held in December at Anloga?

¹Adedze. ²Atogolo.
³Tsatsu is Adeladzea. ⁴Tsatsu's elder brother.
⁵The first Awoame Fia of Anlo. The present Awoame Fia is thirteenth or fourteenth to hold this office, depending on which source one consults.
⁶According to oral tradition at Anloga as reported by Aduamah, Ewe traditions No. I, p. 7, the succession went as follows: (1) Togbi Sri I; (2) Togbi Adeladzea I; (3) Togbi Zanyedo; (4) Togbi Akotsu; (5) Togbi Agodo; (6) Togbi Drafo; (7) Togbi Nditsi; (8) Togbi Aduadui; (9) Togbi Atsa; (10) Togbi Atsasa [sic]; (11) Togbi Letsagbagba; (12) Togbi Kpegla; (13) Togbi Sri II; (14) Togbi Adeladze II, presently reigning.

According to Kwami, Eveawo fe blemanyowo, p. 32, the succession went: (1) Togbi Sroie I; (2) Togbi Adeladzea I; (3) Togbi Zanyido; (4) Togbi Agodomatu; (5) Togbi Fiayidziehe; (6) Togbi Akotsui; (7) Togbi Nditsi; (8) Togbi Nunya; (9) Togbi Atsä; (10) Togbi Atsiasä; (11) Togbi Kpegla; (12) Togbi Sroie II. Sri II's successor, Togbi Adeladzea II, is not mentioned.

⁶Literally, the "going from Hogbe [Notsie] festival."
Togobo: It is understood that our removal from Notsie to this place, we settled in autumn--I would say from the first of August, September, October, up to December, for travelling to that place.

Pantaleoni: So it was really rather quick, the moving.

Togobo: No, no. I mean, they settled in waves, and founded towns on the way. Some of our part and parcels are Tsevie, Davie... They spread all over, and they took years to settle here. Their settling here is by accident: they couldn't go any further.

Ladzekpo: Then it just happened that they settled here in the present land in the autumn.

Togobo: They settled here in the autumn, definitely in autumn.

Ladzekpo: It doesn't mean that they travelled from Notsie to this place [Anloga] in autumn?

Togobo: No, no. It might take about twenty or thirty years to be here, but definitely they settled here in autumn.

Pantaleoni: You now have Division names. What do they mean? Where do they come from--Lasibi, Adotri, Woe?

Togobo: Now, the Division names were formed for purposes of war. They [had] originally the center wing, which is the
Adotri, or Dome, as you call them. Then we have a right wing, which is Woe. And then we have the left wing—it was formerly known as Mia. When Togbi Lē, who was part and parcel of them, missed and went all along and settled among the Krobo, and they started to speak the language of the Krobo people, then they started to say "Lē si si bi." That means to say "People serve under Lē." When Lē then came and settled here, he was the last man who came and joined his people, and then he was looked upon as a different man. He brought canoes, these dugout canoes, [made] from trees from the upper country. Originally our people used ago beam canoes.¹ So they found that a beautiful one [i.e., the new canoes pleased them] at the time. So all our people started to patronise Lē. And when they go to see the canoe, they say, "Well, this canoe is for Lē. That man, if you go there, he will flog you."

That's why, up to now, the name "Lēvυ" attaches to that canoe. It was he who brought the word "Lē si si bi/Lasibi." And automatically, you know, anything foreign is what we cherish, and the name remained: Lasibi.

Pantaleoni: How about "Adotri"?

Togobo: "Adotri" is a word from our mixing with the Akan section. It's "Adonten," which got corrupted to "Adotri."²

¹The beams were hewn from the ago palm tree.
²The Anlo and the Akan were military allies.
Togobo

Pantaleoni: And Woe.

Togobo: Woe: the name given to the town, Woe. After the misunderstanding between ourselves and our brothers, and they were driven away and settled at the place where they are now --I mean the Some people\(^1\)--the center wing, which is Adotri now called, or Dome, was divided into two; and they formed the headquarters of that at Woe. That's why it is called "Woe."

Pantaleoni: They had a right Division before, which were the Some? Was the right wing then called "Some"?

Togobo: No, it was not called "Some." "Some" was a later name attached to [these people].\(^2\) They were known as people staying in Keta: they were the Dusis. The name actually is "Dusi" [i.e., the name of the right Division]. And the name of Lasibi actually is "Mia." We adopted the name of Lë because of Lë and Lë's subjects, which was wrong.

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\(^1\)The original Anlo settlers of Keta, who were driven northeast beyond Kedzi in 1820. Kedzi is at right edge of Map 3, p. 4, above 5° 55' north latitude. For the full tradition of this trouble, see Aduamah, Ewe traditions No. 3, recorded by E. Y. Aduamah (Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, July, 1965), pp. 5-9.

\(^2\)"Some" is usually explained as meaning "among the palm [so] trees," describing where they lived after being driven from their original settlement at Keta.
Pantaleoni: When you sit or stand in Anloga, you find Woe is pretty much on one side of it, and Lasibi on the other.

Togobo: Yes. When you stand facing the Lagoon, Woe is on the right, and Lasibi on the left. On the left of Anloga you get the Mia towns—of Lasibi they are, with the exception of only one town in which you get Dome, or Adotri. On the other end, Tegbi is Adotri and Woe; Vui [just south of Dzelukofe] is Woe; Keta is Lasibi: Dzelukofe is Lasibi; Vodza is Adotri; and Kedzi is Woe.

Ladzekpo: You sometimes hear Lasibi people called again as Aklóbówo.¹ Is this part of the same story?

Togobo: Yes, it is all of the same story that I just said, that Amega Lë stayed among the Krobos.¹ The place where he stayed, the ear mark of that place [i.e., the reputation it got] was when anybody comes from that area and goes around [here], they say, "O, who is this one?" He says, O, he's Lë's subject. And then he brought that name here, and they started to put some nice fineries [to it], you see. And [the Anloga people] said, "These people don't stay." And by that they

¹"Krobo" and "Klobo" are the same, because both spellings represent equally acceptable attempts to notate the same flapped consonant. "Klobo" is the same as "Kloboa," (the "-a" being the definite article). "Klobowo" is the plural form. The initial vowel in "Aklóbówo" is discardable. Thus "Aklóbówo" means "the Krobos," or "the Krobo people."
just started to make friends by it, and everything of them became distinct.  

Pantaleoni: You were telling us [before we started the recording] about Anyako getting its three Divisions.

Togobo: Anyako is three Divisions, definitely, because Akaba from the center wing, Adotri, he went to Anyako, followed by Gligui, then by Kposegi from Woe. Their retinues also followed. And each formed their own Division.

Ladzekpo: Do you know if someone was on the Anyako land before Akaba and the others got there?

Togobo: Yes, I heard somebody was there: Anya, that's what I heard, he was the first man. Anya stayed on the island. The place stands for "Anya."  

Pantaleoni: Since he was mentioned, I thought I'd ask how Dzokoto and his line came to be the senior chiefs in Anyako.

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1 According to Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo, the meaning seems to be that Togbi Lé was publicized as a man of authority before he came to Anlo. People would come to Anlo and say they were "Lé's subjects, make friends, spread the word, and then leave. Thus there are still people in Anloga who doubt that Lé's position as the bearer of a stool is legitimate.

2 The "old Dzokoto," father of Tenge Dzokoto II.

3 This supports the tradition carried by the Ladzekpos of Anyako, who presently keep his stool, and who can point out where he lived on the island. According to this tradition, Anya stayed first at Kleveme, the peninsula west of Anyako, and then moved to Anyako.
Togobo: When Gligui went there, he went as a chief. He was then one of the important chiefs here, from Lasibi in Anloga. So he went there, the people looked to him as the senior man; he's already a chief.

Pantaleoni: When he went to Anyako, did he then have to have a new ceremony, so that he would be accepted as chief in Anyako?

Togobo: Not necessarily. As I said before, they all went there to make their living. But when you come to a point that there is controversy, or a war, and he happened to distinguish himself, eventually he would take the lead.

Pantaleoni: What did Badu have to do with this position of Dzokoto's?

Togobo: So far as my knowledge is concerned, the stools of Badu and of Dzokoto are distinct from one another, though they are in the same Lasibi [Division]. Badu held from our Klevi clan, and Dzokoto held from the Bate clan.¹

Pantaleoni: Mr. Gbedemah was telling us that Badu assisted Dzokoto in his taking that position in Anyako.²

Togobo: Generally, chieftancy in Anlo is derived from valor.

¹The stool descends through the clan.

²In his interview of July 27th, 1971. See p. 239.
If you distinguish yourself on the battlefield, they find you fit and properly install you: they swear to you, and you take the lead. It may seem actually in Aŋlo that it is only inherited. It is not inherited. If they give you leadership (you inherit the leadership) and the next time, you are not fit, you'll lead your people to destruction. So they actually see a proper man who is fit, who is brave, whom the people can follow. . . It is only today, when there is no tribal friction, then there started to be a [system of inheritance].

Pantaleoni: I'm particularly interested in a dance drumming called Atsiä. Could you tell me anything of either that drumming, or other old drumming. I understand Atsiä may well be old.

Togobo: It is. I heard Atsiä is one of the old drums. Atsiä, Atsiągbeko, and several other drums.

Pantaleoni: I think you have a list?

Togobo: Yes, I do. One of the ancient drums we know, which I have even seen personally played is Agbadza. I have not seen Ago played before, but I heard it is one of these drums. But I heard all over Adekpetsi played. Kpegisu, yes, Atrikpui, several times—otherwise known as Zokpa. Agbeko, Atsiä, Adzikpo (or Tegblië), Eyevu (corrupted to Azenu),
Sonu, Adzokli (there's becoming a new one now, so that ancient one is called "old Adzokli"); another one is called Tobah; another one called Misego (corrupted to Husago), and another one called Atsigo. These are the ancient drums, so far as my knowledge goes.

Pantaleoni: Are those all drummings for very special occasions, like you're getting ready for war?

Togobo: Particularly that of Atrikpui is a war drum; Agbeko too like that; Kpegisu too like that; Atsiă too like that, yes; Agbeko, yes; Ezeyu; Agbadza, yes. Whenever they sing the songs you feel brave, you want to do something. It makes you feel some sort of spirit in you. Likewise Atrikpui, and other [drummings]--the song alone will fire you.

Pantaleoni: Are any of those not war drums? Are any of those just social drums?

Togobo: Yes. To my knowledge, Azenu is a social drum. Some of them are social at the same time as war drums.

Pantaleoni: Would Atsiă be one of those?

Togobo: Yes, it is. Likewise Atrikpui--the same thing: we play in the wars, and in these [social situations]. It's what we play during the war time before we started these Asafo drums, which was gotten not quite a hundred years ago--
a hundred years ago, when in our contact with the Ashantis and the Akwamus, we bring their Asafo drums into existence.

Pantaleoni: Do you have any recollection of the name "Kobazo" for a drum?


Pantaleoni: We heard that Kobazo and Atsiã might be names for the same thing.

Togobo: Possibly it might.

Ladzekpo: Do you think that the modern dance called Agbàdzà is derived from the old version which is called Agbàdzá?

Togobo: No, not at all. The present Agbàdzà, which is being danced with men and women grouped together, is an extension of Atrikpui. But [old] Agbàdzá is distinct.

Ladzekpo: We heard that when our people were leaving Notsie, the night before they left, they were drumming and dancing all night. Which of these musics did they use, do you know?

Togobo: No, I cannot tell you, off hand. But what we know of is Misego particularly: they were playing Misego. We play that tune now when we are celebrating Hogbetsotso. ¹

¹Aduamah also records the tradition that Misego was
Ladzekpo: Was this Misegox done by both men and women, or just women?

Togobo: No, men and women alike. But at the time of their removal they put on various drums. But when they were on the verge of leaving, then they marched on with Misego.

Ladzekpo: Can you elaborate on this name a little bit? Misego--why is it "Misego"?

Togobo: "Misego"--"Misegodzi"--that means to say "tighten your waist, you are going away."

Ladzekpo: The old form of Atsiã, do you know if it is connected with the new form that they do: they dance it in a circle, with the drummers in the middle of the circle, and the dancers dance around. Have you ever seen the Atsiã played?

Togobo: I remember I have seen it played once, when I was very, very young. It is no more in existence in Anloga.

Pantaleoni: Is that Atsiã the same, do you believe, as is on your list, the old Atsiã?

Togobo: Yes, this is what I do know.

drummed at Notsie when the Anlo group of Eyes were leaving. See Ewe traditions No. 1, p. 20. Aduamah describes his account as "the writer's own summary of the story of the evolution of the Ewe tribe as told in Anlo generally."
Pantaleoni: We were talking a little while ago about cowries, the using of cowries for money, which is still done in the north; and you say a while ago they were doing that here. Around when were they doing that here, and when did it change?

Togobo: Cowries: they did as far back as 1900. They were in existence at the time before I was born. When I was young, about 1910, they used to give it to us to go and buy food-stuff with it, being used parallel with German copper, which was introduced in 1902, 1905, and so on--1908. Both together: we used them both together. We young boys, we do not know too much of the cowries, mainly because [we used] German coppers instead of the cowries. Cowries being reckoned by these things.

[He lays out an imaginary string some two to three feet long]

They call it "Hoka." They just chain it in a row. When they make it in a row, three of that, or two, is just three pence.

Ladzekpo: Is that how the word "Hoka deka"...

Togobo: Yes, that's the origin of "Hoka deka." "Hoka atô" means five lines of cowries. And that's still in existence here. Out of that we get "Hokatôge," and again we have "Ho-tu," which is "shilling."² And so on.

¹Prior to the recorded session.

²Which is, in turn, the current Ghanaian expression for a coin that is one tenth of the Ghanaian New Cedi and is worth about $0.10.
Ladzekpo: Even today we hear "Hotu bla atô," which people say is "one and sixpence."¹ Now does that mean "Hotu bla atô" is fifty cowries?

Togobo: What I know is: "Hoka" is a line of cowries. Two lines is "Hoka eve." Three is "Hoka etô." Four, "Hoka ene." Five, "Hoka atô." So when this sixpence also was introduced, they compare: "This is just like five lines of cowries," and they take that to be that. Now, another one they did: when the five lines came, and you add it up again [i.e., you add another five lines of cowries to your first five lines], and another one, that is making three separate groups of five. And then they say "Ho-tu kple atô." "Ho-tu" is "shilling": two of these things [i.e., the groups of five lines of cowries] together is "Ho-tu."

Pantaleoni: That's the English word [i.e., "tu" is the English "two"].

Togobo: Yes. Then, when they add another one, which is five lines of cowries, then they say "Ho-tu kple atô" and that is one and sixpence: three of these five lines.

Pantaleoni: Are there any special prerogatives of one or two of the clans, for an example?

¹One and one-half shillings.
Togobo: In reference to the clans, we have got, number one, Nofeawo (or Lafeawo). We have got this one which is called Amanomamadadawo (Amladawo). We have got what is called Dzavoeviwo (or Adzasimadiviwo) corrupted now to Adzoviawo. Now, we have got what is called Bateawo, the fourth. Likeawo [the fifth]. Now, we've got Ameawo, Bameawo, part and parcel of the Bate clan, because they are descendants of Akoli Bamea, who was a brother to Fui Avekey [and] Togbi Adeladzea--there are three brothers. Now, we have Toviawo, Kleiawo, Tsiameawo, Agaviwo (or Agaveawo), Dzeviawo, Vifemawo, Bluawo, Yetsofeawo, and Tosfoawo. In Anlo we say we have got twelve principal clans, and the additions make it up.

The Lafe clan and the Amlade clan are the Leviticals: they always make prayers in ceremonies. However, in stately--or in any other public--meeting, when there's no Lafe men, and no Amlade men, [that must be the situation] before any other clan takes over. Even then, if you're related to them, before [any one else] the mantle falls on you. You can be an Adzovia man: if your mother is a Lafe man or an Amlade man [i.e., the daughter of either], you have the same prerogative in lieu of the male descendant.

We have got the Adzovia clan; we have got the Bate clan. These two, they stand the chance of being the Awoame Fias. The Adzovia clan comes on by right of inheritance, and the Bate house comes on the stool by right of service.
Pantaleoni: I've heard that story.¹

Togobo: Yes. The Like clan, they have a specific thing to do. Whenever we are going to put up a building, they come and lay out the foundation, then lay the roofs: when they are going to close the top, they know how to finish the top nicely.

We come to the Klevi clan. In the wars, whenever you kill anybody, you have no right to cut his head unless the Klevi clan comes up. That's their duty; they take off the head.

Ladzekpo: We also hear that they fire the first shot when there's a war.

Togobo: Yes, that's right. The Ameawo clan, they have some specific duty, but it's not so common now. When you are going to make some sacrifice, there is something called Dzogbekoe, they make it. They make clay into various calabashes, and then place them for the sacrifice. That's not very important these days.

Ladzekpo: Will you tell us a little bit about the three hunters: Adeladzea, Atogolo, and Dodi Fugar?

¹From Rev. Nutsuako (see pp. 249-250). Aduamah reports it as told by other elders of Anloga on p. 5 of Ewe traditions No. 1. See also Nukunya, pp. 9-10.
Togobo: Yes. Dodi Fugar, the founder of the Klevi clan, was one of the hunters who were deputed earlier, before the ancestors settled here, we heard. They were planning on going away long, long, long, and so they sent these hunters. They came and surveyed all these areas. And when they came, Dodi went far off to the estuary [of the Volta River], and then found that place. And when he came over—himself and Togbi Adeladzea were going together—Togbi Adeladzea happened to remain in the grove we now call Batefe. And he happened to meet a nomad, somebody naked coming from the creek, an old lady. And when he saw her, he was frightened and he fainted dead. And he remained there, unconscious, until Dodi came over and saw him. He was unconscious, he couldn't do anything, but Dodi happened to have some powder, native powder, with him, and he blew it into his nostrils. And he woke up and said, "What is happening?" And he told him all of the incident that made him to be unconscious.

And he followed him to Anloga and narrated the story. Well, they believe in going to seers. When they went to seers they said, "Well, what you saw, that old lady you saw, is a fetish that wanted to remain with you." From here Mama-Bate was founded, and it became a fetish to Togbi Adeladzea I. From henceforth all his descendants are known as the Bate clan, and his brother's children. When the mantle fell on him to be the Awoame Fia, he happened to transfer the fetish
to his elder brother, Fui Avokey, and he became a fetish priest. And his other fetish, Gbeku, he transferred that to his other brother, Akoli Bamea. In this event Akoli Bamea is discredited by his own action, and they became a separate clan.

But the Adzoyia clan, who are the descendants of Dzavoe, the founder of the Awoame Fia stool, they bore the stool in the male line. And for the service rendered by the Bate clan, this kind of deed,¹ the change is come in, but [not until] when they settled here.

Ladzekpo: How about Atogolo?

Togobo: Atogolo, he is a cousin to Togbi Adeladzea, and the two of them called Togbi Sri as their uncle. Togbi Sri's two sisters begat Adeladzea and Atogolo. When Atogolo and Adeladzea called Togbi Sri uncle, Togbi Sri called the Lafe man, Togbi Venya, and his brothers, uncle. Then Atogolo and Togbi Adeladzea called the Lafe man and his cousin, Adedze Nyaki, grand-uncle.² That's how they started.

Ladzekpo: From what I know, you are of the lineage of Dodi Fugar.

¹See Rev. Nutsuako's account of this service, pp. 249-250.
²The genealogical chart above, p. 270, n. 1, may help.
Togobo: Yes. Our great-grandmothers [i.e., his and Mr. Ladzekpo's] were descendants of Badu. Badu descended from Dodi Fugar, one of the old hunters.

Pantaleoni: Can you name your ancestors from Dodi Fugar?

Togobo: I cannot do it immediately. We have got a book definitely for this. What I know is: Dodi Fugar begat three children, out of whom Badu was born. Out of Badu my great-grandmother's father Kobena was born. And then Kokui, the first born of Kobena, begat my grandmother, my father's mother. So far I know. That's where, in the Klevi house, which is automatically the Badu house, there's nothing that they can do without my cousin [Mr. Ladzekpo], myself, and other people. We all join hands in doing it.

We have long family chains. Anything that we do in Anlo here, we said, [involves] the principal clans, the nephews and the great-grandnephews. So we are automatically the great-grandnephews of the Klevi clan, or Dodi. When we call one clan, automatically we mean one ancestor. If you call an Adzovia man, you will mean Togbi Sri I and his brothers. If you say "the Bate man," you mean Togbi Adeladzea and his brothers, you see: family line. You say Aga, you mean Agaviwo--Agaveowo--and so on. That's the position. You say Tsiameowo, you know you are referring to Akplomada. Akplomada begat Tsali, and from Tsali all sprang.
Pantaleoni: Is there any relationship between that and the town Tsiame?

Togobo: Yes. It was Akplomada who settled there.
MR. TSEGAH

Mr. Clement Barrow Kwami Aheto Tsegah was interviewed twice at his home in Woe Division in Anyako, first by me on June 17 and then by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo on July 5, 1971.

Background Notes on the First Interview

At the first interview I was assisted by Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo and Mr. Kobla Blebu, both of Anyako. Mr. Tsegah understands both English and Eve, so my questions did not have to be interpreted. Also present were Madam Hobudi Nazâ Lawluvi and Madam Afiwo Doe Kpodzikoklo Tsegah, both of whom helped with singing and completing the information. For their benefit Mr. Tsegah answered my questions in Eve.

Mr. Tsegah is fifty-three years old, a businessman who spends only part of his time in his home town. A courteous man, he is much respected and holds a position of leadership among those in his Division who concern themselves with the Atsiâ drum.

Mr. Gbewonyo wrote out the Eve text from the taped record of the interview using a mixture of orthographic and phonetic spellings (see the note on orthography, p. xv). Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo did the basic translation into English, which I have modified.
Text of the First Interview

1 Pantaleoni: I'd like to ask some questions about
2 Atsiã. Can you tell me about Atsiã in Anyako that you
3 know about?

4 Tsegah: [To the others] MANO GBLOM NE MIA DOKNU EDZI. I'll speak and you remind me.

5 ATSIĩ VUA, ENYE VU HI KE WODO LE ANYAKO DUME AFIHI ABE Atsiã drumming was introduced to Anyako town here a
6 EFE ALOFAHIWO ENE VA YI. ENYE MIA TOGBUIWO FE VU. few hundred years ago. It was our forefathers' drum.
7 LE NYATEFE TOTOMEA, EVUA MIA TOGBUIWO TSOE TSO HOGBEE In fact, our forefathers brought it from Hogbe,
8 AFIHIWO TSO. ELE WOSI HAFIWO VA DO DOGBO, AFIHIE where they came from. They had it before coming to Dogbo
9 NYE DAHUME NYIGBADZI, ALE EYI WO DZO AFIMA WO GA TSOE in Dahomey land; and when they left there¹ they took
10 DZUIE, EYE AFIMATOWO HA GA KPOE WO GBO GA DO HAFIWO it along, and people² adopted it from them before they
11 DZO. EYI WO DZO VUKEKEKEA WO GA VA DO DE NOTSIE. left. Leaving, they walked until they came to Notsie.
12 NOTSIE AFIMAH, ENYE EVU GANO WOSIE, EYE AFIMATOWO HA At Notsie, too, it was a drum they had, and the people
13 GA KPOE WO GBO GA DO. EYE TSO NOTSIE WO DZO VUKEKEKE there adopted it too. And from Notsie they kept on
14 HE VA LE ANLO AFIA, VA NLO DE ANLO NYIGBADZI. ³ t' til they came to Anlo here, came cramped to Anlo land.

