The Phenomenal Power Language Of An Idiophone Of The Udu Drum Sound Through The Traditional 'Egwu Evio' Dance That Imbues Spirit Possession In Aguleri Paradigm

Madukasi Francis Chuks

Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Department of Religion & Society, Igbariam Campus, Anambra State, Nigeria

Okeke Nkiruka Joy

Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Department of Linguistics / Igbo, Igbariam Campus, Anambra State, Nigeria

Abstract: These, are those African Traditional instruments that depends on the vibration of their whole body as source of sound production thereby transmitting certain religious messages which cannot easily be decoded and interpreted. Such instruments of inherently resonant materials as those resonant materials are caused to vibrate by forcibly striking one body against another. This paper focuses on creation of spirit possession through the mediation and entertainment power of sound produced by beating of this idiophone called Udu. It explores how in dance ritual spirits emerges as a manifestation of the group's intrinsic power of accomplishment, adaptation, and invention. Moving through ritual spaces and will, these dancers utilize their independent and ritual performative power in order to actively develop their religious practices through the mediation of sound. This type of description has been classified to Udu an indigenous idiophone which is my main point of focus in this paper as a study in musicology.

Keywords: Devotees, Invocation, Manifestation, Mediums, Power, Ritual, Sound.

I. INTRODUCTION

This is a locally made instrument that is moulded out from a clay soil through indigenous technology. It is a talking-drum which when beaten with fan, it invariably gives rise to melodious sounds. It comes in different shapes and sizes and this depends on the description of the town. It is basically made from clay moulded locally. In view of this, these kinds of musical instruments of different makes are often used in many parts of Igbo communities to transmit cultic verses and messages. Expert in such traditional instruments use them for entertainments and to disseminate religious messages and beliefs. Those who are knowledgeable in this area can easily decode the meanings from their various sounds and rhythms (Nabofa, 1994:39).

II. IDIOPHONE

In the study of ethnomusicology, these are instruments which depend on the vibration of their whole body as source of sound production thereby transmitting certain symbolic messages which cannot easily be grasped, decoded and interpreted and they are the most common varieties of instruments found in Africa (Okafor, 1998:175). According to Genevieve Dournon (1992:258), in her article "Organology", "idiophones form this large and varied instrumental category, particularly resistant to systematic classification, and containing some of those calculated lacks with which any classificatory system must come to terms". Roger Blench (2009:6), in his book A Guide to the Musical Instruments of Distribution, Cameroun: Classification, History Vernacular Names", argues that "one of the problematic classes of idiophones is the lamellophones which are instruments that make noise with a vibrating tongue". He affirms that a key division is primarily between tuned and

untuned idiophones, while most sounding bodies produce a definite pitch, and these can either be treated as tuned, or arranged in sets according to a scale system (Blench, 2009:6). However, idiophones have the qualities or tendencies of producing sounds by themselves [self-sounding wares], when stroked, pricked, pulled or pressed with the foot (Ibagere, 1994:91). He argues further that the sound they produce is of a different kind from those of other instruments and in this group are all the different sizes and shapes of gongs, woodblock, wood drum, bell rattle, earthen ware drum, and related instruments like *Udu* which is my main focus in this study (Ibagere, 1994:91).

Invariably, David Lapp (2006:97), in his book The Physics of Music and Musical Instruments, argues that the sounds produced when the pipes are tapped on their sides are fundamentally quite different from the sounds produced by the other instruments and that such musical instruments consisting of vibrating pipes or bars are known as idiophones. Bonaventure Umeogu (2013:26) affirms that sounds produced from these instruments that comprise of idiophones have specific meanings which are understood by the members of the community. According to Corazon Canave-Dioquino (2007:15), in her paper Philippine Music Instruments, "there are metal and wooden [principally bamboo] idiophones". She explores the range of wooden and metal idiophones in the context of Philippines (Canave-Dioquino, 2007:15). Another musical instrument that is classified as an idiophone is didjeridu of the Australians, which Neville Fletcher (2007:62), in his article "Australia Aboriginal Musical Instruments: The Didjerdu, the Bullroarer and the Gum leaf", describes as a simple wooden tube blown with the lips like trumpet, which gains its sonic flexibility from controllable resonances of the player's vocal tract. Idiophones as musical instruments speak the language of the communities; express their feelings, circumstances, situations and events of life among the people of different races, while it communicates different symbolic messages; some are considered to be sacred objects according to Derion & Mauze (2009:2).

In terms of the *Udu* as an "instrument of religious worship" (Conn, 1998:41), Nabofa (1992:70), in his book Principal Elements in African Traditional Religion, posits that "the temples of the Igbe religious movements in Urhobo land are always flooded by devotees who spend days and nights there with the firm belief that their ailments would be healed by the divine" through its sacred sound where such indigenous sacred musical object like the *Udu* sacred drum is used. The implication is that this sacred instrument is believed to be an important medium in the act of worship among the traditional worshippers in many parts of Africa because it "easily strikes the divine signature tune" (Nabofa, 1994:56). This actually demonstrates that in Traditional Religion of the Igbo people, the phenomenal power of an idiophone of the *udu* drum sound through the indigenous 'egwu evio' dance is believed to imbue spirit possession in Aguleri paradigm. Such sounds that emanate from such sacred instruments produce symbolic sounds that "reminds them of their root" (Turkson, 1992:70). Gerard Kock (1989:12), in his article "Between The Altar and the Choir-lofy: Church Music - Liturgy or Art?", argues that "within the liturgy, music is no longer something accidental for embellishment or ornament but it has become an essential

and integral part of the liturgy itself. Music is itself liturgy". William Jones (1801:126), in his article "Sing to the Harp With a Psalm of Thanksgiving", affirms that sounds from inanimate bodies, such as musical instruments like the *Udu* are "therefore, undoubtedly to be used in divine worship". The idea is that, musical instruments consisting of vibrating sounds, pipes or bars fall under the category of idiophones. It is on this position that Des Wilson (1987), in his article "Traditional Systems of African Development: An Analytical Viewpoint" posits that:

