

Pre-Performance and other Contexts within Which Adzewa and Adzeba Music and Dance are Performed along the Fanti Coastline of Ghana

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine the contextual meaning of *adzewa* and *adzeba* in some traditional Ghanaian institutions and the new meaning that the music and dance was acquiring in contemporary Ghanaian society. The study made use of audio-video recordings and interviews from the Central Folkloric Dance Company at Cape Coast, the Winneba *Dentsefo Adzeba* group and the Mankoadze *Adzeba* groups. Data for the study was collected between August 2012 and January 2014. Pre-performance and post-performance, traditional state festivals, funerals, the context of *Asafo* warriors' music, and occasions of ritual importance and conflict were examined under the traditional Ghanaian context. Ghana national state functions and performance on stage were examined under the contemporary context. Pre-performance and post-performance of libation showed how deep *adzewa* and *adzeba* performances were rooted in tradition and exemplified the bond of relationship between the living and the dead as well as the keen interest of the ancestral spirits in the activities of the living. Performances of *adzewa* and *adzeba* on stage and in other contemporary contexts manifested the changing role of traditional music in contemporary society such as the use of dance drama and harmony of songs in four parts instead of two parts.

Keywords: Pre-performance, Post-performance, Contextual, *Adzewa*, *Adzeba*, Music, Dance.

1.0 Introduction

This study was based on an ongoing research in *adzewa* and *adzeba* music and dance of the coastal Fanti people of Ghana. *Adzewa*, an occasional music and dance of the Fanti and Guan people of the Central Region of Ghana was performed mainly during traditional festivals and funerals. Along the Fanti coastline of Ghana, the people of Cape Coast and Apam called it *Adzewa*. Mankoadze and Winneba people called it *Adzeba* while Senya Breku people called it *Adzeba*. Both Sutherland-Addy and Edumadze agreed that the Effutu people of Winneba adopted *Adzeba* from the *Adzewa* of the Fanti during their migration to their present settlement. A source available to this study also corroborated these findings (Sutherland-Addy, 1998 p. 3-4; Edumadze, 1994 pp. 3-4; Personal communication with Reverend Taylor, Winneba on July 13, 2013). Basically there were two types of *adzewa* instrumental ensembles. The first type used the following basic instruments: *mfoba* (gourd rattles), *dawuro* (bell but originally the hoe head was used) and rhythmic handclapping. The second type used the basic instruments of *mfoba* (gourd rattles), *dawuro* (bell), rhythmic handclapping and a drum (either an *apentsima* drum or *dondo*). *Adzewa* songs were sung in the Fanti dialect of the Akan language with performing groups concentrated in the Central Region especially along the Fanti coastline of Ghana.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

The paper focused on the contextual rather than the textual or structural meaning of *adzewa* and *adzeba* music and dance. Since the 1950s the history of ethnomusicology has been characterized by a raging debate between anthropologically or contextually oriented scholars such as Alan P. Merriam and musicologically or textually oriented scholars such as Mantle Hood. The anthropological view considered ethnomusicology as the study of music in culture whereas the musicological view preferred studying music in terms of itself. Inherent in these disagreements was a methodological difference. While the anthropologist regarded collected data as a "means to an end", the musicologist was "more likely to be satisfied with the collection of the data and the analysis of that particular data for its own internal relevance" (Merriam 1969:214). The inclination on the one side was towards context, music as a behavioural phenomenon" and on the other towards text, musical structures or sound materials (Nketia, 2005; Shepherd and Wicke, 1997; Ethnomusicology-Dictionary & Encyclopedia, n.a.; Agawu, 1986).

In the field of sociology, the textual approach was conceptualized as an object while the contextual approach was perceived as a process of musical and non-musical elements culminating in music and interaction. Together, the two concepts have had remarkable influence on the production, reception and consumption of music. Treating music as an object implied that it was 'a thing that has a moment of creation, a stability of characteristics across time and place and a potential for use' (Roy and Dowd, 2010 p. 6). Sociologists treated



music as an object in two ways: as an institutionalized system of tonality and as a commodity. The division of pitch into different tones, the equal temperament, and the evolution of the twelve-note octave scale as well as the codification of music into notation exemplified the institutionalized system of tonality in music. Music has also been treated like the buying and selling of a commodity. In the history of Western music, it involved the State and Church securing the services of composers and musicians. The expansion of commercial music publishing, the institution of copyright laws and the application of technology have given authenticity to the commodification of music (Adorno, 2002; Sanjek &Sanjek, 1991).