¹Where they were before coming to Dogbo (i.e., Ketu).
²The Dahomey people in Dogbo.
³Their leader, Venya, was so old he had to be carried along on their journey. When the group halted at what is now
AFIHIE, WO VA DUI. ALE WO KAKA DE ANLO DUWO
Here, they introduced it. It spread to Anlo towns.

KATAA ME KLOE. GAKE EDUHIWO LEBENE VEVIEA, WOIMOE
nearly everywhere. But towns taking much interest, they

NYE ANYAKO KPLE DZELUKOFE. EDU EVEHIAWO
were Anyako and Dzelukofe. These two towns took much

LEBENE BLEMA VUHIA VEVIE. TOGBOSI YENYIWO VA YI
interest in this ancient drum. Nevertheless, from time

NA EYE WO DEA ASI LE ENU HA, NE WO YIM VUKKEKEKA EGA
to time they leave it, and then again they

VA HONA DE DZI. ALE FIFI TOHIA, EFE TOTROGBOA, EDZE
take it up. Now the present one, its revival started

GOME TSO LOME. MIA DETOHIAWO KATAA VAE LE LOME, WO
from Lome. Some of our people who came to Lome, they

DI BE YE WO FOFOFU ADE DZESIE YEWO DOKUI ABE
wanted to get together to identify themselves as

ANLOTOWO ENE. EYI WO FOFOFUA, NUH I WO KPO BE YE NYO
Anlo. When they got together, they found it good

YEWQAWQW, WOA LE YEWQ DE ASA YENYE YEWQ TOGBUIWO FE
[to drum,] to present what was the ancestors’

BLEMA VUHIA, WO YONA BE ATSIÃ. ALE WO Troe GBOE,
ancient drum, which is called Atsiã. So they revived it.

EYI WO Troe GBOEA, LOME ABE YEVU DU ENEA,
When they revived it, Lome being a town like those of

VUNOWO KPLE HENOWO WO MELE AFIMA 0. ALE
Europe, 1 drummers and song leaders were not around. So

WO DONKU EDZI, ANYAKOHIWO LE WO DOME, AME ABE
they had an idea, the Anyako people among them, such as

Anloga, capital of the Anlo culture area, he said he was too
 cramped to go any further. See the interview with Mr. Gbedemah
above, p. 227. "Nlo" means "folded up," "cramped."

1Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes "in this usage, 'yevu du'
['white man's town'] means a cosmopolitan city or a commercial
town where things could not be done easily as at home."
29 AFETO KOSHIKPUI LAWUWI HI ME GA LI O ENE, AFENO
Mr. Koshikpui Lawluvi, now deceased, Madam

30 HOBUDI NAZA LAWUWI KPLE AFENO NOVIDETO DOTSE LAWUVI
Hobudi Nazã Lawluvi, and Madam Novideto Dotse Lawluvi.

31 ENEA, WO VA DZI ANYAKOTOWO, ANYAKOBOETO TOWO.
They came to the people of Woe Division in Anyako.

32 EFIHI TOWO FE VU WÓ NYE, WOTOGBUFWO FE VU WÓ NYE. ALE
These people's drum it was, their ancestors' drum. So

33 MIE YI AFIMA. AMEIWIWO YIA WOWOE NYE EKULENUNYE
we went there. Those who went, they were Ekuleňunye

34 EXOKE, DUMODZI LAWUWI, ZAGUNOWO ABE MOTAKLI
Exoke, Dumodzi Lawluvi, and drummers such as Mortaki

35 DZEMEKI ENK KPLE KOKU ATIDAMA AFLAKPUI, KPLE ENYE,
Dzemeke and Koku Atidama Aflakpui; and I,

36 AMEH ENUA FOM, KOMI AHETO TSEGAH. MIA
the person talking to you, Komi Aheto Tsegah. We were

37 AME MA WOE YI ALE MIE VAE DO EVUA NAWO.
the ones who went. And we showed the drum to them.

38 EYE WO NYE EVU ELE LOME AFIMA WO NOAFOFOM
And it is a drum there at Lome they have been drumming

39 VASEDE EGBEGBEGBE. EHI WÓ WO NENEMA KOA, ELEBE
up to the present. After they started, in fact, we felt

40 MIWAO HA MIA GA TORE AGBOE LE ANYAKO EFIHI, EYE
we also should revive it at Anyako here; and its

41 ETO TROGBOE MEA EHI TOGBUINYE TSEG AH VA KUA.
GBEMAGabee

revival was when my grandfather Tsegah died. That day

1To Lome, in response to the invitation.

2A singer and song leader.

3A dancer.

4Mr. Aflakpui gave me drum lessons in 1971.

5He died in May, 1947. Atsiã was performed at the final
funeral obsequies a month later.
MIE TROE GBOE, EFO NE ABE AMEGAXOXO YU ENE. we revive it, drumming it for him as an elderly man's

ALE WÓZU EVU ELE MIASI MÍE music. So it became a drum we have, and have been

FOFOM VASEDE EGBEGBEGBE. playing up to today.

Pantaleoni: Let me complete that by asking about the
dates of when they came from Lomé to here, and then
when it went to Lomé.

Tsegah: AFETOHIANO ME YO - AFETO LAWULVI EHI ME GA The people I mentioned - Mr. Lawlvi, now

LI O, KWASHIEKPUI LAWULVI HI ME GA LI EGBA O, KPLE dead (Kwashiekpui Lawlvi who is no more today), and

ESRÕ HOBUDI NAZÁ LAWULVI, KPLE AFENO NOVIDETO his wife Hobudi Nazá Lawlvi, and Madame Novideto

DOTSE LAWULVIA - WO VA ANYAKOA LE EFE Dotse Lawlvi - they came to Anyako in the year one

AKPEDEKA ALOFO ASIEKE BLAENE VO ATÕ, ME HI KE NYE 1945. thousand nine hundred forty-five, which is to say 1945.

YE WOVA VA DZI EVUNOWO (AZAGUNOWO) HE KPO They came for the drummers and took

YI DE LOME. AME HI WO NKO ME YO VA YIE LE NYE NUFOFÓ them to Lomé. (These I already named in my first

GBANTO ME. EWOLEBE EHI AMEIHAO YI DE LOME, MIE VA statement). However, among those going to Lomé we have

DONKI EDZI NOVIADEWO GALI HI KE MIE GA DO AME DEWO WO remembered some more friends whom we sent for, and who

VA. WOWOE NYE ANANI AGALÁ LAWULVI, AMENYE AZAGUNO, came. They are Anani Agalá Lawlvi, who was

AZAGUNOWO DOME TO DEKA. EYE MIE GA DZI one of the leading drummers, and we also sent
AFETO SOKPE LAWLUVI, AMEE ENYE HESINOGÀA DEKA
for Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi, one of the greatest composers

LE MIA DOME EGBEGBEGBE. AMEMAWO GBUGBO KPEDE MIA NUTSI
among us living today. These people gave us help,

EYE MIE DOEUVHIE NE LOMETOWO.
and we introduced this drum to the people of Lomé.

Madam Hobudi: EYA DZIE NYE NUKU DZE . . .
This is what I remember . . .

Madam Afiwo: EHAMAYA WO DEKA KOE ADZI.
That song you alone can sing.

Madam Hobudi: EBE . . . EE, NYE DEKA KOE DZIGE. ME
He said . . . Yes, I alone can sing it. You

NYA DZIDZI GE NA MI 0. EBE [she sings]:
don't know how. He said:

EVUA MIE FO LE LOME DEE!
The drum we play at Lomé, dee!  

SEGŁAE LE DUAME KE DZI ME BLEA MIAWO 0.
Segla is in town, so we have no fear.

GA EVEME ME VA KO DE AGBOA DZI.
At two o'clock I came to the dancing ground.

KE AMEGAWOE LE AVUAME.
And patrons of the society were there.

DOMENYO WOTO SOKPE DOGBE NE SEGŁA.
That kind person Sokpe greeted Segla.

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1 This text and its translation have been further
adjusted to accord with information supplied in a second inter-
view and translated by Mr. Kobla Ladjekpo. See below, pp. 309-
310 (11. 85-97).

2 An Anlo from Tegbui.

3 A standard phrase used by composers to refer to
themselves in their songs.
NE EFIA DE LE AFEME NE DO VA KPO MI DA.
If a chief is at home he may come out and see us.

MENYE DZIKU NYAE WO NYE 0.
It's not because of anger, it is not.

DO MEE FA NA MI. EYATAE MIE SODO VUA.
Our stomachs are cool; that's why we introduce the drum.

ATSIA VUA MIE FO HEE!
The Atsiá drum we play, hee!

EVUA MIE FO LOO!
The drum we play, loo!

NE MIA KPÒ SEGLA FE XO NU.
So that we see Segla's courtyard.

[The interview is temporarily suspended while one of the group goes to consult Mr. Lumor Agbagli Dorvio about the remainder of this song text. She returns and Mr. Tsegah resumes.]

Tsegah: AME ABE HENOGAA SOKPEE ME YO ENEA
One like the composer Sokpe I mentioned -

EYE MIE YI DE LOME AFIMA, TOBOGBE EHAHIWO KATAA MIE
when we went to Lomé there - although all the songs we

VAE DZIDZIMAA BLEMA HAWOE, GAKE ABE HENG ENEA YENUTO
sang were our forefathers', still, as a composer, he

EKPA EHA DEKA LE LOAME DE EVUA NUTI.
himself composed one song at Lomé for the [Atsiá] drum.

WO NYE EHATSIATSIA EYAA DZI GEE MIA LA FIA.
It's an interlude song we will sing right now.

Madam Hobudi [singing]:

EVUA MIE FO LE LOME DEE!
The drum we play at Lomé, deel

SEGALAE LE DUAME KE DZI ME BLEA MIAWO 0.
Segla is in town, so we have no fear.

GA EVEME ME VA KO DE AGBOA DZI.
At two o'clock I came to the dancing ground.
KE AMEGAWOE LE AVUAME.
And patrons of the society were there.

DOMENYO WOTO SOKPE DOGBE NE SEGLA.
That kind person Sokpe greeted Segla.

NE EFIADE LE AFEME NE DO VA KPO MI DA.
If a chief is at home, he may come out and see us.

MENYE DZIKU NYAE WO NYE O.
It's not because of anger; it is not.

DOMEA. FA NA MI EYATAE MI SOGBE
Our stomachs are cool - that's why we've gathered

DE EVUA NU.
around the drum.

EVUA MIE FO HEE!
The drum we play, hee!

ATSIA VUA MIE FO LOO HOO!
The Atsia drum we play, loo hoo!

NE MIA KPO SEGLAE FE XO NU HEE!
So that we see Segia's courtyard, hee!

[Middle section.]

SOKPE LEE BE HAGBE NYO ME YO LE YE SI O.
Sokpe says: my good voice has not finished its song,

YA YO AMEGAWO DE EHAME.
To name important men in the song.

QUIST KPLE AMENYAWOE ME YO MI DE EHAME.
Quist² and the Amenyas I will name in the song.

SEGLAE DO DZIDZO NA MI.
Segla made us happy.

MIA FO ATSIA VUA NE WO NYE DAGBE.
Let us play Atsia for good Tuck.

¹Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes "the way 'hagbe nyo' is used, it really means either 'melody' or 'the ability to compose.' The composer is more or less saying that he still has the skill to compose."

²An Anlo from Dzelukofe.
MIA FO ATSIĄ VUA NE MA DITSÄ
Let us travel and play Atsią

NE MA XI DABGE TSO MAWU GBO LOO!
To get a Blessing from God, loo!

[Madam Hobudi repeats this middle section, lines 94 through 100, with melodic variation.]

EVUA MIE FO LE LOME LOO!
The drum we play at Lomé, loo!

SEGŁAE LE DUAME ME KE EDZI ME BLEA MIAWO 0.
Segla is in town so we have no fear.

GA EVEME ME VA KO DE AGBOA DZI.
At two o'clock I came to the dancing ground.

KE AMEWOE LEA AVUAME.
And patrons of the society were there.

DOMENYO WOTO SOKPE DOGBE NE SEGŁA.
That kind person Sokpe greeted Segla.

NE EFIADÈ LE AFEME NE DO VA KPO MI DA.
If a chief is at home, he may come out and see us.

MENYE DZIKU NYAE WO NYE 0.
It's not because of anger; it is not.

DOMEA FA NA MI EYATAE MI SOGBE
Our stomachs are cool - that's why we've gathered

DE EVUA NU.
around the drum.

ATSIĄ VUA MIE FO HEE!
The Atsią drum we play, hee!

ATSIĄ VUA MIE GBA HEE!
Atsią we play, hee!

NE MIA KPO SEGŁAE FE XO NU HEE!
So that we see Segla's courtyard, hee!

Pantaleoni: I was asking¹ if there was a name

¹When we were waiting with the recorder off, to find out the full text of this song. See above line 77.
connected with the beginning of Atsiâ when it came to Dogbo.

Tsegah: LE EHI ANLOWO VA DO DOGBO YEMAYIA, YEMAYIA
When the Anlos came to Dogbo, at that time

AMEGA HIWO KPOLM — ALO EFIA HELE WONUA — WO
the one leading them — or the chief in charge — they

YO NE BE ASIMADI. YE NYE AME HIE NYE EFIA LE
called him Asimadi. He was the one who was chief in

WONU YEMAYI. HAFI EVU YAA WO VA EDUIAANYI
charge at that time, before they improved that drum

LE DOGBOA. ENYE EVU VEVIE NA ANLOWO NUTO. WOFE
at Dogbo. It was a very important Anlo drum. Their

KONUVOVOWO DO NA TSOA EME. ALE WÔNYE EVU
various customs it would accompany. And it is a drum

MIE LÉ DE ASI VASEDE EGBE, HE TSO NA NO NKU DOM
we have had on up to today, and so it reminds us

BLEMA DZIE.
of the olden days.

Pantaleoni: What is the name "Tenge Dzokoto"?

Tsegah: He is a divisional chief. [Consults others.]

O! MIE NLO LUMOR AGBAGLI BE. ALEKE MIE WONOGE WO
O! We forget Lumor Agbagli. How shall we go about

YI DE ME? [He continues in English:]
including him? He is one of the composers, the one who

remembered the song.¹ He is not here. He is one of

the composers. He travelled with us to Lomé, too.

Pantaleoni: The composer of this song?

¹See note after line 76 above.
Tsegah: Yes.  
It will be a great offense if I do not

DONKU HAKPALA VEVIE HIE DZI O  
name this very important composer, Mr. Lumor Agbagli

DOVLO, YE NYE HAKPALA DEKA LE MIA DOME,  
Dörvlo; he was one of the composers among us, and he

GA LI FIFILAHI.  
YE HA NYE AME HI KE NO
too is alive today. He is also one of those who went

LOME YI LAWO DOME. AME HIAWO VAE DO VUA NE LOMETOWO.  
to Lomé. These people introduced Atsiâ to Lomé.

EYE MIE NOANYIDE AFHIE FIA HÅ, EHAHI MIE BE MIA
And when we gathered here today, this song we wanted

DZIHA WO BU DE MIA, YE NYE AMEH GBO MIE YI  
to sing but forgot, he was the one we went to; he

DONKU EDŽI NA MI. KO MA GBLO BE KE EHA ZU YEWÔ
reminded us. So I might say the song belongs to him²

HA KO YEA DZIEGE MIA LAFIA:
which we shall sing right now:

[Madam Hobudi takes the solo lead]

[Solo]

FÔWO DO AHO VE.  
The Fô have come to fight.

NYE ME KIÅ NA AMEADEWO.  
I don't care what people do.

BE DUDUGBE,  
"One day you eat, one day you vomit." Hee!

³He means Mr. Dörvlo went to Lomé. The composer of the
song was Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi, who also went to Lomé.

²That is, they are dedicating it to him. The song itself
is very old, according to Mr. Tsegah, who told us in his second
interview that the ancestors sang it when they lived east of
Togoland among the Fô. See below, p. 310 (11. 104-107).
[Chorus]

143  FÔWO DO AHO VE
    The Fô have come to fight.

144  NYE ME KIĂ NA AMEADEWO.
    I don't care what people do.

145  BE DUDUGBE,    TUTUGBE    HOO!
    "One day you eat, one day you vomit."  Hoo!

[Lines 140 through 145 are repeated; then a solo]

146  GONU ZOWOADA\(^1\)
    Gonu Zowoda

[Chorus]

147  MEA WO NU DEE NA ATSIĂ VUA HEE!
    I've done something for Atsiă music, hee!

148  MIE DO AHO VE NYE ME SI O.
    You have waged a war I do not hear.

149  FÔWO DO AHO VE
    The Fô have come to fight.

150  NYE ME KIĂ NA AMEADEWO.
    I don't care what people do.

151  BE DUDUGBE,    TUTUGBE    HOO!
    "One day you eat, one day you vomit."  Hoo!

---

\(^1\)Perhaps the name of a person no longer otherwise remembered.  Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes that it might be a reference to a proverb, "Zowoda medo aho yia to gboe o," which means, literally, "a wildfire cannot wage war against water."  He goes on to explain that "the word actually is dzowoda, meaning 'wildfire,' but we never say dzowoda, we say zowoda.  Since this song is about the Fô, maybe the composer means the Fô are like wildfire and he is the water they are waging war against.  As for gonu, the word literally means 'gourd drum'--'go' means gourd, and 'nu' or 'hû' or yu' all mean drum when added to 'go.'  The origin of this word might be traced to our relationship with the Fô and our brothers in Togoland, for they still use the word gonu.  Very often you hear Anlo composers inserting this word into their text."
Background Notes on the Second Interview

Mr. Clement Barrow Kwami Aheto Tsegah was interviewed for the second time at his home in Anyako on July 5, 1971, by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo. Present were Madam Hobudi Nazā Lawluvi, a leading singer of the Atsiā group of Woe Division; her nephew, Mr. Yevu Nazā; Mr. Tsegah's wife, Madam Afiwo Doe Kpodzikoklo Tsegah; his sister, Madam Akuwo Aheto-Tsegah; and me.

The interview was conducted in Eve. The first part concerns the texts of Atsiā songs, and only a few excerpts are given. Major breaks in the text are indicated with a quarter line of dots. The latter part of the interview is given without omissions (except at the end) but with some abridgement of the expression.

Mr. Fred Owusu Gbewonyo transcribed the Eve from the tape recording. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo translated it into English, which I have occasionally modified.

Text of the Second Interview

1 Ladzekpo: EFO, ME DI BE MIA YI EDZE-DODO HI WOM MIE Sir, let us continue our conversation

2 LEA TSO ATSIĀ VU KPAPKLE NU TOXE VOVOVOA DEWO NUTSI, about Atsiā music and some other things,

3 ALO MIA DE KONUWO NUTSI. NYITSO KPUIE HIA or about our Anlo customary rites. A few days ago

"Literally "elder brother," used here as a term of respect for a somewhat older man who is a friend."
MIE DZI EHA VOVVOOA DEWO KEN, HIKE LE TAPE DZIE HO!
you sang some songs which are already on the tape.

GAKEA, NDEKA DZO NAA ADEWOYIE NYE BE, NNE NYE BE EHAWO
But sometimes it happens that if the songs are

LE TAPE DZI ALA, YE WO DZI KOA, YE ME
on tape as they are now, and after singing you did not

BIE EME DEDE OA, ENYA GBEA DEWO ESEGE VO
ask for explanations, you may be hearing some words

GAKEA ENYA HI TUTUTU WO NYEA. ELABE EDEWO
but not know exactly what they are, for example,

HAMELOWO NO ENUA ME, HAMELOA DEWOA EGOME MANYA SE O.
proverbs - there may be some proverbs not understandable.

TAA NUHIE ME DI BE MIAWO FIA GBIÀ NYE BE, ME HAWO FE
Therefore what we are going to do is, first I'll give

TANYAWO YO GE DEKA DEKA, ABE ALEHI NYE ENYA TSIAWO
song titles one by one, with some of the main words of

HAGBEA MEA. NYAGBE HIWO GAKPLOE DOA NAGBLOWO KEN.
the text. You will go on and say the rest of the words.

NOW NE ENYA DE LI HIKE GOME DEDE MEKOA,
Now, if there is a word not clear to my understanding,

KE ME BIA. ALE BE ATENUA DO ENU, ALO MIA DADAWO HA
then I'll ask. You can answer, or our women also

ADO ENUTSI. NENYE BE NENYE EHA KPALA ALO NENYE
can answer. Then if you know the composer, or if it is

EHA KO WONYE HIKE MIE SE WONYE SEVADZI HA HÀ, ADE
just a song you have heard and adopted, you will give

EME NA MI.
us the information.

............

Ladzekpo: EHA HIE KPLOE DOE NYE "DA AVO DE ABO DZI."
The next song is "Wear the cloth over the

YIHA NA GBLO ENYA TSIAWO WO DI.
shoulder." I want you to say the main words.
Tsegah: "MA DA AVO DE ABO DZIA, EYEE,
"I'll wear the cloth over the shoulder always!

MA DA AVO DE ABO DZIA.
I'll wear the cloth over the shoulder. I myself live

MIAWO DE, MA DA AVO DE ABO DZI.
in my town and wear the cloth over the shoulder. No

DZRO EGADE ALO EFIA DEKE WO DI ABO NAM O." ABE ALEHI
elder or chief to take it off my shoulder." As

WONUTO NE NYAE ENEA, GODOO, MIA DOME KOO ADEWOYI LIA,
you yourself know among us, sometimes,

HENOWO NYE AME DRA.
NE WO KPLE WO
composers are crafty people. If between them and their

FOFOE WO NU HA
father there is misunderstanding, they will ridicule

EHA.
NE WOKPLE WOFIA WO NU HA
him in a song. If between them and a chief, they do it

DE AHA. NE AMEA DE KO DO DZIKUA DE NAWO KOO, WO
in song. If anybody at all annoys them,

DE NE EHA ME. YE NYE EHA HIA, ELABE ATSIÁ VUA
sing it in a song. That's this song, because in ATSIÁ

YA WO ME DIDIA AVO
you do not lower the cloth (wrap it around the waist);

WO ME BLA AKPA
you don't roll it at the waist as in other dances.