Idiophones are sounding instruments or technical wares which produce sound without the addition or use of an intermediary medium. The sound or message emanates from the materials from which the instruments are made and they could be shaken, scratched, struck, pricked [pulled] or pressed with the feet. In this group we have the gong, woodlock, wooden drum; bell and rattle (1987:91).

Genevieve Douron (1992:258) asserts that idiophones then are subdivided into seven modes of playing: concussion, striking, stamping, shaking, scraping, friction and plucking. Describing the wood drum, Akpabio (2003:14), in his book African Communication Systems: An Introductory Text, asserts that "...the wooden drum is made from tree trunk. To enable it produce mellifluous sounds, the bark is removed and an opening is made at the top. This way when struck with a stick it produces sounds. The drums come in various sizes and shapes and it has various designations". These types of descriptions has been attributed or classified to *Udu* which is my main focus in this study.

III. ORIGIN OF EGWU EVIO

Not minding the contradictions; contestations and historical paradigm of the origin of Egwu Evio dance through the instrumentality of its *Udu* as an indigenous instrument of the Igbo people, O'dyke Nzewi asserts that oral tradition have it that "the music style in which it figures originated in Aguleri - a farming/fishing Igbo community on Omambala River basin of South-Eastern Nigeria" (2000:25). Nnamah (2002:9) comments that "it is also very vital to mention here that Aguleri is strategically located at the point of origin of Igbo land from where Igbo land spread further into the hinterland". He argues that the significance is that Aguleri as a town, represent the boundary of Igbo land from where Igbo land stretched eastwards to the rest of its heartland and equally, it is important to note that every major cultural expression in Igbo land in terms of arts, artefacts, symbolism, and names of different types and so on are found in Aguleri (Nnamah, 2002:9). It is on this position that Neuman (1980:12) argues that ancient towns like Aguleri is "the birth place, ancestral home, and a historical centre of culture. Other areas, important as some have now become, are nevertheless derivative from tradition". Insofar as some of the areas deriving their art music from the great tradition of Aguleri became, themselves, "great centers for the dissemination of musical culture, though geographically distant from its original place and surrounded by different local traditions, other areas remained little centers of the great tradition" (Capwell, 1993:96). Isaiah Uzoagba (2000:38) affirms that societies like Aguleri are famous for different art formations such as sculptor, painting, carving, graphics and design and they equally demonstrate these arts on their musical instruments.

Oral history tells us that it was Nkesi Izege who hails from Umuriabo in Eziagulu Aguleri that founded it and later popularised the music. It was learnt that the music came to him through his personal spiritual encounter and experience with the God[s] which he developed and taught his colleagues. The musicians basically make use of the sacred Udu an indigenous idiophone in playing their music. No wonder why Arinze (1973:51-52) writes that "sacred music is beginning to take on local colour. This is good and necessary. The experts in Igbo music tell us that Igbo music must respect the tonality of our language and also the recitative nature of many of our traditional chants...Our music will be authentically our own music when we use our own instruments. After all, there is no dogma that the organ or harmonium can be used in Church, but not the drum or the *Udu*". Buttressing the entertaining mystical power of this indigenous instrument, Idigo (1977) asserts that through the mediating power of the sound emanating from the sacred drum, the jester musicians "entertains the spectators with their funny movements". Associated with this kind of music style is a factor that basically adds an embellishment to its flora, fun, enthusiasm and fantasy is the use of its sound respectively which has today become the choice for many communities in Igbo land and nobody seems to give any official recognition to its origin (Nnamah, 2002:8), and it is during this kind of ritual dance that "the most scenic dance performances are displayed" (Heuser, 2008:36). In fact, illustrating "the pomp and pageantry" (Adegbite, 1988:15) that surrounded the drum beats and acrobatic display of the Egwu-Evio dance led by Nkesi Izege demonstrates that notion of cultural ecology and hegemony of the Aguleri community through instrumentality of *Udu* a sculptured drum. It is on this position that William Bascom maintains that "most African sculptures appear to have been associated with religion, which pervades most aspects of African life. The religious genres included, votive figures, which adorned shrines, reliquary figures, charms, figures, stools, used in initiation to the cults. The apparatus for divination, dance staff, musical instruments and a variety of other ritual paraphernalia" (1973:11).