Sociologically, the contextual approach differed strikingly from the textual approach. Contextualists mainly concentrated on the listeners rather than the performers. The listeners were most of the time overlooked by the textualists. A contextualist could include in his or her analysis the building where a performance took place and the interaction of participants. For the contextualist, meaning could never be absolute or pure in music. Meaning was more of a series of activities like interpretations and reflections rather than complete or total facts or ideas. Music and its meaning did not develop in a social situation but were part of the state of affairs (Seeger, 2004; Watkins, 2001).

The research used as its theoretical framework, Nketia's model on the problem of meaning in African music (Nketia, 1976, 1973, 1962) based on the integrated approach to the problem of meaning where meaning was sought as a synthesis of meanings by looking at meaning from both contextual and textual perspectives. The Theory, which served as conceptual framework for the study was the sociological theory of functionalism. The model was based on Merriam's definition of ethnomusicology as the study of music in culture (Merriam, 1960, 1964).

1.2 Methodology

Data for the study was collected between August 2012 and January 2014. At Mankoadze, listening and observation of performances, took place on August 5, 2012, February 3, 2013 and August 11, 2013. At Winneba, the afore-mentioned events took place on January 27, 2013, February 3, 2013 and February 10, 2013 and January 22, 2014. At the Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast, the Central Folkloric Dance ensemble performed on December 12, 2013.

Following the performances by the groups under study were the personal interview sessions, the main research tool by which information was collected from the performers. There were two forms of personal interviews. These were Individual (intercept interview) and Focus Group interview. Interview schedules of a mixture of closed and open questions were drawn up and administered to various groups and individuals.

1.2.1 Focus group interviews

The focus group interviewing which has become one of the major research tools to understand people's thoughts and feelings was used in interviewing the *Dentsefo Adzeba* group of Winneba and the Folkloric Dance ensemble in Cape soon after their performances. The Mankoadze group was observed on three occasions in August 5, 2012, February 3, 2013 and August 11, 2013. I had a focus group discussion with the group on February 3, 2013. The words of some of the songs were not clear so we asked them to perform those songs, clarify the words and give the meaning of the songs. They also demonstrated the *adzeba* dance, how it was performed with the songs. They demonstrated further how a dancer left the dancing ring after three rounds of moving and turning round before another dancer took over or the song was changed.

Focus group discussion with the Winneba *Dentsefo adzeba* ensemble took place on January 22, 2014. The group clarified issues on the pre-performance ceremony and why they poured a libation of gin on the gourd rattles. During their previous performances, the instrumental music was so loud that it overshadowed the songs. I had a difficult session with the performers trying to make meaning out of some of the songs. They played the songs without instrumental accompaniment. This made it possible for me to hear the words more clearly and to ask more questions about the music. In order to hear the instruments distinctly, the *dawur* (bell) player was asked to play her part alone. Immediately after that the group of *mfoba* (gourd rattles) players also played their parts one after the other before playing together as a group. This made it possible for me to hear the rhythms of the instruments distinctly. I also took this opportunity to find out from the group why the *adomba* (hand bell) was missing in all their performances.

The focus group interview with the Folkloric Dance ensemble at Cape Coast took place after their performance on December 12, 2013. I administered the interview guide of to the group. The group demonstrated the instrumental patterns of the *adzewa* ensemble. The *dawur* (banana bell) player started with his part. This was followed by the *mfoba* (gourd rattle) players and then the *apentsima* drum. They also sung some of the songs they had previously performed without instrumental accompaniment. They narrated the words of the songs and explained what they meant to me.

There was listening, observing and interviewing of the three musical ensembles. All the groups used the gourd rattles and the *dawur* (bell) as musical instruments during their performances. The *Dentsefo* Winneba *adzeba* ensemble had no drums whereas the Mankoadze and Cape Coast ensembles used the *dondo* (hourglass



drum) and the *apentsima* drums respectively. The *Dentsefo* Winneba group was made up of only females whereas the other groups were composed of both male and female ensemble members.

1.3 Traditional Ghanaian context

1.3.1 Pre-performance and post-performance context

Before a traditional *adzeba* performance began, there was always a pre-performance ritual. This involved the pouring of libation with gin by the *4baa Panyin* (leader of the group). Libation, generally involved the pouring of wine or any alcoholic drink on the ground with verbal or non-verbal prayer to *Onyankopon* (the Supreme Being), *Asaase Yaa* (Mother Earth), *abosom* (the deities) and *nsamanfo*, the ancestral spirits of the family, clan or state during ceremonial occasions like funerals, naming ceremonies and traditional festivals. The pouring of libation was not limited to Ghana alone but also other African cultures (Bempong, 2000; Opoku, 1978; Bartels, 1975).