ABOE WO DA NE DO.
You wear it over the shoulder. I think because of

ALA EDZI BE YA DIA AMEWO NU.
this they begin to offend some people. Because when

ENYE AMEGA
you are an elder, you come with the cloth over you, and

NE ENYE EVU VIAWO HA, KOO ME
when you are a member of the club, the same thing.

SI BE WO DI BE YE WOWOE NE WOTROE ANO
Therefore they want to change it so that the club members
37 AKPA BLAM DE ENU. YE WO GBE, roll it at the waist as in other dances. They refused,
38 BE NUKA, YENUTO YANO YEWO DE, and said, What! They themselves would live in their
39 YA DA AVO DE ABO. town, and wear the cloth over their shoulders.
40 ME DZRO EFIA DEKE WO DI ABO NA YE O. YOU SEE. No chief dares take it off their shoulders. You see.

...........

41 Ladzekpo: EHI KPOLE DOE NYE "MI LI, MI LI BE The one which follows is, "We lift, we lift
42 AMEWO LE NENA" ME DI BE YE HA NA KO ENUTSI VIE for someone." I want you to elaborate on this a bit,
43 ELABE [NYA] GBEAWO WOSI FIAM NAME. HI MIA DE for the words are pointing at something. In our way of
44 SUSUNU WO BE MILI MILIA AMEWO LE NE NA. thinking it is said, "We lift, we lift for someone."
45 HAME LO BLOBOA DE MA WO NYE. TAA ME DI BE NA KO It is a great proverb. Therefore I want you to just
46 YIHA NUTSI VIE. explain a little bit.

47 Tsegah: EHA, "MILI MILIA AMEWO LE NE NA, The song is, "We lift, we lift for someone.
48 XOLA ME LI O." EYATA, "MILI, MILI The saviour is not there." Thus, "We lift, we lift
49 AMEE WO LE NE NA. EXOLA ME LI O. DZINYE VUDZO. for someone. There is no saviour. My heart is hot.
50 XOLA DEKE ME LI O." ME XOSE BE . . . There is no saviour. I think it is about . . .

51 Ladzekpo: XO NA ME TO DEKE ME LI O. . . Having no one to help in times of need.
Tsegah: YA GBLOM WO LE, EEE. WOOWE
That's what they are saying, yes. They

KPUIE DE... WODZIDZI LE EHA MEA YE WO BE
make it short in the song by cutting the text to

"XOLA ME LI O." ABE ALE WONUTO ZIENYA BIAM MEM
"There is no saviour." As you yourself, the interviewer,

NE NYAE ENEA LE ANLO ME KOO VEGBEA DE LI WO DO NA BE
know, there is a saying in Anlo that

"MILI MILIA AME KOKOKOE WOLE NE NA." GAKE NE
"We lift, we must lift it up for someone." But when

ELE ENUA ME KPO AME O KE
you grab the thing and you don't see anyone, then

XO NA AME TOA DEKE ME LI NA WO, KO WO AMEA. NE ENUE
you do not have anyone to help you. If it were something

LEM HA DOKO WO LE GE WO GE ATEGBE LE NUWO. YE HENOWO,
after you, it will grab you and finish you. These thoughts

NUMAOWO HENOE FOFOFUE TSQ KPE EHAE: BE NE
the composer put together to make the song: that when you

ENU WOMAA NANO MEGBE KPOM. NE AME ME LE
do something, look well around you. If no one is

MEGBE NA WOA, ME GA WO NANEKE 0. NE MENYOA AWONU
behind you, don't do anything. Otherwise you might be

WO TSI DZI WO.
left alone.

64 Ladzekpo: EHIE KPOE DOE NYE "ALADA NU GBŒE LOO."
The next one is, "Aladanu people, oh!"

65 Tsegah: "ALADA NU GBŒ, AME DEKA ME NO WO DOME 0,
"Aladanu people, one man doesn't live among them.

Mr. Ladzekpo notes at this point in his translation that
"literally, the proverb is pointing at lifting something and
carrying it on the head."
66 ALADA NU GBÉ ME WO VO, ALADA NU GBÉ ME
Aladanu people, I have finished. Aladanu people, I have
67 WO VO. NYE DEKA. NO AFIMA. MA VA WO EDO
finished. I am alone. Stay there. I'll come and work
68 NA WO. ME WOE VUU HA NYE DEKA.
for you. I did it for a long time yet I am alone.
69 ALADA NU GBÉ, AME DEKA ME NO WO DOME." Aladanu people, one man does not live among them."

70 Ladzekpo: AME DEKA NYENYEE YE EHA ASI FIA MEE?
Is the song talking about loneliness?
71 Tsegah: ÑÆ. YE EHA ASI FIA MEE.
Yes, that's what it is talking about.
72 Ladzekpo: ALADA NUA EGOME DEE?
What is the meaning of "Aladanu"?
73 Tsegah: ALADA NUA, EHA HIA WO NYE EHA XOXOWO, Aladanu? This song is one of the old,
74 XOXOWO DOME TO DEKA. EHA XOXO HIWO WODZI WO GO HA old, old songs. These old songs they sang
75 HAFIE VA DO MIWO ANLO ME AFII. WO DZI WO LE AFIMEE, before coming to AnLo, here. They sang them over there
76 HETSO DE ASIA WODOMETO DEKA. ALADA NUA YA EDU WO NYE and brought them along. Alada is a town
77 LE DAHOMEY AKE. YE MA MIA TOGBUIWO NQ ELO DOME BE in Dahomey. Our grandfathers used it in a proverb,
78 "KEKE ALADA."
"Far at Alada."
79 Madam Hobudi: ALADA NUA DOHOMEY TOWO FE GBE.
"Aladanu" is a Dahomean dialect meaning
80 ALADA NU GBÉ. EFÔ GBEE.
"Alada people." It's a Fô language.
Tsegah: EHA HIEWO WO DZI WOKATA HAFI EVEGBE VA DO
    All these songs were sung before we started

MIA NU EGBE HIWO LE MIA NU YI MEE YA ME WO LE.
    speaking Eve. This language we spoke on the way here.

Ladzekpo: EMI EHA DE MIE VA DZI HIKE NYE AFETO SOKPE
    Now, you sang a song which is Mr. Sokpe

LAWLUVI FE HA KPAKPA BE "EVU MI FO DE LOME."
    Lawluvi's composition: "The drum we play in Lomé."

Madam Hobudi: "EVUA MIE FO LOME, SEGŁA LE
    "The drum we play in Lomé, Segla is

DUA ME KE EDZI ME BLEA MIAWO. GA EVE ME ME
    in town, so the heart doesn't deceive us. At 2 p.m. I

VA KO DE AGBOA DZI, AMEGAWO LE AVUA ME.
    come to the dance arena. Big men are in the fight.

DOMENYO WO TO SOKPE DOGBE NE SEGŁA. NE EFIA DE LE
    Kind man Sokpe greets Segla. If a chief is

AFE ME NE DO VA KPO MI DA. MENYE DZIKU NYAE,
    at home, he may come see us. It is not because of anger;

WO NYE DOMEÉ FA NA MI, EYATAE MIE SOGBE
    our stomachs are cool, that's why we've gathered

DE EVUA NU. ATSIÁ VUA MI FO. EVUA MI FO
    around the drum. The Atsiá drum we play. The drum we play,

LOO, NE MIA KPO ESEGŁAWO XONU. SOKPE LEE HAGBE NYO
    loo! To see Segla's courtyard. Sokpe, oh! Good music,

ME VO LE YE SI O. YA YO AMEGAWO DE EHAME.
    I'm not finished with it. I'll name big men in song.

QUIST KPLE AMENYAWO MA YO MI DE EHAME.
    Segluae
    Quist and the Amenyas, I'll call you in song. Segla

1An assurance to their hosts, the people of Lomé, in
    the audience.
DO DZIDZO NA MI. MIA FO ATSIĄ VUA WO NYE DAGBE. makes us happy. Let us play Atsią to bring good luck.

MIA FO ATSIĄ VUA MIA DITSA. NE MIA XO Let us play Atsią and stroll around, so we may get a

DAGBE TSO MAWUGBO." blessing from God."

Ladzekpo: EHEE. YAE YI MIE YI DE EVUA FO GE LE LOME I see. So this song, when you drum at Lome, 

YE AFETO SOKPE EHA HIA EVO AME HIWO WO YO Mr. Sokpe composed it, and those whom he mentioned

DE EHA MEA WONO HA GANYE MIA DE TOHIWO LE LOME. In the song, some of our people in Lome.

Madam Hobudi: WO NYE DZELUKOFÉ KPLE ANYAKO. They are from Dzelukofé and Anyako.

Tsegah: SEGLAE TEGBUI TOWOE. QUIST Ê DZELUKOFÉ Segla is a Tegbi man. Quist is a Dzelukofé

TOWOE. man. 1

Ladzekpo: KE EHI DE: "FŐWO DO AHO VAE"? Now this one: "The Fő have waged war"?

YA ENYA GBEWO DE? What are the words?

Tsegah: Ê, YI HA MIA TOGBUIWO FE HA KPAKPAE. Yes, it is also our grandfathers' composition,

HA XOXO HIWO NO EFŐWO DO ME. Ê, ALE an old song when we lived among the Fős. Yes, just as

AFE DZREA DEWO, EDZO NAE YANUE WO there are household disputes, that's why they

1Tegbi and Dzelukofé are on Map 3, p. 4, Tegbi near 1° east, 5° 55' north, Dzelukofé above it on the road.
KPE DO. "FÔWO DO HO VE NYE ME KIÁ composed it. "The FÔ have waged war. I care

NE AMEADÉWO O. DUDUGBE, TUTUGBE. for no one. There's a time to eat, time to vomit.

GONU ZOWODA, MEA WO NU DEE NA ATSIÁ VUO. MIE GôNû Zowódà, I have done something for Atsiá. You

DO AHO VE NYE ME SI O. FÔWO DO AHO VE. have waged a war I don't hear. The FÔs have waged war.

NYE ME KIA NA AMEA DE O. BE DUDUGBE I do not care for anybody. As they say, "There's a

TUTUGBE." time to eat, a time to vomit."

Ladzekpo: EGBLOE ME SE BE EVUA HAFI YEWO VA TOROE I heard you say² that before this dance came

FIFIA AVA NO YOYOM BE ATSIÁ, ENYE MIA TOGBUIWO FE VU to be known as Atsiá - it's our grandfathers' drum,

XÔXÔ EYE NKO HIWO YO NANE NYE . . . ancient, and what they used to call it was . . .

Tsegah: KOBÁZO. Kobazo.

Ladzekpo: ENYA GBE KOBÁZO HIA DE GOME DEDEA DE LE You know this word Kôbazo. What meaning

NE KÁ? does it have?

Tsegah: É. ME DE EME NYITSO MA KE. Yes, I explained this last time.² The languages

¹See Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo's discussion of "Gônû Zowódà" above, p. 302, n. 1.

²On the day after his first interview of June 17, 1971, to supplement the record.
LE MIA NU HAFI MIE EVA AFHIHA MENYE EVGBE O. ALE
we used to speak were not EYe. Therefore

NE MIE TSOE KOA KE EGO ME DEDE NEE LEE NYE ATSIA,
we may take it that the meaning of it is "Atsia," and

ELABE YE WO VA AFHIHIE YE WO VA TRO ATSIA NE.
that when they came here they changed it to "Atsia."

Ladzekpo: KE DEWO MA [HI] EHIA, HA, MIA GBLO BE KE
Perhaps we may say that this is also

EFOGBE.
a FO word.

Tsegah: LOO ALO EHIE LE MIA NU HAFI MIE YE EFOME.
Or whatever language we were speaking then.

ELABE EVUA LI, MIE FOFOM VUU HAFI VA DO EFOWO GBO.
Because we had this dance before coming among the FO.

Ladzekpo: KE DEWO MAHII ANYE ANAGBEGE KPLE
It may be that the word is Yoruba and

EFOGBE TSOTA SAKA YE WONYE. KE EVUA DEE, KOBAZO DE HAFI
contracted. Now before you changed this Kobaizo

WO YA ZU ATSIA DEE, ESIE KPO BE EGALE TEFE BUBUA DE
name to Atsia, have you ever heard that some people

HAFI MIA YA TROE WO VA ZU ATSIA FIFIA?
still call it that - do you know of any place?

ESE NKO KOBANO KPOA
BE EGALE DU BUBUA DE HA MEA
Have you ever heard the name Kobaizo in some other town

LE MIA FE ANLO NYIGBA DZIA?
in our Anlo Town?

Tsegah: Ë, YE EVUA VA ANYAKO TOMO DUKO.
Yes, from the beginning when Anyako people

WO KOBANO YE WOTSO NE.
formed the club, they called it Kobaizo.
137 Ladzekpo: ME MEAN BE APART FROM ANYAKO, TOWOA AME
           I mean apart from Anyako, other

138 BUBUA DEWO
           people.

139 Tsegah: NO, KOBAZOA, YA ANLO DUWO MEA, WO ME GA YOE O.
            No, Kobazo, in AnTo towns they stopped saying it.

140 GAKE ELE GÆNYI DUWO.
            But in Togoland they do.

141 Madam Hobudi: ELE DZELUKOFI HA.
            It's at Dzelukofoe, too. ¹

142 Tsegah: AO, DZELUKOFI TOWOA ATSIÅE WO YO NE.
            No, Dzelukofe people call it Atsiå.

143 Madam Hobudi: WO NOA NKO TSOM NOA VIVI DOM
            Yes. Sometimes when calling it, to be fancy

144 ENU NUA, KOBAZOA MIE FOGE GBA.
            they say "Kobazo we will play today."

145 Ladzekpo: NOW ELI MIE VAE GBUGBO EVUA DO
            Now, how long ago did you re-form the club

146 LOME, ANYE EFE NENIWOE NYE HIE FIFIA?
            in Lome. How many years now?

147 Tsegah: 1945. 0! MIE DOE HAFI TOGUINYE
            1945. Oh, we re-formed it before my grandfather

148 TSEGAH EKU. ME YE MA MIE VA FO
            Tsegah died. Is that not what we came and played at

¹There is a Kobazo club at Dzelukofoe which is
separate from the Atsiå club there. Mr. Michael Badu
describes it in his interview. See p. 203, 1. 101ff. We
just missed seeing their performance in early August, 1971,
at Dzelukofoe.
Tsegah II

149  TOGBUI NYE TSEGAWO KU TE FE. YES, 1945
     my grandfather Tsegah's funeral. Yes, 1945.¹

150  Ladzekpo: KE MIA FE VUA DODO LE LOMEA
     Now, your formation of the club at Lomé

151  DEKO WO LE PE KO ABE NUHI EDZI YIM LE EGBE NUKEKE
     is just like what is going on nowadays:

152  WOME ENE, FIHIKE ANLO VIWO EFOFU DO KOA.
     wherever Anlo people are, they form a club.

153  Tsegah: EHEE, NENEMA TUTUTUE.
     That's it, exactly.

154  Ladzekpo: WO SONG DOA EVUA DE.
     They get together and form a club.

155  LE KPODENUME ABE AGBADZA ENE, AGBADZA VA ZU
     For example, like Agbadza. Agbadza has become a

156  EVU HIKE WO DODOM GEDEWA WU. LE AFISIA AFI HIKE
     dance they organize all over. Wherever

157  ANLO VIWO EFOFU DO KOA, WO DI NA BE YE WO DO EVUA DE
     Anlos gather and they want to form a dance club

158  ATSO NO EMO DZAKA DEMEE ALO ABE EKU DO WO NA ENE.
     as a pastime activity, or as something for funerals.

159  KE LOME NO LAWO FE VUA DDOA YIHA ME SE GOME.
     So I understand why Lomé residents formed this club.

160  Tsegah: MENYE NENE MAE?
     Is that not the idea?

161  Madam Hobudi: É, NENEMAE. ELABE MIE DZESIA MIA NOEWO
     Yes, correct. For we do not know each

162  DOKO MIE KAKA DE EDUA ME.
     YE WO WA
     other. We are just scattered about the town. So we

¹The year they re-formed it. The funeral was in 1947.
DUI BE YE WO, DZESIE YE WO NOE WO. YE WO VA decided to come together and know each other. We came

DO ATSIA GOME ANYIBE ENU MA KO DO GEE. YE WO LA HAFI to agree to form Atsiá, that it is only

YE WO KATAA YE WO FOFOFU DE ENU. ALEBENE through that that we can all come together, so that

KU NYA DZO HA YE WO ENU DO. EGBEGBEGBE HA when there is a funeral we can do it. Until today

MIA DOME TODE KU KO YA NU DOE MIE WO NA, if some member dies, it is what we use.1

Tsegah: ATSIA VU HIA YE TOGO TONO FE RADIO LE TOGO. This Atsiá drum is on the Togo radio.

WO FE RADIO YE WO TSO NA DZA ENYA GOME. On their radio they play it before the news:

ATSIA VUA TSOTSO. The opening of Atsiá.2

Ladzekpo: EGANYE ATSIA VU BUBUA DE HIKE Do you know of any other styles of Atsiá

ELE TOGOA? in Togoland?

Tsegah: TOGEO MIE ANLOWO KOE HAE GA LE EGBOE. In Togo just we Anlo are doing it still!

WOWOA NUKPOKPO KO MIE ZUNANAWO. As for them, we became a center of attraction. They3

1 The member of a dance club is honored in music by the club at death. This club at Lomé probably also served to provide, through dues, money to meet the cost of transporting the body back to Anyako for burial.

2 I have not heard it. It would be the command pattern with which atsimevu calls on the smaller drums to begin their play. See the score below, pp. 423-24.

3 Mr. Ladzekpo notes, "I think he is referring to the people of Lomé in particular, and not to the people of all Togoland."
Tsegah II

175 MEQO GA HIE GBOE O. ELABE AMEGA XOXO HIWO LI WOLOE have not revived it. Their old people did it once
176 KPO GADE ASI LE NU. KE ANLOWO KOE GA VA HIE DOTE. but they stopped. Only the Anlo have revived it.

177 Ladzekpo: KE EVU BUBUA DEKE ME LE TOGU FIA HIKE So there's no other dance in Togo which
178 TO NKO BE ATSIÅ HIKE NE NYA O. they call Atsiå that you know of.

179 Tsegah and Madam Hobudi: KE ATSIAGBEKO KO. Maybe just Atsiagbeko. Just
180 AGBEKORE LI. Agbeoko.

181 Ladzekpo: ME DI BE MIA WO EDZE DODO VIAD I want us to have a short conversation
182 TSO MIA FE ANYAKO DUME AFHI FI NYAWO NUTSI. LE about certain things in our town of Anyako here. For
183 KPODENUME TSO MIA FE SUKU NYAWO NU. MIAWO HA MIE NYE example about our school affairs. When we were
184 DEVIWO MIE SI BE EYI EVU OSOFOWO VA children, we heard that when the missionaries came
185 AFIHIA, WO VA DO SUKU DE AFEDOME AFHI HIKE MIE NO here, they built a school in the town where we still
186 YOYOM BE YEVUAWO FE VASEDE EGBE. GAKE call the spot "Europeans' house" up to today. But
187 EYOME VEE KOA NANE VA DO EMODA, MASOMASO DE, after a while there came an incident, a misunderstanding
188 ALEBE YE EDUA NUTO VA DO SUKU and because of that the town built its own school
189 HIKE MI AMEHISO, NYE MIA FOWO DO NGO, MIE NYE which you here, as our seniors,
190 SUKU MA DE LAW. EVU OSOFOWO FE VAVA KPAKPLE attended. The coming of the missionaries and
SUKUA DODDA
the building of the school should be about what year?

Tsegah: HEKUDE SUKU NYAWO NUTSIA ABE ALEHI NE BIA
With regard to school affairs, as you asked,

ENEA, MIA FE BREMEN YEVUWO ALO GERMAN YEVUWO, WOHOE
our Bremen or German white men, they

NYE AME GBANTO HIKE HE SUKU VE ANYAKO DUME
were the first to bring a school to the town of

AFIHI. WO FE GODIDI DE ANYAKO AFIIHIA, ELE EFE
Anyako here. Their Tanding was in the year

AKPE DEKA ALOFA ENYI BLA ATÔ VO ADRE. WO VA DO
one thousand eight hundred fifty-seven. They built

SUKUA, YEMAYIA SUKU DEDE NYA ME NYE ENU BOBOE O.
the school when such was not an easy thing.

ALE LE NU NLO DI, KPLE NYA GBLO DIWO KPLE AME HİWO
According to records, verbal accounts and eye

TSUIDO NUA WONTOWOE FLE AMEOGO
witness accounts, they themselves bought slaves and

HAFI DE SUKU. ME NO BOBOE BE WO KPO
sent them to school. It was not easy for them to get

AMEWO WODE ASI WOVIWO NU WO YI SUKU O. ALE
people to allow their children to go to school. Since

WONUTOWO, ALE WO DZESIE ENUA FE NYONYOE,
they themselves knew the value of formal education -

YEMAYIA AME ASI TSATSA LI, WONUTOWO GA
there was slavery in those days - they themselves

FLE AME HE DEA SUKU. ALE
bought pupils and sent them to school. This is how

WO DZE GOMEH HAFI WO VA YI AMEWO VA TE SIDZEOZEA
they started before people began to realize its value,

HAFI WO TE DEDE. ALE ANYAKO DUME AFIIHIE
before they started to go. So here at Anyako
207 YEVU WO NOANYI. WO DO SEMINAR Y WO HA DI. Europeans came to live. They built even a seminary,
208 MA WUNYA SRO FE WO DI. YE NYE TEFE a place for the study of theology. It was the
209 KOKOTO HIKE SUKU NYA EYI EDZI LE LE highest place where education went on in the whole
210 EVE NYIGBA KATAA DZI. WO DZE EGOME LE PEKI, GAKE ME of Eve land. They started in Peki, but it
211 WO NANEKE O. ALE WO DE ASIE NU. WO VA DZE was not encouraging. So they gave up. Then they
212 EGOME LE KETA, GAKE KETA YEMAWOYIA AME ME LIE began in Keta, but at Keta in those days there were
213 SUGBO O, KO YIHA ME YI DZI O. not sufficient people, so it was not successful either.
214 KO ANYAKO DUME AFIIHI YE WO VA DE SUKU KPLE MISSION Anyako alone became for schooling and missionary
215 DOWOWO KATAA DZIE LE EVE NYIGBADZI. AFIIHI WO VA KPO activities the center in Eveland. Here they saw
216 DZIYIYIE LE HI. progress take place.
217 Ladzekpo: MIE SE NE BE EHI WO VA KETA We always hear that when they came, Keta
218 NYE TEFE GBANTOWO DZE. was their first station.