IV. THE ENTERTAINMENT POWER LANGUAGE OF THE UDU DRUM DANCE

Nonetheless, in its live performance, the musicians dance around the open arena with rhythm and music that stir the crowd into unconscious emotion, nodding of heads and waving of hands, "a sight which can be better felt than described" (Idigo, 1990:34) because "its powerful effects defy analysis" (Watkins, 2004:186). In this sense according to Nabofa, 2005:358) "the blending vibration coming from the music sways the whole congregation and it is not difficult for any one, whether member or not, to be moved, while the lending dictates the various steps of the dance". Nketia (1975:22) aptly observes that peoples' participation in music and dance is "an important means of strengthening the social bonds that bind them and the values that inspire their

corporate life". It is on this position that Lawrence Grossberg (1995:370) argues that "there is little reason to privilege the live performance as if it were unmediated or as the only viable source of an authentic experience". llesanmi (1996:5) argues that it is in this form that "these groups keep the traditional religion alive, annually looking forward to what gods has in store for them. Practice keeps religion alive; oral tradition makes it lively; the potency of predictions reassures the members and forces them to renew their faith in the deities".

No wonder David Chidester (1996) the supposed discovery of such indigenous music was based on the practice of morphological comparison that established analogies between the strange and the familiar. He argues that morphology did not depend upon reconstructing historical links between ancient and contemporary religions; rather, morphological comparison relied exclusively on the observation of formal or functional resemblance (Chidester, 1996:18). No wonder why Francis Arinze (1973:51-52) writes that such "music is beginning to take on local colour. This is good and necessary. The experts in Igbo music tell us that Igbo music must respect the tonality of our language and also the recitative nature of many of our traditional chants".

But not withstanding the controversies on the origin, one thing that is clear is the fact that the ritual activities of the Egwu-Evio dance group is filled with ritual dance and songs that subdues the physical bodies of the devotees, while the spirit possession comes to the fore, in which a state of altered consciousness is attained and worship will be better effected. Michael Nabofa (2005:358) asserts that "these songs have been claimed to have been revealed to any of the members in dreams and in visions. They are not codified but learnt by memory because most members are illiterates". He argues that "the ability to be able to master these songs indicates how mature the person is, spiritually and also how involved the person is in the religion. Although, these songs are not written they are well punctuated and they blend with the musical instrument" (Nabofa, 2005:358).

From the analysis of the above assertion, it has come to show that the historical paradigm of how the dance came into being which has been part and parcel of the Aguleri oral tradition that is somehow neglected. No wonder Jacob Olupona (1991) has observed that the failure to engage in a history of African religions has created the impression that the religion is static and unchanging and that in the history of religions, diachronic analysis can no longer be neglected. Such analysis normally leads to issues of continuity and change in African traditional religion (Olupona, 1991:3). Chidester draws our attention to the idea that "such oral tradition as a myth is not a story with canonical closure, but rather than being subject to timeless repetition, such a myth is opened and reopened by interpretation, and as a result, such myth is a type of ongoing cultural work" (1996:261). Anthony Aveni asserts that by this way "history is regarded as a chain of events, a process whereby every happening contributed to the causation of future events" (1998:315).

V. EGWU EVIO DANCE AS A COMMUNICATIVE SYSTEM IN AGULERI CULTURE AND TRADITION

The communicative value of music is however more apparent in Africa where music forms a very important part of their rich cultural heritage (Ohadike, 2007:9). Ohadike (2007:9) again argues that "Africans on the Continent and in the diaspora use music and dance to express their feelings and to preserve their culture and history", and as a communication device, they "serve as a form of record keeping" (Ohadike, 2007:11). It is no wonder then that in Aguleri cosmology, Egwu Evio dance songs "constitute an art form whose satiric poetry is highly imagistic and poignant. Their collection, transcription, translation, study, and preservation necessary, not only because of the poetic vitality of the genre but also because such collection will prove a valuable means of social ethnographic understanding of the... people who produced them" (Ojaide, 2001:44). He reiterates again that "the singers want what they consider to be positive norms of the society to be upheld (Ojaide, 2001:44). Thus, central to the concept of Egwu Evio dance songs "are the principles of correction and determent through punishment with wounding words" (Ojaide, 2001:44). Rodney comments that:

Music and dance had key roles in uncontaminated African society. They were ever present at birth, initiation, marriage, death, as well as appearing at times of recreation. Africa is the continent of drums and percussion. African peoples reached the pinnacle of achievement in that sphere. Because of the impact of colonialism and cultural imperialism... Europeans and Africans themselves in the colonial period lacked due regard for the unique features of African culture. Those features have a value of their own that cannot be eclipsed by the European culture either in the comparable period before 1500 or in the subsequent centuries. They cannot be eclipsed because they are not really comparable phenomena (1973:41-42).

