MUSIC IN KÁLÁḄÀRÌ FUNERAL RITES

BY

ISAAC OSAKPAMWAN IBUDE

B.Sc.(Hons.) Microbiology (UNIBEN), B.C.M (Hons.) Church Music, M.C.M (N.B.T.S Ogbomoso), M.A. Music (Ibadan), P.G.D.E (Calabar)
MATRICULATION NUMBER: 119895

A thesis submitted to the Institute of African Studies in partial fulfilment for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

FEBRUARY, 2013

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Isaac Osakpamwan IBUDE at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, under my supervision and approved as meeting the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in African Music.

Date

Supervisor
M.A. Omibiyi-Obidike
B.A., M.A., Ph.D (UCLA)
Professor of Musicology,
Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan, Nigeria

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Elizabeth; our children, Jane, Nathaniel and Precious; my Pastor, Rev. Dr. Nkem Osuigwe; and my role model and father, Rev. Dr. Gold O. Anie.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

'Praise to the Lord the Almighty the King of creation.' The Alpha and Omega, to Him is glory and honour for the great things He has done. My heart rejoices in God for the gift of life, strength, wisdom, and knowledge to start and complete this thesis. The entire process is unique and a miracle that I will continually remember all my life.

I am particularly grateful from the bottom of my heart to my supervisor, Professor Mosunmola A. Omibiyi-Obidike, whose effort gave this work focus. Mama, as I call her, has been divinely positioned to be my mother since July, 2003 to date. She is a wonderful and amiable 'mother-supervisor'. May the Lord bless her and make her children great. In the same vein, I must appreciate Professor Robin Horton who took time to go through the work and offered useful suggestions in addition to allowing me to use his personal library.

I must appreciate the Director of the Institute, Professor Ọlawale Albert; the Sub-Dean, Dr. Kayọde Samuel; the Seminar Co-ordinator, Dr. S.A. Faleti; and other lecturers: Professor B. Agbaje-Williams, Professor Dele Layiwọla, Drs. O.B. Ọlaọba, S.A. Ọsunwole, O.I. Pogosin, I.O. Jimoh, Sọla Ọlọrunyọmi, O.O. Adekọla, T.K Adekunle, D.D.Nathaniel, and C.O. Ọlaniyan for their assistance at different stages of the work. I thank all the administrative staff of the Institute, particularly Mr J.O. Ogunmọla, Mr. Sharafat, Mrs M.A. Alamu as well as Mr. Taiwo Akano of the Postgraduate School. I also appreciate Mr. Ben O. Jegede of the Institute of African Studies' Library; and Mrs Rachael Fabumi, Mrs Abọsẹde Davis and Mr. Shọla Babalọla of IFRA library.

My thanks go to my field resource persons whose co-operation enhanced the quality of this work: Chief A.M. PrinceWill, Mr. David Bolaji, Mr. Isobo David West, Pastor Dawari Braide, Comrade D. Gordon Ekine, Miss Oluba George, Mr. Tonye Erekosima, Mr. Isaac Iyenemi Lawson, Mr. Kuruye-Alele Soberekonbo, Mrs O. Braide, Mr. I. Oju, and others as listed on pages 209 to 211.

I express my deep gratitude to all members of Faith Baptist Church Port Harcourt and her team of pastors, led by Rev. Dr. Nkem Osuigwe, for their prayers and supports. I must place on record their support during my moments of trial in my first semester of this programme (2007/2008 Session) when I went through surgery for appendicitis; after the field work my daughter Precious underwent a heart surgery in India; and about two weeks after our arrival from India, my first daughter Jane had a fracture on her left leg (2009/2010 Session). The Faith Baptist Church Port Harcourt

paid ALL the medical bills and travelling expenses within and outside Nigeria and my family is intact to the glory of God. Also appreciated are members of the Diaconate Ministry, Music and Worship Ministry, Children and Teen Ministry, Drama Ministry, Sunday School Department, the MMU, WMU, Youth Fellowship, and BSF, for their prayers and encouragement.

I appreciate the kind support of the immediate past and present Vice Chancellors, Professor Don Baridam and Professor A. Joseph Ajienka and the management of the University of Port Harcourt for allowing me to continue with the doctoral programme on my assumption of duty. Similarly, my thanks go to the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Professor Ozo-mekuri Ndimele; my H.O.D. and mentor Professor Onyee Nwankpa; also Professors E.S. Akama; (Deacon) Nkem Okoh; Emmanuel Emasealu; Henry BellGam; Frank Ugiomo and A.C. Ojule; Dr. C. Numbere; and Dr. Mrs.O. Owei, for their continuous encouragements.

To my colleagues at the Department of Music, University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Rivers State, I say 'I am very grateful for your understanding and cooperation during the course of this programme.' Of special mention are my senior colleagues and brothers Deacon. Dr. A.A. Okunade and Dr. I.C. Krama; Messrs David Bolaji, T. Esemagbele, Alfred Albert, Jerimaiah Abu, Precious Omuku, Peter Amoyedo, James Amaegbe, Chidi Adiele, Anthony Okoro, Kingsley Inerite, Samuel Nnodi; Miss Nturem Masaekek; Mrs Rita Modeme; Mrs Rita Orji Sunday-Kanu; Mrs Doris Ofili, and Miss Maureen John. Also appreciated are the following administrative staff members: Messrs Peter, Lebechi and Mrs Nkiru Udofia.

To my good friends: Mr and Mrs Fubara Batubo, Barrister and Mrs Isoboye Warmate, Dr and Mrs Ojeka, Dr. Aleruchi Chuku, Dr. Adesina B. Sunday, Mr and Mrs Sunday Ọladọja, Mr. and Mrs Samson George, Mr. and Mrs Patson Barrack, Dr. and Mrs Dambo, Mr and Mrs Eze Ugogi, Rev. and Mrs John Òjó, Rev. and Rev. Mrs Oyekan, Rev. and Rev. Mrs. Ebifa Woko, Rev. and Mrs. Evangelist Abeke, Rev. and Mrs. T.A. Olufayo, Mrs Daba Olowodun, Mrs Magdalene Bewaji, Miss Ijeoma Okoh, Miss Ifeanyi Okoh, Miss Fiepre Dambo, Mr Richard Eboloh, Mr and Mrs Peter Williams, Mr and Mrs Awajiteleyem Mark, Pastor Prince Ukah and my fellow Postgraduate student, Mr. Olusegun Stephen Titus, I say thank you for their contributions too numerous to mention.

I want to appreciate my loving, caring and understanding wife, Elizabeth Olúwàbúkọlá, for sacrificing and putting up with me those times I got irritable because

of the challenge of completing the programme; my children, Jane, Nathaniel and Precious, for enduring my long absence from home. To my parents and parents-in-law, words are not enough to say 'thank you daddies and mummies for your love and prayers.' My gratitude goes to my siblings and in-laws for their inestimable assistance to me.

Finally, I thank everyone too numerous to mention here, who contributed toward the successful completion of my doctoral programme. May God Almighty bless you richly in Jesus' name. Amen.

Isaac O. Ibude

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

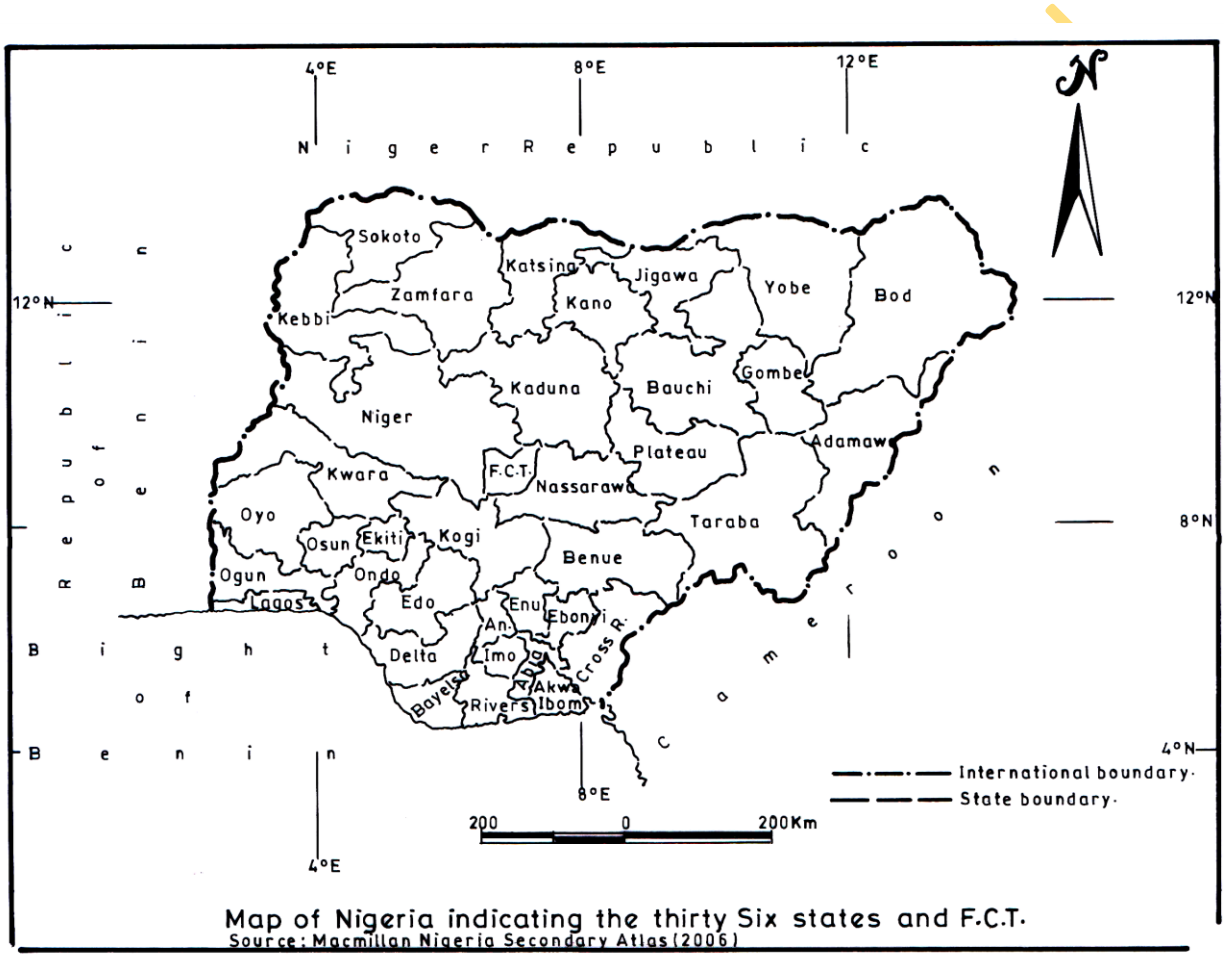
CHAPTER FIVE: FUNERAL RITES AMONG THE KÁLÁBÀRÌ

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

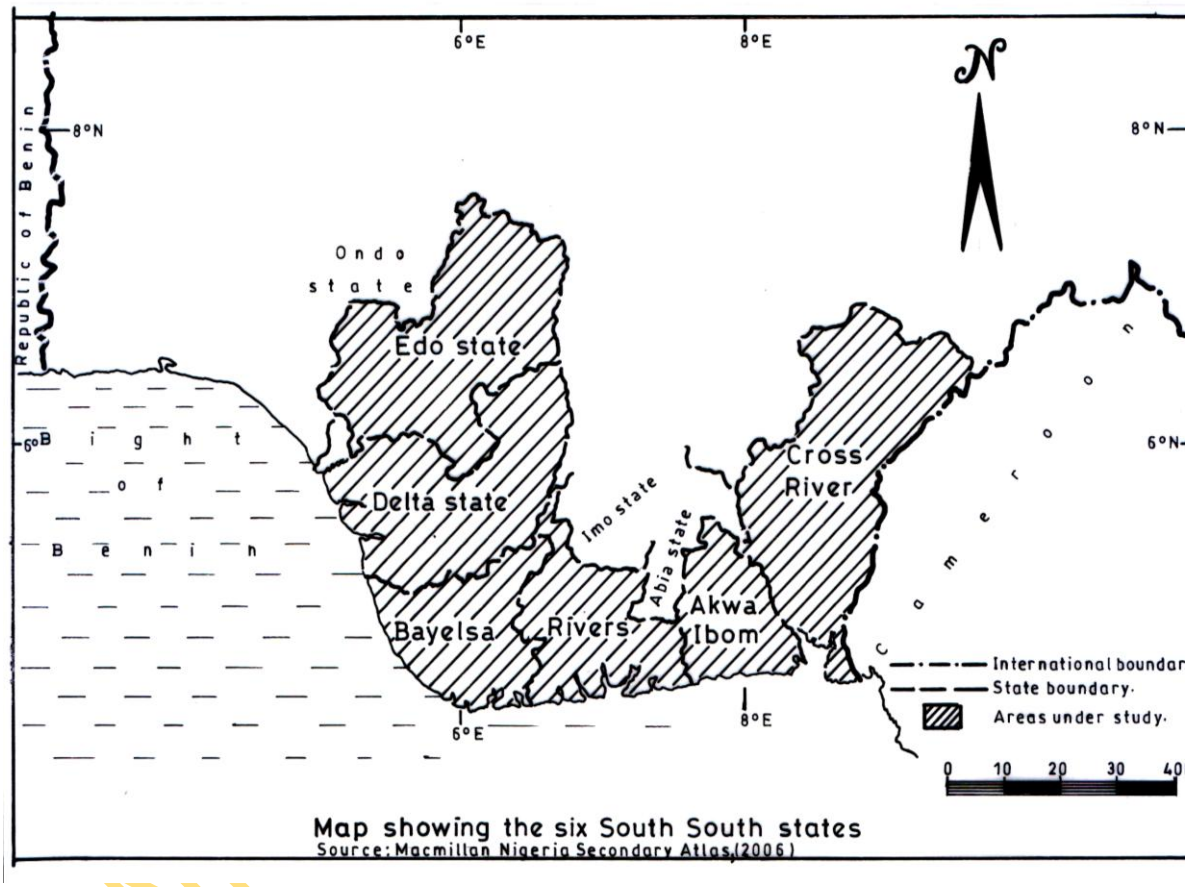
LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF MAPS



Map of Nigeria indicating the thirty Six states and F.C.T.
Source: Macmillan Nigeria Secondary Atlas (2006)

Map 1: Nigeria, showing the thirty-six states



Map 2: The Six States of the South-South, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Duein-dibi-a nume (Funeral rites music) in Kalabari culture is a final honour for the dead and a status symbol for the living. It is performed for titled men, elders, members of *Ekine* cult and other socio-cultural clubs. Although *duein-dibi-a nume* occupies an important position in Kalabari culture, yet no musicological studies exist in terms of structure, significance and documentation especially as its traditional forms appear to be on the decline. This study, therefore, examined musical performances in funeral rites among the Kalabari of Rivers State, Nigeria. It categorised the different types of music, discussed their performance practices and also undertook their analyses.

The study adopted the ethnographic research design. Data were collected from three Local Government Areas: Asari-Toru, Akuku-Toru and Degema that make up the Kalabari in Rivers State. Participant Observation method, In-depth-Interviews were conducted with twenty persons comprising the *Amanyanabo* (King) of Kalabari, and of Abalama, eight chiefs and elders, three chief drummers of *Ekine* cult, four *Duein-dibi-a nume* musicians, and three religious leaders reputed on Kalabari culture. Four Focus Group Discussion sessions were also held with *Okoro fari* and *Okpokiri* musicians, composers of *Duein-duu-a nume* and linguists from Bakana, Abonnema and Buguma. Data obtained were content analysed, while music recordings were transcribed into staff notation with the aid of the Finale music software for formal and structural analyses.

Duein-dibi-a nume is performed by children and wives of the deceased, youths, women, elders, chiefs, and traditional musicians at different contexts in the community. It has four categories: *Akwa nume* (instrumental music), *Ogbobe nume* (choral music) with instrumental accompaniments, *Duein-duu-a nume* (acapella dirges and chants) and *Seki nume* (dance music). It is further grouped into ritual music: *Okoro fari* with fixed format performed for titled men; semi-ritual music: *igira sara, boroma and amaboro* used for entertainment as well as funeral ritual purposes; non-ritual music solely for entertainment: *Okpokiri* and *Din krama ti* (choreographed funeral dance) performances. Performance practices of *Duein-dibi-a nume* are event specific, contextual and rooted in Kalabari belief system. The melodies of *Duein-dibi-a nume* are made up of short phrases in solo, call and response, overlapping, mixed structural and presentation forms. Its rhythms are organised around simple duple, quadruple, and compound duple time. The text of the music serves psychological and spiritual purposes of encouraging the bereaved and facilitating the process for the dead of becoming an ancestor. *Duein-dibi-a nume* creates an enabling environment for communion in meeting spiritual and social needs. The serious decline in *Duein-dibi-a nume* was due to urbanisation, apathy on the part of the younger generation and also conversion of Kalabari people into other religions especially Christianity.

The *Duein-dibi-a nume* performance, which manifests as instrumental and non-instrumental music, engenders socialisation and spiritual bonding in Kalabari celebration of life after life. Therefore, efforts must be directed at preserving this aspect of Kalabari culture through training of new generation of musicians by skilful and experienced ones particularly on traditional instruments.

Key words: Kalabari music, Funeral rites, Kalabari culture, Performance practice.

Word count: 484

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

Music in traditional African societies is organised around social, religious and political events during which individuals, as well as members of a group within the community, come together for activities like recreation, performance of rites, festivals and collective activities like clearing paths, putting out fires and so on (Nketia, 1975:21). Burial ceremony in Africa is perceived as a rite performed by the living for the dead. Life does not end with death; it continues in another realm. Death does not end the life or personality of an individual but is merely a change of 'state'. The concepts of 'life' and 'death' are not mutually exclusive because the goal of life is to become an ancestor after death (Anderson, 2007:1). This explains why persons who die are given befitting and appropriate burial accompanied by religious rituals and ceremonies involving music and dance. The African concept of burial has been altered through widespread secularisation, urbanisation, Christianisation and Islamisation. In recent times, the activities of the militants in the Niger Delta area have further altered the concept of death and burial in the culture, especially its music. Against this background, this study focused on investigating the performance, performance practice, categories and structure of funeral music (*Ḍúéín-ḍíḅí-a númé*) especially its traditional forms among the Kálábàrì of the Niger Delta.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The Kálábàrì of the Niger Delta are a group of people whose musical culture has not received much attention in terms of research. A few scholars, for instance, G.I. Jones, Kay Williamson, C.E.W. Jenewari, Ozomekuri Ndimele, E.J. Alagoa, G.O.M Tasie, Robin Horton, R.M.C. Da-Wariboko and so on, have carried out researches on historical, linguistic, economic, and socio-political organization; religious beliefs, rituals and other cultural aspects of the people. However, research has not focused on developments associated with musical activities at funerals.

Funeral music in traditional Kálábàrì society is gradually fading out, and the musicians are beginning to go into other more profitable and more reliable sources of

income. The activities of churches, evangelistic groups, urbanisation and the spate of unrest in the area caused by militants have further disrupted, if not completely changed, the musical culture of the people. Many factors, at one time or the other, have brought about transformation, diminution, and eventual extinction of musical genres, especially those activities associated with rites of passage in human communities. When a musical genre goes extinct, it becomes very difficult to find the practitioners and the repertoires. Therefore, there is an urgent need to collect and document funeral music of the Kálá̱bàrì.

Music in funerals is a very important aspect of Kálá̱bàrì culture yet, in terms of research into its structure, significance, and documentation, only passing references have been made to it in linguistic, historical and anthropological studies. Researchers are not yet involved in investigating and documenting the music associated with funerals in the culture which, if done, will help to preserve the typology for posterity.

1.2 Research questions

Given the problem, the following research questions guided the study:

- who are the Kálá̱bàrì?
- what role does music play in funeral ceremonies of the Kálá̱bàrì?
- what categories of music are associated with funeral ceremonies in Kálá̱bàrì kingdom ?
- who are the main practitioners, and how are they recruited and trained ?
- is the music performed gender and class specific?
- are there conscious aesthetic and emotional expressions demonstrated by the musicians during musical performances intended to relieve the emotional pain of mourners?
- what type of instruments are used during ceremonies associated with funerals?
- are there restrictions on the performance of funeral music by other religious groups?
- what impacts have the various crises and militancy in the Niger Delta had on the rites of passage and their associated music, especially funerals?

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

This study examined funeral music in Kálá̱bàrì culture and identified socio-cultural factors which have affected it. Similarly, the research brought insight into the meaning, performance practice, functions, styles, forms and techniques adopted in composing music for funerals in the area. The main aim of the study was the investigation of funeral music performance in Kálá̱bàrì kingdom of the Niger Delta in order to bring to light the changing tradition of music in Kálá̱bàrì funeral ceremonies and helped in understanding the structure as well as features of Kálá̱bàrì funeral music on the one hand. The specific objectives of the study include:

- examining musical performances and changes in funeral ceremonies among the Kálá̱bàrì.
- examining the types and categories of music in funeral ceremonies among the Kálá̱bàrì,
- investigating the life, musical career and contributions of the practitioners of the music,
- unearthing the textual significance, socio-cultural implications and performance practices of funeral music, and
- transcribing some of the songs in Western notation for structural analysis to establish the theoretical basis of the songs and for documentation.

1.4 Need for the study

Although the literature on the Kálá̱bàrì of the Eastern Niger Delta and their culture exists, none has focused on the full-length Kálá̱bàrì funeral rituals and music performed during such rites. It has not been given much attention in ethnomusicological studies, neither has there been any clear distinction between all of its various types. If this situation continues, the music connected with funeral ceremonies may become extinct and the practitioners unknown. Since funeral is an important part of Kálá̱bárí culture, there is the need for the investigation of the background, world view and oral tradition on death and burial as expressed through the music of the people. There have been several claims by the practitioners and traditionalists that attest to the indispensability of music in funeral ceremonies. Such claims need to be assessed for the purpose of cultural, socio-religious, theological, philosophical and scientific import of the genre.

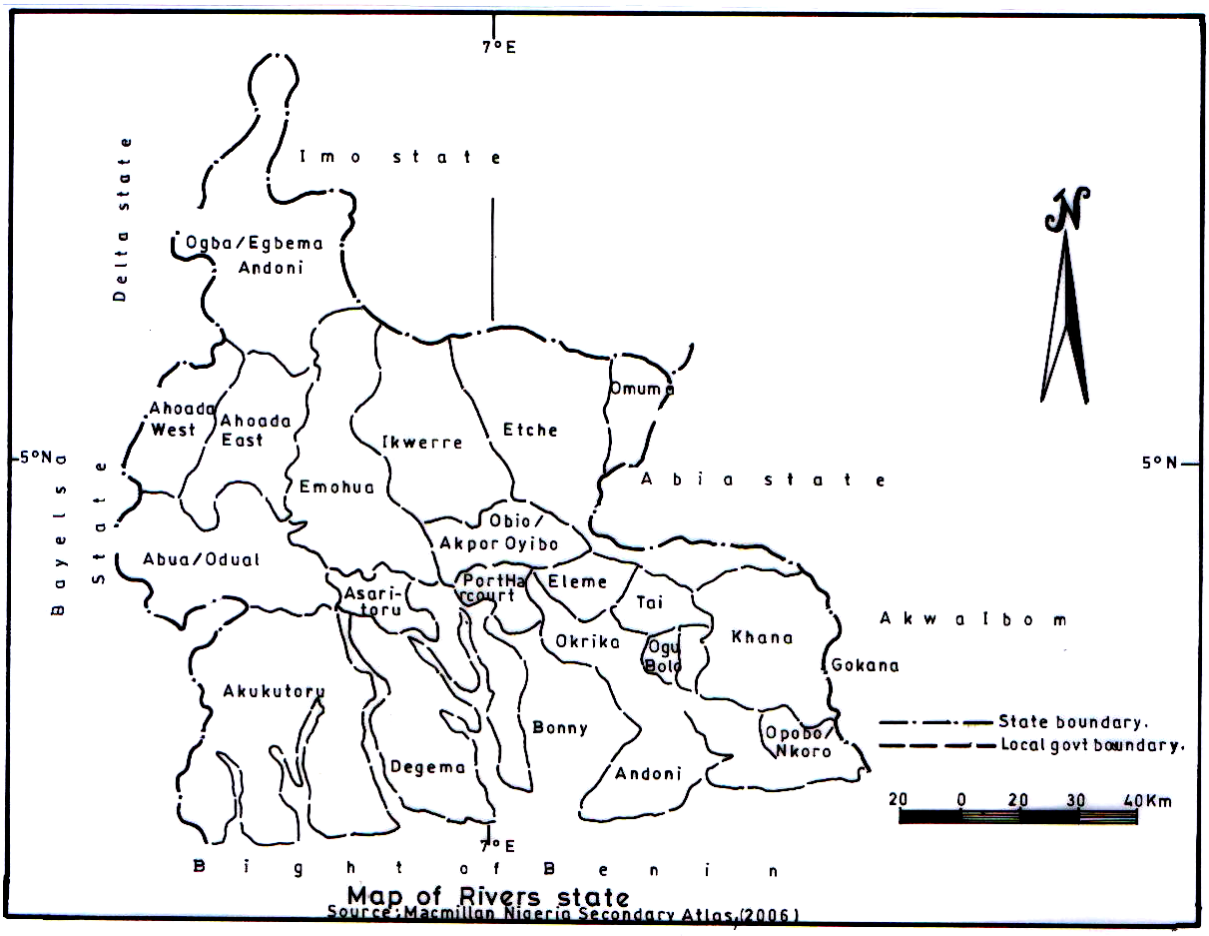
Death induces grief, sorrow, emotional and psychological pains in the living humans. One needs to understand how the pains and sorrows experienced by relations, friends and associates of the departed are assuaged; and how musical performances help the departed one in his journey to the ancestors. This study is also significant in that it adds to the body of knowledge on Kálábàrì culture. It was an in-depth ethnomusicological study of the Kálábàrì which has brought about an understanding, documentation of full-length presentation of Kálábàrì funeral rituals, performance of music, as well as what funeral music means to the Kálábàrì and the position it occupies in funeral celebrations.

The preservation and subsequent dissemination of Kálábàrì music is significant. This will enable the younger generation of Kálábàrì to become acquainted with their genealogy as well as achievements of their ancestors, as recorded in songs during funeral ceremonies. The absence of preservation of music associated with funerals may lead to extinction. Therefore, notation of some of these songs as provided by this study is significant in preserving them from total extinction through their availability to performers, researchers and music educators for educational purposes.

The study is significant in opening up salient aspects of Kálábàrì culture to the attention of scholars interested in serious studies in this area as well as in providing materials for other researchers who are interested in Kálábàrì music. Finally, the study is significant in that it has provided useful information that ensures policy innovation by government. It will further help preserve rural values, human capacity development and empowerment in spite of the physical and infrastructural underdevelopment of the Niger Delta.

1.5 Scope and limitation of the study

The basic concern of this study was to investigate music associated with funeral rites in Kálábàrì kingdom spread over forty towns, villages and fishing settlements in the tidal zone of Eastern Niger Delta. Today, the territory is divided into the Ásárí-Tọru, Ákúkú-Tọru and Dégémà local government areas in Rivers State as shown on Map 3 below. These communities speak the same language, traditional belief and culture. Focus was given to music associated with all the stages of funeral rites in both traditional and non-traditional settings for men and women, chiefs and heads of compounds.



Map 3: Rivers State, showing twenty-three local government areas

However, the research location did not cover the entire Kálábàrì towns, villages and fishing settlements because of its expanse. The study was restricted mainly to Bàkánà, Abónnémà, Búgúmà and five other settlements comprising Àbàlàmà, Ìdọ, Mínàma, Sòkú and Ilelima. Búgúmà was selected because it is the home land of the *Ámányánábọ* of Kálábàrì Kingdom and it harbours three of the major shrines in Kálábàrí. The first is *Ówámékàsó*, the tutelary deity of the Kálábàrì. The second is the ancestral shrines dedicated to the spirit of the dynastic founder Amakiri. The third is the shrine of *Èkìnèba*, patroness of the *Èkìnè Sẹkịapụ* cult. In addition, it is one of the three settlements (Abónnémà, Bàkánà, and Búgúmà) of the former trading state of Kálábàrì. Àbàlàmà, Mínàma and Sọkú were the villages chosen for the study of *Ìkpàtàkà Dògí*, a traditional funeral rite rarely practised in Kálábàrì; Ido being one of the settlements which was not initially Kálábàrì but fully assimilated and imbibed Kálábàrì culture.

This study included music associated with burials of *Ákwá-Álábò* (drum chief), *Àkàsó-Álábò* (priest of Owamekaso) and *Ámányánábọ*. These burials have complex rituals which our present study adequately covered. However, music associated with other aspects of Kálábàrì life, such as work, social control, *Ówú Áró Sùn* (filling the canoe of the water spirit) and other festivals were not included in this study. In addition, the insecurity of life in the creeks was a limiting factor in making extended visits to the communities mentioned, except those accessible by road. Some members of these communities were interviewed at their more accessible work or refuge places because of militants' activities in the Niger Delta. The limiting factor of insecurity in the area extended the duration and cost of collecting data during the field work.

1.6 Definitions of terms

There are some special terms used in the study. The glossary of such terms and their meanings as used in the study are as follows:

Rites of passage – Ceremonial activities, either religious or social, meant to mark a sociological passage from one stage of life to another.

Funeral Rites – Social and religious activities or ceremonies performed to mark the death of an individual.

Day-vigil – This refer to activities that are performed on the night before the interment of the dead. Such activities are now performed during the day, owing to crises in the area.

***Ẹdẹ-ọgọnọ-gbáná* (Lying-in-state)** – The public display of the remains of the dead

Ancestors – These are people who have died, and who are believed to be living spiritually and to be concerned about the welfare of the living family members.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

Chapter One introduced the subject of this research and established its background, aim, problem, significance and scope. This chapter presents the theoretical framework on which the study is based. It also reviews the literature that is relevant to the study.

2.1 Theoretical framework

Two theories served as the theoretical framework for this study, namely:

(i) Music in culture, and

(ii) Musical change.

2.1.1 Music in culture

"Music in culture," implies that there is a relationship between music and culture. Blacking (1973) continually affirmed that 'there is a relationship between patterns of sound product as a result of human interaction.' Mantle Hood cited in Apel (1969:298) established this theory when he stated that music must be investigated 'not only in terms of itself but also in relation to its cultural context'.

McAllester (1954) was among the first to apply this theory to a non-Western society when he examined the musical content of Navajo Indian ceremony. He concluded that, while cultural values are reflected in music, this reflection appears in the musical behaviour and attitudes toward music, and rarely if at all, in the structure of music. Malm (1959), who worked on Japanese music, claims that an understanding of Japanese music must rest on at least some understanding of Japanese culture, past and present. Therefore, the study of Káláḅàrì funeral rites music should be based on the understanding of "music in terms of itself", that is, the study of its structure, and "music in its cultural context," which refers to the socio-culturer roles, aesthetic and religious interpretations in line with Káláḅàrì culture. The need for a broad understanding of Káláḅàrì funeral rites as a prelude to examination of the musical aspect is imperative.

2.1.2 Musical change

The second theory is “musical change,” propounded by Roberts (1925), Kolinski (1936) and Herskovits (1948). There is a continual emphasis on the idea of a musical system that moves and changes regardless of the individual diversity of its parts. It is assumed that every culture operates within a framework of continuity and change which inevitably occurs. These changes, according to Herskovits (1948), occur within a framework unless the culture is disturbed by some form of historic accidents (Herskovits, 1948:588-593).

Roberts (1925), in his studies of Jamaican folk songs, discovered that variation does exist and those performances of songs tend to be idiosyncratic. Some aspect of music structure such as tempo, pitch, and unity of phrase are more stable while rhythm, doubling and points at which singers begin or end a song appear to be least stable in Jamaican music. From a fairly homogenous population, Roberts' findings suggested that different elements of music structure may be more or less subject to variation and hence to change. Kolinski (1936:517-520), using the same approach of song analysis among the Costal and Bush Negros in Suriname which had an external influence from Europe, found a marked difference in the use of wide melodic skips; development of rhythm and metre tended toward European music, manifesting itself in gradual supplanting of songs with free rhythm by songs with strict rhythm.

Musical change is not an independent phenomenon. It is linked with changes in behaviour and practice of humans. Blacking (1978:12) commenting on the theory of musical change, states that it has to do with "decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experience of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts." Merriam (1964:308), while discussing change, points out that "no two people behave in exactly the same way in any given situation and thus there always exist an almost infinite series of deviations from the norms of society".

Merriam (1964:308) and Blacking (1978:12) distinguished between change brought about by a society from its own internal resources, and that which comes as a result of intercultural contact. David Copland (1978:50) asserts that continuity and change in music performance should be regarded as part of a holistic process of urbanization and adaptation where the rejection or transformation of musical elements and compositional principles are greatly determined by emerging patterns of social organisation and cultural significance. Nettl (1983: 176-178) proposes four levels of change as follows: (1) substitution of one system of music for another, (There is

change but no continuity); (2) radical change of a system of music whose new forms can definitely still be traced in some way to the old; (3) gradual, normal change; and (4) allowable variation.

In the light of Hood's and Nettl's submissions the theories of 'music in culture' and 'musical change' are used to analyse funeral rites music in Kálábàrì based on perception and evaluation from Kálábàrì cultural background; and the theory of musical change owing to observable changes brought about by religious and social affiliations as well as their contemporary way of living. All these provide useful ingredients for the theoretical framework.

2.2 Review of relevant literature

Music in funeral rites is usually shaped and performed according to traditional formulae and themes. Performance of funeral rites is an important aspect of culture which varies from one ethnic group to another. Death brings sorrow and despair; it elicits diverse responses from an individual, the nuclear family, the extended family and the community. Ajuwon (1982) posits that the variation in response to death seen in different cultures is not only reflected in forms and styles of performance, but also in the performers who are bearers of funeral traditions (Ajuwon, 1982:1). Thus, the review was done under the following headings; African concept of death, traditions associated with funeral, functions of music at funerals, musical performances at funeral, and musical instruments.

2.2.1 African concept of death

The concept of death is universal and basic to every thought system, traditional, modern, metaphysical or scientific, and therefore needs to be defined. According to Adewale (1977: 61) death occurs in the physical plane when an evolutionary personality has concluded its assignment in a particular locality and the incantatory personality loses the breath of God in it and the person is reported dead. In other words, death occurs when the body itself becomes unable to give a congenial habitation to the evolutionary personality. At that moment, death is said to have occurred. Death is defined as a permanent cessation of functioning of the organism as a whole. The death of a 'person' is not a biological term but a psychological, social, philosophical and theological concept (Pattison, E.M. 1990: 260). Therefore, death is defined in this work, as a transition owing to loss of the breath of God, resulting in a

permanent cessation of vital functions in the physical plane by humans followed by bodily decay.

Death is perceived and known as inescapable, universal and beyond human control. Agulanna (2001:4) states that, in traditional African culture, death is generally regarded as one of the inevitable crises of life. It is not seen as the permanent end of life but a rite of passage, a transition from human to divine essences and the continuing of life outside the body. Africans do not fear death as they fear dying. Africans fear the times and types of death, as certain deaths are abhorred. For example, a good child will never die as an infant; the corpse of such a child is therefore buried in the bush after performing certain rites. Teenagers' death, according to Olajide (1988), attracts mourning and weeping, as it is a tragedy. To die in old age is to die a happy death and it is an essential requirement before one can become an ancestor. The process of becoming an ancestor is the ultimate goal of an African. This is made possible by the type of funeral carried out by the relatives as understood within the tradition and culture of the people. Describing this concept further, Olajide (1988: 101) avers that 'Lots of ceremonies and rites accompany burial. Some of these include the washing and dressing of corpse, the organized weeping session and the actual burying of corpse with personal effects additives'.

Also for the same reason, before the advent of Christianity in the eastern region, the Ibibio treated their dead with great respect by giving them a second ceremonial burial, which took place sometime after (Butler, 1963:117). Africans believe that the dead are embarking on a journey and those living have a part to play in helping the dead person fulfil his/her cardinal goal of functioning as an ancestor.

It is important at this juncture to discuss the importance of funeral rites in Africa as emphasised by scholars like Bradbury (1973), Nabofa (1973), Duerden (1977), Mbiti (1989), and Dzobo (1992). They conclude that the essence of funeral rites was to placate the soul of the deceased, secure inheritance for the children of the dead, especially the first son, and for the living relatives to have peace. In the same vein, Wiredu (1992), Ifie (1994), Alamu (2006) and Iyeh (2006) observe that Africans go the extra mile in burying their dead. The reasons for this include:

a) the belief in the capacity of the deceased spirit to bless or harm the living,
b) the belief that the bodily death is not the end of life but only an inauguration of life in another form,

c) the belief that if these rites are not performed, the spirit of the deceased will become a wandering spirit between the world of the living and the abode of the spirit: a state which portends evil to the living relatives,

d) the belief that a funeral ceremony is a 'rite and right of succession', especially for the heir or the first born son of the deceased,

e) for the relatives to have peace here on earth, and

f) in some cultures, the belief in reincarnation.

Eicher and Erekosima (2002), assert that, among the Niger Delta people, the Kálá̱bàrì are known for copious and grandiose funeral rites that marks the end of the life of an elder or a chief. It is an honour for the deceased elders by sending them off to join the Kálá̱bàrì ancestors. These Kálá̱bàrì funeral deviate from many other African rituals, as the corpse is preserved until the family members take a decision about the date of commencement of the rituals and then prepare for both the burial and lavish funeral celebrations, thus there is no room for 'second burial'.

2.2.2 Traditions associated with funeral rites

In many African communities, according to Olajide (1988), the celebration of death is regarded as a duty. The reason is that Africans believe the dead embarks on a journey to fulfil the ultimate goal of becoming an ancestor, hence the need for celebration to facilitate a smooth transition to the beyond. Three common traditions, among others associated with funerals in various cultures, include: manner of communication of death of individuals to members of the community, processions, and the singing of dirges. The communication of the death of an individual within a culture is vital with unique features in every culture. The age, status of the deceased in the society and cause of death determine how such information is communicated.

Among the Gwari-Genge of Benue, Zaria and Kabba, when chiefs die, drums are not played for one year until after harvest of the new corn when they have a week of ceremonies. The death of an individual who is not a chief is announced by beating *Gbak* a special drum played by specially trained individuals (Na'lbi and Hassan, 1969). Similarly in Okpoama in Bayelsa State, according to Alagoa (1995), messages of death are sent without delay by canoe to outlying settlements and fishing villages by beating the slit drums. In Kálá̱bàrì culture the death of a king and chiefs are concealed from the public at least for the first two days, after which three cannon shots from *író ḍuko kúrú sù* (message cannon) announce his death to various compounds, inviting them for a

boisterous mass rally called ì*gìrà* (Da-Wariboko, 1991).

Processions are part of funeral rituals in many cultures. According to Suliteau (1972), among the Jews who live in Palestine and Babylon or Jewish settlers elsewhere, women lead the procession, singing as soon as the procession takes off (Suliteau, 1972). The funeral processions of antiquity were sophisticated, accompanied by women and two flute players hired for the occasion (Lehrman, 1949). During the Talmudic era Jewish funeral processions were accompanied by professional mourners usually always women; the minimum allowed was two flute players and one mourning woman (Oesterley, l921).

Among the Jukun of Taraba and Adamawa States of Nigeria, the ceremony begins in late afternoon with a procession accompanied with music to the Ahuia Shrine (Lane, 1960). The Kálábàrì, as part of funeral rites, engage in procession around the body of the departed laid-in-state. The children, family members and well-wishers' during this time pay their last respects before the body is removed for interment. This is done for both sexes who die at the ripe age of seventy years and above. A second procession is performed with singing and dancing round the town for only compound chiefs six days after interment (Da- Wariboko, 1991).

Alexander (1975) opines that dirges and laments are an important genre which is as ancient as man's apprehension about death. Dirge traditions vary from one culture to another. In general, dirges and laments deal with the themes of the ancestors, the deceased and his praise. Ajuwon (1982) claims that, as soon as an elderly person is declared dead, while the corpse is laid-in-state, women in the household begin to sing dirges in praise of the deceased without any particular order. Among Kálábàrì near the bedside of the corpse inside the house, relatives mostly women sing dirges commemorating the achievements of the deceased during his life time or honouring the reputation of the family (Eicher and Erekosima, 2002:313).

2.2.3 Functions of music at funerals

Music in traditional African societies is generally organized around social events in the community involving coming together for leisure, recreation, rituals, festivals (Nketia, 1974:21) as well as funerals. Chernoff (1979: 130) claims that musical activities in Tamale reach high points during festival months, especially during months when the Dagomba traditionally perform the final funeral celebrations for their departed ones, usually a few months after the burial. The final funeral of a

well-loved personality can draw several thousands of people as participants and spectators. Among the Dagomba of Ghana, so much music and dramatic display occur during funeral celebrations, thus uniting the people:"... the celebration of funerals is regarded as a duty and no pains are spared to make it a memorable event" (Agordoh, 2002: 35).

As part of this celebration, music serves as a means of communication during funerals. Some communities in north-western Ghana use the xylophone for making special announcements during funerals by playing tunes set aside for the purpose whose melody would indicate whether a man, a woman, an old person or a child has died (Nketia, 1975: 150).

The Kálábàrì are prolific in song composition and demonstrate great musical creativity which they are known for in the Eastern Niger Delta. JohnBull (2005) states that this creativity is further encouraged in the culture as every major event like child birth or home coming, marriage, military feat, chieftaincy installation; funerals and so on have a set of songs to immortalize such events (JohnBull, 2005: 133).

Among the Akan of Ghana dirges are sung in pulsating tones to honour the dead, his ancestor or some other persons whose loss was recalled by this present death (Agordoh, 2002:35). Among the Kálábàrì, as part of honouring the dead, pre-burial wake and post-burial final dances are performed. During such wake, while the corpse is lying-in-state, children of the deceased sing the special songs they have composed to honour their departed father. It is an eagerly awaited moment, a high-point of the expression of love and concern for the departed (Da-Wariboko, 1991:156).

As part of honouring the dead, among Kálábàrì, for the first wake and following the week's events, drummers perform, and praise singing is also performed by club members of the chief mourner and along with dancing throughout the night. Near the bedside of the corpse inside the house, female relatives sing dirges commemorating the highlights of the deceased's life and honouring the reputation of the family (Eicher and Erekosima, 2002:313).

2.2.4 Musical performances at funerals

In many African communities, the celebration of funeral is both a social and a religious task that must be carried out by the living for the dead and on behalf of those living in the community. These socio-religious obligations are occasions for musical expressions. William Bosman (1705:448) observes that, among the Edo of Benin

during a funeral rite performance 'The public mourning commonly lasts fourteen days. Their lamentation and cries accommodated to the tunes of several musical instruments. Tho'with large intermediate stops, during which they drink very plenty'.

The type of musical performance allowed in any rite, ceremony or festival may not normally be replicated in another context unless there is some special reason for doing so. Nketia, (1975) avers that this form of "control" is related to the belief of a community in the wishes of the god they worship and or reactions brought about by the spirit and forces that play a vital role in human existence within a community. Funeral rites range from simple to complex forms and styles of celebrations which are closely tied to the belief in life-after-death. Nketia (1955) summarizes the Akan belief applicable to most African burial rites thus:

> Briefly, the major activities of funeral celebration spring from the Akan conception of the Universe, and in particular from a belief in an after-life. It is believed that there is a world and that when a person dies he goes to his Ancestors. There are beliefs in the visitations of the dead, in invincible participation of the dead in the continuation of ties of kithship and kinship after death. Consequently, the living is anxious to keep up good relations with the dead to remember them, to show concerns for them, to identify themselves with them and to ask their favour (Nketia, 1955:6).

Watson (1930:202) states that, among the Akaju of Ogoja division, southern Nigeria during the performance of funeral rites, a day is set aside when a man of the deceased's age grade dances round the corpse. The Akan of Ghana, according to Agordoh (1994), sing dirges and engage in drumming, singing and dancing in honour of the dead and ancestors. Also, the Bemba of Zambia have specific songs distinct in style and performance which they sing when they are returning from burial (Agordoh, 1994: 35).

Prazan (1977), in a study he carried out on the Dukkawa of Niger State discussed extensively funeral rites based on his thirty-six years of missionary work among the people. His findings show that a funeral *biki*[1] can be performed after a period ranging from one month to several years after burial. According to him 'It is only after a person is married that he or she is considered to have entered the complete state of life and it is to these that the full burial service and funeral *biki* is accorded' (Prazan, 1977: 136).

A funeral *Biki* lasts for three days. The first is for the arrival of guests with

intermittent drumming which becomes continuous by evening when most guests should have arrived. ‘There is a special death beat for a woman and a different beat for a man’ (Prazan, 1977:139).

Na'Ibi and Hassan (1969:54) noted that among the Gwari-Genge who live in Benue, Zaria and Kabba, funeral rites are not performed for boys and girls who die below the age of puberty. Also, young adults who are not married as well as those married without children are buried outside the town without any ceremony. When Chiefs die, drums are not played for one year until after the new corn harvest when they have a week of ceremonies. Rituals and celebrations which involve singing and dancing by family members and various groups as prescribed by the tradition of the people are vital aspects of funeral ceremonies.

In a study of Ijo funeral rites, Alagoa (1967) comments on the use of music in the ceremony which lasted for two nights as wake:

> During these two days... at all hours of the day and night elderly women together with the king's daughter and close relations sat within the special tent, singing funeral dirges or performing various dirges or performing various rituals (Alagoa, 1967: 285).

Opuogulaya (1975) opines that among the Okrika people of Rivers State, the death of a chief or a hero is celebrated with the men carrying guns and swords, and the women carrying branches of plants, singing war songs. In many cases 'masquerade displays and dance shows are held in honour of the dead by members of his society, as is also the case with commoners' (Opuogulaya, 1975:18). According to Alagoa (1995:84) funeral proceedings in Okpoama in Bayelsa State, Nigeria were handled by chiefs. Wake was held and comprised mainly of dancing by women and performance of *Sẹkịapụ* dance for members. Throughout the night, certain rituals were observed. In the ritual of *Otiti tin*, there was calling of the dead during which old women sang songs, danced the peculiar *ikpusu* dance in seven prescribed routines.

Horton (1968) discusses the performance of a Kálábàrì funeral rite *Ìkpàtàkà Dògí*, a ritual drama involving music, dance and divination. The rite deals with the whole complex of anxieties arising from death in that it assuages anxieties about personal extinction and bereavement by its dramatic assurance that people who have lived reasonably good lives can become and continue their role as ancestors. In Nembe, during a second burial rite, which often requires the performance of ritual music, there is divination with the *Ìkpàtàkà* coffin which contains a carved

representation of the dead, together with his nails, hair, and other ritual objects (Alagoa, 1968:17).

Ogisi (1987: 137), in his work on the Itsekiri of Delta State, recognises a three-day burial ceremony, which involves the performance of ritual and non-ritual musical genres. The performance, according to him, is conducted by elderly women, priests, members of the immediate family of the deceased, friends and well-wishers. The level of celebration is an honour to the dead and a status symbol for the living.

Furthermore, Akpabot (1975:35) discusses the *Oko* Orchestra which, in Ibibio culture, belongs to a secret cult, but performed at the burial of prominent old men. Akpabot (1986:52) describes the rituals performed at the death of a chief in Okitipupa, which consisted of a call to worship through the use of drums, incantation, dance with a sword and finale.

ldamoyibo (1998:158-159) discusses categories of music performed during death rituals among the Okpe of Delta State. He identifies ritual and non-ritual music as well as their typologies and observes that music; both structural and textual treat life and death philosophically, emotionally and realistically. He identifies similarities in the funeral ceremonies among the Igbo in Onitsha, Anambra State of Nigeria, as reported by Bosah (n.p. n.d), adding that burial in Okpe culture is a paramount obligation owed by the living as a last respect to the departed one to facilitate its successful journey to its maker. In the same vein, Ogli (2010) categorizes funeral music among the Idoma people of Benue State, Nigeria as ritual, semi-ritual and non-ritual and concludes that funeral rite music will continue to occupy a central place in Idoma's celebration of life and death.

2.2.5 Musical instruments

The instrumental resources available to the performer are limited to those of local origin or those that have become integrated into the musical life of their communities from other cultures. The musical instruments associated with funeral rites are reflections of the natural environment from which they are derived (Nketia, 1975). Lehrman, (1949:163) describes the funeral processions of antiquity as elaborate, as they were accompanied by two flute players specially hired for the occasion. Jewish dirge tradition is as reflected in the statement of William O.E. Oesterly that 'in the Talmudic times among the Jews funeral procession was accompanied by professional mourning women'. The appearance of flute players in the performance of Jewish

dirges is almost unparalleled, as the only similar example is among the Greeks (Oesterly, 1921: 165).

Agordoh (2002) states that Africans attach great importance to instruments in accompanying dirges and laments performed in honour of the dead. The goje is a one-string instrument distributed widely in the savannah belt of West Africa. It is found at the chiefs palace only as a royal instrument among the Dagomba of Ghana and is used to accompany dirges and songs at funeral with permission from the king (Agordoh, 2002:62). Among the Yoruba community, according to Ajuwon (1982), *dùndún* ensemble play at funeral of old persons. While women chant dirges in the midst of gun salutes, *dùndún* drummers, usually men use their talking drums to sound dirges and laments in praise of the deceased (Ajuwon, 1982:2).

The xylophone is an important melodic idiophone found in many African societies at festiva1 and important celebrations like funerals. Agordoh (2002:65) asserts that it is the principal instrument of musical expression for the Dagartis Lobi and Sisala ethnic groups of North West Ghana. The xylophone, according to him, is played as background to various moods at funerals. It accompanies the soft weeping, powerfully complements the praise chanting and loud dynamic periods of weeping and rhythmically adds spirit to the active dancing during the three-day period of funeral celebrations.

Da-Wariboko (1991:156) avers that Kálábàrì use *ókúró fárí*[2] ensemble only for the burial of chiefs. The instrument, when played during funeral, is a mark of the status attained by the deceased. If the deceased belonged to the *Sẹkịapụ* club, the members play slit-drums and sing a farewell song (Talbot, 1926:488). The *Èkìnè Sẹkịapụ* eulogise the deceased and their ancestors by performing coded drum language on their major instruments which include *Íkíríko*, *Àkùsà*, *Àkùmà*, *Nkòrò*, *Àtàngbá*, *Kpọkpọ* and *Alílí* (Tasie, 1999). However, according to Eicher and Erekosima (2002:318) and Iyalla (1968:220), in the case of a freeborn woman, there is a play which involves the performance of *ìrìapù* dance. The master drummer, called *Kúkú Fáríbọ* (pot drum beater) plays three to eight pot drums half filled with water, The master drummer is assisted by *Alílí Pẹlẹbọ*, who plays two or three membrane drums and *Kpọkpọ Pẹlẹbọ* who plays a wooden gong to the tempo of the other drums to aid the singing and dancing steps prescribed for the dance.

2.3 Conclusion

The review of literature shows that death is not the end of an African but a rite of passage to continue life in another realm with the ultimate aim of being an ancestor. This is why befitting farewell is carried out in honour of the departed, a very important aspect of culture within and outside Africa. The purpose as well as traditions associated with Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites is similar to what is practised in Africa and other parts of the world. The literature reveals that traditions associated with funerals vary from one culture to another and that funeral activities and the performance of music as well as dance within a culture are inseparable. It also shows that funeral rites range from simple to complex, which are closely tied to Kálá̱bàrì belief in life-after-death. Therefore, the performance of music and dance forms associated with funeral rites are expressions of Kálá̱bàrí culture and traditions. The review shows the relevance and function of funeral music in Kálá̱bàrí culture. Previous efforts show extensive work on historical, linguistic, belief system and socio-culturer aspects of Kálá̱bàrì. However, there are gaps in knowledge occasioned by lack of scholarly investigation on the performance, performance practice, structure and documentation of *Ḏúéín-ḏíbí-a númé* (funeral rite music) in Kálá̱bàrì land.

Endnotes

1. A ritual dance performed for the dead by the community.
2. An instrumental ensemble of slit drums; it is a kind of talking drum which is beaten to mark the passing away of a chief.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapters presented the problem of the study, aim and objectives, significance, theoretical framework upon which the study of *Ḍúéín-ḍíbí-a númé* (music in Kálá̱bàrí funeral rites) was based, and review of relevant literature. In this chapter, various procedures for gathering relevant information on music in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites in the field are discussed. The fieldwork was conducted to generate sufficient first-hand primary data on the musical culture and traditions of the Kálá̱bàrì as they relate to funeral rites.

3.1 Study population

The Kálá̱bàrì people of Eastern Niger Delta found in Ásárí- Tọrụ, Akúkú-Tọrú, and Dègèmà Local Government Areas of Rivers State, Nigeria were the main focus of this study. Therefore the study population was the entire Kálá̱bàrì Kingdom, which comprises over forty towns, villages, and fishing settlements in the tidal zone of Eastern Niger Delta. However, owing to problems of time, logistics, cost, and challenging and difficult terrain, the coverage of the entire population was not possible. This study was limited to Búgúmà, Àbónnémà, Ḅàkánà, Àbàlàmà, Ìdọ, Mínàma, Sokú and Ìlélìma spread over the three local government areas. This is in line with Darkwa's (1993) postulation that an ethnomusicologist who spends more time researching a small area with few ethnic groups stands a better chance of learning more about all phases of the musical culture of that area than one who makes an expansive study in a wider geographical area within the same time limit.

Historically, the Kálá̱bàrì do not have a common ancestry. However, the individual Kálá̱bárí community looks to a culture common to all its members and distinctive from its neighbours in terms of political autonomy under a unique set of laws. Furthermore, the choice of these eight towns and villages are representative of Kálá̱bàrì belief and culture as reflected in music associated with funeral rites. However, that certain category of funeral rites is performed in certain areas within Kálá̱bàrì while others are widespread.

Traditional rulers, chiefs, elders (male and female) in the community, musicians, those involved in ancestral worship, youths and ministers in churches such as Anglican, Baptist, Christ Army Church, Lutheran and African Church were interviewed in the selected area. This was done in order to know their views about music in funeral rites among the Kálábàrì.

3.2 Research design

The method employed in scholarly investigations depends on the nature and context of the study. This study made use of the ethnographic research design, which involves techniques for discovering and acquiring knowledge through collection of data in the field for scientific analysis and documentation. Omibiyi-Obidike (1999:150) and Olaniyan (1999:164) endorse this approach as a technique for data collection in ethnomusicological studies. Omibiyi-Obidike suggests a tripartite procedure which involves pre-field preparations, actual field experience and post-fieldwork analysis.

3.2.1 Pre-field preparation

This stage involved activities carried out in preparation for the field. The researcher became interested in this study when he was invited to First Baptist Church Búgúmà in 2001 for a three-day church music programme. During this period on a Saturday the researcher witnessed the last phase of funeral rites involving a procession which included music, dance and display of the rich cultural heritage of the Kálábàrì. According to Rev. Suku Ngiangia (Personal communication, 2010), 'this procession is an honour accorded a deceased elder or chief of a compound or group houses' as they join their ancestors. That occasion marked the beginning of my contact with Kálábàrì culture.

In order to achieve a holistic data collection, preparation for fieldwork was organised in a manner in which all possible data in a location were collected before moving to another. However, there was flexibility in the use of methods and strategies, for example, in replacing premeditated methods with a more feasible approach when the earlier one did not generate the required data for the study. Preparation for fieldwork involved a preliminary survey of related and relevant literature from both archives and libraries of tertiary institutions, especially those with Departments of Music, which were chosen as sources of secondary data. This helped the researcher to familiarize himself with existing literature and information on the topic. This was

imperative, as it served as entry into and provided background information on the culture. Relevant books, journals, theses, newspapers, magazines and handbills were sourced for through visits to the Kenneth Dike Library in the University of Ibadan. The most helpful materials were journals and books on ethnographic researches and writings, and a few downloaded relevant e-articles, Ph.D theses and M.A. dissertations. Also, the researcher visited the Institute of African Studies Library at the University of Ibadan, where relevant books, journals and theses were sourced. The Librarian also made workshop and seminar papers available to the researcher.

The researcher equally visited the Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary (N.B.T.S) Library in Ògbómọsó, Oyo State, Nigeria. The library supplied relevant books and journals which the researcher found useful to this study. However, there were no theses and dissertations relevant to the study at the N.B.T.S. Ògbómọsó Library.

The University of Port Harcourt Library was visited by the researcher. Although at that time the researcher was not a member of the university community, a staff of the university introduced the researcher to the Chief Librarian of the university who was very helpful. Many of the materials found, dealt with the history and culture of the people of the Niger Delta, especially those of the Kálábàrí and her neighbours. However, some books, theses and journals listed in the catalogue were not found on the shelves of the library.

The researcher visited both Hezekaiah Oluwasami's library and the Department of Music Library of the Ọbafẹmi Awọlọwọ University, Ile Ife, Osun State. The National Archives at the University of Ibadan was also visited by the researcher but found very few materials relevant to this study.

The researcher visited several times the personal library of Professor Robin Horton in Búgúmà City of Rivers State, Nigeria. Books, journals, theses, dissertations on Kálábàrì religion and culture; recorded music and video recordings of festivals were very helpful to this study beyond the pre-field preparation.

As part of the pre-field preparation, a visit was made to the *Ámányánábọ* of Kálábàrì Kingdom in his palace. Chiefs and family heads of compounds were also visited in order to gain entry and have rapport with the people. Contact was made through Chief A.M. Princewill, a family friend who is a cousin of the *Ámányánábọ*. This facilitated and ensured easy rapport with the musicians and other respondents on the subject matter. Also, the researcher was introduced to Professor Robin Horton in

Búgúmà through whom contact was made with musicians and custodians of the people's culture. Professor Robin Horton has been a member of the *Èkìnè* cult for over forty-five years and is a fluent speaker of Kálábàrì.

The researcher enlisted the help of two research assistants from Búgúmà. They were speakers of the language and were also knowledgeable in the arts and traditions of the people. In addition, the researcher learnt basic communication skills in the language for proper documentation of the musical traditions of the Kálábàrì. All the equipment needed for fieldwork were purchased at this stage. These were safety equipment (life jacket), recording equipment (video recorder, tape recorder, N70 Nokia recorder), and digital camera. The services of field assistants, and other materials needed for documentation purposes were taken care of.

3.2.2 Fieldwork

In the field of ethnomusicology, fieldwork is the collation and recording of musical data from any human culture and location in its cultural context. Omibiyi-Obidike (1999) states that a multidimensional approach applied in related disciplines such as history, folklore, ethnology and social science could also be used for ethnomusicological research. The researcher engaged in vigorous data collection in the field. The In-Depth Interviews (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Observation (O) and Participant Observation (PO) methods were applied to generate the required data for this study.

3.2.2.1 In-depth interview (IDI)

The in-depth interview method of data collection was used extensively. Knowledgeable people of different age brackets, ranging between thirty and eighty-five years were interviewed. A good number of persons, such as musicians, chiefs, family heads, religious leaders, traditional rulers and those involved in ancestral worship who were directly involved in funeral rites and its associated music were interviewed to gain further insight.

The interview questions were mainly oral, unstructured, and open ended. This created an avenue for closer interaction with the respondents in a relaxed atmosphere. Their response led to further questions not written down on the schedule. The content of the interviews included general information on Kálábàrì culture, information on funeral music such as types and categories, compositional technique, performance

practices, ensemble organisation and training, aesthetic judgement; and a general evaluation of recent changes in all these.

The leaders of musical groups interviewed were those who specialised in the music and dance associated with funeral rites. These included members of the *Èkìnè* cult in Ḅákánà, Àbọ̀nnémà and Búgúmà, Selected Voices of Ásàri-tọ̀ru and Ákúkú-tọ̀ru Local Government Area, *Ókpọ̀kìrì* Musicians of Ìdọ̀, *Òpù Árúngú* of Ḅákánà and *Jìké jíkèaa Òdúmdum* Cultural Society of Káláḅàrì Tàríàh Póló, Búgúmà. Other groups interviewed were *Édélé Ogbo* of Angulama. Individual musicians recognised as professionals within the Káláḅàrì kingdom were also interviewed. They included the *Ákwá Álábọ̀* of Káláḅàrì kingdom: Mr. Sasime Barango Tàríàh; Mr Isobo David-West[1]; Mr. A. Balfour of Ḅákánà, who was 81 years old at the time of interview; and Mrs Gladys Harry, a well-known traditional composer and choreographer in Káláḅàrì.

Another category of people interviewed were those affected by the passing away of their loved ones, who included immediate family members within a house (*wárí*), extended family members within a compound (*polo*) and group of houses. The *Ámányánábọ̀* of Àbàlàmà, His Royal Highness A.B. Big Tomtom VIII, was interviewed on *Ìkpàtàkà Dògí*, a funeral rite performed in Àbàlàmà, Mínàma and Sokú. Other respondents interviewed on Káláḅàrí culture and funeral rites were Alhaji Usman Anji West of Búgúmà, Mr Crawford D. YoungHarry of Mínàma, Chief Igonibo Udunyok of Ìdọ̀, and Mr. Cornwall Braide of Abili Compound Ḅákánà, who was 75 years old as at the time of the interview. Christian leaders interviewed were of the Baptist Churches Búgúmà, Ido, and Àbàlàmà; African Church Búgúmà, Anglican Churches, Búgúmà and Àbọ̀nnémà; and Christ Army Church Ḅákánà.

The researcher made several visits to respondents for familiarization to intimate them with the researcher's intention, seek their permission, and get a convenient time and date for the researcher to come back for an interview. During such interviews, notes were taken and audio recording was done by the researcher. The process of interview enabled the researcher to develop a warm relationship with the respondents over a period of time. However, the researcher recognised the possibility of false responses on issues that were very subjective and some measures were taken to detect false reporting and distortion. These measures included asking the same question differently, getting prior information on the credibility and reliability of informants, comparing the information elicited with that of other informants in another place, and

doing implausibility check. The researcher made the various respondents to understand that the study was non-profit oriented.

The interview method was focused. It provided a warm, relaxed and friendly atmosphere for monitoring and responding appropriately to the respondents' feelings and discussions. The responses were used as the basis for asking further questions, which gave a deeper insight into the study. The researcher took care not to approve or disapprove of respondents' views but demonstrated a level of listening skills needed for the research. This method was used to elicit information on musical processes associated with funeral rites: types, aesthetic judgement, practitioners and training of musicians.

3.2.2.2 Key informant (KI)

The researcher made use of key informants or resource persons to provide information about Kálábàrì traditions on funeral rites, culture, and history. They were selected based on the recommendation of traditional rulers and elders. The *Ámányánábọ* of Kálábàrì Kingdom, His Royal Majesty Professor Theophilus J.T. Princewill, Amachree XI, recommended Professor Robin Horton[2] and Mr. Enefaa W. JohnBull at Búgúmà. The researcher contacted two of his family friends, Chief A.M. Princewill and Pastor Dawari Braide, who recommended Rev. Suku Ngiangia, Mr. T.C. Erekorsima and Comrade Daa Gordon Ekine, respectively. Two other key informants were Mr Isobo David West and Mrs Gladys Harry, who were well-known practitioners of music in funeral rites.