219 Tsegah: NYA TEFE NYAE WO NYE BE PEKIE WO TO GBAN. It's a fact that they passed Peki first.
220 MISSION OSOFO HIA WOA, AKWAPIM. WO NO These missionaries lived in Akwapim. They were in

1Rev. W. E. Nutsuako writes that it was transferred from Ho (see Map 1 near 0° east, 6° north) to Anyako in 1869 and remained there until 1881. See below, p. 340.
Egeh Faa Va Yi De Akwapim. Afimae Wo No. Accra, then went to Akwapim. There they lived.

Afimae Wotso, Eto Afo Mo Do De Peki. Ke Hi Wo Va From there they came on foot to Peki. When they came

Peki, Eveawo Me Tenu Edzesi Wo O. to Peki, the Northern Eyes did not give them recognition.

Ale Ava Wowo Kple Towo Va De Fu Nawo, Ale They troubled them with wars and other things, so

Wo Dzo Peki, Kenkenken Eva, Be Anyo Be they left Peki completely, saying that it might be

Ye Wo Va No Futa, Be Ne Yeno better for them to live on the coast; that if

Novia Dewo Yenwo Dzim Ma Wo Ke De Yenwo Nu some of their colleagues came after them they can

Ale Wo Tqo Eyi Gea Wo Tso Todzivu. easily find them. So they went back to Accra by ship.

Ye Mayi Me Li Nye Asivu Wo Do Na Va Digo At that time ships were the only commercial transportation

De Keta To Keta.

Ladzekpo: Ke Nuka Tututue Na Hafi, Toto So what was behind the misunderstanding

Va Ge De Yewu Osowo Kple Mia De Towo Dome Eye Mia De between the missionaries and our people when they

Towo Na Va Do Suku Hike Mie Yo Na Be decided to build their own school which we call the

Anlo Awome Fia Suku, Hike Lie Egbebegbe. Anlo Awome Fia School, which still exists?

1 About forty-five miles due north from Accra.

2 Some forty-five miles northeast from Akwapim and not far from Ho, regional headquarters of the Volta region. They usually travelled in litters borne by foot carriers.
Tsegah: O! HAFI, TOJOE VA DO EVE MISSIONA,  
O! Before, the dispute between the Eye mission,

ALO BREMEN MISSION KPLE ANYAKO DUA DOME EYI  
or Bremen mission, and the Anyako people happened

ALE. LE EFE AKPE DEKA ALOFA ASIEKE BLAEVE VO  
this way. In the year one thousand nine hundred twenty-

ASIEKEA ME, NYEANYE NUTO, AME HI ENU FOM LE AFIHA,  
nine I myself, the person speaking now,

ME LE SUKU. E', ME LE AGBALE EVE DZI YEMAYI HIKE NYE  
was in school. Yes, at that time I was in

STANDARD TWO LE BREMEN MISSION LE ANYAKO DUME AFIHI.  
Standard Two¹ at the Bremen mission in Anyako here.

YA KOE OSOFOA HINO ANYI YEMAYI,  
Suddenly, the missionary in charge at that time,

WO YO NE BE ENYALEMEGBE, YE WOWO ABE EWEAWO ENEA,  
called Nyalemegbe, since he was from north EVELAND,

WO VAE KPO ABOR. ABE AME HIKE AGBLE DEDE NYOA WONU  
went and saw Abor. As one who likes farming,

ENE, ABOR VA NYE AFIHIKE VA DZE EDZI NA WO, DI BE YE  
he came to prefer Abor; he wanted

WO NO AGBLE HA DEM, OSOFO HA NENO AGBLE HA DEM KPLE  
to be doing farming, the pastor also wanted to farm.

ENU MAWO. KO WO YI DE WO FE SYNOD, WO  
So when they went to their Synod, they

VAE GBOLOE DO EKPE DZI BE YE WO TSO MIDDLE SCHOOL  
agreed among themselves to move the Middle School

LE ANYAKO SUKU ME YEMAYI - EYE MA GBLO BE  
which was at Anyako at that time - and I must say that

LE ANLO NYIGBA DZI KATAA, KETA KPLE ANYAKO KO  
in all of AnLO land, only Keta and Anyako had a

¹Equivalent to grade 5 in the United States.
MIDDLE SCHOOL ELE - EYE YEMAYIA WO DI BE WO TSO
Middle School1 - and at that time they wanted to move

MIDDLE SCHOOL ANYAKO AFHIA AVE DA DE ABOR, ALE NE
Anyako's Middle School to Abor, so that after

EDE SUKU EVA SEDE AGBALE ETØ HIKE NYE STANDARD THREE
you have completed class six, or Standard Three,

EYE FIFIA WO YO NA BE CLASE SIX, NA DZO AYI DE ABOR
which now they call Class Six, you go to Abor

HAFI AVAE YI SUKU DZI. EHIA MIA DE TOWOGBE NO YA
to continue your schooling. This our people objected

YEWO DZIDZIM BE AGBALE ADE-ADRE
for they wanted rather than Standard Six and Seven, and

NA VE YEWO GBO FIFI ENE KPLE ATØ HIE LIA, WO GA HE GE,
now they are going to move Standard Four and Five

ALE NE ANYAKO VIE DE SUKU VASEDE AGBALE ETØ KOA WO DZO
when Anyako children go to school through Standard

AYI ABOR EYATA. A - AO!
Three, then they have to go to Abor. Oh, no!

MISSION TOWO HA GBE WO VLI
The missionaries also refused. They2 argued the point,

EWO DOLAWO DO DE SKUKUA NUNOLAWO KPLE [FHA]
they sent delegates to school officials and leaders

NUNOLAWO KATAA GBO WOGBE. ALE EMO BUBUA DEKE
of the church, but they refused. So no other choice

ME LI NA ANYAKO TOWO WONO O, KO WO BE NO!
was left the Anyako people, but to say "No!" As for

ABOR YEWO ME YI GE O. ALO YEWO ME SUKUA DZI DE GE
Abor, they will not go. Or if they will reduce the

AKPOTO O, KE NE NYE NENEMA YE WO NUTOWO, YE WO DZE
classes, if that's the case they themselves will start

1Instituted by Headmaster W. E. Nutsuako in 1913,
according to his own account in Appendix B below, p. 359.

2The people of Anyako.
SUKU YEYE GOME. EYA WOE BE ENUHI EFE
a new school. And because of that, in the year

AKPE DEKA ALOFA ASIEKE BLAETI MEA, WO DZE EFO TUTU
one thousand nine hundred thirty, they started

GOME. ALE EFE MA WUNU EKPOLO DO KOA,
building classrooms. So by the end of that year, and

WO VU SUKU DE KPOTA EYA
the following, they opened a school at Kpota, and it

NYE A. A. FIA SUKU HIA LI FIA. YE WO
was the A.A. Fia School, which is there still. It was

TUI BLAETI KPLE BLAETI VO DEKE WO TUI. SUKUA NUTO
built between 1930 and 1931. The school itself

DZE EGOME '32.
started in '32.

Ladzekpo: EM! SUKUA WO YO NE BE ANLO AWOME FIA
Well, the school is called Anlo Awoame Fia

SCHOOL, EVO MIAWO AWOME FIA LE ANLOGA KE, EVO
School, but while our Awoame Fia is at Anloga, the

ANYAKOE ENUA EDZI YIM ELE. NUKATAE WO DZE BE
trouble is happening at Anyako. Why is it that

WOTSO YA FE NKO AKO NE SUKUA DO EFIA HIWO LE EDUA MEA
they gave his name to the school and not that of

WO ME NE WO FE DEKE FE NKO SUKUA O?
one of the chiefs at Anyako?

Tsegah: AWOME FIA YE NYE ANLO AGBATO BLAETI VO ADÉ
The Awoame Fia heads all chiefs of the whole

KATAA, WO FE FIA GA. EYI TOTO HIA VA YI HA
thirty-six towns of Anlo. When this thing happened,

NYE AME HIKE ANYAKOTOWO TSO ENYA YI GBOE,
he was one of the people of Anyako went and talked to,

EYE WO SE EGOME KPLE ANYAKOTOWO ELE EME. BE YEMAYI
and he understood and sided with them. Because when
NE EMO ME TOWO WO ME XO SUKUA O WO ME ASSIST O KOA, the Government gives the school no assistance,

EMO ME TOWO ME WO NUHI DZIDUDU ME XEA FE NA TEACHERWO the Government will not pay the teachers.

O. EYE ENU MAWO KATAA ANYAKOTOWO ENYE EKO KPOA, And when the people of Anyako saw all these facts

WO DI BE MEGBE KPOADE NE NO ANYI NE SUKUA, YEMAYI they wanted someone to back the school. AT that time

ME GBLOM MIE LEA AWOME FIA HIE LE EZI DZIA we are talking about, the paramount chief on the stool

YE NYE TOGBUI SRI YA KOE NYE INFLUENTIAL PERSON was Togbui Sri [II]. He was the only influential person

ELE ANLO ME YE MA YI. ALE ANYAKO TOWO DE NÜGBLÉ BE anywhere in Anlo. The people of Anyako felt that

NE WO TSO SUKUA TSO EKPLA NE KOA, AWO EFE NUSE DO BE when they name the school after him, his influence

DZI DUDU HA NA DE ASI DE SUKUA DZI EYA WO BE WO BIE will be used to see that the school is assisted by the

EFE MODEDE, EYE WO DEMO WO TSO YIFE TITLE Government. They asked and he allowed his title to be

TSO NE SUKUA. used for the School.

Ladzekpo: KE DEKO WO LE ABE ALE HIKO NYA GBOGBLO So it is just like that saying which

MEWO GBLO BE, "ATSI NUWO TSIA ENYI DO." we have, "It is to a tree that you tie cattle."

Tsegah: TUTUTUTU. Exactly.

1 Elected 1905, installed 1907, he held office until his death in 1957.
295 Ladzekpo: AME KA WOE NYE, GANYE ANLO TOWO ALO ANYAKO
What other Anlo people or Anyako

descendants are there who might have played a major role in this crisis in those days?

298 Tsegah: O0! AME GEDEWO YIKU NUTO, LE AME HIWO LE ENYA
No! Most of the people died who were in that issue. But fortunately right now there are two important ones still alive. They are Messrs. W. E.

NUTSUAKOR KPLE R. E. GBEDEMAH. ME MAWO GA LI.
Nutsuako and R. E. Gbedemah. They are still living.

When they had made all their plans, they selected a

BUILDING COMMITTEE AME HIKE NO RESPONSIBLE NE SUKUA
Building Committee which was responsible for school construction. There were seven members on that

MA ME. AME GBATOE NYE AFETO W. E. NUTSUAKOR.
committee. The first person was Mr. W. E. Nutsuako.

EVELIA NYE MAWUALO M. TOPPAR. ETOLIA NYE AFETO
The second was Mawualo M. Toppar. The third, Mr.

DAMALIE, AMENAKPO DAMALIE, ROCKMAN FOFO. AME [ENELIA]
Damalie, Amenakpo Damalie, Rockman's father. Fourth

NYE NYENUTOE NU FOM AFIIHIA FOFO NYE AHETO TSEGAH.
was myself, the present speaker's father Aheto Tsegah.

AME ATOLIA NYE CLIFFORD KOMI SEDZIAFAH-KUSHITO.
The fifth person was Clifford Komi Sedziafa-Kushito.

AME ADELIA NYE CHRISTIAN KODZO DIADE, EYE AME ADRELIA
The sixth was Christian Kodzo Dzade, and the seventh
NYE ENUHI, EXEHIAMIE NQAYOYOM BE ENUXEPIKOKLO, ENUHI was this one we called sacrificial chicken," this man,

BLOLO FOFO, FIAHAGBE. Blolo's father, Fiahagbe [Awudi].

Ladzekpo: ENUHIDE AFETO HUSUNUKPE DEE AKPA KE WO NO How about Mr. Husunukpe, what part did he

NE SUKIA FE NYAWO YEMAYI? play in school affairs at that time?

Tsegah: AFETO HUSUNUKPEA YEMAYIA WOWOE NYE AMELIWO Mr. Husunukpe at that time was one of those

ENYE DEKAPUI EHA FOFOLA FUWO. GAKE METENU NO who organized the youths. But he was not on the

BUILDING COMMITTEE ME O. Building Committee.

Ladzekpo: EE, EDO NKU NUHIA DE DZI NAM. Yes, this thing reminds me of something.

TAKADA VIWO FE HAA DE DZI BE "NUTSUAKOR KPLE GBEDEMAH A Takada club song goes, "If not for Nutsuako and Gbedemah

NE WOAWOE ME NYEO NE DUA GBA." KEM SUKU NYA HIA the town would be ruined." Then this school affair...

Tsegah: SUKU NYA HIA NUE WO KPE HA MA DO, EE. The song is about this school affair, yes.

Ladzekpo: KE NE WO BE WOAGBLO HA HIA KPA YIE KOA KE So if we want to say when it was composed,

1 Each Division of Anyako was represented by two men on this Committee. Rev. Nutsuako gives this list with some difference in spellings, with the Divisions indicated and with the offices filled. See below, p. 367.
ROUNGLY AROUND . . . 1932 GODZIE YE WO KPE HA HIA. it was roughly around . . . 1932 when it was composed.¹

Tsegah: WHICH IS NOW 39 YEARS NOW.

Ladzekpo: NOW LE MIA FE ANLO ME WO NOA GBLOM BE Now in Anlo there is something they call
ANLO GBOT A BLATÔ VO ADÈ. GOME SESE KAE. "the thirty-six towns of Anlo." What is the meaning?

Tsegah: ANLO DUWO KATAA EHI ANLOAWO TSO HOGBE NO When the Anlo came from Hogbe [Notsie] ANLO
ANYI, HE DU TSON VUKEKE KOA, WO FE DUTSOTSANO KATAA. and started to settle down, they settled these towns.
YE VA NYE DU GBOT A BLA ATÔ VO ADÈ, ELI HIKE WOAYO. These became the thirty-six towns, as they are called.

GAKE EGBA FIA, EVA WU MEGA NYE GBOT A, ENUHI, BLA ATÔ But these days there are more towns than these thirty-
VO ADÈA O, EDUWO GA VA TSI DE EDZI. LE KPODENUME NE six; they have built more towns. For example, when

VO ANLO GBOT A BLA ETÔ VO ADÈ XLEMEA, EVUI ME LE counting the thirty-six towns of Anlo, Vui is not

ME O. ABOLOVE ME LE ME O. BLEKUSU-ΧΟVΙ ME LE ME O. included. Aволобе is not.² BLEKUSU-ΧΟVΙ is not.

GAKE EDU MAWO NYE EDU NOA ANYI MIA TOGBUIWO WODA DE But the thirty-six are those our grandfathers were

DZI WOAWE NOANYI proud of. They were the original towns when they

WODEA NUGBEWO KOA YEMAYIA WOA WOE NYE BLA ETÔ VO ADÈA. used to go to wars, and they are thirty-six.

¹Mr. Tsegah later noted in a letter that it was composed by a woman named Amadeveea, the mother of Nyade Agbeyome of Adotori Division (Atigate). See p. 5, n.4.

²Mr. Togobo of Anloga includes it. See his interview, p. 268, where it is called Borlorve.
Tsegah: EE, EVA DZO ALEBE EHI SUKU NYAA DZOA, EVA ZU
Yes, it came about that the school crisis was

ATAM NA ANYAKO DU BLIBOA KATAA. ALE ANYAKO AYANU
a great concern of the whole town. So the three-

ETOA ME FIAWO WO TEDE TEKPO-ADZOHLOE
Division chiefs of Anyako approached the Tekpo-Adzohloe

FOMEA KPLE BADU FOMEA NUTI, WOAWOE NYE
Family and Badu family about it - they are the

AMEHIWO FE ANYIGBAWO LE TEFE HIKE WO TSA
people whose lands are the place where, after going

VUKEKE KPO BE ANYO BE WOA TU SUKUA DO.
Round, they saw the only suitable place to build the

ALEBE FIAWO TEDE FOME EVE HIA NU
school. So the chiefs contacted these two families,

EYABIA ANYIGBA ENUHI WOTOWO. DEKAKPUI HAWO WODOWO
to ask about the land. — After the delegation

WO YA TEDE WO NU EBIA ANYIGBAWO,
returned which went to ask the owners of the land,

EHI WO KPO ANYIGAA VOA, KEYAE HAFI WO XO TUGEA
and those people had agreed, after that they handed

HAFI WO TSOE DE ASI NA BUILDING COMMITTEEA.
it over to the Building Committee.

Ladzekpo: WO NOA GBOGBLOM BE ANYAKO KPO HIA,
People keep saying that this island of Anyako

ATSIAMEWO FE ANYIGBA WO NYE HAFI MIE VA LE EDZI.
was Tsiame land — before we settled on it.
ENYE NANE ENUTI HIKE NAGBLOA?
Is there anything you know you can tell?

Tsegah: EE! EKPOE ME YIMEE BOO. ME NYE ENU ENU
Eh! You are taking me far. Do I know something

MAGBLOA? EE, VAVAE WONYE BE ANYAKO KPO HIA
about it? Yes, it's true that this island of Anyako

ATSIAMEAWO FE KPOE. ATSIAMEAWOA, WO NYE ANLO FE
is the Tsiames' island. They are part of the Anlos'

AKPA DEKA WOA, ANLO DUE, GAKE EHI WO DZE MO TSO
number. It's an Anlo town, but when they left

HOGBEA, ETSO NOTSIEA, WOAWO ME DE ANLO 0.
Hogbe, or Notsie, they did not go to Anlo.¹ The

ATSIAME YA ME DE ANLO KPO 0. ALEBE ANLOAWO YA DEWO
Tsiame never saw Anlo. As for the Anlo, they

TOM VUKEKEKE YA DRO DE ANLO FEME.
walked on until they reached Anlo house [Anloga].

TSIAMEAWOA, EHI WO TSO VUKEKEKEA, WOAWOA KLEVE ME.
The Tsiame, they walked on until they reached Kleve.²

AFIHI WO VA TSI. EHI WO SE BE AMEGA VENYA
There they stayed. When they heard that Elder Venya

NLO DE ANLO KOA,
reached Anloga] unable to move,³ they remained

¹That is, to the town that is the historical point of
origin for the populating of most of the Anlo area, Anloga.

²Kleve is the peninsula just west of Anyako island. See
Map 3, p. 4, near 0° 55′ east, 6° north. Notsie lies off the
map to the upper right. The Tsiame kept the Keta Lagoon on
their left as they moved. The Anlo kept it on their right.
Anloga is bottom center on Map 3, Fiaxo above it.

³"Nlo" means "cramped" or "folded up." When Venya
reached the site of Anloga, he said he could go no further
because he was too cramped (he had been carried in a litter
all the way because of his extreme age). Both "Anlo" and
"Anloga" are derived from this word.
AFIHI. ALEBE ANLOAwO YA DEWO NLO here at Kleve. As for the Anlo, they could not move

DE ANLOGA. ENO AFIMA YUKEKEKEafia
from Anloga. They stayed there for some time before

VA VE EVEGO AFIHI, YEMAYIA ATSIAMEAwO YA LE ENUHI coming here. At that time the Tsiame were in this

AFIHI, KLEVE ME, EE, HAFI wO NOVIWOM EMEGBE place here, Kleve Forest, yes, before their neighbors

ZOM VA. ALE TAFLATSE
followed. In fact - excuse me for mentioning it -

LE ANYAKO DUME AFIHI, AME HIWO KATA KPO ANYIGBA LE in Anyako here, all those people who have land at

KPOTAA, ANYIGBA DESSADEA, TSIAME ME WO DO TSO HAFI WO, Kpota, some kind of land, are descendants of Tsiames.1

Ladzekpo: NYA GBE ANYAKOA EGOME DE?
What is the meaning of "Anyako"?

Tsegah: GOMEDEDEWO LE ESI FUU ESUGBO. AMADEWO It has several meanings. Some people

GBLONA BE "ANYAKO NA WOE A?"; AMADEWO GBLONA BE say "Can you weed it?"; some people say

ANYAA, TOGBUI ANYA WO KPO YE VA NO KPOA DZI, Anya, Togbi Anya was the one who lived on the land,

KO ANYA KO, ANYA WO KPO WO NOA YO ME VUU WO VA ZU and so it is referred to or called Anya's hill or

ANYA WO KO, KO EHIA, NYE ME GEDE ME Anya's island. However I did not go so much into

1Land rights descend maternally as well as paternally.
377 TUTUUTU BE MADIDEGO EHI DZIE ME KADO 0.
details to know which is correct.

......

1 The interview concludes with a discussion of
Amegayito and Nayo. Amegayito is a god that was worshipped by
Dzelu of Anyako "before he built Dzelukofe." The god is still
in its original location, called "Amegayito's House," and is
worshipped by the Sedziafa family, descendants of Dzelu, with
the assistance of the entire Woe Division. [Dzelu is remembered
among the Some as an herbalist who had to flee Anyako for harm-
ing a patient. He came to Vuga, next to Keta, to practice, and
his fame caused the name of the village to be changed to
"Dzelu's village," Dzelukofe. See Adumah, Ewe traditions
No. 3, (Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of

All three Divisions of Anyako join together to give
sacrifice to Nayo because it was the property of Chief Tenge
Dzokoto of Lasibi Division, who got it for the whole town.
Where he got it from and who the people were who take care
of it in the town of Anyako are not mentioned.
APPENDIX B

THE NUTSUAKO MANUSCRIPT

Background Notes

Ahiekpō Nutsuako was born in Anyako in 1891. His surname is that of his father. It is derived from the words in Anlo for male (natsu) and tall (eko) and refers to the large size of his father at birth. In 1900 he enrolled in the Anyako mission school of the Norddeutsche Missionen Gesellschaft of Bremen, as a result of the persuasive efforts of his first cousin, Mr. Edmund Keleve, the teacher there at that time. At his baptism, he chose the name Wilfred to honor Wilfred Bonifaciус, one of the earliest missionaries to the Germans around the river Elbe.

In 1909, Wilfred Elliott Ahiekpō Nutsuako joined the teaching staff of the Anyako mission school and became its headmaster in 1912. The next year he expanded the school to add Middle Forms I and II, the equivalent of grades seven and eight in the United States. This was the first time any mission station outside the district center at Keta had ever offered this level of education. In 1929 he aided the further expansion of the school, despite the direct opposition of the Eve Presbyterian Synod Committee (the mission pastor at Anyako sought to have the senior grades established instead at Abor, six miles away). To
achieve this goal, it was necessary for the headmaster to organize the entire town, a remarkable effort in itself, and to build with them an entirely new school free from direct missionary control. The history of the Anyako mission, and the story of the founding of Anyako's own independent school, are given in these pages.

Mr. Natsuako retired as headmaster in February of 1950 and joined the Apostles Revelation Society, a large, syncretic Christian church with headquarters at Tadzevu, just north of Abor. He is now an ordained minister of this Church.