Hudgens & Trillo (1990:52) affirms that "nowhere in the world is music more a part of the very process of living than in Africa", without it "the efficacy of the people's worship are reduced to nothing" (Akinfenwa, 2013:6). According to Pratt (1914:60) "of these artistic appeals, none is on the whole more penetrating or more intense than music. Nothing that can be urged by those who profess themselves to be insensible to musical impressions, or by those who have become righteously exacerbated by the misuse of sacred music here or elsewhere, can break the force of this general truth. There is no artistic means of getting at the internal springs of feeling in popular heart that can compare with music". Leonard (1906:429) argues that "the religion of the natives [Africans] is their existence and their existence is their religion. It supplies the principles on which their law is dispensed and morality adjudicated. The entire organization of their common life is so interwoven with it that they cannot get away from it". No wonder, Shorter (1978:49) affirms that "... Africans are notoriously religious", while Isichei (1976:24) particularly asserts that through the music like the Egwu Evio "the Igbos are nothing if not profoundly religious, and all accounts of their life reflect the fact". Stephen Ezeanya (1980:324) posits that in Africa, "life is religion, and religion is life". Ekeke (2013:3) argues that "this means that religion could not be explained away in Africa and whoever tries it will be seen as a stranger to Africa''. Mbiti (1975:9) asserts that religion is by far the richest part of the African heritage. In this wise, Chernoff describes African religion as a "danced belief" (1999:172), and as a form of worship that is visible and inherently attached to bodily action (Heuser, 2008:35). Buttressing this further, James Early posits that:

Throughout world history sacred sounds have served as a medium for human cultures to raise queries, advance beliefs, give praise, and inspire others to join in exploration of the mysteries of earthly existence and the greater universe. These sacred sound traditions encompass a broad range of expressive forms: melodic and repetitive vocalizations called chants; sharp, passionate, emotions-filled hums, groans, shouts; percussive, rhythmic hand claps and foot stomps; and extended song, sermon, and instrumental arrangements. Instrumental music, sung prayers, and mystical chants have been used to communicate with the divine, to unite religious communities, and to express moral, political, social, and economic aspirations. Sacred sounds in many traditions are the central means for invocation of spirits. The utterance of particular sounds is thought by many cultures to form a connection to all the elements of the universe. In some belief systems music and sound vibrations are pathways for healing body, mind, and spirit. Among the wide range of human expressive behavour, the capacity to infuse the joys, sorrows, and humility that characterize religious and spiritual beliefs into oral poetry, chants, songs, and instrumental music is certainly one of the most powerful and inspirational ways all peoples and cultures acknowledge the spirit of the Supreme in their lives (1997:1).

Akinfenwa (2013:7) asserts that "the origin of music and dance is a mystery, but their importance cannot be over emphasized in religious circle". According to Nti:

In the olden days, during the Stone Age, records show that Africans were mostly wanderers moving from place to place and living inside caves. Their major occupation was hunting for animals which served them for food. When the man comes home in the evening he tells his family stories of his exploits for the day. Imitating the movements of the animals that he encountered in the forest. Some scholars believed that it was from his imitation of the movement of birds that dance was born (1990:20).

Buttressing this further, Wosien (1992:17) affirms that "man was taught how to dance by the animals, which he observed closely and learned to imitate. He depended on them for his food, clothing, tools and weapons, and therefore needed to study their habits and characteristics". Akinfenwa (2013:7) argues that "people specialized on them and earned their daily bread. Music and dance cannot be replaced by anything in the world. A world without music and dance will face trouble. This is because of the important position they occupied in worship. Man was made to worship the Supreme Being and the worship is not complete without music and dance''. Music infuses all the activities of the African from the cradle to the grave (Hailey, 1957:67). Awolalu (1991: 132) affirms that "the Africans are a singing race. A lot of their music is of a religious nature. In these songs, they portray their joy and sorrow, their hopes and fears. In each song there is a wealth of material for the student who will patiently sift and

collate. Ritual songs and dancing follow prescribed patterns and a study of them will reveal a lot of the people's beliefs". According to Ruth Stone (1994:391) "religious aspect of music is fundamental to the very being of many musical acts and cannot be stripped from the performance. Thus, it is only for analytical ends that we can, to any extent, pull the religious from the performance bundle from temporary scrutiny". Reaffirming this affirmation, Gorer, (1935:289) cited in Doob (1961:73) posits that Africans allegedly dance for joy, and they dance for grief; they dance for love and they dance for hate; they dance to bring prosperity and they dance to avert calamity; they dance for religion and they dance to pass the time. Mutua (1999:173) argues that "that is why the degradation of African religions should be seen as the negation of the humanity of the African people". Onwochei (1998:286) explains that "there are so many ways Africans express their musical heritage". Nketia (1989:119) argues that interacting and rejoicing with music and dance in the context of ritual and worship is also an important aspect of the African concept of religious expression and may be given free reign at religious festivals. It is in this wise that Lucas (1948:110) posits that feasts like the Ovala festival is followed by general merriment, including processions and dances like that of the Egwu-Evio dance group. No wonder Okafor (1994:130) affirms that "the Igbo would appear to be a people perpetually celebrating because in every moon of the 13 moons in the year, some communities somewhere are celebrating in Igbo land". According to Jafotito Sofola:

Music is used in African lives in various forms even in spurring farming people to action as is done when the farmer is cutting his field; it is used in folktales that is told the children under the night's moonlight; it is used during wrestling with composition that spurs or disarm the wrestlers as the case may be; it is used in social and religious activities, to name some uses. The music form has its dissonance and consonance, characteristics that make it African music that need not be forced into the Western or oriental moulds which have their own respective characteristics. It is left for the students of African music art forms to conduct researches into them and propagate and preserve them in their distinctive forms having, of course, the possibilities for adventurism as they wish to have (1973:102).

Buttressing this further, Kwasi Aduonum notes that:

In Africa, music is life; that is, it permeates all daily activities. Music in Africa is the soul which is ultimately concerned with various customs and religious practices. The African is born, named, initiated, fortified, fed, nutured, buried with music. In Africa, music heals the sick, music directs and guides the blind, music comforts the widow, and music stops tribal warfare. Music is in the office ... Finally, music accompanies every single daily activity (1980:19-20).