Sutherland-Addy observed an elaborate pre-performance ceremony by the *4baa Panyin* of the Cape Coast *Bentsir Adzewa* group. This involved the pouring of libation with gin. She appealed to their founding fathers and ancestors to come and possess the gourds and give them guidance and inspiration in their performance. The prayer was interposed with an interlocutory message 'it is true' by one of the members as the *4baa Panyin* continued the prayers. An identification dialogue between the leader as solo and the group as chorus followed, after which the song session began with a song of welcome and praise (Sutherland-Addy, 1998).

The Winneba and Mankoadze groups did not have these elaborate pre-performance rituals. The *4baa Panyin* of the Winneba group poured drinks on the gourds without uttering a word before the performance started. The *Dentsefo Adzeba* group accepted the White man's gin, the local gin (*akpeteshie*), wine or whisky for the libation. She poured the drink on the gourd rattles without uttering a word. According to them, this customary rite was to invoke the spirits of the ancestors and to ask for their permission and blessing to use the gourd rattles for an impending performance. After the performance, she poured the libation of drink on the ground first of all to inform the ancestors that the instruments have been returned and secondly to thank them for a successful performance.

In the pre-performance libation pouring among the Cape Coast *Adzewa* groups, prayers were offered to the ancestors and founders associated with the *Asafo* and *Adzewa* groups to possess the gourds and give guidance and inspiration in the performances (Sutherland-Addy, 1998 p.14). The Central Folkloric Dance ensemble of Cape Coast did not have a pre-performance ceremony because it was not a purely traditional group. It was a very good example of how traditional music was gradually being given new meaning in contemporary contexts.



Plate 1: Adzeba pre-performance ritual at Mankoadze

In the case of the Mankoadze group, just before any performance, the group went to fetch the gourd rattles and the bell from the family head who kept the instruments at the *Twidan* royal palace where the Whiteman's gin was always available for the pouring of libation. The hourglass drum was kept by the player. Just before a performance, the leader poured libation to the ancestors again for a good performance (See Plate 1 above). After performance, when the group was sending the gourd rattles and the bell to the royal palace, libation was poured before members dispersed to their homes. The group sang a special song as they returned the instruments to the *Twidan* royal palace. In the song, the *Adzeba* group was presented under the pseudonyms of *Nkum* and *Asafo Wassa*. The royal palace was referred to as *Agya fie* (Father's house). The air was filled with



their song as they processed from town to the royal palace (See Plate 2 below):

Nkum, we are going to Father's house. Therefore, we proceed. *Asafo Wassa* has done a lot for us but we are not satisfied. Therefore, we proceed.

The English have done their best but their best is not good enough. Therefore, we proceed.

Our only consolation is in reaching our Father's house.



Plate 2: The Mankoadze Adzeba ensemble processing to the Royal Palace after performance

1.3.2 Traditional state festivals

Adzeba was also performed in the context of traditional state festival. In the case of the Effutu of Winneba, it was the Antelope-Catching festival (Aboakyir). During this festival, the two Adzeba groups supported their counterpart Asafo groups with singing and dancing during the festivities.

At Mankoadze, both the *Asafo* and *Adzeba* groups were represented at the celebration of the *Iyi so Oye* (This is also good) traditional state festival, which symbolically involved the sweeping of the filth and bad omen of the town and casting them into the sea. Among the songs sung by the *Adzeba* group were those that recounted the good deeds and bravery of past and present chiefs of the town as well as other chiefs elsewhere in the Gomoa territory. The performance began with a clarion call, *Mpokum*, *mpokum* (non-lexical words), to members which was recognized even when the group performed outside Mankoadze (See Example 1 below).

Example 1: *Mpokum, mpokum*

FANTE TEXT ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CALL: Mpokum, mpokum Mpokum, mpokum

RESPONSE: Y1mfa hwee nny1 hwee We are not scared by anything

CALL: Adzeba for moano yi 11 Adzeba group what about your mouths

RESPONSE: Yedze bedzii adze We came to eat with them

1.3.3 The context of Asafo warriors' music

Adzeba was also performed in the context of asafo warriors' music. This style of singing adzeba songs was similar to the asafo-esi, one of the five styles of performing asafo music. In this style, members of the Asafo group stood or sat while singing the songs in the absence of the bell and drumming. There were lots of recitative warrior music and praise singing.