Text of the Manuscript
A Short History of Missionary Activities in Anyako
1857-1957
by Rev. W. E. Natsuako

The island town of Anyako

Anyako is an island situated and lying in the Anlo Lagoon eight miles hinterlands from Keta, the commercial port of the whole Ewe Land in those early times. It is perhaps the oldest human habitation island among the island towns of this vast lagoon, the largest of all lagoons of the then Gold Coast, now Ghana!

The Aborlors who were said to have been the ancient dwellers of this island, and those descendants are now people of Tsevie, Davie and Dadoave in Togoland, might have been a large family of artisans, traces of whose broken earthen cooking
pots, cups, pipes, saucers, water coolers and other utensils could be dug from the soil between the old Bremen Mission Station and Konu, the suburb of Anyako. The late Presbyter Joseph Awute Tosu of the Bremen Mission had collected a lot of these utensils and implements, some of which he presented to the Missionaries as souvenirs.

The story was that, for a cruel and merciless crime committed by these wicked Aborlors against a pregnant Weta woman, they were sharply driven by the united armies of the Weta, Afifes and Tsiames far into Togoland. Many legends and fine stories were told about the founder and builder of the present town of Anyako. Some of these allegations are mere sugarcoated fabrications to suit the political situation of these adulators and litigants to incline justice to their side in their different land cases. Ancestral eye-witnesses and historians said that in those earliest times there were plenty of an evergreen and medicinal tree known and called "anyā" growing in the island, hence the name Anyako meaning an island growing with anyā trees, such as the Canary Islands, Coral Islands, etc.

Yet others claimed a man whose name was Anyā first settled on the island, hence his name was given to the place:

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1 Konu occupies the eastern end of the island, and is a separate town. See Plate III, p. 11 above.
"Anyā's Island". A still further version which seemed to have some truth about it alleged that three brothers, Kpewu, Hanyrā and Tsitsiakor, and their sister Biana, who were of the Tsoaforwo tribe, inherited the Anyako island from their Abolor uncles, and had each their respective farms on the island.

The story went on. Biana, who was made a "Sacrifice" (fiasidi) at Anloga, married one Akaba there. Biana, on returning to the island, persuaded her husband Akaba, who came from Anloga with his followers. To him Biana granted the farm lands of her brothers Kpewu, Hanyrā and Tsitsiakor, who by that time removed with the other Tsiame dwellers of Kleve to Xovi at Tsiame, a highland some few miles yonder.

Other settlers from Anloga, Woe and elsewhere followed, and after some time a whole township was formed comprising the three Divisions of Anlo--Adortri, Woe and Lasibi--which is never in any other of the 35 towns of the Anlo Confederacy.

1 Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo's great-great-great-great-grandfather, a Tsiame fisherman. The family keeps his stool and can point out where he lived in Anyako. Mr. Togobo of Anloga confirms that Anyā was there first. See above, p. 277.

2 Another name for the Tsiame clan.

3 To propitiate a powerful fetish, her family gave her to its shrine at Anloga.

4 Akaba was a chief in Adotri Division, Anloga. The shrine gets the bride-payment, not the girl's parents.
Early beginning of Missionary activities in Anyako

This historic island town of Anlo, famed alike in song and story, home of the brave and fearless, the salt and pride of Anlo, ¹ nicknamed "Ame no dzeheme di Afanteawo," meaning "dust dwellers exceeding the Fanties in cleanliness"; clever, industrious and having a high sense of patriotism, the only town in the Anlo Confederacy comprised of the three wings—Adonteheme (Adotri),² Right and Left Wings, and under whose "three Shades"³ final decisions in all civil cases, and in whose "Akuime"⁴ all criminal decisions, were taken once for all in those days of bloodshed and gloom; having a population of over 4,000 people, was already flourishing Commercially, politically and otherwise when the first "Nord Deuche Missione", afterwards known and called Bremen Mission, and now Evangelical Presbyterian Church, arrived at Keta on Sept. 3, 1853, a place comparatively speaking a village of 3-5 huts and very few people.

In those days of the survival of the fittest there were no Lome-Palime Road or Railways; Denu-Ho Road; Keta-Lome Road;

¹Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo notes that "Anyako people consider themselves the salt of Anlo because they feel that without them nothing can go on in Anlo successfully." See the Awoame Fia's remarks further on, pp. 374-75.

²"Center."

³Trees in a square in Lasibi Division.

⁴A house in Adotri Division used only for this purpose, and for discussing war plans.
Anyako Wute Road; Denu-Abor-Accra Road; Ho-Senche-Accra Road. To be brief no single road in the whole Trans Volta, except the Bremen Missionaries' hammock carriers' footpath from Anyako to Ho. Anyako then formed the gateway of the whole Ewe Land--Togoland inclusive. Here all the rubber, palm oil and kernel, monkey skins and other commercial commodities from the interior passed to Keta, the then very busy port of the Gold Coast.

Obdurate and warlike our forefathers then were; the missionaries did not dream of planting any station at Anyako.

Missionaries Plessings and Steinneman, soon after they have sound footing at Keta where the population was then very small, attempted to build a new station at Tsiame, a fetish headquarters and a hilly town overlooking the sea thirteen miles beyond the Keta Lagoon.¹ The people of Tsiame, who considered any act of hospitality to the new strangers a serious offense to their heathen gods and charms, not only declined, but hooted at and pelted the poor missionaries and their few followers in the most furious and merciless manner. Disappointed in their main target with which they left Keta, and harassed and perplexed in various ways, the two missionaries proceeded to Adaklu, and then to Waya, places far hinterland whose people welcomed them and sold them land

¹Tsiame is about thirteen miles from Keta by canoe across the Lagoon.
upon which a mission station was established in the year 1856. The decree of Nature about Anyako must take its priority course; the seed of the word of God must be sown beside all waters.

In the following year, the 14th of April, 1857, the daring missionaries ventured to approach the elders of Anyako soliciting for land whereon to build a "midd Station" between Keta and Waya, their two main Stations. Contrary to their doubts and fears, the Anyako people were friendly and sold part of the Cactus Field at the eastern end of the town to them. Happily, the Steamship "Dahomey" imported building materials for the missionaries from Germany. On the 2nd day of September, 1857, Rev. Knecht from Keta disembarked from the mission boat to start the building work.

In the ensuing two years hard building work started at Anyako, and was completed in the most fitting manner soon afterwards. In the year 1858, the Missions Synod Committee which sat at Anyako took the decision and recorded the reopening of their first station at Peki Blengo against all odds. During the year 1859, missionaries Kohlhammer and Schlegel were called away from their busy earthly toils. Missionary Boehm followed soon after! Observing the geographical position of Anyako as the then gateway of the whole Ewe Land, and collecting some important details of Anlo affairs, the missionaries made the right impression in those dim years, as follows: "Giving up our missionary work at Anyako would be like removing
one's heart from his chest."

Encouragements, 1860-1874

Soon after the necessary buildings were completed and fitted in a complete working order, vigorous work was started by the missionaries with shifted pupils from other places, and their own liberated slaves. Indeed the missionaries did not only preach the Gospel, but had combined teaching and preaching the Gospel—nay, they had attempted medical work, crafts and agriculture, such as the felling of ago beams, burnt brick making, poultry and gardening. Many of our tropical fruit trees quite unknown to our deceased ancestors were brought, planted and nursed by the missionaries, such as the cocoanut ("white man's nut": yevu ne), mango, oranges, soursoup, guava and coffee. At that time, said observers, the mission station usually bloomed with sweet and scented flowers such as The Pride of Barbados, Olleanda, Blue Bells, ornamental crotons and even Rose, and its pruned hedges of shrubs and evergreens, the whole station looked like Paradise on earth! Chief among the teachers were Mansfeld, Haupt, Hannemuth, Staub, Tolch and Nordholtz. In the year 1862 Missionaries Emil Breitehin and Heinrich Binder also joined the Heavenly host. The climate worked havoc, but the work once begun marches on in triumph.

1 A species of palm tree.
The unsuccessful Anlo youths, disappointed in their defeat by the Adas assisted by the English,¹ in their return from the Funu War of 1868 threatened to do harm to the missionaries by looting their properties both at Keta and Anyako, but were vehemently rebuked and admonished by the Fieldmarshal, Axorlu.²

During the Datsu and Ashanti wars of 1866 and 1869 respectively, the missionaries at both these places were sheltered by the Anlos, who were allies to the Ashanties. But during the Goldworthy or Gbedzidzavu war of 1870-1874, affairs were not so much favourable. On January 27, 1874, Anyako was set on fire and looted. Missionaries Birkmaier, Müller and Lodholz stayed unmoved on the station during these turbulent times. When, however, they were forced to abandon the place for Keta, because of the unbearable filth resulting from the unmerciful and wholesale slaughter of all living animals in the town by the enemy's soldiers, both the soldiers and people from the surrounding villages looted almost all the moveable mission properties. On June 24, 1874, the missionaries at Keta and Anyako witnessed the Treaty of Peace between the Anlos and the English Government at Dzelukofe. Nevertheless, the mission stations at Ho and Anyako were thoroughly ruined with an

¹The Adas live on the west bank of the mouth of the Volta River, just west of the Keta Lagoon.

²General of the armies of the Anlo Confederacy.
estimated loss of about £1,200, and till hence the latter Station could not regain her former beauty.

Thorough repair was made to the Mission after the sad hostilities were over, but soon salty-soiled Anyako again claimed the mortal remains of Missionary Lodholz in the year 1877. Missionary Wilhelm Jugling, who died at Keta in the year 1879, left his last words down that his corpse should be buried at Anyako, the place he had mostly laboured. His will was carried accordingly!

By this time the seminary was transferred from Ho to Anyako, 1869-1881, where it remained for twelve years. The work flourished, and several young men from the interior—from Agbozumé (Somey)¹ and even from Anecho,¹ Togoland, attended school at Anyako where they received free tuition, were periodically supplied with the uniform known and called "Mikpata," and, in the Middle School, were given a monthly subsistence of from 2/- to 4/- for their meals. Among the old first products of the Anyako School may be mentioned Jonathan A. Blagogee, G. B. S. Harlley, and John Tsófianeku Woze of Anyako; Gagba Quist, Theophilus Quist, Peter Quist, and William L. Van Lare of Keta; Theophilus Amegbor Tamakloe of upper Wuti; Anthony Agbetsolefa, Adabanu, Gbogbo, and Ansa, all of Somey; and one Kudorli of Kedzi and Woe.

¹Area names. Somey lies just to the east of the Keta Lagoon. Anecho is on the coast, east of Loué ("funeo").
Many brilliant teachers were also produced. Chief among these were Karl Kofi of Kedzi, Jonathan B. Akaba of Anyako, and many others from elsewhere. The succeeding tragical series of fatalities calling to rest such Missionaries as aforementioned, coupled with the missionaries Binder, Jacob Bihler, who died successively in 1880 and 1881, had led to the entire abandonment of Anyako by the Missionaries! The station's fine upstairs and other out buildings were demolished, and the building materials removed to Keta. Since then Anyako remained a substation for long 35 years! Some of the Juvenile Branch of pupils of this era were: Adzidzu Agbaiza, Kpôwobe Blagogee, Emmanuel Lumor, Edmund Keleve, Goka, Andreas Ahiaho, Akpoxolo Kuwodo Damalie, Johanes Aflakpui, J. Bobodzi Agbekey, and several others!

The sad period of abandonment, 1882-1889

During the dark and gloomy interim 1882-1889, several teachers exchanged one another in running the Anyako Station. Some of these were Johnatan Akaba for 5 years, Simon Peter Quist 9 years, Timothy Janda and some other temporary ones.

The morning and evening prayer services suffered in the hands of untrained presbyters and laymen, indeed the whole school and church work was dwarfed. However, the period had born many pupils who, after their school days were over and they entered the sea of life, became influential members and backbones of the church. Those were Robert Dzidodo Senaya,
Alfred Dzidofe Damalie, Clement Amuzu Nyonator, Alfred Afagbedi Nyonator, Alexander Agbagblo Agudogo, Blitsikpu Agbedzinu, Charles Klutse Okpata, Phanuel Adebi Ackuaku, Cephas Kobla Agbetudor, Waiwin Wukanya Kpogo, Ferdinand Tetty Tay, Theophilus Kueyorwu, Samuel Atatsi Setufe, Leo Abotsi Gordon, Edward Aglonu Helegbe, Amevuvor Demanya, John Dzikulee Tosu and some other young ones. Anyako was again set on fire because of Chief Glagovi Agbemadokonu Tenge Dzokoto¹ and his sworn friend Tsitsi's support given the slave merchant Geraldo de Lima, who attempted the arrest of the then District Commissioner of Keta.²

Lightening Hope, 1900-1902

With the transfer of Teacher Edmund Keleve, now Rev. E. L. K. Ayikutu, to Anyako in January, 1900, who remained only four months here, only to be replaced by Teacher Jonathan Geraldo de Lima, the work of God was again continued with renewed strength and vigour.

Edmund Keleve, as he was commonly known and called, was

¹ Some of the history of, and songs about, this remarkable leader were collected from oral tradition and published by E. Y. Aduamah as Ewe traditions No. 5 (Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 1965), a mimeographed pamphlet. A wealth of material remains uncollected.

² Slaving in the Anlo area is discussed by Mr. Roland Gbedemah and Rev. Nutsakó in interviews. See above, pp. 228-233 and pp. 253-56. Aduamah describes these events, ibid., p. 2. Evidently, the burning of Anyako was in 1884.
purposely, we presume, sent to Anyako by God to select and
force to go to school one, the author, who should in the course
of the years prove to be just the man to take up and carry
forward the good work of the Church and School which the saintly
martyrs of the Cross had begun. With a loving-force-persuasion
of the parents of his own Cousins and nephews, especially of
the writer of this Brief History, the Rev. Wilfred Elliott
Nutsuakor, he had succeeded to win twelve pupils, comparatively
speaking the 12 apostles of the Lord, on the roll of his atten-
dance register, quite an enviable, and a high percentage of
pupils for any one out- or sub-station in those days.

Some of these lads who have become great men in after
years, and who left no stone unturned in supporting and contribu-
ting their quotas in divers ways towards both School and Church
work at Anyako, and elsewhere, may be mentioned: the late
Clemens Adokor Lumor, the late Vincent Clement Ali Jiaffe, the
late George Logosu Mamattah--afterwards Chief Badu II; Rowland
Dulekpong Eduge Gbedemah, and the writer, Wilfred Elliott
Ahiekpő Nutsuako, afterwards Rev. W. E. Nutsuako, the last, but
not the least.

The Bremen Mission Inspector by the name of Dr. A. W.
Schreiber from Bremen, Germany, who had paid a colossal visit
to the Nord Deutche Mission Churches in the year 1901, spent
two days at Anyako also.

Teacher Jonathan Geraldo de Lima, the reliever of Rev.
Ayikutu, was never a back water in matters spiritual and temporal. Endowed with true missionary zeal and vigour, this teacher, with the odds against him from the misunderstandings of the townsmen, made it his first point of duty to inculcate into the minds of us, the kidlings entrusted to his care and spiritual feeding, the spirit of love to Christ and His Kingdom. Now and again he would go on preaching journeys with them to the surrounding villages of Fe and Seva, Abolove and Afife, Sadame and Tsiame, Heluvee and Atiame, Sasinyeme, Atsiavi and Afiadenyigbă; and sometimes for days to Tadzevu, Dodze, Dekpor, Xi, Weta, Klenomadi and the villages around. He had opened adult evening classes, had revived the church work with a fair number of increases on the roll of the Church Register, and fitted the best of his struggling pupils to be transferred to higher classes at Keta, in the course of two years instead of three or four years, which was then the ruling order.

The Period of Extremity Which Was Also The Jubilee-Year, 1903-1908

The period of Evangelist Jacob Vormawah Hor, a most social, witty, and energetic old man, might be called the period of "Extremity." It was at the same time the 50 years Jubilee period. He changed stations with teacher Jonathan Geraldo de Lima! Eager, and ever desirous, the old man was willing to enter into the shoes of his predecessor in both school and Church work; his academic strength and qualification, which
was a little lower than the ordinary West African Class III\(^1\) child, did not back him.

In his general Evangelistical preaching he was more practical than theological, and on several occasions described the fashions of the times in a most vivid and striking manner. Yet general inward drawback ensued. As you would imagine, the combined Missionary Synod of both Lower Volta and German Togoland, which sat at Lomé, in the year 1905, nearly approved the decision by the majority of closing down the Anyako station, bag and baggage—and but for the sympathetic intervention of the kind Reverends Karl Spies, Frederick Hothmeir and John Forster, who formed a strong opposition against the decision, for a year more to spare the fruitless tree, Anyako should have been blotted off the Bremen Mission Records. All thanks to those kind Soul winners who had played the tact and obeyed the Command of their blessed Master:—"Deal gently with the youth for my sake—even Absalon, my child."

During the 50 years Jubilee celebration of Keta in September, 1903, almost all the speeches delivered were some sort of sorrow, and heartfelt regret about the hardheartedness of the Anyako people. Some speakers even dared to make and urge indirect conceivable argument against the continuation of missionary work there.

\(^1\)Equivalent to grade 3 in the United States.
When at last, the turn came for Presbyter Joseph Awute Tosu, that old and revered Christian gentleman of Anyako, to speak, he tactically cooled down the despairing hearts of the previous speakers, and assured the audience that the much talked of Anyako would one day rise up to the forefront in Christianity, to the surprise of them all. He said, "Dododea woda kpe-kpe bina" meaning "The process of firing needs to be long and continuous if the stone under cooking is to be boiled well for eating."

And all glory to God in the highest, for soon after the elapse of just another four years, the prophecy of the experienced Presbyter became a reality. Disappointed and sadly put out as the missionaries were about the hopeless state of their hard missionary toil at Anyako, God himself was all the while preparing the men and women who would dare to do like Daniel, and who proved to be just the people to take up and carry forward the good work which the saintly missionary martyrs of the Cross had begun.

Those people were the then teacher Á (great teacher) John Dziku Tosu (1909-1915), son of the old Presbyter; Dada Mercy A. Baeta (June 1909-1915), a Christian heroine--yea, a saint in disguise; and lastly teacher, now Reverend, Wilfred Elliott Natsuako (1909-1948), the writer.

The years rolled on and, at long last, the 50th year Jubilee of hard missionary toil at Anyako, which should have been left uncelebrated were it not for the strenuous efforts put
forth by the Reverend Karl Spies, the then District Pastor of the Keta District, came on in November, 1907.

Great preparations were made in advance for meeting this most important occasion. Everyone in Anyako, no matter what his or her creed, cooperated. Chief Glagovi Tengey Dzokoto II\(^1\) and his willing elders took their lion's share in the Communal labours of these preparations.

The most outstanding and spectacular feature of this Jubilee Celebration was the mud rampart built, roofed, plastered, coal-tarred and whitewashed round the whole Mission Station. Added to this the graves of the Old Missionaries, and all other graves, were well repaired and decorated; the chapel, school blocks, and minister's lodging house, were all in a state of pleasant renovation all under the strict supervision of the shrewd and untiring Evangelist Jacob Vormawah Hor. The Station then had three gates: the Southern, Northern, and Western gates.

To sum up the full account of the whole Jubilee Celebration, we herewith copy verbatim an essay written by the writer, a true eye-witness of the day!

\(^1\)The same remarkable leader mentioned earlier as the cause of the burning of Anyako, probably in 1884. See above, p.342.
The 50 years Jubilee Celebration of the Bremen Mission Anyako Church, 3rd Nov., 1907

The 50 years Jubilee Celebration of the Bremen Mission Anyako Church came on, on the 3rd November, 1907. It was celebrated two days, Saturday the 2nd November to Sunday the 3rd November. The celebrants from the interior, Lomé, Palime, and other far places, arrived on Saturday afternoon, whereas others from Keta, Woe, Anloga, and nearer towns and villages, arrived in canoes, and by foot, at dawn on Sunday.

After announcing the celebration of the day to the general Public by the different Church choirs, by singing through and around the town, all necessaries towards bath and meals was made.

The morning celebration service was started at nine o'clock prompt. Catechist (Deacon) Wilhelm Lemgo of Waya, an eye witness of the dim past at Anyako, had the honour to preach the Jubilee Sermon. He drove his spiritual nail aright on the heads of the Anyako people present, charging them for the past deeds of their fathers. He recalled in serious manner memories of the past—the ignorant and persistent provocation and ingratiates of some of the rough Anyako people to the missionaries

1An amplification of the regular practice of sending around a single person to make announcements by beating on an iron bell and calling out.
--in his loud and repeated expression "Esi Anyakotowo du nuowo voa," meaning: despite the free spiritual and militant blessings bestowed upon the Anyako people by the missionaries, they were not satisfied, and therefore sometimes attempted to kidnap them, the liberated slaves, for reselling a second time!

The Reverend Karl Spies, the Keta District Pastor, was the next to speak. He dwelt tactfully and touchingly on God's Patience, endurance, and forebearance towards His own people Israel, and warned his fellow co-workers to exercise patience for all sinners in order to win them for Christ. He then asked the heads of the other Churches to remember Anyako in all their prayer meetings.

He was followed by Evangelist Jacob. V. Hor, the station teacher, who gave a brief account of his church and school works from 1903-1907. He reminded and advised the Missionary Synod Committee as a whole to keep their eyes open on the landed properties of all their mission stations, since the rising generation of land owners who attended School were trying to create commotion and unnecessary litigations about these lands.¹

The Rev. W. Hagens from Lomé, Togoland, ended the morning speeches; and each of the above speeches were inter-

¹By "land owners" is meant those with a strong voice in the affairs of a lineage. Individuals do not own land in Anlo society; it is the property of the lineage. The individual inherits rights through both the mother's line and the father's. See Nukunya, pp. 24, 44-45.
mingled with singing from either the Bremen Mission Brass Band, or from Keta, or any other Singing Choir from the Stations.

The afternoon Services which began at 3 o'clock prompt and ended at 5:30 p.m., were started with singing by the Keta Brass Band. Then came on speeches and addresses by the following people: Presbyter Simon Kartey of Vodza, Rev. John Forster, a naturalised German American whose father had once laboured as a missionary at Anyako, and whose elder sister was born here. He was followed by the then teacher Edmund Keleve, who had for his topic John 1.4.19, "Let us love Him, because He first loved us."

He stressed it to the hearing Anyako public, and impressed them that all Anyako people at home and elsewhere should make it a point of duty for them to love God who first loved Anyako among the remaining 35 towns of the Anlo Confederacy, and also love, and be thankful to, the daring German Missionaries who had left their precious homes to live with them among the infectious cactus-fields between Anyako and its suburb, Konu.

Rev. E. Funke, commonly called, and known as, "Amedzofe Kofi" was the next to speak. He expressed regret that when he first stepped upon Eweeland from the steam boat which brought him from Germany, he first slept at Keta, and the next day had to sleep at Anyako before he proceeded to his assigned Station at Ho or Amedzofe. Unfortunately, his towel and other belongings were stolen, which to him was the sad welcome given him by
the Anyako people. And although it was found afterwards that one Heinrich Quist, a slave lad from Keta among his own hammock carriers, was the culprit, he always had the impression that all Anyako people were thieves. He therefore, at this great occasion of jubilation, asked for the unanimous prayers of the gathering to God, to be merciful to him to eradicate and entirely obliterate the sad memory from his brains. He wished the day a thorough success!