In furtherance of this assertion, John Mbiti asserts that:

A lot of African music and songs deal with religious ideas and practices. The religious rituals, ceremonies and festivals are always accompanied by music singing and sometimes dancing. Music gives outlet to the emotional expression of the religious life, and it is a powerful means of communication in African traditional life. It helps to unite the singing or dancing group to express its fellowship and participation in life. Many musical instruments are used by African peoples (1991:71).

Music has universal appeal especially African and Nigerian music are sang or produced in local language and that is why Euba (1977:13) argues that "Nigerian tone language usually had its own inherent melodic structure and the imposition of an imported melody resulted in a conflict with the natural melodic structure of the text, thereby distorting its meaning". The spirituality of sacred sounds, bodily movement, chanting, incarnations, and divinations are literarily, in tandem throughout the African diaspora, no wonder Melville Herskovits asserts that:

The African past must be included under the rubric traditions of the past, whether these traditions are held overtly or not, becomes apparent when the religious habits of Negroes in the Caribbean and South America are anchored to both ends of the scale whose central position they comprise—to Africa, the aboriginal home of all these varieties of religious experience, on the one hand, and to the United States, on the other, where the greatest degree of acculturation to European norms has taken place (1941:224).

However, Tagg (1989:285-298) argues that the distinction between Africans and Europeans are often based on essentialist ideas about music and people which are often ascribed racist stereotypes and assumptions. Buttressing this further, Roman-Velazquez (2006:298) equally made a reference to this assertion by concluding that "racism has often resulted in blacks being thought of as more authentic in terms of musical sexual expression of the body, whilst Europeans have often been associated more with the mind and less spontaneous type of musical performance".

Apparently, ethnicity basically often linked to national identity is invariably used to equate, shared features or characteristics simply due to a belief in what Shelemay (2001:249) describes "as common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and elements in common, such as kingship patterns, physical continuity, religious affiliation, language, or some combination of these". It is on this position that Ohadike (2007:2) argues that "every sacred drum has a name, and can be conceived as belonging to a particular clan or family unit, albeit a family of drums [sic]. He asserts that "a sacred drum cannot be treated as the property of an individual. Instead, it is a member of a lineage organization. Like any other member of the lineage, it is treated with certain amount of respect, and it enjoys certain rights and privileges. This explains in part why an African clan could go to war if its sacred drum was violated, seized or stolen by another clan' (Ohadike, 2007:2-3). James Clifford idiomatically states that:

Groups negotiating their identity in contexts of domination and exchange persist; patch themselves together in ways different from a living organism. A community, unlike a body, can lose a central organ and not die. All the critical elements of identity are in specific conditions replaceable: language, land, blood, leadership religion. Recognized, viable tribes exist in which any one or even most of these elements are missing, replaced, or largely transformed. The idea of culture carries with it an expectation of roots, of a stable, territorialized existence (1988:338).

Conversely, the sound emitting from the instrumentality of Udu as an indigenous idiophone is believed to be the sacred sound of the initiates of the cult in Aguleri cosmology in the sense that it is "created by the people, sustained by the people,

and is for the people" (Araki, 2004:214). Nnamah (2002:7) asserts that most obvious is the fact that Aguleri have an organized indigenous religious movement not the typical acephalous society structure commonly associated with Igbo land before the advent of colonialism. Nettl (1983:156) affirms that music like that of the *Egwu Evio* "supports tribal integrity when many peoples, whites and other Indian tribes, because of the onset of modernization and Westernization, come into a position of influencing each other's culture".

VI. SPIRIT INVOCATION AND POSSESSION AND EGWU EVIO DANCE IN AGULERI COSMOLOGY

Spirits are unscrupulous creatures in settings in which peripheral and subordinate members of the society notably the initiates of a particular cult like that of the Egwu Evio musicians are possessed, whereas, spirits uphold morality in societies where it is those in authority who enter trance (Lambek, 1989:39). Michael Nabofa argues that "it is within the world of classical sound that the elements of traditional cultic ritual have a natural alliance" (1994:38) which invariably calls for spirit invocation and possession. Janice Boddy (1994:407) explains that "these forces may be ancestors or divinities, ghosts of foreign origin, or entities both ontological and ethnically alien". Spirit invocation and possession is a significant feature of life in the ritual liturgy of the Igbo as an indigenous religious cosmology. During the ritual festival, the recognition of the abiding power of spirit invocation and possession emerges in a variety of circumstances during the pounding sound of the *Udu* and is constructed from signs ranging from apparently psychotic breaks to sudden competent expression of trance behaviour during the feast. According to Michael Lambek (1989) some initiates with spirits have to observe different taboos imposed upon them but never enter except when the sound like that of the *Udu* is activated, managed and manipulated in ritual circumstances. He argues that "people's ability and circumstances differs, but the main point is that not every spirit will make the same demands upon the host – although, when such is made there is every possibility or tendency that the demands are quite conventional" (Lambek, 1989:42). A close observation of trance behaviour can be seen and interpreted as an expression of the identity or attitude of the spirit and the stage or immediate tendency of its relationship with the host and it is in this situation that altered state of consciousness or the creation of a secondary self is achieved, but they are not determined by them (Frazar, 1922:91). This is the reason why Nabofa (1994:56) writes that these types of sacred instruments "are considered to be very sacred and important in the act of worship among the traditional worshippers in many parts of Africa because they easily strike the divine signature tune".