3.2.2.3 Focus group discussion (FGD)

Collective views of respondents on crucial issues on the study were tackled through focus group discussion (FGD). The discussions centred on types of funerals, categories of funeral rites, the performer and performance of funeral music, developmental changes and continuity of music in funeral rites. The researcher successfully organised four focus group discussions in different locations within the scope of this study. At Búgúmà City and Àbàlàmà in Ásárí-Tọru L.G.A, the researcher had one focus group discussion with nine people who are members of the traditional council of elders and compound chiefs. His Majesty King Professor J.T. Princewill, Amachree XI the *Ámányánábọ* of Kálábàrì directed his chiefs to assist the researcher by providing information on the type and categories of funeral rites. This provided

information on *Ìkpàtàkà Dògí*, an ancient funeral rite now rarely practised owing to spread of Christianity.

Another focus group discussion comprising seven members was organised at Ḅákánà in Dégémà L.G.A. to elicit information on *Ḍúéín ḅarasi* or *ḅuo sín* (a funeral rite for late members of a dance club or societies to remove the spirit of the dead.) and its music. The researcher, through Professor Robin Horton contacted the Chief Drummer (*Ákwá Álábọ*) of Kálábàrì kingdom Mr. Sasime Barango Tariah, and his group for the second focus group discussion. This provided information on the categories of music associated with funeral rites, compositional techniques and performance practice, and recruitment and training.

The researcher organised a third focus group discussion made up of eleven persons at Ìdọ with practitioners of *Ókpókìrì* music. The group was brought together by Elder Aldin Paul and it provided information on *Ókpókìrì*, the oldest entertainment musical style (almost extinct) in Kálábàrí, also performed at funerals. The fourth focus group discussion which had eight members was organised to review audio and video recordings of music at various funeral rites and discusse the meanings of some unfamiliar words. Kálábàrí texts were transcribed from tape and video to paper, and notated excerpts were made for the purpose of analysis.

3.2.2.4 Observation

The observation method of data collection, an approach which is central to ethnomusicological investigation, was employed extensively by the researcher. He was granted permission by an elder in Batubo's compound to collect information about the traditional funeral rite of late Chief Opuda Gogo Batubo the paramount chief of Batubo *Póló* in Búgúmà on Saturday, 28th of February, 2009. There were various groups singing and dancing accompanying the corpse in a long procession led by the chiefs from the waterside to the family compound. The researcher observed and collected data at the funerals of late Chief S.O. Princewill of the Ámákoro Compound on the 28th of March, 2009 and late Chief Erekosima JohnBull the paramount chief of JohnBull Polo on the 5th of December, 2009 in Búgúmà. Also, the researcher collected data at the funeral of late Chief Rowland Ikinya Thomson White (Ijuye-Tubofla IX) the paramount ruler of Iju-Jack group of houses on the 9th of April, 2010 at Àbónnémà in Ákúkú-Tọru Local Government Area.

The researcher watched performances of canoe regatta on the river, processions by chiefs, musical performances by various groups and the masquerade displays by members of the *Èkìnè* cult in a *Ẹ̀uo sín* funeral rite at Àbónnémà in Ákúkú-Tọ́ru L.G.A and Búgúmà in Ásárí-Tọ́ru L.G.A. on the 10th of April and 27th of June, 2010, respectively. From time to time, the researcher walked around in order to catch important scenes in the celebration. Data were collected directly by the researcher through personal observations on funeral ceremonies of males and females cutting across different religious affiliations and social status.

Information on musical activities in the communities and how they relate to a full understanding of the concept of death and burial among the Kálábàrì was explored. These activities included music performed during *Ḍín krama*, a funeral rite performed by women, men and children of the deceased husband which is an honour to the dead and a status symbol for the bereaved wife, children and family. Also investigated through observation method were categories of music for funeral rites, use of musical instruments, training and recruitment of musicians, composers and forms of music. During this process, photo coverage and tape recording of songs for the purpose of the work were done after due consultation and permission obtained from the families of the deceased.

3.2.2.5 Participant observation

Finally, participant observation was valuable in the authentication of facts. It helped the researcher to cross-check data collected by revealing social realities which were at variance with the idealised account of the interview. Also, it helped to put in perspective steps in standardised events in funeral rites that were well known and were taken for granted by the persons being interviewed. This method was applied at Búgúmà in Ásárí-Tọ́ru L.G.A. during *Ókóró Fárí* traditional funeral rite on the 3rd of October, 2009 and the 27th July, 2010 for late Chief Opubo Gogo Batubo the paramount chief of Batubo's compound, and Late Honourable Justice Chief Opubo Ivan Inko-Tariah, the paramount chief of Tariah compound, respectively. The *Ókóró* orchestra (ritual music only for chiefs) played at the occasion. The researcher participated in rehearsals of traditional musicians, traditional and Christian wake and *Ámábọrọ*, a closing funeral ceremony for a chief. These became possible after permission had been sought and granted from relevant authorities to participate in the rites after due familiarization to an acceptable level. This method helped the researcher

in enhancing relationship with the informant(s), leading to openness by the informants and other participants.

3.3 Post-fieldwork

Post-fieldwork refers to the laboratory stage of fieldwork. Fieldwork, according to Albert (1999), is of no significance until the researcher has converted his notes into research text. The researcher's notes must capture the field experience adequately by means of narratives, themes and contents, transcription and translation that are well organised. This study involved the concept of ethnomusicology. Data collected were purely ethnological and were mainly qualitative. Recorded music was listened to several times for thorough appreciation, understanding and analysis of the musical elements.

Structural and textual analyses were carried out. The structure and tonality of melodies, melodic range and scale of each song were closely examined. Other structural elements analysed were metre, rhythm, harmony of songs and vocal forms. Textual analysis involved translation of both musical and non-musical texts from Kálá̱bàrì to English language. This aided textual understanding, identification of symbolism, figurative expressions, philosophical sayings and belief in the text; and how these shape the worldview of the Kálá̱bàrì.

Instrumental accompaniments were critically examined. Types and number of instruments used, tuning system, taboos associated with the instruments, rhythmic analysis of instrumental music, and musical dialogue between instrumentalists on the one hand and between the singers and instrumentalists on the other. Pitch pipe and electronic keyboard were used to determine the accurate tonal relationships of songs. *Finale* music software was used for notation of the music. Significant findings of the analyses were summarised.

3.4 Problems of data collection

The researcher encountered some problems in the course of the research. The first was the difficulty of travelling on water in the creeks and having to collect data on some funeral rites involving music and dance performed with canoes on the river. The activities of militants that made life and properties unsafe on the waterways were a serious challenge. However, the situation improved after amnesty for Niger Delta militants was declared by the Federal Government in April 2009. The oral data

collected were associated with myths and legends. It required collaborative efforts with Kálábàrí historians, linguists, and orthographers to decode the meanings of some of them. Apart from this, the researcher encountered some problems with the name of a particular membrane drum called *Bóboye* in the *Ókóró Fárí* instrumental ensemble; in *Èkìnè* cult, the same drum is called *Akusa*. In another context, where it plays different roles, its name changes to *Ókpókìrì* in *Ókpókìrì* ensemble. Ritual drums which are talking drums are identified by the sound and message they communicate to the people. Also, there were some practitioners who initially were not willing to give any information or co-operate because they felt the researcher was being funded by an international agency or the Federal Government of Nigeria; and therefore, should be placed on monthly salary for the period of field research in order to elicit the needed information for the research. The researcher was able to outwit the sentiments by seeking the intervention of notable chiefs who were custodians of the people's culture. The wives of some of the practitioners were also very helpful in this regard.

Endnotes

1. Won himself the title of the King Drummer of Kalabari in 1999 in a competition organised for traditional drummers by Rivers State Government.
2. Professor Robin Horton has spent over five decades living with the Kalabari and is highly respected for his commitment, scholarly writings on Kalabari culture; he is a long-serving member of the *Ekine* cult; also known as *Sekiapu*, the highest cultural institution serving social, religious and judicial functions.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

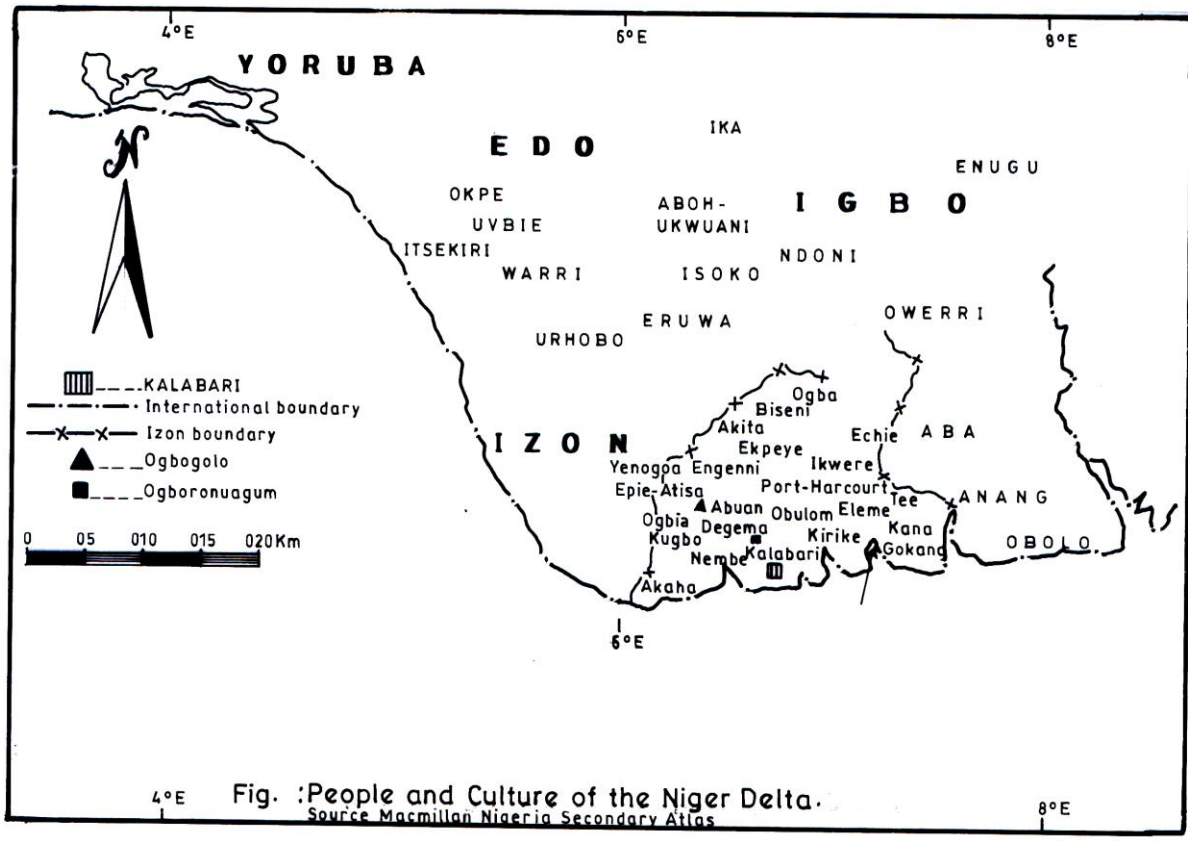
4.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters discussed the problem of the study, the state of knowledge in the area, the methodology employed in the collection, collation, analysis and presentation of data. This chapter discusses the ethnography of the Kálá̱bàrì and is organised as follows: Kálá̱bàrì of the Niger Delta, geographical location, historical background, social institution, and economy. Religion and belief system, political administration, festivals and musical types in Kálá̱bárí land are discussed.

4.1 Kálá̱bàrì of the Niger Delta

The Kálá̱bárí live in Eastern Niger Delta of Rivers State, Nigeria. According to Horton (1969), there are twenty villages that are broadly Kálá̱bàrì in language and culture; three other villages are partially or minimally acculturated into Kálá̱bàrì; and three large towns derived from the nineteenth century Kálá̱bàrì metropolis. In addition, there are dozens of fishing camps and two plantation settlements that are seen as work-places rather than home bases. Linguistically they are classified under the great block of Ijo-speaking sub-group exemplified by their dialect and culture. Alagoa (1972) states that each village is made up of a number of descent-groups, whose founding ancestors are generally seen as unrelated to each other and are thought to have come from different directions to converge on the present site. Around the early eighteenth century in the Kálá̱bàrì metropolis, there were more than seven groups, all claiming separate origin and some level of autonomy (Alagoa, 1972:135).

Therefore, the basis of identity of the Kálá̱bàrì before the pre-Atlantic Trade was a culture common to all its members, which was distinct in every way from that of their neighbours. According to Horton (1960, 1969), Kálá̱bàrì political unity is defined in terms of political autonomy under a distinctive set of laws. An assembly of adult male population of the village operating in three age-grades traditionally had both legislative and judicial functions. This assembly was presided over by the *Ámányánábọ* (King) who led them to war, and was usually chosen from a single descent group (Horton, 1960:7). Below is Map 4, showing people and culture of the Niger Delta.



Map 4: People and cultures of the Niger Delta

4.2 Geographical location

Kálá̱bàrì are in Eastern Delta of Rivers State, Nigeria within the geographical entity known as Niger Delta. Rivers State lies on latitude 4˚40′N to 5˚0′ N and longitude 5˚ 30′ E to 7˚30′ E. Kálá̱bàrì is situated between the Niger and Santa Barbara rivers in the West, New Calabar River(Rio Real) in the East, and the Ikwere and Ahoada areas of Rivers State in the North; and the Atlantic Ocean on the South (Wariboko,1997:15). This area has three vegetation types: dense mangrove forest covering a space of about three hundred square kilometre; a marine and brackish habitat characterized by high temperature and annual rainfall, a thick layer of loose organic soil, and varying salinity; the other two are swamp forest and the tropical forest (Ndimele and Williamson, 2002:150). There are two major climatic seasons in Kálá̱bàrì, the wet season from April to October with a break in August and the dry season from November to March, with the North East Trade Wind (Harmattan) from the Sahara arriving towards December and January (Ndimele and Williamson, 2002).

4.3 Historical traditions

The available historical data show that the Kálá̱bàrì of the Niger Delta came from different places to settle at Elem Kálá̱bàrì also known as the Old Shipping because of its association with European trade. Alagoa (1972:135) asserts that at the beginning of the Àmákìrì Dynasty in the early eighteenth century there were as many as seven groups, all claiming separate origins and exercising some degree of autonomy. The groups were Endẹmẹ or Kálá̱bàrì Póló, Ámábiámẹ, Ákialámẹ, Ítúrúámẹ, Búkomẹ, Ígodomẹ, and Kroámẹ or Kromẹ. Thus, the groups had various origins and legends about how they came to settle at Élém Kálá̱bárí. The origin of Kálá̱bárí groups is a complex phenomenon. This is manifested in the tradition of the Kè community which claim that their ancestors dropped from the sky. The same applies to the independent traditions of Kúla and other communities.

The Endẹmẹ group, as recorded in Kálá̱bàrì traditions, originally came from Central Delta. However, they passed over land through the Northern Delta fringe to the head of the new Calabar River near the Ìkwéré town of Ámáfá or Obu-Ámáfá. The traditions of other lineages state that the Endẹmẹ of Obu- Ámáfá was of Ìjọ origin and that their ancestor, Kálá̱bàrì, son of Mein, broke from their ancestral home of Ógóbìrì. These Endẹmẹ traditions follow other Central and Western Delta tradition by deriving Mein ultimately from Benin. The period of migration and settlement at Obu-Ámáfá

lasted about a generation before they were forced to move to Élém Kálábàrì by pressure from the local people (Alagoa, 1972; Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja 1991).

Tradition has it that, during the period, at the death of Uge or Oge, his son and successor Pẹrẹbòkélékè-ịbarị (shortened to Kálábàrì) was forced, through the jealousy of the natives, to leave Ugébírí with his family on account of a false allegation against his wife concerning witchcraft. His followers began wandering through several places including Okugbá and Obu- Ámáfá in the Ìkwéré territory where he died. Ende, the first son of Pẹrẹbòkélékè-ịbarị now moved with his people to Élém Ámá, an island on the mouth of New Calabar River deep in the Niger delta. This tradition holds that the Endẹmẹ group was the first to arrive the island and was later joined by six other groups (Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja, 1991).

After many years of intermingling of these competing groups, the new settlement founded by Ende, son of Kálábàrì from Ámáfá Kálábàrì, was named Íwó Kálábàrì. When Ámákìrì was chosen ruler over the entire city, the name Kálábàrì became the name of the city and ultimately the kingdom (Alagoa, 1972:137). According to Jones (1963), no eighteenth century record made reference to the founder of Amachree dynasty. Therefore, we have to rely entirely on oral tradition for a chronicle of his reign. Oral tradition has it that irrespective of mutual hostility, such as head-hunting and cannibalism, each of the seven communities retained its own sectional head and had its separate gods and goddesses. The continual and intense fighting among the different communities was encouraged by the increasing sense of elite identity that surfaced between the “strong men” of each section as inter-group communication continued steadily.

There existed intra-group and inter-group feuds until the eighteenth century among the seven sections of Élém-Ámá. However some friendly co-existence occurred among the various groups. Oral tradition, according to A.M. Princewill (Personal communication, 2009), has it that the unification of the seven original settlers at Élém-Ámá was divine. Following a fire outbreak which claimed lives and properties there was a meeting of sectional leaders for the purpose of choosing a man who could undertake the responsibilities of rebuilding the settlement. The first man to be consulted was Seliye Fubara, a man of great wealth and at the time leader of Kromẹ group. He declined based on the advice of his mother. More fire outbreaks and calamities were recorded during this period at Élém-Ámá leading to widespread fear and insecurity among the people. Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja (1991:16) draw

attention to speculations that members of neighbouring villages and clans were becoming worried at the growing influence of the Kálábàrì through their success in the Atlantic slave trade. Therefore, they set fire on the settlement in order to destroy it.

In the prevailing circumstances, Ọwamẹ̀kàsó (tutelary deity a goddess) had begun to advocate peace among all the inhabitants of Élém-Ámá and condemn such practices as cannibalism, human sacrifice, bloodshed and ill-treatment of women within the settlement. According to oral tradition, an uncontrollable fire broke out in the settlement which destroyed shrines and houses with severe loss of lives and properties. When the oracle was consulted, it was revealed that Ọwamẹ̀kàsó had come upon the settlement in anger and threatened to cause more devastation if her advice was not heeded forthwith to consolidate a single nation and shun hostilities.

The people immediately decided to heed the protest of the goddess which required the rebuilding and reconstruction of shrines and totems. This was a dangerous task as it was believed that the failure to rebuild or restore the shrine of any of the gods or goddesses would endanger people's life without mercy. Seliye Fubara, a man of great wealth, who was at that time the leader of Kọrọámé house, declined the offer of becoming the first Kálábàrì king, knowing the consequence of leaving out any of the gods or goddesses. It was in this situation that Amachree was approached to become the king and he did not decline.

This period was the turning point in Kálábàrì history and the beginning of a new era because it marked the end of communal leadership which was replaced by monarchy. According to oral tradition, before accepting the offer, Amachree consulted with his father's friend, Omoniye the ruler of Kè. After due consultation, aware of the cost and risk of meddling with the shrines as a condition for pre-eminent leadership was no less than life, Amachree according to JohnBull (2009), requested that: his children succeed him as king; his rule be over a united kingdom of the seven segments of Élém-Ámá (Old Shipping); *Ọwamẹ̀kàsó* goddess be the tutelary deity of the union with her teachings forming the state ethos, and her priest be appointed by him; and the *Kírí Kìrì Mìnè* ritual be performed at his burial and that of his successors. The Kálábàrì communities, their leaders and Amachree swore a perpetual covenant (*ọbọku fíya*) and sealed it by pouring of libation (*írú sàrá*) (Personal communication, JohnBull, 2009).

Oral tradition about the foundation and subsequent establishment of the Kálábàrì canoe houses gives a very clear picture of the structural development of Kálábárí during the eighteenth century. Most of the canoe houses were founded during

those successive periods of Amachree's reign: the first was when Kálábàrì state was fighting for its existence; the second was that of Amachree's consolidation and the establishment of Kálábàrì social structure as we know it today; and the third was that of his old age when the political division that characterised the Kálábàrì political system of the nineteenth century was developed (Jones, 1963).

Tradition has it that King Amachree increased the population of the town by the purchase of slaves from the hinterland and was able to forge the diverse Élém-Kálábàrì communities into one united Kálábàrì political entity. During his reign, Kálábàrì Kingdom grew in population, affluence and military might. Amachree was successfully engaged in fish trading and later became, in his early years, involved in slave trade in which he also prospered. He further strengthened his reign by identifying with the goddess Ọwamẹ̀kàsó that belonged to the Kọrọámé group, the group whose religious influence preceded his accession (Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja, 1991).

Internally, King Amachree consolidated his power through marriage alliance with the Akịalámé and Kọrọámé groups. His Akịalámé wife gave birth to Ámákoro who became King Amachree II. The Kroame wife gave birth to Kàríbọ, who became King Amachree III. His marriage into the Íjú family was not that successful as the only issue of the marriage died at childhood. Similarly, among members of his own Endẹmẹ group, King Amachree gave his first daughter, Adida in marriage to Kálágbea's first son, Áwó, and also gave his sons Èkìnè and Kàríbọ to Ódúm and Ómbọ, respectively to nurture (JohnBull, 2005).

Oral tradition has it that, after the "great fire" when the seven independent wards or sections decided to summon Ámákìrì to become their leader, there occurred the "great massacre". It was a period of war on Élém Kálábàrí, the outstanding event of which was a successful raid by Okrika on the occasion of a ritual pilgrimage to the Obio slave markets. Periodic ritual pilgrimage to these markets was one of the major duties of the Ámányánábọ of Kálábàrì accompanied by heads of houses. These pilgrimages, known as *órú fẹ* (market of the gods) were performed in honour of *Ọwamẹ̀kàsó,* who was believed to have given Kálábàrì the slave trade as their means of livelihood and to be responsible for its smooth operation. It was a time the Kálábàrì also kept free of any fighting.

Okrika, aware of one of these journeys, decided to attack Élém Kálábàrí and devastate it by sending two war-parties: one to attack the town and the other to wait in ambush for the return of the Ámányánábọ and his chiefs. The town was saved from

total destruction by Chief Iju, who turned back from the pilgrimage on receiving a premonition of disaster when a bird flew across his canoe's bow thrice. He was able to prevent as well as protect the lives and properties of his own group of houses. The rest of the chiefs and their crew took a return route other than the one ambushed by the Okrikans, and arrived home unscratched. Amachree took the ambush route and was saved by a combination of naval skills and his powerful invocations which provided a protection from a tree known as *ákú*. He defeated the Okrikans, but arrived home to face a depopulated and ruined settlement (Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja, 1991).

King Amachree, on his return, took up the cleansing and resettlement of Élém Kálá̱bàrí. This he did by repopulating the settlement by buying slaves and domestic animals. The domestic animals were allowed to roam about and, in any house where they took shelter by night, the landlord or landlady claimed them. This was the origin of the expression *ámá kìrì menjí nama* (animals not owned by anybody). It is the excuse why the *Sẹ́kịápù* freely kill animals that are found anywhere in the communities during their festivals. It is believed that all domestic animals are owned by King Amachree (Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja, 1991).

This was a period of consolidation by King Amachree who, apart from buying slaves from the hinterland, brought outlying communities in the Kálá̱bàrí territory under his control by carrying out the following: contributing to the restoration of the ritual and other buildings, protecting them from the attack of their enemies or by offering them asylum when they were fleeing from the wrath of the King of Bonny or the violent destructive behaviour of King Agbaniye Ejike of Bile (Jones, 1963). As part of the consolidation, King Amachree created seven new wards: Alame, Iwiriame, Mieme, Ákwámẹ́, Kálá-Iturámẹ́, Ogonobe-Ituruámẹ́, and Súkúbé-Ituruámẹ́ which were added to the original seven to make fourteen wards or sections. He provided sectional heads and cannon for each ward.

While consolidating his territory, he inflicted decisive defeats on Bonny, Okrika and curbed the marauding activities of Agbaniye-Jika, ruler of Bille. His policy of integrating the smaller villages further insured Kálá̱bàrì against annihilation. Communities in the vicinity of Élém Kálá̱bàrì were happy to swear an oath of allegiance to Amachree. Under the terms of oath, the villages were to become Kálá̱bàrì, and owe perpetual allegiance, and loyalty to King Amachree and the Kálá̱bàrì kingdom. In return, these communities were guaranteed protection against attack and molestation by the big powers. The communities affected were Àngùlàma,

Mínàma, Ídàma, Kè, Kúlá, Teínma, Krákrámà and Sóku (Erekosima, Lawson and McJaja, 1991).

Distant communities, like Tómbia, Àbàlàmà, and Ìdọ, located in the Bonny and Andoni areas, called on Amachree who ensured their safe emigration and resettlement in the Kálábàrì Kingdom under the same oath. Also exposed to insecurity in their original homes of Èngénnì and Ogbia, the communities of Dẹkẹma, Búkúma, and Ọbọnọma voluntarily took the oath of allegiance and were transported and resettled by King Amachree at their present location in Kálábàrì territory (Personal communication, Tomtom, 2010).

Oral tradition, according to Alagoa (1972), has it that different leaders of various groups contributed to the development of Élém Kálábàrì and that the Ámákìrì dynastic tradition which attempts to make King Ámákìrì the first ruler and founder of Kálábàrì nation, cannot hide the prior dominance of the Korome section. By the time of King Amachree's death he had firmly established the Kálábàrì city-state at an unsurpassed level of pre-eminence in the Eastern Niger Delta region. His son Amakoro's (Amachree II's) ascension to the throne was uneventful. The shortness of the reign is supported by the fact that apart from his own house of Tiger Amachree founded during his father's reign, the Owukori (Manuel) Canoe –House was the only house founded during this period (JohnBull, 2005).

On the death of Amachree II, members of the two chieftaincy lines of Ómbọ and Ódúm established by Amachree I physically clashed, with each group determined to put its own ward on the vacant stool. The Ómbọ group gained the upper hand by making sure that Kàríbọ, their candidate, was the first to enter the shrine of Amachree I to perform the *námá pẹlẹ* (slaughtering of goat) crowning rite at the shrine. Thus, Karibo became Amachree III (Erekosima, Lawson, McJaja, 1991).

King Karibo's reign was very successful, in that by dint of hard work, in addition to the would-be dominant houses of Barboy (Ódúm) and Harry (Ómbọ), he expanded the single canoe house he inherited from Amakoro into one of the wealthiest and most powerful canoe house groups in Kálábàrì. At least by 1850, when reference could be made to historical documents, it was the chief of the Barboy group who appeared to have been ranked after the king. King Kàríbọ Amachree died in April 1863 and was succeeded by his eldest son Abbi, whose English name was Princewill. The Kálábàrì tradition represents the reign of King Abbí as a period of conflict, with

warfare against Némbé, Bonny, and Òkrìkà and the civil war between Will Braid of the Barboy group and the rest of Kálábàrì (Jones, 1963).

When Karibo died in 1863, Némbé was blocking the Orashi River at the village of Ọkarki and posing a serious threat to Kálábàrì's commercial life. During that period, the nation was deeply divided along political lines and two contestants emerged. The Amachree faction presented Abbí, son of Kàríbọ, while the Barboys put forward Alambo. As the contest deepened, the Kálábàrì elders consulted the national goddess Ọwámẹ̀kàsó to intervene. The national goddess advised them to keep calm, adding that the new Ámányánábọ would emerge in their war with the Okarki people (Erekosima, Lawson, and McJaja, 1991). The rival groups of Amachree and Barboy mobilised their men for the Okarki war under the commands of Abbí and Àlàmbo, respectively. Ọkárki forces defeated Àlàmbo and his men and he withdrew from the war front.

After the failure of Àlàmbo, Abbi and his forces took their turn to attack. Abbí defied the barrage of shelling from Ọkárki people, asking his forces to head toward the land while he stood at the front of his war canoe commanding and waving with a short staff in his right hand. As the canoe landed at Ọkárki, Abbí jumped down and pulled out his sword. The Ọkárki forces, seeing him land, took to their heels. However, they later returned to make peace with Abbí and to acknowledge the sovereignty of Kálábàrí over them. By the prediction of Akaso, Abbi became the new king and was crowned Amachree IV. Àlàmbo was removed from the leadership of the Barboy group of houses for his cowardice in the face of an enemy, and his position was given to Ìgbànibọ. The crowning of Abbí answered the immediate need for a national leader, but did not provide solutions to the tensions that existed among his loyalists who were powerful chiefs (Sogules, 1983).

The civil war stemmed from conflicts among leading personalities in the highest cabinet *Búbọ Wárì* in Kálábàrì culture, which was the Privy Council headed by King Abbí Amachree. Other members of the council were Chief Ìgbànibọ Will-Braid of the Àlàmẹ House in the Endẹmẹ ward; Chief George Amachree of the Kàríbọ Royal House in the Endẹmẹ ward; Chief Erekosima Ikiri JohnBull of the Ómbọ Group in the Ituruame Ward; and Chief Kala Dokubo Omekwe of the Amachreeye Fubara House in the Akialámẹ Ward. These chiefs were appointed in late 1863 (JohnBull, 2005).

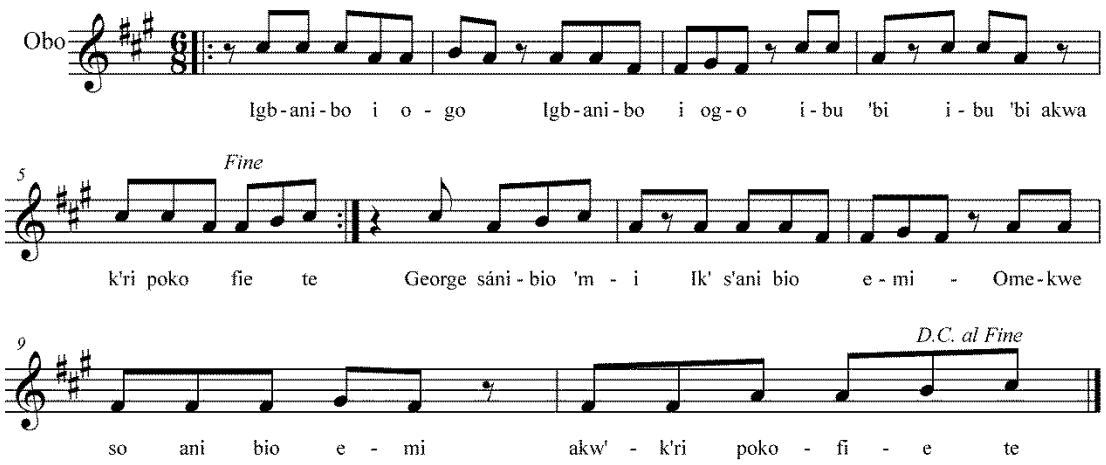
Oral tradition has it that the immediate cause of the war issued from an allegation that Chief Amabaraye Iyalla slept with the wife of a member of his household, Balaye Gogo popularly known as Ajieke. Poor Ajieke, as revenge, slept

with one of Iyalla's wives under duress and then fled to Élém- Kálábàrì. Chief Ìgbànibọ, because of his strong relationship with Iyalla, interpreted Ajieke's revenge as an insult to Iyalla and ordered his men to arrest Ajieke and put him in a waterfront prison (*mínjì ikólí*). Ìgbànibọ's action of arresting and incarcerating a citizen who was taking refuge with the king was seen as a gross insult to the Kálábàrì chieftaincy institution and most importantly the royal stool. King Abbí maintained his calm; however, this slight on the throne provided an opportunity for George Amachree, Ikiri JohnBull and Omekwe Horsfall to deal with Ìgbànibọ. Behind these powerful chiefs were men and women from various communities who had become disgusted with Ìgbànibọ's display of pride of royal birth and disdain for others. Initially, Ìgbànibọ seemed to have had the upper hand in the factional struggle. Later, he lost the advantage to the other faction (Erekosima Lawson, and MacJaja, 1991).

When the principal opponents and members of the *Búbọ Wárì*, the Privy Council, namely George, Ikiri, and Omekwe, had concluded their plan to eliminate Igbanibo, King Abbí found himself powerless to prevent it since they were on oath never to disclose it to the strongman of Álámẹ House. However, King Abbí, determined to save Ìgbànibọ who was married to his younger sister Karibo Data, communicated the plot of his impending death (not by word of mouth) by playing a cryptic message on the *Ọbọ* (thumb piano), encoded in the classic drum language of the Kálábàrì. Combining metaphor and idiomatic expressions, the message was as follows:

Ìgbànibọ ị ọgọ, Ìgbànibọ ị ọgọ	Ìgbànibọ my in-law, Ìgbànibọ my in-law
Ịbu ẹbi ákwá kiri pọkọ fíe tẹ	Take care, the drum has sounded with a different voice
George sọ aní bio emí,	George is in it
Ìkìrì sọ ani bio emí	Ikiri is in it
Omẹkwé sọ ani bio emí	Omekwe is in it
I bu nimi ákwá Kiri pọkọ fie tẹ	Know yourself, the drum has sounded with a different voice

This message was performed on the *Ọbọ* as shown below:



Ìgbànibọ secretly fled the city-state by night and established at Rúmùolúmẹ́ní (*Iwọfe*) at the entrance to the Ìkwéré (Ọbia) markets. Iyalla left Tombia and joined him. Ìgbànibọ, in alliance with Rúmùolúmẹ́ní, Ọkríkà, and Bonny, set up a blockade of the Obia markets against the Kálá̱bàrì. This led to the beginning of the Kálá̱bàrì Civil War in 1879. After three years of fighting, both sides became exhausted and finally accepted consular mediation which brought uneasy peace (Personal communication, JohnBull, 2010).

In this state of affairs, Ìgbànibọ became heavily indebted to Bonny chiefs. Lacking support from Bonny to trade directly and also resisting consular efforts to persuade his followers to return to Élém Kálá̱bàrì, he and his supporters finally moved from Rúmùolúmẹ́ní and settled in Bakana in 1881. The group that founded Abonnema left Élém Kálá̱bàrí for their present site in 1882, while King Abbí and his supporters also left Élém Kálá̱bàrí for Buguma in 1884. The agents who traded with them followed, so did the satellite villages of Tómbià, Ifọkọ, Àbàlàmà, Ìdọ, and Teinma, which settled near Búgúmà, leaving the New Calabar Estuary deserted except for Kè. (Jones, 1963).

4.4 Economy

The Kálá̱bàrì from their root in Élém Kálá̱bàrì, have developed a trading culture by taking advantage of the resources in the environment and by interacting with their adjoining neighbours: the eastern and western delta, and the Ìkwéré as well as the Igbo to the north (Erekosima, Lawson, and McJaja, 1991). Their proximity to

the sea, lagoons, big as well as small rivers, and creeks created the opportunity for improved skill in fishing as an occupation carried out by both men and women.

The severe scarcity of land precluded farming as an occupation. The Kálábàrì engaged in fishing, though a difficult enterprise and a very slow method of accumulation of wealth or capital. Fishing in the villages and communities according to Horton (1969), was carried on without long and continuous attachment of a particular person or people to specific sites because fish tend to congregate in different parts of the community's waters at different seasons. This situation left maximum scope for the exercise of individual initiative in planning the choice of fishing ground, who and where to do business. The implication is that the owner of the canoe and tackle was free to have business partners within and outside of his *wárí.*

Other forms of occupation included salt making. Salt was systematically produced by boiling salt water from the river. Pottery was another source of raising capital. Water-pots of various sizes and shapes were made, used for storage and especially for traditional drums called *kúkú.* Some specialised in the carving of drums of various types, especially *ókóró* (slit-drums) and effigies representing very important ancestors, fish, crocodile and other creatures which were found in shrines in different compounds and at the city centre.

The Kálábàrì, long before the 15th century, were involved in internal short-distance trade with the upland Ìkwéré communities. The Portuguese were the first European traders to arrive in the Niger Delta around the 15th century. The description of trading activities by Portuguese adventurer Pacheco Duarte Pereira in the 16th century shows the development and huge investments involved in the internal long-distance trade. He recorded that the canoes of the Niger Delta were the

> 'largest in the Ethopias of Guinea; some of them large enough to hold eighty men, they came from a hundred leagues or more up the river bringing yams in large quantities; they also bring many slaves, cows, goats and sheep'(Kimble, 1937:132).

The goods from the hinterland were exchanged for fish and salt produced in the Delta. The economy changed with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th and 16th centuries; followed by the Dutch in the 17th century and by the French and the English in the 18th century who were major players in Atlantic slave trade (Ejituwu, 1999). The Kálábàrì adapted the Atlantic trade to the existing local trade. Although many of them were involved in fishing, it was never again regarded as a lifetime occupation. It

was a means to gather capital, as those who gained prominence and highest standing in the society were traders. You became successful not by possessing fishing skills, but by owning a trading company called *wárí* -canoe house (Wariboko, 1997). The European demands were no longer fish, salt, ivory and other produce of the Niger Delta but slaves.

In the canoe house system of trade, every male member of the house traded for the Chief who graduated those who traded for him at various times so that they could be on their own. This was the ambition of every young man of ability. When the slave trade was abolished in 1807 by Great Britain, they changed to trading in palm oil. The Kálá̱àrì knew much prosperity through trade and virtually controlled the rich interior oil markets of the Ìkwéré, Èngénnì, Ẹkpẹyẹ, Àbúà and as far as Ogúta. Today, this trade according to Horton (Personal communication, 2010), has collapsed owing to a combination of factors amongst which were the building of north-south rail links ending at Port Harcourt and the construction of multiple roads giving access to Port Harcourt. These linked the oil-producing areas to the Port.

4.5 Socio-political Institutions

In the Eastern Niger Delta, especially among the Kálá̱àrì, the political and social unit is referred to as *wárí* (house). The Kálá̱àrí term for house includes a place of dwelling as well as the people living in it, that is, a family or a household. It also extends to direct descendants of such a household, either all of them or those living together as a corporate group, including any other relatives, strangers, and slaves who are attached to it (Jones, 1963). Each *wárí* was organised based on a dual system of marriage: the *ịyà* marriage, involving payment of high bride wealth incorporates the children from the union into the father's *wárí* and *ịgwá* marriage which require payment of low bride wealth left the children in the mother's *wárí*. The *ịyà* marriage was the most prestigious but was rare because of the cost (Horton, 1969).

Therefore, descent in the *wárí* system was traced predominantly through the mother and a number of descent groups commonly formed a large unit called *wárí* or *póló*. Outside the *wárí* system, membership of *g̱írí* (age group) whose foundation was laid in childhood were a group of boys, drawn from all parts of the village, come together for the purpose of playing. According to Horton (1969), when the boys reached adulthood, the *g̱írí* provided an important setting through which members were obliged to help each other on all occasions, like funerals of parents and close

relatives. The *ḅírí* was to preserve solidarity and pledge to avoid interfering with one another's wives.

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the house system have developed beyond lineage or descent group into business organisations referred to as the Canoe House System. A chief (manager) continue in his position as head as long as he was successful in his business endeavours. Everyone worked directly or indirectly for the chief as traders, paddlers and soldiers for the war canoe (Wariboko, 2007).

The Kálábàrì, according to Soberekon (Personal communication, 2010), recognise marriage as a sacred institution and there are three categories of marriages. They are all highly recognised, respected and practised in the culture. The first is the *Óló símẹ* and *Árì ìbárá-emí* (concubinage), the second is *Iru samá/ Ígwà símẹ*, and the third is *Iyà símẹ*. In *Óló símẹ* type of marriage, no money is paid as bride price. The man and woman meet as lovers and start living together to the knowledge of the public. Children from this union are merely recognised as the man's children and could participate in the paternal family affairs, although with more attachment to the maternal home, and could bear the maternal family name. The *árì íḅará emí* is a bit respectable, in that, in this type of marriage, the man officially declares to the woman's family that he is taking care of their daughter by presenting a bottle of alcoholic drink and money. The mother and children are cared for by their father. By Kálábàrì custom they are not illegitimate children but are not eligible to inherit the father's property except he specifically directs the family to allow the children to share in his property at his death since he has declared that the woman is with him, *árì íḅará emí.* No bride price is paid.

In *Iru samá* or *Ígwà símẹ* type of marriage, the man pays some reasonable amount of money (bride price) as a token and other presents, ranging from a box of traditional wrappers to gold ornaments, bags, shoes, head gears, underwears and cosmetics. When paying the bride price under *Iru samá* or *Ígwà*, a halfpenny is included as a declaration of the husband's intention to upgrade the marriage if his finances improve and if the wife proves worthy of it. This is followed by a two-day celebration amidst praise songs to inform the girl's family of his intentions. After the principal marriage ceremony is the *ḅíḅífẹ* (buying of mouth) ceremony performed to declare the wife eligible to eat in the husband's house. It is a taboo in Kálábàrì custom for the wife to taste anything in the husband's house before this ceremony.

Tradition allows a less expensive ceremony known as *bọlọfẹ* if the husband is not ready to carry the financial burden. The final ceremony is the *ḅo-árì-ilekiri* (come let me know you) by which the relationship is consummated. The husband in *Iru samá* or *Ígwà símẹ* has more authority over the children in this form of marriage than in *Óló símẹ* or *árì íḅará emí*. However, Káláḅàrì custom does not recognise them as full members of the father's family entitled to all rights and obligations. This is only achieved either through the *Iyà símẹ* type of marriage or through solemnization of the marriage in church or registry.

Iyà símẹ is the highest form of Káláḅàrì traditional marriage and confers great honour on the wife. She becomes a full member of her husband's family and in line with Káláḅàrì tradition, the marriage cannot be dissolved. Only at death is her corpse returned to her parents' home: *mẹnì fẹḅó ngbé fẹ-a* (he who buys the flesh does not buy the bones). *Iyà símẹ* involves elaborate ceremonies which makes it very expensive. A couple could be as old as twenty to forty years in marriage before performing this type of marriage. In addition to all the gifts, *ḅíḅífẹ* and other ceremonies, the sum of twenty pounds is paid as bride price. In this type of marriage, the husband pays handsomely for the full integration of his wife and children into his family and divorce is impossible.

An *Iyà* marriage, according to Horton (Personal communication, 2010), is not complete until the *ḅíḅífẹ* ceremony (literally 'buying of mouth'). *Ḅíḅífẹ* signifies three things. First, it signifies a stage in a lawful marriage which gives the bride the right to eat in the husband's house. In traditional Káláḅàrí settings, a wife for whom the *ḅíḅífẹ* has not been done can cook for her husband, but will have to take her meals to her parent's house or nearby house other than her husband's or his relatives' to eat. Second, *ḅíḅífẹ* signifies the husband's responsibility toward the wife to care and feed her for the rest of her life. Third, it signifies and seals the new union and communion between the two families. Also recognized is a form of marriage known as *Wàríḅioḅẹsímé*. It is a marriage within the house, that is, of people not closely related but members of the same house.

In early days, women in Káláḅàrì Kingdom played a major part in the process of assimilating slaves into the family. They were highly respected as it was their duty to perform initiation rites for the foreigners. In addition, in the *wárí* house system personnel of the greater household were distributed by the chief or house head between the wives. Each wife was responsible for feeding and housing of slaves, servants,

children and visitors allocated to her by her husband. Some of these wives, on their marriage brought with them slaves and other dependants of theirs who had been given them by their fathers or brothers. A close examination of Kálábàrí marriages shows two very different levels of social structure, which are the political and the domestic levels. Kinship is political and symbolic rather than actual at a high level. However, at a lower level, we are dealing with domestic units with households (or expanded households in some situations) whose base is a single or extended family (Jones, 1963).

4.5.1 Kálábàrì political administration

The Kálábàrì in their fishing settlements before the Atlantic trade had a well-organized political system. One or two communities were geographically well positioned near the mouth of the New Calabar estuary and abandoned their occupation about four hundred years ago for trade in slaves and later palm oil with Europe. The switch in economic activities had a profound impact on the scale of political administration of various groups. However, they still retain a culture much like that of Kálábàrì villages who remained fishermen (Horton, 1960).

In the fishing villages, government was traditionally performed by an assembly of the entire male population set in three grades which had both legislative and judicial functions. This assembly was usually presided over by *Ámányánábọ*, the village head, who was chosen from a single descent group and who led the community during wars. The *Ámányánábọ*, although presiding, did not usually initiate decisions. The *wárí system* was the bedrock and basic political set up in the community. Each *wárí* was organised and headed by a chief who had political control over it and so represented the *wari* in the larger community (Personal communication, George, 2010).

Horton (1969) asserts that, as a result of the switch in economy, there developed a new *'wárí system'* which was a close knit trading corporation and war canoe team whose elected head had a high degree of control of its internal operations. This house head was chosen for his ability in trade and war. This was the political setting in the late nineteenth century during the reign of King Abbi (JohnBull, 2005).

The highest cabinet in the Kálábàrí Kingdom was the *Búbọ Wárí*, the Privy-Council. They took decisions and had the destiny of the city-state in their hands. During the raign of King Abbi Karbo Amachree IV (installed November of 1863 and died 4th of November, 1900) only five men in the Kingdom constituted this council and qualification for membership included military expertise, drilled fighting and armoury,

sway of influence and affluence. The five members of the *Búbọ Wárí* were King Abbí Amachree; Chief Ígbáníbọ Will-Braide of Álámẹ House in Endẹmẹ Ward; Chief George Amachree of Karibo Royal House in the Endẹmẹ Ward; Chief Erekosima Ikiri JohnBull of Omúbọ Group in the Itúramẹ Ward; and Chief Kala Dokubo Omekwe of the Amachreeye Fubara House in the Akialamẹ Ward.

At community level, government was carried out by the house heads and *Ámányánábọ* only, not by assembly of the entire male population. This was contrary to the village system, as power was concentrated in a limited number of people who controlled the coastal trade. Like the house head, the *Ámányánábọ* exercised more real power than his village counterparts, in that he monopolised the 'comey' protection money payable to him by all European merchants before they opened trade.

The political roles of priests, according to my informants, were important in Kálá̱bàrì as well as other Eastern Delta states. They were members of the general council and were able to invoke their deities who provided and maintained peaceful deliberations at meetings and sanctioned appropriate decisions made in the interest of the community. Breakdown of the political system through excessive rivalry among political leaders was controlled to a considerable extent by the intervention of the priests and other ritual consultants. Referring such cases to external supernatural beings and institutions also led to an immediate relaxation of the tensions and agitations arising from such political upheavals.

4.5.2 Judicial process

The *Ámányánábọ* was traditionally the fountain of justice. He was the judicial as well as the executive head of the community and patron of the Kálá̱bàrì *Ekine* cult whose members are known as *Sẹkíàpù* 'the dancing people'. The Kálá̱bàrí *Sẹkobiri* (the general assembly) consisting of the *Ámányánábọ* and Kálá̱bàrí Council of Chiefs constituted the highest appeal court. Each canoe house or group of houses governed itself in internal matters. However in ordinary administrative, executive and judicial issues involving two or more 'houses' the house heads, usually chiefs and other leaders who were involved, met together to resolve such matters. Where they could not, especially in the case of legislative, judicial and other businesses that affected the entire community, the matter was dealt with at the general council meeting. Where it became very necessary, the latter's decisions could be executed by members of the *Èkìnè* cult.

In the Kálá̱bàrì judicial system, each chief was in position to try minor cases from his own house, if a person was dissatisfied with the decision of the case, he or she could appeal to the chieftaincy stool next to the paramount chieftaincy stool compound or ward. For example, in Búgúmà, from a compound chieftaincy stool a case could go to Kàríbo Group of chieftaincy stools or Ombọ/Bírínaomoni Group or to Horsfall/West Group. If the case remained unsettled, from there an appeal case would go to the *Ámányánábọ* and the Council of Chiefs of a particular town. From this level an appeal could be made to the *Ámányánábọ* of Kálá̱bàrí and his Council of Chiefs.

According to George (Personal communication, 2010), on the one hand, there was the É*lém Ámá Sẹ Kobírí*, composed of the *Ámányánábọ*, the *Ámásò* (Spokesman) the chiefs, and the four principal priests of the gods and goddesses, namely Ọwamẹ̀kàsò, Òkpòlòdò, Bẹ̀kerórú and Ówuáwó, sitting together in a judicial capacity to deal with capital charges, like murder, grievous bodily harm with spilling of blood, cannon theft and arson. Before judgement would be given, libation was poured and the *Ámátẹmẹ̀so*, gods and goddesses would be invoked to be witnesses of the judgement. This was necessary in case the judges might be partial. There was also the *Èkìnè* cult, sitting in its two grades in a judicial capacity to deal with lesser offences, particularly those concerning debt.

Those found guilty are asked to pay fines. If they are unable to pay the fine, their properties will be seized and confiscated according to the laws of the land. Below in Plate 1 is the *Èkìnè Sẹ̀kíàpù* in Bákánà trying a case brought before it by the plaintiff and accused under the umbrella and also showing the active role of the Ákwá Álábọ in the judicial process as he seats on and plays the *Àkùsà* (membrane drum) at intervals signifying when to speak or stop speaking.

Plate 1: *Èkìnè Sẹ̀kíàpù* of Bákánà in a Judicial Session

4.6 Religious beliefs, rituals and institutions

The Kálábàrì, like member of many African cultures had their own religion and beliefs before the advent of Christianity. According to Horton (1960, 1962), the Kálábàrí divide their world into two very important orders of existence: *Ójú*, the bodily material, that can be seen with the eyes and touched by anyone, and that is thought of as having definite location in space; and *Tẹmẹ*- the spiritual or immaterial, that cannot be seen with the ordinary eyes. *Tẹmẹ* - (spirit) is said to come to a particular place and stay there and, at other times, it is thought of as being anywhere and everywhere at the same time like the air. All things having *ójú* have their counterparts in *tẹmẹ*. If they lose their *tẹmẹ*, they die if living and if non-living they disintegrate.

There are two separate systems of gods whose influence on the people and their environment and the need to heed them at every time are closely recognised by the Kálábàrì. The first of these systems are the gods responsible for Form and Process. They attribute the creation of the world to the female principal *Támúnọ*, and the control of the created things to a male principal *So*. *Támúnọ* and *So* are thought to be closely associated with the sky. *So* is the sky personified and everything in the material world has its particular *Támúnọ* and *So*. The Kálábàrì believe that all the various *Támúnọ* are one great *Támúnọ* and all the various *So* are one *So*. Thus, *Támúnọ* and *So* are defined in terms of functions, that is, creation and the control of process.

The second system of gods is made up of the following groups: the *Órú* (Community Heroes), *Ówú* (the Water People) and *Dụẹịn* (the Ancestors). These are free spirits (*tẹmẹ*). Each group controls a particular range of human and natural situations; they are also complementary to one another and together provide an explanation for everything that goes on in the Kálábàrì world. Each group is further described thus:

1. *Ámá Órú* – the first category are the Community Heroes. Today *órú* exist in *tẹmẹ* only. According to myths and legends, at the time of founding Kálábàrì villages, they lived in a bodily form. Each *órú* excelled in some particular activities which it taught its human neighbours. In New Calabar *Ọwamẹkaso*, head of the heroes, taught and introduced the skills of trade with Europe; *Èkìnè ba* the skills of dancing and drumming for the masquerade, *Ókpólòdó* and *Sịrịopuba* the skills of warfare and head-hunting, *Ámákáràsà* and *Kugbọsa* curative and cleansing rites. They are said to have come from distant, non-Kálábàrì communities or from unknown places. The Community Heroes before

disappearing into the sky or into the ground or flying off like birds gave instructions that prayers and offering be made to them. They were not buried and left no descendants behind.

2. *Ówúámápù* – the Water People. *Ówú* are concerned with the control of nature and its fluctuations which are beyond human skills to manipulate. Human skills are helpless in this regard. The *Ówú* control the level and movement of water in the creeks as well as the amount, types and depth of the fish in the water. It is believed that each *Ówú* is associated with a particular stretch of creek or river. The *Ówú* never lived with men in the villages. They are said to live in beautiful cities of their own under the water where every *Ówú* is decked in coral beads, gold and exquisite clothes. They sometimes appear to men in human forms, as pythons and as rainbows.

   Unlike the village heroes, the water people are not particularly identified with any human groups but with particular tracts of creek, swamp and mudflat. Their shrines are not found in the villages but on raised lumps, of mud beside their creek domains; the water people control the weather and the abundance of fish in the water. If they leave their domain the creeks will dry out. They can be approached by anyone and will sell their favour to the highest bidder. This attribute makes them useful in satisfying individual aspirations which neither the village heroes nor the dead can provide or take care of. In addition, they are forces behind such human activities as acquisition of abnormal wealth and power by individuals, deviation from social norms and the actions of cultural innovators.

3. *Ọ̀ụẹịn* - The Dead. These are the spirits (*tẹmẹ*) of the humans that have left the bodies at death to continue life in the spirit world as ancestors. It is believed that they pursue the same desires and values they held while they were alive. The ancestors concern themselves neither with communities nor with individuals, but with the collective welfare of the various descent groups which they gave birth to while in the material world. They reward those who enhance and strengthen the lineage by observing the kinship norms and punish those who spoil the lineage by not keeping to the norms. In addition, the ancestors are believed to have close relationship with the living lineage head who preside over the lineage ‘in their name’ and ‘in their strength’. The rise and fall of ‘House’ or lineage is attributed to the ancestors and their activities.

In summary, the Community Heroes, Water People and the ancestors are complementary in respect of the social context in which their powers are relevant. Village Heroes and the Water People are complementary in their influence over human skills and environmental variation. These three groups which make up the second system of gods are means by which the Kálábàrì interpret and explain everything that happens in the material world. Before the coming of Christian missionaries to Kálábàrí, regular rituals performed for all three categories of spirit were in order to enlist and maintain their power. Among the three categories there are elements of opposition as well as co-operation. Horton (1962) describes it thus:

> ... by supporting lineages in rivalry against one another, the ancestors can work against the heroes in sapping the strength of the village; but in other contexts, by strengthening their several lineages, they can work with the heroes in contributing to the village strength. Again, when they bring up storms, rough water, and sharks, the water people work against heroes by hampering the exercise of the village's productive skills; but when they produce calm water and an abundance of fish, they work just as powerfully with the heroes. (Horton, 1962:203).

These three categories of free spirits are responsible for almost everything that happens to a Kálábàrí as they work through the spirits of people, animals, plants and inanimate objects. However, through the performance of rituals, the Kálábàrì are able to influence, control and balance the spiritual forces. Approach to the three groups of spirits follows a single basic pattern. Horton (1964) posits that there is an initial phase of invocation and offering which is followed by a terminal phase of dramatic presentation. During the build-up to invocation, more emphasis is laid on the volume and enthusiasm of praise songs for the spirit. A succession of offerings is made, beginning with fish and plantain, through cutting the throat of a cock or hen, and ending with a ram, a goat or a dog according to the particular spirit involved.

The rituals move to the next level after the acceptance of the offering. The invoker of the spirit is dressed in special cloths symbolic of the spirit and often holds an object that is kept in close association with its sculpture. At this point, the praise singers are called upon to sing vigorously and the special dance rhythms of the spirit are beaten on the drums. The invoker then comes out to give a dramatic presentation of the spirit dancing in the midst of the congregation, an assurance to everyone that his

presence and power are present and a sign that the invocation and offerings were accepted.

Since the advent of Christianity in Kálábàrì land around 1866, when Bishop Crowther of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) visited Élém Kálábàrì, the church has continued to influence and to bring changes in Kálábàrì religious thinking and belief system (George, 2010). The changes occurred in phases: 1866-1890, exposure to Christian concepts with very few converts; 1890-1912, continued exposure to Christian concepts with widespread converts; 1912-1918, revolutionary Christianity; and 1918-1964, decline of monotheism, syncretism and revival of traditional spirit cult (Horton, 1964).

Missionary effort of C.M.S, Baptist Mission, and the Garrick Braid Movement in the 19th and 20th century affected and changed the religious orientation and attitude of the Kálábàrì. Christianity has grown in leaps and bounds. Various churches and denominations operate in Kálábàrì towns, villages and settlements no matter how small. Today, Christian activities, such as crusades, retreats and conferences abound. This has led to a widespread belief in the Christian concept of God. Worship pattern in churches is inclined toward Western orientation in language expressions, music, dance and social relationships.

4.6.1 Festivals in Kálábàrì Kingdom

Kálábàrì villages have an elaborate cycle of festivals during which the three categories of spirits are appeased and celebrated. These festivals have their roots in myths and are reflected in rites as well as their belief system. Each category of spirits is completely entertained before the next. Each canoe house at the *Élém Ámá* must complete the feting of their ancestors before the beginning of a state festival of Ọwamẹkaso. The festival designed to appease Ọwamẹkaso had to take place before the series of masquerade had to be enacted in honour of the water people. In the same manner, the masquerade cycle had to be finished and the cycle starts again with the feeding of the ancestors and heroes (Horton, 1962).

The cycle of festivals begins with a series of *Ḍụẹịn álálì* (festival for the dead) a feast for the ancestors of the non-royal house. This feast is organised by each canoe house honouring their ancestors, beginning with its more recent ancestors through the 'lineage' to a climax with an offering to the house founder. The feeding of the non-royal ancestors is closely followed by that of the royal ancestors. The same order is

followed by feeding the more recent kings and the celebration reaches a climax in the feast of Amachree I (Erekosima, Lawson & McJaja, 1991).

The feasting of the ancestors is followed by a set of rituals performed for the spirits of the Kálábàrì who died under the following circumstances: those who died without leaving an offspring either biological or adopted, and those who died leaving descendants who have become extinct. This feeding is called *wárí oforì a-ḍụẹịn ḅuru fe* (the dead without houses). Tariah (2010 personal communication) avers that the spirits of these people having no descendants to pay respect to them are very embittered and angry. Therefore, if nothing is done, they would cause calamity, death and misfortune in the town. In the absence of descendants, the task of feeding these spirits is delegated to the *Èkìnè* cult. This ritual is known as *óngólea* (wailing) usually performed in two parts.

Chief Igbanibo George (Personal communication, 2010), an *élém sẹkíbò* (old dancer) and one time *ópú ẹdi* (big head) explained that the first part of the festival begins in the evening when *sẹkiápú* send out criers round the town to tell the womenfolk to prepare for the *óngólea* and stay indoors. The womenfolk then put small offerings of plantains, yams, and other foodstuffs outside their doors and observe the curfew. At midnight, groups of *sẹkiápú* go round the town wailing and lamenting in voices of the *wárí oforì a-ḍụẹịn* that they are neglected and hungry because they have no one to care for them. Collecting the offerings left outside each door, they pray and bless the house briefly before moving on. The second day begins with the second part of the ritual. *Sẹkiápú* cook the offerings collected the night before and place them in an enclosure near the drum house. Portions of the cooked food are scattered at the four corners of the town market, asking the *wárí oforì a-ḍụẹịn* to feast on the food and leave the living in peace. Having fed the spirits, *sẹkíàpù* then distribute the leftover food among one another.

The next phase of festivals is dedicated to gods and goddesses of the various communities. The Informants said this has fallen into decline. Token offerings are made to the various gods and goddesses by their priests and adherents. In the past at Élém Kálábàrì, this was the most elaborate, spectacular and celebrated phase of the Kálábàrì festival cycle. The festival, according to Erekosima, Lawson and MacJaja (1999) has not been carried out since the death of the So Álábò just before the beginning of the 1879-1894 civil war. As in the case of ancestral rituals, lesser gods

such as Ókpólòdó and Ámákáràsà were fed; the sequence was followed until it reached its climax with the festival for the national goddess Ọwamẹ́kaso.

The festival for the national goddess, Ọwamẹ́kaso began with elaborate sacrifices at her shrine and was followed by *Ìgolo Mẹ́nji*, a solemn procession in which the *So Álábọ*, possessed by the goddess, and the *Ámányánábó*, possessed by the spirit of the royal ancestors, moved around in circles at the town square. The goddess, still in human form, in the *So Álábọ*, was taken to the sea in a joyful procession of ceremonial canoes called *Órú Iderima* (the taking down of the goddess). The canoes sailed to Ifọkọ, at the mouth of the New Calabar estuary were she was entertained by Amaningio head of the town gods and her elder brother. A similar and spectacular procession known as *Órú Fe* (The Goddess's Market) was made to Obia market-towns where Ọwamẹ́kaso was welcomed by the gods and the people of these towns (Horton, 2010 personal communication).

The sequence of rituals and magnificent celebration were a dramatic enactment of Ọwamẹ́kaso's role as the goddess of the Atlantic trade and to attract her continued sustenance of this role. Her visits to Ifọkọ and Ọbia were very significant; Ifọkọ was the abode of the pilots who guided the European sailors and their trading ships to safe anchorage at Kálábàrì and Ọbia towns were the main markets where Kálábàrì acquired their foodstuff and slaves. The success of Kálábàrì in this trade also depended on the cooperation of the gods: Amaningio, the national god of Ifọkọ and Ọbia, the spirit of the river on which the market towns were located. The focus in these rituals was on good relations between Ọwamẹ́kaso and other spiritual forces. The completion of rituals for ancestors and communal deities signified that everything was set for the opening of the masquerade season.

The masquerade season, which is the last phase of the Kálábàrí cycle of festivals, begins with the *Èkìnè* cult in Búgúma inviting people from Old Bàkánà to come and play their traditional role in the opening rituals. The researcher gathered from his informants that the delegation from Old Bàkánà comes with seven dogs which are offered to *Ekineba*, the patroness of the society. Invocation is made to *Èkìnèba* by the leader of the delegation for success of the forthcoming plays, and then the dogs are slaughtered. The meat is cooked, portions are left for *Èkìnèba* and the rest is shared between delegates from Old Bàkánà and *Sẹ́kíàpú*. After the opening rituals, *Sẹ́kíàpú* hold a feast for *Adúm*, the father of water-spirits whose shrine is located at the town square by the entrance to *Omẹ́kwe Póló*, requesting that he ensures the success of

the plays to be hosted in honour of his children. The request is followed by sacrifices and by sharing of the sacrificial food between *Adúm* and *Sẹ́kíàpú*.

Furthermore, the bringing of the masquerade spirits from their homes beneath the waters, according to Igbanibo George (Personal communication, 2010), is accomplished by means of a ritual called *ḅuru kẹ ọkọ ḅio sua* (putting yam in the small pot). On an appointed date for the ritual, a group of *Sẹ́kíàpú*, led by *Èkìnè Álábò* (Priest of *Èkìnè*) set off in a boat from *Inẹ Pọku* (Mother's waterside) to *Ówú Pọku*, where they gather round a small pot set in the ground. There the *Èkìnè Álábò* calls upon the great water spirits, such as *Ásárí*, *Ákúkú*, *Fereya*, *Ilu* and *Ọbia*, to allow the masquerade spirits to return to the town for play in their honour.

The *Èkìnè Álábò's* request is followed by sacrificing a cock to the spirits. This cock is cooked with plantain and yam, with a portion put in a small pot and the rest shared among *Sẹ́kíàpú*. Other foods like corned beef, biscuits and rice, which are believed to be liked by the water spirits, are also offered. When *Sẹ́kíàpú* finish eating their portion of the various foods, they return to Búgúmà with their spirit-passengers. Before they return, first, a white cock and a piece of white cloth are tied to a stick driven into the ground as an enticement to evil spirits that might accompany them back to the town and disrupt the plays. Second, the most important aspect of the ritual is the hoisting of *Álú* (a large square of coarse blue and white cloth) on a mast which has been fixed to the canoe. *Álú* is the cloth used to cover the faces of those performing the *Èkìnè* masquerade. It is a symbol of the presence of masquerade spirits and also serves as information to passers-by that they (spirits) are on board.

