

The Gentleman, the wisest on earth,
 A word from him is final, because
 The world is spoilt already, for
 The love of money reigns supreme in the world.
 Oh come ye all, hear what Mopelola did,
 Come all ye people to see the trickish girl,
 Mopelola—the most beautiful girl
 Mopelola—the wife of a thousand husbands, who
 For money's sake, married Adeleke,
 For wealth's sake, married Adeleke.
 She promised Adeleke vehemently
 Not to leave him for life.
 When things were alright with Adeleke,
 Mopelola eats, drinks, and dresses gorgeously
 Like the low tide of the sea or the fine wave of the Lagoon
 Her head tie is superb
 She dazzles the eyes with her shoes,
 When she powders she is like a goddess.
 But when things change, that woe befell Adeleke,
 Mopelola trickishly left him in his misery.
 Ah the perversity of human beings!
 Human confidence is real vanity,
 Human confidence is no use.
 To trust God is always the best,
 We know only those that we love,
 Without knowing those that love us.
 If your kith and kin do not conspire against you,
 An outside enemy can not overpower you,
 May mighty God protect us.
 The World is spoilt already, for
 The love of money, reigns supreme in the world.

THE ROLE OF THE DRUMMER IN AKAN SOCIETY

by

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I

DRUMMING is widely enjoyed in all Akan communities of the Gold Coast, but unlike singing, the performers are fewer than might be expected, for the art of drumming requires skill and perfection which only a few attain. Moreover opportunities of drumming and learning to drum are not open to all. In social life all the important forms of drumming are carried on by individuals or groups of individuals selected from the male section of various Akan communities. Women do not drum as a rule, first because drumming is strenuous, and second because in the past it was thought that a woman might defile the drums, particularly those of the state, since some of the important drums, like other things, were not to be touched by a woman in her monthly period.¹ The only drums that women were allowed to play and still do play are the *donno*² drums which are used during the celebration of puberty rites for girls.

Drumming then, is the business of a few individuals in various communities holding the office in the state, or appointed by common consent of a band or an association to perform for all because of the skill, knowledge and reliability they have shown. Correlating with the principal agencies of drumming, there are drummers of popular bands,

¹ Cf. Rattray, *Asbanti*, p. 263.

² Arm-pit drum control found in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and in a few other West African territories. It is sometimes described as the "hour-glass drum".

drummers of associations and drummers of the state. These drummers and indeed all others who drum in Akan societies, perform not when they feel like it, but rather when directed by custom and tradition or by corporate interest—the interest of bands, associations, village and town communities or states and chiefs for whom they drum.

The different organisations of drumming make varying demands on their drummers in skill and service. Popular bands call upon their drummers in leisure hours and on occasions of funeral celebration or festival when there is an invitation or a general desire to perform. Hunters' bands perform only once in a while; the drums of military associations function at some festivals and in time of crisis, while the drummers of religious associations may be actively engaged in drumming on *dabome*¹; or they may play at shorter intervals according to the type of association. State drummers are required to be present on all major state occasions such as durbars, enstoolment of new chiefs and state festivals.

All drummers, whether of bands or states, are expected to know their art and the duties required of them, to maintain a reasonable standard of performance and to be ready to perform whenever called upon to do so. For some drummers knowledge means just knowledge of a few sets of rhythms, while for others it may mean a knowledge of many rhythms of language and music, the conventions and routines of dances and matters of procedure.

In state drumming for example, there are pieces for particular drums or sets of drums to be used in particular situations as well as a customary order in which horns, pipes and drums may perform in certain speech situations. Moreover some drums are called upon to perform a good deal of heraldry, for instance to announce the approach of the chief, to usher him to his seat, to hail him as he drinks ceremonially, to make an announcement when the chief gets up or when the chief is about to get up so that all others might arise, and so on. All these announcements are made in the form of short poems.

Here is one example :

Arise, arise, arise, arise, arise !
 He has bestirred himself
 The ruler of — has bestirred himself.
 The Great Toucan has bestirred himself.
 Let the little ones lie low.

We cannot go into the details of state drumming in this paper, but I hope that the above brief remarks have given some indication at least of the range of functions which drummers may be called upon to perform. In order that the functions may be done satisfactorily, various drummers are assigned particular duties or parts which call for varying degrees of knowledge and exertion.