Spirit possession in Igbo cosmology during the ritual dance of the *Egwu Evio* can be viewed, in broad ways or terms, as a symbiotic and symbolic system of divine communication. First, one must have to consider the period of the emergence of a spirit in a particular host, during which messages concerning its individual status are communicated. At this stage, it is during the ritual decoration of the *Udu* drum

during the ritual dance that certain ritual items like the white chalk is used to imbue it with spiritual potency and symbolic qualities. No wonder Nabofa (1994:56) affirms that "the sound produced by these instruments in conjunction with some other things and conditions will as well help to awaken the spirituality in the devotees. When they have been so aroused they would be so elated that they may start to see through the veil, feel narrate and testify to what they must have seen".

All these act as ritual mechanism and primordial symbol of spirit ties without which nothing can be done (Shapiro, 1995).). Kazuo Fukura (2011: 107-109) affirms that "these are must-have items that constitute a teacher spirit's tray on the altar of a medium". In this situation, the identity of the spirit emerges during the interpretations of signs and a circumstance on the first appearances of the ancestral spirit which emerges during the application of ritual medicine on the body of *Udu* as an indigenous idiophone.

Secondly, during the stage of spirit possession, the behaviour of the host's is conventional and highly constrained by the codes of performance [the rhythmical sequence of the sound of



Figure 1: Nkesi Izege and his Egwu-evio dance group performing with their Udu drum (Courtesy of Madukasi Francis Chuks)

The *Udu* which goes simultaneously with its dance styles and praises]. Lambek (1989:44) argues that such an experience is equally "symbolically rich and open-ended, both because it does not prescribe particular channels or avenues of behaviour to the onlookers and because it's playful quality, especially the use of sound and dance and the comedic-drama are usually kept apart". This scenario is better felt than to be described. This is because when the members of the Egwu Evio dance group led by Nkesi Izege performs, one can look at them as a group of idiots, imbeciles, vegetables or morons but holistically, they are not. They are simply a group of dancers possessed by the spirits through the special kind of dance they perform. In fact, through the mediation of their stylistic dance steps and romantically body movements they amuse the onlookers. They equally use the music sound that emanates from the *Udu* to make jest or criticize the bad eggs in the community. The Egwu Evio dance groups are special people who play the roles of clowns and other comic and nuisance roles through their artistic and acrobatic displays.

Etymologically, it is significant to mention here that the word *Egwu Evio* which simply means dance of the idiots /

imbeciles took its origin from the ways by which its dancers manipulate their bodies artistically while dancing the *Udu* music. These provide added fun and interest to any festival in the community. The general atmosphere of the festival is one of a joyful mood and the overcrowded atmosphere created. There is plenty of laughter, clapping, cheering and jeering. The colourful nature of the costumes and materials is significant in portraying the aesthetic taste of the people. In this scenario, the African audience participation is showcased which is very important. The spectators applaud as they surge along with the performers, cheering and clapping, and generally enjoying themselves (Idigo, 1990:5).

The significance of dance like Egwu Evio dance in African religious life according to Geoffrey Parrinder (1969:77) is that it gives expression to the deepest feelings, but it is not only feelings, for it points to belief in the life force that underlines religious thought. Such dance is an occasion for religious revival activities in the community and it is a strategic period for the adherents of African traditional religion to showcase their religious activities (Nabofa, 1994:81). The different traditional religious stage/display ritual dances and drama, not only within the ambit of the sacred places, but also in the processions through the major roads of the town or villages (Nabofa, 1994:81). It is on this position that Hanna (1992:323) opines that "dance in many societies is an integral part of religious, social, economic, or political life. Irrespective of time and place, however, dance is a powerful means of communicating a group's values and beliefs and transmitting them from one generation to the next". Nabofa (1994:35) explains that during such dance like that of Egwu Evio dance through the instrumentality of *Udu* drum "different messages are usually encoded into the sound expressions and different onlookers decode different meanings from the symbolic ritual dance and drama".

It is during this stage that the sound of the *Udu* along side with the simultaneous praises of the spirits and ancestors breaks that spiritual link or barrier between the worlds of seen and unseen in the extraterrestrial realm, and in this situation, it is believed that the Egwu Evio dance groups "are dancing on the shoulders of their ancestors" (Glocke & Jackson, 2011:6), through the mediation of ordered hierarchy from deity to man. Lambek (1989:44) asserts that spirit invocation and possession performances are somehow amusing, intellectually and aesthetically gratifying and satisfying. Spirit behaviour is endlessly fascinating to some people; the parties for spirits held at the last stage of a possession attract large audiences as well as hosts whose spirits would not rise otherwise, and the appearance of a spirit on any occasion produces general interest for the entire community. It is in this wise that Philip Garrett comments that:

(S)pirit possession, interpreted as sacred theatre, can provide [...] a priceless resource for historians of popular religion. One can examine and describe the "performance", try to ascertain how it was understood by its audience, and ask what kinds of cultural and theological expectations the performance and its interpretation by the audience implied. All of these facets not only elicit the contexts in which the phenomena of spirit possession occur but also help to recapture the lost world of popular belief (Garrett, 1987:5).