Sẹ́kíàpú, having completed the necessary sacrifices, re-embark and paddle back to the town singing *Èkìnè* songs. On landing at *Inẹ Pọku*, the *Álú* flag is taken to Owamekaso's shrine and set up. Later, the flag is taken to the town square and planted beside the well. That night, the great *íkíríko* drum, the centre-piece of the masquerade orchestra is brought out of the hiding place and installed in the Drum House. In the morning, the presence of flag and drum tells everyone that the masquerade spirits have arrived in the town and all is now set for play.

According to my informant, the masquerade plays totalling about thirty five, beginning with *Aki* and ending with *Egbepẹlẹbọ*, take about fifteen to eighteen years to perform as a maximum of two or three plays are performed each year during the dry season. When all the masquerades have performed, a date is set for *Ówú Áru Sùn* (Filling the canoe of the water-spirits); the ritual whereby the spirits of the

masquerades are returned to their home in the waters. During this festival, there is a display of all the masquerades that performed during the period. This festival, which used to be performed every few years in the Old Shipping (Elem Kálábàrì), has only been performed in Búgúmà in the years 1948, 1973, and 1991. Recently on January 30th to 31st, 2009, the *Ówú Áru Sùn* festival was celebrated; the researcher witnessed and participated in it. A few days later, *Sẹ́kíàpú* ceremonially rolled the *íkíríko* drum (shown in Plate 2 below) into the *Ámá Suḅe* (Town Well) the replica of the ancient well, thus formally closing the entire cycle of ritual festivals.

Plate 2: *Ákwá Álábọ́* Performing on the *Íkíríkó* Drum

4.6.2 Kalabari Ekine cult

The *Èkìnè* Men's cult, otherwise known as *Sẹ́kíàpú* (the dancing people) is a socio-religious and political institution serving many unrelated ends. It is one of the central pillars of Kálábàrì culture right from the Élém Kálábàrì to date. Horton (1963) and Erekosima, Lawson and MacJaja (1991) note that, at a surface level, *Èkìnè* serves as a religious institution intended to solicit the help of the *ówúámápù* (water spirits) by means of invocations and dramatic representation of them by the masquerades. Also, the masquerades are aesthetic, educational as well as religious in purpose. However, many of the masquerades are important status symbols and sources of prestige both for individuals and their houses. Finally, *Èkìnè*, in ancient times, served as an organ of government. Furthermore, Fubara-Manuel (1976:10) describes *Èkìnè*, using these comparisons "What *Èkìnè* is to a Sékíbọ is what the lodge is to Rosicrucian or Odd Fellow, the Church to the Christian and the Mosque to the Moslem." This connotes that the *Èkìnè* cult is a group of people with common faith and culture right from its origin.

The essential and complicated values realised in Kálábàrì lies in the myths which recount the origins of the institution. According to Horton (1975), many people accept the account that the society has its origin in the water spirits. The most elaborate version of this myth in Kálábàrì tradition is how the dancing water spirits abducted a beautiful girl whose name was Èkìnèba from a certain delta town and took her to their home underneath the creeks. The mother of the water spirits was angry with her children and commanded them to take Èkìnèba back to the world of men. Before they took her back each of the spirits showed her its special plays which she taught the young men on her return. The plays became popular and were performed regularly. However, the young men found it difficult to obey the rule which was imposed on her by the water spirits that she must always be the one to first beat the drum whenever her people staged any of the plays. After they had disobeyed this rule three times, the water spirits got angry and took Èkìnèba away. Since then, men took her as the patron goddess of the masquerade and the society which organizes its performance is named after her.

The cult is organised into two grades or levels, which are *íwó Sẹ́kíàpú* (new dancers) and *élém Sẹ́kíàpú* (old member) with their heads known as *Kálá Ẹ̀di* (small head) and *Ópú Ẹ̀di* (big head) respectively. Both heads are drawn from the higher grade of the society and are responsible for maintaining order in both grades, while

Ópú Ẹdi is the overall head of the cult. Three other important offices in the society are those of *Èkìnè Álábò* (Priest of Ekine), *Ígbá Álábò* (Priest of the Igba purification rite) and *Ákwá Álábò* (Chief of the Drums). *Èkìnè Álábò* carries out the invocations and offerings to *Èkìnèḅa* the patron goddess. *Ígbá Álábò* performs the rites to keep evil spirits away during display of masquerade. *Ákwá Álábò* is the principal drummer of the society and is in charge of the orchestra of drums (Horton, 1991).

Entry into *Èkìnè* is open to any reputable male Kálábàrí citizen after providing satisfactory answers to questions put to him by *Ópú Ẹdi*, the head of the society. Amongst other questions, according to DavidWest (Personal communication, 2010), the candidate is asked "with which play will you enter *Èkìnè*?" This question refers to the promotion ordeal, in which a junior member of the society has to perform one of the four most important and major masquerades before he can be promoted to the senior grade. Tariah (2010 personal communication) adds that there are only two ways by which a *Sẹ́kíàpú* can become an *Èkìnè-Umungibo* (Elder) either by performing at least one of the following major masquerades: *Àlàgbà*, *Òtòbò*, *Ómúá* and *Igbo* or by a feast for the *Sẹ́kíàpú*. However, only those who have performed one or more of these masquerades can be appointed into the office of *Èkìnè Álábò*, *Ópú Ẹdi* and *Kálá Ẹdi*, no matter their age.

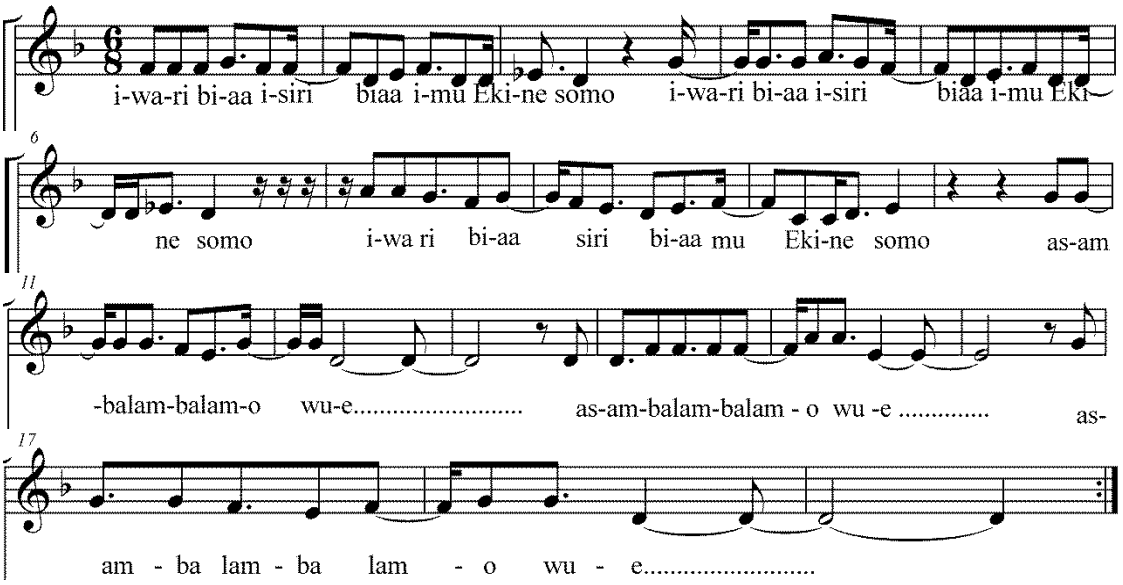
The researcher gathered from his informants that after satisfactory answers to the questions by *Ópú Ẹdi*, the candidate is asked to present a bottle of gin which the *Ópú Ẹdi* presents to the *Èkìnè Álábò*. The candidate is led by *Èkìnè Álábò* to the shrine of *Èkìnèḅa* where he is introduced as a prospective member and requests *Èkìnèḅa's* assistance to succeed in the society. After pouring libation, *Èkìnè Álábò* gives the prospective member his own glassful of gin to drink and then leads the candidate to the shrine of Ámátẹ́mẹ́so (Heaven that created the town), where he is told that *Èkìnè* is a society in which everyone drinks from the same glass, so it cannot accept sorcerers as members. He invokes Ámátẹ́mẹ́so on the candidate should he attempt to use sorcery in *Èkìnè*. After this, he pours libation and takes a little earth moistened by the libation into a glass, tops it up with the gin and requests the candidate to drink the mixture. The prospective member brings the invocation to bear upon himself by drinking the mixture.

Having completed the rites of initiation at this level, *Èkìnè Álábò* brings back the candidate to *Èkìnè* meeting house and hands him over to *Ópú Ẹdi*. At this point, he is requested to pay an entrance fee of five thousand naira which is a recent

development. After receiving the amount, *Ópú Ẹdi* smears the candidate's forehead with *tórú* (kaolin) which stands for a successful passage of an ordeal, and sticks an *igo pịkọ* (eagle feather) into his head-gear as a symbol of *Èkìnè* membership. *Tórú* and *Igo Pịkọ* notify everyone in the community of the candidate's successful admission to the society. After the initiation rites have been completed, *Sẹkíàpú* escort him to his house in a solemn procession singing *Èkìnè* número, a well-known admission song:

Í wárí íḅí-aà	Without consulting your house
Í sírì íbí-aà	Without consulting your people
Í mú Èkìnè sọ mọ?	You went and joined Èkìnè?
Ásám bálámbálám ówú-è	Reckless, reckless, reckless youth
Í *mu Èkìnè so mo?*	You went and joined Èkìnè?

The new member is reminded by this song, once more, of the ordeal and great responsibilities that go with membership and challenge him to take his new status with all seriousness. On arrival at his house, the new member provides adequate assorted drinks for his fellow members as they sit down to drink and in return entertain him with their songs (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010). A musical example of *Èkìnè número* is shown below:



The criteria for entry to various grades and offices of *Èkìnè* are associated with skills in some aspects of masquerade performance. Unlike in the larger Kálá̱bàrì society where advancement is governed by considerations of wealth, pedigree and political influence, in *Èkìnè*, everyone is equal. They share a different value which must be defended from that which prevails in the larger society. Thus, in relation to the dead, every *Èkìnè* member is ritually expelled from the cult when he dies through a funeral rite *Ɣúo sín* (removing the leg) which makes it impossible for a dead person to be a member. Any invocation of one's ancestor is strictly forbidden within the society's house. This is to prevent the dead from worrying living *Èkìnè* members when anything annoys the ancestors (Horton, 1991).

4.7 Music in Kálá̱bàrì Kingdom

Music and musical activities in Kálá̱bàrì are practised and regulated by the community. The performances and regulation of music are related to other aspects of Kálá̱bàrì culture and its belief systems. This phenomenon makes music highly functional in the programming of events, such as rites of passage; festivals; and political, social and religious rituals involving part of or the entire community. That is, music calls for communal participation without any need for invitation. The sound of music creates an awareness which facilitates public recognition. It generates appropriate group action which can be socio-religious as in the *Ówú Áró sùn* festival, which closes the masquerade cycle. In general, music among the Kálá̱bàrì during events creates an atmosphere of entertainment, fosters interpersonal relationships and interactions and communicates by means of the texts the socio-cultural values of the people.

Musical experience among the Kálá̱bàrì begins in childhood when a child observes the mother singing as she plays her role within and outside the home. As the children grow up, they participate in learning and singing songs handed from one generation to another which identifies them as belonging to a particular war canoe house or group of houses. Through music, children begin to learn about their forefathers and their great achievements. Also, they learn more about the values of the people and the role music plays in the society. Therefore, the Kálá̱bàrì grow in an environment that provides a background for training and extra musical materials, which aid creativity.

Musical types in Kálábàrì are contextually distributed in terms of events where they are used and in terms of the participants in such events. There are musical types performed by children, women and men individually, in spontaneous groups, or in voluntary associations; and musical types associated with institutions. Musical types can be categorized by Kálábàrí into ritual, semi-ritual, and non-ritual. Ritual music strictly serves religious purposes during enactment of rites. They are performed during festivals, installations and coronation of chiefs and the *Ámányánábọ*, rites of passage and funerals, and the feeding of the ancestors from lineage heads to founders of communities as well as other deities associated with the daily life of the people.

The performance of ritual music is occasional and restrictive in instrumentation and membership because of its religious nature. Ritual music is formal and serious as its sounds are associated with meanings which help to evoke appropriate emotions and responses by the public. Practitioners are bound by a prescribed format approved and acceptable to the ancestors, gods, goddesses and deities being placated. An example is the *Ókóró fárí* performance at the installation and funeral of a chief. This performance seeks to establish relationships between the spirits of the ancestors who were chiefs with the living for blessings and protection from evil forces. In addition, it is a status symbol for the living and the dead, as it helps to usher the deceased into ancestorhood. Others include masquerade music and dance performed by the *Èkìnè* cult, as shown in Plate 3 below:

Plate 3: È*kìnè Sẹ́kíàpù* Masquerade during *Ówú Árú sùn* festival in Búgúmà

Semi-ritual music combines elements of ritual and non-ritual music. Sections which require rituals are performed to strictly laid-down rules. For example, performances of semi-ritual music take place at the funeral of a chief during canoe regatta display. It is required that some form of sacrifices and libations be made before the commencement of the performance. In addition, such rules may affect the venue, age and number of participants, costumes and instrumentation, dance movements and associated musical forms. However, when performances are meant for entertainment, ritual activities are set aside. Examples of musical groups that perform this category of music are Selected Voices of Asaritoru-Akukutoru Local Government Areas and Ópú Arúngú of Bàkánà.

Non-ritual music is not religiously or ceremonially bound and, as such, is not associated with any institution or deity. In this category, music is conceived, created and performed in a manner that satisfies the artistic and aesthetic judgement of the people. In other words, life and creativity of the performer are celebrated in music, dance and theatre. A typical example is *Ókpókìrì* music, which is the oldest non-ritual music in Kálábàrí used for entertainment and relaxation in the evening and is also

performed on other occasions of festive or social engagements. Other types of music are *Jútì Sìrí* music, performed by women, and *Ẹgẹbógbó* music, performed by both males and females. These types of music are also performed in Kálábàrí between the actual programme of events or as an additional form of entertainment with no ritual implications at festivals, installation of chiefs, and funerals.

Kálábàrì traditional beliefs support and allow musical performances to be organised along the lines of sex and age. However, there are mixed musical groups for men and women. Musical events by men that have religious and ritual implications usually exclude women. The Kálábàrì forbid the admission of women into the *Èkìnẹ* cult; women are prevented by tradition from viewing certain rituals carried out by the society. Again, women are not allowed to touch the *Ókóró* (slit drums) or come close to the performance arena of the *Ókóró fárí*. Also, women are not allowed to eat any of the ritual items or touch the utensils used for cooking in order not to incur the wrath of the ancestors.

All female musical groups, like Young Member Society of Kálábàrì and Selected Voices of Asaritoru-Akukutoru Local Government Areas in Kálábàrì, retain few men for the purpose of instrumental accompaniment. Singing and dancing are done by the women, while the men play the drums. However, at funerals when they sing by the deceased lying in state at wake, women perform without the use of instruments. These groups also perform at the rite of passage for girls leading to womanhood in Kálábàrì. In addition, other musical groups admit adult males and females and youths in the community. These groups perform for social and entertainment purposes at festivals, funerals and other functions to which they are invited. Examples are the Àkàsó Cultural Society of Kálábàrì and Jìké jíkeàà Ódúm Dum Cultural Society of Kálábàrì both in Búgúmà. Musical activities are observed all year round in Kálábàrì.

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNERAL RITES AMONG THE KÁLÁḄÀRÌ

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused extensively on the ethnography of Káláḅàrì. In this chapter, attention is given to the concept of death, types of death and appropriate funeral rites, and grave location in Káláḅàrì. Also discussed is the influence of religion and militancy on funeral rites and associated music among the Káláḅàrì.

5.1 The concept of death in Káláḅàrì

Death, to the Káláḅàrì, is a transition from one phase of existence to another. It is the continuation of life in a realm that makes physical contact impossible. The Káláḅàrì worldview recognises four categories of self: *ójú* (body or flesh); *tẹmẹ* (soul or personality); *so* (spirit or fate); and the *ḍụẹịn* (corpse). The physical act of dying is understood as a rite of passage into the spirit world where the self exists as a disembodied force in the realm of soul and spirits. The *ḅúrú- ḍụẹịn* (decaying self) of an elder becomes the pathway allowing for transition to membership among the *órú-ḍụẹịn* (ancestors) and must, therefore, be appropriately honoured and placated. Ancestors are presented as part of the Káláḅàrì life cycle. The ancestors are believed to be essentially the same in spirit and soul. Also, they sustain the strength of the lineage and punish those who contravene lineage norms (Erekosima, 1973). "The idea of survival after death, is essential to the theoretical model which the Káláḅàrì use to cope with the vicissitudes of everyday life" (Horton, 1970:68).

Death is a means of emerging as a new ancestor to join the tripartite spiritual design of the community. Every Káláḅàrì looks forward to being 'ordained' as an ancestor after physical death. This makes it possible for him to enjoy the benefit of being offered food and drinks in return for services to his living relatives. However, not every person can become an ancestor, just as not every man can become a chief. Some conditions within the culture qualify a Káláḅàrì to become an ancestor. When such conditions are not met before death, the person's corpse will suffer for it and would have brought disgrace to the living relatives.

According to a Kálábàrì saying '*pẹ̀nị́ sọ fị́ ibọ so fị́*' (face-up is death, face-down is death). A dying person, before joining the ancestors, considers two alternatives: either to die face up or face down. When a person dies face down, he or she is declared a sorcerer; this closes the opportunity of his ever-becoming an ancestor. A person who cannot look skyward at his or her Creator (the Supreme Being), to declare his or her innocence, but hides his or her face, is not worthy to become an ancestor. The Kálábàrì believe that only the taking of life by witchcraft and sorcery can precipitate the turning away of a dying person's face from *Támúnọ*, the Supreme Being (Personal communication, Igbanibo, 2010).

5.2 Types of death

The psychological and emotional trauma the bereaved experience as a result of the death of a loved one, the general reaction of the community, shaped by their world view of death and age of the deceased at the time of death, informs the categorisation of death into *sí fì* ('bad' death) and *ibí fì* ('good' death).

5.2.1 *Sí fì* (Bad death)

Death of children and those resulting from specific sicknesses, witchcraft, and sorcery as well as death resulting from over-indulgence in food and drinks are termed bad death. Some of these deaths are mourned, but it is not fitting for them to lie-in-state or have their lives celebrated. The corpse of such individuals are wrapped in mats and disposed of at different burial sites without the usual rites that accompany burials. Also, they are not normally called upon when the lineage calls on their ancestors. Examples of deaths in this category are those of children (who die below fifteen years of age) and death under such circumstances as suicide, death of witches and wizards, women who die in childbirth, adults who drowned themselves, and death accompanied by sore or infectious diseases, swelling of the body and elephantiasis. Also included in this category is a person's corpse which shows none of the signs of 'bad death'; but whose coffin, when carried, fail to respond to questioning in *Ìkpàtàkà Ḍógi*, a Kálábàrì funeral rite (Personal communication, Ekine, 2010).

The reason given for the reaction to *sí fì* is that it is a sign of wickedness during life and in particular a disposition toward sorcery. However, my informants acknowledged that not all those who die 'bad death' have been wicked during their life time. For instance, someone may die a bad death not because he or she was a sorcerer

but because an enemy who is a sorcerer has determined to spoil his name as well as kill him. Bad death is further grouped into two: *Kpọ̀ọ̀-a fì* and *Kọrọ fì*.

5.2.1.1 *Kpọ̀ọ̀-a fì*

This implies untimely death arising from any of the reasons mentioned above. All death at the age of fifty and below are said to be untimely. The exact circumstances leading to untimely death determines the rites that follow and the place of burial. *Áwọmina-ḍụẹ̀ịn* applies to any death below age fifteen, after which the corpse is buried without coffin and it is regarded as a very bad omen. Deep sorrow and pain are expressed by the community as such death has cut short the destiny of the deceased and therefore left him unable to fulfil that which he or she was destined to accomplish in life.

As noted earlier, the age, and manner and circumstances of death determine the immediate response, type of funeral rites to be performed as well as the treatment that will be given to the body of the deceased by the Kálábàrì. *Sí- ḍụẹ̀ịn* refers to forbidden death. Such death could be brought about by infectious disease, drowning, and death of pregnant women. In addition, death during childbirth, death of a mother few days after delivery and death brought about by the deity *Adúm* fall under this category. Also, those who die from abominable diseases, such as *so fina obi* (leprosy), *piri mu obi* (small pox), *ḅúrú bà bọ* (death due to overfeeding), *ḅúrú-obi* (elephantiasis), as well as other dreaded diseases and those who commit suicide are regarded as forbidden death. However, Christians and Moslems do not treat deaths as good, bad or abominable. Therefore, they treat the body with all the respect accorded any of their dead members.

5.2.1.2 *Kọrọ fì*

This refers to untimely death which cuts short the life of a young man during inter-ethnic warfare and makes it impossible for the corpse to be brought back home for burial. However, in recent times, this type of death is used to describe those whose corpses are completely dismembered or burnt beyond recognition in plane crashes or ghastly motor accidents. This type of death attracts its own type of ritual, depending on the age of the deceased at death.

The death of a woman during pregnancy, childbirth and death of a newly delivered baby before the completion of six to eight days is an abomination. Not much weeping is allowed and their corpses are not buried at the main cemetery. The body is

wrapped with *àkpàràkpá* (traditional mat) and taken to burial site. People who get drowned in the river or sea are also said to have experienced forbidden death when their bodies are not recovered immediately. When such a body is discovered by the searching crew, it is lifted up from the deep sea with a mat and kept in the canoe. People can only get down to the bank of the river to see the corpse in the canoe at midstream. The prow of the canoe is not allowed to touch the shore. Bodies of drowned victims are usually swollen and eaten up by fish and sea creatures. Where nothing of such happens to the body, the individual is regarded as a bad person whose life is suspected to have been of a foul nature (Personal communication, Ekine, 2010). However, Christians and Moslems do not view these deaths arising from diseases, accident in the sea and over- indulgence as abominable. Therefore, they treat the body with respect and carry out the appropriate funeral rites for their dead members.

5.2.3 *Iḭ̀i fì* (Good death)

This implies death of a man or a woman at the age of sixty and above. Death at a good old age is, in most cases, happily celebrated, as it is believed that the deceased had achieved success in life and had been called away by the ancestors at a ripe age. If a male adult dies, the first son or, in his absence, an elder brother provides the materials for embalmment traditionally; and if a female, the first daughter or an elder sister does it while the corpse is still concealed before permitting public visit. The funerals of people who experience *Iḭ̀i fì* involve extensive ceremonies. They are accorded pre-burial wake and post-burial dances. Their death is regarded as a blessed death; coffins are made and the corpse is well dressed, then buried at the cemetery before many mourners.

5.3. Traditional funeral rites in Kálábàrì

As found elsewhere in other African cultures, the nature of the funeral rite varies with the age, status and the conditions under which the person has died. This section of the study discusses the rites accorded various age groups, chiefs and the king.

5.3.1 Funeral of Àwọmẹ or children (Birth to age 15)

The Kálábàrì believe that children are a blessing from God. When an infant or those still with an undetached navel die, no coffin is made for them and graves are not dug for their burial. The death of children in this age group is regarded as a very bad

omen, especially for infants who are taken as wicked children who had come to kill the mother but failed. Information about the death is quietly disseminated; sympathizers and relations within the compound go to give their condolence. Immediately, family members wrap up the corpse with a mat or clothes and place it on top of the mangrove wood (*ángálá sín*) in the evil forest. The death of children brings grief to the family and community; they are not celebrated and can never become ancestors. However, in some communities owing to Western civilization, graves are now being dug and the corpses buried.

5.3.2 Funeral of Ásáwọ Iriawọ or Young men and women (16-50 Years)

As previously stated, the age and circumstances surrounding death determine the immediate reaction and response of the Kálá̱bàrì. Death of teenagers and youths are referred to as untimely death. It is often received with shock and great wailing by all those who knew the deceased. Such ululations serve as alarm to neighbours and the community as far as the sound can go. People come around within the shortest possible time as a way of identifying with the pains and sorrows of the bereaved. Arrangements are quickly made for immediate burial, as wake (if any, very light) and final dance after the traditional six days or eight days as applicable are not observed for this category of the dead. This is to prevent further psychological trauma for the family.

Musical performances are usually excluded as an expression of the community's deep sorrow and grief over the death. However, if the deceased was an active member of a music group or the *Èkìnè Sẹ́kíàpù*, such groups perform in honour of the late member. Deaths of young adults in their forties are treated with ululation and wakes are organized in their honour. As soon as death is announced, information is passed to relations, friends and society members that will feature at the wake. Musical activities by groups like *Ópú Arúngu* of Àbónnẹ̀mà as well as Bàkánà, Àkàsó Cultural Society of Kálá̱bàrí, Selected Voices of ASALGA and the *Èkìnè* would feature at the wake.

5.3.3 Funeral of Ápúásáwọ or 'Gentlemen' and Elders (50 years and above)

Generally, age and status in the Kálá̱bàrí culture are most important factors considered in funeral. For example, a young person can become a chief, if at thirty years of age he has become very successful in his chosen career and business. However, the place and respect accorded elders that are to be honoured with wake

while lying-in-state and post-burial final dances are typical during funeral rites. The death of an elderly person in his or her late sixties and above is regarded as a blessed death. Naturally, people cry for the loss and mourn their dead. When an elder dies, the body is placed on the bed face up and covered with cloth. Messages are sent to the children and relatives, and other elders within the House or group of Houses gather at the compound of the deceased to deliberate on the preparations for the funeral.

The funeral of an elder is a celebration of life. Owing to increased level of economic pursuit, search for greener pasture and other factors leading to migration of family members to distant places within and outside Nigeria, corpses of elders are deposited in the mortuary to ensure that family members far and near are informed of the funeral arrangements. Wide consultations are carried out among the children, brothers and sisters, wives and chiefs within the House to ascertain the family's readiness financially and in other areas to bury their dead. During such meetings, the budget for the funeral is made, and divided among the children and close relatives of the deceased. After payments have been made, the date for the burial is fixed. Sometimes, in the absence of money, the corpse is kept in the mortuary for up to two or more years in order to give a befitting burial to the dead (Erekosima, 2010 personal communication).

In ancient times before the invention of mortuary, corpses were not kept for a long time before burial. The preservation of the corpse was carried out through a traditional method of embalmment known as *ḍụẹịn-ḍọkụ*, a process used to preserve the corpse for about three days or more. This involved the removal of the food materials and waste from the bowel of the deceased. The corpse was thereby preserved during the period of the funeral with a mixture of gin, potash and Kerosene which was passed through the mouth. Also, in the past, this practice was most acceptable as most family members live closed to one another. Ululations were made by women and children just before sunset following the death of an elder, provided adequate arrangement had been made for the wake (Personal communication, George, 2010).

A Kálábàrì funeral rite for an elder begins after wide consultation and agreement has been reached, during which dates and various rites are decided by the immediate family and elders of the House according to the culture of the people. The opening funeral rite for an old man or woman is the *Ìgìrà Sàrá* rite. This rite which is exclusively meant for chiefs, can be performed by the Polo as mark of honour for the achievements and contributions toward the growth and development of the Polo by the

deceased (Personal communication, Princewill, 2010). The *Ìgìrà Sàrá* as shown in Plate 4, is a boisterous singing mass rally with dancing and drumming by young people of the deceased's family from one Polo to another creating awareness that the funeral rites are to begin that weekend. This rite is done on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday morning and evening and on Saturday morning to the time of the arrival of the corpse. If a female, the young ladies and women perform the *Ìgìrà Sàrá*. After each performance, they assemble at the compound to be entertained by the deceased's children.

Plate 4: *Ìgìrà Sàrá* at Bàkánà

On the first Friday morning, close adult relatives and family members escort the body in a casket by an ambulance from mortuary in Port Harcourt to Àbónnẹ̀mà Wharf, where it is taken by boat to the island. Upon arrival at the island, the men, accompanied by the female mourners, carry the casket to the family house which has been prepared for the funeral celebrations. To escort the corpse, the women wear indigo wrapper sets, an ethnic marker and heritage of the Kálábàrì with a white blouse and a red Indian madras plaid headgear. The textiles used for this set of wrappers are

called *Pẹlẹtẹ ḅịtẹ* (cut-thread cloth) as shown on Plate 5 and are worn by both Kálábàrì men and women during special occasions. Erekosima and Eicher (1981) and Renne (2001) assert that *Pẹlẹtẹ ḅịtẹ* came from a tradition of women cutting and removing the white thread from checked hand-loomed Indian textiles. In recent times, a T-shirt with the deceased's portrait is worn by mourners.

Plate 5: A female mourner dressed in *Pẹlẹtẹ Ḅịtẹ*

Three rooms in the compound are cleared of all furniture and prepared by the relatives before a bed is placed at the centre of each room where the corpse would lie in state. The *ẹdẹ-dẹ-àpú* (women folk) in the family cooperate under the leadership of one of them called *ẹdẹ ḍábọ* who takes the responsibility of selecting the stunning colours and carefully crafted patterns of the cloths considered appropriate for each room. According to an informant, the women who dress the bed pick cloths from an array collected from the extended family members of the *wárí* who lend from their boxes and strong rooms where treasured textiles inherited from past generations are stored for that purpose (Personal communication, Soberekon, 2010).

Preparations are made to receive visitors for the first wake and the events that follow in the week ahead. Tarpaulins and chairs are placed at the corners of an open

space outside the funeral rooms. During the wake, drummers as well as live bands and or stereo music are engaged to entertain guests. Praise singing by club members to which the chief mourner and other relatives belong or the deceased was associated takes place along with dancing throughout the night. Christian families also arrange a service of songs where favourite hymns of the deceased are performed by the choir and church members. Such services usually end by midnight, when the traditional ceremonies take over (Personal communication, Erekosima, 2010).

According to Soberekon (Personal communication, 2010), the corpse is first of all laid in state at the *Kálá ḅio ḅẹ ẹdẹ* (an innermost room). The walls, ceiling and bed in the room are decorated with the textile *ínjìrì*, while the corpse is dressed in *wọkọ* attire lying-in-state. *Kúrúkúrú-ḅịtẹ* and or *ẹgẹnẹ-ḅịtẹ* are used for decorating the innermost room if the deceased is a woman. Close relatives come into the inner room to honour their dead. After some time, the corpse is moved to the second room called *Ḅio kiri ḅẹ ẹdẹ* (middle room) decorated with a combination of the following textiles: *Gom/accra/ blangidi/akwete/ikaki* and *onunga*. These textiles are of a higher quality than the one used for *Kala bio be ede*. Later during the wake, the corpse is moved to the third and final room called *wárí kuu ḅẹ ẹdẹ*. The walls, ceiling and bed are decorated and dressed with the highest three textiles in the hierarchy of cloths: *sinini, lọkọ* and *india*. Tradition has it that under no circumstance is a cloth meant for a room used in a different room or different categories in the hierarchy of cloths.

Furthermore, according to informants, in the past, the *ẹdẹ* used to be two, that is an inner room (*kálá ḅio ḅẹ ẹdẹ*) and an outer room (*ḅio kiri ḅẹ ẹdẹ*) which, in recent decades, have increased with the addition of a third, *wárí kuu ḅẹ ẹdẹ*. In recent times, a fourth *ẹdẹ*, called *krístẹnì ẹdẹ* has been introduced. This room is decorated with white and gold textile fabrics. As many as eight *ẹdẹ* can be prepared for a deceased male or female. In some cases, the chief mourner (the eldest son or daughter), goes on to display and flaunt the prominence of the family heritage through the display of cloths in other kin compounds traceable to the deceased's lineage. Rooms in the compounds of the deceased father and mother may be included. Below are plates 6, 7, 8 and 9 showing the four different *ẹdẹ*.

Plate 6: ***Kálá <u>ḅ</u>io <u>ḅ</u>ẹ (injiri) ẹdẹ***

Plate 7: ***Ḇio kiri ḇẹ (lọkọ) ẹdẹ***

Plate 8: ***Wárí kuu ḇẹ (India) ẹdẹ***

Plate 9: ***Krístẹnì Ẹdẹ***

During the wake, the first wife of the deceased sits by the head holding a handkerchief in hand to fan the deceased at intervals. Lamentations, which break out immediately at death, especially among the female members of the family, continue until interment and rise to a greater intensity on the arrival of each relay of fresh visitors who come to pay their last respect to the deceased lying in state. Also, by the bedside, female relatives sing dirges in honour of the deceased for his achievements and those of his ancestors.

The *Ḍụẹịn-ḅọrọma-ḅaso* rite takes place after the corpse has been moved to the second *ẹdẹ*. This rite is performed by the wives and children. First, the wives are escorted in company of other women to sing dirges that they have composed for this purpose. The first daughter takes the place of their mother if she had died before their father. This rite is performed by every wife or first daughter in case of a woman as a mark of honour and respect for the deceased. The content of songs, which are original

compositions, is a reflection on the love and care demonstrated by the deceased to them while they were alive. The wives are escorted out after this rite and the corpse is moved to the third room *wárí-kuu ẹ̱ ẹdẹ*.

Second, in continuation of the *ḍụẹịn-ẹ̱ọrọma-ẹ̱aso* rite, the children are brought dressed in special attires. Men and boys have their heads wrapped in turban style with cloths and wear a sash around their waists. Women and girls are dressed with expensive headgears, blouses, wrappers and jewellery. There is a procession by the children, with the males in front, followed by the females, which is escorted with songs by relatives from their maternal family compound to where the corpse is lying-in-state. Each child performs his or her individual songs composed for the occasion beginning with the first daughter. Also performed by the children are compound or family songs as an honour to the deceased and the lineage.

On the next day, which is Saturday, the corpse must be buried before noon. After *ḍụẹịn-ẹ̱ọrọma-ẹ̱aso* rite, the body is put in a casket for burial. If the deceased was a Christian, the casket is carried to church for a Christian funeral rite and then to the burial place. In some communities, the body is taken by boat to another island designated as a cemetery. Interment of the deceased marks the end of the observance of the funeral of 'young adult' or an impoverished family. However, when the deceased is a distinguished elder whose family can conveniently carry the expenses involved, another week of events and rites follows.

5.3.4 Funeral for Álápú and Iya Ẹrẹmẹ or Chiefs and their most prized wives

Death of a chief in Kálá̱àrì is handled differently. In earlier days, the death of an *álá̱ọ* (chief) was kept a secret until after the first one or two days. People only suspect possible death through the moving in and out of close relatives and children from his residence. Questions about his death are responded to by: 'he is sleeping' or by insinuation, *okiriaẹ̱ụọ ámá mẹnjị tẹ* (a great man has walked with a different leg). During this period, before the official announcement, several meetings are held at various levels, to prepare for the funeral. The corpse is kept in the mortuary while several meetings are scheduled to plan for the burial. Preparations for the funeral rites can last for a period of two to eighteen months to notify family members abroad about the plans for specific timing and events. Also, enough time is needed for the planning, depending on the size of the canoe house and the chieftaincy stool occupied by the late chief before his death.

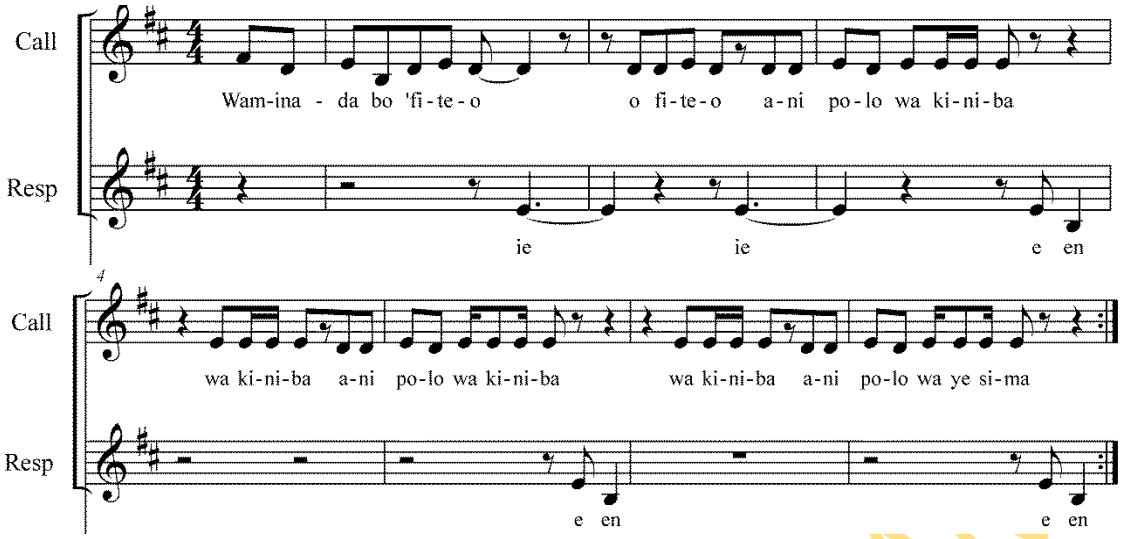
The funeral rites for an *álábọ* are planned to last two weekends beginning from Monday to Saturday or Sunday of the other week if the deceased was a Christian. The death and commencement of funeral rite is made official by the distribution of alcoholic drinks (gin) to all the heads and paramount chiefs of war canoe houses on Sunday evening before the weekend when the corpse will be brought for burial. The presentation of alcoholic drinks by the deceased family to chiefs, who are heads of other canoe houses, is an invitation to perform the opening rites of *Ìgìrà sàrá*.

5.3.4.1 *Ìgìrà sàrá* (ceremonial street carnival) rite

Consequently, the presentation of drinks and the firing of a cannon at night (about 4a.m on Monday) from *se eriya kurusu* (a particular type of cannon) as shown in Plate 11, is an invitation to begin the *Ìgìrà sàrá*.

Plate 10: Sẹ ẹrìyà Kúrúsù

This rite, performed exclusively for chiefs, is a boisterous singing demonstration by young men and women from various compounds. Each group is identified with its compound flag as they sing and dance round the community. Young women appear in careless attire and dance with seductive gestures signifying total liberty. The young men act threateningly and swear in songs if they should kill because the chief, a symbol of authority, is no more? In a call and response style they respond no. This is exemplified in the song *Wámínà Ḍàḅò Fítẹ-o!*



Call: *Wámínà ḍàbọ fiteò*	Our father has died
Response: *hiin*	O yes
Call: *Ọ fi tẹ-o*	Has died
Response :*hiin*	O yes
Call: *Àni póló wá kíní ḅá*?	Should we kill because of that?
Response: *hẹn hẹn*	No, No
Call: *Wá kíní ba, àní póló wá kíní ḅa*	Should we kill, should we kill because of that?
Response: *en en*	No, No
Call: *Wá kíní ba, àní póló wá ye símá*	Should we kill, Should we destroy?
Response: *hẹn hẹn*	No, No

Tradition permits that, as part of celebrating this rite, those involved are free to harvest plantains from people's compound and confiscate any domestic animal moving freely around in the community. The cannon shot is a signal to owners of domestic animals to keep their animals from straying around, as it is believed that, while this rite is ongoing, straying domestic animals, harvestable plantains and fruits belong to King Amachree. Each group, after dancing and singing from one compound to the other, comes to the deceased's compound where they are entertained with food and drinks.

The hoisting of compound flag and subsequent decoration of the entire Polo with flags is peculiar to funerals of chiefs and kings in Kalabari culture. The compound square is arranged with tarpaulins and chairs for important dignitaries from far and near as shown below in Plate 11. At this point, relatives would have cleared three rooms for the *ẹdẹ*, where the corpse will be lying-in-state.

Plate 11: Compound Square decorated for funeral at Búgúmà

These three rooms are the innermost bedroom (*Kálábio*), the family room (*Biokírí*) and the sitting room (*wárí-kúú*). In each room, as was discussed in the funeral of an elder, the bed, wall and ceiling are skilfully covered with specific combinations of textile led by the *Ẹdẹ gàbọ* with the assistance of many other women.

On Friday morning, close relatives and youths, accompanied by female mourners, sometimes leave for Port Harcourt to convey the deceased in a casket. The casket is escorted in a long convoy of cars, buses and, sometimes horses. This is an indication of the status, wealth and power of the late chief, as shown in Plate 12.

Plate 12: A convoy of mourners led by horse riders

There is the chanting of war songs by youths who are either sitting on top of vehicles or hanging on the doors and windows of cars and buses in a convoy as shown in Plate 13 below. Some of the mourners, under the influence of alcohol, carry cutlasses, bottles and sticks in hand, all in the spirit of *ìgìrà sàrá*.

Plate 13: Mourners in high spirit

The portrait of the deceased is held by a male mourner standing in the truck or sitting in front of the ambulance conveying the casket to Abonnema Wharf in Port Harcourt, from where it is transported by boat to the island for burial. The males, wearing T-shirts with the portrait of the deceased and wrapper, help in lifting the casket into the boat. Female mourners wear sets of *kúrúkúrú ḅịtẹ* wrappers and white blouse during the early stage of funeral celebrations and other special occasions. The arrival of the corpse at the island is greeted with three cannon shots as a mark of honour and respect for the deceased. Also, it communicates to the entire community the arrival of the corpse and sets the mood for the next rite.

5.3.4.2 Pọkú ḍọkú (Canoe regatta) rite

This is another major rite that has been a part of the culture performed by the family, war canoe house, villages and towns for chiefs and kings at their funerals. It is considered as the highest honour accorded chiefs or a King (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010). According to my informants, in the past, *pọkú dọkú* was performed

as the very final rite and, therefore, preparations took three to six months, as canoes from all the compounds within the village or from all the towns and villages, in case of the funeral of the *Ámányánḇọ* (King) had to be represented in the performance. Family members, as sign of their readiness, sent out invitations along with alcoholic drinks to heads of family, compounds, villages and towns for the *pọkú dọkú* rite which usually took the whole day. In recent times, the rite is performed within a few hours on a Saturday when the corpse is brought from the mortuary for the funeral rites.

Two different canoes are presented and decorated for use by families or participating villages or towns. The *álálí-árú*, as shown in Plate 14, is artistically decorated with flags of various colours and specially designed cloths inherited from their ancestors.

Plate 14: Construction of *álálí-árú* being in Búgúmà

The canoe is decorated with metal plates and shining materials which further enhance the aesthetic view of the canoe from which the name is derived. The *árú-ḏọkú-ápụ* (paddlers), usually thirty men, are dressed in uniform T-shirts, sometimes with caps and uniformly coloured paddles (*júẹịn*). In the canoe are musicians playing the *ókóró* sets of wooden drums, shown in Plate 15, as accompaniment to songs and display of

Pérí ángálà masquerade. Songs of celebration in praise of the deceased and his lineage are performed by the team of instrumentalists and singers who are paddlers. The paddling is done in consonance with the rhythm of the drum being performed.

Plate 15: Pérí ángálà display in the *álálí-árú*

The second canoe called *Ómú-Árú* shown in Plate 16, is decorated with palm fronds, two cannons, one in front and one at the rear. It signifies war and a reminder that the deceased, at his installation rite, had taken an oath to support the nation with a war canoe in case of national emergency. A flag or two identifying the war canoe house to which the deceased belonged is hoisted in front and or the rear of both canoes and the *Ómú-Árú* (war canoe) is used to convey the corpse.

Plate 16: Casket is taken into the *Ómú-Árú* by warriors

On the arrival of the corpse at the island, it is carried by the young men from the Ambulance into the *Ómú-Árú*, as shown above in Plate 16 and Plate 17. There is the chanting of war songs amidst drumming by the warriors as they paddle their boat to the admiration of mourners and spectators. Women line up at the shore singing and dancing; others perform *igira* until the casket is brought to the place where the chiefs are waiting to receive the casket. Intermittently, during the display, big canoes stop to refill with food and drinks from smaller canoes carrying these items. The ceremonial canoe (*álálí-árú*) is highly decorated with a variety of masquerades displaying in the canoe to the admiration of the invited guests and the entire community, as shown in Plates 18. The funeral of an *Ámányánábọ* entails a more complex form of *pọkú dọkú*.

Plate 17: Warriors engage in songs and display with the casket

Plate 18: *Álálí-árú* led by two chiefs

Pọkú dọkú rite involves preliminary sacrifices, as shown in Plates 19 and 20 to placate the water spirits and the spirit of the ancestors to be present and take control of the performance of the day. This is carried out by the family head, usually a chief, by pouring libation and sacrificing a cock whose blood is sprinkled on white cloths nailed to the front and rear of the war canoe.

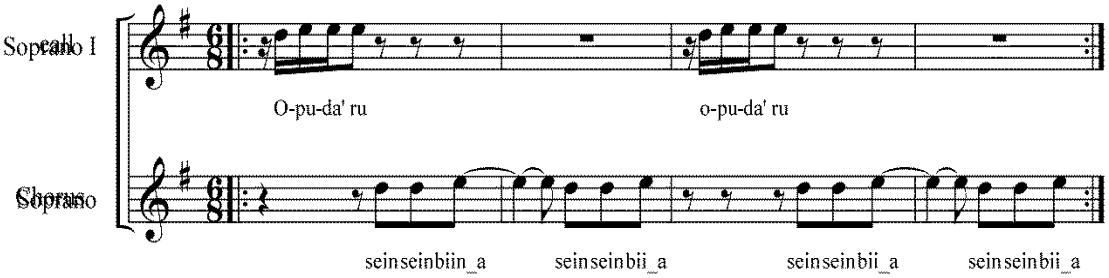
Plate 19: Sacrifice of a Cock

Plate 20: Sprinkling of blood on Canoe

The war canoe carries thirty men who are paddlers as well as singers dressed in black T-shirts with caps looking battle ready, and who sing war songs in response to the melodic and rhythm patterns of traditional musical instruments, such as *okoro*, which are beaten to a crowd of spectators standing by the sea shore. In the morning after the opening ritual, the *Álálí-árú* and *Ómú-árú* take some time to rehearse their paddling as they sing in order to perfect the act under a leader in each of the canoes, as shown in Plate 21 below.

Plate 21: A rehearsal scene at Àbónnémà

After rehearsal, they depart to dress up for the actual performance. An example of the song rehearsed is *Ópúdà Árú* with call and chorus response, as shown below:



Call: *Ópúdà Árú* Our grandfather's war canoe
Chorus: *Ṣẹin ṣẹin Ḅiin-a* Keep loading it does not get filled

Poku doku rite is celebratory and theatrical in nature. Unlike in the funeral of non-titled individuals, it is an opportunity to connect with the water spirits, the ancestral spirits of the founders of the canoe house, all other chiefs that have joined the ancestors and the deity that established the community. The presence of chiefs waiting at the jetty, among many other important dignitaries, to welcome the deceased, as

captured in Plate 22, translates and changes the mood into a community celebration. The atmosphere is charged at the shore, as various groups are involved in *ìgìrà sìrá*. The occasion is not structurally organised at this point, however every performing group searches for room to perform as they join in a procession led by the chiefs to escort the casket from the jetty to the compound where the deceased will be laid in state.

Plate 22: Chiefs waiting to receive the corpse after *Pọ́kú ḍọ́kú*

The chiefs take the lead in escorting the casket first to the mother's compound and the memorial hall (*ìkpù*) of the war canoe house where *ḍụ́ẹ́ịn fúbàrà* (forehead of the dead, ancestors or ancestral screens) are kept. Any other place linked to the deceased is also visited before the corpse is taken to the compound for lying-in-state. During this procession as shown on Plate 23 the chiefs are dressed in black don with a hat and walking stick. There is singing and dancing by different groups performing at the same time which creates an atmosphere of joy, celebration and festivity.

Plate 23: Chiefs in a procession

Traditional and Western musical performances take place simultaneously during the procession. Masquerades owned by individuals, compounds and other traditional music performing groups participate in such processions. Western instruments are used by professional groups, such as undertakers who dance with the casket during the procession. The combination of vocal and instrumental sounds from traditional and Western ensembles, as shown in Plates 24, 25 and 26, creates a mosaic of musical sound whose intensity is a demonstration of power, wealth and status of the deceased and his family in the society.

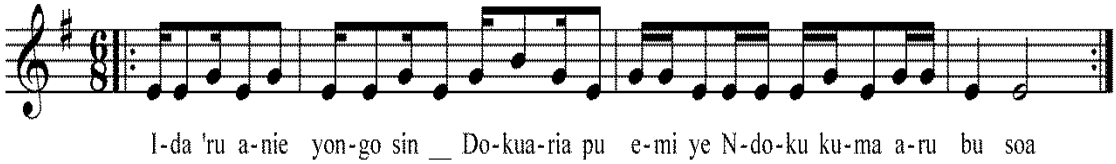
Plate 24: Western musical ensemble during procession

Plate 25: Undertakers dancing to a brass ensemble in Abonnema

Plate 26: *Èkìnè sẹ́kíápù Ìjú* masquerades in a procession at Abonnema

5.3.4.3 *Ḍụẹịn ḅọrọmá* (Accompany the corpse) rite

This rite is performed during the wake when the corpse is taken from one room to the other in a series of lyings-in-state during which songs are performed by close relatives, wives, and children of the deceased. At the same time, various groups perform to entertain guests who have come for the wake. The corpse, on arrival in the compound, is taken into the first room, *Kálá ḅio ḅẹ ẹdẹ*, and laid-in-state. Close relatives come to pay their last respect by rendering dirges to eulogise the deceased. At about 11a.m, a cannon is fired, signifying that the corps is being moved to the second room *Ḅio kírí ḅẹ ẹdẹ* and laid-in-state wearing another outfit to match the colour of this room. The wives and children come in here to perform songs they have composed to honour their husband and father, beginning with the first wife, then other wives and then the children one after the other. Below is an example of a dirge performed by the first daughter in honour of the late father lying-in-state during *ḍụẹịn ḅọrọmà* rite.



Solo:	*Ì ḍà arụ àníe yọngọ sín*	My father's canoe waves like a tree
	Ḍọkuarị àpù émí-e	filled with Paddlers
	Nn ḍọkú kúmà árú ḅu sọ-a	they sail with skill in the Mangrove

The corpse of an *Iyá* (highest form of marriage) woman who is qualified to be an ancestor is moved from the husband's compound to her father's compound where she is laid-in-state for the remaining period of the wake before it is dawn. There is a mock battle that takes place between her husband's and her father's house at about 2a.m to recover the body of their daughter. The husband's house succumbs to the father's house, for the Kálábàrì say, *mẹnì fẹ ḅọ íngbé fe-a* (he who bought the body did not buy the bones). This is followed by singing and great rejoicing as the corpse is taken to its original compound for the continuation of the rites.

The rite continues as women sing dirges and wail intermittently as an expression of grief and pain for the loss of the husband and father. In the same manner, another cannon is shot and the corpse is taken to the third room *Wárí kúú ḅẹ ẹdẹ* and laid-in-state. Other groups come in to pay their last respect to the late chief by singing and reading citations on his contributions before joining the ancestors. Also, as a mark of honour for the dead, the council of chiefs, led by the king, also comes to say farewell to their own as he joins the ancestors. Cash gift is given at this point as part of their contribution toward the burial. The deceased is taken for burial at the cemetery before noon on Saturday.

However, if the deceased was a Christian, the corpse is dressed in white lace material and laid-in-state in a fourth room *kristẹni ẹdẹ* as shown in Plate 27, where church members and other invited guests can honour the deceased with a procession round the corpse singing Christian hymns and choruses. The corpse is taken to church for a funeral service at 10am on Saturday after which it is taken for burial.

Plate 27: Lying-in-state in *Kristẹni ẹdẹ*

5.3.5 *Ḍụẹịn mịnẹ* rite or funeral of principal chiefs and king(s)

The *mịnẹ* rite is an ancient (*gwá*) purification ceremony. It is the highest form of funeral rite that can be bestowed on individuals as they join the ancestors. This rite is performed in addition to other rites discussed above for elders and chiefs in a more elaborate and grand style involving the participation of all the clans villages and towns in the case of the *Ámányánáḅọ* (King) of Kálá ḅàrì kingdom. Apart from the king, *mịnẹ* rite is performed for *Àkwà Álábọ* (Chief Drummer), *Àkàsá Álábọ* (Akaso Priest) paramount chiefs of the war canoe houses of Ikiri JohnBull, George, Horsfall and important personalities that can be traced to the Amabin family. Funeral rites at this level take more time for preparation and execution. Huge financial and human resources are needed to put together this celebration, which is a festival of rituals, music and dance. The *ḍụẹịn mịnẹ* funeral rite was performed for late King Cotton Charlie Kieni Amachree and late Chief Wokoma Horsfall. According to my informants, King Obaye Abiyesuku Amachree X died in 1998 and the *mịnẹ*, an aspect

of funeral rites for *Ámányánábọ*, was enacted on Thursday 14th of February, 2002.

According to DavidWest (Personal communication, 2010), *ḍụẹịn mịnẹ* is of two categories: *óló-mịnẹ* and *kíríkìrì-mịnẹ*. The *óló-mịnẹ* is performed three days after the corpse had been interred on Saturday. *Kíríkìrì-mịnẹ* is performed on the day of the burial after a series of placement of the corpse in *Kálá ḅio bẹ ẹdẹ* and *Ḅio kírí ḅẹ ẹdẹ* at the palace and later in the *Ópúdà Imkpu* (King Abbi Memorial Hall) for the final placement in *Wáríkúú ḅẹ ẹdẹ*. Cannon booms at intervals during these activities, as dignitaries and invited guests from far and near pay their last respect to the deceased in a procession around the corpse lying-in-state on a bed. After this activity, people are driven out and the corpse is clothed with the appropriate dress for the commencement of the *kíríkìrì-mịnẹ* rite. The corpse is placed on the floor and dressed with a piece of white cloth wrapped around the head to which *ígó pikọ* (eagle feather) is attached. Both hands are crossed. However, on his left arm is tied *abi igbiki-awirawu* (manila) and *keme sibi* (human skull) is placed on the left hand. With the right, it holds *ìkòli ogìyè* (sword) and the body, adorned in *sịrị oju* (leopard skin) is laid on a native straw mat called *àkpàràkpá* in the King Amachree Hall whose entrance faces the town square. A photograph of King Amachree Hall is presented in Plate 28.

Plate 28: King Abbi Memorial Hall and the dance square in Búgúmà

According to Horton (Personal communication, 2010), the first phase of the rite (*námá pẹlẹ*) begins with the first son of the king severing the neck of a male fowl and pouring the blood of the fowl on the body of the king. This is followed by his severing the neck of a male goat and again pouring its blood on the body of the King. This done, the king's son parades briefly in front of the hall, dancing to *àkùmà* rhythm, with the head of the fowl in his mouth, the sacrificial machete in his right hand and the head of the goat in his left. After a minute or two, he returns to the side of the corpse for the next phase (*ikọlọbọ páká*) where he receives and sacrifices a series of male goats presented by the various Kálábàrí villages and by prominent chiefs and allies of the king. Finally, he comes out to dance three times round the town square to signify the end of the sacrificial rite. During this time, entertainment of guests is on and the corpse is wrapped with the *àkpàràkpá* (special mat) and taken for interment at *Abbí Ámá*.

As part of the *Kíríkìrì-mịnẹ*, the *Kálá èkpèsíàbà* masquerade is displayed by the Amabin family at the King Amachree square and *Peri Owu* masquerade by the Kálábàrí *Èkìnè Sẹkíàpù*. *Kálá èkpèsíàbà* masquerade is led by *Sẹkíbọ* into the town square to perform *tìngólógóló* dance movements to a special set of drums directed by *Ákwá álábọ* (the chief drummer). Dancing and singing behind the masquerades are women dressed in *iria* attire, as shown in Plate 29. The dance is led by the eldest woman from the Ámábin family followed by the first daughter of the late king and other first daughters or their representatives who must be females. Music and dance continue at the arena in the evening for the next two days, that is Friday and Saturday. During the performance, an appreciable distance is kept between the *Kálá èkpèsíàbà* masquerade and the *ìrìabọ* dancers to prevent the masquerade from being defiled. The female dancers run away from the masquerade as they sing and perform to avoid contact with the masquerade (Personal communication, Anji West, 2010).

Plate 29: Ìrìàpù dressed in their attire

5.3.6 Post-interment wake

As the case of chiefs discussed earlier, wake for the king continues through the following week for six days, starting on Monday, beside the *ẹdẹ*. In addition to the display of various qualities of textiles, there is also the arrangement in which portrait of the deceased pillow,hats, beads, and hand held accessories are placed on the bed as though the corpse is lying on the bed, as shown in Plates 30 and 31.

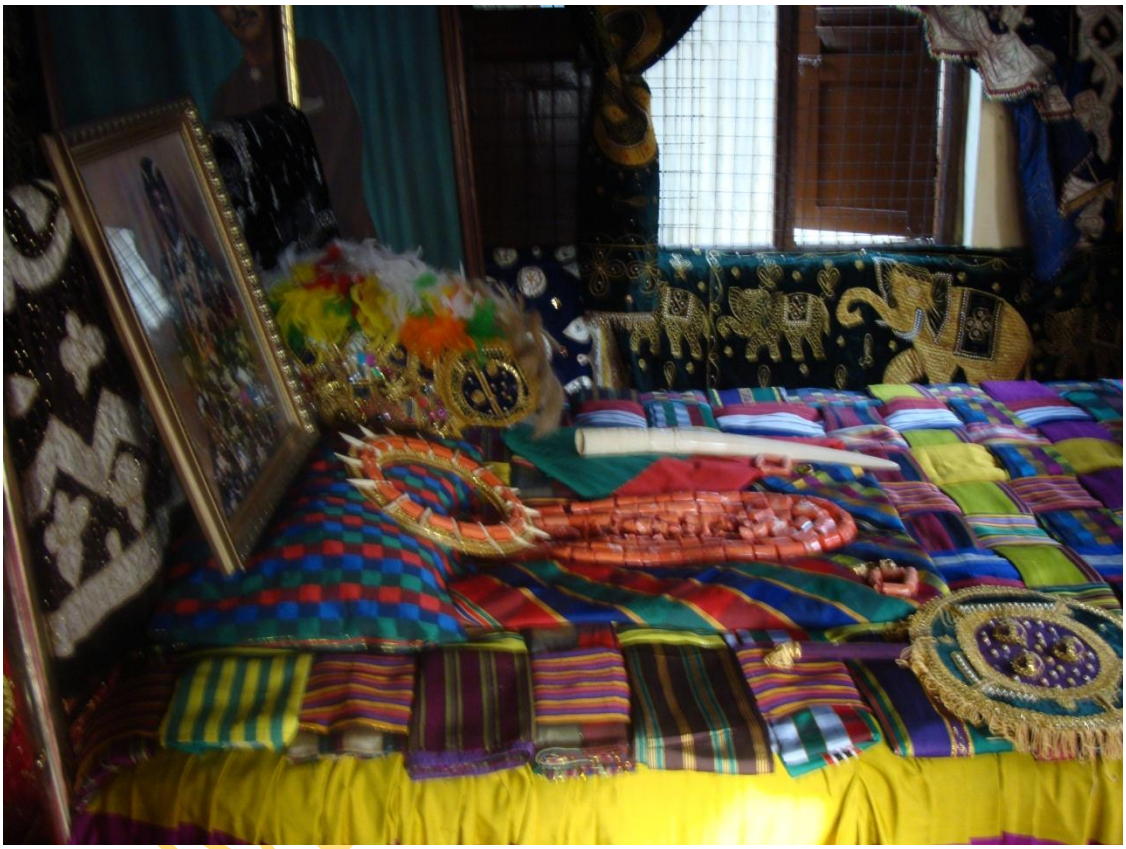


Plate 30: Bed shows off family's *Pẹlẹtẹ ḅitẹ* cloth wrapper and accessories

Plate 31: ***Kristẹni ẹdẹ*** **with haat on the pillow and ccessories**

5.3.6.1 *Ókóró fárí* funeral rite

The *ókóró fárí* rite is performed for the king and chiefs of all categories during their installation as well as their funeral after the interment. Also, the rite is enacted for the mother and wives of chiefs or a king married by *Ìyá* form of marriage. This rite is performed for six days as a symbol of honour for the late chief who, until his death, was a successful warlord. It is also an invitation of the ancestors to come and celebrate with the living as they welcome the spirit of the deceased into ancestorhood. Besides, it is an opportunity for the *Ópútóní fárịb̠ọ* (lead drummer) to mediate as an intermediary, through ritual music, between the living, and the ancestral spirits, societal spirits and the water spirits which together constitute the central worldview of the Kálábàrì.

The *ókóró fárí* ensemble performance is highly ritualistic, involving the invocation and invitation of ancestral spirits to attend the celebration beginning on Monday at 2:00 a.m by first of all invoking the spirit of *Ókóró*, which is made possible through libations with hard drinks and playing of incantations on the instruments, as seen in Plate 32:

Plate 32: *Ókóró fárí* Ensemble Performing in Búgúmà

The *Ókóró fárí* orchestra is directed and conducted by the *Ópútoni fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) who is accompanied by others playing different sizes of *Ókóró* and a membrane drum *bóbóye*. The instruments are arranged on a traditional mat called *àkpàràkpá* made from a special type of raffia palms as shown in Plate 33. The chief drummer plays a set of four wooden slit drums of different sizes: two in front, *Ọgọdógọ* and *Ámgbírí*; and one on his left hand and another on the right, called *Àtángbá* and *Ámágámíné*, respectively, playing supporting roles. A second set of two slit drums called *Ìgìmà pọkọ*, is played by *Pẹlẹye fáríbọ* (Assistant lead drummer). The third in the set is a single slit drum called *Kpọkpọ*, which gives the timeline and is played by *Kpọkpọ fáríbọ*. The last instrument is a membrane drum called *bóbóye*, which *bóbóye fáríbọ* sits on while performing. The different sizes of the slit drums produce different tones and rhythmic patterns making communication with the living and the spirits possible during performance (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010).

Plate 33: *Ókóró fárí* orchestra and ritual items

During the ritual performance women are not allowed to come near the arena of performance. They are not also allowed to touch the musical instruments or partake in the food used for sacrifice. This is to avoid defilement which will lead to subsequent rejection of sacrifices, musical performances, and, in some cases, killing of the performer by the gods and ancestors. As a rule, according to the informant, musicians must abstain from sex with their wives or any other woman during the six days of performance as they play their mediatory roles between the living and the ancestors.

Ritual items are provided throughout the period to entertain the deities and ancestors who are guests at the ceremony. On the first day as the spirits are invoked through the *Ókóró fárí* orchestra, the following ritual items are provided: one tin of corned beef, one packet of cabin biscuit, four bottles of native gin; three packets each of Benson and Hedges, Rothmans and St. Moritz. For the next five days, these items are provided morning and evening by the bereaved family, except the first two items. On the sixth day, meant for the closing rite, the following items are used for sacrifices: one goat, one bunch of plantain, seven tubers of yam, two litres of palm oil, one cup of pepper, one cup of salt, two packets of cabin biscuit, two tins of corned beef, one cup of tobacco powder, two bottles of gin, one *àgbárá* fish, a big aluminium pot and a bunch of firewood for cooking the items (Personal communication, Tariah, 2010).

As the ritual progresses, the lead drummer and his assistants engage in a call-and-response form of performance where questions are asked and answers provided through the talking drums amidst complex rhythmic patterns of the *Ókóró fárí* orchestra. After the necessary libations and distribution of pieces of the ritual items to deities and ancestors, the chief drummer, by means of drums, invokes the spirit of the *Ókóró* with the drums discussed extensively under macro forms in chapter seven.