I observed this style of singing with the Winneba and Mankoadze *adzeba* ensembles. The groups classified this style of singing among the praise singing (*Ose b4*). They were sung while the group was seated and were not accompanied with instruments or handclapping, either before or after the performances of the full ensemble. In one of the songs of the *Dentsefo* Winneba *Adzeba* group, there was an encounter between the *Dentsefo Asafo* group to which this particular *adzeba* ensemble was affiliated and *Abora*, the enemy *Asafo* group. The song highlighted the fact that the *Osimpam Dentse Asafo* group had enough guns to ground *Abora*, the enemy *Asafo* group and that whatever they had in mind to do would come to pass.

1.3.4 Funerals

Adzeba has featured prominently in the funerals of important personalities of the Effutu and Mankoadze people. These personalities included chiefs and sub-chiefs as well as important royal family members. Some of the songs of the Mankoadze group highlighted the good deeds of past leaders and recognized existing chiefs. During the funeral of any of its members, the Adzeba group performed and found a replacement for the lost member. Many



of the songs recorded from Winneba and Mankoadze were funeral songs. Texts of many of the songs of the Winneba *Adzeba* group were on death and by implication suitable for funerals.

1.3.5 Integration of dance and music in adzewa and adzeba

As already noted the *adzewa* dance was integrated into the performance. Sutherland-Addy's description of the *adzewa* dance, which was borne out by the Folkloric Dance ensemble's performance at the auditorium of the Centre for National Culture at Cape Coast, appeared to be much more elaborate and elegant than what I witnessed in Winneba and Mankoadze (Sutherland-Addy, 1998). Among the Effutu *Dentsefo adzeba* ensemble, groups of songs of about thirty or forty went with particular styles of dancing. The ancestral songs went along with their dance patterns. The leader of the Winneba *Dentsefo* adzeba group is shown in the picture below performing the *adzeba* dancing style for the song *Ikaw nnyi edur* (No remedy for indebtedness).



Plate 3: A leader of the Winneba *Dentsefo Adzeba* group dancing in a performance

Among the Mankoadze group, dancing began by the dancer taking some steps (*ntutue*). The steps culminated in the dancer turning round (*Adane*). There were three turns to a dance before a new dancer stepped into the dancing ring or the current song was changed. The audience was free to join in the singing, clapping and dancing. Sutherland-Addy corroborated this among the Cape Coast *Adzewa* groups (ibid). At one of the rehearsal sessions at Mankoadze, a young man in an effort to join in the dancing disrupted the proceedings for some time before order was restored. During the performance at the traditional festival too, a teenage girl bounced into the dancing arena when the group was performing a song in which the past and present leaders of Mankoadze were being eulogized. She danced until the song ended.

Sutherland-Addy described the *adzewa* dance of the *Bentsir* group as involving elegant body movements in which the body leant forward as the dancer made short but quick foot movements. The dance, which was in two or three parts changed into a robust dance with leaping and distinct footwork and brisk swinging of arms. There was usually one dancer in the dancing ring at a time. Where there were two or more dancers in the dancing arena, one of them, who was apparently the leader, directed affairs by communicating with the drummer and ending the session abruptly by a distinctive swing of arms. A dancer or performer put a red cloth on someone to signal that it was his or her turn to move into the dancing ring (ibid).

1.3.6 Occasions of ritual importance and conflict

Oral sources associated *Adzewa* with an ancient Akan practice of women keeping vigil by reciting and singing songs in anticipation of their husbands, brothers, lovers and sons returning victoriously from the battlefield. This practice was known among the Fanti as *mmomombe* (songs of exhilaration). It went as far back as the Ashanti Empire and even beyond to the Bono Kingdom from where the Akan states including the Fanti migrated to their present settlement (Sutherland-Addy, 1998 p.6).

The ceremony known among the Twi as *mmobome* included 'dance, praise and execration, prayer, symbolism, obscene behavior, inversion of gender roles and abuse of male cowards'. After the Yaa Asantewaa war of 1900, no major war has been fought involving the *Asafo* companies in Ashanti. This in turn has changed the meaning of rituals such as *mmobome* in Ashanti. Since that time traditional Akan women, especially *Adzewa* companies of the Fanti rose up to ward off any danger when they felt their community was threatened. This could happen if there was litigation between two villages, if an epidemic broke out or a bad omen was envisaged. Under such circumstances, the women in the rural communities used *mmomombe* songs and dances to ward off the danger by parading through the length and breadth of the village quite reminiscent of what happened prior to



the 1900s The women of Cape Coast have continued with the tradition of performing *mmomombe* songs at their respective *Asafo* shrines on ritual occasions to the present (Adam, 1993 pp. 546, 548).