In the course of ritual liturgy of order, the identity of the spirit is known or established as separate from that of the human host and given both psychological and social reality. When the initiates are under possession, the people so possessed dramatically through dance behave like the spirit which activate and possess them (Ohadike, 2007:10 & Shuaibu, 2002:62). This is because "the dancing contains elements of both reinforcement and inversion of norms of gender typification" (Rasmussen, 1994:79). (2005:348) explains that the votaries demonstrate their skill and dance, beating their *Udu* with their imbued fan while "this causes a great vibration which moves the votaries and they are all dressed in white clothes – their symbols of purity within and without". No wonder, Judith Hanna argues that such vigorous dancing can lead to an altered state of consciousness because it has a unique potential of going beyond communication by creating moods for divine manifestation (1988:286). Emma Cohen (2007:64) asserts that during this stage it creates a "specific atmosphere which has a decisive effect on the nature of the neurophysiological activity in the brains of group members" through the sound which invokes the spirit that is believed to be around in anticipation of mounting on the initiates that eventually results to altered state. Basically, it is with this assimilation and understanding that William James argues that this mystical states or interlude are very brief and cannot be sustained for a long time (1975:367). Andrew Greeley posits that in this mystical episode, the person consciously experiences his intimacy with the cosmos (1974:65). It is also significant to say here that it is during this period that some onlookers do develop eerie feelings and goose pimples according to the views expressed by some of my participants. However, "the public is seen here as a conscious and participatory audience" enriching ritual production of the instrumentality of the *Udu*, an idiophone through the mediation of its sound (Ayu, 1986:22).

Nonetheless, it is the booming sound of the *Udu* that calls for spirit invocation and possession because its sound would be compared to the wind, and according to Shuaibu (2002:63) "it is everywhere and no one can tell with any accuracy, just how it feels to be possessed, one knows that it is there that is all". Here, sound wave is nothing more than a compressional wave caused by vibrations (Lapp, 2006:7). In this mystical process, a current of energy or vibration through the sound stimulate the initiates' spirit and the meeting point is the point of communion of the initiates by hearing the mystical sound emanating from the deep (Akintola, 1992:18). In this mystical transformation lies the whole secret of where spirit invocation and possession are articulated and managed. As a point of emphasis, at this point the identity of the spirit may be in suspense until the enactment of the final ceremony; it is a byproduct of the host's deep motivation and the actual identity of the spirits of the host's consociates and predecessors (Lambek, 1989:43).

Nabofa (1994:39) assets that at this stage the host is in a frenzy mood, while the divine is believed to infuse the total being of the subject and would enter into an intimate inner communication with the devotee. It is also believed that the possessed person would begin to hear sonorous voices blended with melodious sound emanating from inside the deep. He affirms that at this stage also, the devotee would be enticed

and would have a feeling of compulsion to go there. He becomes ecstatic and moves to the shore or to that direction, and endeavours to answer the divine summons (Nabofa, 1994:39). This is the more reason why Igbo religion attaches more importance to spirit of mami water in African Religion and spirituality (Wicker, 2000). According to Wicker (2000:199) mami water is the name applied by Africans to a class of female and male water divinities or spirits which possesses their devotees. In this situation, "their bodies often end up signifying order and purity when they are displaced according to morally appropriate norms of containment and control" (Masquelier, 2008: 41). Alyward Shorter (1970:112) posits that during this period "the subject is seized with shaking, sways from side to side, falls down and speaks a meaningless, gibberish, or words of a foreign language already known to him". Similarly, Danfulani (1999:191-192) affirms that it is during such periods that "some members may be gripped by the spirit and they may speak in tongues. Their involvement with glossolalia demonstrates very clearly their practice of spirit possession, similar to what obtains in many Pentecostal churches today". Nabofa (1994:40) explains that "experience has shown that it is not always very easy to overpower such a possessed person because of the extra power the divine has infused into him because his body would become slippery and to calm the ecstasy; some symbolic items would be applied in order to placate the divine". The ritual purification of the Egwu Evio dance groups or members where mystical sound are produced through the mediating power of sound produced by beating of *Udu* with its fan features most prominently is a liturgical ritual site to reconstitute royal authority and enable the spirits to perform ritual blessings over the human populace through act of spirit invocation and possession (Bloch, 1987:272). The authority of spirits is a key feature of their makeup and one that actually plays a significant role in the final sort of ritual communication (Lambek, 1989:45).

Thirdly, there are substantive communications between established spirits and their human consociates, including the internal mystical conversations maintained by adepts, but the conversations established between the initiates and the deities are very paramount (Lambek, 1989:45). He argues that in this way, spirit invocation and possession is treated as natural in the sense that, while it is unusual, an oddity that cries out for explanation, it can, in fact, actually be explained as the direct, unmediated contact or outcome of a material process in the thinking and belief of society like the Aguleri people (Lambek, 1989:47). The most common type of variants of this approach is to assume or believe that spirit possession is a more or less direct contact or mystical manifestation of divine attributes where possession is basically concerned essentially with the enhancement of status (Lewis, 1971:127).