II

Before discussing the organisation and the training by means of which drum-functions are efficiently carried out by drummers, it may be useful to look briefly at the grades of drummers that one may find in drumming situations in various Akan communities.

Broadly speaking, there are the drummers who perform in drum orchestras such as the orchestras of popular bands like *Adowa*, *Sanga*, *Osekye*, *Asaadua* and so on, or drum orchestras of Fante military associations (*Asafo*) or state drum orchestras like *fantomfom*, *kete*, *apirede*, *mpintin* and so on.

¹ Lit. evil or unlucky day : the "forty-day" cycle on which Ancestor chiefs are remembered or days on which work on the farm was in the past suspended.

Secondly there are the drummers of single or independent drums, such as the single drum accompaniment to singing in Fante *Adzewa* and *Kurunku* music, or the double form in Fante *Adenkum* music; the "short air" drums (*twenesin*) of Okan states and the talking drums (*atumpan*).

Within the two broad groups of drummers one may also distinguish between master drummers and secondary drummers or between major drummers and minor drummers.

In drum orchestras, secondary drummers are those that usually fill in the music with persistent contrasting rhythms or those that underline the basic beats or provide the "ground" of the music, while master drummers are those that give the music its fullness and quite often its distinctive character.

Secondary drummers must look to the master drummer, for it is usually the master drummer that "conducts" the performance of the whole orchestra. The master drummer calls for the gong to sound so that all others might come in. This call may be embodied in a sentence :

"Cause yourself to rise, gong."
(*Adawuraa Kofi, ma wo homene so*)

Or it may be embodied in a short roll or two (*kusukurum*). The master drummer helps find their correct entries; he taps or drums out their basic rhythms for them if they falter. It is important, therefore, that master drummers should have some idea of the parts of the other instruments. If a cue for ending the music is not embodied in the music itself, it may be given by the master drummer. Where the style of the music has to be changed or different pieces are to be played either for the sake of variety or because of changing situations, it is the master drummer that gives the necessary directives.

Drummers of single or independent drums have, of course, greater freedom than those who play in orchestras as far as control or oversight of master drummers is concerned. But they have external limitations which make some of them more important than others. Minor drummers play short set pieces over and over again in appropriate contexts. Their drumming tends to be uninteresting, though meaningful. On the other hand major drummers in the same group have wider ranges of rhythms. Of these the most important is the drummer of the talking drums who alone may drum certain portions of the Akan drum language. He is considered the greatest of all drummers because of the breadth of knowledge, the skill which his work demands and the role he plays as a leading musician in all orchestras in which the *ntumpan* drums are used.

The drummer of the talking drums is called the Creator's Drummer (*Domankoma Kyerema*) or the Divine Drummer. He is in a very enviable position of being able to call the chief and his Ancestors on the drums without a preceding *nana* (grandsire). He could be mildly unpleasant to the chief on the drums and go scot free. He is closest to the spirit of the Ancestor chiefs whom he addresses. On the approach of the *Akwasiadae* festival for example, he recounts the names of the Ancestor chiefs one by one, praising each one, mentioning his accomplishments, his original or place of domicile and so on.¹

The creator's drummer is close to Nature. In accordance with the world-view held by the Akan,² he exercises to the spirit of the objects of creation from whom the components of his drums are obtained—the cedar wood, the tree whose bark is removed and made into strings for lacing the skin membrane of the drum, the tree from which the drum pegs are made, and the animal whose skin is used for covering the drum. He also calls on the Supreme Being, to all lesser gods, witches, Ancestor drummers and so on, capable of interfering with his work or his well-being. This exorcism is embodied in libations or in the ritual observed on the acquisition of a new drum and in the texts of his drum preludes. A few examples of these texts may be of interest :

¹ For examples of these texts, see Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 280–286.

² See Busia, "The Ashanti" in *African Worlds*, pp. 190–209. (Oxford University Press, 1954).

DRUM EXCORCISM¹

I

Spirit of the Departed,
 hence, hence, hence, hence.
 Akyampon, the tall one,
 very very tall.
 Slowly and patiently I get on my feet.
 Slowly and patiently I get on my feet.
 Opoku the Fair one, I have bestirred myself.
 I am about to play on the talking drums.
 Talking drums, if you have been away,
 I am calling you : they say, come.
 I am learning ; let me succeed.²

II

Wood of the drum, Tweneboa Akwa,
 Wood of the drum, Tweneboa Kodua.
 Wood of the drum, Kodua Tweneduro.
 Cedar wood, if you have been away,
 I am calling you ; they say come.
 I am learning, let me succeed.