5.3.6.2 *Ámáḭ̱ọrọ* (Procession around the town) funeral rite

This rite is performed as a closing and final rite for titled men or chiefs in Búgúmà. However, later that evening in Àbónnẹmá, Bàkánà, and every other Káláḭ̱àrì town, *ḭ̱ín karma*, the closing aspect of *ìrìa-páká* rite, is enacted. *Ámáḭ̱ọrọ* (procession around the town) is performed on Saturday, the seventh day after interment. This is to notify the town and the community of the successful completion of the various funeral rites by the children, and immediate and extended family members of the late chief. The march begins from the *Póló Nụngwọ* (compound square) of the deceased with singing of compound songs. The march is led by the men lined up in order of seniority

and dressed in *ẹbù*, *dọnì*, and *àttígrà* gowns normally worn by chiefs and the king only. The women and girls dress as *ìrìapù* in their India madras ensemble as signs of prestige and display of family wealth. The portrait of the deceased is carried by the elderly men and women leading the procession, as captured in Plates 34 and 35.

On arrival in each *póló*, a popular song associated with the war canoe house is sung to eulogise its ancestors and members of the compound. This goes on from one war canoe house to the other until they arrive in their own compound square where the procession began, to assemble for prayers. All those who took part in the *Ḍínkórú* (*ìrìapù* dance) performed the previous night and the *Ámáḅọrọ* are entertained and given souvenirs before they depart. This marks the end of the funeral rites. However, on Sunday, family members who are Christians go for thanksgiving in church.

Plate 34: *Ówú* leading the *Ámáḅọrọ* procession

Plate 35: *Ìrìabọ* with a portrait leading *ìrìapù* ensemble

5.3.6.3 *Ìrià pàká* funeral rite

Ìrià pàká funeral rite is the final round-up of events. The rite is performed for those who die at a very old age. In addition, the deceased must have performed the same rite for either of the parents at their funeral. It is exclusively a display of family wealth, as the chief mourners, male and female, children of the deceased and representatives of family units of the war canoe house engage in the performance of music and appropriate dance steps for a period of two or three days (Wednesday to Thursday or Friday) after the corpse has been interred on the Saturday of the previous week.

Preparation for the final dance begins on Wednesday (*Túḅó-tịrá-ḍìn*). At about 3:00am, women from within the compound gather to sing dirges with the wife of the deceased in her room. During this time, the widow sings the songs she has composed to mourn her husband. The women move to the compound square leaving the widow behind, then march round the entire community singing dirges until about 5:00am. They return to the deceased's compound where they continue their singing and dancing till about 7:00am to reconvene at 3:00pm.

Wednesday (*Túḅó-tịrá-ḍin*) and Thursday (*Túḅó-íníá-ḍìn*) evenings, beginning from about 3:00pm, are set aside for training male and female mourners on

appropriate dance movements (*Bụọ ḍawọ*) by a dance expert, usually an elderly woman called *govina* or *ìriaḅọ iyingiḅọ* at the deceased place. After the rigorous training, a wake (*ḍín kórú*) is held on Friday (*Bụọ ḍiki*) at the compound square where dances are performed by the women in plain George wrapper. During the wake, as part of the rite, the widow's hair is shaved and her nails cut. She stops singing and wears black cloths for the next one year. Entertainment follows immediately and, if the deceased was a chief, this wake (*ḍín kórú*) marks the final rite before *ámábọrọ* (a march round the town). However, if the deceased dies at a very old age, either male or female, a final dance (*Ḍín krámá tî*) is performed on Saturday night (Harry, 2010).

An integral part of the *ḍín krámá* celebration is the dressing associated with the form of music and dance. Female mourners, dressed in the most affluent of *ìriàbọ* ensembles. They wear *lọkọ* or India velvet textiles embroidered with metallic treads of gold and silver, knee-length wrappers gathered full around the waist, and hair, arms and legs heavily decorated with beads and expensive ornaments. The male mourners, both men and boys, wear *dọnì* and *ẹbù* gowns normally worn by chiefs or the King or *àttígrà* used on special occasions as presented in Plates 36 and 37.

Plate 36: *Ìrìapù* in India madras textiles

Plate 37: *Ówú ápú* in *àttígrà*

The final dance begins about 6:00pm at the compound square with canopies arranged for the male and female chief mourners and their ensemble sitting at opposite ends of the dance arena and instrumentalists, invited clubs and other guests and members of the war canoe house at the sides. A table decorated with bottles of spirits and assorted drinks is placed in front of each group. The mourners, made up of male and female ensembles, are led separately into the arena by an expert choreographer, as revealed in Plates, 39 and 40, who dances alone to the drum beats and songs composed specially for this purpose. Women of the House, as well as invited clubs, engage in singing of songs and use of hand-held wooden clappers called *ɓara fárí yé* to produce accompaniments for the various rhythmic patterns.

Plate 38: *Ówú ápú* in the dance arena

Plate 39: *Ìrìapù* in the dance arena

Each group comes to the arena on three different occasions led by the *Govina* who introduces the appropriate dance steps on each occasion. During the performance family members and guests frequently come to give money to the dancers amidst cheers as a sign of appreciation for a good performance. Later in the course of the performance, women from within the House and guests in attendance come to present gifts of textile materials to the *Ìrìapù* ensemble for good performance. After presentations of the special dance repertoires, women go across the arena asking the men to dance with them.

Ìrìapù dances are usually accompanied with songs and hand clappers (*bárá fárí yé*) by the women, as shown in Plate 40. In addition, full instrumental accompaniment as shown in Plate 41 is employed in the ensemble as follows: five pots drums (*Kúkú*) of various sizes in combination with two slit drums (*Nkóró* and *Kpọkpọ*), three membrane drums (two *álílí* and one *bóbóye*); and a bell (*ígbémá*). The master drummer (*Kúkú fáríḅọ*) engages the dancers as they respond to polyrhythm from the instrumental ensemble. While the dance is ongoing, the chief mourners, both male and female, form a single line and go off into darkness: a mark of farewell to the departed. Oral tradition has it that all those who performed the dance are expected to sleep away from their houses that night. The next morning, Christian families, in gorgeous dresses, attend church for thanksgiving service.

Plate 40: Selected Voices of ASALGA performing at *Dín Krámá*

Plate 41: *Kúkú fárí* ensemble performing at *Ḍín Krámá*

5.3.7 *Ékémá ḅílé* rite

When a chief dies, *Ékémá ḅílé* rite, now extinct, used to be the last funeral rite performed by all the wives before death. This rite is extended also to wives who had separated before the death of their husband. According to Soberekon (2010 personal communication), it is a type of ordeal the wives went through to declare their loyalty and marital faithfulness to their husband throughout his lifetime. Each of the wives performed the *Ékémá ḅílé* rite at the waterside after prayer and libation by elders in the presence of members of the community.

Seven canoes are lined up side-by-side in the river and each of the wives dives into the river underneath the canoes without coming out until she has crossed under them. This is done seven times for each wife, with family members and others from within the community watch with anxiety. It is expected that during the ceremony, the wife's head must not hit or touch the bottom of the canoes during the swimming exercises. Such a hit can easily be detected by the elders listening and watching by the canoes.

Each woman who successfully completes this rite is highly regarded by the community as a 'faithful wife' to the husband during their marriage. This is usually celebrated by singing songs of praise and rejoicing by the children and members of the family from the river side to the compound square. *Sírì-tí*, a form of singing by women which does not necessarily require the use of instruments, and *Ókpókìrì*, the oldest traditional music style is performed. However, any wife who is unsuccessful, by hitting her head against the bottom of the canoes is declared an 'unfaithful wife' and she brings disgrace and shame to her children and her family. This was captured in the past in satirical songs as well as songs of insult (in a battle of songs) known as *Ógbóná-múmé* (Personal communication, Ekine, 2010).

Two categories of *Ékémá* wives are identified by means of this rite: the faithful ones are called *ḅúgbóláa ékémá ẹrẹbọ* (those whose body did not hit) and the unfaithful *ḅúgbólotẹ ékémá ẹrẹbọ* (those whose body hit). According to respondents, this rite was a traditional mechanism to discourage adultery and raising children of different paternity by women in a society where the husband who was a chief was away for weeks and months for business and sometimes in service for the community.

5.3.8 *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* rite

The *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* is a Kálá̱bàrì funeral rite performed for the young and elderly, male and female, as well as title-holders and priests of deities at their funeral. It is a dramatic manifestation of the spirit of the deceased during performance of the rite. Those who die "bad death" neither receive the questioning or celebrative phase of the funeral rite. The rite is performed in two phases: the questioning and celebrative phases. The first phase of *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* is generally performed before interment for the deceased of any age group and status. However, the celebrative phase, which is performed after interment, is carried out for four days involving music and dance. This second phase of the rite takes place only when the deceased has answered positively to the offer of a goat, usually sacrificed by a close relative and some of its blood poured on the *Ìkpàtàkà* during the questioning phase (Personal communication, Tomtom, 2010).

According to my informants, *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* rite was never performed at Élém Kálá̱bàrì or in the three daughter resettlements: Àbónnémà, Bàkánà, and Búgúmà. It is not a typical Kálá̱bàrì funeral rite but a variant carried out in very few communities. The spirit manifests in different ways. In some, the spirit animates its own corpse and

in others it animates some objects associated with the corpse. For example, in Àbàlàmà where the researcher observed the rite performed on a teenager, his corpse wrapped with a mat was used; in Bàkánà, Sokú and Mínàmá, the spirit animates a coffin (*Ìkpàtàkà*). The *Ìkpàtàkà* is made by weaving mangrove (*Ángálá*) sticks together in the shape of a coffin, overlaid with a mat. It is further decorated with a type of grass (*Obirimonoma-osuka*) and dry plantain leaves. In Kúlá, the spirit animates not the corpse or *Ìkpàtàkà* but the body of a close relative who acts as a medium temporarily during the rite (Personal communication, YoungHarry, 2010).

The nature of *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* rite may vary in content, depending on the status of the person involved and the circumstances surrounding the death of the deceased. The researcher, through the non-participant observation and interview methods, elicited data at the funeral of a teenager, the grandson of Papa Welsh Bebe Igoni of Àbàlàmà. This rite was performed to determine the source of the mysterious death of the boy. The body was prepared and wrapped with a traditional mat made from raffia palms and laid on the ground with the feet pointing to the open doorway of their house in the father's compound. Purification of the corpse and the surroundings by the use of *Ódúmdúm* leaves as seen in Plate 42 was carried out by the leader of the team invited to perform the rite. This was followed by libation with an alcoholic drink, invocation of the spirit to come into its corpse for interrogation and a call upon the ancestors and deities of the land to be in attendance to guard the entire process from manipulation.

Plate 42: *Ódúmdúm* Leaf used for purification

After purification and invocation, the family members asked for six volunteers from the crowd to carry the corpse on their shoulders; two at the head, two at the waist and two at the legs. The six men who volunteered were *áṣáwọ* (youths), one of whom was a close relative. The atmosphere was charged, as mourners and sympathizers were in a state of grief and anxiety about what would be the outcome of the questioning of the corpse. It was an ordeal for the corpse, paternal and maternal family members and the entire community. In the case of this deceased who was a teenager, only the questioning phase was required to prove the source and cause of his death. Names used in this section of my observation were not real names of the characters involved in this rite.

The corpse was lifted from the ground and carried on their shoulders. His uncle, facing the corpse, called his name 'John' and the corps moved forward on the shoulders of its bearers signifying a positive answer to the call to answer questions. The first thing was to find out the person he had appointed to handle the questioning sessions. Six names selected from both his paternal and maternal families were put before it by his uncle. The corpse rejected all the names by responding in the negative, by moving backward and to the left on each presentation of the names. Then the uncle requested him 'show us whom you have selected?' Immediately, the corpse rushed its bearers to the door of 'James', a distant relative about forty-five years of age from the paternal family. He later then put questions before the corpse and it responded appropriately.

With the corpse now under the guidance of lineage ancestors and 'James', all was set for the questioning. At this point, family elders, compound chiefs and a representative of the *Ámányánábọ* of Àbàlàmà were seated, while 'James' put the following questions to it as follows:

1. "Peter' are you a sorcerer?" No.
2. "Peter' did you kill yourself?" No.
3. "Peter' is this the time that God has appointed that you should die?" No.
4. "Peter' were you charmed to death with medicine?" Yes.
   (There was a large cry from the women and youths at this point)
5. "Peter' was this charm from your classmates?" No.
6. "Peter' was this charm that caused your death from your father?" No.
7. "Peter' was this charm that caused your death from your mother?" No.
8. "Peter' was the cause of death from your father's family?" No.

9. “Peter’ was the cause of death from your mother’s family?” Yes.
10. “Peter’ will you avenge your death?” Yes.
11. “Peter’ is there anything you want us to know about the house?” No.

After this last question, ‘James’ presented some money in front of the corpse to one of the corpse-bearers with a statement, “‘Peter’; farewell as you avenge your killers.” There was great crying and weeping as the six corpse bearers brought down the corpse off their shoulders and put it in a coffin for burial at the appropriate site.

According to Dabo-Anji (Personal communication, 2010), *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* rite can be further used as a means of divination during the funeral of a king as questions are put to the deceased to determine who should succeed the throne. In addition, it is a rite performed not only to know who killed the deceased, but also an opportunity for the deceased to show that he or she was not involved in any form of wickedness during his or her lifetime. In Abalama, according to His Royal Highness A. B. Big Tomtom (Personal communication, 2010), any corpse that refuses to respond to questioning is summoned in the name of the king. This is a sign that the deceased had been involved in sorcery during his or her life. Such corpse is thrown down by the bearers and stripped naked. It is not buried normally but is dragged to the waterside by a rope where a log of mangrove is tied to it and thrown into the sea. Plate 43 below shows the *Ámányánábọ* of Àbàlàmà.

Plate 43: His Royal Highness A. B. Big Tomtom the *Ámányánábọ* of Àbàlàmà

The second phase of *Ìkpàtàkà dògí*, which is celebrative, begins at 4:00 p.m following the day of burial. According to Igoni (Personal communication, 2010), from Àbàlàmà, who was seventy nine years of age at the time of the interview, three or four days are set aside for performing music and dance for the dead. The performance

involves men's or women's dancing groups sponsored by the children, close relatives and friends of the deceased. If the deceased was an *Èkìnè Sẹ́kíbọ*, the *Èkìnè Sẹ́kíapù* orchestra will be ready to perform for him; but if a woman the pot drummer will perform. On the last night of the performance, after some rituals at the ancestral shrine, the spirit of the deceased possesses a female relative who dances to the rhythms of the drums. During this time, mourners and friends presents gifts of money and cloths on a tray. After a while, the woman dances back into the ancestral shrine. This marks the end of the rite.

5.3.9 *Ḍ̲ụẹ̀ịn Ḅ̲úọ sìn* (Removal of the leg) rite

This rite is carried out for those who used to be members of dance groups and singing societies, especially those involved in the performance of masquerades. *Ḅ̲úọ sìn* rite (removal of the leg) or *ḍ̲ụẹ̀ịn bárá sìn* (removal of the hand) is a way of severing the spirit of the dead from attending their meetings and rehearsals. It is believed that continued relationship between the spirit of the deceased member and the living owing to non-performance of the rite can incur the anger of the deceased (*Ḍ̲ụẹ̀ịn ígánì*) on the group members and lead to a series of death among them (Personal communication, West, 2010).

The *Èkìnè Sẹ́kíàpù*, as part of the final funeral rite performs this rite for a deceased member during the wake. This rite is a way of removing the deceased member from participating in any of their meetings and masquerade displays. Only *Èkìnè* members and the children of the deceased who are also members are allowed in to the room where the corpse is laid while the doors and windows are locked. This is done to prevent non-members, and especially women, form hearing the ritual songs which are sacred and not meant for non initiates. There are two basic songs performed by members when performing the rite. The second song is performed after *míné* rite for paramount chiefs and the king; this is immediately followed by *Ìkẹ̀kẹ̀gbà* ritual which facilitates the actual removal (Igbanibo, 2010 personal communication).

According to my informants, *Ìkẹ̀kẹ̀gbà* ritual is performed by mixing white chalk with water in an empty coconut shell. The white chalk is then used by the *Èkìnè Álábọ* to mark the forehead of the deceased after which the eagle feather on the head is removed, signifying the removal of the deceased spirit from the *Èkìnè* cult. Plate 44 shows a *sẹ́kíḅ̲ọ* fully dressed with an eagle feather on his head, in a dance performance in Búgúmà at the funeral of late Akaso Alabo. This performance is immediately

followed by *ḅúọ sìn* rite, which the researcher was not allowed to participate in being a non-initiate.

Plate 44: A *Ṣẹkíḅọ* dressed with an Eagle feather

Furthermore, within the Kalabari culture, other singing and masquerade dance groups perform this rite with or without the corpse at an appropriate time between a week and a year after burial. Such dance groups, depending on their financial strength and the status of the deceased family, prepare for an open performance at the compound square of the deceased.

The researcher observed *Ópú-Árúngú* of Bàkáná, a masquerade dance group specialised in the performance of eight different types of masquerade within the same family called *Árúngú* (*árú* meaning canoe and *ngú* meaning frog). Members of the group came with their instruments and began to perform to the admiration of guests and spectators from the community. The males played the instruments, as shown in Plate 45, while the females and a few men danced as they sang to the music. While the performance was in progress *Sírì* (Leopard) masquerade was escorted into the arena to entertain and amuse spectators.

Plate 45: *Ópú-Árúngú* Ensemble of Bàkánà

Plate 46: *Sírì* Masquerade Performing during *Ḍụẹịn Bárásìn* rite in Bàkánà

The masquerade, while dancing as shown on Plate 46, mimics the leopard by searching and running after its preys: little children and adults who came to watch the performance by grabbing them at the feet. Some of its victims gave little tokens of money and the masquerade let go of their legs. Some members of the audience, both males and females, joined in singing and dancing without restriction. At a point in the performance, the leader of the group requested for water to be brought in a cup which he used for libation and prayers. At the end of the prayers, the music stopped abruptly and members of the group ran in different directions, signifying the removal of the late member's spirit from their group.

5.3.10 *Ḍụẹịn Fẹngúmá* (Without corpse) funeral rite

This funeral rite was performed in the past for elderly persons or chiefs whose body got missing during inter-ethnic wars and those who died during the Nigerian Civil War. Also in recent times, those who die in plane crashes, fire and such other accidents in which the corpses cannot be found have their spirits invoked to attend their funeral. During such funeral for an elder or a chief, every rite is performed as

explained above except that only one traditional *ẹdẹ* (room for lying-in-state) is decorated with the deceased's cloth, cap, a pair of shoes, and walking stick arranged on the bed as if the corpse is lying-in-state (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010).

On a Friday, beginning from about 3:00 p.m, a diviner invokes the spirit of the dead, while *Àkùmà*, a ritual drum is played. The arrival of the deceased's spirit is marked by the arrival of a strong wind and the sudden appearance of flies round the edges of the cloths spread on the bed in the *ẹdẹ*. Family members, children and friends shout repeatedly 'ịrịawe! ịrịawe!! ịrịawe!!!', an expression of joy, as the deceased attends his own funeral. The researcher was only allowed to observe and not to snap photographs during the proceedings. Early hours of the following morning before noon, the cloth, cap, a pair of shoes and walking stick were put in a coffin and taken for burial at the appropriate site for elders (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010).

5.3.11 *Yè dọkìmà* rite

This rite involves the burning of some personal belongings which the deceased used regularly. Oral tradition has it that these personal belongings like clothes, hand fan, chairs and so on, will be needed where he or she is. Libation is made with gin and the materials are set on fire. This rite is performed in Buguma and Abonnema in the sixth day after burial. In the evening, *Ìrịa-páká* dance follows, as described earlier (Personal communication, Ekine, 2010).

5.4 Grave location

The type and nature of death, age and status of the deceased determines the type of funeral rite as well as the grave location. According to Ekine (Personal communication, 2010), the places of grave location are both aquatic and terrestrial.

5.4.1 *Àrịàpú-sìbí-kòò*

Sorcerers and wizards at death have their corpses tied to a very heavy stone and taken by canoe into the deep sea to be buried in Àrịàpú-sìbí-kòò, an aquatic environment. In Bàkánà, those not identified as sorcerers or wizards before burial on land are exhumed after months or years to be buried in the deep sea to clean the land of evil.

5.4.2 *Nọnjí*

This burial site is for those who die by drowning and whose corpses are found after three days. They are wrapped with à*kpàràkpá* (mat made from raffia palms) and laid on the ground or the roots of the mangrove in the evil forest. Persons who die with pregnancy, duringchild birth or die within eight days, (in Tombia) or six days (in Búgúmà) of childbirth are treated likewise. Those who die with sore on their body, enlarged testes, and swollen body at death are also buried there. In Búgúmà, those who die miserable or bad death are taken to *Àdàmàà*, a mangrove forest. The corpses are placed on top of mangrove roots and left to decay.

5.4.3 *Ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-pírí*

In most communities, the cemetery is divided into sections according to age and status for those who die the 'good' death. For example, in recent times children and teenagers are buried in a section called *Àwọmínà-ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-pírí*. Young men and women are buried in a section called *Ásáwọ-ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-pírí*. Adults and elders are buried in another section of the cemetery called *Ópúàsáwọ-ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-pírí*. The chiefs are buried in a separate section called *Álá-ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-pírí*.

5.4.4 *Àbbí Àmà*

This grave location, in another island not too far from the Búgúmà community, is used for the burial of those belonging to the Kálá̱bàrí royal family. The *Ámányánáḇọ* (King), chiefs, and important personalities from the royal lineage are buried in this location.

5.5 The Church and funeral rites

Christian missionary activities were introduced into Elem Kálá̱bàrì during the reign of King Abbi Amachree IV in 1872 when a number of Kálá̱bàrì chiefs visited Bonny and became fascinated by the educational programme of the mission. On their return, they sent eight of their boys to study in the Bonny School on August 20th, 1872. The following year, the Kálá̱bàrì people formally wrote an application to Bishop Crowther who visited on the 26th of August, with a view to drawing up an agreement with the *Ámányánáḇọ* and his chiefs for the establishment of a school. In April of 1875, a school was established in Kálá̱bàrì with initial enrolment of five pupils. This marked the beginning of formal Christian education and further strengthened ongoing Christian mission activity which has had a great impact on Kálá̱bàrì religion and

worldview over the years (Tasie, 1978).

The Kálábàrì Christians' responses to death and related issues are informed by the teachings of the Bible. They believe that there is life after death, and that all those who die as Christians will go to heaven where life continues forever in bliss. For committed Kálábàrì Christians, there is nothing like 'good' or 'bad' death and the state of the body at death is not as important as the person's spiritual relationship with God through Christ. This is why funerals are observed for both the young and the old by the church except for children. Wake is observed for the dead at their funerals as it is believed that death brings pains and sorrows on the living, hence the need to gather around the bereaved in order to mourn with them and comfort one another.

At the demise of a Christian, information is immediately passed across to the leaders of the congregation where the deceased used to worship. The manners in which the news of death is communicated and the period allocated within which the funeral rite must take place differ from one denomination to another. Generally, the leaders (pastors) of local congregations are informed and they, in turn, inform their congregations. Visits are made to the compound of the deceased to pray and encourage the bereaved for the loss. Crying and wailing are not encouraged except when the death is sudden and is of a young person. Consultations go on between the bereaved family and leaders of the church on a convenient date for wake and final funeral. Among members of Christ Army Church in Bàkánà, the death of a member is communicated to the entire community through ringing of the church bell shown in Plate 47. The ringing of the bell ten times signifies the death of a baptised member while ringing fifteen times signifies the death of a confirmed member (Personal communication, Batubo, 2010).

Plate 47: Bell of Christ Army Church in Bàkánà

Most members of the congregation, in collaboration with the deceased's family donate specific amounts of money and or food items for the wake and funeral. This is to assist the bereaved family to feed and entertain mourners, church members, invited guests and other people present during the funeral ceremony. Some churches also assist in the provision of the casket, transportation of members, organizing members to prepare and serving food. Furthermore, the church provides music for the wake, funeral service, interment and final thanksgiving on a Sunday.

Christian wake, popularly referred to as 'day-vigil', takes place during the day on Saturday when the corpse is laid-in-state in a room called *Kristẹni ẹdẹ* decorated with white and gold colours. Family members, church members and invited guests go in to pay their last respect to the deceased. Usually, at the compound square there are various groups performing and entertaining the audience. Examples are gospel bands, choirs and traditional musical groups who specialise in singing traditional Kálábàrì songs and hymns, enacting biblical stories accompanied with music and dance. After the wake, the deceased is put in a casket and taken to the church for the funeral service, although, in some instances, it is performed in the family compound square and immediately followed by the interment. Prayers and songs associated with the interment are read and performed in front of the church as shown in Plate 48, or the family compound before the youth take away the corpse for burial in the cemetery.

Plate 48: Christian interment at Victory Baptist Church Idọ

Káláḅàrì Christian songs performed at funerals in the form of choruses and special anthems by the choirs are also used in other Christian programmes and worship services. The choruses address single Christian themes without any major textual development. This characteristic feature makes it convenient for easy performance by the congregation. Quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes generally occur in these choruses. Most of the choruses collected are in compound duple time, very few are in simple time. The song leader introduces the entire song and the congregation joins in a call-and-response style.

Káláḅàrì Christians sing songs in praise of God for the life lived by the deceased on behalf of the bereaved. It is an occasion for prayer, fellowship and show of continuous support by the church for the bereaved members and family. This brings psychological healing to the family, as it refocuses their minds on the hope of re-union with the spirit of the departed in heaven where death and sorrow will be no more. In addition, the ‘day vigil’ creates a warm and lively atmosphere in spite of death and it is an occasion for evangelism in order to win converts to the faith.

5.5.1 Christian funeral and church policies

Over time, Christian groups and denominations in the Niger Delta have put in place various policies to regulate the funeral rites accorded their members. According to Batubo (Personal communication, 2010), three major issues have shaped the policies adopted by Christian groups in the area, namely doctrinal, economic and especially security of lives and properties in the community. These have become necessary in order to avoid syncretism, delay in burying their dead, the family of the deceased going into poverty after funerals and to give their deceased members the last respects despite insecurity brought about by the activities of the militants in the Niger Delta. These policies have brought about changes in funeral music creativity, presentation forms and performance practices among the Kálábàrì.

Among the Anglicans of the Niger Delta Diocese, funerals of their late members must be carried out within twenty-eight days from when the information of death reaches the Church elders. Non-compliance means that the church will not take part in the funeral. Furthermore, the church buries only those who are baptised, confirmed and have been involved in the life of the church and denomination before their death. During the funeral, the "day vigil" is organised on Saturday for about two hours, selected hymns and choruses are performed in praise of God while the corpse is lying-in-state. The series of lying-in-state as required by the tradition where children and wives of the deceased sing specially composed songs in praise of the dead and founding ancestors of the compound are highly discouraged and termed ancestral worship (Personal communication, Soberekon, 2010).

Other Christian groups, like Baptists and Pentecostals, require one to three months within which the funeral must be carried out. Their members are prohibited from performing traditional funeral rites for their dead before, during and after interment of the corpse. This has resulted in some form of antagonism between the traditionalists and Christians, as most of the women and younger generation refuse to perform the traditional funeral rites which are against their Christian belief. This has affected creativity and the amount of traditional music generated at funerals.

Death is a transition and a rite of passage for the departed. Kálábàrì lavishly celebrate death through farewell and befitting funeral rites. It is taken as a project involving the immediate family, war canoe house and the community, depending on the status of the deceased. Sometimes, the funeral of an elder is delayed for years because the children are raising money to build a befitting house for the dead and to

take care of other ceremonies before the date is fixed. After such celebrations, some individuals go bankrupt and never recover from poverty, which leads to untimely death. This informed the time frame put in place by Christian groups to curtail as well as help their members avoid lavish spending during funerals (Personal communication, Batubo, 2010).

However, some other Christian groups, like The African Church (shown in Plate 50) and Christ Army Church, do not have any legislation on the time frame within which a funeral should be done. Members are allowed to bury their dead in line with the traditions of the land. After the entire ceremonies, they come to church on Sunday, the second weekend for thanksgiving. In addition to participating in the burial, a memorial service is organised one year later by the bereaved family. Memorial services in the African Church are a demonstration of traditional belief in life-after-death and a proof that the deceased must be placated through their remembrance to avoid their wrath and incur their blessings. It is an occasion for lavish spending, much eating and drinking during which the church choir performs songs and dirges specially composed for the occasion. Sometimes, these services are fixed on Saturdays to allow for more participation by relations, friends and well-wishers. Memorial service is a great source of income for the church and the officiating ministers, who demand, as of right, one-third of the proceeds, in accordance with the constitution of the church. Some other churches regard this type of memorial service as idolatry and commercialising of the church (Personal communication, Soberekon, 2010).

Plate 49: Funeral banner of a prominent member at the African Church Búgúmà

5.6 Funeral and militancy

In the late twentieth century, the church in the Niger Delta area began to experience attacks from misguided youths during wake. According to one of my informants who attended a wake in one of the communities in Asari-Toru Local Government Area in 2001, he ran to save his life as a result of sporadic shooting by militant groups who invaded the compound at about 1:00am in the night, leaving two persons dead and many injured. Accoding to JohnBull (Personal communication, 2010) militants are mainly unemployed youths disengaged by the political class and dumped as political thugs after the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections to high offices at the three levels of government: local, state and federal. The situation grew worse when rival groups rose against one another in order to assert their supremacy in the region.

During this period, many fled and deserted their homes and communities for up to two years. Socio-cultural, religious and economic activities on the sea, creeks, communities and local government headquarters came to a halt. The spate of armed robbery, rape, extortion, kidnapping of foreign nationals who were staffs of oil companies in the region were on the increase (DonPedro, 2006). Furthermore, kidnapping of foreigners later snowballed into kidnapping of Nigerians for personal gains, in addition to vandalisation and stealing oil from pipe lines. This situation, which became a threat to national security, necessitated the militarization of the Niger Delta region by the Federal Government in order to restore peace to the region (Personal communication, Horton, 2010).

The intervention of the Federal Government, among other measures by sending the military to crackdown on militants in the region, brought stability; and people started returning to their villages and communities. Curfew was put in place from 10:00pm to 6:00am and all forms of gatherings: social, political, cultural or religious were prohibited at night for many years. The subsequent pronouncement of the Amnesty Programme in 2009 by the Federal Government for the Niger Delta Militants has brought some peace to the region (Personal communication, JohnBull, 2010).

The performance of funeral rites in Kálá̱bàrì has been affected greatly as a result of the unrest brought about by the activities of the militants in the region. Music in funerals and its presentation forms have reduced tremendously and, in some situations, displaced from their traditional context of performance. For example, *Duein Boroma* rite, which involves the singing of dirges and special songs by the children and wives of the deceased during wake, has been moved to Saturday between 10:00am

and 12:00 noon. This has affected presentation form and performance context. Also affected is time spent for socialisation among family members, musicians and guests at funeral ceremonies as people still feel insecure despite military presence, as shown in Plate 50 below.

Plate 50: Surveillance by Joint Military Task Force at a Funeral Rite in Búgúmà

5.7 Continuity and Change

The practice of traditional funeral rites among Kálábàrì is observed by a small percentage of the people. Musical and dance activities associated with theses rites usually performed by the children, wives, youths and the elders was observed to be going extinct due to its ritual implications. Changes in funeral rites music are evident from the time of death through pre- and post interment rites is due to the impact of Christianity and Islam, western ideals and the activities of militants.

The traditional process of first informing the elders and then the community through presentation of drinks by the family of the deceased to heads of war canoe houses and the performance of *ìgìra sàrá nume* (ceremonial street carnival) by the community youths have experienced changes but no continuity. In recent times, church leaders are the first to be informed who then collaborates with the family of the deceased to plan the funeral rites in line with church doctrine and policy of the denomination of the deceased. Furthermore, the financial burdens of the funeral are no

longer borne by the family of the deceased alone. Thus the line of relationship and solidarity is gradually changing from lineage and house ties to denominational affiliations and social ties.

At Christian wake only the church choir or groups of choirs from other branches or different denominations perform. Unlike in traditional funeral rites, musical activities are fewer as only solo and choral renditions are presentated by Christian groups invited for the wake. In addition, the performance of *Duein duu anume* (accapela dirges and chants) by wives, children and close relatives during a series of lying-in-state of the deceased had been replaced by singing hymns and Christian lyric air. The performance style and content of the songs have changed from solo to group singing at the bed side. The text of songs which traditionally were panegyric had been replaced with biblical oriented songs in praise of God and communicating the message of Christ during the wake.

The conept of good and bad death which implicates the type of funeral rites to be performed and the place of burial have changed. Christians and Muslim adherents do not categorise death on the basis of how and where or what type of desease led to the death of their members. The spirit of the dead is believed to be with God and therefore should not determine the place of burial. This belief is in contrast to what holds in the traditional setting among Kálábàrì where age and status, the cause and type of death, determines the type of funeral rites and place of burial of the deceased.

Finally, post interment funeral rites involving a week long of traditional musical and dance performances is gradually going extinct. The traditional way of escorting the dead into ancestorhood through series of musical, theatrical and dance movements is discouraged by Christian and termed ancestral worship due to its ritual implications involving libations and animal sacrifices. The spate of unrest by the militants in the Niger Delta region has affected and change the presentation form of music during funeral as most activities which traditionally took place during wake has been brought to Saturday morning for security of lives and properties. Although among Kálábàrì it is believed that traditional funeral rite will not completely go extinct, the changes that have taken place in recent times are serious and enormous.

CHAPTER SIX

CATEGORIES OF MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

6.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters discussed extensively on ethnography and funeral ceremonies of the Kálá̱bàrì. This chapter will focus on the categories of music in funeral ceremonies, musicians, performance practice and musical instruments.

6.1 Categories of music in funeral ceremonies

Music in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites is organized along age, sex and social groups in the society. It is characterized by spontaneity, creativity, dance and drama. Musical experience and skill are acquired from childhood through observation of adults, participation in musical performances both in social and religious contexts rooted in the worldview and belief systems of the people. Therefore, the Kálá̱bàrì freely learn more about the traditions and belief systems of their people as music events and event music generate social and cultural actions at funerals.

Musical activities that occur among the Kálá̱bàrì are defined by their relationship to other cultural systems. Broadly, most musical performances within the culture is open, requiring active participation of both young and old, male and female, requiring no invitation. Musical performances during funeral rites generate group action and socialization. Also, during such events, an atmosphere of mass entertainment, interpersonal relationships and interactions among relatives and guests are generated. Furthermore, music, dance and theatrical performances are conceived, created and presented during funeral to fulfil artistic-aesthetic objectives as well as celebrate life through artistic entertainment.

Music in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites (*Ḏụẹịn-ḏíbi-a númè*) is categorized as follows: *Ákwá* (instrumental music), *Ógbóḇẹ́ númè* (choral music) with instrumental accompaniments, *Ḏụẹịn-dúú-a númè* (acappella dirges and chants) and *Sẹ̀kị́ númè* (dance music). These categories are further grouped into three: ritual, semi-ritual and non-ritual. Ritual music serves religious purposes, depending on the type of death and status of the deceased. For example, musical performance of *okoro fari*[1] and *Sékì* spirit manifest (masquerade) dance by *Èkìnè* cult at funerals of their deceased members are conceived and designated to signify political and religious rites which are highly

regulated by the gods and the ancestors. Sounds of ritual music performed at the funeral of titled men elicit and communicate meanings beyond music and emotions to the community.

Furthermore, it was observed that in churches and communities, ritual music performance during the funeral of elders and titled men are restrictive in instrumentation, practitioner and varying levels of participation by those present. In Victory Baptist Church Ido and other churches, women and mixed choral groups are involved in the singing and chanting of songs before the deceased while lying-in-state at the family compound or in the church auditorium where they perform their songs, as shown in Plate 51.

Plate 51: Women Missionary Society of Victory Baptist Church Ìdọ

Instruments used are regarded as sacred both in church and in the traditional society. According to one of the informants, the traditional instruments used by *Èkìnè* cult can only be carried and played by its members. Women and non-members are forbidden from participating in ritual dance at the arena of performance. Also, during performance of *Ókóró fárí*[1] ensemble, men can participate in dancing; women are not

allowed to come close to the dance arena but are allowed to watch from a distance. Furthermore, the performance of music and dance by *Ópú Arúngú* of Bàkánà and other traditional music groups in the context of funeral called *Ḍụẹịn bárá sìn* is a rite performed to remove the 'hand' of the deceased member from the society. This rite requires and permits male and female members only in a performance involving music and dance. Toward the end of the rite, the leader uses water for libation after which the performers (singers and instrumentalists) run away from the performance arena signifying the end and successful severance of the deceased from the society.

Semi-ritual music certifies and rectifies the cultural meaning of funeral rites among the Kálábàrì. This category of music is open for participation by mourners and guests. It is performed by both young and old, male and female, and the entire community before, during and after the interment of the deceased. For example, *ìgìrà sàrá*[2] is performed to announce the commencement of the funeral rite for a chief; *ḍụẹịn ḅọrọma*[3] is performed by wives, children and close relatives during the lying-in-state; and *ámáḅọrọ* rite after the interment of the deceased by both young and old in the deceased's compound, which communicates as well as signify the successful completion of the funeral rites of an elder.

Non-ritual music category is performed on all occasions in Kálábàrì culture primarily for entertainment. Western and traditional choral and instrumental ensembles owned by churches, organisations and individuals engage in entertaining the bereaved family and invited guests during 'day vigil' on Saturdays at the family compound square or any other spacious environment within the community. Fidel Royal Service Port Harcourt is an example of an organisation that provides band music with brass and woodwind instruments for entertainment at funerals, as shown in Plate 52.

Plate 52: Western Ensemble of Fidel Royal Service at Àbónnéma

In addition, traditional musical ensembles make use of traditional instruments, such as *Kúkú* (pot drums), *Nkóró*, *Kpọkpọ*, (slit drums), *Alílí* and *Bóboye* (membrane drums), and *Igbéma* (bell) in providing entertainment performed during funerals on invitation (Personal communication, DavidWest, 2010). These traditional ensembles could be made up of females alone or both males and females. In either situation, instrumental accompaniments are provided by the male folks, as shown in Plate 53. Examples of traditional ensembles are Àkàsó Cultural Society of Kálá̱bàrì, Selected Voices of Asari –Toru Local Government Area, a female ensemble, and Jìké Jìkéaa Òdúm Dúm Cultural Society of Kálá̱bàrì.

Plate 53: Kúkú fárí Instrumental Ensemble Performing at Búgúmà

As part of providing entertainment beyond music and dance, some traditional musical ensembles demonstrate their creativity by adding dramatic cum operatic dimensions to their performances. An example is the performance of *NèbúNèbú* by Jìké Jìkéaa Òdúm Dúm Cultural Society in re-presenting and acting out the experience of a Babylonian King called Nebuchadnezzar recorded in Chapter four of the book of Daniel in the Old Testament, when he was made to live in the forest with wild beasts as a judgement from God. Such performances occur at Christian funerals during 'day vigil' to communicate the word of God and primarily to entertain guests that have come to comminserate with the deceased's family, as seen in Plate 54.

Another form of entertainment music used at funerals is *Òkpókìrì* music, which is almost extinct owing to the impact of Christianity on Kálá̱bàrì, especially among its practitioners. According to Igoni (Personal communication, 2010), *Òkpókìrì* music originated from Idọ and is the oldest form of entertainment music used by the Kálá̱bàrì on all occasions, especially for relaxation in the evening when they return from their fishing expeditions. In the past, when there was no mortuary, *Òkpókìrì* ensemble

would begin to perform at the compound square when the local embalmment was being done and during the lying-in- state of the deceased.

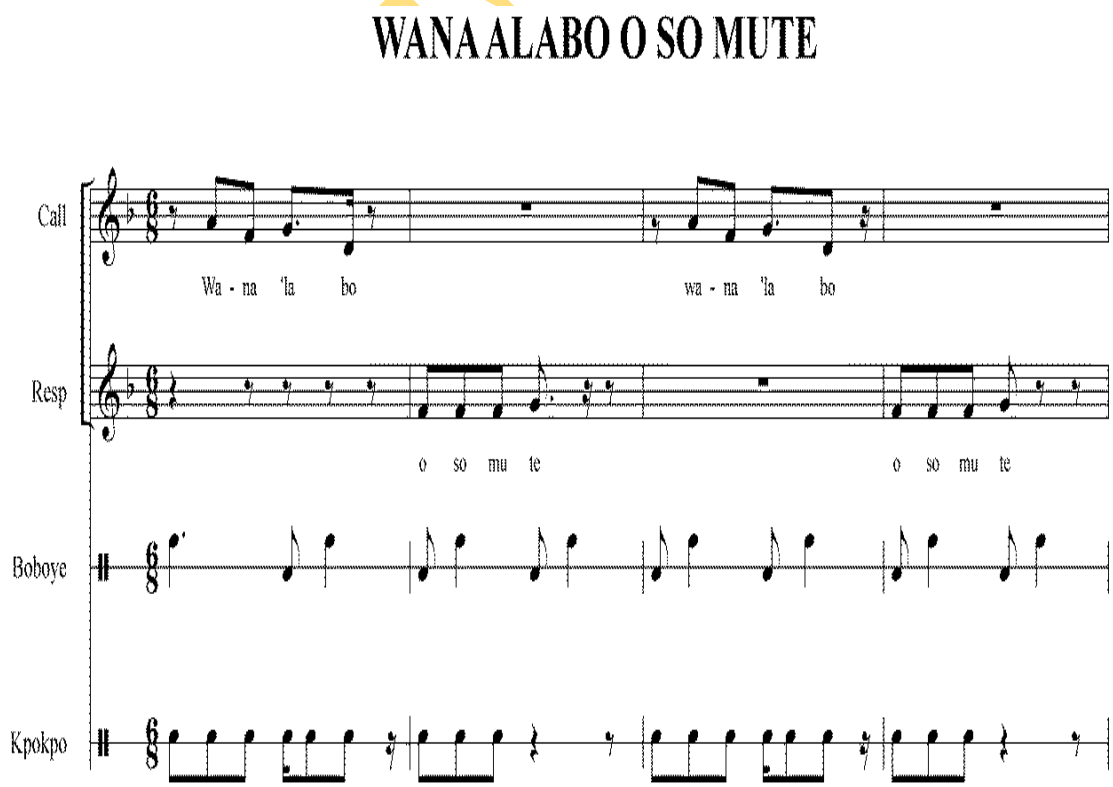
Plate 54: *NèbúNèbú* (King Nebuchadnezzar) of Babylon under God's Judgment

6.2.0 Types of Kalabari funeral rite music

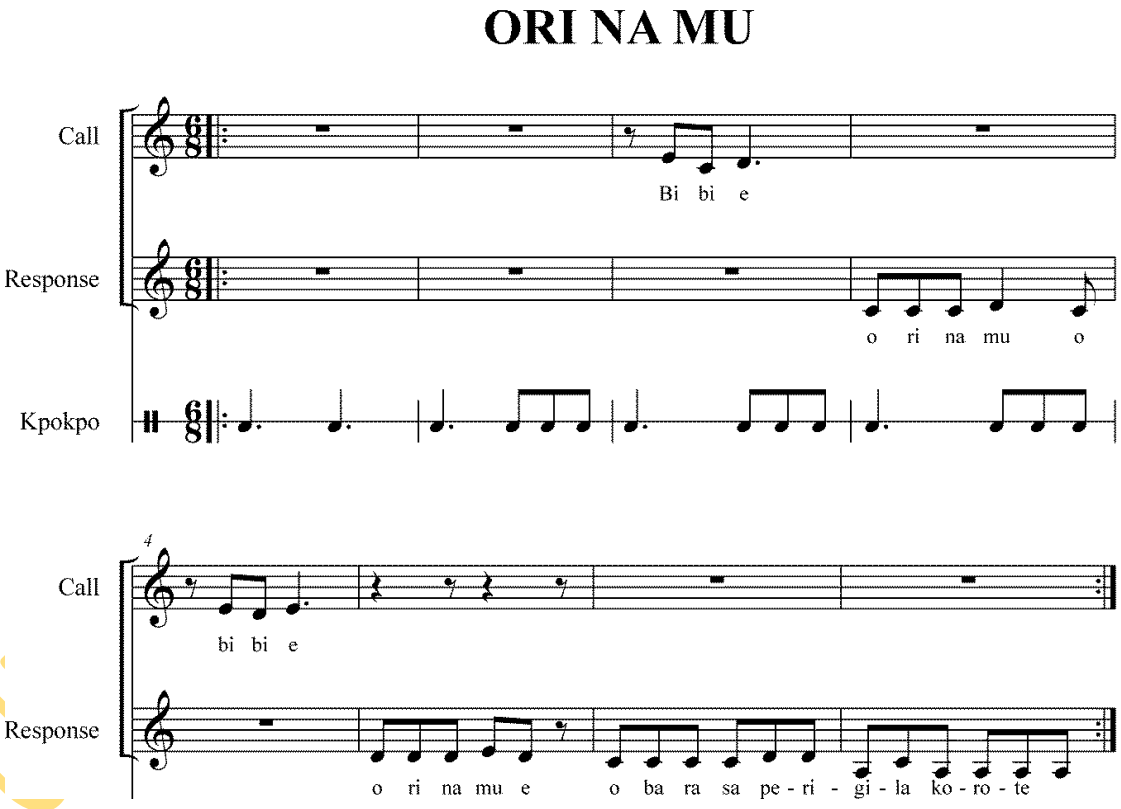
Ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅi-a númè (funeral rite music) is categorized into four: songs, dirges and chants, dance music and instrumental music. These categories cover the full range of rites which include music performed at the commencement of the funeral rite for two to five days before the arrival of the corpse, during a series of lying-in-state of the corpse, and other musical types associated with dance and theatrical performance accorded the dead for another seven days after the interment.

6.2.1 *Ògbò ḅẹ́ númè* (Choral music)

These are songs performed by male and female singers either in single or mixed ensembles. Songs, especially their texts, communicating diverse themes occupy a major part in both traditional and Christian funeral rite among the Kálábàrì. They are accompanied by dance and instruments, such as drums, clappers and bells. However, the focus of such performances is the song rendered during funeral as the dance steps are unregulated. *Wámìnà Álábò Ò Sò Mùté* (Our Chief Has Gone to Heaven) is a typical example of *ìgìrà sìrá númè* performed during the opening rites at the funeral of a chief or one who dies in an old age.



These songs require a limited range of instruments like a drum (*Bóboye*) and a bell or a pair of wooden clappers (*Kpọkpọ*) which provides the supper structure as the songs are performed. *Ámábọrọ númè* requires the same range of instrumental accompaniment at the closing of the rite of the funeral for an elder. The performance techniques of both types of songs differ in style. This is informed by the use, the function and the people involved in the performance. While *ìgìrà sìrá númè* is performed by youths in a boisterous manner, signifying the death and commencement of the funeral rite of a chief, the *Ámábọrọ númè* is performed by everyone in the war canoe house in a procession by both young and old dressed in traditional attire, signifying a successful completion of the funeral rite of a chief or an elder in the compound. An example is *Òrì Nà Mú* (Accompany Him).



6.2.2 *Ḍụẹịn-ḍúú-a númè* (A cappella dirges and chants)

Chants in the Kálábàrí culture are mostly performed during funerals by women. These women are wives, daughters and close relatives of the deceased who are expected to eulogize the dead through their compositions performed in non-stanzaic declamatory style. Such performances are done during *ḍụẹịn-ḅọrọma* when the corpse is lying-in-state and after the interment when the performance of chants and dirges by widows leading to *ḍínkrámá*. *Yéhì Ì mináḅọ* (O! My Brother) (see Appendix A. 11) is

an example of a chant rendered extemporaneously by the elder sister of late Chief S.O. PrinceWill while the corpse was lying-in-state. Performance of chants is in form of verbal expressions (like recitatives) intoned in a manner that combines musical effect with pitch variation at three levels: low, medium and high. Introductory portions are rendered with high intonation, while low and medium pitches are used within the body of the chants.

6.2.3 *Ṣẹ́kí númè* (Dance music)

Dance music is performed for the purpose of accompanying dance. The performace is called *Sìrì tí* (performance at the arena) which attracts spectators at the arena and sometimes involves choreographed dance steps. Such performances can be with or without the use of musical instruments. Songs and dance steps performed without the full compliment of musical instruments make use of *Bárá farí ye* (hand clappers) to generate appropriate rhythm for the dance.

Dance music derives its name from the instrument used in accompanying the dance or the particular context to which the dance and music are associated. For example, *Kúkú sẹ́ki* is a form of dance accompanied by *Kúkú* (pot drums) of various sizes played by the master drummer. Dance music is usually in fast tempo, the songs are short and repetitive. Apart from the set of pot drums from which the dance derived its name, other instruments in the ensemble, *nkòrò*, *kpọ́kpọ́*, *álílí*, *sákásáká*, and *ògélè*, are played by men, as shown in Plate 55. Songs are introduced by a leader, usually a female, and the group responds in a call-and-response style without any variant.

Plate 55: *Kúkú-fárí* ensemble performing at *Ḍín krámá ti* in Búgúmà

In *Kúkú-fárí* performance at *Ḍín krámá ti* or *Ìria páká*, attention is given to the dance steps and movements performed by both male and female in response to the rhythm of the songs and the drums. Selected dancers, led by *Ìrìabọ-iyingiḭọ* or *Govina* (choreographer) and the *kúkú fáriḭọ* (lead drummer) communicate the rhythms of the various dance steps and the *ìrià pú* (female dancers) and *owu* (male dances) respond appropriately to the leading of the *Ìrìabọ-iyingiḭọ*. Everyone, including guests and musicians, are involved in *sìrì tí* (singing and dancing) at the *sìrì kú* (performance arena) that is, at the compound square, to the admiration of the entire community.

6.2.4 *Ákwá* (instrumental music)

Instrumental music refers to a musical type communicated through verbal language non-vocally. Traditional instruments, like the *Íkíríkó*, *Àkùmà*, *Àkánkpò*, *Àkùsà*, *Álílí*, *Boboye* and *Ọbọ* are used as language surrogate instruments to communicate during performances. They approximate various levels of primary and secondary speech tones within Káláḭàrì tonal language. During funeral rites, two instrumental ensembles identified are *Kúkú fárí*, used to accompany non-vocal

choreographed dance steps, and *Ókóró fárí*, used at the installation and funeral of chiefs, the king and their late mothers.

Ókóró fárí music at funeral is performed by an ensemble of *Ókóró* (wooden slit drums) of various sizes and one *Boboye* (membrane drum) played by four different musicians. There is interplay of call-and-response between the *Ópútóní fáríḭ̀ọ* (Lead drummer) and the other three assistants, leading to a complex rhythm. The largest *Ókóró* in the ensemble is a melorhythmic as well as a percussive instrument. According to my informants, it is used to communicate and discuss with the spirits, ancestors, and the immediate audience who understands the drum language, which is different from the every day Káláḭ̀àrì language spoken by the people. The *Ókóró* mother drum, apart from communicating coded messages, serves as culture symbols and, therefore, is solely deployed as verbal language communication and signals sacred instrument used to usher the deceased into ancestorhood. Only males are allowed to play and dance to the music of *Ókóró fárí* ensemble, while females watch and observe the performance from a distance over a period of six days after interment on the previous Saturday.

6.3 Musicians and performance practices

Music in funeral rites (*Ḭ̀ụẹịn-ḍíḭ̀i-a númè*) and its performance among the Káláḭ̀àrì do not only depend on the musical demands brought about by the activities and events during funerals but, to a large extent, on the organization of participants in terms of performance of rites and ceremonies involving music and dance. Nketia (1974:35) identifies two major types of performing groups in indigenous African society. They are spontaneous or organized groups, which are autonomous, and those made up of professional musicians usually attached to traditional institutions. Spontaneous music is usually by a group of people who come together to perform a type of music prescribed for a specific occasion.

Musicians belonging to the spontaneous music group in the performance of *Ḭ̀ụẹịn-ḍíḭ̀i-a númè* are formed when young people of the same age group, who are not in any formerly organised association, and belonging to different *póló* in the community come together voluntarily to perform *Ìgìrà sàrá* music (see Appendix B. 3 and 6). This is in response to the performance need of the music required at the opening rite during the funeral of an elder who was a chief. A second type of spontaneous music group is made up of males and females of different ages from the

deceased's *póló* performing *Ámábọrọ* songs (see Appendix B. 7, 8 and 14) at the closing funeral rite of a chief. These spontaneous musical groups are non-professional singers motivated by community sentiments and by their reciprocal demonstration of commitment to the event-music occasioned by the passing away of a chief.

Organized musical groups and cults perform during funeral rites on invitation by non-members and at the funeral rite of members. The musical groups and Èkìnè cult, are led by professional musicians recognized within Kálábàrì culture. We shall now discuss the life history of some popular traditional musicians involved in the performance of *Ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅi-a númè*, namely Mr. Isobo DavidWest, Mrs. Gladys Harry and Mr. Sasime Barango Tariah.

Ísóbó DavidWest

Plate 56: Mr. Isobo DavidWest performing on *Èkìnè* Drums in Àbónnémà

Ìsóbó DavidWest was born on January 2nd 1972 in Buguma to Mr. and Mrs. Lovering DavidWest. The father was a notable native doctor, drummer and singer within and outside Kálábàrì. Isóbó completed his primary and secondary education at St. Micheal Primary School and Kálábàrì College of Commerce, both in Buguma, in

1988 and 1994, rsepectively. According to him, his musical career was greately influenced by his father who, at a very tender age, took him along for engagements in both ritual and non-ritual music performances. He learnt actively for about fifteen years and, at the age of seventeen, he began going out to perform at funerals and other functions with his own team of musicians.

At the age of twelve during the Buguma 1984 Centenary, he successfully performed as the lead drummer on the *ókóró* in the *Álálí-árú* and the father in the *Ọmú-árú* (see Plates 17 and 18) displaying on the sea in a canoe riggata as part of the centenary celebration. Isobo is an accomplished drummer and dancer of various Èkìnè masquerades and well knowledgeable in the Èkìnè drum language. This has earned him the enviable position of the *Ákwá Álábọ* (Chief Drummer) of Èkìnè cult in Abonnema. In 1999, he earned the title King Drummer of Kálábàrì in a traditional drumming competition organised by Pastor Ebenezer Isokrari, the then secretary to the Rivers State Government. Since 2001, he has represented Rivers State by leading a team of other drummers and dancers to the annual carnival in Abuja.

Gladys Harry

Plate 57: Mrs. Gladys Harry

Gladys Harry was born on January 1, 1963 at Buguma. She was raised by her uncle, Chief Daniel Sokari George, a great composer, dancer and musician reputed for pioneering the composition and popularization of Kálábàrí indigenous church music after becoming a Christian at the First Baptist Church Buguma. She attended Baptist Primary School Buguma between 1969 and 1976. According to her, she grew up learning from her uncle how to sing and compose songs for a period of fifteen years.

She performed in Lagos at the Festival of African Culture (FESTAC) in 1977 as a traditional dancer and singer from Rivers State under the leadership of her uncle who died not too long after the festival. From her teenage years, Harry has been performing at festivals and funeral rites with various choral and dance groups. She is the president and founder of a Kálábàrì sociocultural choral group Selected Voices of ASALGA founded in 2002 in Idọ. The group performs on invitation at weddings, chieftain installation and other celebrations. In addition to being a choreographer of Kálábàrì traditional dance (*iria*) performed by females, she produces traditional costumes and props for families and clubs on request during funeral rites.

Sasime Barango Tariah

Plate 58: Mr. Sasime Barango Tariah performing on *Èkìnè Drums in* Búgúmà

Sasime Barango Tariah was born in 1949 at Búgúmà to the family of Mr. and Mrs. Lawyer S.B. Tariah a fisherman by profession. He attended St. Micheal Primary School Búgúmà. He is the leader and founder of Bright Amagbe Cultural Club, Tariah Póló in Búgúmà. According to him, he continued to play and perform with the father until early 1970s when he left to continue his musical carrier as a drummer under late Mr. Sunday Tyger, the immediate past *Ákwà Álábọ* of *Èkìnè* cult in Búgúmà.

Sasime is versatile in the drum language and praise names of over forty *Èkìnè* masquerades, major chieftency stools, Kálábàrì towns and villages. He is a dancer and teacher of dance steps of various masquerades to younger dancers who are members of *Èkìnè* cult. He became the *Ákwà Álábọ* of *Èkìnè* cult in Buguma over twenty years ago. He successfully performed at the funeral rites of late King Obaye Abbiye-Suku Amachree X (con.), 13th to 24th February 2002 and the *Owu Aro Sun* festival of Masquerades 9th to 31th of January, 2009. He is the founder and leader of a traditional socio-cultural club, Jìké Jìkeaa Odúmdúm Cultural Society of Kálábàrì. This group performs at funerals and other programmes on invitation.

Both the performance and performance practice of *Ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅi-a númè* are closely associated with age, sex and status of the deceased as informed by the tradition and belief system of the people. The venue and time of performance of the four categories of funeral rite music earlier identified are determined by social, political, and religious attainment of the deceased when alive. The venue of performance for funeral rite music is context based and, therefore, cannot be performed anywhere. In most cases, designated rooms (*ẹdẹ*) compound square and specially decorated canoes for titled men are prepared for performance during funeral rites. According to Ekine (2010 personal communication), pre- and post-performance practices are observed by elders in the family, mourners and musicians before, during and after the actual performance of funeral rite music.

Pre-performance of *Ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅi-a númè* is the preparatory stage which involves sending invitation to family heads and elders for consultation and planning for the funeral rite. According to informants, during such meetings, after wild consultations, a budget is made and each member of the immediate and extended family is apportioned what to pay within a set period in preparation for the funeral. The funeral of an elder, a chief, a paramount chief or an *Ámányánábọ* generate a wide range of socio-cultural observance and performances of the magnitude of a festival requiring adequate funding. After the money is collected, the family, in collaboration with elders and

leaders of relevant groups, including musicians, chooses a date and draws a schedule for the funeral rites.

A week to the commencement of the funeral rites, cannons are shot once at mid-night, followed by hoisting of the compound flag the next morning. Nzewi (2007:106) rightly observes that 'messages and announcements were transmitted as musical codes on message communication instruments to near and far audience.' The sounds of the cannon shot help to communicate the commencement of funeral events in the community. Furthermore, as part of initiating and preparing for *ìgìrà sìrá*, a musical event performed by youths in the community, elders from the deceased family, on Sunday evening, go to present drinks and cola nuts to the *Ámányánábọ* and paramount chiefs of war canoe groups of houses. The acceptance of drink and cola nut by the elders of other compounds is a response and show of commitment to participate in the funeral rites.

The musical-dramatic and dance enactments on terrestrial and aquatic environments by the Kálá̱bàrì during funeral rites are designed to act out as well as communicate philosophical, religious and psychological means of accommodating the deep implications of the shock brought about by death. Therefore, pre-performance rehearsals are put in place before, during and after the interment of the corpse. From the researcher's observation, wives, children and other close relatives of the deceased compose and perform *ḏụẹịn-ḏúú-a númè* (dirges and chants) and *ògbò bẹ́ númè* (choral music) in the presence of older people in the family, mostly women who evaluate the language (verbal and non-verbal) and aesthetics of the performance before presentation at the lying-in-state during *ḏụẹịn bọrọma* rite.

Pókú ḏọkú (canoe regatta) performance requires an elaborate preparation at three levels: skilful decoration of canoes, as earlier shown in Plates 17 and 18, sacrifices and prayers offered by the house head to appease the water spirits before rehearsals and the actual performance on the sea, with the corpse in one of the canoes (*Ọmú árú*) carrying thirty young men with paddles, singing and chanting war songs as they display with the canoe on the sea. According to Isobo DavidWest (Personal communication, 2010), a master drummer, the performance practice is that appropriate decorations of canoes, sacrifices followed by rehearsals, by all those involved for perfect synchronization of song, drums and paddling of the canoes by the warriors during rehearsals and actual performance.

The researcher observed that elaborate post-interment funeral rites for culturally significant categories of deaths were enacted to canonize the deceased person into ancestorhood in recognition of his meritorious service to the family and community. Details of musical art performance associated with the rites have been fully discussed in the previous chapter. They are *Ókóró fárí* (instrumental music), *Ḍụẹịn-ḍúú-a númè* and *Ògbò bẹ númè* (vocal music), and *Ḍín Krámá tí* (choreographed funeral dance).

6.4 Recruitment and training of musicians

Music education in African indigenous societies is both oral and practical in orientation (Nzewi, 2007). Among the Kálábàrì, there are no musicians' families as found in some other African indigenous societies. However, training is achieved through giving of instruction at intervals, participatory observation, imitation and rote learning from the teacher (Omibiyi, 1975). A trainee becomes proficient by developing interest and then skills on the instruments through observation of professionals during rehearsals and performances. According to S.B.Tariah, I. DavidWest and G. Harry (key informants), it takes many years of training to master the intonation and proficiency on the instruments especially the drums used for non-verbal communication during funerals.

Observation during the fieldwork revealed that trainees are enlisted in two ways. First, parents come with their children to the performer-composer who is either a master drummer or choreographer-vocalist to be trained. The second way according to Isobo DavidWest (Personal communication, 2009), is the enlistment of some trainees in whom he discovered hidden talents. They are discovered through his observation as they play empty cans improvised into drums while the other children were dancing in the cool of the evening. Having discovered these talents, he sought permission from their parents to release their children to him for training in the art of drumming.

In general, there are no formal and organised methods of training drummers and other instrumentalists. A child that is talented and enthusiastic is recruited alongside adults to join the mature ensemble without the need for a previous demonstration of skill on a particular instrument. The young learner is first instructed on the simple accompaniment instruments; he graduates into performing on the mother instruments. The period of training is dependent on the mental ability and level of intelligence, interest, frequency of practice and attendance of engagements by the

trainee with the ensemble. In addition, the disposition of the trainer to the learner is a very important factor in the entire process. However, an average period of two to three years is recommended to achieve mastery on a particular role. Proficiency in an instrument determines the social recognition and patronage among the Kálá̱bàrì.

Furthermore, while collecting data for this work, it was identified that among the *Èkìnè Sẹ́kíàpù*,[4] training of instrumentalist and dancers begins at about age fifteen. The boys pay a small amount of money to join *Kálá Sírí*,[5] which organizes replicas of many of the plays performed by *Èkìnè* but omits the plays of those strong and violent spirits. *Kálá Sírí* is supervised by *Ákwá Álábò* (chief drummer) of *Èkìnè*, whose services are rewarded by gifts. This aspect of training in recent times, is not encouraging owing to apathy on the part of the younger generation and conversion of the Kálá̱bàrì people into other religions, especially Christianity.The young drummers are formally encouraged when opportunities are available for them to demonstrate that they have become reasonably proficient. Such opportunity arises when the *Ákwá Álábò* is taking a break, which rarely takes place, or when he is not able to perform because of ill health.

Sacrifices, libations are regular and important aspects of rehearsals and training sessions when preparing for *pókú ọ̱ọ́kú* rite. At least two canoes, each carrying thirty men with paddles to pull the canoe on the sea while singing war songs are needed. Mounting this performance requires two to three days of rehearsal on the water to perfect and synchronise the rhythms of the songs and *okoro* instruments with those paddling the canoe as they display on the water. This is a training ground for musicians perfecting their skills on the *okoro*.

6.5 Musical instruments

Musical instruments used by the Kálá̱bàrì at funerals reveal to some extent the vegetation, mineral resources exploited for the production of these instruments, cross-cultural interaction and exchange with other ethnic groups around them. Sachs and Hornbostel, cited in Baines and Wachsmann, (1961:42) categorize musical instruments into four; they are membranophone, idiophone, aerophone, and chordiophone. However, only three of these four categories are used in *Ọ̱ụẹ̀ịn-ọ́íḭ̀bi-a númè*. They are membranophones, idiophones and aerophonic-idiophones.