On the contrary, spirits are powerful creatures or mystical agencies, and in their effects upon their human hosts and their demands upon others their ritual power is vividly mediated and manifested (Lambek, 1989:50). But, we should take note of the fact that this power is socially constructed, generated and activated when the sound of the hand fan is played in the ritual festivals like the ritual purification and it also portrays a kind of system of communication through which possession is constituted. It is on this position that Lambek (1989:51&55)

posits that spirits through the mediation of sound "act with a power and speak with an authority that transcends the mundane, and humans are not considered responsible for their actions or directives at that particular point in time. This is to view spirit invocation and possession as ritual, but ritual that does not merely speak, in symbolic language or voice, about society, but actively constructs it". Lambek (1989:55) again affirms that in ritual performance like the ritual purification celebration, "real things happen to real people", because this is where the sound from the hand fan is used to invoke and infect spirit possession on the initiates. Arguably, llesanmi (1996:5) asserts that it is during such ritual dance through the sound of the *Udu* that "the deity himself possesses some of them, making them perform fits beyond the normal capacity of the generality of the people". It is on this position that Erika Bourguignon (1968:4) asserts that spirit possession through the mediation of sound is apparently dependent on the possibility of separating the self into one or more elements. Put in another way, spirit possession entails a complete separation of mind [or agency, spirit, person, self] totally from the body (Rouget, 1985:325). Similarly, Cohen & Barrett (2008:246-247) affirms that the agency of the host is frequently represented as withdrawing from the body or assuming a passive role in relation to control the body, which is subsequently occupied or simply animated by the possessing spirit. Thus, spirit possession entails the complete displacement of the host's agency by another agent's, such that a bodiless or lifeless agent effectively takes control of the body – but not the mind of self – of a living being. Cohen & Barrett (2008:247) again argues that during the possession episode, the agency of the host is completely replaced by an agency other than the host's. Equally significant is the fact that possessing agent is wholly responsible for the duration of the episode. Spirit possession involves a fusion of an antidate with the spirit or mind of a human host or joining of the body of the medium with that of the spirit entity. In other words, the otherness of possession as it is believed is captivating, mysterious and enigmatic (Cohen & Barrett, 2008:250).

On this position, I can say tersely that the sound of the Egwu Evio dance through the instrumentality of the use of the Udu is very significant for spirit invocation and to summon the divine to attend ritual worship in Igbo cosmology. Spirit invocation is achieved through the ritual power of sound that invokes the ancestral spirit during the ritual dance festival. During the invocation, incantations are recited and praises are showered on the ancestors and deities of the community through the simultaneous pounding of the sound that emanates from the beating of the Udu. It is from the sound of these musical instruments and its ritual incantations that we would be able to know the attributes, praises, the theogony, powers and capabilities of the object of the worship (Nabofa, 1994:16). Nonetheless, the fears and aspirations of the devotees are equally identified in the course of the sound and incantations. The sound of these *Udu* are played and manipulated in such a manner that they easily create eerie feelings on those within the liturgical or ritual ground. By such act, the whole place would be charged, and also surrounded with the aura of reverence, while all these combined with some other symbolic processes that will make the ritual liturgy to be more meaningful and enjoyable (Nabofa, 1994:35).

In fact, the sound and beating of the *Udu* is assumed to be used to bring order, meaning and co-ordination among the devotees when they begin to express their feelings and joy through ritual dance and drama during any ritual celebration. This when sprinkled with the kaolin, is believed to have some divine power and used for healing exorcism according to (Akama 1985:34). Igbo religion has witchcraft as one of its elements. It is on this position that Akama (1985:25) again reasserts that "belief in witchcraft and practices of other allied antisocial evils appears to be the root cause of the emergence of the cult" in Igbo communities. This is to counter the claims that "the gospel in Igbo land achieved an amazing success where the walls of pagandom collapse Jericho-wise" 1973:126). No wonder Umar Danfulani (1999:167) affirms that "African communities used various methods for controlling witchcraft before the introduction of colonial rule". Similarly, Kathleen Wicker (2000:198) asserts that "these characteristics differentiate African spiritual traditions from Western religions, where faith usually involves acceptance of an articulated set of beliefs posited as absolute truths".

During ritual possession dance and singing, the sound produced by the ritual mechanisms in conjunction with other things and conditions will as well "aid to awaken the spirituality in the initiates" (Akintola, 1992:25). Robin Horton (1963:98) claims that through the mediation of its symbolic sound for the initiates, "it means the ability to translate the rhythm smoothly and faultlessly into the appropriate dancesteps". Nabofa (1994:35) argues that "when they have been so aroused they would be so elated that they may have direct contact with the holy. In order to arouse the sense of awe and reverence in people's mind and consciousness, cultic functionaries combine non-verbal communication techniques through the mediation of the sound with spoken words in transmitting their messages and intensions in order to align others".

VII. CONCLUSION

The impressions created by the booming and pounding sound from the *Udu* seem to linger and indelibly remain as a point of reference in the minds of most spectators because according to the views expressed by some of my participants they like it. This is one of the reasons why the presence of a devotee, in whose interest a particular ritual is being performed, is needed. Such is required in order to enable the message of the ritual, which is basically transmitted through the symbolic sound to sink deeply into the inner recesses of the devotee where spirit invocation and possession control the movement between individuals while the spiritual potency of the sound is ritually and spiritually contained in Aguleri cosmology.

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