III

Drum Pegs knocked in by drummers.
 Drum Pegs, if you have been away,
 I am calling you ; they say come.
 I am learning, let me succeed.

IV

Elephant, *Kotomirefi*, that frees Kotokɔ.
 Elephant of Kotokɔ that swallows other Elephants,
 Elephant, if you have been away,
 I am calling you ; they say come.
 He that saw your birth
 Never apprehended your beginning.
 He that knew of your formation
 Never saw how you were born.
 Shall we go forward? We shall find men fighting.
 Shall we press on? We shall find men fleeing.
 Let us go forward in great haste,
 Treading the path beaten by the Elephant,
 The Elephant that shatters the axe,
 The monstrous one, unmindful of bullets.
 Elephant, if you have been away,
 I am calling you ; they say come.
 I am learning, let me succeed.

V

The Heavens are wide, exceedingly wide.
 The earth is wide, very very wide.
 We have lifted it and taken it away.
 We have lifted it and brought it back,
 From time immemorial.
 The Dependable God bids us all
 Abide by his injunctions.
 Then shall we get whatever we want,
 Be it white or red.
 It is God the Creator, the Gracious one,
 Good morning to you, God, good morning.
 I am learning, let me succeed.

¹ All the texts given here are according to the tradition of KOKOFU State in Ashanti.

² "Meresua, momma menbu". In some traditions this closing line is given as : "We are addressing you and you will understand." (*Yerekyerɛ wo, nso wobehu*).

carrier and so on. Drummers are, therefore, organised as part of a central organisation. Apart from master drummers and all others who actively participate in the drumming that goes on in drumming situations, "drummer-chiefs" are appointed for the various groups of drummers who are held responsible for the drums and the men who play them. These drummer-chiefs are not necessarily expert drummers themselves. They are mere heads who quite frequently do not take active part in the drumming, but who form an important link between the chief of the state and the drummers.

Like other offices of Akan courts, the office of the drummer and drummer-chief is usually apportioned to "households" of commoners or "households" of kings' sons. It is the duty of these households to provide the artists and the servants. Accordingly duties like drumming or the blowing of horns are passed on from one generation to another within the "household". The traditional quarters of drummers, that is, the section of the town in which the households of drummers live is called *akyeremade*, and people who live in those quarters (*i.e.* members of the household of drummers) are identified as *akyeremadefo*, the drummer-group, though in the modern set up, the quarters are occupied by non-drummers as well. Not all drummers, however, live in those quarters. In many states, drummer-groups live in village satellites of the principal towns; these villages come to be associated with the particular groups. For example in the state of Mampong in Ashanti, the drummers of the *fɔntɔmfrɔm* orchestra live in the drummer-quarters, but those of the *Apirede* orchestra live in Anoben, a village about six miles North of Mampong, while those of the *Mmidie* drums live in Peten, about six miles North-West of Mampong.

The duties of a drummer are passed on from father to son, for it is believed that if a person's father is a drummer, he inherits his father's skill and he is able to learn the art with ease. As the Akan maxim goes: "the bird is never the offspring of the crab" (*akɛtɔ nwo anomɔ*). That is to say, offsprings are like their progenitors. "The son is like the father" (*ɔba sɛ sɛ*) and owes his spiritual nature and discipline to him, though participation in the father's Ntoro.¹

There is also a common belief about drum progenies. It is believed that a person could be born a drummer. Soon after birth, it is stated, such a person shows his inherited trait, for when he is carried at the back, he drums with his fingers on the back of the person carrying him.

Because the post of the master drummer of the state was in the past never to be vacant, boys were trained to assume the post in the event of the death of their fathers. Fathers, however, did not always show a willingness to teach their children because they feared that they would be hastening their own departure from this life if they trained people to succeed them. Accordingly some drummers delayed personal instruction until late in life, or else got some other people to teach their children.

(With the changing power and prestige of chiefship as well as changes in beliefs and outlook, this reluctance is now explained differently. It does not pay to be a state drummer, and fathers have no wish to drag their sons into the profession. Moreover, many drummers now send their children to school where they receive little or no instruction in drumming and develop ambition for higher education or jobs in the service of the Government, the Churches and commercial institutions. No boy after being educated in school goes back to be a state drummer, a stool carrier, or an unpaid servant of courts and states, unless he is the son of a chief or has a particular affection for the chief. Accordingly during my field work, I did not find many prospective drummers being trained. In many places when I asked whether someone was learning the art to take it up, the answer was in the negative).