6.5.1 Membranophones

These are instruments that produce sounds by means of the vibration of a membrane made of animal skin. The Kálábàrì drum comes in various sizes and shapes by which they are identified. The most common types are the single-headed cylindrical drums which are essentially melorhythmic instruments but could be played to produce percussive sound with bare hands and others with a pair of single stick. The membrane is stretched over the rim of the drum held by pegs, glued or tied to the shell. Usually, the other end is open and hollow right up to the membrane.

Membrane drums are used alone or in combination with other instruments in an ensemble. A three-legged ritual drum *àkùmà* played with a pair of sticks, shown in Plate 59, was used in the past during inter-ethnic wars to communicate to the gods and the living. Also, it is used during the coronation and burial of an *Ámányánábọ* or paramount chiefs of war canoe groups of houses. Performance on this drum on any occasion is associated with sacrificing of goats to the ancestors of the Kálábàrì people. It is a sacred drum highly revered and feared by the people. Sounds from the drums connote within the culture that a serious incident has taken place.

Plate 59: *Àkùmà* Drum

The *Àkùmà* drum, apart from being played as a melorhythmic solo instrument, is also played in conjunction with a battery of other membrane drums called *Álílí*, as shown in Plate 60, during a performance of *Sékì* masquerade by *Èkìnè* cult at the funeral of *Àkàsó Álábò* in Búgúmà.

Plate 60: Sasime Barango Tariah performing on the *Àkùmà* and four *Álílí*

Another membrane drum which has a ritual significance is the *Àkánkpò*, (see Plate 61). It is the only ritual drum on which cowries and Manila are attached. Unlike *Àkùmà*, *Àkánkpò* is not used with other drums in an ensemble. According to one of the informants, the drum is owned by *Ombọ* group of houses and is used only at the request of the *Ámányánábọ*, at special festivals: *Ówú Àrósù*, *Gbúrúfe* (feeding of the ancestors), coronation and funerals of the *Ámányánábọ* and paramount chiefs in the Ombo Group of Houses. It is used for praise singing and communicating to the ancestors.

Plate 61: Performance on *Akankpo* Drum at a funeral

Membrane drums of various sizes feature as part of instrumental ensemble and take different names. For example, Plate 62 below shows an ensemble of *Ókóró fárí* orchestra with two membrane drums called *Boboye* on which the performer sits.

Plate 62: Showing *Boboye* as part of Okoro fari orchestra

In the plate above, *Boboye* is not a lead instrument but plays an accompaniment role, which is very significant in providing low pitches needed for balancing the texture of sounds provided by *Ókóró* sets of drums in the *Ókóró fárí* orchestra. Furthermore, in different instrumental ensembles of drums, *Boboye* plays the role of the mother drum among the *Opu Arungu* of Bakana as ealier shown in Plate 45 where the *Òpùtòní Fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) sits on three *Boboye* of different sizes from which melorhythmic patterns are played.

6.5.2 Idiophones

Idiophones are another family of musical instruments widely used in Kálá̱bàrì musical performance. They produce sounds without the addition of a stretched membrane, vibrating string or reed; they are constructed from materials such as wood,

seeds, and iron metal within the environment. The most common idiophones are *Ḅára-fáríyé* (hand clappers) made from wood. It is held in the hands, as seen in Plate 63 with an oval-shaped flat head used in producing various combinations of rhythmic patterns. It provides the rhythmic foundation on which a song is performed or a soloist improvises. They are mostly used by women ensembles during mounted performance of music and dance called *sírì-tí* (open show). They provide rhythmic accompaniments during post-burial dance and procession by the deceased family members and invited guests.

Plate 63: Women performing with *Ḅára-fáríyé* at *Ḍínkrámá*

This type of instrument plays the role of a timeline for the songs to be performed with or without other musical instruments. During performance, a sudden change in the tempo or rhythmic pattern prepares the ground for a change in song or dance steps.

Slit drum, as seen in Plate 64, is another type of idiophone made from wood that comes in various sizes. It is carved out of a single block of wood which produces two levels of tones brought about by digging a resonating chamber furnished with two sounding lips. Also, bamboo slit knockers are made from bamboo pole which is hallow

inside and already provides a resonating chamber. Both lips of a bamboo slit drum produce the same level of tone since they have the same thickness and vibrating length.

Plate 64: *Nkóró* (Slit Drum)

There are five types of slit drums: *Íkíríkó, Nkóró, Ókóró, Kpọkpọ* and *Kpókpó*. *Íkíríkó* is the biggest of all the slit drums and is used during performance by the *Èkìnè* cult. *Nkóró* is the most prevalent among musicians; they are used in combination with other instruments in an ensemble. The third and smallest type of slit drum is called *Kpọkpọ* used for producing the timeline in most ensembles during performance. *Kpókpó* is the fourth type of slit drum used outside an instrumental ensemble by widows to communicate to the entire community as they wail and sing dirges at night

during the *Ḍín karma tí*. It is also used by the town crier to pass information across to the community. The *Ókóró*, as captured in Plate 65, comes in various sizes and are arranged in specific order to form the *Òkóró fárí* orchestra used only at the installation and funeral of a chief.

Plate 65: *Ókóró* (Slit drums)

Another form of instrument in this category is *Ígbírí*, found in Plate 66. They are processed pods or capsules of fruits of the locust bean tree. *Ígbírí* produces a percussive sound when excited by shaking, stamping and other movements of the performer during a performance. These materials are usually tied to the ankle or worn on the body of masquerades and dancers. This category of instruments amplifies and produces a complex rhythm known as *ígbírí fárí* movements of the body parts where they are attached.

Plate 66: *Ígbírí*

Ọbọ is another idiophone (seen in Plate 67). It is a melodic instrument of great historical importance as earlier explained. It consists of different lengths of metal strips arranged on a flat-sounding board which is mounted on a gourd. It is used in traditional instrumental ensembles and in solo performances during festivals and especially at funerals during 'day vigil' (wake keep).

Plate 67: *Ọbọ* (Thumb piano)

6.5.3 Aerophonic-idiophones

Aerophones produce sound by means of the vibration of air over a given material made from pipes, animal horns, wood and pots made from clay or metals. *Kúkú* (musical pot) is made from clay soil and, in recent times, are made with sand and cement as well as metals. It has four to seven water pots of different sizes producing graded pitch levels, therefore serving as a composite keyboard music instrument. The performer produce sounds through vibration of air coloum, using two-padded fans to strike the mouth of the pot . Tuning is achieved by musicians as they adjust the water level in each of the pots to get a more rounded tone quality (seen Plate 68).

Plate 68: *Kúkú Fáríbọ* tuning the *kúkú* (pot)

Among the Kálá̱bàrì, stringed musical instruments were never part of traditional instrumental ensembles used during funeral rites. *Ọbọ* (Thumb piano) a melodic instrument has been replaced by the electric guitar in both religious and social settings. Other musical instruments introduced into the Kálá̱bàrì society through Christianity are electronic keyboard, trumpets, trombones, and Western drum set.

6.6 Conclusion

In Kálá̱bàrì culture the categories and types of music performed serve both religious and socio-political functions. Music is made to appreciate, appease, placate and invoke divinities. Worship periods in shrines and churches are characterised by music and dance. Age, sex, status and contextual considerations dictate the categories and types of music as well as appropriate musical instruments required for celebrating the transition of a Kálá̱bàrì.

Endnotes

1. Ritual instrumental music performed on slit drums at the funeral of the *Àmányánábọ, Álábọ, Àkàsó Álábọ* and *Ákwá Álábọ.*
2. Boistrious mass rally performed by youths at the commencement of the funeral of an *Àmányánábọ,* and *Álábọ.*
3. The series of lying-in-state of the deceased in traditionally decorated rooms where dirges are performed by wives, children, and close relatives as a mark of honour for and elder.
4. Traditional custodian of Kalabari masquerades.
5. A junior replica of the *Èkìnè* cult which operates in intervals between masquerade cycle of performance.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TEXTUAL AND STRUCTURAL ANALYSES

7.0 Introduction

In chapter six, categories and types of music, performance practice and classification of instruments were discussed. This chapter focuses on both textual and structural analyses of Kálá̱bàrì funeral rite music.

7.1 Understanding song text

Kálá̱bàrí song texts are the most reliable instrument for interpreting its culture as expressed through music, dance and theatrical performances. Human behaviour in relation to music can be better understood through song texts (Merriam, 1964). The theme of songs within a community or social group usually centres on events or issues of common interest and concern (Nketia, 1975). In Africa, the text of a song is more important than the tune; and the complexity of song text is a reflection of the society, and can be used to evaluate or categorize a community's experience as either egalitarian or stratified (Akpabot, 1998).

Kálá̱bàrì life revolves around the life cycle of birth, puberty, marriage, and death as well as ancestorhood. Song texts among the Kálá̱bàrì, is a useful means for obtaining various kinds of information which serve social, cultural, religious, historical and psychological functions, especially during funeral rites. Psychologically, song texts are contextual and thus provide comfort for the bereaved family and the community. Original compositions by close relatives, children and widows of a deceased elder (chief) are performed during *ḏụẹịn-ḇọrọma* and *ḏínkrámátí* communicates to the mourners' assurance of the canoe house and community's approval of the good life lived by the deceased.

A song text does not only fulfil cultural and psychological function, but it also provides historical background, achievements of the deceased and his ancestors who were founders of the war canoe house. Through such presentations at funerals and other occasions the younger generation are educated and exposed to the roles their forefathers played to achieve greatness during their days. A song text of this nature transcends contextual consideration as their meanings are applicable to other contexts.

Akpabot (1998:75) avers that a singer "takes great liberty with the text of a song [during performance and] uses metaphors, proverbs, archaic expressions and

cryptic utterances." Such songs, Nzewi (2007:148) posits, "could be logogenic or philosophical, pragmatic and social rationalizations of the sense and meaning of music." The Kálá̱bàrì, according to Jenewari (1991:20), is a tonal language. Therefore, the use of small range of tones determined by the tonal inflections of the language is in line with Kálá̱bàrì aesthetic principle which requires the communication of meaning and ideas of the text in both vocal and instrumental music. The range of vocal tunes in the culture does not exceed an octave guided by the philosophy of all inclusiveness, as exemplified in songs performed during *ìgìrà sàrà* and, especially *ámábọrọ*, which involves all age groups of the war canoe house.

Among traditionalists, funeral song texts are shaped and drawn from Kálá̱bàrì myths, philosophy of life, belief system, and worship of free spirits (*tẹmẹ*) such as the village heroes (*órú*), the water people (*ówú*) and the ancestors (*a̱dụẹịn*). These *tẹmẹs* are complementary to one another and together provide an explanation for everything that goes on in Kálá̱bàrì. Ritual song texts during funeral rites are used in the worship of ancestral and non-ancestral gods. The texts are crafted in such a manner that allows for two types of delivery, as exemplified in *ókóró fárí* performance, where the chief drummer calls and his assistant responds on the instruments and the solo performance of the chief drummer during when he invites the patron deities and ancestors to be in attendance.

Among Kálá̱bàrì Christians, song texts used at funerals are drawn from Bible stories and their Christian experience as followers of Jesus Christ. The themes of texts are diverse. They are mostly evangelistic, calling people to repentance by pointing the bereaved and invited guests to biblical characters like father Abraham, Paul and Silas, and, most especially, Jesus Christ through whom, according to the informants , the dead can be brought back to life on the day of resurrection. Other themes expressed in the texts are, attributes of God, praise and worship, victory over sin and death, and the coming of Christ to take those who believe in Him to heaven.

Finally, it is important to note that authors of song texts for and at funerals capture the voice and scale pattern of Kálá̱bàrì. This practice is realized intuitively and technically, reflecting the environment, vocal aesthetics, philosophies, belief systems and way of life of the people.

7.2 Communication techniques

7.2.1 Simile

Simile is direct comparison between two things of different natures or classes but with a striking similarity in a particular form, using of words like *as* and *like*. Its use in Kálá̱bàrì funeral song text creates and reveals human experiences, occurrences and feelings. Therefore, comparisons could cut across age, class, animate and inanimate objects. The following song text compares two inanimate objects:

Òrì ájí kẹ fúró fìnà tẹ Ísíokpo pọ́kú bụ́ ówú kùrònípọ̀ ḭ̀bé
Johnibull yè yọ, Johnbull yè!
Ínómá yé Johnbull yè

He goes to war against Isiokpo wearing *Aji* as a girdle on his belly
O! Johnbull, O! Johnbull
Son of Inoma, Johnbull

The first line compares *Ájí* with a girdle, which was the source of strength and motivation during battle. '*Ájí*' is a material made from raffia palms consecrated with various charms worn by Chief Ikiri Johnbull during battle. It is a symbol of war and demonstrates how fierce, brave and battle-ready the warriors were then. Only those belonging to Johnbull war canoe house now wear red girdles on their stomach during funeral rites in Kálá̱bàrì symbolising '*Ájí*'.

Another praise song describes the demonstration of wealth by Ikiri Johnbull at his mother's funeral when he literally spread money as carpet for mourners to walk on.

Johnibull òrì ìgbìkì kẹ kíri dẹ tẹ yìngìbọ́ ḍíḭ̀bim
Óbiáyẹ yò! Bèkìná òrù ènè ḭ̀bàkà ḭ̀bú
Jòhní íwóyé míẹm o!

Johnbull spread money as carpet during the mother's funeral
O! Obiaye, in the days of the Europeans
Johnbull did a new thing.

Similes form the base of praise songs performed during funeral. Such text reiterates heroic deeds of their ancestors who were founders or leaders of war canoe houses. The phrase 'money as carpet' shows the display of family wealth and the expensive nature of funeral rites.

7.2.2 Metaphors

In the same manner with simile, a metaphor compares two things directly by stating one thing as another to achieve meaning. Metaphors re-enforce and convey the

desired imagery of textual delivery of songs at funerals. The song below is a dirge performed by a child at the lying-in-state of a deceased father employing the use of a metaphor:

Ámáchréé yè Kàríbò Í ḍá dìkì tẹ́ éré kẹ́ ọ́ sín!
Ìbì ḅẹ̀rẹ́ pẹ̀lẹ́ ḅọ́! (3 times)
Prince George ḅe nìmí Ò gègèá!
Órí áníe nìmì-ìkákì è

Karibo, son of King Amachree, looked at your father
and gave him a name!
Good trouble-shooter! (3 times)
O! Prince George is an epitome of wisdom
In intelligence, he is tortoise.

This song celebrates and eulogises the father as a reservoir of wisdom while he was alive. The father's source of wisdom is linked to the good name given him by their grandfather. Such intelligence and wisdom can only be found in tortoise in the animal kingdom; therefore, he addresses his father in this dirge as tortoise.

In another song, the swiftness of the deceased is metaphorically painted. The mourner identifies with the successes and victories attained by Èkìnè of Tómbìa during the Kálábàrí war at Ọbia. Ekine was tall, huge, broad and obese. In spite of his size, he was called the 'running dog' in battle, as shown in the song below:

Gbúrò gbúró tẹ́ mịé síméarì òpù álábọ́
Ḍà òḅìrì màngí kọntẹ́ ómúá tíí kòn
Ọbía ḅío ànì ènè bàká òr'èrí Kúmà
Í ḅío ḅẹ̀lẹ́ ḅà
Bénè yé Ḍà dùbà ḅó kíkà-a

A mighty chief with great deeds to his credit
Father, the running dog in battle
If you had seen him that day in Ọbía creek
You would have been happy
Father, son of Bene did not act like a fat man

The deceased is compared to a dog, showing the perception of the dead by the living which is a source of joy as they remember the swiftness and stamina demonstrated by their ancestors that made them heroes.

7.2.3 Personification

Personification is the endowment of non-living things with human attributes. It also represents an idea with a person or an action only capable of being done by a human being. In Kálábàrì funeral music texts, images are used to convey concepts and

ideas associated with death. Oral tradition has it that *Órú Ogòlo*, a particular kind of bird is known to carry useful information during flight. Such information prepares the minds of the hearers on what lies ahead of them, good or evil. The bird is attributed with the ability to speak to close relatives who are far away from home that death has occurred in the family.

Oru Ogòlo-o iye-e (3 times)
Féní bé fieàrìyè, wà nàà mo?

Oh! Oru Ogolo (3 times)
Do we not hear what the bird is saying?

The deceased's relatives could not decode the language of the bird until when they arrived home. In another song, Shilling, that is, money is conveyed in an image of having ears to hear an invitation and legs to respond by walking, symbolising a call by the owner of the house for money to come in. Absence of money brings despair, mourning and blindness from seeing valuable materials. In this song also, valuable materials are personified as having legs to walk and only those who have money can see them, that is, afford them for their use.

Sílénì-ee!
Ì wàrí ẹ́ío sọ ẹ́ó nàh!
Ì wàrí ẹ́ío sọ ẹ́ó nàh!
Àbbí ìgbìkí mẹ ẹ́ara bió ófórí tómbò
Òndòró nà kùrùrú nà
Íbí aí ẹ́úroràrí Sọ í ẹrị-a!

Oh! Shilling
Come into my house, hear me!
Come into my house, hear me!
He who does not have money
Always in despair and mourning
Even when good things pass by, you cannot see them.

7.2.4 Apostrophe

In this literary device, a person talks to another person who is not physically present or to an object which is incapable of hearing. It is recognised by the use of exclamation mark and exclamatory words like 'oh!', 'ah!' coupled with the name of a person or thing, as found in the excerpt below:

Sílénì-ee!
Ì wàrí ẹ́io sọ ẹ́o! nàh!
Ì wàrí ẹ́io sọ ẹ́o! yea!

Oh! Shilling
Come into my house! Hear me!
Come into my house! Hear me!

Shilling, an object used for exchange of goods and services, is being addressed as having the ability to remove or wipe away tears and remove mourning. Lack of money leads to prolonged mourning, and therefore brings shame to the deceased's family and members of the house for their inability to give befitting farewell to the departed. Furthermore, this communication device is used in dirges and songs rendered by widows, children and close relatives of the deceased.

Ḍòkùbòbá Rèbékà tùbò-ó!
Àrì Í ówúárì yò-ó!
Ì dí éwù sórry
Ì òjó kírí kúró ái ḅàrà bíò bù tọ́rú sẹ́rítẹ!

Dokuboba, Rebecca's daughter
Oh! I am mourning for you
Oh! My husband sorry
Your body has suffered so many difficulties

In this song, we see the widow speaking to the husband who is lying-in-state about her present state of mourning as a result of death. She remembers the difficulties and pains her husband went through as a result of sickness before he died.

In another song, the bereaved son performs a dirge in praise of his late father reminding him of the military exploits of his ancestors.

Ì ḍá íyá dápú nn kòròyé ḅàkám
Kàríbòyè George èpèlè àrú kẹ tọ́rú ḍíkím!
Kọ́rọ̀nị̀ àlápù í íyímò!

Oh! My father, your forefathers were very powerful
Kariboye George monitored the rivers with a camouflaged canoe
You are the son of a powerful warlord!

The deceased is addressed as if living through dirges and songs. It is believed that the spirit of the dead is listening as the mourner ushers it into the world beyond to join his or her ancestors.

7.2.5 Synecdoche

The use of a part to represent the whole or at times a whole to represent a part is a common literary figure found in Káláḅàrí funeral songs. An example is found in the song below:

Òpù wárì màpú màpú gbọ́rú síbí!
Màpú màpú gbọ́rú síbí nn wèní ángám!
Márcùs tùbò Tómbóo! Í mínàbó Ị Ị ẹ̱u yáwú mà tẹ
Màpú màpú gbọ́rú síbí (twice) *nn wèní ángám.*
Márcùs tùbò Ḍá-O!, sìndó Í nà tẹ́?

In a big house there were two people with one head
They lived together as two people with one head
Oh! Macus'son Tombo, my brother you have made me lonely
Two heads have a better reward than one (twice) when they dwell together
Oh! Marcus'son, father sorry, are you listening?

The statement "two people with one head" seem to suggest that two complete human bodies have a head, which communicates strong family ties and relationships that is by nature very rewarding. The mourner describes how the passing away of the brother will bring loneliness to him as death has made it impossible for them to dwell together.

7.2.6 Hyperbole

Another style in the use of imagery to convey ideas in Kálá̱bàrì funeral music texts is the conscious application of exaggeration which produces a heightened or a comic effect. In the song below, there is an exaggerated comparison of a crayfish and an elephant.

Ásan Ò bìlà ẹ̱bà tẹ́-o!
Ìkíabò Ò bìlà ẹ̱bà tẹ!
Bó sọ bo-a nama mú bìlà ẹ̱bám!

Oh! Crayfish has killed an Elephant
My friend has killed an Elephant
A small animal has killed an Elephant

This song celebrates the achievements of a friend in death. The challenges of life are represented in the song as an Elephant and the deceased is pictured as a Crayfish, a very small sea animal. The deceased, while alive, was victorious despite the enormous challenges which confronted him. The deceased is acknowledged in this song as a brave and victorious man who succeeded in all he did in spite of life's difficulties.

7.2.7 Sarcasm

This is a literary device used under the guise of praise, a bitter expression of strong and personal disapproval of an idea or action. Such Kálá̱bàrì funeral songs are

directed to the mourners not the deceased. It is usually personal, intended to hurt and is a sneering taunt, as found in this song:

Mí ámá ẹ̀ẹ̀ Òpù ẹrẹbọ-o!
A dí fìì éné ẹ̀ẹ̀kà bụ
à wúkúwúkúwúkù – à wàkàwàkàwàkà
ndé á sún númé mọ?

Oh! Great Woman of this Kingdom
When her husband died
She hustled about, she hustled about,
Where are the dirges she sang?

The first three lines of this song are sarcastic praise for a woman who performed poorly during the funeral rite of her husband as Kálá̩bàrì tradition requires. Repetition of the phrase 'she hustled about' describes the manner in which wailing of dirges composed by the mourner during the funeral rite was performed, below acceptable standard. Furthermore, the last line of the song does not commend the widow to whom it is addressed but pours contempt on her inability to meet the requirement (mourn the husband) as tradition demands by pouring encomium through songs as the deceased transits to join the ancestors.

7.2.8 Symbolism

Kálá̩bàrì funeral song texts use symbols to convey messages with meaning which go beyond the physical representation. Thus, the use of certain words and objects in songs points to the context and performance practice of dirges, especially by widows of late Kálá̩bàrì chiefs. The example below describes the context and time of performance of dirges during the period of mourning, at early hours of the morning and at mid-night.

Báso bío ẹ̀ẹ̀ù mono tẹ sàkí ẹ̀ẹ̀ọ
I kpókpó pókò ná bàrí-o!
Àmà-tàrì ẹrẹbọ àrì Ì diì òwú bẹ tẹ!
Àrì Òrì òwùtẹ O kẹ sọ bàa

Ḍín-ógbó ẹ̀ẹ̀u mono tẹ sàkí ẹ̀ẹ̀ọ
I kpókpó pókò ná bàrí-o!
Àmà-tàrì ẹrẹbọ àrì Ì diì òwú bẹ tẹ!
Àrì Òrì òwùtẹ O kẹ sọ bàa

He who wakes up from sleep early in the morning
Will hear the drum (*Kpókpó*) of my voice

Oh! The beloved wife, I want to mourn my husband
I will wail a dirge for his transition

He who wakes up from sleep in the midnight
Will hear the drum (*Kpókpó*) of my voice
Oh! The beloved wife, I want to mourn my husband
I will wail a dirge for his transition

The second line of the song makes use of an object called *Kpókpó*, a wooden instrument carried by the town crier when passing information from the *Ámányánábọ* (king) to the entire community. The movement of *Kpókpó* around the community is used to symbolise the cry of the widow and the voices of other women ('the drum of my voice') who sing the songs composed by the widow from one compound square to the other at midnight and early hours of the morning. Drums are not used during the entire performance by the women, except hand clappers.

7.2.9 Euphemism

This is a deliberate attempt at expressing an unpleasant situation in a mild way. The context of death and bereavement is communicated by the use of indirect statements in substitution for a direct one in an effort to avoid bluntness. Kálábàrí funeral song texts incorporate such images in order to ameliorate the pains, harshness and shock they might give to the ear and the mind when spoken or performed directly, as exemplified in the song below:

Ìyà amínápù! Ó bó Ì gbànyìn mú-o!
Ì dìì I ọkị kẹ Èkìnè súú tẹ!
Ámá ángá-ángá bàrà à kòrí kẹ ọ pìrí bà!

Oh! My relatives come and escort me!
My husband has initiated me into *Èkìnè!*
I will perform the traditional rites for him!

The widow calls for her family members and relatives to accompany her to perform the rites of singing dirges to her deceased husband lying in state. 'My husband has initiated me into *Èkìnè!*' The death of her husband is presented as a means of initiation by her husband into *Èkìnè* cult; whose membership are males, known within Kálábàrí to be of good and noble character. The singing of dirges before the deceased by their widows is initiation into widowhood, which is required of every wife. It is a mark of respect, love and loyalty. It is a taboo to any wife and her family fail to perform this rite.

7.3 Textual contents

7.3.1 Praise songs (for the supernatural)

The praise of God is a common feature in Káláḅàrì funeral music. Támúnó (God) a female principle is believed to have created the world and everything in it. *Támúnó* is beyond the reach of humankind, hence the need for intermediaries such as the *Órú* (Village Heroes), *Ówú* (the Water People) and *Ḍụịẹn* (the Ancestors). These three categories of free spirits are believed to be responsible for almost everything that happens to a Káláḅàrì as they work through the spirit of people, animals, plants and inanimate objects. However, through the performance of rituals, the people are able to influence, control and balance the spiritual forces to avert wraths as well as attract the goodwill of the deities, and the ancestors.

Káláḅàrì Christians believe also in God who is supreme. He is the creator of the heavens, the earth and the preserver of all that He has created. It is believed that God is in control of every event. Whatever happens is not unnoticed by Him, but it is for His glory as well as the good of those who believe and worship Him. Songs collected from the field have themes of praise and adoration to God for his marvelous works, as exemplified in *Ó yé wa ò bòmá* (Oh! Let us praise Him. See Appendix A 1). It is observed that most of the songs attribute praise to God for his creative power demonstrated in the creation of the heaven and the earth. The angels were created by God to sing new songs in praise of Him in heaven. Therefore, humankind is called upon in the first part of the song to sing praises to God who is described as a great chief and a king who rules over His domain, which is the heaven and earth. The concept of new song *'Íwọ númé-íwó númé súún òbòmárì'* among the Káláḅàrì emanated from its singing culture of creating new songs to celebrate events in the life of individuals and the entire community, especially at funerals.

Similarly, some of the songs of praise address God as a person who saves from death and losses; therefore, God is worthy of praise, as exemplified in the song *Ó yé wa númé sún* (Let us sing. See Appendix A. 2). Death is believed to bring pains and loss to the bereaved family and the community. During funeral rites, there are wailings, weeping and shedding of tears occasioned by the death of a loved one. Alhough the situation may seem dark and the future look bleak, God is still at work in their lives as He is the one wiping away their tears and restoring their loses. Therefore God is worthy of praise and thanksgiving for His care and comfort to humankind during bereavement. The song of praise and adoration to God in the context of funeral

is performed to encourage the bereaved and to help focus their minds on God. It is God who delivers from death and gives blessings to those whom He has kept alive.

7.3.2 Panegyric songs (in praise of human personalities)

Praise singing for past and present kings, paramount chiefs, warlords and elders are common features in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites. The children, wives and descendants of various lineages perform these songs during the funeral rites of the king, paramount chief and elders in the community. Also, family members engage the services of musicians who are paid to perform during such rites. The children of the deceased provide them with food and drinks to motivate and appreciate their performances during such occasions. A song ascribed to King Abbi Karibo Amachree IV of Kálá̱bàrì in praise of Chief JohnBull Ikiri the paramount chief of Omubo group of houses (comprising six chieftaincy houses) is a typical example:

Ògbórìgbó Órúmínjí Í dà sínárí-yó
Kàná mú órú-pọ́kú kém má jìì
Ọmú Álápúyè-yó
Kùrònì Álápúyè

King Abbi is calling my father
Cross over and offload the captives
Son of warriors
Son of powerful chiefs and warlord

This song opens with a drum- name '*Ògbórìgbó Órúmínjí'*, which is the praise name for King Abbi. The first part of the name '*Ògbórìgbó*' is a well known drum name for Amachree I, the warrior-king of Kálá̱bàrì. This name prefixes or forms part of the drum- name of every other king. The name is associated with supernatural powers and is an appraisal of the heroic deeds and victories during inter-ethnic wars. The king celebrates the victory of Ikiri by referring to him as the son of a warrior and a powerful chief after defeating the enemies and bringing home his captives.

In another song titled '*Jòhny-o!*'(See Appendix A. 3), Chief John-West is praised for decorating his war canoe in a beautiful manner on the day of his installation as a chief. The statement '*Kúlò yẹ́ínyẹ́ín dúgúnu yẹ́ínyẹ́ín*' shows that the shinning metals (*ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ̀*) used for decorating the war canoe were spread all over the body of the canoe. Therefore, the sound '*yẹ́ínyẹ́ín*' is produced from the body of the war canoe as the warriors sing and paddle simultaneously.

Canoe regatta is an important aspect of chieftaincy installation and funeral rites for Kálá̱bàrì kings and chiefs. Songs composed in praise of human personalities in the context of funeral are meant to encourage and comfort the bereaved family by recounting the great achievements, wealth, military power and enviable status attained by the deceased and their ancestors. Such songs are appropriated at funerals of elders who are not titled men and become a means of identifying the house where the funeral rite is being performed, as exemplified in a dirge performed at the lying-in-state in praise of a late father:

Ì ɖá íyá dápú nn kòròyé ɓàkám
Kàríbòyè George èpèlè àrú kẹ tọrú ɖíkím!
Kọrọnị àlápù í íyímò!

Oh! My father, your forefathers were very powerful
Kariboye George monitored the rivers with a camouflaged canoe
You are the son of a powerful war lord

The text of the dirge is reference to the ancestry of the late father traced to Karibo George, a powerful warlord and founder of Georges Compound. As a demonstration of his wealth and power during his life time, he provided war canoes for policing the sea against aggression of the enemies against the Kálá̱bàrì nation.

7.3.3 Scriptural teachings

Song texts among Kálá̱bàrì Christians during funeral rites reveal their general belief and understanding which cut across different churches and denominations. Song texts are based on teachings from the Bible. Biblical standards set to music for her members on criteria to be attained in order to be received by their Creator are rendered during funeral rites, as exemplified in the song titled *Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a* 'It is not the heart of the matter' (See Appendix A.4). The theme of the song is centres on the reading and obeying of the Ten Commandments, an important aspect of the Christian faith needed to gain acceptance in the presence of God. The soloist in the song reiterates that going to church, being baptised into the membership of a church, serving as a Pastor, Church founder, as well as being ordained as a Deacon or Reverend cannot replace the reading and obeying of the Ten Commandments. Furthermore, it is generally believed among Kálá̱bàrì Christians that serving other gods can lead to missing the law of heaven as shown in the text of *Ì mènjí sọ ɓọ* (Appendix A. 5).

Analysis of the text reveals that guidance and protection from the power of death is made possible when they obey the laws of heaven which is captured in the Ten Commandments, as recorded in Exodus 20:1-17 of the Old Testament of the Bible. The first two lines of the song is a prayer. It recognises the leadership of their Lord (Jesus Christ) as they go out and come in after the day's work. However, the next two lines is a warning and a reminder that serving another god is an outright disregard and abandonment of the law of heaven as taught by St. Paul, a very important figure in the New Testament of the Bible.

In addition to the biblical teachings encouraging individuals to keep the laws of God, the theme of sacrifice and giving, both to God and man, is presented in Káláḅàrì funeral song *Fíyá-fíyá-á yè, fíyá-fíyá-á yè* ('Unclean things, unclean things'), found in Appendix A. 6. The biblical story of Cain's and Abel's sacrifices recorded in the book of Genesis, chapter four, is captured in this song. Also, within the theme of sacrifice is a sub-theme centred around Jesus' parable on the need to allow the wheat and the weeds to grow together till the day of harvest when they shall be separated from each other. The parable talks about the separation of the good people from the wicked people who will be rejected by God at their death, like Cain's offering.

The song teaches that anything offered to God must be clean and undefiled. This is important in order not to invite the anger of God, as exemplified by Cain who offered rotten tubers of yam as sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice was accepted because he presented a good offering and had a clean heart. The song teaches that two things are required for an offering or sacrifice to be acceptable to God: plant produce or animals for sacrifice must be in good condition and the person or group of persons offering the sacrifice must have a clean heart.

In another song titled *Àfù nyánábọ kẹ* ('If you have a little money') in Appendix A. 7, giving to God is encouraged by Káláḅàrí Christians; this re-enforces biblical teachings on the subject. It is believed that, when you give to God, no matter how small, it will yield more in return. Giving to God and His work is an important aspect of service which every believer in Christ is encouraged and challenged to participate in. '*Áfù'*, in the text, means half penny, which, when given to God by faith, is multiplied greatly in return. This song text summarizes Jesus' teaching on giving of substances, as recorded in the Gospel of Luke chapter six verse thirty eight.

7.3.4 Prayer

Traditionally, a Kálábàrì man is pre-occupied first with his daily living and that of his house; provision of food, shelter and protection beyond his immediate family. This concern is further expressed in his quest to raise enough capital to own and maintain a war canoe, which will earn him an enviable position of a chief within the group of houses. A second concern is the condition of things when death occur which include the type of death and the availability of resources to organise a befitting funeral rite which is marked with diverse celebrations requiring the provision of surplus food and drinks for the entertainment of sympathisers, mourners, musicians and dancers.

The last concern is the acceptance and canonisation which await the soul when it finally joins the ancestors. To be accepted by the ancestors requires a life involved in making necessary rituals and sacrifices at set time to the gods and ancestors, and known to be free from every act of wickedness, especially witchcraft. These concerns usually form the basis for divine help through offering prayers. The song *Sílénì-ee* 'Oh!Shilling', in Appendix A. 8 is a prayer calling on the *tẹmẹ* (spirit) of money personified as Shilling to come into the house of the singer, because it is believed that every material object has its spirit. The absence of money brings despair, mourning and inability to possess material things needed in life. Therefore, to avoid and prevent poverty, there is the need to invite the spirit of money through prayer of invocation. Prayer is directed to God in the song *Ḍùkù tẹ àrì ígoín má!* 'Never allow me to be poor', in Appendix A. 9, calling on God never to allow poverty and shame due to the lack of morney.

The Kálábàrì man defines himself as a fisherman, as fish and other sea foods provide a commodity for doing business with neighbours and was a means of raising capital for trading. Alhough many of them were involved in fishing, it was never regarded as a life time occupation by metropolitan Kálábàrì man of the Atlantic trade era. It was a means to gather capital because those who gain prominence and highest standing in the society were traders. According to Wariboko (1997), you become successful not by possessing fishing skills, but by owning a trading company called *Wárí* - canoe house. Thus, both traditionalist and Christians pray earnestly to God who is seen as a Father for all-encompassing wealth in this life.

Funeral rite is a celebration requiring the provision of appropriate ritual materials; well decorated three to four *ẹdẹ* (funeral rooms) for a series of lying-in-state;

and sufficient supply of food and drinks to guest, mourners and the community during the period. It is considered a reproach to the deceased children, family and the *wárí* (house) when there is not enough money to execute the burial. Such situation is adduced to poverty of the children and the deceased when he or she was alive. According to Agawu (1988) and Ogli (2010), funeral rite celebration for an elder is a collaborative affair among the deceased's relatives and the community as demonstrated among Akpafu of Ghana and Idoma of Nigeria.

Similarly, the financial burden of burying a Kálá̱bàrì king, chief or an elder is shared among close and distant relatives within the *wari* (house), group of houses and communities to provide all that is needed for a befitting funeral rite. This is not only an honour for the deceased as he or she joins the ancestors, but is also an opportunity for the children, the house and the village to display their status, family wealth and affluence within and outside the community.

It is the responsibility of the children and close relatives of the deceased to bear the cost of the funeral. Thus, the song *Wámínà g̱àbọ wárí ḇẹ àpú o!*, meaning 'Relatives of our father's house!' (see Appendix A. 10) shows an expression of gratitude and desire by a mourner for the support demonstrated by relatives during the father's funeral rite. Funeral is an occasion that calls for collective responsibility by relatives and subjects in the case of a paramount chiefs and the king. Kálá̱bàrì funeral for titled men and the aged is a celebration of life involving many communities. Royal funerals are festivals as they are not associated with much sorrow, but feasting and celebrations before, during and after the interment of the corpse.

7.3.5 Lamentations

Dirges and chants are very important aspects of Kálá̱bàrì funeral rite. They could be spontaneous or pre-composed songs performed by the children, wives and close relatives of the deceased during *g̱ụẹịn bórọmá* (lying-in-state) and also during an aspect of the closing rite *g̱ín Krámá tí* (funeral dance). Kálá̱bàrì places distinction on the type of dirge based on the relationship of the performer to the deceased and the time of performance as stipulated by the tradition. Solo performances of dirges by children, wives and close relatives are done while the deceased is lying-in-state. Funeral rite song texts express sorrow, dashed hopes and surprise at the death of a close relative as expressed in the dirge *Yéhì Ì mìnáḇọ* meaning 'O My Brother' (see Appendix A. 11).

The philosophic thrust of dirges is an attempt to make meaning of death through reflections, extrapolations and speculations about the spiritual and material world the Kálá̱bàrì live and move. Questions are usually used to frame those profound experiences which humans are unable to understand. The seriousness and inevitable nature of death are expressed and captured in rhetorical questions. Two of such questions are *S.O.tárí-álábò Ì mìnáḇọ́ Íwòrìsóté?* ('S.O. you're a chief, my brother, have you left me behind?') and *S.O. àrì Í sínárí-o, ítàngà mú mò?* ('S.O. I'm calling you, where are you going?'), Kálá̱bàrì dirges use imagery associated with travels, growing from the belief that death is a passage from this world to the next.

Group performance of dirges at the lying-in-state is rare except for those who die at a very old age or belong to specific societies where members are required to perform dirges for their late member. A typical example is *Òbì-ḇọ, òbì kúmà*, meaning 'If someone is sick' (see Appendix A. 12) performed by members of *Èkìnè* cult at the lying-in-state of a deceased member. This dirge is performed during *Ḇúọ-sín* (removal of the leg) rite, when the deceased is ceremonially removed from the membership of the cult, because the spirit of the dead are not permitted to be in their gatherings as they engage in singing, dancing and playing various *Èkìnè* masquerades. The visit of death has perpetually placed the deceased on the sick bed. '*Òbì*' (sickness) in the song refers to death which has the power to stop anyone from the consumption of food as well as life. The inability of the deceased to respond to the call to wake up after the singing of this dirge leads to the continuation of the rite.

Furthermore, dirges among the Kálá̱bàrì do not only address themes of sorrow, pain and loss brought about by death of a loved one but also the themes of praise which captures the attributes of the deceased and his lineage. It is required by tradition that children, wives and close relatives eulogise the deceased, praising his achievements and contributions during his lifetime. *Wámínà ḏáḇọ́ óríbèm*, meaning 'Our father said' (see Appendix A. 13.) is a song in praise of the late father's reservoir of wisdom. The dirge shows the value placed on acquiring knowledge and needed skills for leadership in the society. The deceased's counsel to the children when he was alive is that they must not allow an ignorant person to lead them. Such wisdom demonstrated by their father, if quantified in monetary terms, would have been more than enough. In another dirge *Góál keeper*, meaning 'Goal Keeper' (see Appendix A. 14), the sportsmanship of the deceased is celebrated at death as a one time Goal keeper of Super Skill Football Team. It is both a farewell song to the deceased as he departs to

join the ancestors and a call to his former teammates to come and honour their late father and husband.

7.4 Structural analysis

7.4.1 Tonality and scale

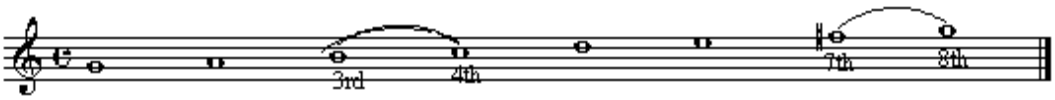
African music in general does not have a rigid tonal centre as is practised in Western music. Tonal organization in African music is brought about by the interrelatedness of individual notes of a scale which may be arranged in a melody which at the same time gives prominence to a particular note as the ending or terminal note (Nketia, 1963). African music is most often built around a tonal centre which can be identified as follows: the most prevalent terminal note, the notes with the longest aggregates of durational values in one or groups of melodies, the note occurring so often at stressed points, and the highest, lowest or central note that appears to be the most determining in the melody or groups of melodies (Mensah, 1987).

In general, the same principle guides the concept of tonality in African music as most African languages are tonal. This phenomenon accounts for the principle of variable starting pitch which ensures that a particular piece of music is performed at a comfortable voice range that accommodates all the performers (Nzewi, 2007). The speech-tone pattern of language and music in Africa serves as a foundation for compositions (Agu, 1999).

As stated earlier, Kálá̱bàrì funeral music is built on tonal inflection of the language which allows for varied use of scales. This is dependent on the range of tones and intervallic scheme acceptable in the culture. The Kálá̱bàrì composer, although constrained by the tone-pattern of the words of the songs, is very free when creating melodies by simply choosing culturally acceptable scales for funeral rites music. The researcher's extensive recordings of funeral songs in the field show that the major scale systems in use are diatonic in formation and consist of intervals of whole and half tones. In Kálá̱bàrì, there is more than one scale structure derived from a re-arrangement of the culture's intervallic scheme. The more common types of scale encountered during funeral rites performances are heptatonic, hexatonic, pentatonic, tetratonic, tritonic and diatonic scales.

Kálá̱bàrì share the heptatonic scale which is diatonic in configuration with the Western classical music system, the tonic note is duplicated at the octave. The intervallic scheme for the heptatonic scale is as follows: tone, tone, semitone, tone,

tone, tone, and semitone. Traditionally, before the coming of the Europeans, music composed in heptatonic scale among the Kálá̱bàrì was not common. However, with the introduction of Western musical styles and instruments, followed by its adoption among the Kálá̱bàrì, especially churches, there has been regular use of heptatonic scale. There are two types of heptatonic scale organization of tones. The first type is those that make use of half steps between the 3rd and 4th; 7th and 8th notes as shown below:



A typical example of a song in heptatonic scale is '*Támúnọ̀ Wọrìsómá*' (see Appendix B. 19) used in church worship and also performed by Kálá̱bàrì Christians during *ḍụẹ̀ịn ḅórọ́má*. (When the bereaved children are escorted by the maternal relatives to sing dirges in honour of the deceased while the corpse is lying-in-state). The second type is those with half steps are between 2nd and 3rd; 5th and 6th notes of the scale. An example of song written in this mode is 'Nigeria Army' (see Appendix B. 23).

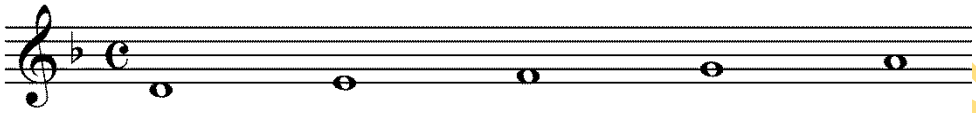
Hexatonic scale is not commonly used by the Kálá̱bàrì; therefore songs composed in this mode are rare. They occur in equidistant and non-equidistant forms. An equidistant hexatonic scale is a whole tone scale, that is, the scale does not accommodate the use of half steps. Non-equidistant hexatonic scale makes use of half steps as in the examples below:

a. Equidistant

and

b. None-quidistant

An example of a song composed on a non- equidistant hexatonic scale is '*Ì mẹnjì só ḅọ Ìḅàrá Émi*' (see Appendix B. 10). The song was performed in the Key of G major covering a melodic range of a 12th. The analysis of songs reveals that many of the songs used during funerals are composed predominantly on the pentatonic scale. Nketia (1975) avers that African composers must have an understanding of African melody and rhythm in order to create tunes based on varieties of pentatonic scale as exemplified below and other scales used in African societies.



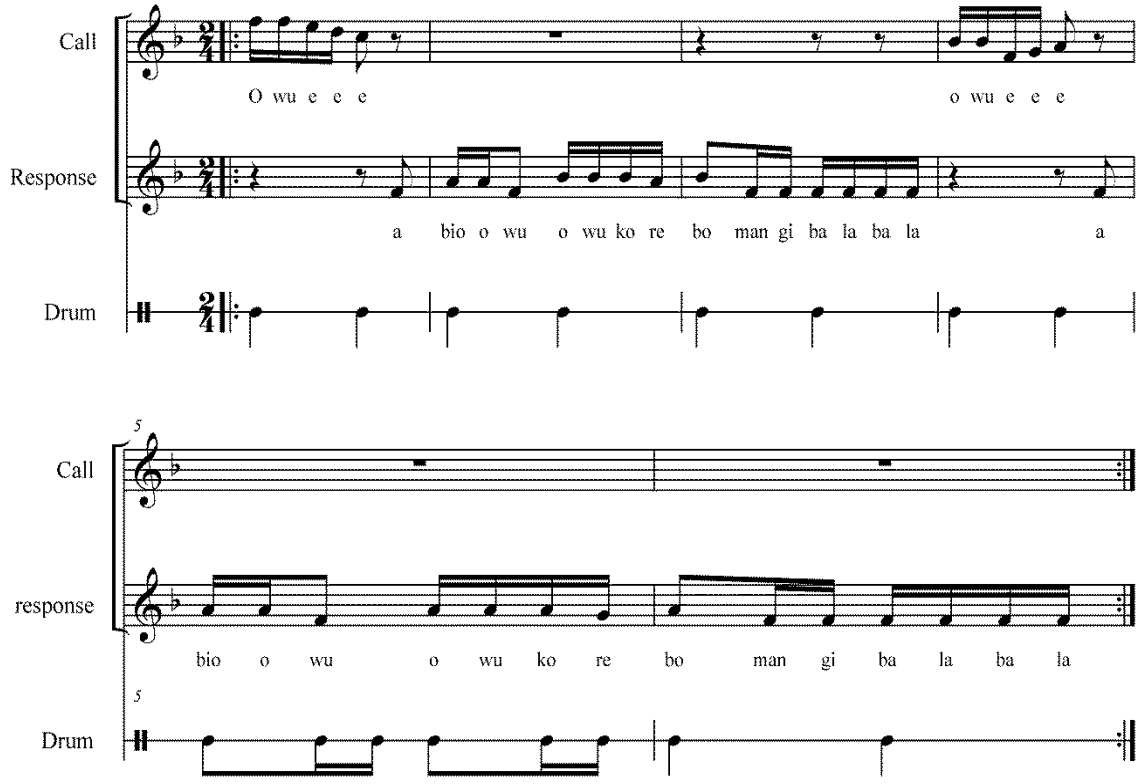
Funeral songs were composed in pentatonic scale with half steps (hemitonic pentatonic) exemplified in the following songs: *Wámìnà Ḍàbọ Fịtẹ́-o, Wámìnà álábọ,* and *Támúnọ Í ọlọ* (see Appendix B. 3, 6, and 9). Other scales which are seldom used in composing funeral songs are the tetratonic, tritonic, and ditonic scales. The number of notes and quality of the intervals between successive notes in all of the scales identified helps to give the music of Káláḅàrì its unique sound quality. This phenomenon is informed by Káláḅàrì conceptualization of the conventional elements of pitch, rhythm and melody.

7.4.2 Pitch and Melody

Pitching of songs among the Káláḅàrì is dependent on the tuning of each performer or performing group because the rationalization of pitch and melodic range is predicated on humanistic virtues. This is becomes necessary as the required pitch for performance must allow for all-inclusive participation. Tuning is a function of the voice quality of the performer either as a soloist or leader of song in a choral group. Agu (1999) claims that no African traditional song has a fixed pitch since they are not notated or scored. However, that each group largely depends on the soloist who consistently pitches the songs correctly. It was observed in the field that, sometimes, for a particular soloist in traditional ensembles, there were shifts in the beginning pitch of songs based on the same scale and melodic organization. For example, the song titled *Àbbí Òwù* shows the relationship between pitch and tonal centre. The melody begins and ends with the same pitch. It begins from a high pitch note F and moves down to note C, which is a fourth below. In the fourth measure, the melody is re-echoed but this time beginning from note B flat, a pitch, fifth below the initial starting

note F. The call as well as the response sections of the melody begins with the same pitch but always an octave apart, which is tonal centre.

ÀBBÍ ÒWU

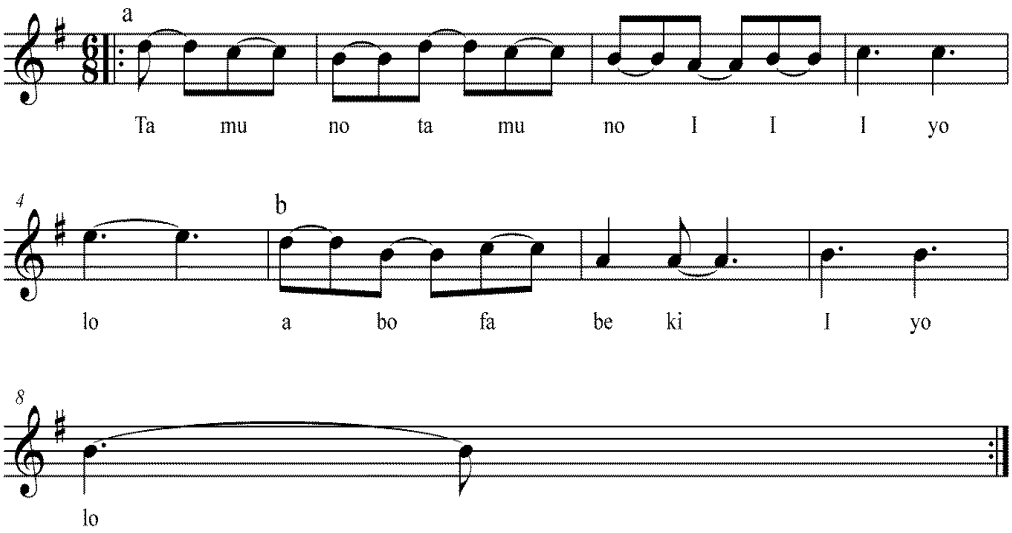


It is not uncommon to see the recurrence of such notes around which the tonal centre of the melody is built, as shown in measures three and six. The cadence is approached by note A which is a third above the tonal centre F. These songs show that the tonal centre of most Káláḅàrì songs often lie around the low and middle range. While very few of the songs having lowest or highest pitch tonal centres.

The structure of Káláḅàrì melodies allow for flexibility in the choice and use of pattern. Melody, according to Idolor (2001), is a succession of musical notes arranged horizontally in a manner that is tuneful, simple, expressive and dramatic. Nzewi (2007) asserts that a melody must have four distinguishing and essential features which enable its perception and subsequent analysis. That is, a melody must have length and breadth, which are structural; and volume and colour, which are affective. The structural analysis of several *ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅí-a múmé* melodies revealed that each of them is

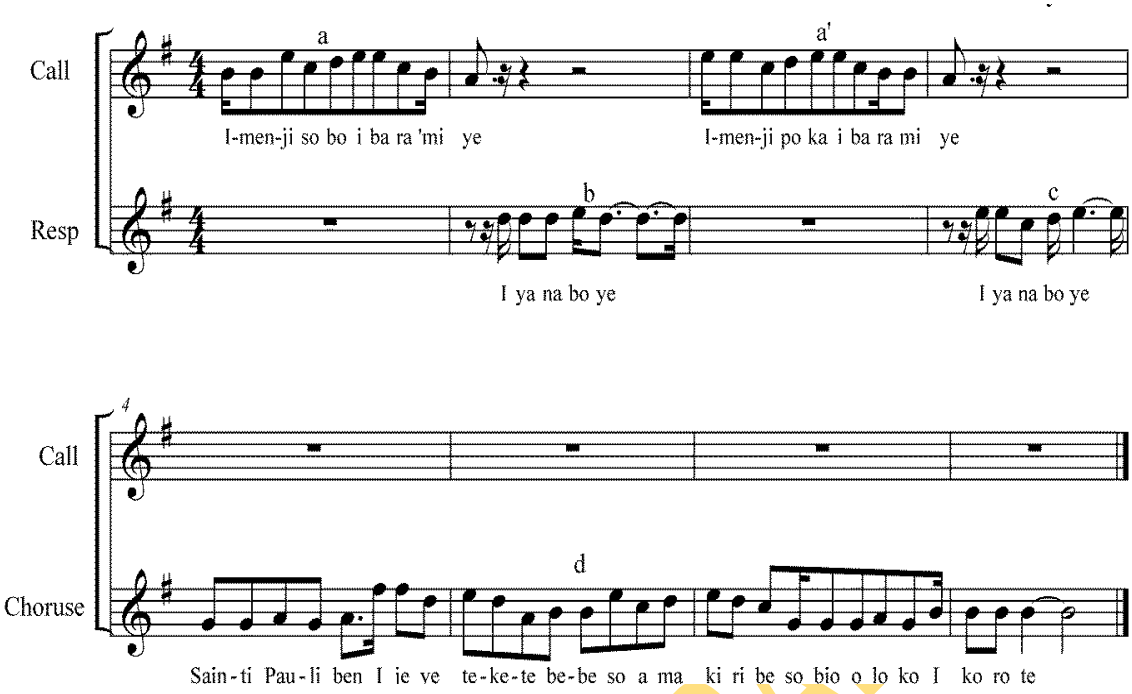
a complete musical statement made up of sections called phrases, some of which are incomplete.

The most common melodic structure of *ḍụẹịn-ḍíḅí-a númé* is the two-part structure, that is, a melodic statement made up of two interdependent phrases. The first phrase in Kálábàrì funeral music often anticipates a concluding phrase or phrases. These are known as antecedent and consequent phrases or question and answer phrases. A typical example is the song *Támúnọ Í ọlọ.*



Structurally, the antecedent phrase (a) ends on a cadence of non-finality (*ámú-kàrà-a*) while the consequent phrase (b) ends on a final cadence (*kìrà*). The melody is derived from a pentatonic scale of five pitches. The antecedent phrase begins from the fourth note D of the scale and moves down to A in measure three before approaching a non-final cadence on note E, with an interval of a major 3rd in the fourth measures. The consequent phrase also began from note D down to A, with a final cadence on note B in the eighth measure approached by a major second.

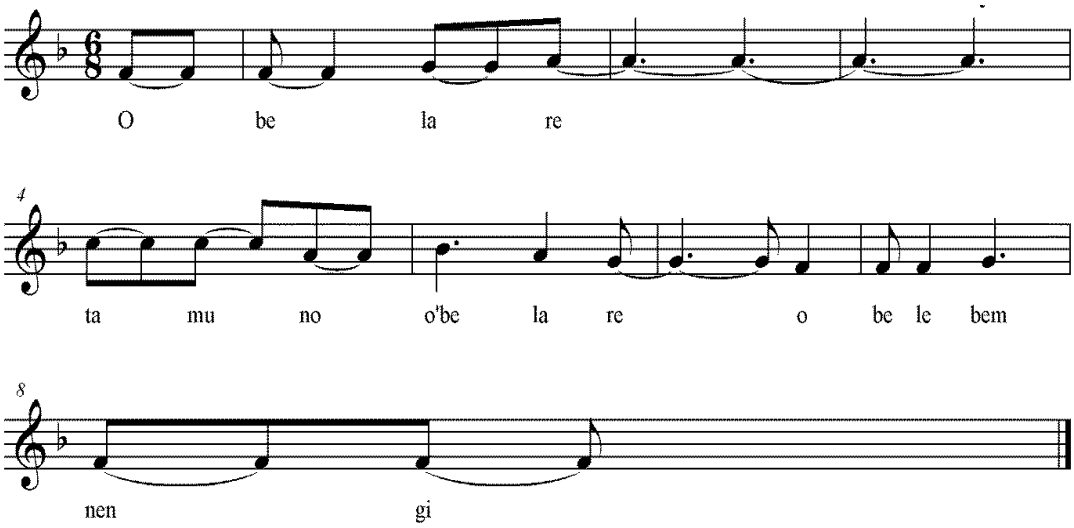
Phrases in Kálábàrì funeral songs are of varying lengths. This is brought about by repetition, improvisation and extemporization during performance. The example below shows five phrases of varying lengths. The first four phrases a, b, a′, and c are short while the last phrase d is four times longer when compared with others. The song began and cadenced on the tonic of a hexatonic scale, which is note B. The first and third phrases have different starting pitches; the first phrase took off from the tonic note B and the third phrase, using the same melodic material, began from E, the fourth note of the scale. The entire structure is ABA'CD.



Melodies in Káláḅàrì funeral songs are ritual, semi-ritual or non-ritual in conception and are produced by singers or instrumentalists. The context, function and role of a particular song during funeral show the ways melodies are shaped within Káláḅàrì culture. An in-depth study of funeral songs and their structures reveal certain melodic contours which can be classified into three as follows:

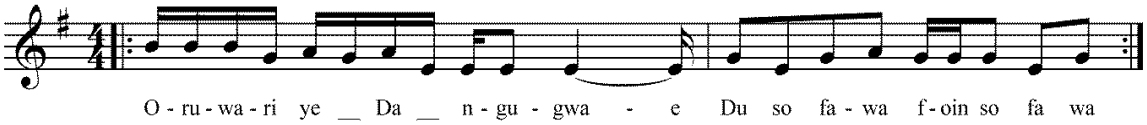
(a) Melodies that begin from a low pitch and increase gradually up to a high pitch and then descend down before cadence. *Támúnọ ó bẹ́léarì*'s melodic contour started moving up gradually within the interval of a major 3rd to a non-final cadence in the 4th measure of the first phrase. Songs that possess this melodic contour are those with text whose first word is intoned low. The word *Ó-bẹ-lea-rí* has four syllables; the first two syllables are pitched low, which gives the melody it characteristic shape. The second phrase began with a three-syllable word *Tá-mú-nọ*. The first two syllables have high intonations; therefore, they occupy the highest position in the melodic contour as found in the 4th measure of the song.

TAMUNO OBELARE



(b) Melodies that begin from the middle tone are characteristic of phrases serving as answer or response to a lead singer. Such melodies move to a high pitch and then descend in an undulating fashion to a low pitch, as shown in previous examples.

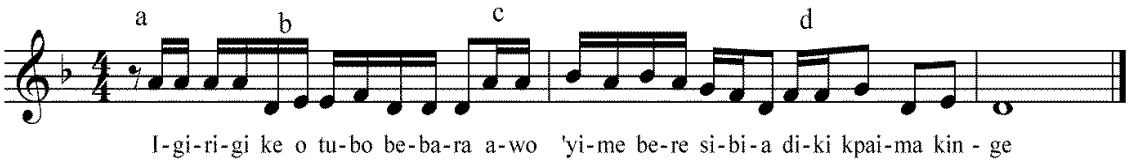
(c) The third type of melodic contour prevalent in Kálábàrí funeral songs are those whose melodies begin on a high tone and gradually descend to a low tone, as shown below:



The melody is composed on a pentatonic scale with tonal centre on note E. The melody began from B, the fifth note of the scale and descended indirectly to note E and gradually moved to cadence on note G approached with an interval of a minor 3rd.

Furthermore, conjunct and disjunct movements characterise melodies of vocal and instrumental music performed during funeral rites. Some melodies are more conjunct than others. This structural phenomenon is influenced by song text, instrumentation, compositional devices used and the context for which performance is required. Melodic leaps of 2nds and 3rds are more prevalent than leaps of 5ths and 6ths.

ÍGÍRÍGÍ KẸ O TUBỌ BẸBÁRÀ



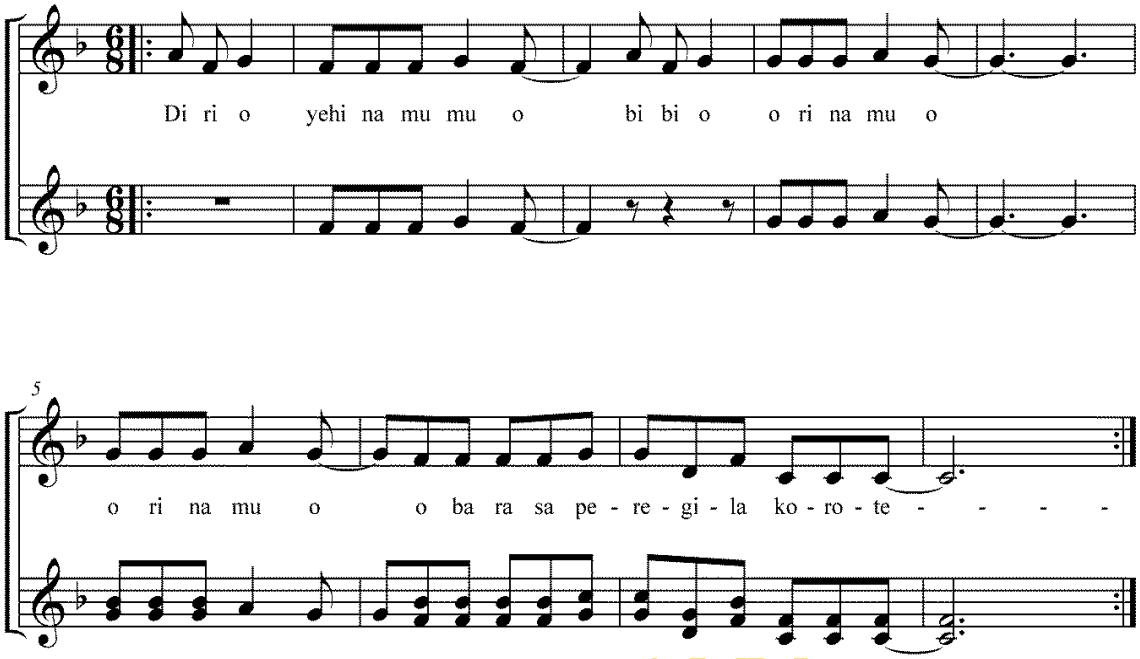
The song *Ígírígí Kẹ o túḇọ ḇẹbárà* is made up of four phrases of varying length. The second phrase (b) is approached down a 5th from note A to note D, while the third phrase (c), which begins with note A is approached up a 5th from note D, which is the tonal centre of the melody. Melodic leaps of intervals between notes such as 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th occur between phrases, as shown between phrases (a) and (b) as well as phrases (b) and (e) of *Ígírígí Kẹ o túḇọ ḇẹbárà*.

Findings show that melodies that are conjunct have short motifs of two or three tones, possessing a narrow compass not exceeding a 4th. Expanded melodies, on the other hand, have a compass of an octave or more with frequent use of more intervals of 4ths and 5ths.