1.4 Contemporary Ghanaian Context

1.4.1 Performance on stage

The Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast has put the Folkloric group in place to perform on stage traditional Ghanaian dances including adzewa, 4mp1, osoode, asafo, apatampa, kpanlogo, konkoma, sikyi, adowa, kete, topui, b4b44b4, agbadza and gawu. In addition, they did choreography about the resolution of ethnic conflicts in Africa with special focus on Zimbabwe. They also choreographed Nelson Mandela of South Africa in some of their performances. The group, which still communicated with traditional adzewa ensembles virtually, sang the same way as the traditional ensembles did but their performances on stage implied that certain features of the performance had to undergo transformation. For this reason, the group enhanced its performances on stage with dance drama in order to capture the interest of the auditorium audience. Although in traditional adzewa performance only one apentsima drum and one dawur (bell) were used, two additional drums and two additional bells used in other performances by the Folkloric Dance ensemble have been added to its adzewa ensemble to enhance its performance.

1.4.2 Ghana National State Functions

Adzeba may also be performed during Ghana national state functions. For example, in December 1985 the government of the Provisional National Defence Council (P.N.D.C) took a giant political decision by declaring the first Friday of the month of December as the National Farmers' Day. The day was accordingly set aside as a national holiday, to honour the many unknown farmers and fishermen in the country whose efforts contributed in no small way towards the sustenance of the national economy. Farmers' Day has been observed and celebrated until today.

The tenth anniversary of the celebration of the inception of the day was marked on December 2, 1994 at Winneba with the theme 'food preservation for price stability'. The guest of honour for the function was his Excellency Jerry Rawlings. Traditional rulers from the Central Region attended the function. Present also were three traditional performing groups from the region. These were the *adzeba* and *osimpam* from Winneba as well as the renowned *mmenson* group from Gomoa Faamaye (Ampomah, 1997).

1.5 Discussion

Libation can be counted among important traditional religious rituals in Ghana and other African cultures. Among the Akan people of Ghana, it is the most important traditional religious ritual in many ceremonial occasions such as rites of passage. It used to be practised in Ancient Greece and Rome. In contemporary Ghanaian society, it has become a very important index of portraying the Ghanaian identity during Independence and Republic Day celebrations, inauguration of parliaments and other national activities (Ampomah, 1997; Opoku, 1978; Alexion, 1974).

In traditional Ghanaian society the pouring of libation is used as a means of educating the child. The child is introduced to the world below and above through the adult's eating or drinking habit of throwing or pouring a little down to the ground for the spirits of the ancestors in return for blessings. In school-based education, cultural competitions are organized for primary school children. They involve traditional religion and cultural drumming and dancing in which traditional religious concepts such as the pouring of libation and soothsaying are highlighted (Ampomah, 1997; Bartels, 1975).

The pre-performance and post-performance pouring of libation by traditional *adzewa* and *adzeba* groups are very significant in marking the beginning and ending of performances. They show how deep *adzewa* and *adzeba* performances are rooted in tradition. Like other libation pouring ceremonies, they exemplify the bond of relationship between the living and the dead and the keen interest of the ancestral spirits in the activities of the living.

The changing role of traditional music in contemporary society is manifested in the performance of adzewa and adzeba on stage and in other contemporary contexts. On such occasions the repertoire of the ensemble may be enlarged to amplify the sound in the auditorium. The use of dance drama to bring out the meaning of the adzewa songs by the Folkloric dance ensemble of Cape Coast for example is an innovation. Some of their songs are harmonized in four parts which goes contrary to the call and response as well as two-part and sometimes three-part harmony in traditional adzewa songs.

1.6 Conclusion

The ongoing research in *adzewa* and *adzeba* music and dance of the coastal Fanti people of Ghana on which this study was based used the integrated approach to the problem of meaning. Meaning was sought as a synthesis of meanings by looking at meaning from both contextual and textual perspectives. This paper, however, focused on the contextual rather than the textual or structural meaning of *adzewa* and *adzeba* music and dance. It examined



the traditional Ghanaian context and the contemporary Ghanaian context of adzewa and adzeba.

The traditional context involved pre-performance and post-performance activities of pouring libation to their ancestors: to ask for their permission and blessing before any performance and to thank them after a successful performance. In the contemporary context, adzewa or adzeba may be performed during any Ghana national state function such as Independence or Republic Day. Many traditional Ghanaian dances were being choreographed on stage and *adzewa* was no exception. The Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast for example has put the Folkloric dance ensemble in place to perform on stage traditional Ghanaian dances including *adzewa*, *4mp1*, *osoode*, *asafo*, *apatampa*, *kpanlogo*, *konkoma*, *sikyi*, *adowa*, and *kete*.

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