The next to follow "Amedzofe Kofi" was then Catechist (Deacon) Simon Peter Quist, who stayed at Anyako for long nine years as a teacher-preacher. Presbyter Joseph Awute Tosu, who was given only five minutes to speak, reminded the gathering of his topic of the 50 years Jubilee at Keta, and appealed to all for fervent prayers for and on behalf of Anyako for a change of encouraging affairs in both School and Church work! Then Catechist David Bensa of Woe rounded up all the Jubilee speeches in glowing and vivid terms.

The District Pastor Karl Spies then announced the Jubilee offerings in hand from the various stations, which amounted to £128/-/- (one hundred twenty-eight pounds sterling). Distant collections came afterwards.

Great and influential men present at the Celebration apart from the missionaries themselves and their workers were --the potent and gallant Chief of Anyako-Anlo, Glagovi Tengey Dzokoto of renowned memory; Chiefs Atakpa, Kposegi, and Duklui
Attipoe represented by Togbi Nyatefe Attipoe, all of Anyako, Chiefs Mankua of Seva and Gamor of Konu; Chief Linguist Anaglate Egblogbe; and a host of their followers, both men and women, plus a great number of Anyako clerks from Keta, Lomé, Tsevie, Atakpame and elsewhere. A very touching and fervent prayer made by the closing speaker David Bensah ended the day at 5:30 p.m.

Prominent among the struggling pupils of this period were Vincent Alorvor Toppar, Livingstone Akakpo Kesedovo Mensah, Charles Devordzi Senu, Daniel Klu Akpa Kedzogô Sogbe, Aleenyale Sewonu, Sobuku Abotsi and others.

The few girls who were converted against odds through the instrumentality of brothers attending school at Keta, and who also attempted to learn the alphabet, did not last long in school. These were Miwole Deenya, Gbadenya Natsuako, Yegebade Tay, Xomeke Salla, Agbale Amega, Yatrems and Pauline Amega.

Great Revival and Rapid Progress. "Heaven Smiled upon the Scene."

True! The name of our venerable Missionary, the Rev. Frederick Hothismeir of Blessed memory, who had coincidentally spurred up his old steward, now the Rev. Wilfred Elliott Natsuako to be the forerunner of a great revival and rapid progress which followed uninterruptedly from 1909-1928, and perhaps its most prominent and powerful forces throughout the years, will ever be enshrined in the annals of fame—Nay, the
Holy Spirit accompanied the work with great demonstration and with power. This shows the marvellous power, and providential care which God, our almighty Father exercises over us Anyako people—yea to the minutest matter that concerns us.

This is more remarkable, considering how, notwithstanding the sanitary unsuitability of our town, the then perverseness, obduracy, and brutal wretchedness of our forefathers, He had chosen among other towns of Anlo this place for the establishment of a mission Station barely four years after the settlement of Keta, the cosmopolitan town of the District.

In the raising up of men and women to meet particular emergencies of the Church and School work at certain periods, we recognize the providence of God in beautiful harmony with the operation of His grace. The following 20 years of the Anyako Church and School work presents a striking example.

So it has pleased Him, after the transfer of Evangelist Jacob Hor to Afiadenyigbâ', his home town, in January, 1909, to raise these special people, well adapted physically, mentally, and spiritually, to carry out His great purpose and enterprise concerning this island town of Anyako. It was thus that he singly and collectively raises the aforementioned people—John Tosu, a tireless, prayerful man; Dada Mercy, a saintly Christian heroine; Wilfred Nitsuako, an indefatigable, zealous young man of Continuity of purpose; and other assistants—to turn up in a better way His divine design towards our island town "destined
to the salty dust, yet whiter than snow."

Unanimously, and in one spirit these soldiers of the cross held the fort against the infernal hosts of Satan and his diabolic cause, and had proved time and again that the true spiritual patriot must think of feeding the flock, and caring for the lambs first. The leaven permeated the whole town! Influential Chiefs and men of rank, chief linguists, merchants in the persons of Michael Quakoo Attipoe, Martin Adzevi Fugar, Amenume Kadziaku, Ame Bruce, Edward Gbormittah, and several others, men and women, were often to be seen amidst the vast concourse of hearers on Sundays, and sometimes on weekdays, too.

And so the people who before then could not spare even a few minutes to listen to the glad tidings were now willing to hear of Christ the Crucified. Now, while the old members of the Church blessed God for the privilege of learning to read His word, the novices commence with the alphabet, and such was their avidity to learn the portions of hymns and scriptural texts taught by dictation, that now the songs of Zion rise up to Heaven, instead of their former imprecations and idle talk. So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed so much, so that the membership of the Church rose from 30 to 350-odd, and the School Roll from 8 to 300-odd pupils, from 1909 to 1912, an extraordinary increase in those days.

The news of the "Revival" spread like whirlwind through the whole Eweland. Great joy and revivication took possession
in the hearts of the surviving missionaries who warmly praised God for His wonderful visitation.

Kindergarten apparatus, scriptural tracts and other children's toys and dolls poured in streams for us from the Sisters from Keta and Lomé, and the Missionary agents then in Headquarters did everything in their power to encourage us to keep the fire ablaze.

Bremen welcomed the long-expected revival and change for the better with exuberant enthusiasm. The Governors of the Mission in Germany were overjoyed at the prospect and were grateful to God that their dead Brothers, Sisters, and their children, of whom our Anyako Cemetery No. "A" tells a silent, sad story, did not work in vain, nor spend their strength for nought. As fruits of their self-denial, that "Great Day" for which all other days were made will see multitudes who shall be their reward and crowns of rejoicing!

The work took deep root. Singing Choirs, Adult Evening Classes, and Health Bands were established.

The School Board Committee already referred to did splendid work Communally, financially and Judicially in School affairs and otherwise.

In January, 1916, a separate District was created for Anyako and its Circuitorial stations with Reverend E. L. K. Ayikutu as its first District Pastor, with the following stations under him: Afiadenyigbâ, Atiavi, Dzodze, Xi, Abor, Aborlove,
Nolofì, Afife, Tsiame, Wute, Kpoviadzi, Mafi Kumasi, and Kpedzegblo, then Headquarters of the Mafi people. Dada Mercy Baeta, on account of her marriage to one Thomas Acolatse, had resigned from her blessed and fruitful labours; and teacher John Tosu transferred to Dzodze to carry on his energetic labour there, leaving teacher Nutsuako alone to push forward the work with his first cousin Rev. Ayikutu, through whose medium and persuasion he was sent to School. As you may suppose, the work was more vigorously carried on with the new District Pastor and two others of Mr. Nutsuako's 1909 pupils who had become pupil-teachers after passing the Seventh Standard.¹

The abrupt transfer of Rev. Ayikutu to Peki in 1921, when the Bremen Mission Churches were then handed over to the Scottish Mission under trusteeship,² was averted by the united front of both the Church and Chiefs and people of Anyako. A second transfer of the Reverend gentleman to Ho in 1923 succeeded, and he had to exchange place with the Rev. E. Awuma, a pious, and a most revered old servant of the Lord.

Rev. Awuma having been well settled began to prosecute his ministerial duties with unabated vigour. He had made himself loving and approachable to everyone. He had for his objective

¹Equivalent to grade 10 in the United States.

²The German properties in Africa were distributed by the League of Nations after Germany's defeat in World War I. Great Britain was declared trustee of the Ashanti lands by a League of Nations mandate of 1922.
the complete reparation and renovation of the whole Mission Station, and for that he launched his £1,000 appeal to the sons and daughters of Anyako, at home and abroad. But regrettably his course was soon run. A transfer to Kpando in the year 1928 terminated his useful career. He was succeeded by the Rev. Hermann Nyalemegbe of Peki, a smart, energetic and willing Pastor who, but for his overanxiousness and lack of tact and tone of speech, might have done quite an excellent and peaceful Church and School work at Anyako and Abor. Unfortunately, the back door tactic of his bauble burst!

A Brief Account of the Anyako School Controversy
Between the Ewe Presbyterian Synod Committee
And The Chiefs and People of Anyako Which
Resulted In The Establishment of the
Anlo AWOAME FIA School

The influence of the impressionable years
stays with me, and I cannot escape showing
it in whatever I write, or say, or do; and
therefore my readers will excuse me to
state frankly on this topic, for this is
no time to mince words!

--W. E. Natsuako

The most vexing and deplorable incident which came as a
bolt from the blue sky happened abruptly. The Anyako Bremen
Mission School Board Committee inaugurated by the Rev. F.
Flotmeir of blessed memory as far back as 1909 was in full swing,
and doing quite an excellent work in all angles towards the
school and Church. The Honourable Director of Education, in the
person of Mr. D. J. Oman, on his last visit to Anyako, expressed
satisfaction on the good work done by the School, and therefore
promised Mr. W. E. Natsuako, then Headmaster of the School, the
highest class of which was then standard five (V), a complete
Senior School. Barely four years elapsed when changes were made

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1This final portion of the manuscript was privately
printed in 1957 (by the Mfantsiman Press at Cape Coast, Ghana,
as A short history of the Anyako Anlo Awoame Fia School 1929-
1932) with this heading as its subtitle. There are some differ-
ences between the two texts.
in the Staff of the School,—the news flashed that a certain Inspector of Schools has disrecommended Anyako Town as unfit for a Senior School. No trace of this rumour could be found in the School's Reports, nor in the School's Log Book. Behold, the whole plan was the background tactics of certain individuals who for mere personal interests, and who find the standard of living at Abor cheaper than that of Anyako, secretly planned to undo Anyako by removing the Senior Classes to Abor, and converting it to a Boarding Senior School, thereby gaining free access over the boarders for tilling their private farms for them gratis. The crux, and nothing but the crux of the hidden facts of the controversy for which innocent people had greatly suffered on both sides. Unfortunately, the secret which was said to have been revealed to the Abor people privately, leaked out to the hearing of the Anyako people. Agitation was imminent! Mr. W. E. Nutsuako, the President of the School Board Committee, who was the first Head teacher to open an outstation Senior School as far back, 1913, and which was imitated by other schools some few years after, interviewed Rev. B. S. Amegashee at Keta, the only authority of the E. P. C. Synod Committee in the Keta Circuit, and warned him seriously to use his influence in their forth coming Synod sitting for a second over the removal of the Anyako Senior School to Abor. He also revealed to him that he has been scenting danger from his people if such an action is effected. The Reverend gentleman on his return
from their synod meeting at Ho, wrote Mr. Nutsuako an encouraging letter, an extract of which reads thus: "Senior School will remain at Anyako for a year or even two or more, till classrooms and furniture are completed at Abor, etc."

Mr. W. E. Nutsuako upon the receipt of this letter summoned a joint School and General Committee meeting for deliberations on the matter. After a second decision was taken, a touching appeal was circulated to the sons and daughters of Anyako at home and abroad, and a compulsory subscription of £1/-/- per head was imposed on each and all of them for expenses on new buildings, verandahs for the old buildings, and other repairs to meet Government requirements which they said was the cause for removing the Senior Classes to Abor.

Anyako people gladly responded to the appeal. Money was coming rapidly. The School Board Committee took prompt action. The required verandahs and repairs were in the making all to cope with Government requirements as referred to. "Nobody hurriedly set fire on a thief's house--pull down rows of thatch one by one to lay hands on him red-handedly!"

Our good friend the pastor, in order to use his official ill spirit of inhumanity to man, and to weaken the prompt challenge put forth by the Anyako populace, ruled that non-communicants should not interfere with their Church and School affairs; and for this reason he got the cash book together with the cash in hand from the non-communicant treasurer of the moment and
appointed his own choice treasurer of less or no knowledge of accounts at all, for reasons best known to him. Not enough for him, he enlisted all the chiefs and acting chiefs of the three wings of Anyako, and addressed letters to each of them allotting a certain amount to pay, upon failure of which the affected Chiefs should remove pupils coming from his Division or Quarter from the School. Even the tone of the letters was displeasing! With feelings of anxiety and heaviness of heart, the School Board Committee once more ventured to address a humble petition to the Synod Committee praying for a still fresh solution of the problem. Officially, all letters to the Synod Committee must pass through the District Pastor, and such we have done as law-abiding members of the Church. But the dilly-dally tricks played by our spiritual Boss in the matter of sending our petition, plus his open force announcement made before the altar after the Sunday morning Service of the 10th November, 1929, confirming the removal of the Anyako Senior Classes to Abor in January of the following year, has disappointed and challenged the Anyako Chiefs and people, who immediately after the Service met at "Little Drops"¹ to sanction their measure of taking Positive Action through the instrumentality of Mr. W. E. Nutsuako, the longest in service as teacher and Deacon amongst all German missionaries and native Pastors

¹Rev. Nutsuako's house in Adotri Division, Anyako. See Plate III on p. 117, no. 9 on the overlay.
and teachers who laboured at any one station.

A stay at home gon-gon was beaten round about town for the 11th November, 1929,¹ to which every school-going child responded like a single child.

The trouble begins . . .

Early that morning a cablegram was forwarded to the Mission Inspector, Dr. G. Stoevasand—Am Dobben, Bremen, by Mr. R. E. Gbedemah and Mr. W. E. Nutsuako, pointing out to him the mismanagement of the E. P. Synod Committee which was going to ruin the 70-odd years of hard, strenuous toil of the Bremen missionaries at Anyako. This was followed by a long, detailed letter to the great head of the mission by Mr. W. E. Nutsuako.

The humane Chiefs and the men around them, hearing of Reverend Schosser, the then Moderator of the whole Mission visiting Keta at the time, wrote him an explanatory letter per three Divisional Staff bearers² imploring him to proceed to Anyako and intercede in the matter for good. To their utter surprise and disappointment, this great man, "Capitas" of the whole Mission in Eweland, quite unaware of British rule and democracy, attempted to use force on the staff bearers, but failed.

¹That is to say, on the evening of November 10th. Gankogui, the forged iron double bell used in dance drumming and for announcements of this sort, is often called gon-gon.

²The staff is used to represent the person of its owner. In this case, the entire town of Anyako was calling upon Reverend Schosser.
The aggrieved and disappointed Chiefs, Dzokoto, Attipoe, Attakpa, Zoad, Aposa, Agbetsi, Kposegi, and Gakpo, called out their sons and daughters from Keta and nearer towns and villages, and a great mass meeting was held at Mr. Nutsuako's "Little Drops" to consider the pros and cons of the matter. After a thorough deliberation, a sound decision was taken and a Resolution passed as follows:

1. To address another monster petition to the Synod Committee praying for a redress in the matter.

2. To offer a new site at Anyako-Kpota measuring 1000 x 1000 feet for the new School buildings to meet Government requirements.

3. To do all communal labour during the course of the new buildings, and

4. To assist financially towards buying of furniture and other fixtures of the new buildings.

The petition was cleanly printed and signed by the Chiefs and influential men of the three divisions of Anyako, and was registered to the Synod Committee through their clerk at Amedzofe.

All Europeans in high circles who read our petition and who heard the anatomy of the controversy sided with us, and advised that we should "stick to our guns." Nor did most of the E. P. C. Staff of teachers, some of whom have today assumed responsible positions in their Mission-fields, turn their backs from us. They were the men around us in disguise; the validity of this statement can be proved by their letters in our files!
Unfortunately, the Synod Committee which has adopted "the Medes and Persians decree" again turned the petition down with further threats of removing the junior school also, if sufficient funds were not forthcoming. Worse of it, the resident Pastor, in conveying the vexing message to the Chiefs and people, has played the greatest inhumanity to man¹—the positive action was in observation.

Being at the crossroads, Anyako Chiefs and influential men, voluntarily financed by Mr. R. E. Gbedemah, the brainy and financial leader of the movement, and who were led by Mr. W. E. Nutsuako, the guiding oar of the whole movement, interviewed the Honourable Director of Education in Accra, revealing all the circumstances of the matter to him. The wise and clever Honourable Director of Education, after listening carefully to our complaints, and reading all confirmatory letters on them, at once drafted and forwarded telegrams to the heads of the Mission checking some of the undue steps taken against Anyako pupils in their schools at Keta, Anloga and elsewhere. After exchange of some further thoughts between him and the Anyako Chiefs, the kind Director advocated for peace; and in their presence drafted a letter which was to be forwarded to the E. P. C. Synod Committee, soliciting for our desires to be granted us. Anyako Chiefs and people returned home, greatly liberated from their heavy hearts and profound disappointment.

¹Disrespect is a serious offense in Anlo, traditionally.
The time arrived for going to Ho, Headquarters of the Synod Committee. With some reluctance, the eminent Chiefs Dzokoto, Attipoe and Attakpa, whose staffs were turned down at Keta in the initial stages of the case, earnestly and seriously persuaded by Mr. R. E. Gbedemah and Mr. W. E. Natsuako, embarked for Ho. There before the Synod Committee words were amicably exchanged for good between the contesting parties, and could have been rounded up peaceably to the satisfaction of both parties. But regrettably, for the great "I am" character of the Chairman, Reverend Schosser, who to the disgust of his own Committee members poured showers of open abuses on the Chiefs and people of Anyako, calling them pigs and other hard names. People winked to us and said privately to us that that was the gentleman's soldierly or military trick of intimidating and subduing the common people to his will. He sadly forgot in this instance that he was exchanging words with typical Anlos.

Without a word of revenge or any retaliation the Anyako Chiefs and their followers asked to be given leave to depart. Being granted, they left Ho that very moment with a worst disappointment than that meted to them at Keta through their staff bearers.

Anyako people at home and abroad, on hearing of the ungentlemanly treatment given their Chiefs by a minister of the Gospel, boldly confronted the Challenge and in less than a year, three enviable School Blocks of 3 classrooms each, together with
offices and stores, were built, sufficing the demand for Infants, Juniors, and Senior classes, together with the nursery or kindergarten at "Little Drops" for feeding the main school. Furniture and other fixtures were got up ready the following year, 1931, and in January, 1932, the School which was given the Stool name of Anlo,--ANYAKO ANLO AWOAME FIA SCHOOL--was formally opened by Honourable Togbi Sri II, O. B. E., Awoame Fia of Anlo.

Deprivations

Obstacles and Threats put in our way by our Spiritual Fathers to weaken us from building our Own School:

1) Deprivation of Any Anyako born son or daughter from attending Bremen Mission Schools of Eweland.

2) Unsatisfactory transfer Certificates given to all our children.

3) Falling on Hon. Togbi Sri II and other Potentates of Anlo to weaken our continuation of the School set afoot, and

4) Removing of School benches, tables and chairs, black boards and easels and other furniture, some of which were brought the members of the Anyako School Board Committee by other stations.

5) Removing of the Church membership Register attendance and Log book away.

6) Worst of all, unroofing of the Anyako Charitable School Block of two classrooms built by the School Board Committee in 1914-15, with the intention of removing the iron sheets for use at Abor.

7) And yet more wicked still, urging Herr Reisinger of Bremen Factory to refuse delivery of the 1000 pieces of iron sheeting ordered through the Chief Agent Hermann Eutang, under terms of six months payment, who was then on leave in Germany, with the evil aim of the rains to hurry the fall-down of our new, unroofed mud school blocks at Kpota.
Yet still these wicked designs were averted by God, who is always on the part of the truthful, weaker Party.

As in all great undertakings, some people are appointed to whom the others look for the up or down of such undertakings, so it was with the building of the Anlo Awoame Fia School also. A committee of two persons from each of the three Divisions of Anyako, with Mr. W. E. Nutsuako the guiding oar of the whole Anlo Awoame Fia School movement affair, as the Chairman. These were Mr. Christian Aheto Tsegah and Clifford Kwami Sedziafa of the Right Division; Mr. Christian Kwadzo Dzade and Mr. Fiahagbe Awudi of the Adotri Division; and Mr. Martin Mawualor Agbenu and Christopher A.Damalie of the Lashibi Division. With the above willing and energetic members to form the new Building Committee, with Mr. Christian A. Damalie as its Secretary, M. M. Agbenu Treasurer, Mr. Fiahagbe Awudi the Circulator, Mr. A. Tsega the whip, and Mr. Sedziafa assistant Treasurer, the School building work was vigorously started with signs of immediate success. But all of a sudden an unforseen and an undesirable incident occurred which necessitated--

_Swearing of an Oath to each of the Divisional Chiefs of Anyako, 1930_

Coincidently, whilst the affairs of the Anyako Senior School's removal to Abor were disturbing the minds of many people at home and abroad, an unfortunate dispute arose between the Anyako Woe and Lashibi Drumming Societies which resulted in
singing of defamatory songs against each other.

The composition of the various musicians were so cutting and piercing that a civil war was imminent. There was difficulty in getting the members of the School Building Committee together for deliberations over urgent affairs towards the work in progress.¹

The lull having continued, and the communal labour on the building greatly affected, it had become clear that nothing could be done other than to strike a blow quite uncommon to the growing generation in Anlo. Old, great men who had been active and versed in our customary laws then living were secretly consulted, and all customary rites toward the deal imparted.

Mr. W. E. Nutsuako convened a meeting of the Building Committee in camera, and the cascade of what was going to happen was unveiled to the members. The chiefs were asked to attend an urgent meeting with their Councillors and other followers the next morning, under the historic "Three Shades" of Anyako.

Prompt at 8:10 a.m. on that fateful day, 1930, all the chiefs at home, together with their Councillors and other followers, settled down at the historical meeting place with the

¹This abusive use of music is known as halo. The champion for Woe Division was the composer Mr. Sokpe Lawluvi; for Lasibi Division, the composer Mr. Agbadrive Ladzekpo. After the concluding confrontation before the Awoame Fia, all further singing of these songs was forbidden.
solemnity of death to listen. The Building Committee was in the opposite direction. All of a sudden Mr. W. E. Nutsuako, President of the Committee, disappeared, and in less than five minutes had returned in an old, old, shabby battle dress adorned with amulets and other protective; his face powdered black, the eyes red, and hair curled up; and in a moving spirit addressed his Chiefs thus:

"My noble Chiefs and sworn brothers of the great Anyako School Resolution day of the 17th November, 1929. By virtue of the post you have all unanimously conferred on me as the President of your new School Building Committee, and in the name of members of this Committee, selected from each of the three divisions of Anyako, I welcome you all here under these historic trees, and please lend me your ears:--

With all due deference to you, take all that you will hear from me this morning as realities; they are no imaginary vagaries. Down with every manner of fear, and let this be unknown to you—for shame, let it remain with those who have wronged us! My noble Chiefs—Don't you know the disaster that has surrounded us? Don't you know the dispute between the Right and Left wings of our town is ruinous, and is giving drawback to our School Building work? Don't you know our Communal labour is greatly affected by allowing these things to continue? Don't you know that sooner or later all our beautiful plans of our foresighted resolution will end in smoke?—and we will become objects of shame and derision before the general public of Anlo? Why do you dally thus? The success of our School Building Scheme is at stake. Make way for us to pass, that the cup which has been presented to us may not be snatched from our lips by the actions of these young men who know no shame!