7.4.3 Harmony and polyphony

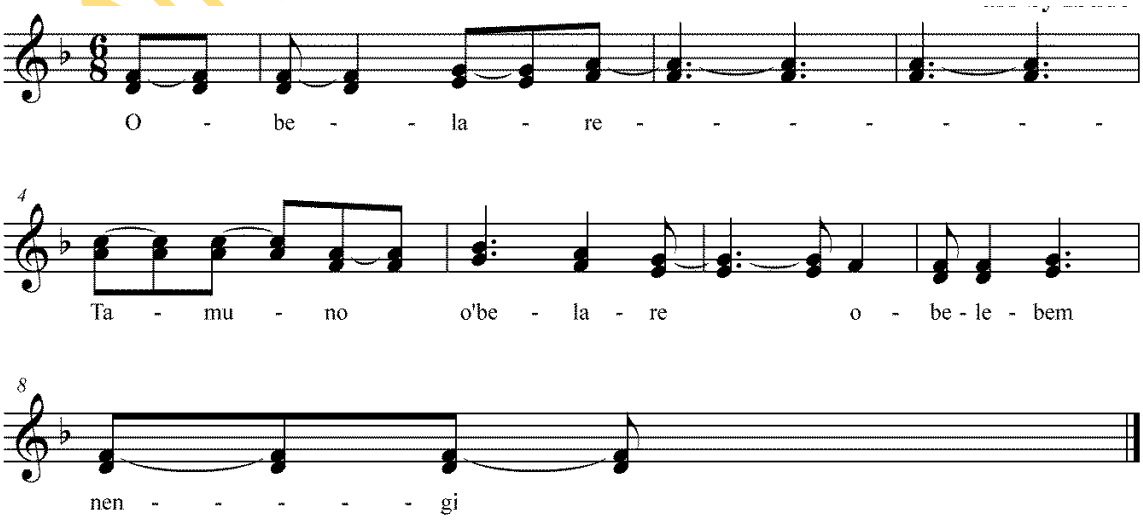
Harmony is the simultaneous sounding of two or more pitches and tones in vertical and or lineal axis. Akpabot (1998), Agu (1999), and Nzewi (2007) observe that African songs can be performed in at least two parts, with primary and secondary melodies. Agu (1999) noted that the secondary melody is performed an octave lower, or at other intervals, such as minor third, perfect fourth and perfect fifth. Some contemporary vocal types have their secondary melody performed at a major third above the primary melody. In Kálábàrì funeral songs the voices are commonly in seconds, thirds, fourths and fifth apart. The intervals in fourths and fifths can be likened to those found in Western in strict organum. This is necessary so that the secondary voice can imitate the primary voice part in order not to distort the inherent ideas in the sentence. An example is the song titled *Ḇíḇí-o*, performed by both males and females during *Ámábórọ*, the closing funeral rite for an elder or a chief.

Bíbí-o



The soloist began the song, setting an appropriate pitch and tone for the others to respond in unison. The melodic line was repeated in unison from measure two to measure four with a slight alteration at the end of the phrase. This compositional technique prepare the group to sing the secondary melody in harmony, a third and fourth above in the fifth and sixth measures, respectively. In another example titled *Obelare*, the secondary voice was performed on an interval of a third below the primary voice as shown below:

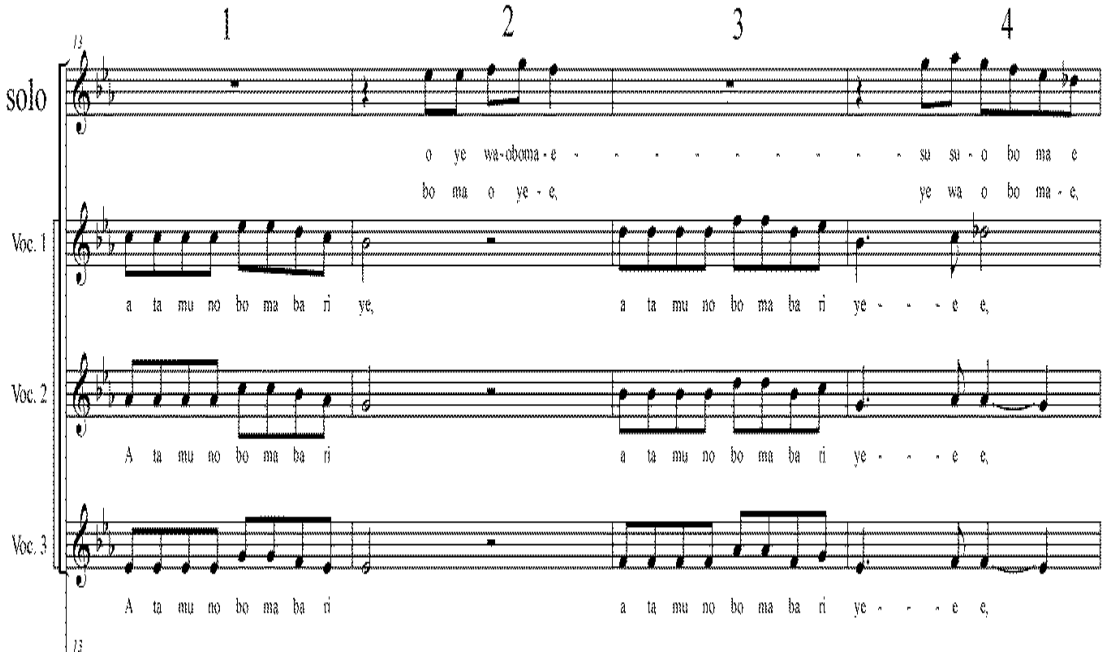
OBELARE



In most Káláḅàrì funeral songs, the soloist sings through a phrase or the entire song and the remaining members of the group join in the song in a call-and-response form. In mixed choral performance, males usually lead in the call and the others respond even when there are older women in the ensemble. This is in line with the traditional role of leadership by men in Káláḅàrì culture. Choral performance in mixed; male and female ensembles is performed in harmony. The secondary melody is a group response that is neither pre-arranged nor assigned to some individuals. The process of harmonization of Káláḅàrì funeral songs is lineal. They perceive the harmonic sense of the melodic phrase or sentence and then create a complementary phrase to match it.

Polyphony is a combination of inter-complementary melodic or melorhythmic lines in a piece of music. Akpabot (1998) describes it as an extension of a canonic style of singing where the melodic theme is announced by the first voice and re-echoed by a second voice; all other voices then make use of the melodic theme by inverting, shortening or expanding the intervals. The performance of polyphonic style of music during funeral rite among the Káláḅàrì is a common practice by mixed male and female ensembles. Polyphony is achieved in *Wámínà ḍábọ fí tẹ-o*, *Ítẹmẹ* and *À Támúnọ bómá bàri-ye* (see Appendix B. 20, 24 and 25). An excerpt of *À Támúnọ Bómá Bàrí-ye* (see Appendix B. 25) shows measures thirteen through sixteen.

À TÁMÚNỌ BÓMÁ BÀRÍ-YE



The fundamental tune as a unit of sound had already been established in the minds of individuals that make up the ensemble by the soloist. This was to help the ensemble derive a complementary tune that matched and harmonized the melody. The first voice repeated the melody as performed by the soloist while the second and third voices harmonize at an interval of a 3rd and sixth. The soloist improvised beginning from the second beat of measure (2) before the end of the opening phrase and also served as a cue for the second phrase. Polyphony in this song was brought about by the voices coming in at different intervals, introduction of contrapuntal singing in measures (2) and (4) by the soloist through improvisation and addition of two notes, A flat and G in the second voice as well as the notes F and E flat in the third voice.

7.4.4 Form

The structural form of music performed in Kálábàrí funeral rites is derived partly from the verbal texts on which the melody is based or emanates and, most importantly, partly framed by context and purpose for which the songs are used. Nketia (1975), Vidal (1981), Akpabot (1986), Kofie (1994), Agu (1999), Adedeji (2007) have identified repetition, variation and contrast as basic elements which operate in melody, harmony, rhythm and tone colour. In terms of Nigerian musical forms, Vidal (1981:10) and Adedeji (2007:62) identify musical forms of Yoruba song as:

a. Call and response form with its four variant
b. Strophic form used for lyrics;
c. Strophic-responsorial form and
d. Through-composed form

In the same vein, Agu (1999) identifies five main structural forms in African music as:

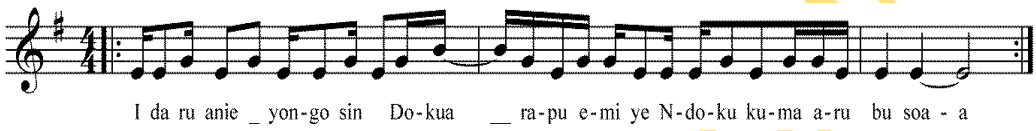
a. Solo
b. Call and Response
c. Call and Refrain
d. Solo and Chorused Refrain, and
e. Mixed Structural Forms

Nzewi (2012) broadly categorizes form in indigenous African creative rationalization as identified above, into micro forms (solo, responsorial form, repetition, internal variation, and ensemble thematic cycle and so on) and macro forms

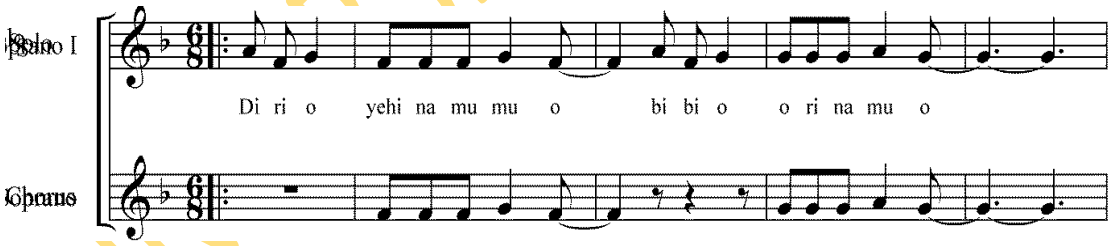
(presentation/contextual or scenario form) whose content and form cannot be correctly analysed without other non-music factors that help to shape it.

7.4.4.1 Micro forms

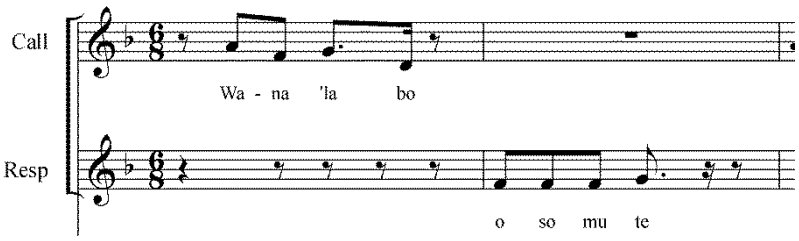
The solo musical form occupies a major part in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rite. *Ḍụẹịn-duu-a númé* is an original song composed and performed unaccompanied by several people- the wives, children and close relative during lying-in-state of the deceased. A typical example of a solo form is shown below.



The responsorial form is the most commonly found structural form used in Kálá̱bàrí funeral music. This form allows for an interaction between the chorus and the lead singer or soloist in a call-and-response style. This form is performed in several ways. The most common type is when a phrase is sung by the lead singer, the chorus respond with exactly the same phrase. A second type is when the lead singer takes up the song; the chorus joins by responding to the call. The text in each of the calls is different and the chorus responds appropriately, as shown in the example below:

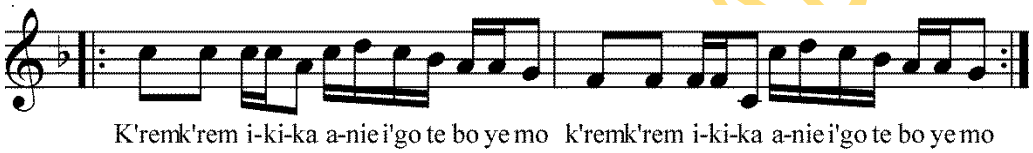


In addition, it is characterised by an unequal phrase for the *solo-call* which has a shorter phrase than the *chorus*. A short *call* and a short *response* is another type of responsorial form, shown in the example below:

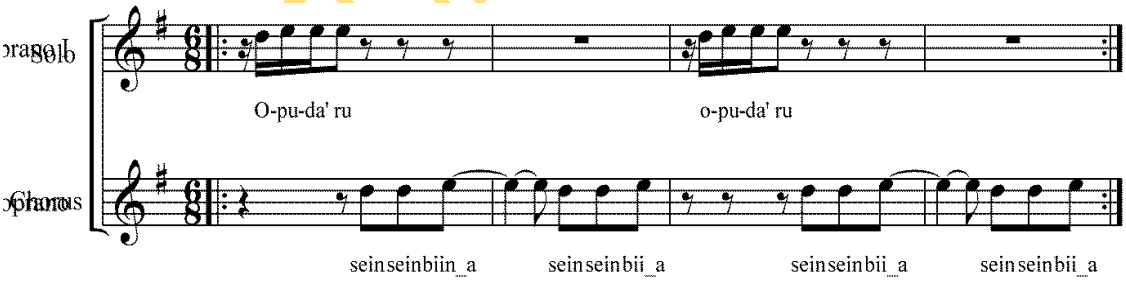


In the song *Wamna 'labo*, there is an equal balance in both phrases despite the difference in the text. Although, the cantor and the chorus do not sing the same text, the time for performance of each role is equal. Other types in the responsorial form are call and chorus refrain pattern, call and refrain as well as mixed structural patterns.

Repetition is one of the basic structural features in Kálá̱àrì funeral music. According to Nzewi (2012:10), it is an 'intentional, proactive, strictly repeated short thematic idiom' used in solo or ensemble performance. Repetition of a whole song is performed exactly the way it was sung by the soloist. It helps to lengthen the performance, emphasize the text without variation in content and speed, and helps possess the mind. The song *Krímkrím íkíkà* is a two-phrased structure AB. It is performed once by the lead singer and is repeated several times by the chorus.



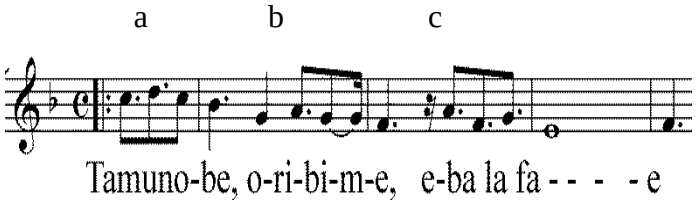
Another technique of performance is the repetition of a line or a phrase. This type of repetition is prominent in certain call and chorused refrain. This is exemplified in the song *Òpúdà àrù*, performed as part of the funeral song during a canoe regatta.



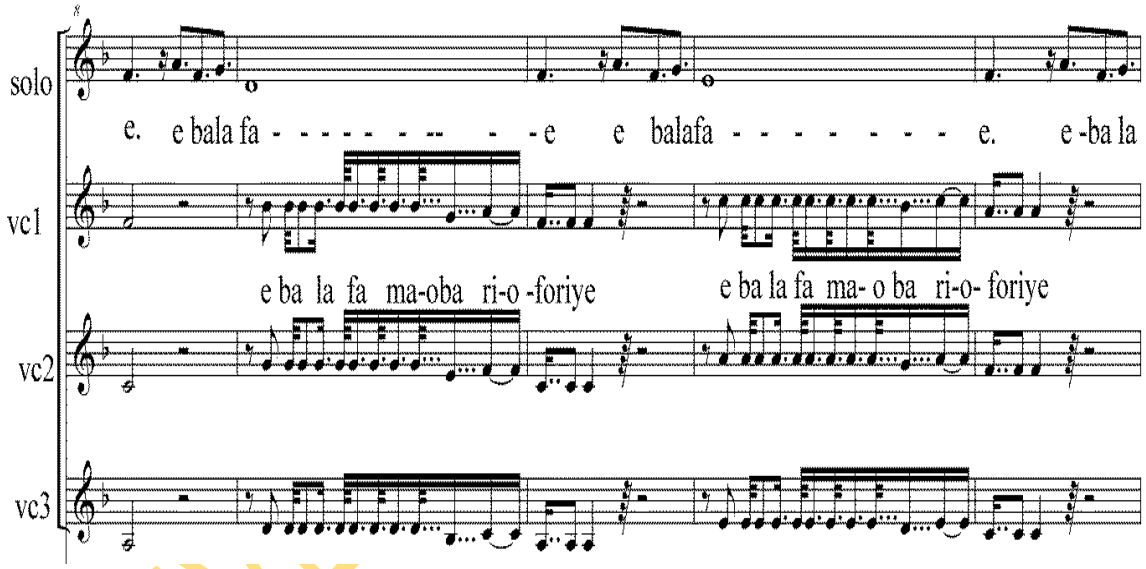
The chorused refrain in different is the use of short phrases of one or two words continuously repeated to a level during performance that the soloist only needs to hum his line and the chorus keeps repeating the refrain. This type of performance psychologically helps to focus the men (thirty of them) as they display on the sea while paddling the canoe.

Internal variation of a recycled short theme is another micro formal device used in Kálá̱àrí funeral songs. It is different from repetition, in that it commands consistent and holistic alteration of the rhythm, tonal and pitches there by creating a cumulative

effect that excites the performer and the listeners. An example of songs which made use of internal variation form is *Ìbàláfà-a*. The theme from which internal variation is achieved is made up of three short phrases with a descending melodic line in the key of F. The rhythm made use of dotted eight and quarter notes, sixteenth note and a semibreve at the end of the phrase.



The first two phrases are sung by the soloist and the chorus responds by joining in the third phrase (See Appendix B. 26 for the entire song).



Internal variation is achieved through the recycled short theme phrase c. Deliberate alteration was carried out first on the text, by the addition of four other words *má o bouri ófóriyé* meaning 'nothing will make me afraid', performed as *máobo'ri-ófóriyé*. Secondly, there was the use of a different rhythmic motif (syncopated use of double and triple dotted sixteenth and thirty-second notes) by the vocal ensemble. Thirdly, there was the performance of the phrase *ébáláfa máobo'ri-ófóriyé* at two different pitches: interval of a 4th and 5th above the tonic note F. The ensemble sings in harmony at an interval of a 3rd and 6th apart between the three voices while the soloist sang and improvised on the melody, resulting in a mosaic of sound, which was holistic.

7.4.4.2 Macro forms

Macro forms are extensive and very broad, as their conceptualizations are quite often extra-musical. Presentation form is a macro form executed by *Ókóró fárí* musicians, as earlier discussed, during canonization of a deceased elder (chief) into ancestorhood in Kálá̱bàrì funeral rites. According to Agu (1999), presentation form takes into consideration seriously the intention of the musical type and the contingencies that shape a musical performance. The Kálá̱bàrì concept of death has shaped the people's way of navigating and dealing with issues arising from death during the funeral of a chief, especially its music. Non-musical factors which influence presentation form of *Ókóró fárí* are performers, ritual, contextual, linguistic, dramatic, economic, political and dance factors.

Performers' factor: The *Ókóró fárí* orchestra is directed and conducted by the *Òpùtoní fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) who is accompanied by others playing different sizes of *Ókóró* and a membrane drum *Bóboye*. The instruments are arranged on a traditional mat called *Àkpàràkpá* made from a special type of raffia palms, as shown in Plate 33. The chief drummer plays a set of four wooden slit drums of different sizes: two in front, *Ọgọdọgọ* and *Ámgbírí*, one on his left hand and another on the right called *Àtàngbá* and *Àmàgàmíné* respectively playing supporting roles. A second set of two slit drums called *Ìgìmà pọkọ* is played by *Pẹlẹyẹ fáríbọ* (Assistant lead drummer). The third is a single slit drum called *Kpọkpọ*, which gives the timeline and is played by *Kpọkpọ fáríbọ*. The last instrument is a membrane drum called *Bóboye*, which *Bóboye fáríbọ* sits on while performing. The different sizes of the slit drums produce different tones and rhythmic patterns making communication to ancestors, deities and water spirits during performance.

The musicians, through their performance on the drums relate to ancestral spirits and the physical environment. The performer serves the social and spiritual needs of the people by infusing the elements of sound which constitute sonic signals by which the progression and activities are recognized within the culture. The performer in this event-music mediates and ushers the spirit of the deceased into ancestorhood. This event draws attention to the constant interplay between the religious experience and aesthetic interaction in Kálá̱bàrí performance.

The lead drummer is an accomplished indigenous performer whose responsibility it is to interpret the exigencies in the context of performance and respond immediately. This role of the performer accounts for unpredictable and

variable length of presentation form. A typical example was in Buguma when the chief drummer, after playing section C (*Bẹrẹ*) recognized the arrival of a compound chief and community leader by playing the *Ókóró*, the drum lore by which the chief is identified, and further eulogized Soku, a Kálábàrì community from where the chief came to grace the funeral rite of late Chief O.G.Batubo.

Ritual factor: The *Ókóró fárí* rite is performed for the king and chiefs of all categories during their installation as well as their funeral after the interment on Saturday. Also, this rite is enacted for the mothers and wives of chiefs or a king married by *Ìyà* form of marriage. The rite is performed for six days as a symbol of honour for the late chief who, until his death, was a successful warlord. Secondly, it is an invitation for the ancestors to come and celebrate with the living as they welcome the spirit of the deceased into their midst. Thirdly, it is an opportunity for the *Òpùtoní fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) to serve as an intermediary through ritual music between the living, the ancestral spirit, societal spirit and the water spirit which together constitute the central world view of Kálábàrì.

The entire process is highly ritualistic, involving the performer who mediates by means of dramatic presentation of ritual items and invocations, and invites ancestral spirits of past chiefs (*Álábó*) and kings (*Ámányánábọ*) to attend the celebration. This event-music begins on Monday at 2:00 a.m by first of all invoking the spirit of *ókóró*, which is made possible through pouring of libations and communicating to the spirit through performance on the slit and membrane drums.

Contextual factors: During the ritual performance, women are not allowed to come near the arena of performance. They are not also allowed to touch the musical instruments or partake in the food used for sacrifice. This is to avoid defilement which will lead to subsequent rejection of sacrifices, musical performances and, in some cases, death of the performer by the gods and ancestors. As a rule, the musicians must abstain from sex with their wives or any other woman during the six days of performance as they play their mediatory roles between the living and the ancestors.

The ritual items used on the first day as the deities and ancestors are invoked through the *Ókóró fárí* orchestra are: one tin of corn beef, one packet of cabin biscuit, four bottles of native gin, three packets each of Benson and Hedges, Rothmans and St. Moritz. For the next five days these items are provided morning and evening by the bereaved family, except the first two items. On the sixth day, the closing day of the rite, the items used for sacrifices are one goat, one bunch of plantain, seven tubers of

yam, two litres of palm oil, one cup of pepper, one cup of salt, two packets of cabin biscuit, two tins of corn beef, one cup of snuff, two bottles of gin, one fish (*àgbàrá*), a big aluminium pot and a bunch of firewood for cooking the items.

As the ritual progresses, the *Òpùtoní fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) and his assistants engage in a call-and-response form of performance where questions are asked and answers are provided through the talking drums amidst complex rhythmic patterns of the *Ókóró fárí* orchestra. The *Òpùtoní fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) after the necessary libations and distribution of pieces of the ritual items to deities and ancestors, by means of drums, invokes the spirit of the *Ókóró fárí*, a melorhythmic instrument. *Ókóró fárí* music is a composite and an elaborate musical form in Kálábàrí culture with various distinctive sections. Its presentational form captures and elaborates on how the performer helps to execute indigenous institutional event associated with the honouring of the departed.

A formal order of presentation is always followed in an indigenous presentation or scenario form which is derived from within a funerary context. There are eight sections in *Ókóró fárí* music, which can be compared to movements in a symphony or classical concerto. Each of these sections can last for as long as twenty-five to forty-five minutes. The duration of any given section is dictated by the possibilities in a specific performance, as earlier reiterated. Performance context plays a significant role, as the first seven sections A to G are performed daily leaving out section H. On the sixth day, the presentation form is performed including section H, the closing section. However, the sequence must be adhered to, as shown below:

A. *Ókóró tẹmẹ*

Kàlídì gọdọgọdọ ókóró	The spirit of okoro
Kpírí kpírí bárà kụrọ tẹrẹmẹ ẹ̱u dèìn	The anger of a leopard calms down after killing with the left hand
Árú ẹ̱ịkị ẹ̱ịkị bèkìná árụ ẹ̱ịkị-a	Where a canoe capsize a boat will not
ẹ̱ẹrẹ gbó tùẹ̱ùkù para	The son who looks for trouble has no strength for fight
Ògbórìgbó tùbòkụ	Son of Amakiri
Gbùròg̀bùrò ẹ̱ó	Wealthy man

B. *Kúrótẹ kámù kúrótẹ*

Kámù kúrótẹ kúrótẹ kámù kúrótẹ	The death of a Chief has brought quarrel
Ólómínáógìnàbà Ọ ẹ̱á ọkí tẹ	The creatures She has come and collected
Gbùròg̀bùrọ ẹ̱ó fì tẹ	A great person has died

C. *Bẹrẹ*

Bẹrẹ pákámá ẹ̀ọ tùbọ	Who brought this problem
Gbùròǵbùrò ẹ̀ọ (Álá́ẹ̀ọ) fí tẹ	A wealthy man (chief) has died
Ẹ̀ẹrẹ páká tẹ	problem has come

D. *Àbbèo ókóró*

Ẹ̀ẹrẹ búrú-a	Problem is not yam to eat
Túbárà túbárà pìrì nyànàbọ	Antelop, owner of the forest
Ọ síbí ébékà sọ tẹ etemi lọlọ	When the head is off the tail shakes

E. *Élém Tómbíà*

Tọ ẹ̀ẹrẹ páká tọ ẹ̀ẹrẹ páká	What is happening? What is happening?
Élém Tómbíà mú ẹ̀ẹrẹ páká tẹ	Go to Elem Tombia there is problem
Símé́ẹ̀ọ símé́ẹ̀ọ Élém Tómbíà mú	Everybody, everybody go to Elem Tombia

F. *Àrìnyè kẹ ḍọkúmọ*

Ẹ̀ẹrẹ páká́ẹ̀ọ ịgwuángị páká	You are inviting problem, do you have money in your hand
Àrị n nye kẹ ḍọkụmọ	What is your business about whether I have money

G. *Ókúkú ákwá*

Ẹ̀ẹrẹ ẹ̀otẹẹ ẹ̀ẹrẹ ẹ̀otẹẹ	Problems have come, problems have come
Òkùkù, òkùkù ẹ̀ẹrẹ pakámátẹ	Okuku masquerade has brought problems

H. *Sèkì ákwá*

Àmàbárà túbọkú	'People' of the right arm
Éré́ẹ̀árà túbọkú	'People' of the left arm
Ẹ̀io ẹ̀èlé bèlé màso	Go with happiness
Ẹ̀árà-gí fàtẹ-ó (Three times)	It is finished (Three times)

Linguistic factor: The *Ókóró fárí* musical performance employs coded language in communicating to the spirit world and the entire community. The use of drum language as a means of communication is highly functional and effective in fulfilling the role of ushering the spirit of the deceased into ancestorhood. The linguistic content of the drum language is different from the everyday Káláẹ̀àrì language. The drum language can be communicated using various instruments, as ealier identified. However, the *Ókóró* drums are associated with installation and funeral of elders who are chiefs or the king. It is an imperative that the lead drummer and his team must be conversant and well able to communicate in the drum language in order not to incure the wrath of the gods and the ancestors. Some examples of drum language and their equivalend in the everyday Káláẹ̀àrì language include: *Gbùròǵbùrò* in everyday

language is *Ópú*, meaning majesty; and *Ólómínáógìnàbà* in everyday language is *Támúnọ*, meaning God and *Ògbórìgbó* drum name for King Amakiri.

Dramatic factor: Indigenous dramatic presentations are evident in Kálábàrí funeral rites; they shape presentational form of *Ókóró fárí* music. Accoding to Nketia (1965:1), 'there are few organised formal occasion which do not follow a dramatic pattern, few do not incorporate elements of drama in the musical performance, in dance, in routine of the rite or ceremony of the occasion.' The actors are individuals like priest, chiefs, elders, and heads of extended families, and drummers engage in verbal and non-verbal communication.

Theatrical actions are an important aspect of presentation form during performances of *Ókóró fárí*. These theatrical actions, verbal and non-verbal, communicate to the spirits of the ancestors, the deceased who is being ushered into ancestorhood and all those present in line with acceptable standards within Kálábàrì culture. However, such dramatic presentations are not as rigidly precise as in literary drama. Each performance session begins with a libation offered by the *Òpùtoní fáríbọ* (Lead drummer) to appease the spirit of *Ókóró*, the instrument of performance. The libation is poured on the sets of split drums and at random to various parts of the dance arena in honour of the deities and the ancestral spirits present. After section A (*Ókóró tẹmẹ*) is performed, as part of the presentation form, one of the drummers, at the instruction of the chief drummer, pours some of the ritual foods on the instruments. Furthermore, beginning from the right to the left side of the dance arena in a dramatic fashion, as if possessed by the spirit of *Ókóró*, the drummer distributes ritual food to appease the deities and the ancestral spirits present.

Economic and political factors: The *Ókóró fárí*, an instrumental performance for a meritorious elder who must have been a chief before his demise, is an honour for the dead and a status symbol for the living. During the period of musical performace, a festival which is not an integral part of the musical presentation is the display of family wealth and economic strength of the late chief in textiles, clothing, jewellary and other accessories to the community. It is believed that an elaborate and flamboyant rite of passage accords the deceased a spiritual and political status among the ancestors.

Presentation form during funeral rites for *Ámányánábọ* (King) or paramount chief of a group of houses in a community involves an elaborate performance of the praise names associated with various Kálábàrì towns and villages by the chief drummer under the leadership of the king during his reign. This presentation is

performed before section B (*Kúrótẹ kámù kúrótẹ*) and its duration is elaborate for chiefs whose economic and political influences are limited to its compound. The deceased's offspring and extended family members are obliged to perform this rite, as it promotes the well being of the lineage and community. Refusal can lead to calamity and tormenting of the immediate and extended families by the spirit of the deceased.

Dance factor: Dance plays a significant role in the process of canonization into ancestorhood. The last two sections (*Ókúkú ákwá* and *Sèkì ákwá*) of *Ókóró fárí* music an indigenous concerto form, derive their names from two important masquerades in Kálá̱bàrì, that is *Ókúkú* and *Sèkì* masquerades. These masquerades do not appear during *Ókóró fárí* performance, but the music outlines, in sonic symbols, the moods, movements, and gestures, both the rhythm and the expressive character of the dance. Dance in Kálá̱bàrì traditional funeral for a chief is a mark of honour to the departed and a religious experience to the children, immediate and extended families, the war canoe house and the entire community which the deceased led before his demise. The presentation form allows for performance of dance between sections G and H, whose duration is determined by the interpretation of the chief drummer. Dance in this context is not just entertainment but communication between the living and the ancestors celebrating the canonization of their own as an ancestor and also a means of appeasing the ancestors to keep blessing and strengthening the lineage and the community.

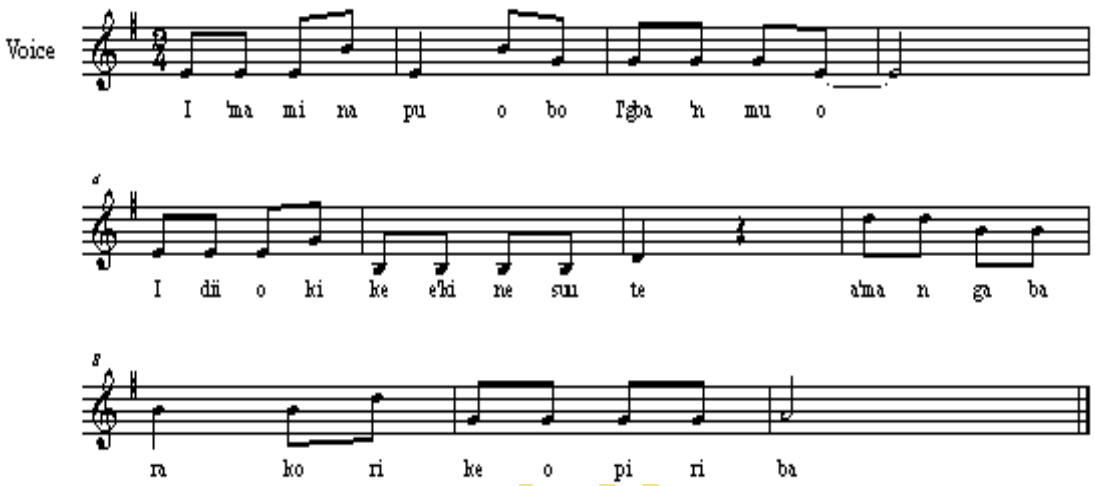
7.4.5 Rhythmic organization

African music is inclined toward emphasizing rhythm which most often compensates for absence of melody or the lack of melodic complexities (Nketia, 1975). This phenomenon is applicable to Kálá̱bàrì music in which metrical organization of melodies emphasizes the use of short (quavers grouped as duplets and triplets) and long (dotted crochets and six quavers grouped as three crochets) durational values as a basis of rhythmic movement. Funeral music among the Kálá̱bàrì is an expression of the people's culture and, therefore, employs rhythmic structures which are culturally acceptable and regarded as authentic.

Kálá̱bàrì funeral music generally exhibits two types of rhythmic structure: free and strict rhythm. Free rhythm is the general absence of regulative bent. Free rhythm is common with *Ḏụẹ̀n-duu-a númé* (acappella dirges and chants) performed by wives, children and close relatives when the deceased is lying in state. Speech rhythms of this

type are unmeasured, lack the feel of a regular basic pulse and performed unaccompanied by instruments or hand clapping. Movements arising from the performance of dirges and chants are based on the subjective choice of pulse rather than that derived from the music performed.

Kálábàrì funeral songs in strict rhythm are planned over a regular basic pulse. It is the major grouping of notes that brings to the fore the underlying pulse. The

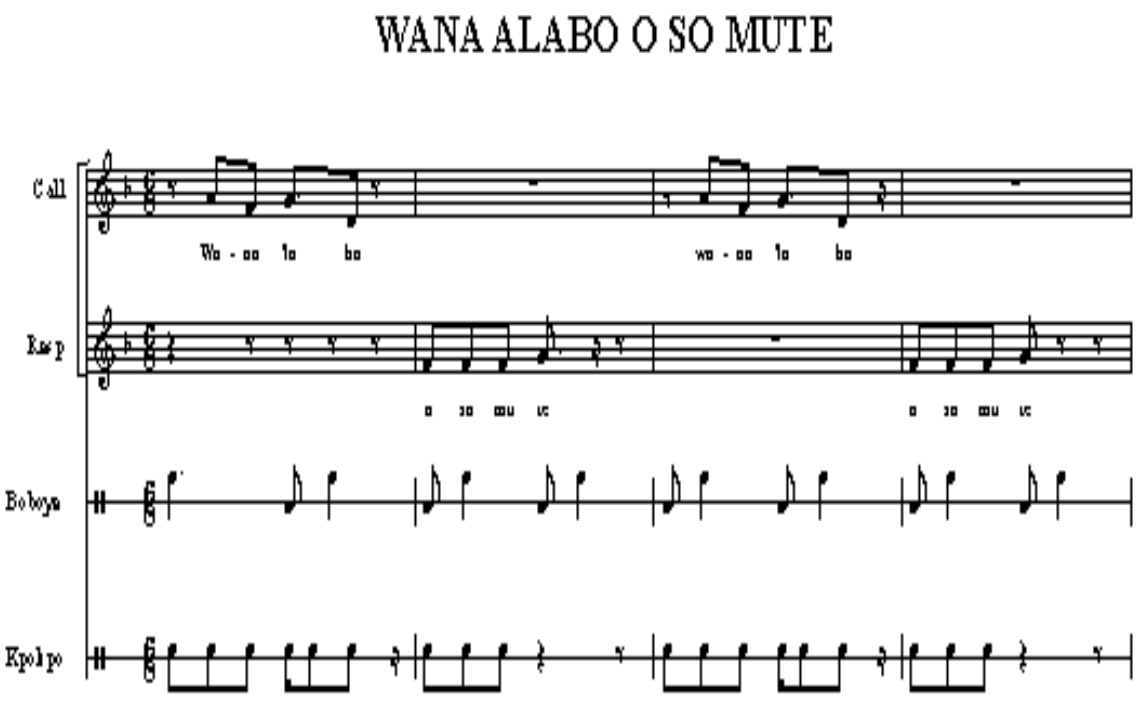


organizing principle of rhythm is then externalized and articulated by hand clapping, use of idiophones and membranophones. Rhythm organization is same in vocal and instrumental music, except that song rhythm is based on eighth notes (♪) and sixteenth notes (𝅘𝅥𝅯). Songs in duple rhythm whose structure predominantly consist of two fast pulses with uses of hand clappers at strong beat of the measure are exemplified in *Amina pu*.

Some songs emphasize the use of eighth note and others the use of sixteenth note as the principal unit of movement. However, combinations of both types of note exist in compositions performed during funerals. A typical example of such combination is demonstrated in the response section of *Ówú kọrí ḅọ* as shown below:

In addition to duple rhythm, there are funeral songs that emphasize the use of triplets (𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯) as the principal note of movement. The use of dotted quarter (𝅗𝅥.) and

dotted eighth (♪.) notes feature in songs that emphasize triplets, as exemplified in *Wámnà Álábọ O So Mútẹ*.



The rhythmic examples given above are not exhaustive of the entire gamut of rhythmic structures of melodies collected by the researcher. Rather, they are basic rhythmic motifs from which variations are constructed.

Findings revealed that the switch from one rhythmic mode to another during performance at funeral rites signify the movement from one section to another within a song or the change of song without a definite break in the instrumental transition. Accompanying musical instruments produce rhythmic structures which, when combined with that of songs, give rise to complex rhythmic structures and textures. The use of additive rhythms in duple, triple and hemiola patterns is the zenith of rhythmic organization and expression when the *Ókóró fárí* (melo-rhythmic wooden slit drums) orchestra performs during the funeral of paramount rulers and chiefs. A further dimension in the manifestation of rhythm among Kálá̱bàrí musicians during performance at funeral rites is the rhythm of emotion, which is expressed as a subtle movement through the body of the performer in interpreting the affects and physical-visual rhythm of playing an instrument.

7.5 Conclusion

Ḍụẹịn-ḍíbí-a númé (music in funeral rites) text and structure is a general reflection of music in Káláḅàrí culture. The text of songs is a useful means of obtaining information which serves social, cultural, religious, historical and psychological functions especially during funeral rites. In addition, texts of funeral songs give a further insight into the thought pattern, concepts and philosophical inclinations of Káláḅàrì people. Structurally, the use of intervals ranging from seconds to sevenths reveals that there are no fixed intervals. However, the use of intervals such as seconds, thirds, fourths and fifths are common. Homophonic parallelisim is a common harmonic style used during performance. The melodies are made up of short phrases in solo, call and response, overlapping, binary, mixed structural form and presentation forms which reveal Káláḅàrì culture. Therefore, Káláḅàrì song texts and musical performances during funeral rites serve as a platform for understanding issues related to the world views and the belief systems which are reflected in various dimensions of Káláḅàrì daily living.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

In chapter seven, we carried out textual and structural analysis of funeral rites music. This chapter summarizes the study and makes categorical conclusions about music in Kalabari funeral rites (*Ḍụịẹn-ḍịḅí-a númé*).

8.1 Summary

The introductory chapter gave the background to the study and enumerated the importance of music to the Kálábàrì. It identified the gaps in knowledge occasioned by lack of scholarly investigation on the performance, performance practice, structure and documentation of funeral rite music in Kálábàrì land. There exist a considerable body of published materials on aspects of Kálábàrì culture and society, such as language, history, economy, socio-political organization, and religious belief and rituals (Alagoa 1967, 1968; Da-Wariboko 1991, 2002; Erekosima 1973; Horton 1960, 1962, 1963, 1969, 1991a, 1991b; Jenewari 1991; Jones 1963; Alagoa, 1967, 1968; Erekosima, 1973; Ndimele and Williamson, 2002; Tasie 1978; Wariboko, N 1997, 2007). Such materials, however, have so far been notably devoid of any extended work on the performance aspect of Kálábàrì funeral rites and on their associated music. It was to address this deficiency that this study paid attention to funeral rites from the perspective of performance and performance practices as well as documentation of the various categories of *Ḍụịẹn-ḍịḅí-a númé,* which is gradually fading out. The study therefore, addressed the dearth of information on the types and categories of funeral rites and associated music, practitioners and their recruitment, the importance as well as the form and structure of music in Kálábàrì funeral rites. The foregoing problems led to the statement of the aim and objectives of the study. The scope of the study was clearly spelt out in order to give the study its desired focus.

The theoretical framework on which the study was based was clearly stated. These were the theories of music in culture and musical change. The theoretical framework affirms that there is a relationship between the patterns of sound product as a result of human interaction and, therefore, music must be investigated in terms of

itself and in relation to its cultural context. The dynamic nature of every human society informs the use of the theory of musical change. In addition, existing literature on music in funeral rites were reviewed which revealed gaps on the performance aspect of funeral rites and its associated music.

A systematic procedure was used to carry out the study from the pre-field stage to the field work stage and the post-field stage. Data were collected through In-Depth-Interview (IDI), Key Informant (KI) technique, Observation (O), Participant Observation (PO) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The post-field analysis was done through transcription from the recordings, textual translation of the data to the English language, musical notation and analysis. The study further discussed ethnography of Kálá̱bàrì land and people. There are more than seven groups known to have come together with different origins; however, the basis of identity of the Kálá̱bàrì is a culture common to all its members, which is distinct in every way from those of their neighbours.

Thirteen types of funeral rites were discussed. Three of these: *Ékímá ḭ́lé*, *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* and *Yè dọkìmà* rites do not require the performance of music. While *Ékímá ḭ́lé* rite is extinct, *Ìkpàtàkà dògí* rite has never been performed in Bákánà, Àbónnémà and Búgúmà, except in smaller communities of Àbàlàmà, Mínàma and Sokú. The place of burial is both aquatic and terrestrial, depending on the nature of death. Doctrinal, economic and security situations in Kálá̱bàrì are factors that have informed the formulation of policies by Christian churches on funeral rites. These policies have affected the performance of music in funerals. Furthermore, findings show that the activities of Niger Delta militants in the area have affected music in funeral rites and its presentation forms in their traditional context of performance.

Four categories of *Ḍụ̀ịẹ̀n-ḍíḭ́-a númè* (funeral rite music): *Ákwá* (instrumental music), *Ògbò ḭ́ẹ́ númè* (choral music) with instrumental accompaniment, *Ḍụ̀ịẹ̀n-dúu-a númè* (acappella dirges and chants) and *Sẹ̀kị́ númè* (dance music) which were further grouped into ritual, semi-ritual and non-ritual music, were identified. The performance of funeral rite music is contextual. This necessitates the need and involvement of traditional musical professionals as performers of any of the categories of music. Training is carried out by *Ákwá Àlábò* (chief drummer), lead drummers, composers and choreographers through methods which include instruction and demonstration, while the trainee learns through observation, practice and participation.

Furthermore, the content of *Ḍụịẹn-ḍíḅí-a númè* (funeral rite music) gave insight through textual and musical analyses in order to establish the structure, form and compositional techniques of the composers. Findings show that the textual content was based on five themes: praise for supernatural and human personalities, lamentations, prayers and scriptural teachings. The application of nine different communication techniques in its lyrics revealed rich literally corpus that characterise funeral music. The composers of funeral music employed various compositional devices, such as, repetition, internal variation, overlapping, contrast and improvisation in the development of their music.

The high point of the study is that the performance of *Ḍụịẹn-ḍíḅí-a númè*, which manifests as instrumental and non-instrumental music, engenders socialization and spiritual bonding in Káláḅàrì celebration of life after life.

8.2 Conclusion

Certain conclusions from the post-field analysis can be made from this study. Firstly, the performance of *Ḍụịẹn-ḍíḅí-a númè* (funeral rite music) is rooted in Káláḅàrí culture and traditions. Performances manifest as instrumental and non-instrumental music by members of the bereaved family, house and community. Therefore, it engenders socialization and spiritual bonding among relations, friends and well-wishers of the bereaved family to give sympathy and community support to the family of the deceased.

The categories and types of *Ḍụịẹn-ḍíḅí-a númè* are determined and shaped by the contexts, which are ritual, semi-ritual and non-ritual. Four categories were identified: *Ákwá* (instrumental music), *Ògbò ḅẹ númè* (choral music) with instrumental accompaniment, *Ḍụịẹn-dúu-a númè* (acappella dirges and chants) and *Sẹkị́ númè* (dance music). *Ókóró fárí*, a type of instrumental music performed by professional musicians, is ritualistic and does not allow female participation. *Ìgìrà sàrá númè* and *Ámábórọ́ númè* are choral music performed by mixed ensembles in responsorial form. *Ḍụịẹn bórọma númè* are performed as dirges, laments and songs in solo form at the lying-in-state of the deceased. Pre- and post-interment funerary dance music of *Ókpókìrì*, and *Kúkú fárí* during *Ḍín krámá tí* are performed to give public acknowledgement that proper burial honours have been bestowed on the deceased person whose intrinsic worth deserve such.

The song texts of funeral music are based on the belief system and culture of the people. They are philosophical, expressing historical issues, praise for supernatural and human beings, prayers, laments, moral teachings and scriptural teachings as themes. Furthermore, the texts of the music serve psychological and spiritual purposes of encouraging the bereaved and facilitating the process of the dead becoming an ancestor. Findings show that three musical textures were predominant in the data, namely monophony, homophony and heterophony. These musical textures are structured in the following forms: solo, call and response, overlapping, mixed structural and presentation forms.

Ḍụ̀ẹ̀n-ḍíḅí-a númè is central to Káláḅàrì funeral rites for both the traditionalists (as there is no opportunity for a second burial) and Christians. However, some of the funeral rites and their music are already extinct; some are at the verge of extinction; while others are experiencing gradual transformation owing to urbanization, globalization, insecurity, apathy on the part of the younger generation, and the conversion of Káláḅàrì people to other religions, especially Christianity.

8.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are made:

The performance of Káláḅàrì funeral music is a reflection of Káláḅàrì musical practice in general. Funeral rite music is at the verge of extinction while others are experiencing gradual transformation. There should be a collaborative work between traditional composers, musicians, choreographers and ethnomusicologists, who could use their knowledge and training in documenting and researching into funeral music.Their findings will surely have implications for Nigeria's educational and socio-cultural development.

Music, like every aural art, leaves no trace behind unless deliberate efforts are put in place for systematic documentation which will afford researchers access to information for comparative study of traditional musical works and culture. Consequently, it is recommended that, in addition to institutions of government put in place to promote art and culture, the Federal Government should establish a sound archive in each of the thirty-six states fully equipped with modern facilities and personnel to facilitate field recording, classification, storage and management of recorded sound. This endeavour will not only preserve Káláḅàrì traditional music, but

will also facilitate the training and learning of new generation of musicians on the performance of traditional instruments by the experienced hands.

Certain aspects of funeral rite music performance and its dance movements can boost tourism and job creation for the teaming unemployed youths in the Niger Delta. It is recommended that theatrical performance of canoe regatta and *ìrià pàká* dance movements which engage more than eighty people in one performance be repackaged and sponsored by federal and state governments, in collaboration with the private sector, to boost tourism potential, thereby creating jobs and generating foreign exchange earnings for the nation.

The scope of this research work is limited to music in funeral rites. Future studies might explore the role and significance of music in other rites of passage, focusing on birth, marriage and others within the culture.

PRIMARY SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Field resource persons for oral interview

S/No	Name	Place	Date
1	His Royal Majesty Prof. J.T. Princewill, Amachree XI	Buguma	20- 09- 09
2	His Royal Highness A.B. Big Tomtom VIII	Abalama	18, 27-01-10
3	Chief A.M. Princewill	Buguma	05-05-09
4	Chief Gift Seki	Ido	14-04-10
5	Chief Iyala Jack	Abonnema	09-04-10
6	Pa Crawford Dasime YoungHarry	Minama	06-01-10
7	Pa Cornwall Braide	Bakana	04-03-10
8	Pa Welsh Bebe Igoni	Ido	28-07-10
9	Mr. Enefaa JohnBull	Buguma	25-06-10
10	Alhaji Usman AnjiWest	Buguma	1,4-02-10
11	Pa A. Balfour	Bakana	05-03-10
12	Mr. Sasime Barango Tariah	Buguma	27-02-10
13	Mr. Isobo DavidWest	Abonnema	13-02-10
14	Mrs. Daisy Soberekon	Buguma	02-05-10
15	Mrs. Gladys Harry	Ido	24-05-10
16	Honorable Taribo Ingiangia	Buguma	26-06-10
17	Chief Igbanibo George	Buguma	05-06-10
18	Rev.(Dr.) C.T.T. George	Buguma	05-02-10
19	Venerable J.A. Batubo	Bakana	05-03-10
20	Venerable Daa Omonaa Harry	Buguma	05-05-10

B. Oral interviews

His Royal Majesty, Professor J.T. Princewill, Amachree XI *Ámányánábọ* of Kalabari Kingdom, 2009.

His Royal Highness, A.B.Big Tomtom VIII *Ámányánábọ* of Abalama, 2010.

Chief A.M. Princewill, (Member Council of chiefs) Buguma, 2009.

Chief Gift Seki, (Secretary, Council of Chiefs) Ido, 2010.

Chief Iyala Jack, (Member Council of Chiefs) Abonnema, 2010.

Pa Crawford D. YoungHarry, (*Ikpataka Dogi* funeral rite practitioner), Minama, 2010.

Pa Welsh Bebe Igoni, (Elder in the community), Ido, 2010.

Mr. Enefaa JohnBull, (Historian and Community elder), Buguma, 2010.

Alhaji Usman AnjiWest (Member, Ekine cult) Buguma, 2010.

Mr. Sasimen Barango Tariah, *Àkwá Àláḅọ* (Chief drummer), Kalabar Ekine cult, Buguma, 2010.

Mr. Isobo DavidWest, Tariah, *Àkwá Àláḅọ* (Chief drummer), Kalabar Ekine cult, Buguma, 2010.

Mrs. Daisy Soberekon, (Secretary, PCC St. Micheal's Anglican Church, Niger Delta Diocese), Buguma, 2010.

Mrs. Gladys Harry, (Musician and Choreographer), Ido, 2010.

Honorable Taribo Ingiangia, (*Kala Ede* Ekine cult), Buguma, 2010.

Chief Igbaibo George, (Senior and most experienced member of Ekine cult) Buguma, 2010.

Rev. (Dr.) C.T.T. George (Baptist Clergy and community leader), Buguma, 2010.

Venerable J.A. Batubo, (Vicar in charge of Christ Army Church) Bakana, 2010.

Venerable Daa Omonaa Harry, (Vicar in charge of African Church), Buguma, 2010.

B. Key Informants

S/No.	Names	Place
1.	Professor Robin Hornton	Buguma
2.	Rev. Suku Ngiangia	Buguma
3.	Mr. Enefaa JohnBull	Buguma
4.	Mr. Tonye .C. Erekosima	Bugma
5.	Comrade Daa G. Ekine	Tombia
6.	Mr. Isobo DavidWest	Abonnema
7.	Mrs. Gladys Harry	Ido

C. Research crew/field- Assistants

S/No	Name	Role
1.	Mr. David Bolaji	Transcription Assistant I
2.	Mr. Anjibibo Soberekonbo Kuruye Alele	Transcription Assistant II
3.	Mr. Isaac Iyenemi Lawson	Photography/Video
4.	Miss Ifeanyi Okoh	Photography/Driver
5.	Miss Justina Ughiovhe	Computer Assistant

D. Academics who have contributed to the study

1. Professor Mosunmola A. Omibiyi-Obidike – Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan- **Supervisor**
2. Professor Robin Horton – University of Port Harcourt, Choba.
3. Professor Onyee Nwankpa - Department of Music University of Port Harcourt, Choba.
4. Associate Professor Femi Adedeji – Department of Music, University of Ife, Ile-Ife.
5. Associate Professor Charles Auede - Department of Theatre and Media Arts, Ambrose Ali University, Ekpoma.
6. Dr. Kayode Samuel- Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
7. Dr. Babajide Ololajulo- Deptment of Archaeology and Anthropology
8. Dr, Adesina B. Sunday- Department of English, University of Ibadan.

REFERENCES

Books

Adewale, T. 1977. *Afrsican beliefs: science or superstition.* Ibadan: Newton House Publications.

Agordoh, A.A. 1994. *Studies in African music.* Ghana: Ho New Age Publication

Ajuwon, Bade. 1982. *Funeral dirges of Yoruba hunters*. New York: NOK Publishers International.

Akpabot, S.E. 1975. *Ibibio music in Nigerian culture.* Michigan: Michigan State University Press.

_____1986. *Foundation of Nigerian traditional music.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

_____ 1998. *Form, function and style in African music.* Lagos: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Limited.

Alagoa, E.J. 1972. *A history of the Niger Delta.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

_____1995. *People of the fish and eagle: a history of Okpoama in the Eastern Niger Delta*. Lagos: Isengi Communications Limited.

Agu, D.C.C. 1999. *Form and analysis.* Enugu: New Generation Books

Alexander, A.E. 1975. *Russian folklore* .Belmont, Mass: Nordland Press.

Blacking, John. 1973 *How musical is man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press

_____ 1978. Some problems of theory and method in the study of Musical hange" *Yearbook of the IFMC.* 9:1-26.

Bosah, S.I. (n.p.n.d) *Groundwork of the history and culture of Onitsha.*

Bosman, Williams.1705. *A new and accurate description of the coast of Guinea*. London: Frank Cass

Bradbury, R.E. 1973 *Benin studies* M.W. Peter. Ed. London: Oxford University Press

Chernoff, J.M. 1979. *African rhythm and African sensibility.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Copland, D. 1978. Go to my home town Cape Coast: The social history of Ghanaian highlife. *Eight Urban Musical Culture.* Illinios: University of Illinois Press.

Cory, Hans. 1951. *The Ntemi: the traditional rites in connection with the burial, election, enthronement and magical powers of Sukuma Chief.* London: n.p

DonPedro, Ibiba. 2006. *Oil in the water: crude power and militancy in the Niger Delta*. Lagos: Foreword Communications Limitd.

Duerden, Denis 1977. *African art and literature:The invisible present.* London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Erekosima, Tonye V., W.H. Kio Lawson and O. McJaja, eds. 1991 *A hundred years of Buguma history in Kalabari culture.*Lagos: Sibon Books Limited

Fubara-Manuel, Alaye. 1976. *Kalabari clan conferences: inteligence report on Kalabari history, customs and traditions*. Port Harcourt: Labomie Enterprises

George, C.T.T. 2010a. *A brief history of baptist work in the Niger Delta 1893-1950.* Buguma: TMG Communications

_____ 2010b. *Christian mission education in Kalabari 1850-1950*. Buguma: TMG Communications

Herskovits, M.J. 1948. *Man and his works.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Holas, Bohumil. 1968. *Craft and culture in the Ivory Coast.* Cote Divoire: Cultures Meterielles Dela.

Idowu, E. Bolaji. 1973. *African traditional religion.* London: SCM Press.

Ifie, E.1994. *A culturer background to the plays of J.P.Clark- Bekederemo* .Ibadan: End-Time Publishing House Ltd.

JohnBull, E.W. 2005.*Omekwe Horsefall of Kalabari (1817-1895) in the Niger Delta.* Port Harcourt: Sonite Publishers Limited.

Jones, G.I. 1963. *Trading states of the oil rivers: a study of political development in Eastern Nigeria.* London: Oxford University Press

Kimble, G.H.T. (trans.) 1937 *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*. London

Kofie, N.N. 1994. *Contemporary African music in world perspective*. Accra: Ghana University Press

Layiwola, D. Ed. 1999. *A handbook of methodology in African studies*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd.

Lehrman, Simon M. 1949. *Jewish customs and folklore.* London: Sharpiro Vallentine and Company.

Malm, W.P. 1959. *Japanese music and musical instruments*. Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle.

Mbiti, J .1989. *African religions and philosophy*. London: Heinemann

McAllester, D.P. 1954. *Enemy way music.* Cambridge: Peabody Museum Papers, Vol.41, no. 3.

Mensah, A.A. 1987. *Devices of creative construction in African music*. Winneba, Ghana: Andoa Memorial Publishers.

Merriam, A.P. 1964, *The anthropology of music*. Evaston: Northwestern University Press.

Na'Ibi, Shuaib and Hassan, Alhaji. 1969. *Gwari, Gade and Koro tribes.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Nettl, Bruno. 1983. *The study of ethnomusicology: twenty-nine issues and concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Nketia, J.H.K. 1963. *African music in Ghana* .Evaston: Northwestern University Press.

_____ 1955. *Funeral dirges of the Akan people. Accra:* Achimota.

_____1975 *The music of Africa.* London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Nzewi, Meki. 2007. *A contemporary study of musical arts informed by African indigenous systems. Vol.2: The stem: growth*. Petoria: CIIMDA

Opuogulaya, E.D.W 1975. *The cultural heritage of the wakirike the Okirika people.* Port Harcourt: Rivers State Council for Arts and Culture.

Oesterley, William. Q.E. 1921. Lamentation and wailing. *Immortality and the Unseen World.* London: Macmillan Press.

Prazan, Ceslaus. 1977. *The Dukkawa of Northwestern Nigeria* Pittsburgh: Duquese University Press.

Talbot, P. Amaury. 1926. *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*.4 vols. London: Oxford University Press.

Tamuno, T.N.T and E.J. Alagoa ed. 1980. *Eminent Nigerians of the River State* Lagos: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Ltd.

Tasie, G.O.M. 1978. *Christian missionary enterprise in the Niger Delta*. Leiden: F.J. Brill

_____ 1999. *Kali Kulu Kulu Kalika: A checklist of Kalabari drum lore*. Jos: Ehindero Nigeria Ltd

Wariboko, Nimi. 1997. *The mind of African strategists: a study of Kalabari management practice.* Cranbury NJ: Associated University Press.

_____ 2007. *Pattern of institutions in the Niger Delta*. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications

Chapters in Books

Albert, I.O. 1999. Techniques for collecting oral data in African culture history. *A handbook of methodology in African studies* D. Layiwola Ed. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd. 89-101.

Darkwa, Asante. 1993. Crossing ethnic and national boundries in music research: Perspectives from field research in East Africa. Paper presented at the Conference on International Dimensions of African Music and Dance, University of Ghana ICAMD, October 13-14.

Da-Wariboko, Rossetta M.C. 1991. Kalabari funeral rites and the significance of canoe regatta (Poku Doku). *Buguma 1984 Centenary Symposia on Kalabari. Buguma*: Buguma Internal Affairs Society. 149-160.

_____ 2002. Kalabari Funeral Rites and the significance of canoe Regetta (Poku Doku). *Ways of the Rivers: Arts and Environment of the Niger Delta.* Martha G. Anderson and Philip M. Peek. Eds. California: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History 149-160.

DjeDje, J.C 2000 West Africa: an introduction. *The Garland Handbook of African Music.* R.M Stone. Ed. New York: Garland Publishing Inc. 140-168.

Djedje, J.C and Carter, W.G. 1989. African musicology: an assessment of the field. *African Musicology: Current Trends*, Vol. 1, Djedje, J.C. (ed.) Los Angeles: African Studies Centre, University of California. 39-44.

Douglas, Mary.1954. The Lele of Kasai. *African Worlds* Daryll Ford. Ed. London. 1-24

Dzobo, N.K. 1992. Values in changing society: man, ancestor and God." *Person and community: Ghanaian philosophical studies.* K.Gyekye and K. Wiredu. Eds. Council for Research in Values and Phylosophy Washington, D.C.222-239

Eicher, J.B and Erekosima, T.V. 2002. Fitting farewells: the fine art of Kalabari funerals. *Ways of the Rivers: arts and environment of the Niger Delta.* M.G. Anderson and P.M. Peek. Eds. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History. 307-329.

Ejitiwu, N.C. 2002. Atlantic Trade. *The land and people of Rivers State: Eastern Niger Delta.* E.J Alagoa and A.A. Derefaka. Eds. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications

Horton, R. 1969. From fishing village to city-state: a social history of New Calabar. *Man in Africa*. In Dauglas, M. And Kalorry, P. London: Tavistoch Press

_____ 1970. A hundred years of change in Kalabari religion. *Black Africa: its people and cultures today.* John Middleton Ed., London. 192 –211

_____ 1991a. Kalabari Ekine Society. *Hundred years of Buguma history in Kalabari culture* T.V. Erekosima, W.H.K. Lawson and O. MacJaja. Eds. Lagos: Sibon Books Ltd. 101-126.

_____ 1991b. The relevance of Kalabari religion in Modern times' *Buguma 1984 centenary symposium on Kalabari* T.V. Erekosima and W.H.K Lawson. Eds. Lagos: Sibon Books Ltd. 82-97

Iyeh, M.A. 2006. Globalization and the dance in Nigeria: Prospects and precautions. *The arts and man and globalization. Trends, issues and problems.* Diane Stinton. Ed. Accra: Deocraft Communications.302 - 308

Jenewari, E.W. 1991. The Kalabari language and its current status. *Buguma 1984 centenary symposium on Kalabari* T.V. Erekosima and W.H.K Lawson. Eds. Lagos: Sibon Books Ltd.3-23

Kolinski, Mieczyslaw. 1936. Suriname music. *Suriname Folk-Lore.* In Melville J. And Frances S. Herskovits. New York: Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. Vol. XXVII. 489-758.

Ndimele, Ozo-mekari and Williamson, Kay. 2002. Language *The land and people of Rivers State: Eastern Niger Delta*. E.J. Alagoa and A.A. Derefaka. Eds. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications. Chapter 9: 149-188

Nketia, J.H.K. 1962. Unity and diversity in African music: a problem of synthesis. The proceedings of the first international congress of Africanist Accra. (ed.) Labage Brown and Michael Crowder.1-13

_____1972. Sources of historical data on the musical cultures of Africa. African Music: Meeting in Yaounde Cameron 23rd - 27th February, *1970.* Paris: UNESCO.43-49.

Olaniyan, Oluyemi.1999. Ethnomusicology and an approach to its field research. *A handbook of methodology in African studies.* D. Layiwola. Ed. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd. 153-165.

Omibiyi, M.A. 1975. Training of Yoruba traditional musicians' *Yoruba Oral Poetry* W. Abimbola. Ed. 877-925.

Omibiyi-Obidike, M.A. 1999. Theory and practice of field investigation in ethnomusicology. *A handbook of methodology in African studies* D. Layiwola Ed. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd. 141-152.

Renne, Elisha P. 2001. Our great mother...tied this cloth: *Pelete Bite* cloth, women, and Kalabari identity. *Cloth is the centre of the world: Nigerian textile, global perspectives*. Susan J. Torntore Ed. St. Paul: The Goldstein Museum of Design, University of Minnesota

Vidal, A.O. 1981. The poetic and musical forms of Yoruba vocal music. A paper presented at the 24th Annual Conference of African Studies Association. Bloomington, 21-24, October.

Wariboko, Nimi.2007. A theory of the Canoe House Corporation" *Pattern of institutions in the Niger Delta: economic and ethological interpretations of history and culture*. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications. 25-79

Wiredu, K. 1992 Death and the afterlife in African culture. *Person and community: Ghanaian philosophical studies*. K .Gyekye and K. Wiredu. Eds.Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, Washington D.C. 138-152

Articles in Journals

Alagoa, E.J. 1967 Ijo funeral rites. *Nigeria Magazine* 95: 279 – 287.

_____ 1968. The Western Apoi: notes on the use of ethnographic data in historical reconstruction. *African Notes* 5.1:12-24

_____1981 Oral data as archives in Africa. *Kiabara: Journal of Humanities University of Port Harcourt*. 4.2: 193-202

Adedeji, S.O. 2007 Form in Nigerian Gospel Music. *Awka Journal of Research in Music and the Arts*. 4.61-71

Alamu, O. 2006 Metaphysical-Medical appraisal of death in Owan: Any meeting point" *Iroro A Journal of Arts: Ambrose Ali University, Ekpoma*. Vol.11.No.1 and 2. 311-327

Baines, A. and Wachsmann, K trans. (1961) Erich M. Von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs classification of musical instruments. *Galpin Society Journal* 14(3): 3-29

Butler, V.F. 1963. Cement funeral sculpture in Eastern Nigeria. *Nigeria Magazine* 77:117-128.