In the past, however, the training of the state drummer was seriously undertaken. Early in the morning he was taken to the drums and instructed in the art together with

¹ See Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of Akan*, chap. v.

Or Busia: "The Ashanti" in *African Worlds*, pp. 197-200. (Oxford University Press, 1954).

Or Danquah: *Akan Society* or (2) *The Gold Coast Akan*.

other prospective drummers. He was always in attendance when master drummers played, and gradually gained the experience that he needed to step into the shoes of his father in the event of illness or death.

Drumming instructors were not always patient with their pupils. Master drummers have memories of the smacks they received when they faltered and of other hardships. Instruction was not always on drums: sometimes it was on boards, bamboo or short branches of rafia palm. Instructors spoke rhythms—sometimes in intelligible utterances, sometimes in nonsense syllables (*wɔpɔtɔ*), especially if there happened to be some unwanted person about. Sometimes rhythms were tapped behind the shoulder blades of a pupil to give him some idea of the distribution of the sequences of drum beats to the hands. This training sometimes extended over years for boys, during which rhythms were memorised and technique mastered.

If an adult drummer was not very good or had assumed the position of master drummer without sufficient training, he was sent to an expert drummer in another town for training. For example in Ashanti, drummers of the *nkukwadwo* were sent to Edweso (*Ejisu*) for training. The fee for instruction on the *atumpan* (talking drums) was *piredwan* (₵8) and a potful of palm oil. Some master drummers still demand this fee.

Secondary or minor state drummers did not have to undergo long training. Often they picked up the art in the situations by watching others play. When they felt sufficiently able, they attempted to play with the master drummers. This still goes on. I have seen minor drums change hands at festivals because those standing with the drummers wanted to take part, or because a player was not pulling up well with the rest.

Training in the art of drumming is not only the concern of the state but also of associations and bands. If a particular dance form is new to a popular band, they may send people to other places to learn them and teach them to others; or a good drummer may be invited to teach the band. The inauguration of a new popular band or a new style is the only time when bands meet to practise—sometimes in a secluded place—until they are ready for public performances. Once established, all those who want to learn to drum have first to observe and pick up the rhythm in actual performance and ask to be allowed to try their hands at it.

Similarly if the master drummer of a military association (*Asafo kyerema*) died and there was no one as good to replace him immediately, another person might be deputed to learn the art from others. In the course of my field work, I met a very good drummer—the only drummer of a certain *asafo* company who told me that he had to travel some two hundred miles to study the art in certain Fante towns where some drummers of repute were.

IV

All drummers, whether major or minor, secondary or master drummers of popular bands, associations and states are unpaid artists even though they may be trained and organised for the role they play in social life. But it is realised that as custodians of a vital vehicle of language and music required for recreation and ritual, they must be encouraged to give willingly of their time and talent. Accordingly in popular bands and associations considerable portion of such gains as fall to the bands as a whole may be given to drummers. In the state, drummers are supposed to live on the bounty of the chiefs for whom they drum, and to remain at the courts of those chiefs as much as possible.

The changes that are taking place in Akan societies have not affected the relationship between drummers of popular bands and associations and their agencies much. In Akan states, however, the relationship between drummers and chiefs is changing wherever it is based on the old system of free service. Nowadays state drummers are cocoa farmers, sawyers or are engaged in some money making business. Many drummers only attend at the courts of chiefs and kings on *dabome* when they are expected to drum or at the time of the yearly festival. On other occasions the drummers have to be sent for. In the past, however, much of their time was spent at the court in readiness for

any emergencies. Drummers explain this change away thus: "In the past you gained something by staying with the chief. You got something to eat (*wonya biribi di*), but these days it does not pay to do so, for the chief only receives a meagre monthly stipend and cannot afford to be as bountiful to his servants as in the past."

Because state drummers no longer remain at court all the while, their past function of keeping "the house of chiefs' wives in repair"¹ is no longer operative. Nor do they show very much enthusiasm in perpetuating the tradition by arranging instruction for their children as in the past.