"I challenge each and all of you to do your worst in restoring peace between these sworn friends of the Anyako New School movement.—Have you the courage? Is there a heart among you to accept the challenge?—And you [pointing at him] Dusi, the forward wing [i.e., Woeto]—"
1. Amega Attipoe

"Wo Duklui dua ti atia te, / Dzo medzeagbe, atikpo koa nu o, / Amadze be yebu de gbeto/ Gbeto be yebu de amadze, si me/ Wo De-golo vuvu/ Wosi de de me tso kpla/ Made made nugbe-Nutsuawo de gbo.¹ I call upon you this morning. Alone you are here as the only Chief representing the Dusi Division. We look upon you for your experience and genius as though you were three here. You are an eye-witness of the vain threats and ridicules at Ho. You have seen how the foul foe crippled our educational fabric, and bars the upward march of our present generation and those that come after them. And you have heard the encouraging words the Hon. Director of Education imparted to us heart to heart in our interview at his Office in Accra.--Why then stand aloof and allow the young men of your Division to stand on our way and so mar the good work we have started?

"In the name of all great men, great warriors, philanthropists and patriots of Anlo--In the name of our gallant deceased fathers of Anyako who never turn their backs on anything they have undertaken to perform in their day and time; and in the name of our new-formed School Building Committee, I swear upon your honour and dignity, as the eldest member of your fellow chiefs here present, that you are a bane to the Attipoe Family Stool upon which you were installed--nay, to the whole town and populace of Anyako, should you fail to put an end to the singing of the defamatory songs going on between your two divisions, Woe and Lashibi, and which action is responsible for the slackness of our New School Building work. I refer you to Glidzi, to Agee, to Some--you are a woman, and a beautiful coward if you fail to accept the challenge!

¹Rev. Nutsuako quotes in Eve the poetry with which the stool of this chieftancy is invoked. These words become part of the name taken by the person who is elected by the elders to this office. Thus the successor to this chief, who was installed in the fall of 1958, is known as Togbi Aduklui Attipoe III. The meaning of the "stool name" is given by Mr. Nutsuako as follows: "Thou crawling mammal whom the tree challenges, the logs lament when the harmattan fires spread out; the red medicine plant hides itself to man, and man hides himself alike; thou cracked wicker bag that holds the nuts to safety place; far, unknown land--men of valour inhabit it." Every male Anlo has as part of his name a passage in Eve such as this, which may or may not be the words of an invocation.
The women are anxious to enlist you on their feminine
Roll--

Yi Koo Loo
(One sheep slaughtered on his feet.)

2. Adotri Chiefs

"And Togbuiwo--Akaba, Atakpa, Zoada. Can the lion fly above an eagle? Has the lion wings? Are you truly mothers endowed with the elements of sympathy within the veins of a nation? Why sit still at this moment of danger and permit all these sorts of divergences, all these sorts of differences of outlook, and all these sorts of awkward little jars to mar the progress of our School Building works?"

"Amega Akaba: Wo Akaba dape sio; Ebo Hli wobe Atrima; Wo gbadagbadu vu, vue le ta gbā du; mekpo Nonobe, mekpo Funu, Mekpo Some nawo.1"

"Amega Atakpa: Wo Petifufu-Ebe yedu blue-Eve fe la/ Wo Atakpa flifli dzegbo/ Wolefe ahia engo/ Wobe_fiaside/ Fiasidi ha amee dzi/ Trọ kpa naxo vi na viw o.2"

"Amega Zoada: Wo Zodada to gloe/ Ametsitre metsia vi tre o/ Vioa nudzo kple amee/ Kluiwovi-avu madzi bame/ Amea be esi yewo kple/ Kodzo-Dei yewo do gpa--Hu u u u/ Ta medea emeo/ Keke efe gli dzi yekpo le.3"

1No translation of this stool name is provided.

2"Thou whetted sword of Anlo that eateth the flesh of the allied forces, confusion struggles. With precipitation and disorder he deserted his wife, pretending she's a sacrifice. Double shame--is a sacrifice not a born human too? Right about turn--Rescue her the parent." For the meaning of "sacrifice" see above, p. 334, n. 3.

3"Thou mother pot that bows to the river; thou old batchellor whose lot is his spiritual better half, the natural gift to us all. Respect the slave's daughter, she's a woman too. The man declares, 'During the Eye wars it was a neck-breaking affair. I have touched the gates of their Paramount Chiefs.'"
"Togbuiwo—I refer you to Dzenunye kidzi, to Peki, to the Goldworthy campaign commonly known and called in Anlo history as Gbedzideare; I refer you to Honobea, to Some, to Funu.1 Dare you in the name of humanity fail to prove your mettles as sons of gallant men of the past, and you will for ever be numbered with cowards. Be ready for accepting the women's loincloth—do refuse to accept the challenge, and you must vacate your stools at the horse's gallop.

(Another sheep slaughtered on their feet.)

3. Lashibi or Mia

"Amega Tenge Dzokoto III:2 Wo Glagovi Tete/ Wo Kinikini wonu kini manyo/ Wo agbea dokpo nu masi gelee/ Wolewole be yewo nu wolewole/ Ame kpataa meso ame o/ Amea so amea ne aho agba Adzigo/ Wo ati kedeke wotu asii/ Wo gbe mumu/ Wo Tenge make fee kpo Kae kpo ko woame wo afe dzo ene.3

"Amega Aposa: Wo Aposa--Aponsah/ Kakabo--Biasele/ Dofo, dofo nye nusika/ Gbâta na amegawo/ Nuado ne woawo/ Wo-wo zu do.4

1The names by which various wars are remembered.

2Successor to the stool of a remarkable warrior and magician of the latter part of the nineteenth century still widely known and remembered. See above, p. 342 with n. 1.

3"Thou Glagoson Tettey, thou Kinikini the unseen, trouble seeker for Kini; thou woe to the idle failure in life; thou no bending, come what may. The bents of men are unequal: if all men should take after their neighbours, Adzigo might have surely fallen. Thou tap rooted tree that knows not the severest storm. Thou poisonous scorpion on its guard: touch it with the naked hand and you will smell the needful sting."

4"Thou Aposa--Aponsah, watchfulness is older than might-have-beens, and habitual postponment; [it] has broken the heads of the great. We have come to the threshold of war—who will bell the cat?"
"Ultimately, you Togbuis of the Lashibi Division—what are the steps you have decided to follow? Are you sons of heroes? I refer you to Datsu Plain, the field of glory and fame; to Ago-time Kpetoe; to Atsitowui; to Wuti or Taleto!

"You know as well as I do the history of the gallant deeds of your grandsires. You have seen your own father—that potent and magnificent hero famed in Anlo history. You are eye-witnesses of the prevailing happenings in Anyako during these recent days. You are instruments of the positive action taken, which has resulted in the boycotting of your sons and daughters from the Ewe Presbyterian Mission Schools at Keta and elsewhere. Falter a minute from active steps-taking, and from adopting means of immediate correction of all these abuses and derision, and I openly and solemnly declare that you are cowards—that you are not worth the salt of your fathers—and that you deserve the hooting at of the women folk around us here.

(The third sheep slaughtered, and rum and other oath taking articles shared. Asafo songs resounded—there was a great confusion).

Outcome of the Oath Taking

The hour is struck by the Building Committee's Oath Taking when our Chiefs should choose either to be a blessing or to be a bane to us and posterity. They chose the former. They met indoors and settled jaw to jaw all disputes and differences, and restored peace amongst the youngsters of the rival parties. They have trodden the footsteps of their deceased fathers. The bane of disunity having been eradicated, the young

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1 Names of wars.
2 Tenge Dzokoto II.
3 See Rev. Natsuako's list of "Deprivations" (p. 366), items 1 and 2.
men and women of the Three Wings\textsuperscript{1} worked like Trojans and in
less than 2-1/4 years have built their own School.

Where there is a will, there's a way!

Formal Opening of the Anlo Awoame Fia School by
Hon. Togbi Sri II, C. B. E., Awoame Fia of Anlo
--24th January, 1932

"Dzaal! Dzaal! Dzaal! Togbiga Dzaa. Fiawo--
Dumegawo--Amegawo midzaal"

Over 2,000 people took part in the opening ceremony.

High personalities were present: Hon. Togbi Sri II, C. B. E.,
Awoame Fia of Anlo; Chief Agbozo of Dzelukofo; Chief Gbenyoir
of Adina (Some); Mr. E. Nelson Tamaklo Agbonugla of Anlo, S.
Athan Pomeyie, Chief Registrar, Anlo State; all the chiefs and
influential men and women of Anyako, Konu, Abolove and Nolofi.

The opening sermon was preached by the Rev. J. Deiygbone
Taylor of the Keta A. M. E. Zion Mission Church!

The Hon. Togbi Sri II, in declaring the School formally
open, said \textit{inter alia}:

"Rev. Taylor, my fellow chiefs, teachers, pupils
and everybody--perhaps it was owing to the pleasant
pleasure that has surrounded my core that I fancy I see
cheerfulness in every face in the gathering this morning.
Thank you, Chiefs; thank you, people; thank you, teachers;
and thank you, little children, for your continuity and
tenacity of purpose that has brought you to your desired
goal. Sometime ago I made this statement in one of our
State Council meetings, that Anyako people are sitting
and reigning on the Paramount Stool with me. Why did I
so?\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1}Divisions.
"(a) I remember, immediately after my installation in 1907, the need arose for building a new dwelling house for me. Three Anyako traders voluntarily came to the forefront and contributed their handsome monetary quotas towards that building.

"(b) For some years, the affairs of my tribunal at Anloga were in a haphazard condition. There was no proper Registrar, and now and again I had to hire talent to answer queries from the Government and to see to my private correspondences. But from the year 1918 I have secured the service of an Anyako young man among us here, Mr. S. Athanasius Pomeyie, the brainy young man. He is my all in all, and both the white man and my friends in the up countries fear his pen.

"(c) Then again, on the occasion of my appointment to the Legislative Council, as the first Trans-Volta Paramount Chief to be endowed with this honor, Anyako people, on hearing the news, privately and voluntarily contributed the sum of £20-and-odd, which they presented to me through their special messengers, to be expended on my travelling to and from Accra.

"(d) Now it is barely 2-1/4 years ago, when the School dispute between you and your masters, the Ewe Presbyterian Synod Committee, had reached me. We all feared and shuddered, because to build a school and maintain it is something quite unknown and unthought of by the Trans-Volta man.

"This is why I then appealed to the District Commissioner at Keta to advise you to give up the idea of building your own School, and to yield to your old masters, but which you have bluntly declined. Not knowing you have great sons and big brains in connection with the scheme, I continued repeatedly telling any of your chiefs who visited me at Anloga that they should give up the venture and accept the conditions given them by their Masters before it was too late;--for, said our deceased Sires, 'Buye buye nyo wu buye buye' ('Half bread is better than none').

"But just a few weeks ago, two of your young men in the persons of Mr. R. E. Gbedemah and Mr. W. E. Nutsuako came to me with some presents of drinkables, telling me that work on the whole three main blocks had been finished, and that one of the blocks has been well fitted for the opening of School in this month, and that as the Paramount
Chief of the State under whose regime this mighty work second to none has been done in the whole T. V. T. area, they propose to reserve the honour of the name of the School for me; and they therefore solicit my approval for naming the School 'Fia Sri II. School.' I had the matter discussed with them, and together we have all agreed to name the School 'Anyako Anlo Awoame Fia School.'

This morning I am compelled to confess, I appear to be in a fairy land—an enchanted land. The three enviable classroom blocks, the large compound, the furniture—Ah, you have made history. I now am fully certain and contented that I am not alone, but that I have the right men around me, Come what may.

"I thank you, my fellow chiefs and your people, for the great honour done me. When next I go to the 'Legco,' I will tell my friends, especially Nana Offori Atta, that I have some curious people in my state who falter not, whether storm, sunshine or calm, but in every weather hold up their heads like men and women!

"Thank you, young men, who have been the center, mainstay and guiding oars of this great movement and undertaking.

"And now let us turn to the duty for which we have all assembled here this morning—and that is, the formal opening of this School. You have all heard the fervent prayer just offered to God most High on behalf of the School, its teachers and pupils, and for the Chiefs and people who have done the Communal labour for its accomplishment. Upon this prayer, and in the name of my Chiefs, headmen, and all the Paramount Chiefs of Anlo who may come after me, I declare this building open. May peace be within its doors, and may knowledge and understanding flow like water within its walls. So long as I have some breath within me, I will continue to patronise this School as I have been asked to do, and I assure you, I will support it to remain and flourish as a resourceful Education Centre which will produce great men and women for the Anlo State.

'Ha-ku-fia, Ha-ku-fia, Ha-ku-fia.'
(Ancestral blessings for the success of any undertaking)
The opening was closed with a fervent prayer by the Rev. gentleman, J. Taylor.

Then great rejoicing was started. Firing of musketry, different drummings and dancings, shouts and all forms and demonstrations of joy resounded through the air till late in the evening. Group photographs were taken and drinkables shared. The people have all realised how out of diversity may come strength; out of apparent confusion, harmony; and out of almost insuperable difficulties, triumphs.¹

Nothing can be achieved without cooperation and mutual understanding.

¹Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo recalls that well into the 1950's this occasion was remembered annually at the School with a 'Civic Day.' The three Divisions of the town would form behind their drummers and move out along the causeway to Kpo in battle order: first Woe, then Adotri, and finally Lasibi. At the School grounds the musicians from each Division would form in front of the building put up by the labour of that Division. There would be speeches and special musical performances--including drumming by some of the school children, which would be requested by the school authorities despite the School policy normally forbidding pupils to have anything to do with dance drumming. After the formal part of the program was over, to quote Rev. Nutsuako, "different drummings and dancings [by the musicians of the three Divisions, simultaneously], shouts and all forms and demonstrations of joy resounded through the air till late in the evening."
APPENDIX C

A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTIVE LIST
OF DANCE DRUMMINGS IN ANYAKO

There are three sections in this appendix. The first defines terms. The second describes dance drumming ensembles that are active in Anyako or may easily be revived there. The third is a catalogue of bell patterns and clapping patterns used in these ensembles.

I. Terminology

Several kinds of terms are given below: certain common nouns and adjectives appearing in the descriptive list and having a specialized meaning there; the names of certain idiophones not described in the body of this study; and a few terms that may be useful to the researcher but do not occur in the descriptive list. The order is alphabetical. Indexed terms are underlined throughout.

Adodo.--A multiple bell. On each end of a hand grip is a spray of four long, narrow clappered bells sharing a common central node. This bell is associated with Yeye cult music.

Adzida.--A song repertoire sung to the accompaniment of the Axatseyu ensemble. One hears Adzida used incorrectly as a general term for any of the music accompanied by this ensemble.

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Adzo.--The music and dance of any dance drumming without its drums, or with only the leading drum.

Agbadza.--A word mistakenly used by outsiders to denote any Anlo dance in which they see the alternation of contracted stomach with contracted shoulder blades. It is simply the name of one dance drumming ensemble and its music.

Ahiaviyu.--Any dance drumming in which the dancing is felt to express the interest of the opposite sexes in one another. Ahiavi means girlfriend, boyfriend, or lover. For vu see drum.

Akpewo.--Wooden blocks struck together to double the rhythms of handclapping (akpe means clap; wo makes the word plural). Their use is relatively recent.

Akpeyu.--An ensemble timbre dominated by the sound of clapping.

Ancient.--Music dating from the time the Anlo left Notsie in the sixteenth century, or from an even earlier time.

Axatseyu.--An ensemble timbre dominated by the sound of the rattle (axatse).

Ceremonial.--That which is performed as an official expression of secular authority.

Club.--A musical group that is also social, with mutual responsibilities, elected officers, and due process.

Cult.--An exclusive religious group. Cult music is played by and for only the members of such a group. Nonmembers may or may not be allowed to participate.
Dance dialogue.--A Rhythm in the drums which calls for a special figure from the dancers.

Drum.--The drumming, dancing, singing, costumes, and ethos of a particular dance drumming. Thus one may say "the Atsiā' drum," meaning the total musical and psychological complex that is a performance of Atsiā'. The Anlo equivalent is vu, as in Atsiā'vu. Both drum and vu also denote the instrument itself.

Fast.--The main dance steps occur at the rate of at least 132 per minute.

General.--A dance open to anyone who wishes to participate in it. Such a dance characteristically lacks any uniform, sustained choreography, and the participants enter and leave at any time.

Group.--A dance that the participants do not enter or leave at any time, as they do a general dance, and in which they all move in calculated unison. Atsiagbeko is a group dance, for example.

Medium.--The main dance steps occur at the rate of about 108 per minute.

Old.--Music the origins of which are beyond the memory of informants, but not ancient.

Recreational.--A term referring specifically to dances performed for the purpose of entertainment.

Song dialogue.--A dance figure and/or a drum rhythm called for by a song text.

Slow.--The main dance steps occur at the rate of about 88 per minute.
Solo.-- A dance performed for an audience by one person (or two, and sometimes even three).

II. Descriptive List

Entries in the following alphabetical list are of four kinds: (1) names of dance drummings that have distinctive instrumentation, distinctive rhythms, or both; (2) alternate names for these dance drummings, cross-indexed; (3) names of song repertoires, each cross-indexed to the main entry for the dance drumming that accompanies it; (4) alternate names for these song repertoires, cross-indexed.

The list is not historical. It includes only musics now being played in Anyako or that could be played by citizens of the town should the need arise. The list is fairly complete but not exhaustive, and represents research done in the summer and fall of 1971. Information was supplied by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, his cousin Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo, his uncle Togbi Kwaku Kpogo Ladzekpo, his father-in-law Togbi Kofiga Honu Lawluvi, and Mr. Theophilus S. A. Togobo.

Instrumentation is given in descending order of pitch. Idiophones are in the left column, drums in the right. The drum of lowest pitch is the leading drum unless another is specifically indicated. The letters included in parentheses after the name of an idiophone refer to the rhythmic pattern or patterns played on it. These patterns are listed alphabetically by letter in the third section of this appendix, beginning at p. 398. The letters
in parentheses after the name of a drum refer to the method of 
play according to the following scheme:

s  the drum is played with one or two sticks;
h  the drum is played with the hands;
sh the drum is played with one stick and one hand;
s/sh the drum is played now with two sticks and now with 
one stick and one hand.

One drum may alternate with another as leading drum. 
This alternation is shown by placing the names of both drums on 
the same line with a virgule between them, thus:

atsimeyu (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)

An Arabic numeral following the name of an instrument 
indicates how many are played at the same time. When the 
quantity varies, two numerals connected by a dash indicate the 
fewest and the most.

Instrumentation and rhythmic patterns are given for 
dance drumming only. The processional and interlude music 
associated with each dance drumming has not been considered.

Abuteni

See Adzro.

Adayu

Cult music (Yeye). A fast general dance. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 4-5    Kaganu (s), 2
Adodo     Kidi
Gankogui (D) Atsimeyu (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)

Adzida

(or Adzidagâ). Song repertoire for Axatseyu drumming
(q.v.) performed in Woe Division. The oldest of the Axatsevu song repertoires. Adzida Evelia (q.v.) is sometimes called Adzida for short.

Adzida Evelia

(or Adzida). Song repertoire for Axatsevu drumming (q.v.) performed in Woe Division. Not the same as Adzida (Adzidagã).

Adzidagã

See Adzida.

Adzikpo


Instrumentation:

| Axatse, 2 | Kaganu (s) |
| Clapping (G) | Kidi (s) |
| Gankogui (A) | Sogo (s) |
|             | Atsimeyu (s/sh) |

Adzo

See list of terms (above) and Atigo (below).

Adzomani

Song repertoire for Axatsevu drumming (q.v.) performed in Lasibi Division.

Adzro

Axatse, 2-4                      Kaganu (s)
Clapping (F)                     Kidi (s)
Gankogui (A₁)                    Sogo (s)
                                  Atsimeyú (sh) / goveme (sh)

Afã


    Axatse (a great many)                         Kaganu (s)
    Akpewo                                         Kidi (s)
    Clapping (F)                                   Sogo (h)
    Gankogui (A)

Afli

(or Asafo). Recreational music. A fast solo dance. Acquired 100 years ago and used as war music, replacing Atrikpui. Instrumentation:

    Clapping (F₂)                                   Asrama (h)
    Gankogui (A₁)                                   Ayrome (s)
                                  Tumboda (s)
                                  Yugã (s/sh)

Afovyui

Cult music (Yeve). A fast solo dance. Instrumentation:

    Axatse, 2                                     Kaganu (s), 2
    Clapping (F)                                   Kidi (s)
    Adodo                                          Atsimeyú (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)
    Gankogui (A)
    Gankogui

Agbadza

Recreational ahïaviyu music. A fast general dance. Not the ancient Agbadza, but derived from Atrikpui. The only
recreational dance drumming in Anyako not supported by a club organization. Its song repertoire is traditional, the texts short and easy to learn. Anlo living among strangers often choose Agbadza as the musical focus of their mutual aid society. For a full discussion see Jones, Studies in African music, I, pp. 162-193, with score in II, pp. 166-217. Classed as akpeyu.

Instrumentation:

Axatse, 1-4
Akpewo
Clapping (F₁, G, G₁)
Gankogui (A)
Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (h)

Agbeko

See Atsiagbeko.

Agbekogbë

See Atsiagbeko.

Agbo

Cult music. A fast general dance. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 1-2
Clapping (F)
Gankogui (A)
Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (s/sh) [formerly h]

Agoha

See Atigo.

Ahiaviyu

See Axatseyu.

Ako

Cult music (Yeve). A slow general dance. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2
Adodo
Clapping (F)
Gankogui (A)
Kaganu (s), 2
Kidi (s)
Atsimeyu (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)
Akpalu

Song repertoire for Atigo drumming (q.v.) performed in all three Divisions. The songs are appropriate mostly to funerals and memorial occasions and are known throughout Anlo. For a study of the composer, Vinolo Akakpo Akpalu, see the thesis by Nayo.

Akufede

(or Asafo). Ceremonial music. A fast solo dance with dance dialogues. Acquired 100 years ago and used as war music, replacing Atrakpui. Instrumentation:

- Clapping (F₂)
- Ayrome (s)
- Tumboda (sh)
- Gankogui (A₁)
- Yugₐ (s/sh)

Alosogbey

Song repertoire for Axatseyu drumming (q.v.) performed in Woe Division.

Anyigbā Kaklā

See Husago.

Asafo

See Afli and Akufede.

Atamugā

See Atsiagbeko.