Erekosima, T.V. 1973 Kalabari categories of self: a philosophical extrapolation in cultural dynamism. *Odum* 1.1:21-27.

Erekosima, T.V., and J.B. Eicher 1981 Kalabari cut-thread and pulled-thread cloth. *African Arts* 14, 2: 48-51, 87.

Horton, R. 1960. The gods as guest: An aspect of Kalabari religious life. *Nigeria Magazine* Special Edition. 1-71

_____1962. The Kalabari world–view: an outline and interpretation. *Africa*. 32.3:197-219.

_____ 1963. The Kalabari Ekine Society: a borderline of religion and art. *Africa*. 33:94-114

_____ 1964. Ritual Man in Africa. *Africa*.34.2: 85-105

_____ 1968. Ikpataka Dogi: a funeral rite. *African Notes* 5.3:57-72.

_____ 1975. Ekineba: A forgotten myth? *Oduma* 2.2: 23-38

Iyalla, B.S 1968. Womanhood in the Kalabari. *Nigerian Magazine* 98: 216-224

Lane, M.G.M 1960. The Aku-Ahwa and Aku-Maga post burial rites of the Jukun peoples of Northern Nigeria. *Nigerian Field* xxv: 100 – 104.

Nketia, J.H.K. 1966. Artistic values in African music. *The Composer* 19:11 – 20.

Nzewi Meki, 2012. Analytical probing in African musicology: discerning indigenous epistemology. *Journal of the Association of Nigerian Musicologists*. 6: 1-24.

Roberts, Helen H.1925. A study of folk song variant based on field work in Jamaica. *Journal of American Folklore.* 38:149-216.

Suliteau, Gisela. 1972. The traditional system of melopeic prose of the funeral Songs recited by the Jewish women of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. *Folklore Research Center Studies*.3. 3:285-298

Sowande, Fela, 1972. The role of music in traditional African society. *African Music* Paris UNESCO. 59 – 69.

The Social Science Research Council. (1955). Acculturation: an exploratory formulation. a paper presented at The Social Science Research Council summer seminar on acculturation, 1955.

Wariboko,Nimi.2002. Three against four: a cultural analysis of the disappearance of women in Kalabari. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 37:66-9

Articles in database and Internet Resources

Anderson, A. 2007. African Religion. *Encyclopedia of death and dying.* A–Bi, Retrieved September 10, 2008, from http://www.deathreference.com A – Bi/African Religions.html.

Bentor, Eli 2002. Spatial continuities: masks and cultural interactions between the Delta and Southern Nigeria. *African Arts*. 35. No. 1: 26–93. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from http://wwwjstor.org/stable/3337824.

Watson, C.B.G. 1930. Burial among the Akaju of Ogoja Division, Southern Nigeria. *Man.* 30:202 – 203. Retrieved October 14, 2008, from http://www.jstor.org/table/2790217.

Unpublished thesis and dissertations

Agulanna, C. August, 2001.An African perspective on death the crises of existence. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Philosophy, University of Ibadan xxii + 311pp.

Idamoyibo, O.I. 1998. Music in death ritual in Okpe culture. An unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan xvi + 195.

Idolor, E. 2001. Okpe Disco: A neo-traditional Nigerian popular music genre. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan. x + 568

Iyeh, M.A. October, 2008. Egwu-Ota dance as an expression of traditional Asaba value system. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan.xx + 191pp

Ofosu, J. 2001. Kirimomo music: A Christian native air genre of the Urhobo of Delta State, Nigeria. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan. xv+350

Ogisi, A.A. 1987. Music in Isekiri traditional burial ceremony. An unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan. xxxii + 199pp.

Ogli, G.E. 2010. Ethnomusicological study of Ij' Eyikwu (Music for funeral rites) among the Idoma, Benue State, of Nigeria. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Institute of African Studies. University of Ibadan x+ 210

Olajide, A.F. (1988) Death and the absurd: an analysis of the philosophies of Sartre and Camus in relation to African thought. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Philosophy, University of Ibadan. x +286.

Dictionaries

Apel, Willi. 1969. *Harvard dictionary of music.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Pattison, E.M. 1990. Death, Biomedical Definition of. *Dictionary of pastoral care and counselling.* J. Rodney. Hunter et al. Nashville: Abingdton Press. pp. 260-264.

APPENDIX A

1. ***Ó yé wa ò bòmá***

Solo	*Ó yé wa ò bòmá*
Solo 2	*Ḅàkà Álábọ*
Solo	*Ó yé wa ò bòmá*
Solo 2	*Ḅàkà Álábọ*
Chorus	*Ọrú pọkọ-pọkọ kè wà númé súún kè Álábọ bòmá*
Solo	*Ó yé wa ò bòmá*
Solo 2	*Ḅàkà Álábọ*
Solo	*Ó yé wa ò bòmá*
Solo 2	*Ḅàkà Álábọ*
Chorus	*Ọrú pọkọ-pọkọ kè wà númé súún kè Álábọ bòmá*

Ámányánáḅọ Òrì àniẹ wa tẹmẹ ye
Ò kọrịnàmà só ḅío nà kírí ḅío nà
Kpọmà ḅáláfámam!
Ò kọrịnàmà só ḅío nà kírí ḅío nà
Kpọmà ḅáláfámam!

Òrì ìnjẹlị Só ḅío ḅu sákì mèngbà
Íwọ númé-íwó númé súún òbòmárì
Òrì ìnjẹlị Só ḅío ḅu sákì mèngbà
Íwọ númé-íwó númé súún òbòmárì

Àníe mịẹtẹ wámíní sọ ḅẹlẹ pọkọ
Kẹ íwó númé íwó númé súún bòmàrí

Translation

Solo	Oh! let us praise Him
Solo 2	Great Chief
Solo	Oh! Let us praise Him
Solo 2	Great Chief
Chorus	Let us praise the great King with our different voices
Solo	Oh! let us praise Him
Solo 2	Great Chief
Solo	Oh! Let us praise Him
Solo 2	Great Chief
Chorus	Let us praise the great King with our different voices

The King is our Creator
In heaven and earth
His works are awesome
In heaven and earth
His works are awesome

In heaven His angels are always singing
New song, new song to praise Him
In heaven His angels are always singing
New song, new song to praise Him
In the same manner we will use our voices
Sing new song, new song to praise Him

2. ***Ó yé wa númé sún***

Solo	*Fìì nà faà ná ẹ̀io wá ẹ̀ọrọmá ẹ̀ọ*
Chorus	*Ó yé wa númé sún tẹ kẹ Ó bómá* (Three times)
	Òrì áníe wámínà tọrù ẹ̀é ówú mẹ kpo ẹ̀ọ (Three times)
	Wá kẹ jéín ye gómá
	Àní ẹ̀ó fà wa da íganímà
Solo	*Ó yé wa kòbìrí tẹ númé sún tẹ kẹ Ó bómá*
Chorus	*Òrì Òkò sìmèẹ̀ọ. Òrì Òkò sìmè ẹ̀ọ*(Two times)
Solo	*Ó yé wa kòbìrí tẹ númé sún tẹ kẹ Ó bómá*
Chorus	*Òkò sìmè Álábò Ò bòmá nà iẹ̀ímè!*
	Wèní mgbà númé sún tẹ Ò boma
	Pìkí Ímièté kè Ò ẹ̀ẹ
	Ọ Kọrí kẹ wá pịrị aí ẹ̀àkám!

Translation

Solo	The Person who saves from death and loss
Chorus	Let us sing to praise Him (Three times)
	He wipes away tears from our eyes (Three times)
	We should not give the glory to elsewhere less we offend
	Even if His handwork is hidden from us
Solo	Let us come and sing praises to honour Him
Chorus	He is a worthy Person! He is a worthy Person!(Twice)
Solo	Let us come and sing praise to honour Him
Chorus	He is a great Chief (King) worthy to be praised
	Let all sing songs to His praise
	And give thanks to Him
	He has done great things for us

3. ***Jòhny-o!***

Solo

Johny-West aru seine ne
Òrì ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́ ké Orì àrú-kùlọ̀ ḅírímàm
Jòhny-West árú Séin éné;
Òrì ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́ ké Orì àrú-kùlọ̀ ḅírímàm
Jòhny-West árú Séin éné
Òrì ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́ ké Orì àrú-kùlọ̀ ḅírímàm

Chorus

Jòhny-o!
Kúlò yẹ́ínyẹ́ín dúgúnu yẹ́ínyẹ́ín
Jòhny-o!
Kúlò yẹ́ínyẹ́ín dúgúnu yẹ́ínyẹ́ín

Translation

Solo

On the day John-West was installed as a chief
His war canoe was decorated with '*ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́*'
On the day John-West was installed as a chief
His war canoe was decorated with '*ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́*'
On the day John-West was installed as a chief
His war canoe was decorated with '*ẹ̀wẹ̀nẹ́*'

Chorus

Oh! John
The prow to the steering come the sound '*yẹ́ínyẹ́ín*'
Oh! John
The prow to the steering come the sound
'*yẹ́ínyẹ́ín*'

4. ***Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a***

Solo *Àmìnjì sárà té à chóchì múàrì*
All *Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a* (Three times)
Solo *Ḍìkí!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ!*(Three times)
Solo *Ìyẹrí Pastor, Ìyẹrí Rèvèrènị*
All *Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a*
Solo *Mìnàpú!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ*
Solo *Ḍìkí!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ!* (Three times)
Solo *Ìyẹrí foúndèr, Ìyẹrí píllàr*
All *Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a*
Solo *Mìnàpú!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ*
Solo *Ḍìkí!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ!* (Three times)
Solo *Ìyẹrí díkìni, Iyer díkìnèsí*
All *Àníe bẹrẹ síbí-a*
Solo *Mìnàpú!*
All *Oyi-a òlóko mẹ gótẹ kókó mẹ àníe ḅẹrẹ sịbị mẹ*

Translation

Solo I have been baptised, I go to church
All It is not the criteria (Three times)
Solo Look!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter(Three times)
Solo I am a Pastor, I am a Reverend
All It is not a criterion
Solo Brethren!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter (Three times)
Solo Look!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter (Three times)
Solo I am the founder, I am the Pillar
All It is not the criteria
Solo Brethren!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter.
Solo Look!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter.
Solo I am a Deacon, I am a Deaconess
All It is not the heart of the matter.

Solo Brethren!
All To read and keep the Ten Commandments is the heart of the matter.

5. ***Ì mènjí sọ ẹ̀ọ***

Solo *Ì mènjí sọ ẹ̀ọ íbára èmìyè*
Chorus *Ìyànàbóe*
Solo *Ì mènjí pàkà íbárá èmì yè*
Chorus *Ìyànàbóe*
All *Sàntí Paul bem Í jéyé tékébebem*
Sò ámákìrì so ẹ̀io ólókó mé ìkòròtè

Translations

Solo My coming is in your hands
Chorus My Lord
Solo My going out is in your hands
Chorus My Lord
All St. Paul said, if you serve another god
You have abandoned the law of the territory of heaven

6. ***Fíyá-fíyá-á yè, fíyá-fíyá-á yè***

Fíyá-fíyá-á yè, fíyá-fíyá-á yè Ḍà Àmàkírí làlà-á (Three times)
Òrì Kàin ḅé bùrù tẹ bùrù mẹ Kẹ àgbà míe kẹ wá Dà pírím
Àní wá Ḍá ngánímám-ó
Ábèl fíyá-fíyá ḅió-ḅẹ-mgbọ mẹ kẹ àgbà míe kẹ wá Dà pírím,
Àní wá Ḍá ḅúḅẹlẹm

Àní èrẹsì kùmbù sọ ọ kẹ lámàmá
Ọkọ èrẹsì ópú-ógíyé sọ ọ kẹ lámàmá

Sísí ó wórísò aní mgbá kùràmá tẹ sò pàká
Ó ḅófà mbìaká kẹ ásárá sìntẹ pẹlẹ ḅa

Sókú sákì ḅụ íḅíyẹ mẹ díḅị ḅọ àmìná íbí yè sòkú ọkị
Sókú sàkí sìyè mẹ ḅíbí ḅo a mìnà síyé sókú ọkị

Ézè kíní nyánábọ ḍúkú má-e
Wámínà àgbá mẹ Kain àgbá ẹrẹ sọ má-a

Translation

Unclean things, unclean things cannot
enter the Father's Kingdom (Three times)
Cain sacrificed a rotten yam unto our Father
It made Our Father angry
Abel offered his sacrifice with a clean heart to God
It was a pleasing sacrifice

For this reason do not touch with an axe
Like wise, do not touch with a big machete

Allow all of them to grow together
Lest you cut the maize along with the weeds

Those who planted good seed will harvest it
Those who planted bad seed will harvest it

Our Lord and king!
Do not allow our sacrifices to be like Cain's sacrifice

7. ***Àfù nyánábọ kẹ***

Yéhì, áfù nyánábọ kẹ Ó pírí-e
Àní ìkèlèmá tẹ ḅọ ḅàrí sàkí òpù yè ḅọ ḅà

Àfù nyánábọ kẹ pírí-e
Àní ìkèlèmá tẹ ḅọ ḅàrí sàkí òpùyè ḅọ ḅà

Pénny nyáná ḅọ kẹ Ó pírí-e
Àní ìkèlèmá tẹ ḅọ ḅàrí sàkí òpù yè ḅọ ḅà

Translation

Oh! If you have a little amount of money, give to Him.
In return, it will be multiplied greatly.

If you have a little amount of money, give to Him.
In return, it will be multiplied greatly.

If you have a penny, give to Him
In return, it will be multiplied greatly.

8. ***Sílénì-ee***

Sílénì-ee!
Ì wàrí ḅío sọ ḅó nàh!
Ì wàrí ḅío sọ ḅó nàh!
Àbbí ìgbìkí mẹ ḅara bió ófórí tómbò
Òndòró nà kùrùrú nà
Íbí aí ḅúroràrí Sọ í ẹrị-a!

Translation

Oh! Shilling
Come into my house, hear me!
Come into my house, hear me!
He who does not have money
Always in despair and mourning
Even when good things pass by, you cannot see them

9. ***Ḍùkù tẹ àrì ígoín má!***

Ìgbìkì kíní kálámáriò sei!
Ì Ḍà O! Ḍùkù tẹ àrì ígoín má! (Twice)
Àbbí Ìgbìkì mẹ kíní kálámáriò sei!
Ì Ḍà O! Ḍùkù tẹ àrì ígoín má! (Twice)

Translation

Oh! The lack of money can belittle someone
Oh my Father! Never allow me to be poor
Oh! The lack of manila can belittle someone
Oh my Father! Never allow me to be poor

10. ***Wámínà ḍàbọ wárí bẹ àpú o!***

Wámínà ḍàbọ wárí bẹ àpú o!
Ọ mièté-o! Àrì ò bòmá-e!
Jéin Ògbò sọ àrì Ọmịnị nà pàkà

Translation

Relatives of our father's house!
Thank you very much! I praise you!
When I reincarnate, I will be your relation.

11. ***Yéhì Ì mìnáḅọ***

Yéhì Ì mìnáḅọ Íwòrìsóté mo?
Tòmì kírí ó mínì ériarí-o?
S.O.tárí-álábò Ì mìnáḅọ Íwòrìsóté?
Tòmì kírí ó mínì ériarí-o?
S.O. àrì Í sínárí-o, ítàngà mú mò?
Ì mìnáḅọ àrì Í sínárí-o!
Tòmì kírí ó mínì ériarí
S.O. Ì ḍịḅì tè Sòárí
À kpàràkí te owúare-o!

Translation

O my brother have you left me behind?
the world(people) are you watching?
S.O. you're a chief, my brother, have you left me behind?
the world (people) are you watching?
S.O. I'm calling you, where are you going?
My brother, I am calling you
the world (people) are you watching?
S.O. you were to bury me, now you are going
I am kneeling down and crying

12. ***Òbì-ẹ̀ọ, òbì kúmà***

Òbì-ẹ̀ọ, òbì kúmà
Pá sàkí tẹ fúlọ sínsínm-e!
Ḍà íẹ̀ílá ògóno wẹ̣nị sàkí-e!

Translation

If someone falls sick
He will eat pepper soup in spite of the sickness!
Oh father wake up from the sick bed!

13. ***Wámínà ḍáẹ̀ọ óríbèm***

Wámínà dáẹ̀ò óríbém 'íyé nímí kè nèngìté tómẹ̀ọ!
Ḍùkùté mẹ̀ọ íyọkí Kẹ síbí dàmá'(Three times)
Nìmí wẹ̣nị ìgbìgì kúmà
Ì ḍà Tómẹ̀ọ ẹ̀e Ọ kọn sàrà tẹ

Translation

Our father said 'if you have knowledge more than someone
Do not allow such a person to be your leader (Three times)
If knowledge were money
Oh! My father would have had more than enough.

14. ***Góál keeper***

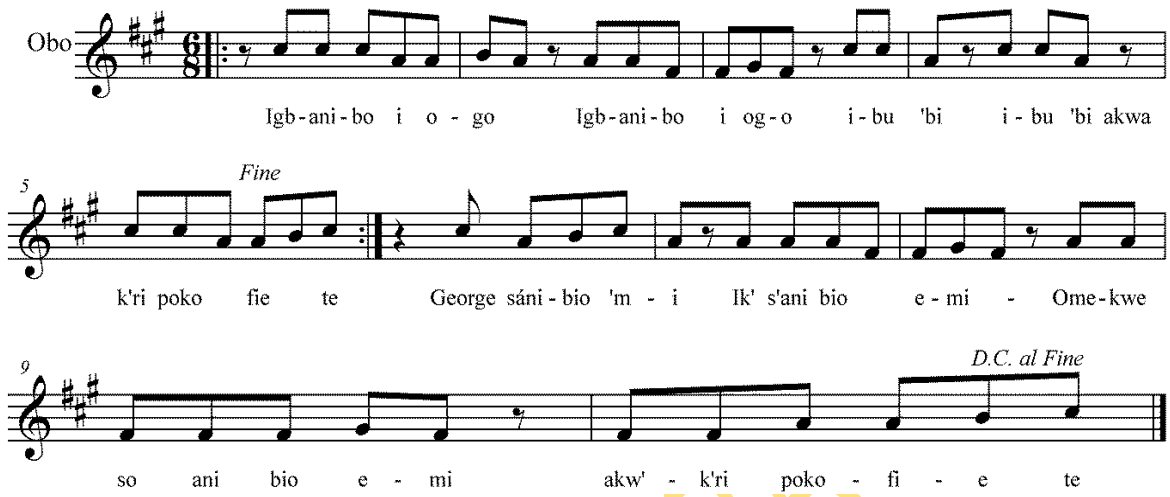
Mí àmà ẹ̀ẹ Super skill-àmẹ nẹ̀ọrọ tàngà mú mọ?
Mẹ̀ọ tí Ọ pìrí nnà goal keeper ó só ẹ̀ẹ tẹ

Translation

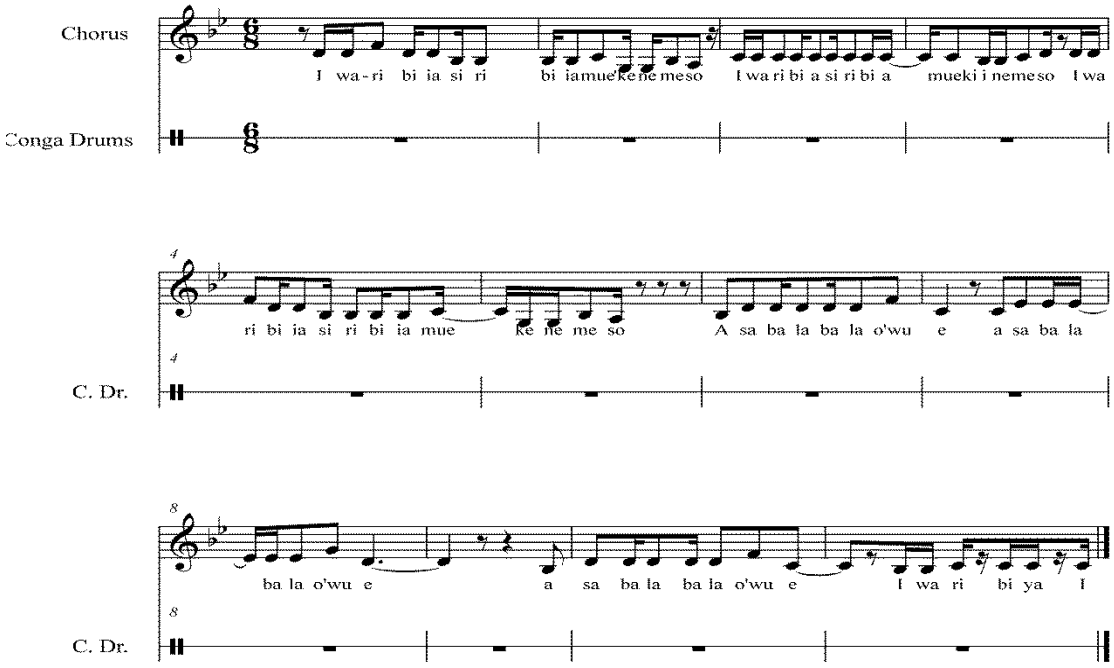
Where are the Super Skill Football Team players in this town?
They should come and play for their Goal Keeper, he wants to go.

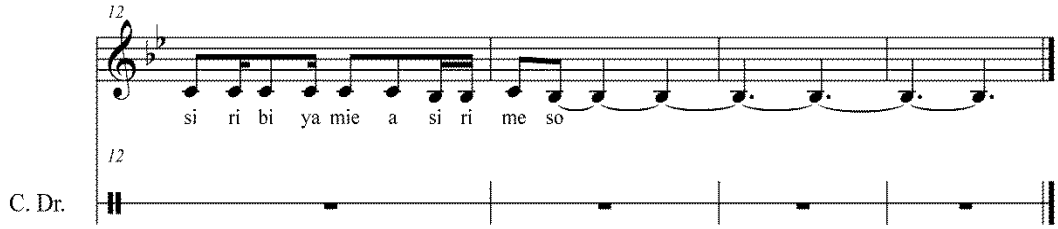
APPENDIX B

1. Igbanibo i ogo

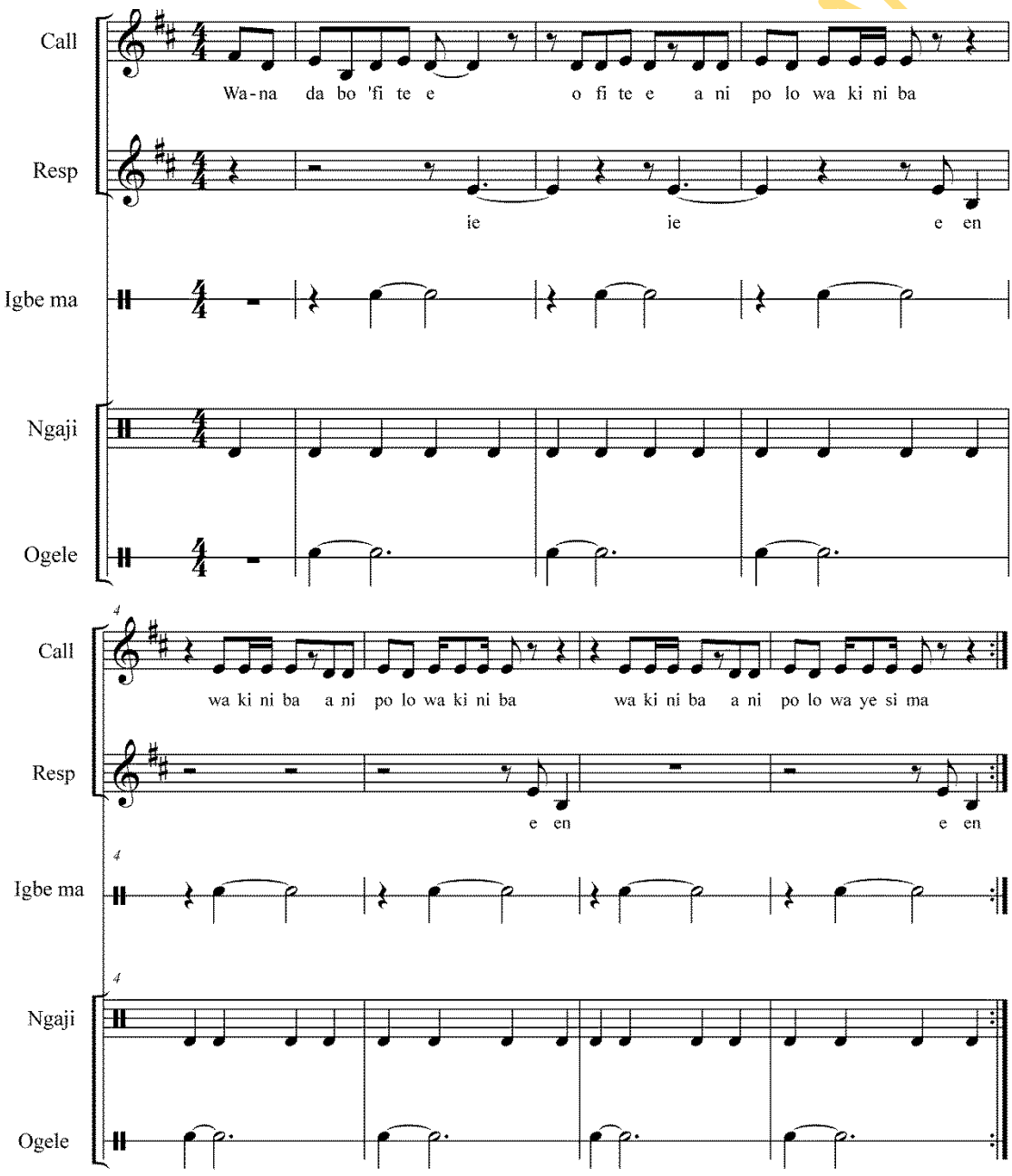


2. Ekine nume

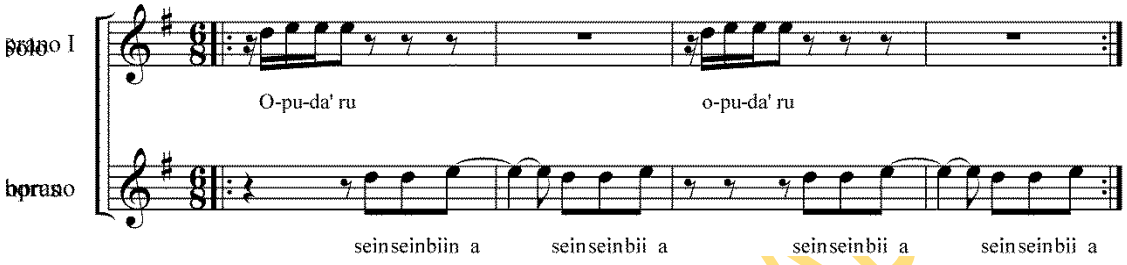




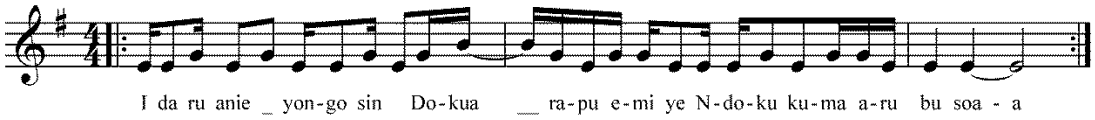
3. Wamna Dabo Fiteo



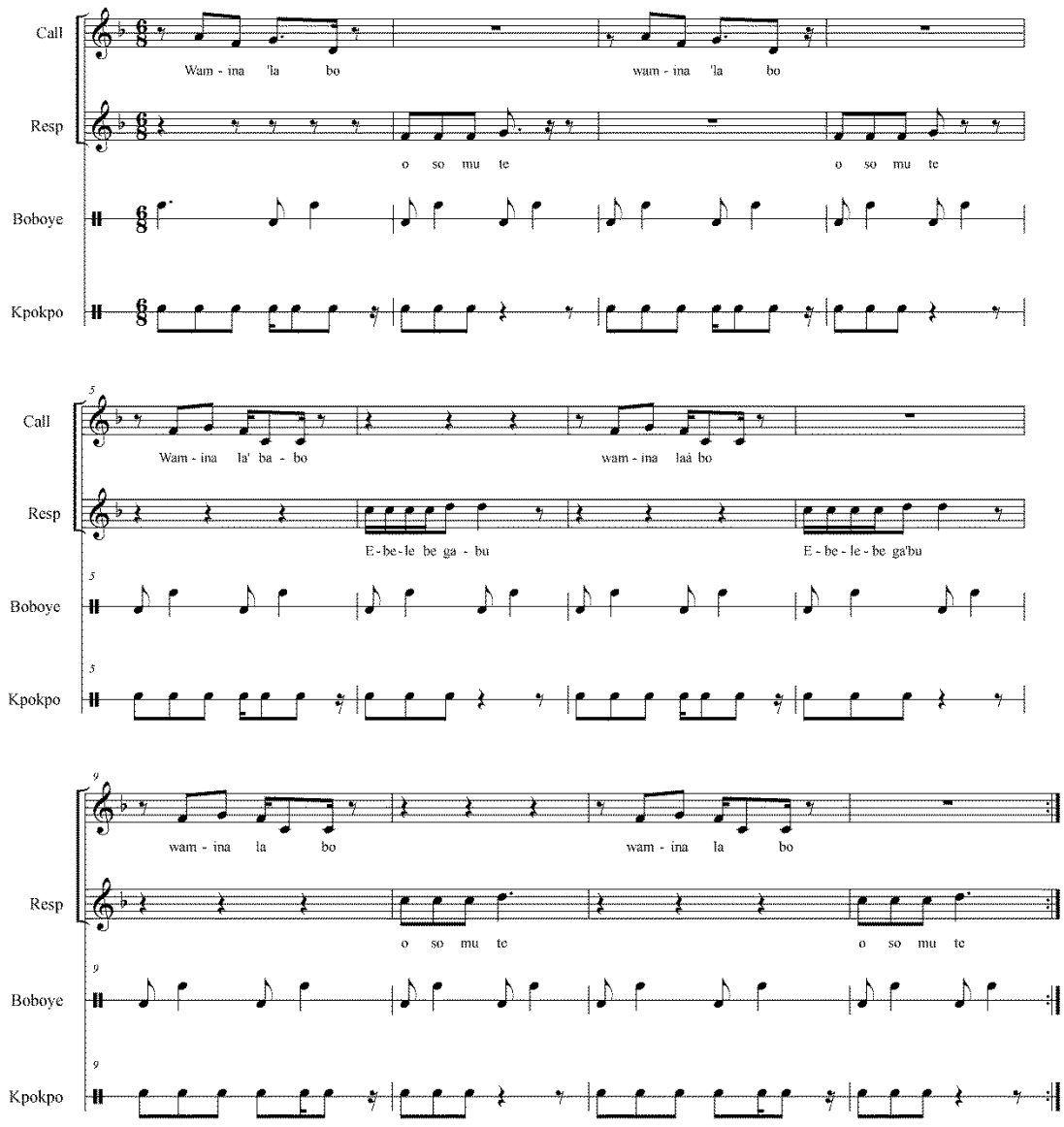
4. Opuda Aru



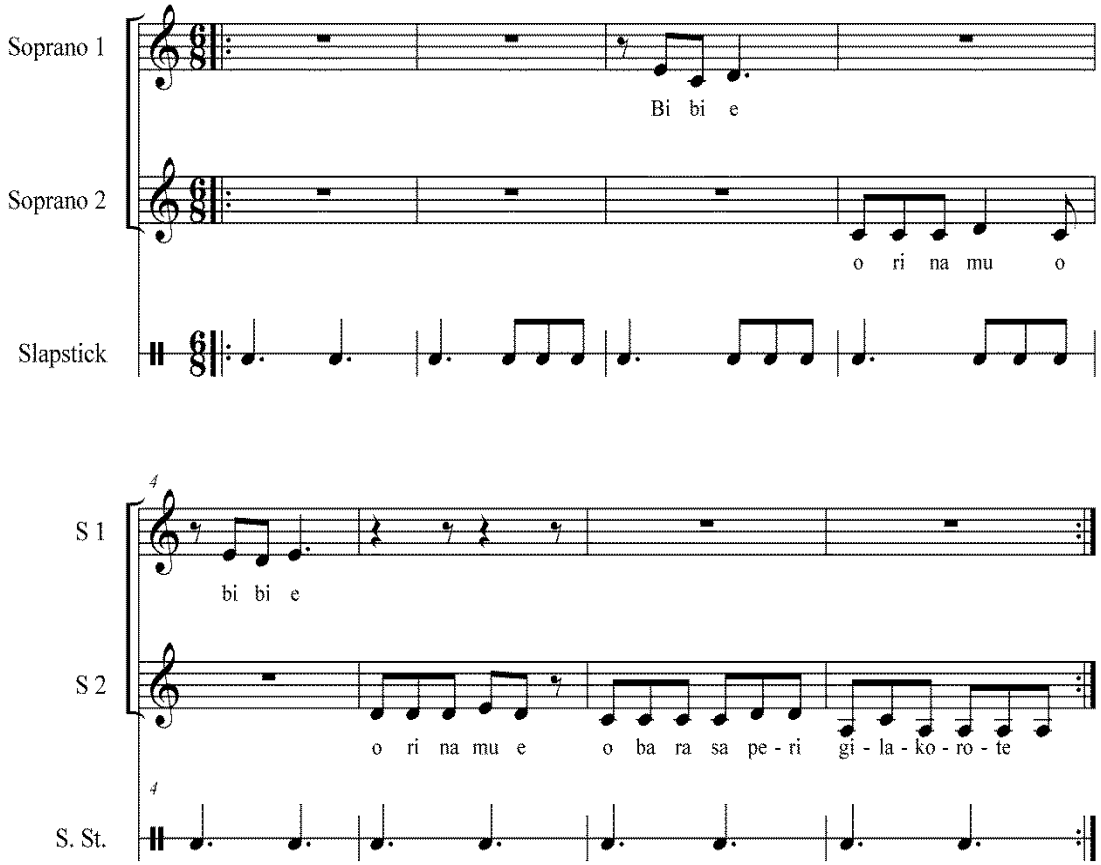
5. Ida Aru



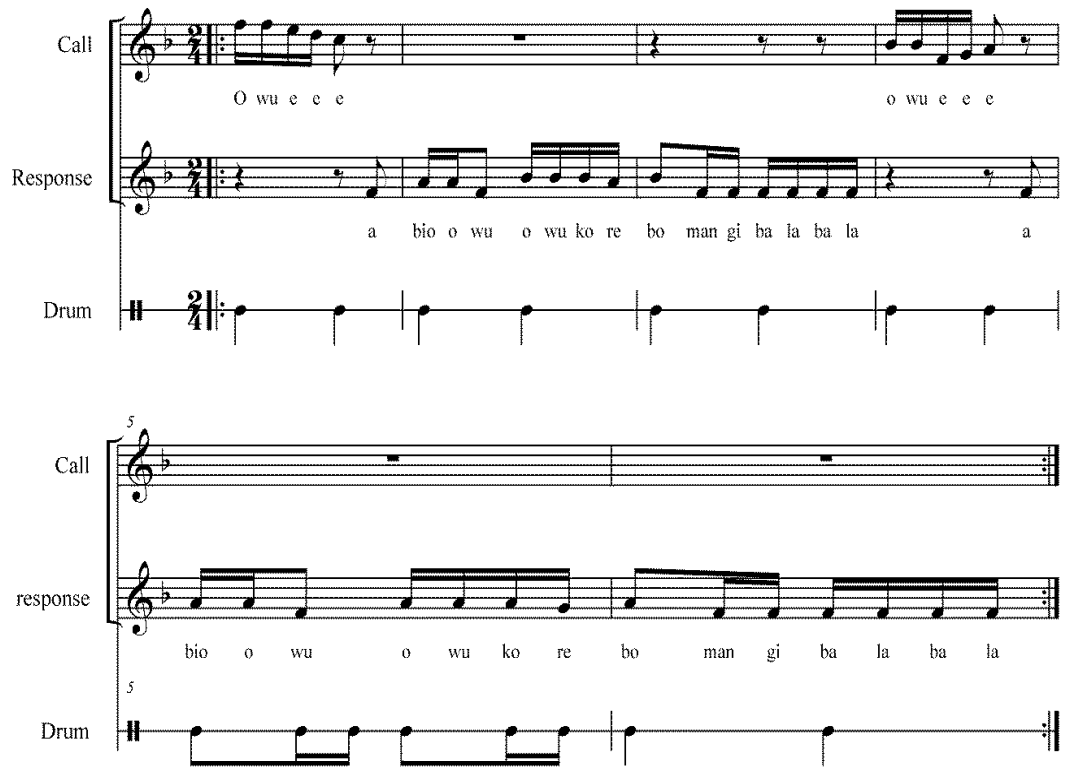
6. Wamna Alabo O so mute



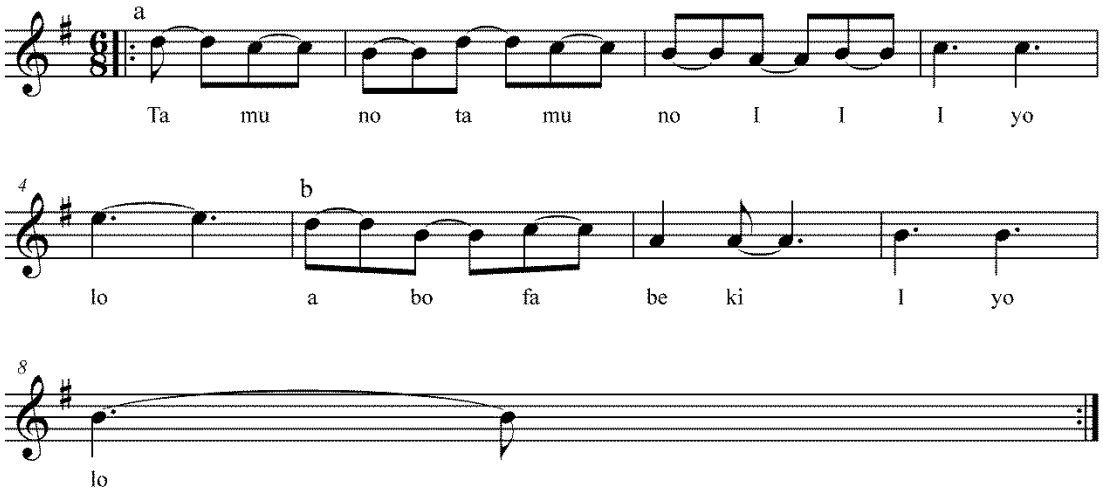
7. Orin a mu



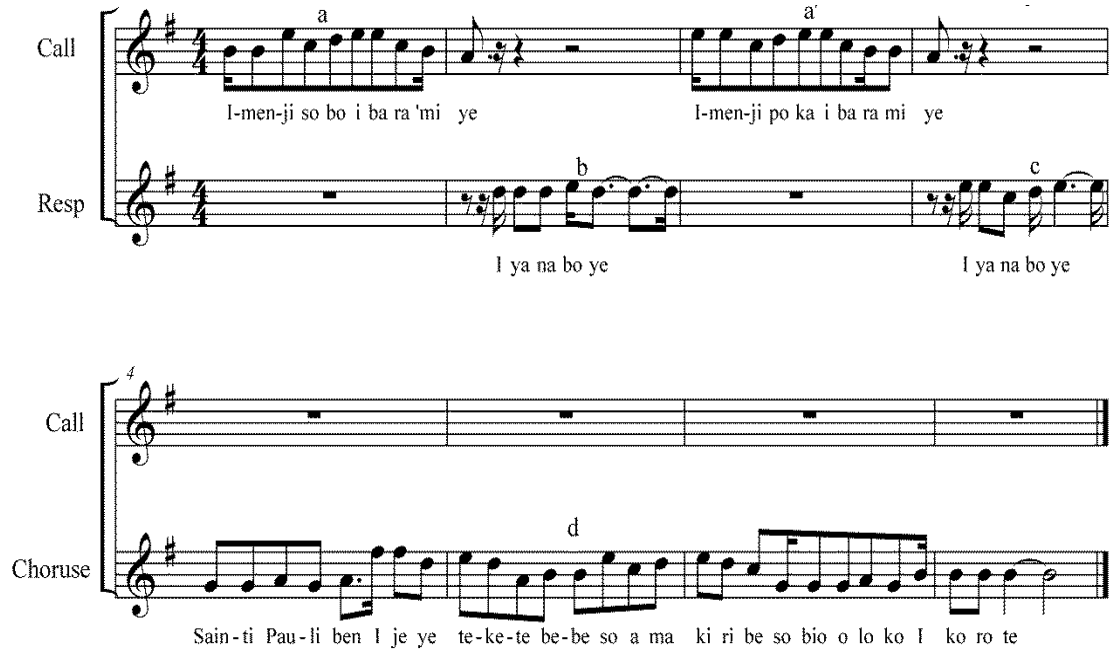
8. Abbi owu



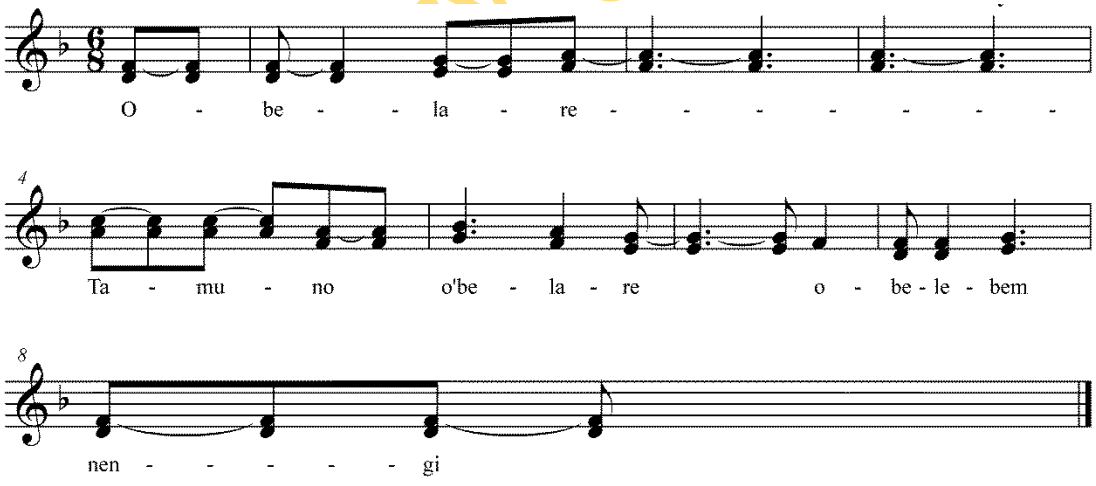
9. Tamuno iyolo



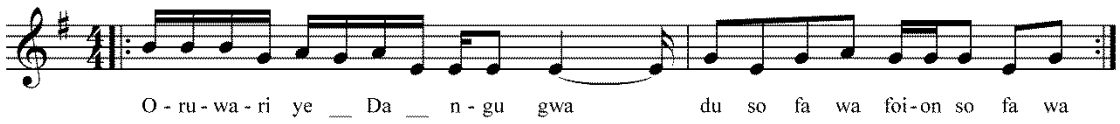
10. Imenji sobo



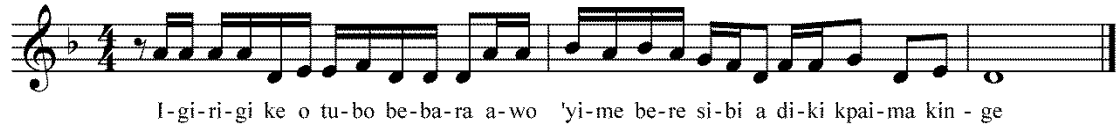
11. Tamuno obelare



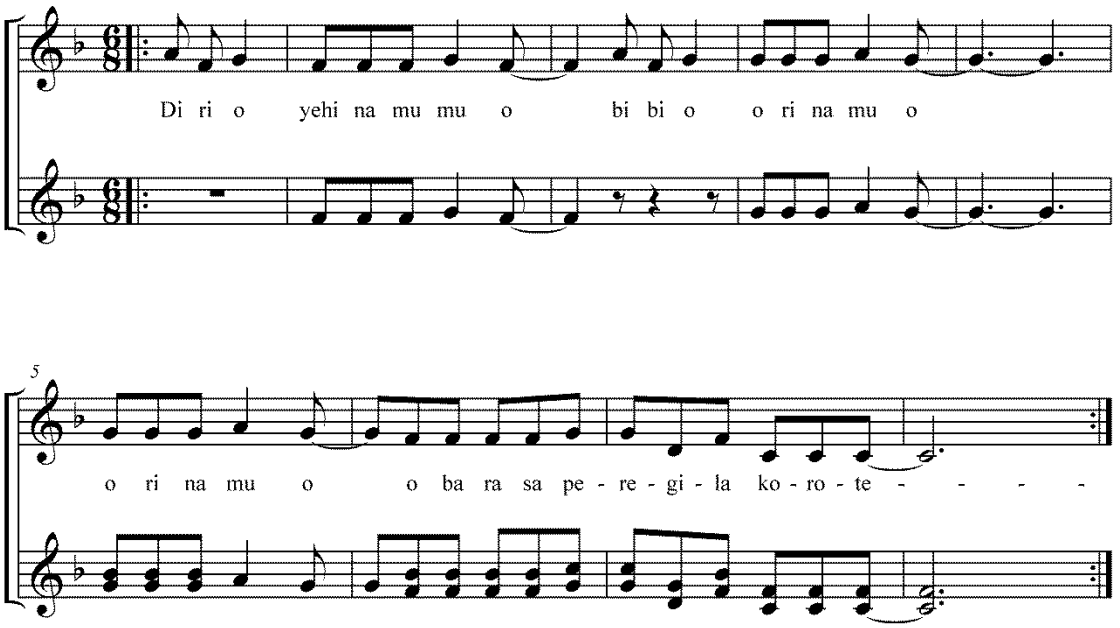
12. Oru wari



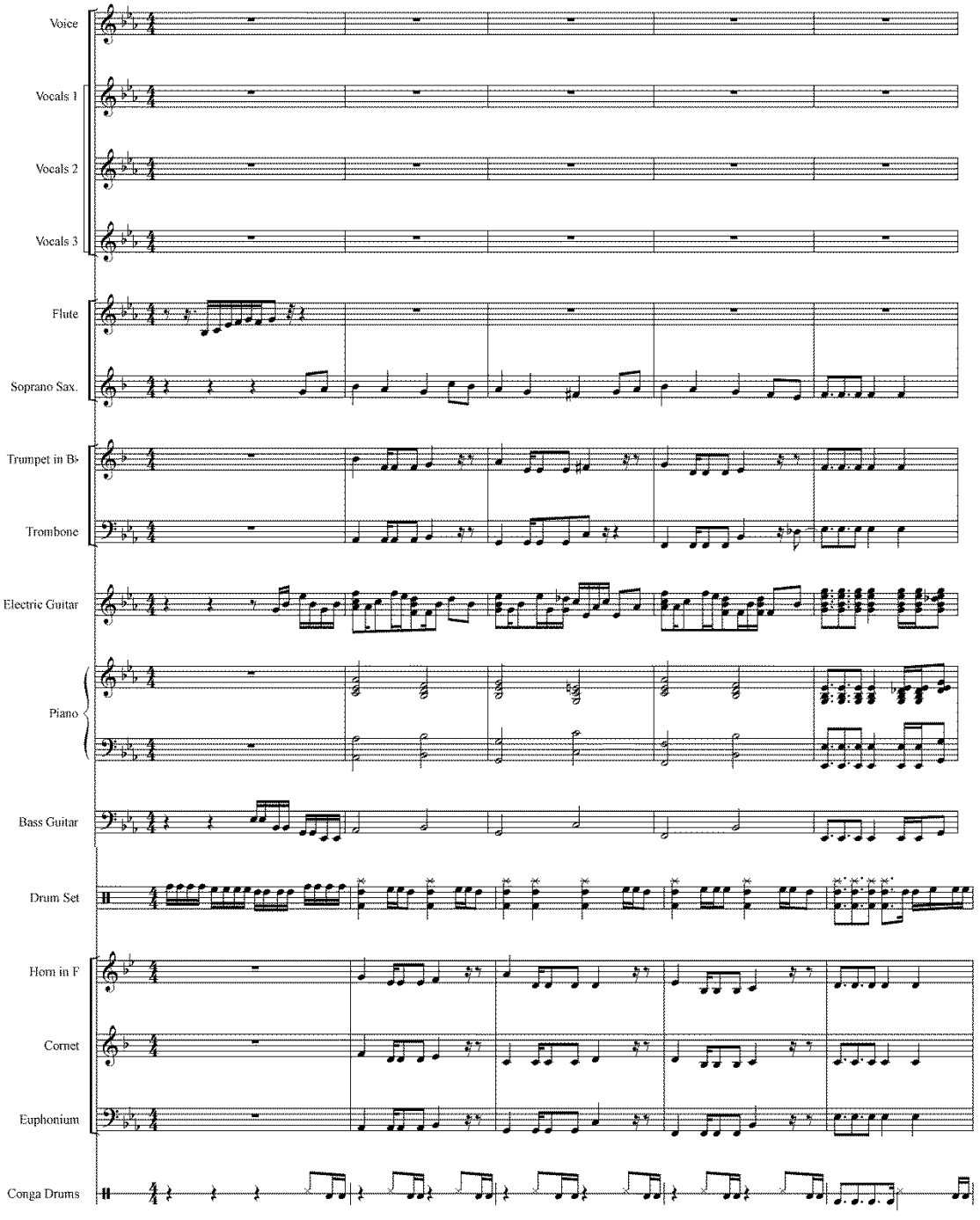
13. Igirigi Ke

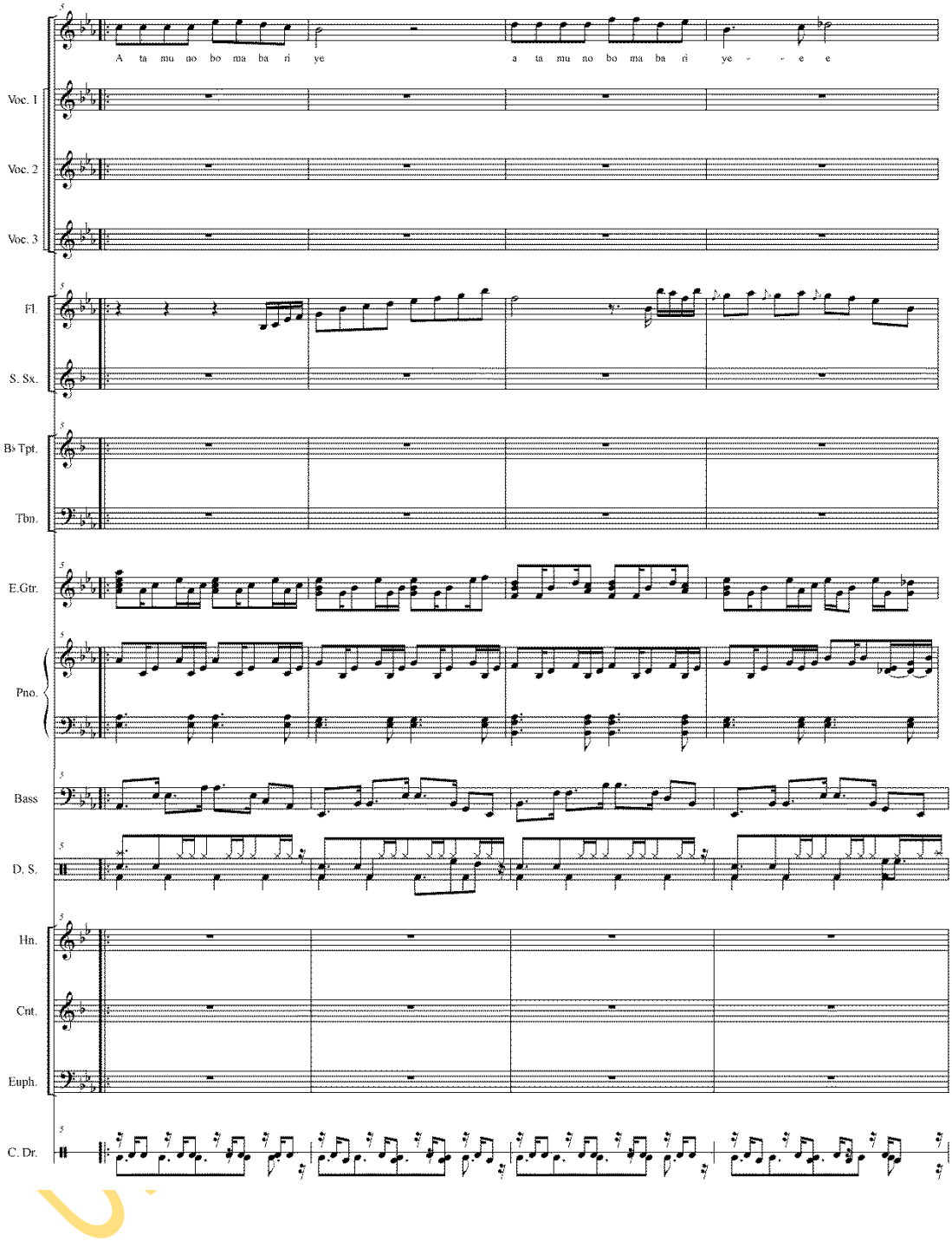


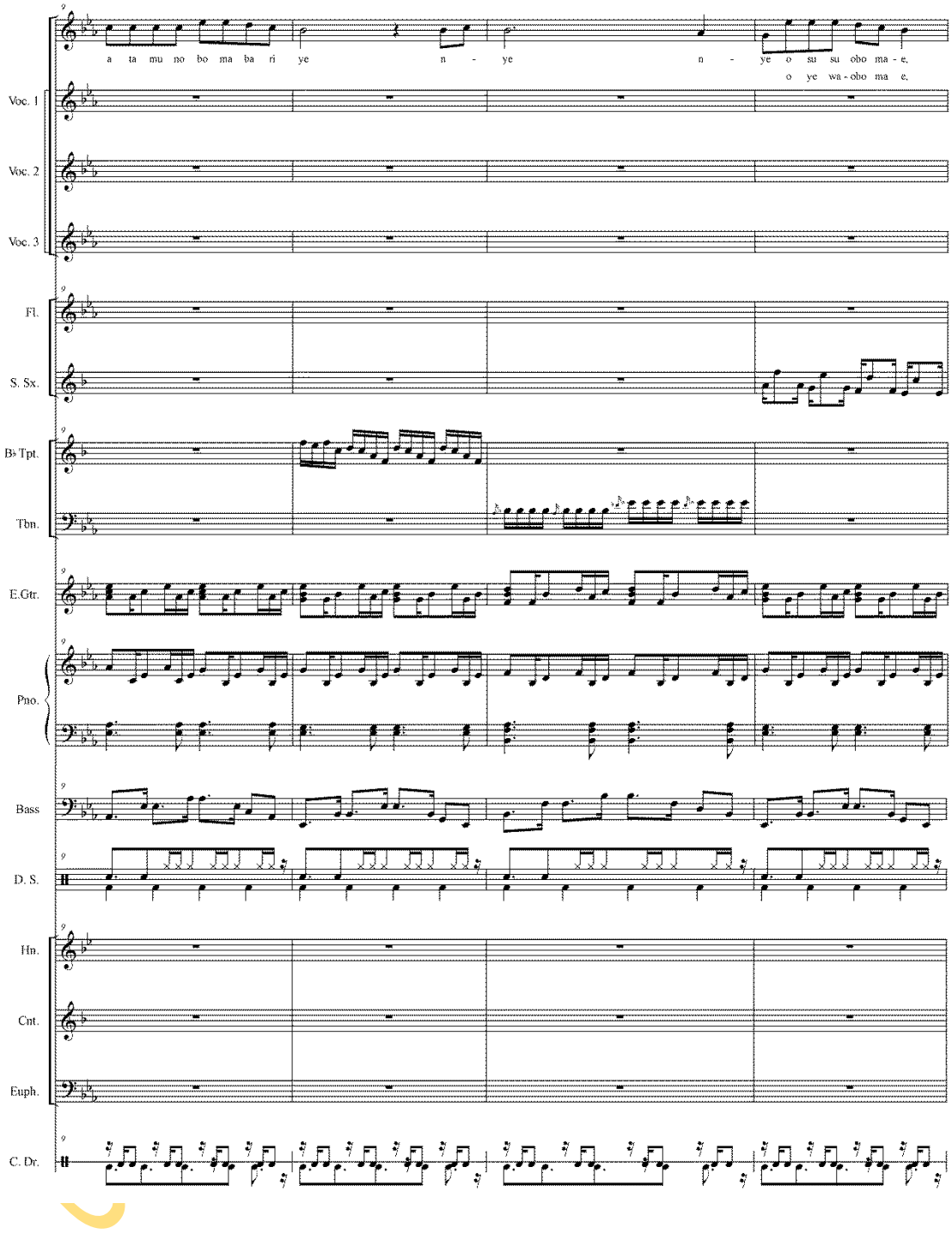
14. Diri o

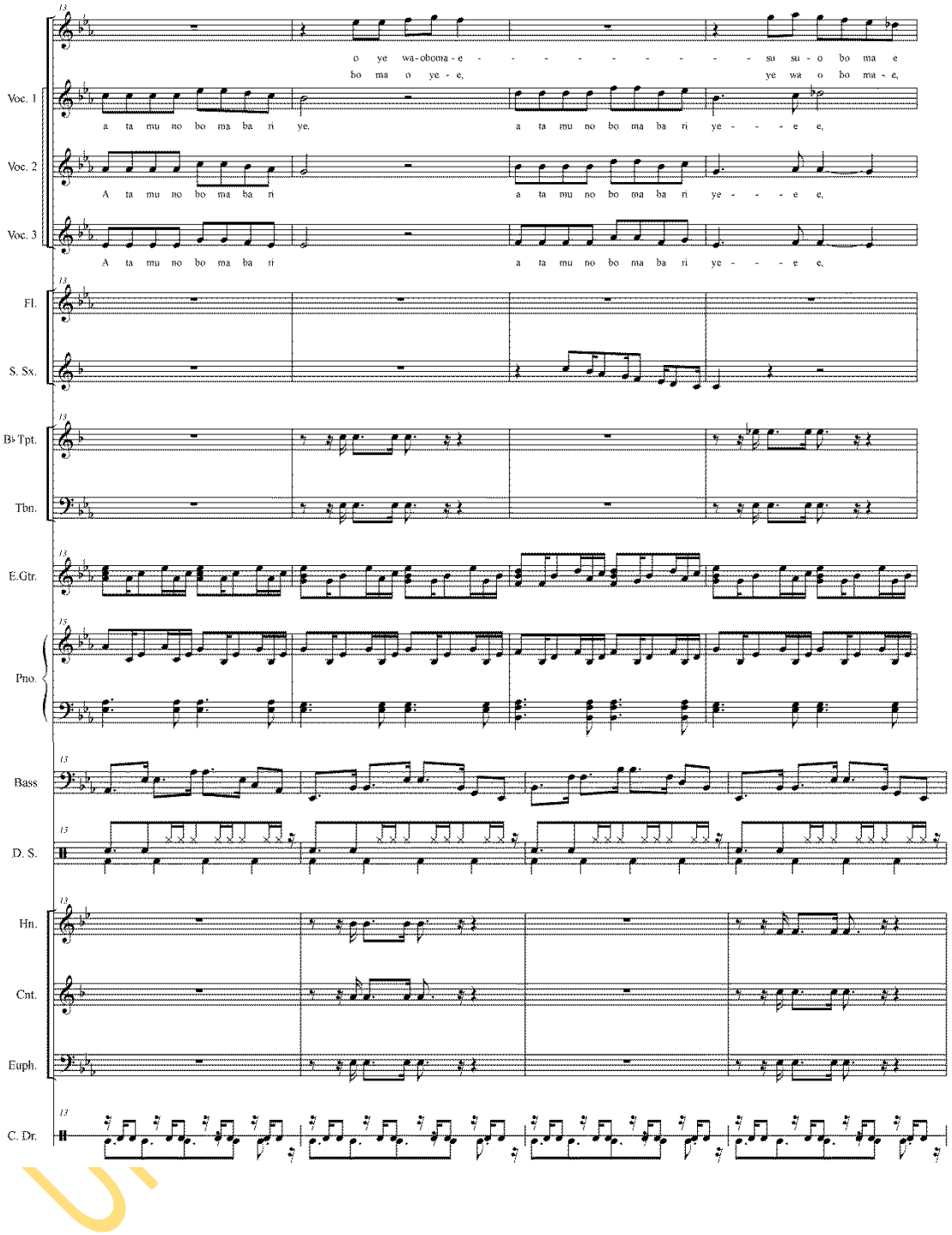


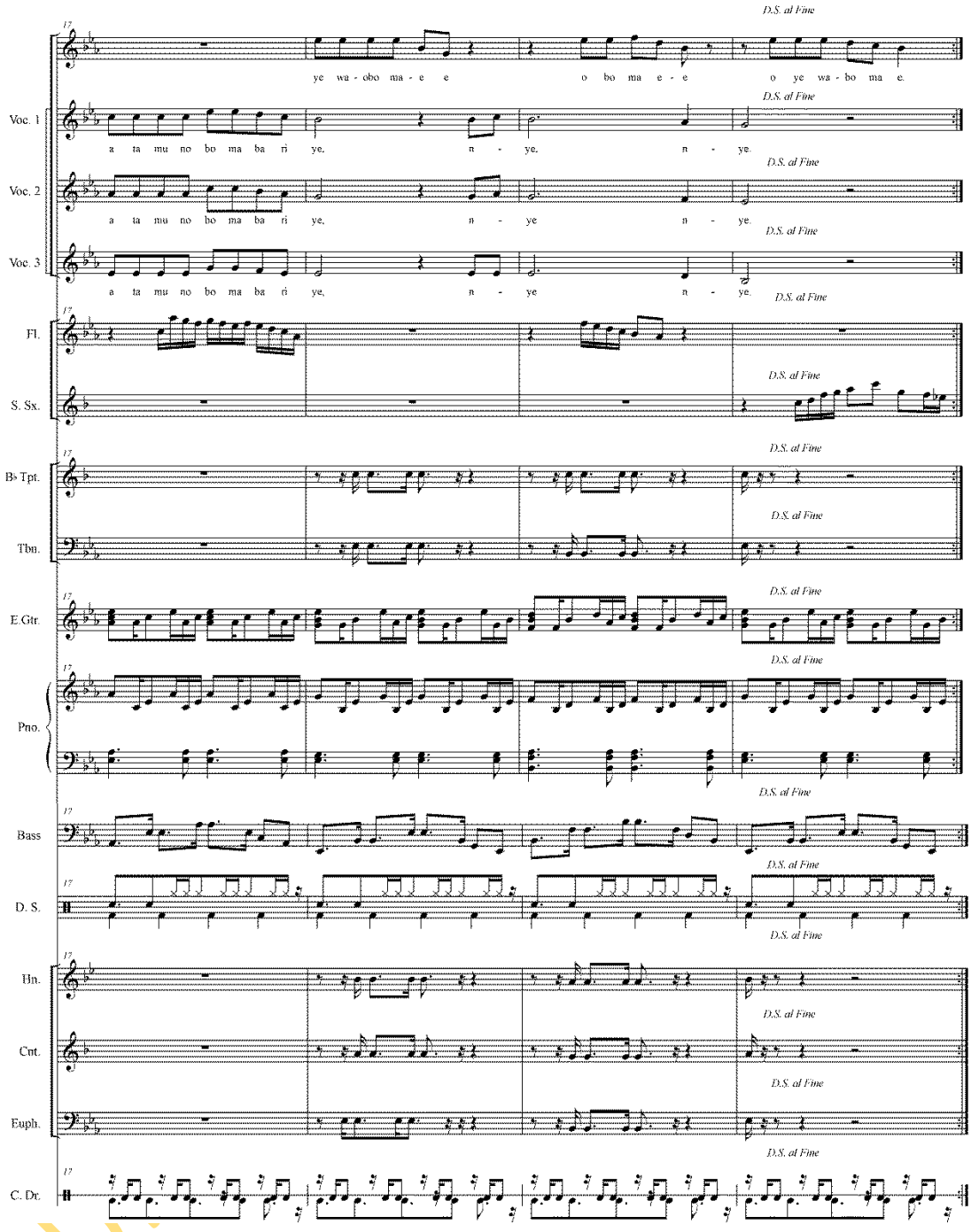
15. Atamuno boma bariye



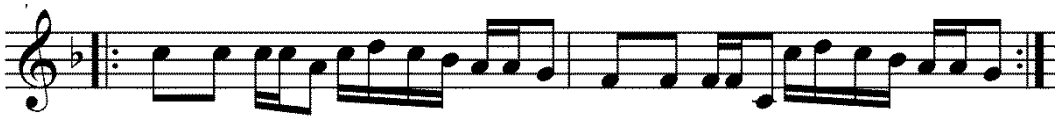

A ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye
Voc. 1
Voc. 2
Voc. 3
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.


a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye n - ye n - ye o su su obo ma - e,
o ye wa - obo ma e,
Voc. 1
Voc. 2
Voc. 3
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.