In a drumming situation of leisure, ritual or festival, the co-operation of all grades of drummers in any one community is essential to the success of the occasion. Nothing breaks up the dance or other group meeting sooner than quarrels among drummers of particular orchestras or dissatisfaction of drummers with the treatment given to them. Accordingly the drummer is protected from interferences whilst engaged in his drumming: "A drummer in the act of drumming is considered a sacred person and is immune from assaults and annoyances—nor must he be interrupted; they are not as a rule regarded as sacred persons, but while engaged in the actual act of drumming, they are protected by the privileges of sacred persons."²

Another privilege of drummers is that they may not carry their own drums on the head. This privilege is enforced by the sanction of the belief that a drummer would go mad if he carried his own drums.¹ In processions, therefore, all drums that have to be carried on the head are carried by non-drummers.

Furthermore, between drummers, dancers and listeners, there is supposed to be a bond of mutual respect and goodwill, also essential to the success of the dance situation. This bond may be expressed in the observation of decorum and etiquette on all sides.

On the part of drummers, society expects them to be at their best when a dancer steps into the ring. They should not stop abruptly while the dancer is in the middle of the dance or still in the ring dancing, particularly if he is an elder or a respectable member of the community. However tired they may be, they must keep up their effort until he has left the ring. If they are too tired to play, the master drummer must tell him so on the drums so that he might first leave the ring. This etiquette is general and applies to all forms of drumming, though it may not be observed to the same extent everywhere. It is particularly important in state drumming, and I would like to illustrate what I mean by discussing briefly a few dance situations.

In Akan state drumming, dancers usually take their turns one by one or two or three at a time, depending on the type of music or dance.

When a dancer steps in, usually he greets the master drummer and offers to the orchestra a sum of money "for a drink of palmwine." This sum ranges from one to four shillings.

If it is the *fɔntɔm* dance in which the talking drums play a leading part, then while the drums are playing, the master drummer would call the dancer by his names and by-names and praise him or thank him and then join in the music. The talking drums are played for the chief or the state, but in the dance situation, they may be used for addressing common people, even in language forms that may be used for addressing chiefs bearing similar names. For example if a dancer's name is ɔsee, Adu, Adane, Mosi (Dɔnkɔ), he may be addressed as follows:

ɔsee

The watery shrub that thrives on hard ground,
Noble ɔsee that lays men low,
ɔsee, true and of pure blood,
Take it easy, take it easy.

¹ Rattray, *Ashanti*, p. 263.

² Danquah, *Akan Laws and Customs*, p. 51.

ADU

Adu Gyamfi,
 Adu Gyamfi, veteran of war,
 If the flint is sharp, lick it.
 If you were to decide, you would wish we were fighting,
 Noble Adu Gyamfi.

ADANE

Okuru Karikari,
 The palm wine pot soiled by froth,
 Okukuban Gyasi Apire,
 You are brave, you are a man of valour.

MOSI (DANKO)¹

Noble Abokyi Kwasiedu,
 One kept in hiding for the funeral,²
 The footmarks of a slave are behind the house.

Sometimes the dancer's gift is anticipated by the drummer who praises him as soon as he steps in in order that he may be favourably disposed towards the orchestra.

When an atmosphere of goodwill has been established, the drummers will keep at their task for a reasonably long time to enable the dancer to express himself. The master drummer watches the dancer and outlines the rhythms for his benefit. In the great *fontomfrom* dance, the master drummer may drum directions to the dancer: "Move outwards, move towards us; take it easy; do it gracefully," and so on. He watches him as he throws his hands about, strides along, kicks here and there. He regulates the style of the music for his preliminary part of the dance called *akita* or *nkuta* ("hold-up"). When at an appropriate moment the dancer stretches his hands sideways, jumps up and crosses his legs in the landing, the master drummer begins the piece proper followed by the rest, for the crossing of the legs is the sign that the dancer is ready to dance vigorously. From this point the dancer must follow the drumming closely for the cue to end the dance in a posture or appropriate gesture carefully timed to the end beats.³

The timing of the end gesture is very important, for it is one of the fine points in the collaboration between drummers and dancers to which every spectator looked forward. If a dancer misplaces it, he exposes himself to ridicule and booing.

After a dancer has had enough rounds of dancing—each marked by an end gesture—he leaves the ring for another person to step in. Some dancers finish by shaking hands with the master drummer.