Atigo

(or Agoha, Atsigo, Dekolenyawonu, Leafelegbe, Nyayito. Song repertoire: Akpalu). Recreational ahiaviyú music. A slow general dance. Ancient war music. When performed as Adzo, i.e.,
without drums or with only the leading drum, only women partic-
pate. Jones discusses this music in Studies in African music, I,
pp. 72-92, with score in II, pp. 11-40. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 1-3
Clapping (F₁, G, G₂)
Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Kpetsi (s) [a second kidi]
Kroboto (s)
Atsimevu (s/sh)

Atrikpui
(or Zokpa). Recreational music. A fast solo dance.
Ancient war music, but this function was ceded to Afli and
Akufede (q.v.) 100 years ago. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2
Clapping (F)
Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (h)

Atsiã
(or Kobazo, Komazo). Recreational ahiaviyu music. A
medium general dance with dance dialogues and song dialogues.
Ancient war music now associated with important occasions.
People in Anyako sometimes thought I meant Atsiagbeko (q.v.)
at first when I asked about Atsiã. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2-3
Clapping (F₅)
Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (h)
Atsimevu (s/sh)

Atsiagbeko
(or Agbeko, Agbekogã, Atamugã, Atsiã). Recreational
ahiaviyu music. A fast group and solo dance with dance dialogues.
Ancient war music. Not the same as Atsiã. Instrumentation:
Axatse, 2-4
Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Krobo (s)
Totodzi (s)
Atsimeyu (s/sh)

Atsigo

See Atigo.

Atsimeyu

See Axatseyu.

Avleyu


Axatse, 4-5
Clapping (F)
Adodo
Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s), 2
Kidi (s)
Sogo (s)

Axatseyu

(or Ahiavivu, Atsimeyu. Song repertoires: Adzida [Adzida], Adzida Evelia, Adzoman, Aloso, Britannia, Cape Coast, Nobody, YeVavo). Recreational ahiavivu music. A fast general dance. To perform this dance drumming, clubs form around a composer who provides all the songs the club sings. For a full discussion of Axatseyu club organization and music see Jones, Studies in African music, I, pp. 128-161, with score in II, pp. 112-165. Classed as axatseyu. Instrumentation:
Axatse, ± 20 Kaganu (s)
Clapping (F, F₄, G) Kidi (s)
Gankogui (A) Sogo (s)
                       Atsimevu (s/sh)

Azenu
(or Ezeyu, Zeyu). Recreational music. A fast general
dance. Ancient. Classed as akpeyu. Instrumentation:
       Axatse, 2-4 Kaganu (s)
    Clapping (F) Kidi (s)
     Atoke (A) Sogo (h)
      Atoke

Britannia
Song repertoire for Axatseyu drumming (q.v.) performed
in Lasibi Division.

Cape Coast
Song repertoire for Axatseyu music (q.v.) performed in
Adotri Division.

Dëvu
Cult music (Yeve). A medium general dance.
Instrumentation:
       Axatse, 2 Kaganu (s)
    Clapping (F₃) Kidi (s)
       Adodo Sogo (s/sh)
     Gankogui (B₁)
       Gankogui

Degbato
Recreational ahiaviyu music. A slow general dance.
Classed as akpeyu. Instrumentation:
       Axatse, 1-2 Kaganu (s)
     Akpewo Kidi (s)
    Clapping (G) Sogo (h)
     Gankogui (A) Atsimevu (s/sh)
Dekolenyawonu

See Atigo.

Dunekpoe

See Adzro.

Dzano

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A slow dance. Classed as akpeyu. Instrumentation:

- Axatse, 1-2
- Clapping (G)
- Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (s)
Atsimayu (s/sh)

Ezevu

See Azenu.

Fofui

Cult music. A medium general dance. Instrumentation:

- Axatse, 2-3
- Clapping (F₃)
- Gankogui (A₁)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Kroboto (s)
Sogo (s)

Ga

See Gakpa.

Gadzo

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A fast general dance.

Instrumentation:

- Axatse, 1-4
- Clapping (F₃)
- Gankogui (A)

Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Gadzovuga (h)

Gahū

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A medium general dance with
dance dialogues. From Badagry in Nigeria. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2-4
Gankogui (B)
Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (s)
Agboba (h/s)
[Åtsimevu can replace agboba]

Gakpa
(or Ga). Recreational music. A slow general dance.
Classed as akpevu. Instrumentation:

Clapping (A, F5, G)
Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (h)

Husago

Axatse, 2
Clapping (F3)
Adodo
Gankogui (F2)
Kaganu (s), 2
Kidi (s)
Atsimevu (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)

Kedzanyi
Recreational ahiaviyu music. A slow general dance.
Classed as Akpevu. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 1-2
Akpewo
Clapping (F1)
Gankogui (A)
Kaganu (s)
Kidi (s)
Sogo (h)
Atsimevu (s/sh)

Kete
Recreational ahiaviyu music. A fast solo dance.
Classed as akpevu. Instrumentation:
Axatse, 4-6  
Clapping (F₅)  
Gankogui (A)  

Kaganu (s)  
Kidi(s)  
Sogo (s/sh)  
Atsimeyu (s/sh)

Kobazo

See Atsiã.

Komazo

See Atsiã.

Kpegisu

Recreational music. A fast general dance. Ancient war music. Instrumentation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Axatse, 4</th>
<th>Clapping (F)</th>
<th>Atoke (A)</th>
<th>Atoke</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kaganu (s)</td>
<td>Kidi(s)</td>
<td>Kroboto (s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kpomegbe

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A slow general dance. Classed as Akpeyu. Instrumentation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Axatse, 2</th>
<th>Akpewo</th>
<th>Clapping (F₁, G)</th>
<th>Gankogui (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sogo (s)</td>
<td>(s/sh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lãgãyu

Cult music (Yeye). A fast general dance. Instrumentation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Axatse, 4-5</th>
<th>Clapping (F)</th>
<th>Adodo</th>
<th>Gankogui (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaganu (s)</td>
<td>Kidi(s)</td>
<td>Sogo (s/sh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leafelegbe

See Atigo.
Misegó

See Husago. The name stands for "misegodzi," meaning "tightly close your waist, you are going away." The night the Anlo fled Notsie they drummed Misegó (see pp. 281-82).

Nobody

Song repertoire for Axatseyu drumming (q.v.) performed in Lasibi Division.

Nyaragadi

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A slow general dance.

Classed as akpeyu. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 8 Kaganu (s)
Akpewo Kidit (s)
Clapping (F) Sogo (s)
Gankogui (A) Atsimevu (s/sh)

Nyayito

See Atigo.

Sogba

See Sogbadzi.

Sogbadzi

(or Sogba). Cult music (Ye Ye). A medium solo dance.

For a study of this music see the thesis by Fiaogbedzi. Jones discusses this music in Studies in African music, I, pp. 120-127, with score in II, pp. 93-111. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2 Kaganu (s), 2
Clapping (F) Kidit (s)
Adodo Sogo (s/sh)
Gankogui (A) Gankogui
Soyu

See Xebiesoyu.

Takada

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A medium general dance.

For a study of the music see the article by Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni. Classed as axatseyu. Instrumentation:

Axatse, 20+  Kaganu (s)
Clapping (G₁)  Kidi (s)  [played in unison]
Gankogui (A)  Sogo (s)  2
Atimpyuyu (s/sh), 2

Tegbë

See Adzikpo.

Tsinayu

Cult music (Yeve). A medium solo dance.

Instrumentation:

Axatse, 2-4  Kaganu (s), 2
Clapping (F)  Kidi (s)
Adodo  Sogo (s/sh)
Gankogui (C)

Vugâ

Ceremonial music. A fast solo dance with dance dialogue.

Instrumentation:

Clapping (F₁, F₃)  Asrama (s)
                 Tuobodam (s)
Gankogui (C, C₁)  Atumpâni (s), 2 [leading drum]
                 Aboba (s), 2

Woleke

Recreational ahiaviyu music. A fast general dance with a solo dance song dialogue. Classed as akpeyu. Instrumentation:
Axatse, 6  
Akpewo  
Clapping (B₁)  
Gankogui (B₁)  
Kaganu (s)  
Kidi (s)  
Sogo (s)  
Agboba (h)  

Xebiesoyu  
(or Soyu). Cult music (Ye ye). A medium solo dance.  
112-120, with score in II, pp. 77-92. Instrumentation:  
Axatse, 4-5  
Clapping (F₃)  
Adodo  
Gankogui (B₁)  
Kaganu (s), 2  
Kidi (s)  
Atsimey (s/sh) / sogo (s/sh)  

Yevavo  
Song repertoire for Axatseyu drumming (q.v.) performed  
in Lasibi Division.  

Zeyu  
See Azenu.  

Zokpa  
See Atrikpui.  

III. Rhythmic Patterns  
This concluding section lists and describes the rhythms  
assigned a letter in the descriptive list above. Both time-line  
notation and Western notation are used.  
The time-line notation was described in chapter three.  
It is read upwards. The short horizontals mark off equal  
intervals of time. Sound events are noted with a short, thick  
diagonal across the appropriate horizontal. The minimum number  
of horizontals required to establish the relative duration of
these notes is used in every case, but pattern \( F_5 \) has been spread out an arbitrary distance for better visual presentation. On each time line the pattern appears twice in succession. A curved phrase line to the left of the time line marks off the repetition, which is labelled.

Beneath each time line appears a Western notation of the same rhythm. Beneath the Western notation are listed the names of the ensembles in which the pattern is used. These can be found in the descriptive list above. After the name of an ensemble that plays ceremonial music is an upper-case letter C; after the name of an ensemble that plays cult music, a lower-case letter c. Ensembles not followed by either of these letters play recreational music.

Below the listing of the ensembles, there usually appears one or more alternative Western notations of the rhythm. The reader is to understand that these notations do not exhaust the possibilities.

The patterns lettered \( A \) through \( D \) are played on bells. The patterns lettered \( F \) through \( G \) are clapped. Only in Gadzo and Woleke music is the clapping a doubling of the bell playing. The bell pattern in Husago music is elsewhere found only as a clap. With these exceptions, the rhythms of clapping form a repertoire distinct from the rhythms of the bell.

Bell patterns have a clear point of beginning. The beginning point of clap patterns has been taken as the point
coincident with the beginning of the bell pattern that it accompanies. (Thus two clap patterns that, like \((F_1)\) and \((F_2)\), have identical sequence of durations appear separately if they have different beginning points).
(D)

REPETITION

\[
\begin{aligned}
\end{aligned}
\]

\[\text{Adāyu-c}\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
\end{aligned}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$(F)$</th>
<th>$(F_1)$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adzro</td>
<td>Axatsevu</td>
<td>Agbadza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afā</td>
<td>Azenu</td>
<td>Kedzanyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afovu-c</td>
<td>Kpegunsu</td>
<td>Atigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqbo-c</td>
<td>Lagayu</td>
<td>Kpomogbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ako-c</td>
<td>Nyagbadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atrikpui</td>
<td>Sogbadzi-c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avlevu-c</td>
<td>Tsinayu-c</td>
<td>Vugā-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(F₄)

REPEATITION

Axatseyu

(F₅)

REPEATITION

Atsić
Gakpa
Kete
Adzikpo
Agbadza
Atigo
Degbato
Dzado
Gakpa
Kpomegbe

Agbadza
Takada
(G₂)

REPETITION

Atigo

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(Musical notation of a repeated pattern)} \\
&\text{(Another representation of the pattern)} \\
&\text{(Yet another representation of the pattern)} \\
&\text{(Additional representation of the pattern)}
\end{align*}
\]
APPENDIX D

DESCRIPTIVE DRUMMING SCORE

The following pages are a descriptive transcription of Atsiñ dance drumming performed at New Paltz, New York, in the spring of 1970 under the conditions described in chapter six, pp. 119-120. The Anlo musicians participating were

Beatrice Dzidzogbe Lawluvi, dancer and choreographer, who sang and played the rattle. She is the wife of

Kobla Ladzekpo, drummer, dancer, and choreographer, who played the leading drum, atsimeyu. While a young man in the years immediately preceding 1957, the year Ghana became independent, Mr. Ladzekpo as leader of Phillip Gbeho's Drumming and Dancing Research Group played a major role in the movement to reinstate indigenous musical values. After Independence he went on to teach at the Ghana Institute of Art and Culture and at the School of Music and Dance of the University of Ghana. He has taught African music at Columbia University and at the State University College at New Paltz, New York, and currently (1972) teaches at the California Institute of the Arts. He is the elder brother of

Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, drummer and dancer, who played sogo. He joined his brother as leading drummer in the Gbeho Research Drumming and Dance Group in 1958 and remained in that position until 1966. During that time he was also leading drummer and researcher for the Ministry of Arts and Culture of Ghana, performing and lecturing widely in Ghana and West Africa. He drummed the official welcomes extended by the Ghanaian government to the Queen of England and the Duke of Edinburgh and to Miss Pearl Primus of the United States. He has taught African music at Columbia University and at the Berkeley campus of the University of California and is currently teaching with his brother at the California Institute
of the Arts.¹

As in all Atsiā dance drumming, this performance begins with a song. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo, leading drummer, gives out the text and its tune in a rapid, free rhythm as he stands beside his instrument. In a full performance the text is given out by the song leader who stands in the center of the circle of dancers. The Western musical staff is used to indicate the pitches of this introduction, and solid note heads without stems to indicate that the rhythm is not strictly measured.

The introduction moves into the strictly timed song without a pause. Where precisely measured time takes over, stems have been added to the note heads of the vocal part. The result is a series of six eighth-notes, which carry six measured syllables that give the timing to the player of the bell. Acting as leading drummer, Mr. Ladzekpo responds to this rhythmic cue with koga, a tapping of sticks on the shell of the drum (see photographs on p. 510). He taps the bell pattern, and the bell player (an American student) picks it up from him on the third stroke. A more experienced bell player would start the pattern at its beginning without the aid of koga, taking his cue from the leading singer alone.

Mr. Alfred Ladzekpo follows immediately with the rattle

¹Most of this biographical data accompanies the recording African dances and games (New York: Selva Records, SR 2000, [1969]), by Kobla Ladzekpo, Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, and me.
and divides the second half of the cycle of the bell into four equally spaced strokes. This is not the rattle part in Atsiā, but is the second half of a pattern the Ladzekpos often play as koga to set, or check, the timing of the music. In full it goes with the bell as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kaga} & : \vdots \vdots \vdots \vdots \\
\text{Bell} & : \vdots \vdots \vdots \vdots \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the second cycle of the bell, Mr. Alfred Ladzekpo changes to the regular pattern for the rattle in Atsiā, and Miss Lawluvi joins him with a second rattle. (The performance was given in a small classroom; therefore when Mr. Ladzekpo later put down his rattle to play sogo, the one remaining rattle proved to be all that was needed. The sound of Atsiā should not be too full of the sound of the rattle.)

When the stick, the rattle, and the bell enter the score, the vocal line loses its stems and flags once more. The rhythm of the voice could not possibly be described as free at this point, as it was earlier. Yet it is a rhythm more truly represented without the standard durational signs.

The song is a duet between melody and bell rhythm. The two should be interwoven as closely as possible. The strokes of the bell, therefore, have been set out as a grid of vertical lines spaced at intervals that reflect the timing of the play of
this instrument, from left to right. The vocal part lies across this grid; it can be sung correctly only by re-creating the timing of the bell. This dependency reflects the true rhythmic feeling of an Atsiā song, which is that of a duet with the bell.

Each cycle of the pattern of the bell is numbered above the first stroke. This procedure is for convenience only. The first stroke is musically no more important than any other. Beginning with the third cycle, the notes of the accompanying percussion parts no longer appear as part of each staff of the score. In every staff they are the same as shown for the second cycle. The vertical lines representing the strokes of the bell are all that remain of the accompaniment. These lines appear on every page of the vocal score, and their timing appears across the bottom of each page in standard musical notation.

Rests are shown in three ways in the vocal score. Within the rhythmically free introduction, they appear as short vertical strokes, or as commas. The rests so represented are brief. In the strictly measured vocal section, an eighth rest indicates the point at which the sustained tone of a phrase ceases. No further signs are used to represent the period of silence that may follow, since the score remains perfectly clear without them.

I decided with some hesitation to place the melodic lines on a Western staff. Favoring this choice is the fact that Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo has said he does not feel that the piano distorts Anlo tunes. Opposed is the behavior of the melodies, which move
along a tetrachordal chain rather than between tonics an octave apart.\footnote{Curt Sachs expounds the idea of chains, starting on p. 145 of The wellsprings of music (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962), and applies it to the interval of a fourth in chapter five (pp. 159-167). See also his article "Primitive and medieval music: a parallel," Journal of the American Musicalological Society XIII, 1-3 (1960), pp. 43-49.} The subdivision of the tetrachord, furthermore, is not always in the diatonic terms imposed by the staff (as in the bass line at cycle 19, where the tetrachord in question is c to f, but two of the notes sung within this range do not fit comfortably on either the line or the space). Nevertheless, the staff is at least adequate for the incidental use to which it is put in this study.

The drums enter on a vertical score, at cycle 31 of the bell. At cycle 30, in anticipation, the vocal staffs have been pivoted so that they run from the bottom to the top of the page. Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo's staff is not represented. During cycles 28 and 29, as notated in the score, he changed his physical stance and became leading drummer instead of song leader. His staff is now the one labelled "atsimeyu."

As before, the strokes of the bell are notated as straight lines that run through the staves of the other parts. The first stroke of every cycle is a single straight line that runs across the score without a break. The rattle appears at cycle 30, in the tablature developed for it in chapter four.
Although the dance does not really begin in dance drumming until the entrance of the leading drum, singers standing on the dancing ground would have been moving gently in rhythm to the opening song from its beginning, when the free introduction ceases and a proper tempo is established by the song leader. There was no dancing during the New Paltz performance, but its notation has been included for theoretical completeness—especially since Aṣiṣa includes dance dialogues.

Motion on the dance staff of the vertical score is shown as a series of left and right steps, drawn small at first to indicate that the movement is slight. When the leading drum enters, the dancers become animated and the steps are drawn larger.

The singing in the New Paltz performance stopped when the drumming began. In a full performance, with a circle of dancers and a song leader or two out in front of the instrumental players, the singing would not cease. It would be the dancers who carried it on, however, and not the instrumentalists.

The brackets around the final phrase indicate that it was not actually sung when the recording was made, or at least not sung prominently enough to be picked up by the microphone.

Drumming syllables were supplied by Mr. Kobla Ladzekpo for most of the play of atsimeyu, and by Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo for some of the play of atsimeyu and all of the play of sogo.
K. Ladzekpo (in a free rhythm)

ME LE YO GE, YO GE, YO GE, GO-WOE ME LE YO GE, A-KLA-GBA DZANYI
I will call, call, call, always I will call - she has a fine skin,

LOO, ME LE YO GE, GO-WOE ME LE YO GE, NE WO VA JEA-ME, ME LE YO.
oh! I will call, always I will call her to come to the house. I will call,

GE, YO GE, YO GE, GO-WOE ME LE YO GE, A-KLA-GBA DZANYI LOO, ME LE
call, call, always I will call - she has a fine skin, oh! I will

YO GE, GO-WOE ME LE YO GE, NE WO VA JEA-ME, HIA-VI DZRE
call, always I will call her to come to the house. Lover, save

NU-NYUE-WO DO, A-YO, HIA-VI DZRA BA-TSA-WO DO, A-YE,
good things! All right! Lover, prepare the beds! Yes,

yes! Save the things! Yes, yes! Prepare the pillows!

DO, A-YO, ME LE YO GE, YO GE, YO GE,
all right!

K. Ladzekpo

VOICE

STICK

A. Ladzekpo

RATTLE

B. Tatar

BILL
(First page of vertical score)
Rattle Rattle
Bell
Voices

ME LE VO GE, NE WO VA SE A-ME~

(D能D SINGING)

Dance 

Kid

Sogo

Puts down rattle

Ats Menu
THE SHOULDER BLADES CONTRACT. BETWEEN EACH STEP THE STOMACH CONTRACTS... [BASIC MOVEMENT]...
RATTLE KAGANY DANCE KIPI

CLOCKWISE PIVOT (ONE FULL TURN)

[This figure is always used by hiram lelulvi to terminate the dancer's response to a dialogue in assia. it was not observed at the performances of assia at anyiko, afiranggwa, or jokwurde.]

SOGO ATSINEU

[LOUDE]

END OF DANCE
END OF SCORE

RATTLE KAGADU DANCE KIDJ SOGO ATSIMEVU

Bell

DEG

K1

DEG

KIDJ

K1

.models.official_name

194

194

T5

GA

F5

Gi

TE

Gi

RE

GA

GMJ
APPENDIX E

MOTION PHOTOGRAPHS

The photographs that follow illustrate (1) the motions of song leading; (2) the main Atsiā dance figure; (3) the basic movement of Anlo dancing; and (4) the most important strokes in the play of sogo and atsimeyu. All demonstrations are by

Mr. Vincent Kofi Ladzekpo.--Born in Anyako in 1941, he is the son of the late, well-known composer Agbadrive Ladzekpo of Lasibi Division. As a teenager he founded a Gahū club with his cousin, Mr. Alfred Kwashie Ladzekpo, and has since then remained active and interested in traditional music.

He formed an Axatseyu club called Favor at Anyako and another called Yexoese at Accra, both built around songs of his own composition. As a composer he is known by his invocational name Kpeglo.

In 1963 he coached drumming and dancing at the Ghana Institute of Art and Culture in Accra. From 1964 to 1968 he trained and directed the Workers Brigade Cultural Group, which toured Europe and countries in Africa. Since 1969 he has been a farm manager for the Ghana government, and in 1971 he came to the United States to study agriculture.

The photographs are stills taken from moving pictures filmed by Mr. Charles D. Winters at the Instructional Resources Center of the State University College at Oneonta, New York, on Tuesday, December 28, 1971. The song leading and the dancing were photographed at twenty-four frames per second, the drumming at sixty-four frames per second.

The pictures are arranged from the bottom of each page to the top and are accompanied by vertical tablature notation.
PLATE XII. SONG LEADING.
PLATE XIII. THE MAIN DANCE FIGURE IN SIX STEPS AS DESCRIBED ON PP. 79-81.
PLATE XIV. THE MAIN DANCE FIGURE IN FOUR STEPS AS DESCRIBED ON P. 81.
Sogo

PLATE XVII. THE CENTER STROKE AS DESCRIBED ON PP. 127-28, WITH KOGA.
XVIII. THE PRESSED STROKE AS DESCRIBED ON PP. 128-29, WITH KOGA.
Sogo        Atsimevu

PLATE XIX. MUTING AS DESCRIBED ON PP. 129-131.
PLATE XX. DAMPING AS DESCRIBED ON P. 127
PLATE XXI. A DOUBLE BOUNCED STROKE WITH STICKS
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This selective listing is in two sections. The first contains published and unpublished sources entered alphabetically by author. The second contains interviews entered alphabetically by locality.

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