13
o ye wa-obooma - e - - - - - - - - - su su - o bo ma e
bo ma o ye - e, ye wa o bo ma - e,
Voc. 1
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye. a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Voc. 2
A ta mu no bo ma ba ri a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Voc. 3
A ta mu no bo ma ba ri a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.

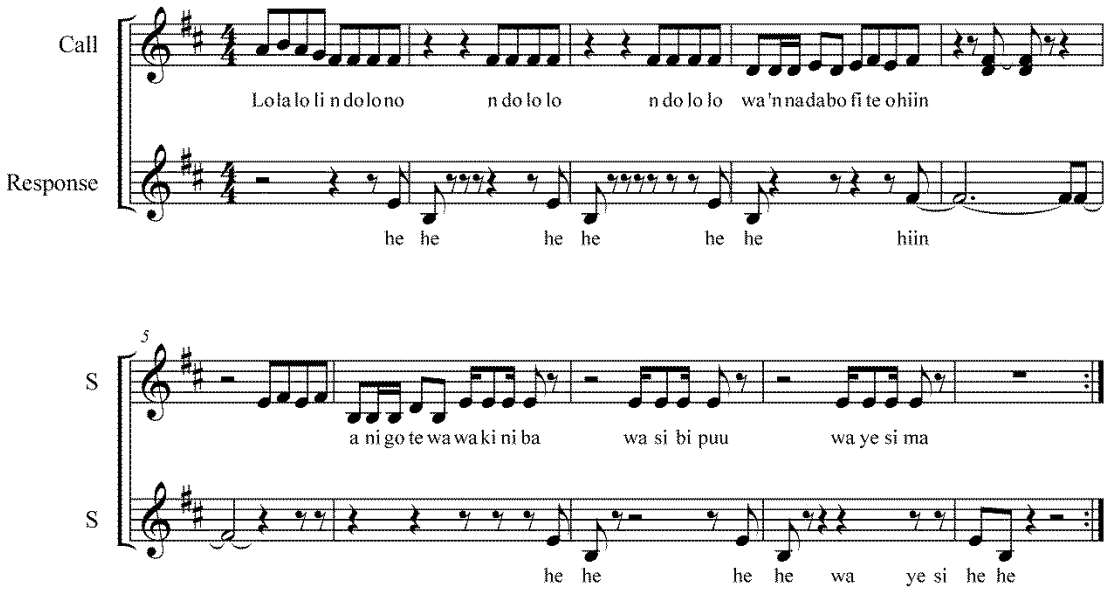


16. Krem krem ikika

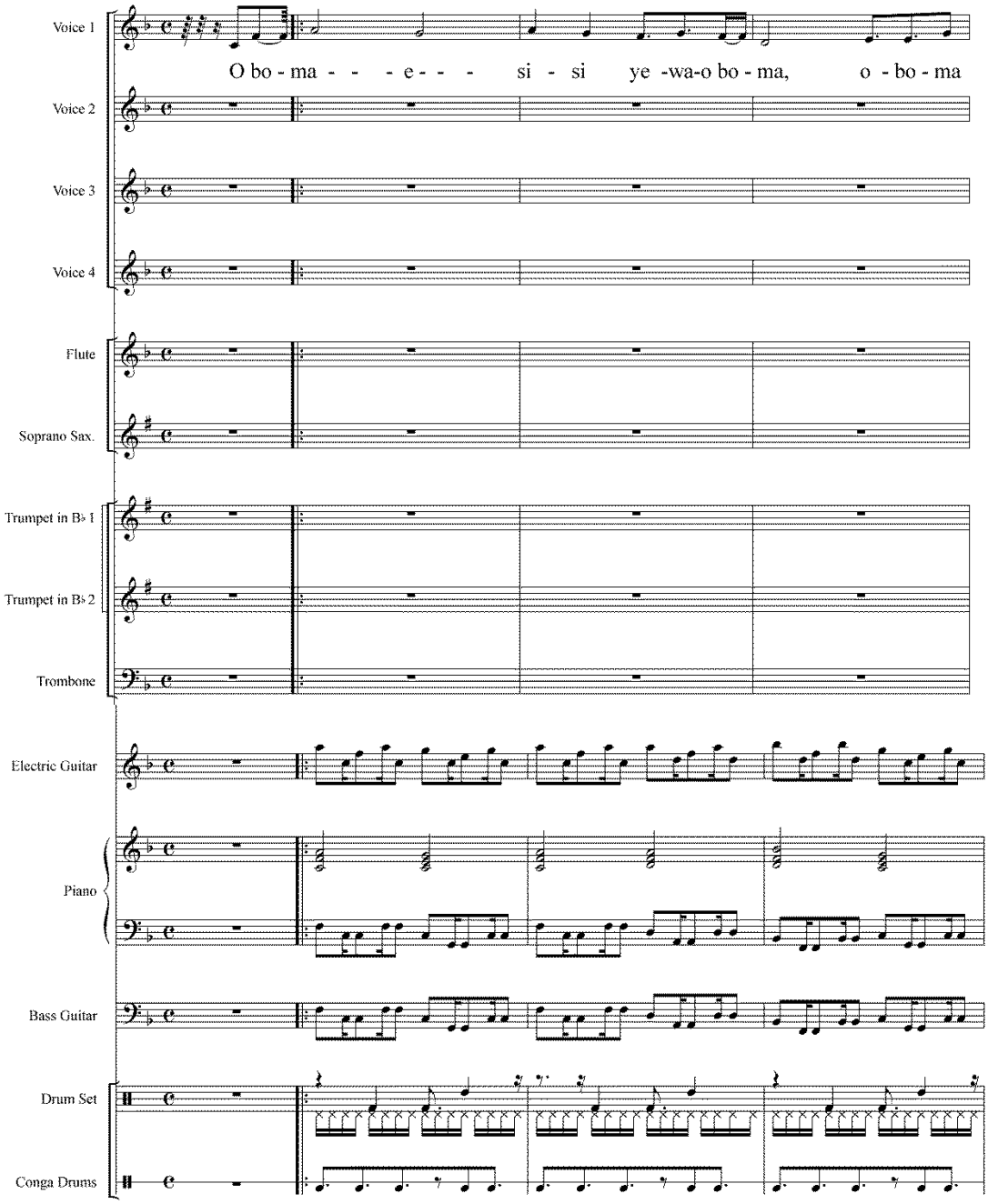


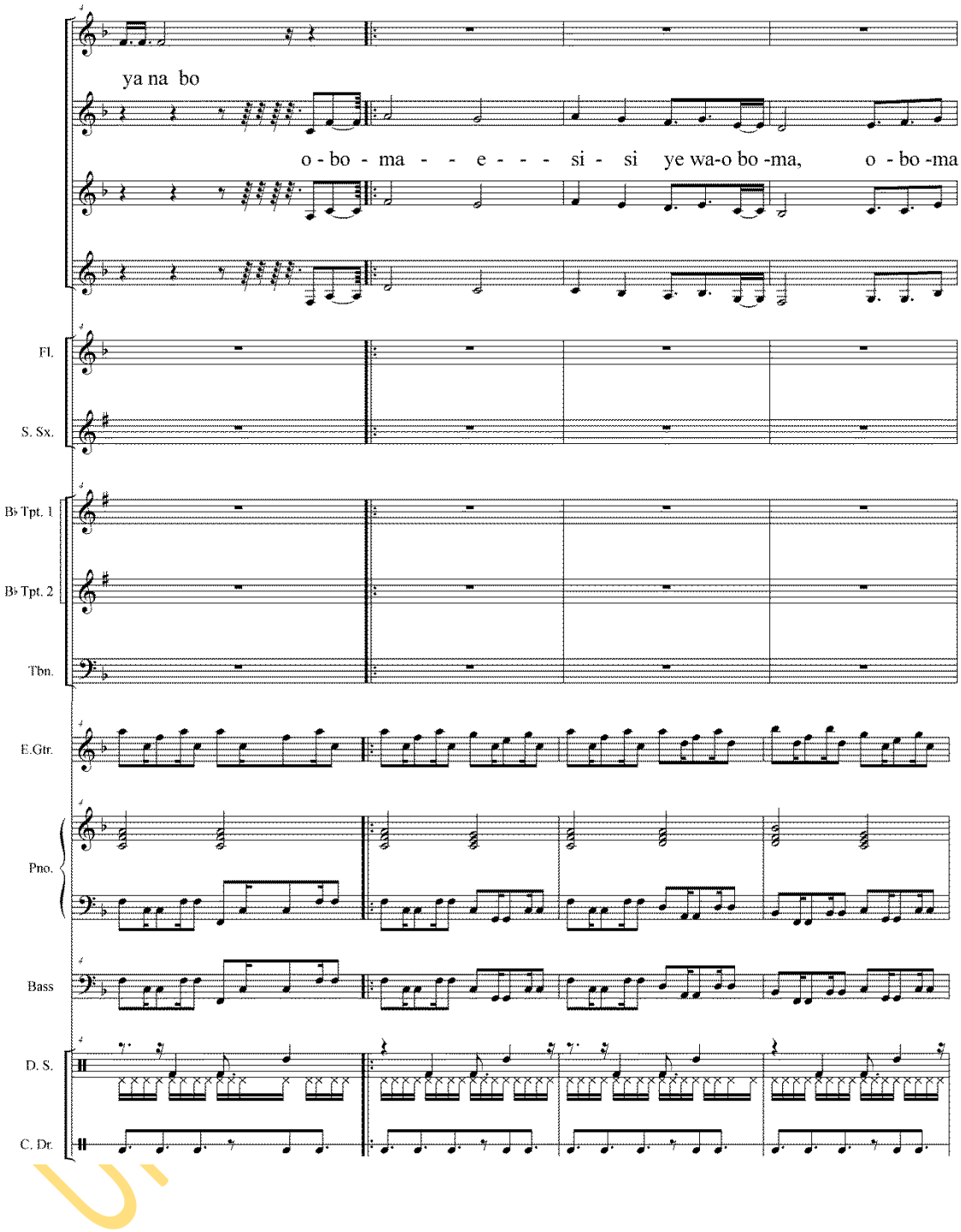
K'remk'rem i-ki-ka a-nie i'go te bo ye mo k'remk'rem i-ki-ka a-nie i'go te bo ye mo

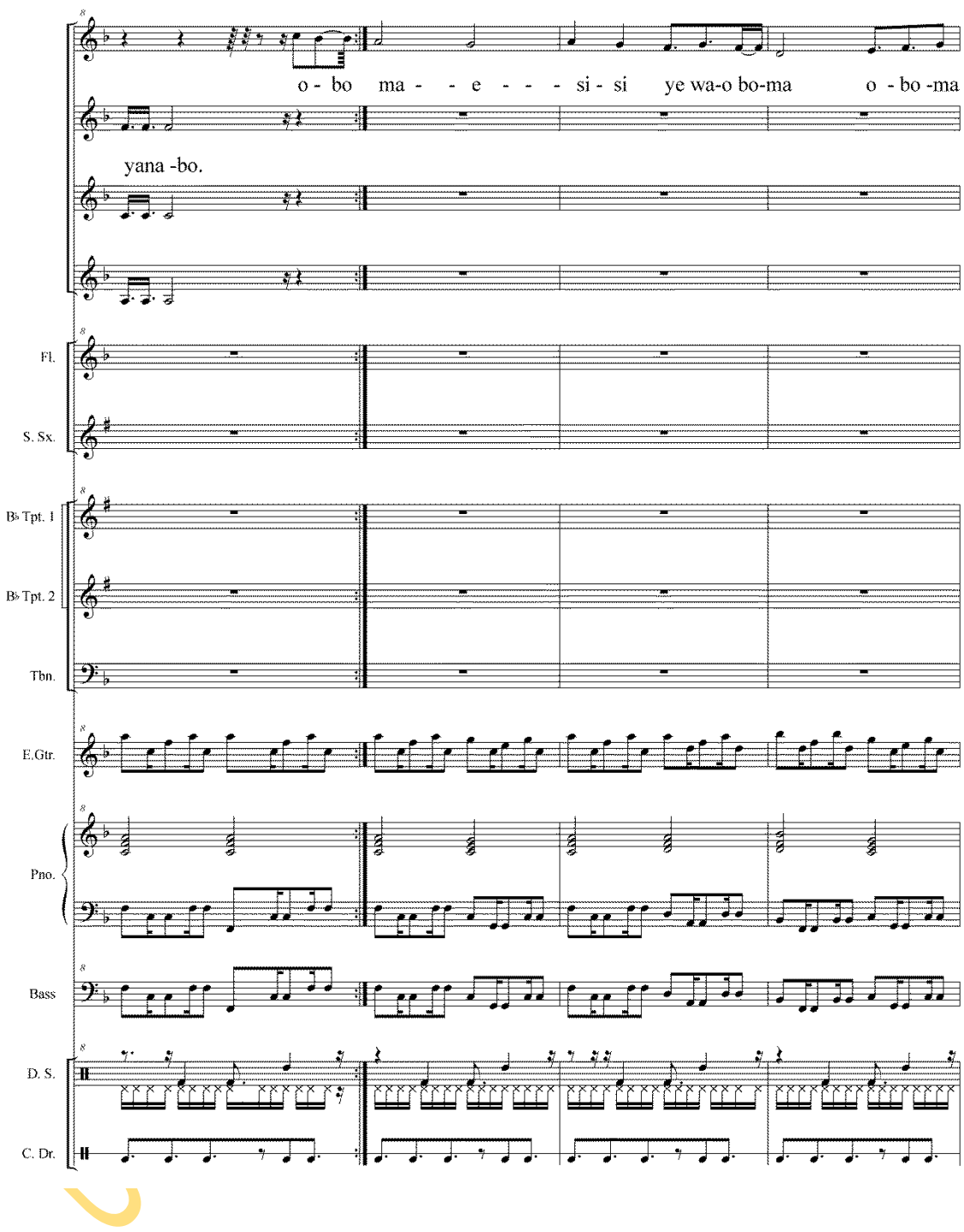
17. Lolaloli ndolono

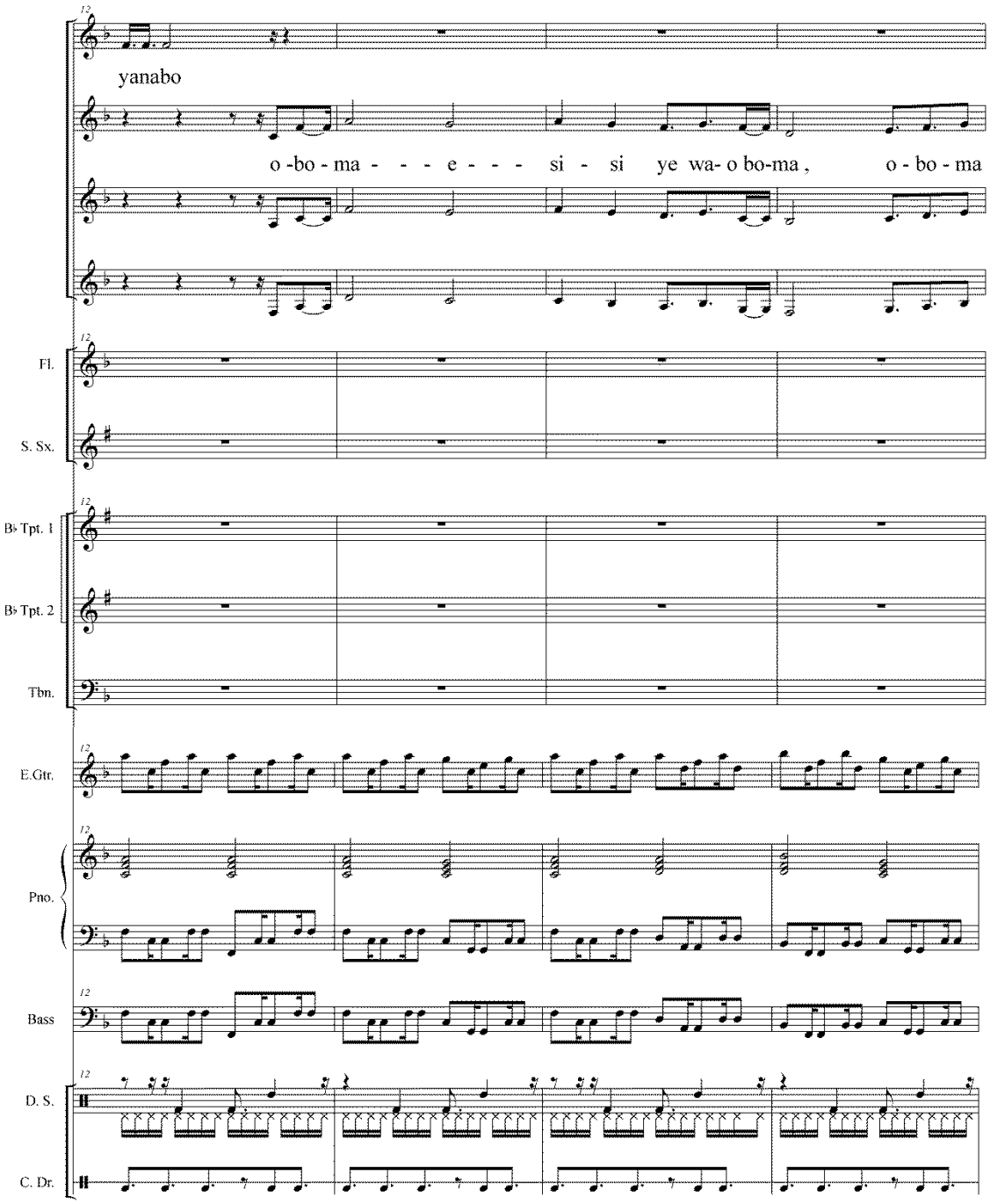


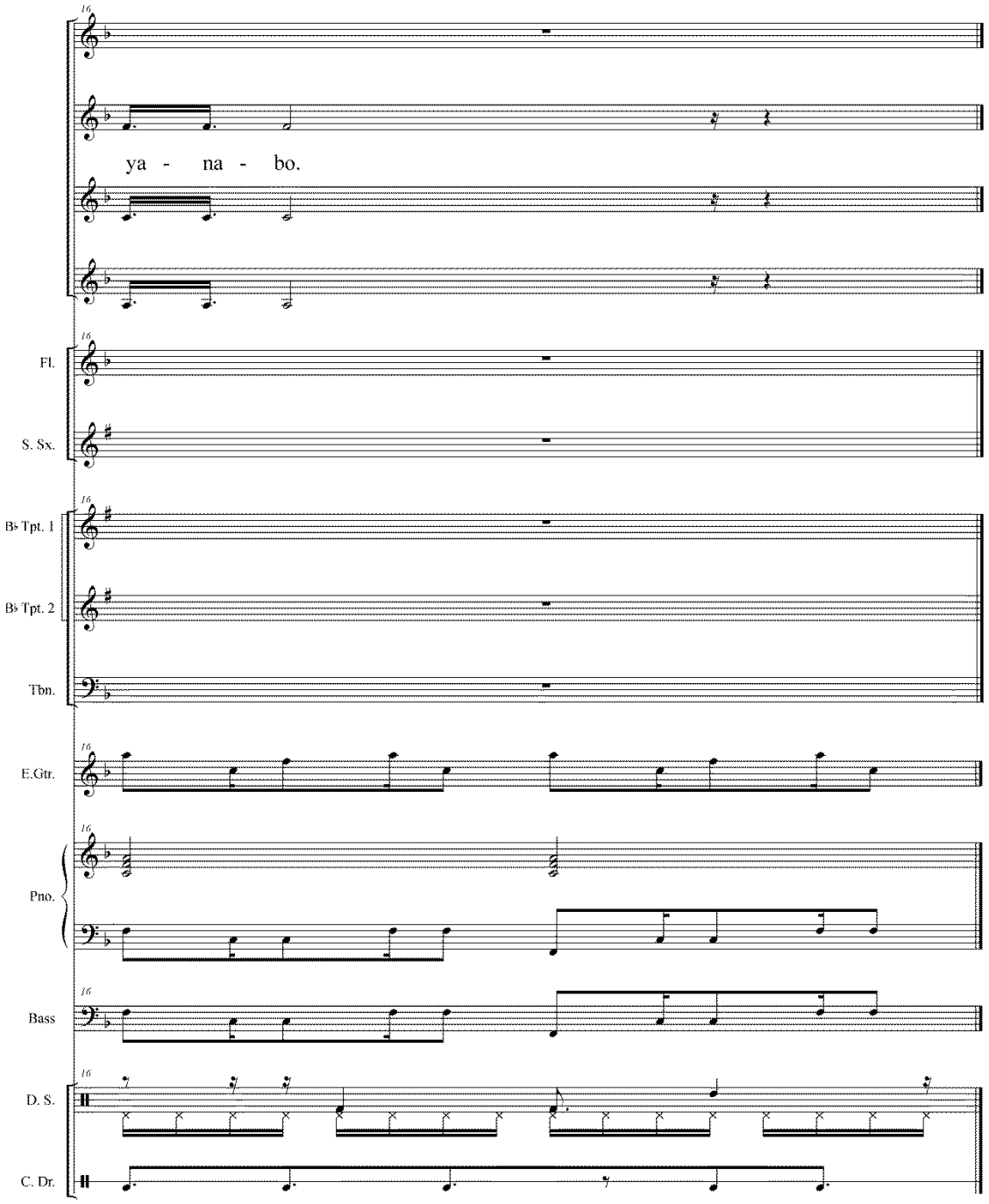
18. Oboma-e! Sisi ye oboma



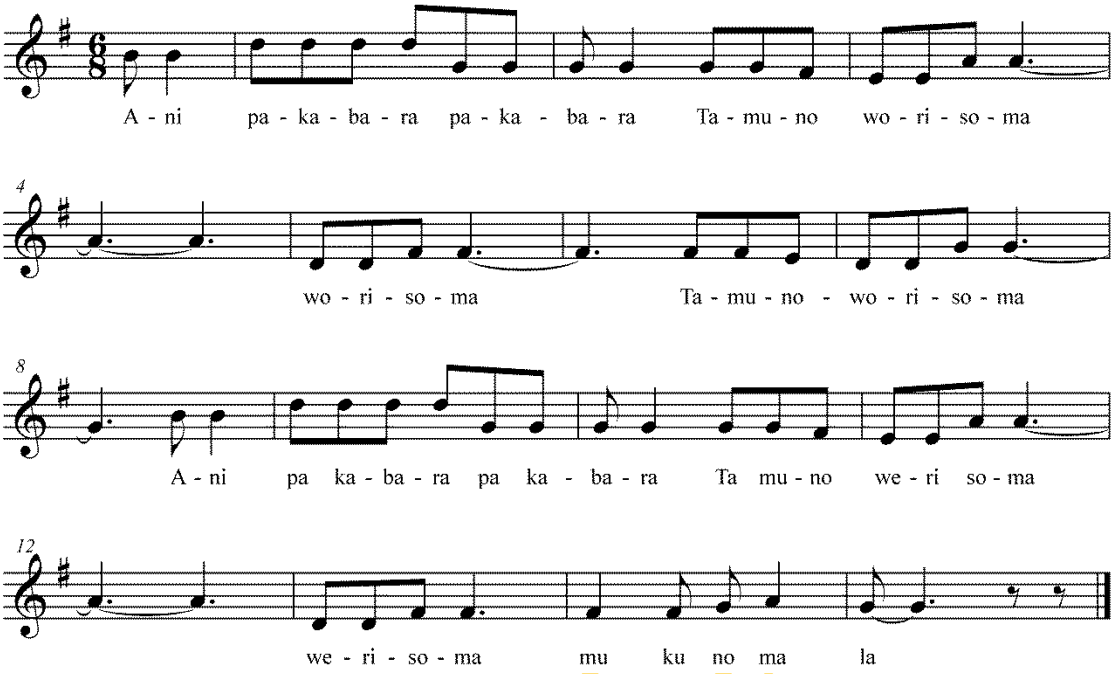

ya na bo
o - bo - ma - - - e - - - si - si ye wa-o bo -ma, o - bo -ma
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt. 1
B♭ Tpt. 2
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
C. Dr.


o - bo ma - - e - - - si - si ye wa-o bo-ma o - bo -ma
yana -bo.
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt. 1
B♭ Tpt. 2
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
C. Dr.

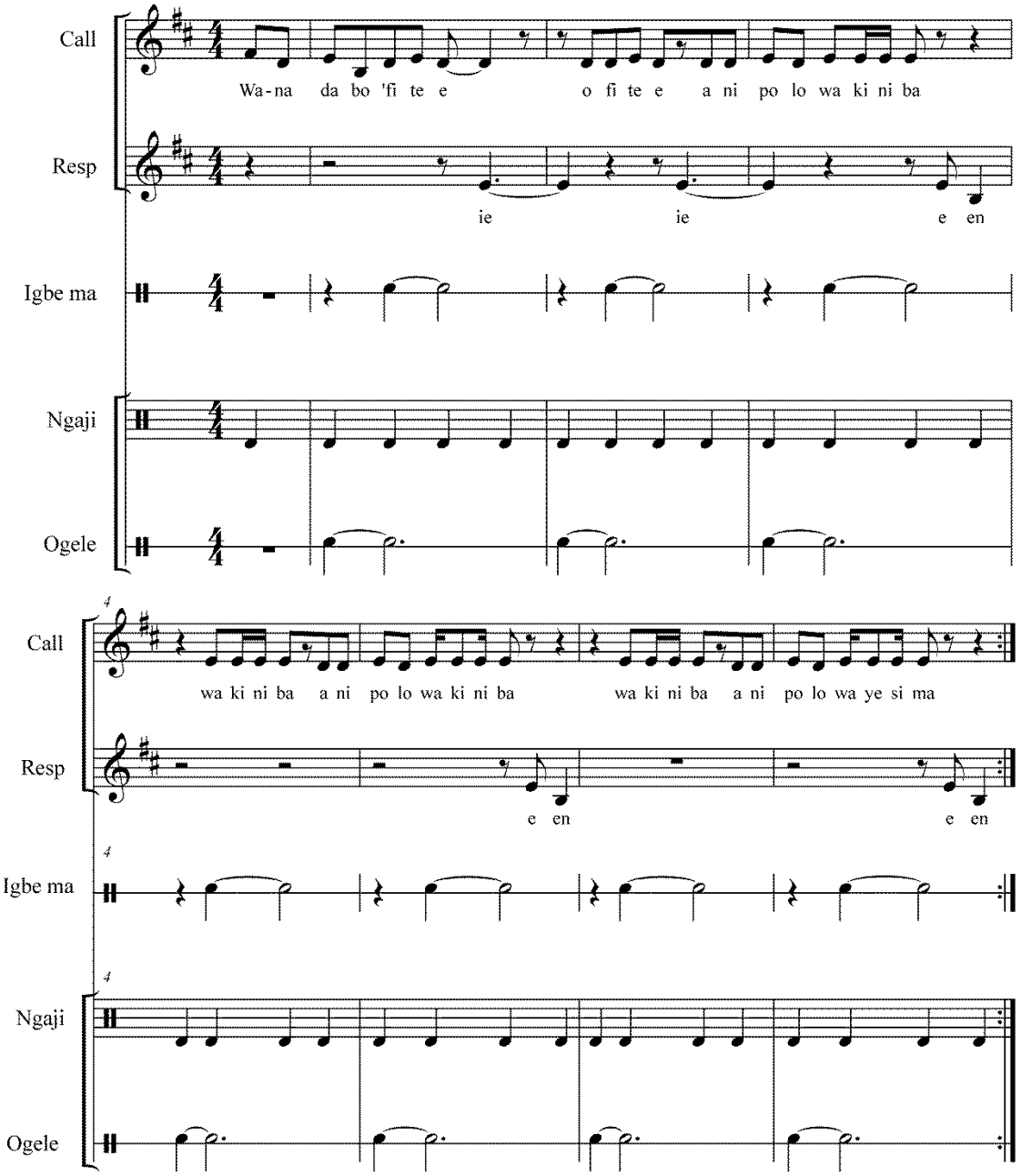

yanabo
o -bo - ma - - - e - - - si - si ye wa- o bo-ma , o - bo - ma
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt. 1
B♭ Tpt. 2
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
C. Dr.


ya - na - bo.
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt. 1
B♭ Tpt. 2
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
C. Dr.

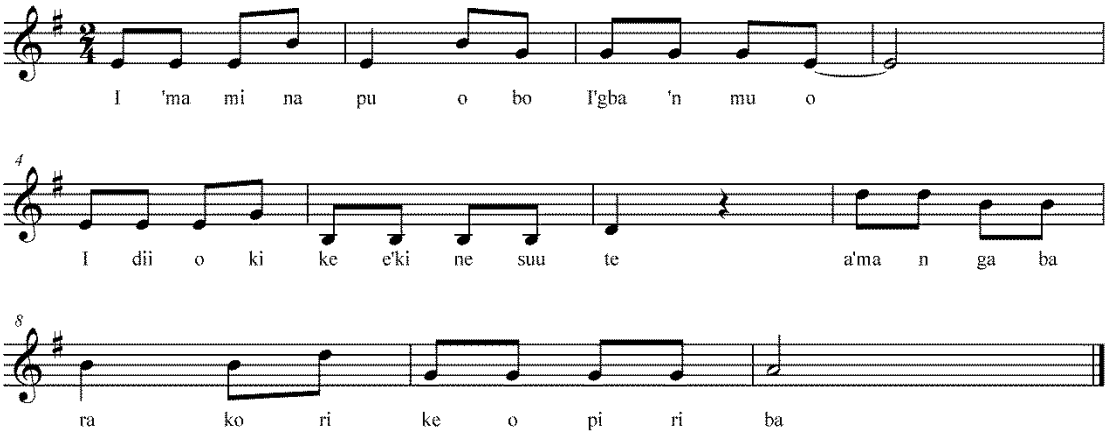
19. **Tamuno worisoma**



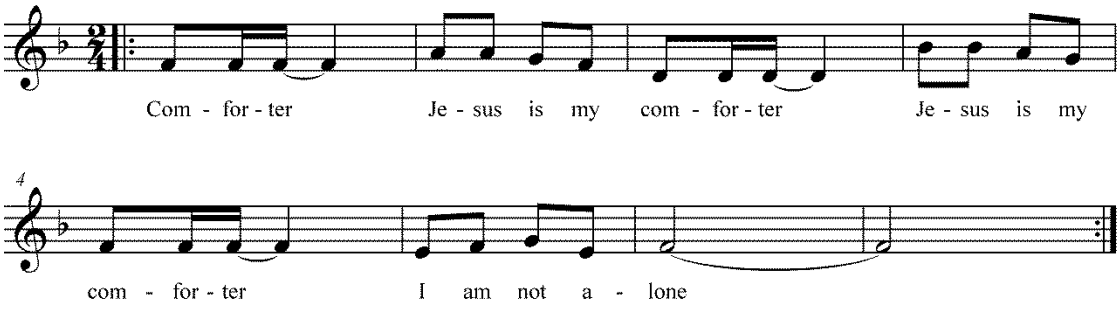
20. Wamna dabo fiteo



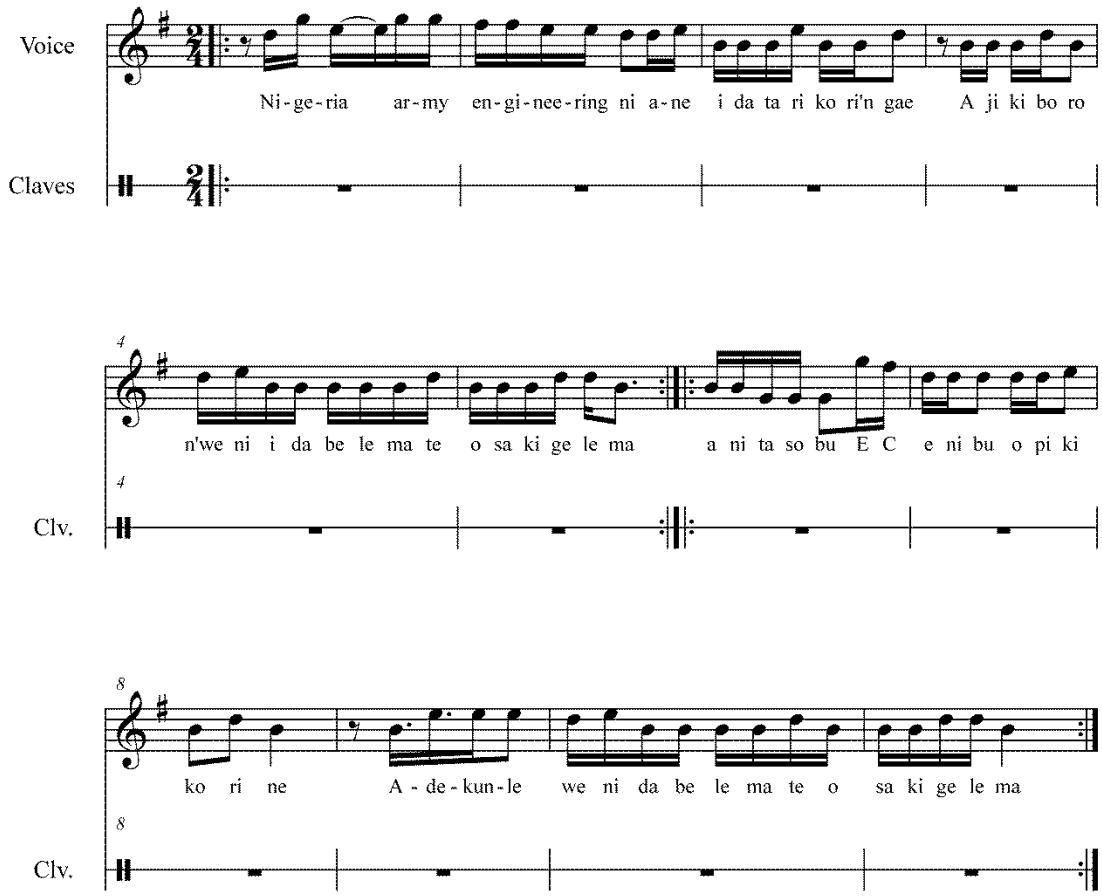
21. I Amina pu



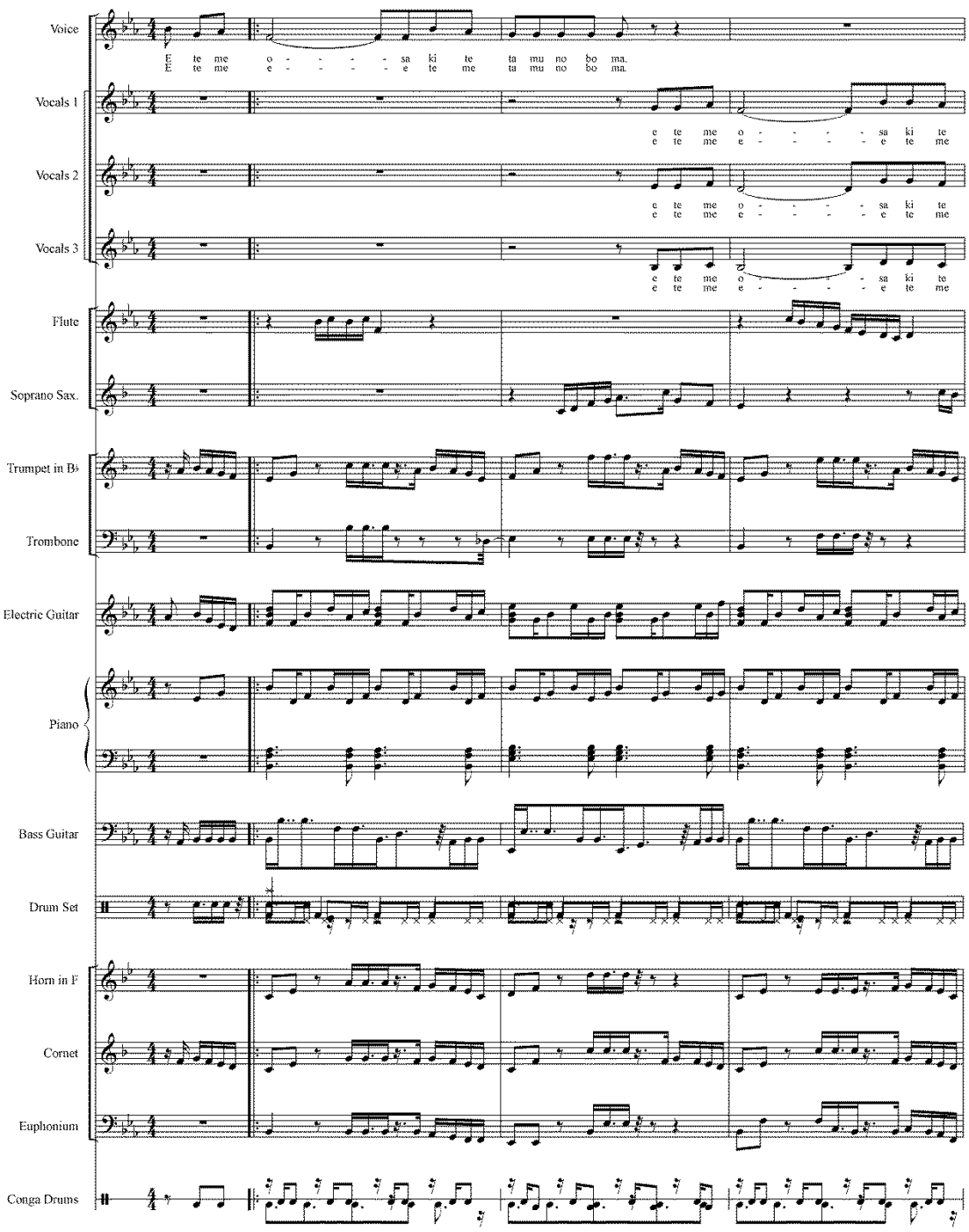
22. Comforter

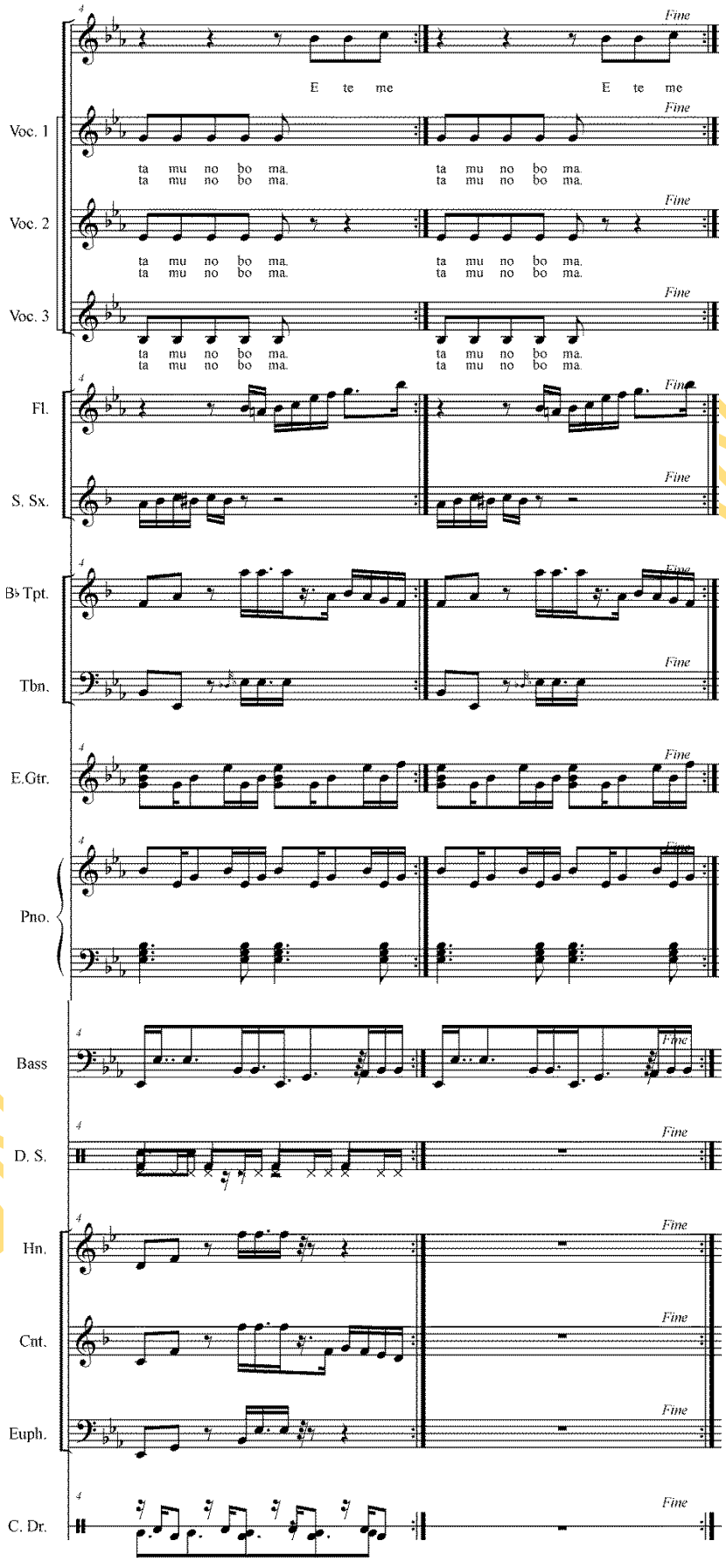


23. Nigerian Army

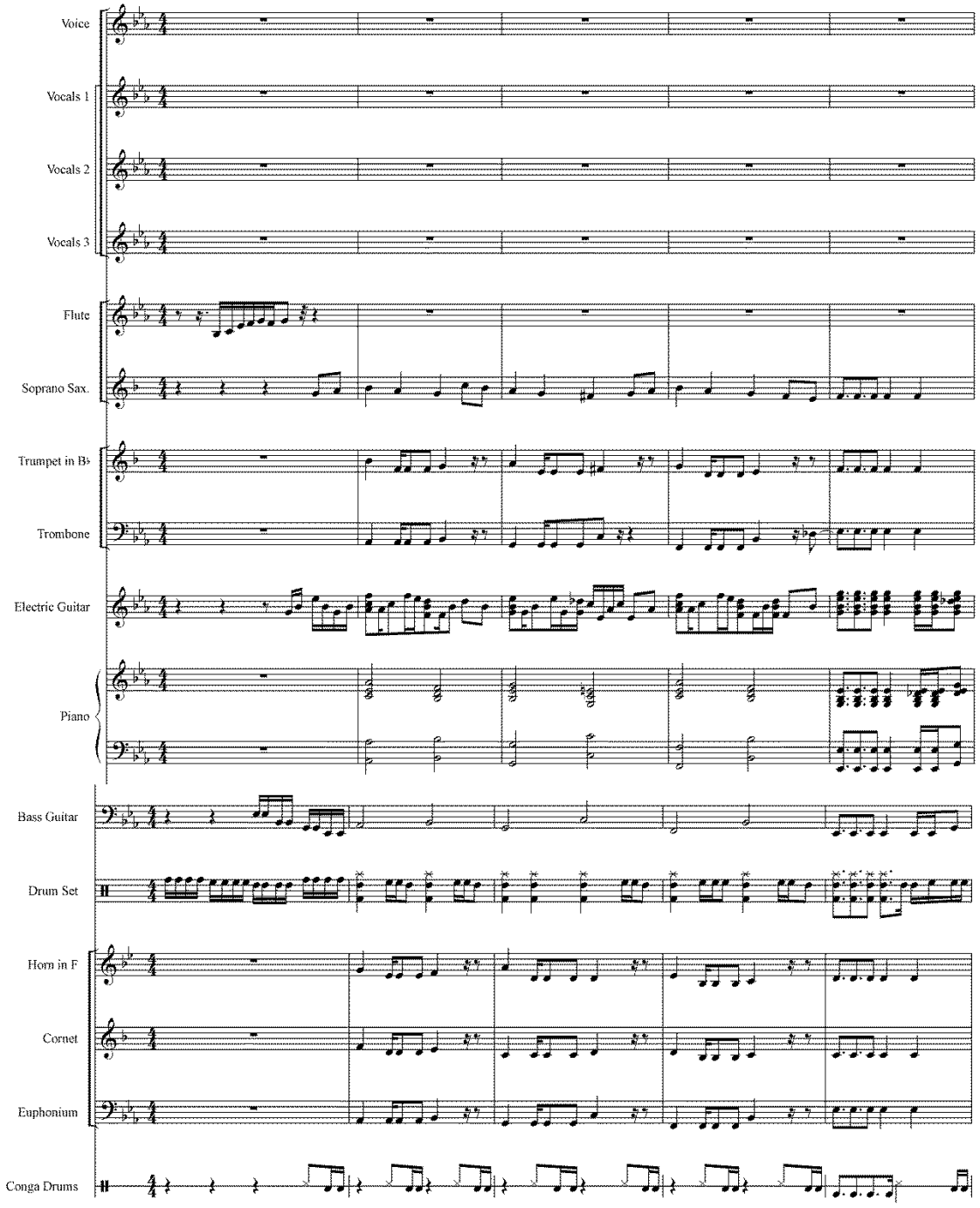


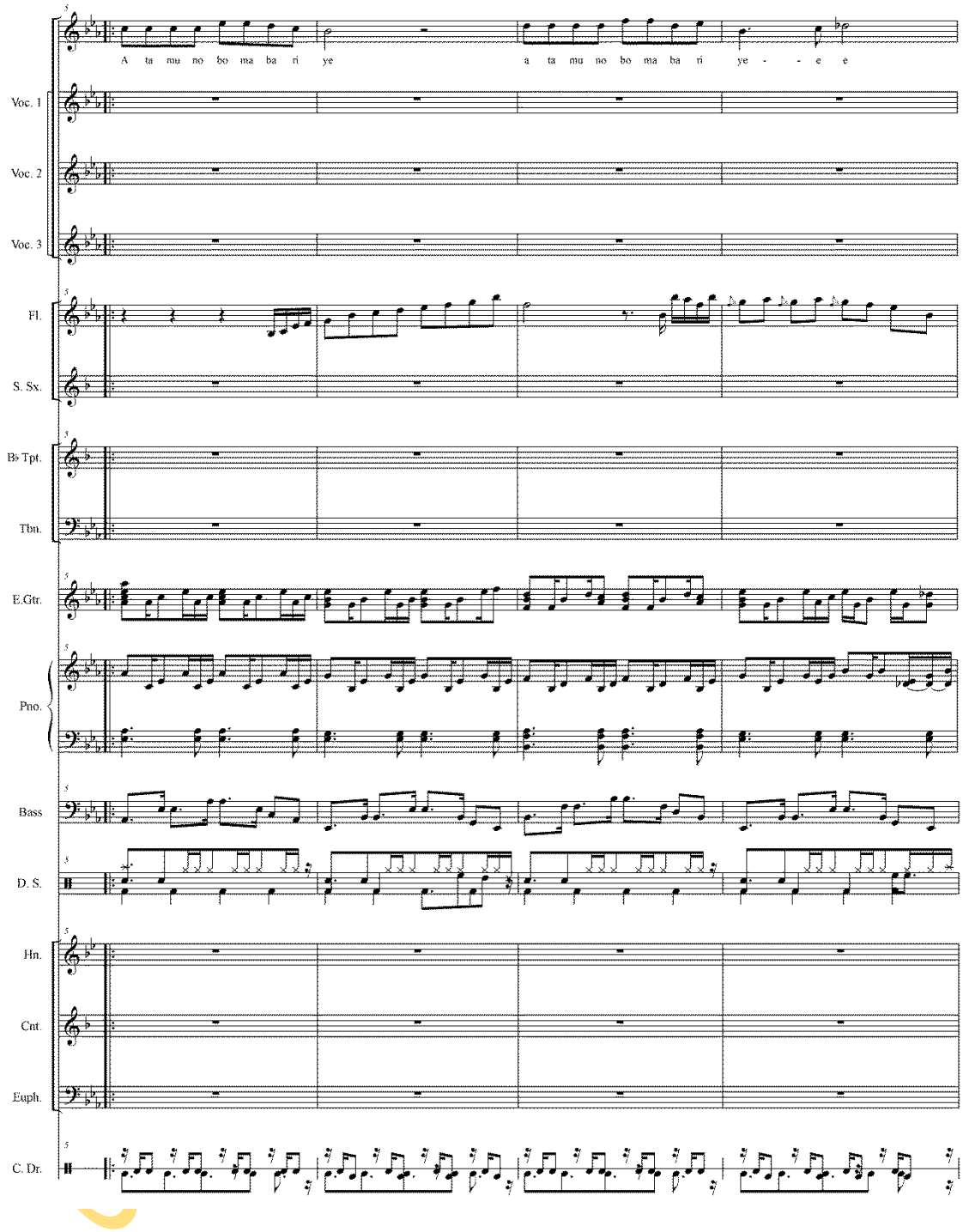
24. Iteme-e

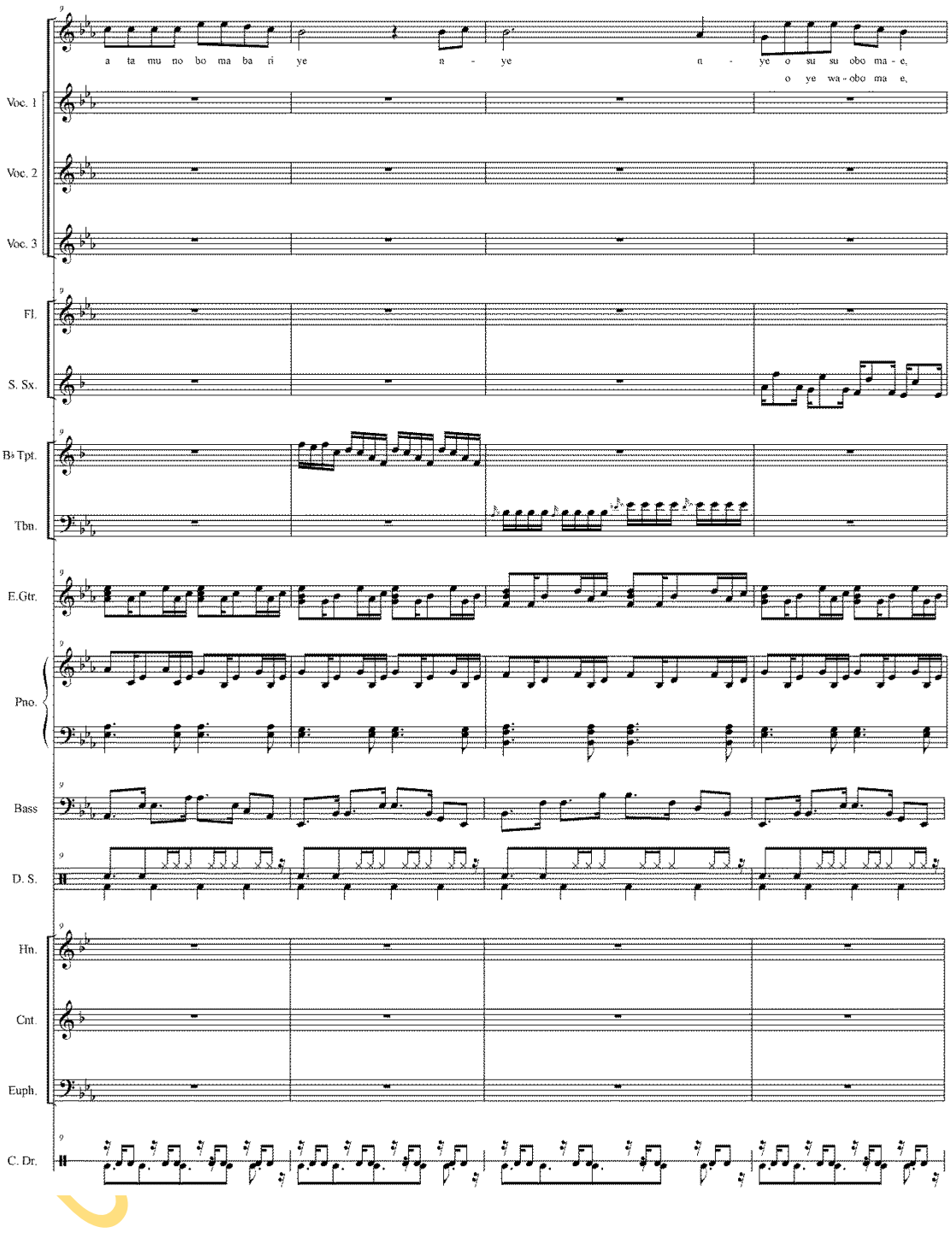

Voice
E te me o - - - - sa ki te ta mu no bo ma.
E te me e - - - - e te me ta mu no bo ma.
Vocals 1
e te me o - - - - sa ki te
e te me e - - - - e te me
Vocals 2
e te me o - - - - sa ki te
e te me e - - - - e te me
Vocals 3
e te me o - - - - sa ki te
e te me e - - - - e te me
Flute
Soprano Sax.
Trumpet in B♭
Trombone
Electric Guitar
Piano
Bass Guitar
Drum Set
Horn in F
Cornet
Euphonium
Conga Drums

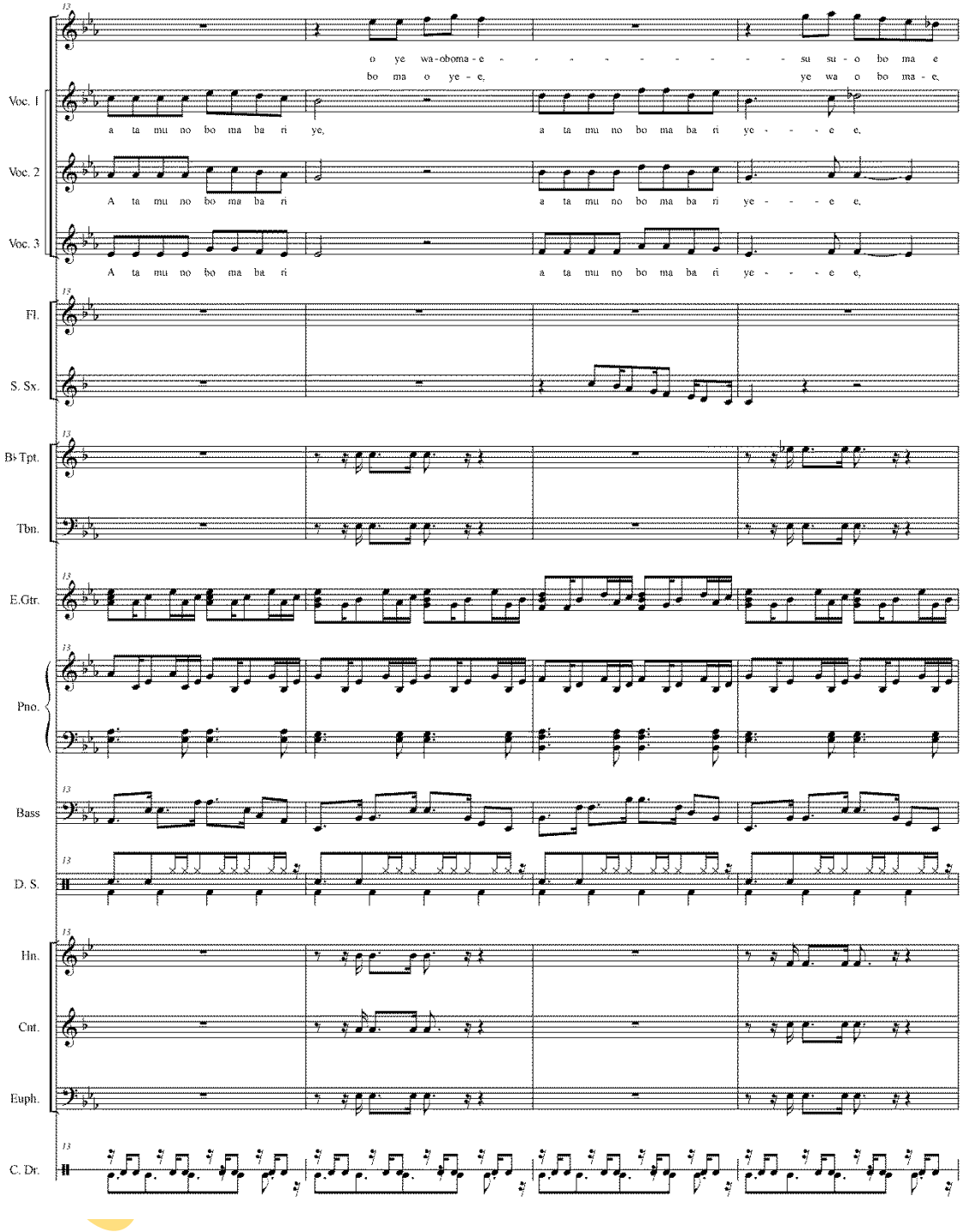

Fine
E te me
E te me
Voc. 1
ta mu no bo ma.
ta mu no bo ma.
Voc. 2
Voc. 3
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.

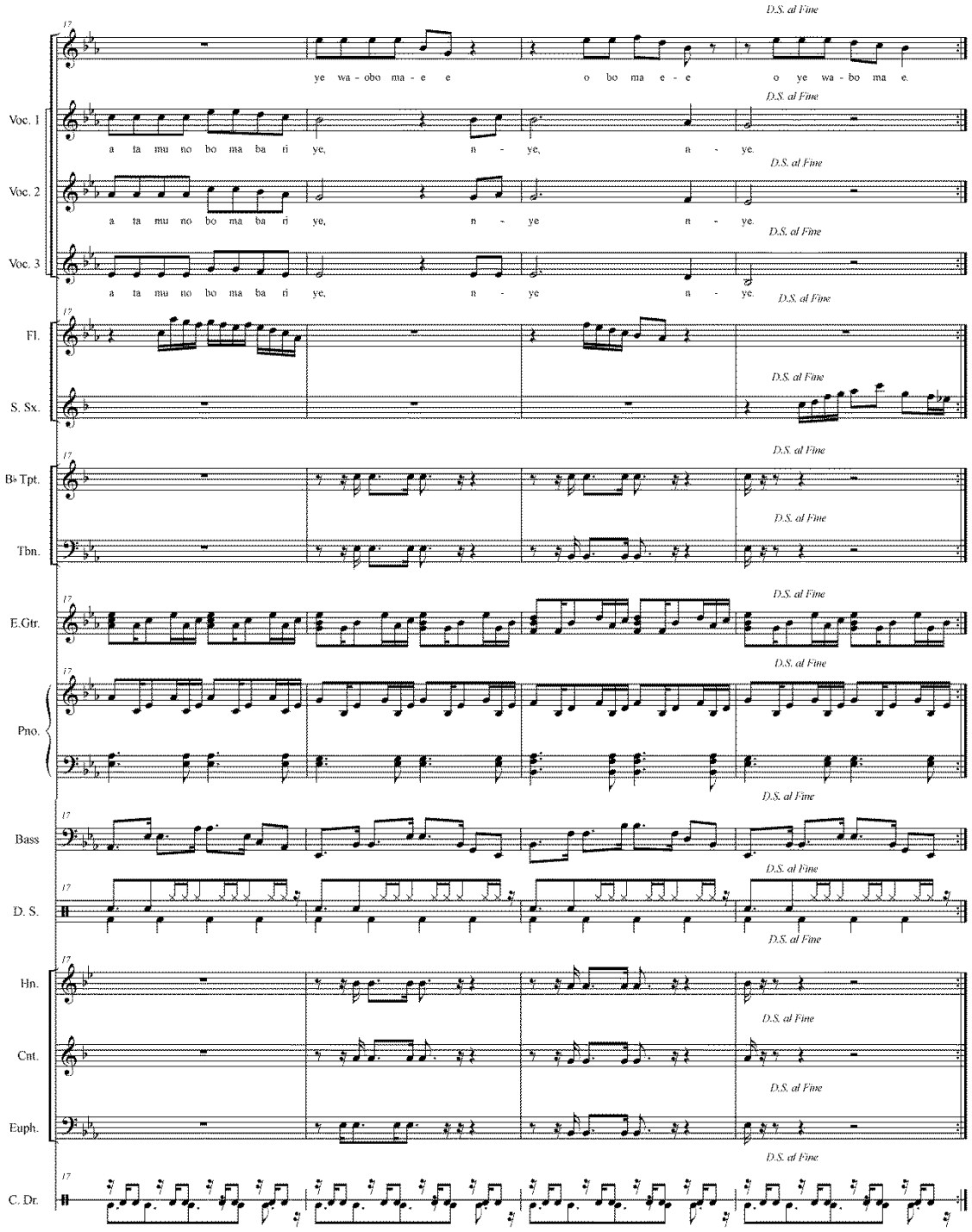
25. A-tamuno boma bariye




A ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - e e
Voc. 1
Voc. 2
Voc. 3
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.


a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye n - ye n - ye o su su obo ma - e,
o ye wa - obo ma e,
Voc. 1
Voc. 2
Voc. 3
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.


13
o ye wa-oboma-e su su-o bo ma e
bo ma o ye-e, ye wa o bo ma-e,
Voc. 1
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye, a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Voc. 2
A ta mu no bo ma ba ri a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Voc. 3
A ta mu no bo ma ba ri a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye - - - e e,
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.


D.S. al Fine
ye wa - obo ma - e e
o bo ma e - e
o ye wa - bo ma e.
Voc. 1
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye, n - ye, n - ye.
Voc. 2
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye, n - ye n - ye.
Voc. 3
a ta mu no bo ma ba ri ye, n - ye n - ye.
Fl.
S. Sx.
B♭ Tpt.
Tbn.
E.Gtr.
Pno.
Bass
D. S.
Hn.
Cnt.
Euph.
C. Dr.

26. Ị(E)balafa-e