Let us now see what happens when another type of dancer—a commoner—steps in without first establishing an atmosphere of goodwill. The drummers may play for him all the same, or they may not play in full force, or they may play with one hand instead of two or keep playing the prelude to the piece and ignore the dancer's communication or stop before the end of the piece; or if the dancer understands the language of the drums, the master drummer might say to him:

You are not playing the game . . . (*woregoro potopot*)
 The drummer is treated gently . . . (*Okyerema, ye ye no brebre*)
 A person becomes a drummer that he
 might get something to eat . . . (*Okyerema, ye ye g ye adoe di*)

¹ *Dank* means "slave".

² Refers to an old practice arising from a belief in afterlife which required that a king must be accompanied by favourite wives and some attendants to the world of the dead.

³ These gestures are of course meaningful. Here are a few examples:

- (i) Both hands or right hand pointing skywards=*I look to God.*
- (ii) Right forefinger touching the head (other fingers clenched)=*It is a matter for my head*
- (iii) Right forefinger placed below the right eye=*I have nothing to say but see how things will go.*
- (iv) Both arms rolled inwards and right arm stretched simultaneously with end beats of the music=*If you bind me with cords, I shall break them into pieces.*

A man fights : a man runs away. . . (Banin ko, banin dwane)
 If you want to catch the monkey,
 give it ripe plantain (Yede kekoo na esime eku)

Society gives drummers the privilege of making such remarks, and of saying similar things to the chief if his presents of drinks to the drummers are not forthcoming.

All dancers are expected to be kind and courteous to the drummers in the way they comport themselves in the dancing ring, to avoid stepping into the ring towards the end of one round of performance, to round off their dancing quickly and not overtax the patience and endurance of the drummers. If they are not considerate and the drummers are rude to them, then they have asked for it.

In state drumming, commoners are not allowed to dance wearing sandals or holding a handkerchief. It is the privilege of chiefs and noblemen (*aberempɔn*). A commoner must strip his cloth to his waist, dance barefoot and with nothing in his hand. If the commoner stepped into the dancing ring without observing these, the drummers would stop : he would be asking for a brawl.

The collaboration between the drummer and the dancers of the *fɔntɔmfɔm* is observed to some extent in other types of state drumming. There may be little or no direction to dancers, but anyone who steps in to dance must of course know the music well enough to be his own guide. This is of prime importance in the music of the *Apirede* dance for instance, for unlike other orchestras and dances, all the drums stop simultaneously and a dancer is expected to conclude his dance correctly with the drummers. In the olden days if a commoner attempted this dance and failed to conclude it at the right point, he got into trouble.

In popular dances in which dancers take turns in the ring, there is similar co-operation between drummers and dancers. In the *adowa* dance for example various changes in the rhythms played by the master drummer correspond to changes in the dance routine. A good dancer follows the master drummer, but where there is goodwill, a master drummer would change the style of the drumming if a dancer changed his movements before the music. Master drummers, however, get impatient with dancers who keep on ignoring the music and may make rude remarks to them on the drums (*e.g.*, "I am seeing foul things") or may play less vigorously or ignore the movements of the dancer.

In other forms of popular drumming in which any number of people could step into the ring and dance—each in his own way, the amount of close collaboration between drummers and dancers is very little and indirect. Drummers may beat louder and introduce rhythmic variations or emphasise particular drum beats as the dance grows in intensity. But there are often no rigid correspondences between the dance routines and particular points of the music over and above the general expectancies between drum rhythms and bodily movement.

The drummer then is an important person in certain forms of Akan social life—in leisure, ritual and ceremonial situations of village and town communities, bands, associations and courts. Accordingly he is a member of various organisations from which he derives his peculiar duties as well as status and privileges.

In dance situations the depth of the role he plays is determined among other things by the type of relationships into which he enters—the relationship between himself and the agencies he serves and with the chain of dancers with whom he collaborates on each occasion of performance. The difficulty of his work lies not only in the physical exertion, knowledge and skill involved, but also in the fact that at all levels he must work in co-operation with others to whom he is bound by casual acts of kindness. Whereas in the past he gave freely of his time and indeed considered it a privilege to be associated with the chief, now he is torn between his own economic interests and security and his loyalty to his chief whose power and prestige is changing. Nevertheless, he continues to function, even if not as frequently or as adroitly as in the past, as an indispensable person in certain forms of social life ; he continues to promote the dance as a means of individual and social expression in Akan society.