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Mediating Social Order as Part of Peace and Conflict Resolution in Traditional Igbo Belief System through the Instrumentality Of Uvie Sacred Drum in Aguleri Paradigm

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ABSTRACT:- Among the Igbo people, the sound of the Uvie – an indigenous idiophone – is regarded as a central aspect of African indigenous religious practice through which they engage questions about the meaning for life. Through an ethnographic study conducted in recent years, I propose to explore the symbolic functions of this indigenous sacred drum with specific reference to its religious, cultural, political, ethical and social significance, a method by which the indigenous community keeps in constant religious communication with their deities and ancestors. While embodied religion as well as the sensory aspects of religious has been widely explored in most monotheistic religions, the sensory has remained largely under-researched in African studies. However, I propose to not only examine the various ways in which sound has been used to mediate religious beliefs and practices in African religion, but to specifically focus on the idiophone as an instrument of religious mediation. Through an evaluation of significant Igbo religious practices involving Uvie as a sacred drum used in ritual dance performed by men, I wish to suggest that the Uvie sound has two significant and related functions. The first one is that it enables the Igbo to bridge the gap between the visible and unseen world of the ancestors and thus making possible an Igbo understanding of those forces that are believed to control the destinies of man. Secondly, the sacred sound of the Uvie is believed to uphold and sustain the Igbo religious system, and a complex of traditional religious rituals which uphold the privileges of those men who have been initiated into the ancestral cult. This paper point to particular understandings of sound as integral to African religion, and proposes to illustrate this through an examination of Igbo religion, sacred sound and ritual dance mediating social order as part of peace and conflict resolution.

Key words: Identity, Rituals, Sacred, Symbolism, Sound, Traditional.

I. INTRODUCTION

In *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, Martin Stokes (1997:8), writing on musical performance suggests that sacred sounds provide the means through which social identities are constructed and managed. This is certainly true in the case of Igbo where the *Uvie* as an idiophone upholds an indigenous knowledge system through which the community mediates and reflects changes in religious, social, economic, and political organization, as well as attitudes towards time and space (Garrioch, 2003:5). For the Igbo people of Nigeria, the *Uvie* sacred drum as "the ancient metaphorical descriptions of kings and gods" (Beier, 1954:30), speaks "the language of the ancestors" (Ohadike, 2007:2). Metuh (1987:20) describes such drum as "the voice of the people". Orlando Patterson (2010:139), writing on artifacts as cultural reproduction, argues that idiophones, like the *Uvie*, are not just a symbol of identity, "but also a cultural object that societies keep on reproducing in order to bring humanity together".

Likewise, Iyorchia Ayu (1986) points to historical processes that highlight the fundamental similarities with the trajectory of historic struggles of African peoples. It is in this context, that Sekinat Lasisi reminds us that "traditional music is basically that type of music which is created completely from indigenous elements and has no stylistic affinity with Western music" (2012:108). From another perspective, Maraming Po asserts that the totality of this kind of music "reflects the life of common folk, mainly living in rural areas than urban ones" (2007:1). Jose DeArce (1998) argues that such indigenous music is an under-researched subject and he went

further to assert that such "good instruments are rare and highly appreciated" (DeArce, 1998:28). Nzewi, et al (2001:93) holds that despite indigenous musical innovations—Europeans and Americans have continued to authoritatively misinterpret and misrepresent Africa. Jennifer Post comments that:

Ethnomusicologists, and other scholars in music and related fields, have identified the various ways ethnic and racial identities are played out in music-through interpersonal, interaction and global circulation. One of the primary concerns in this area is the construction of boundaries. Research reveals that music variously subverts and reinforces both genre and social boundaries (2006:9).

Indigenous instruments such as idiophones are easily excluded from discourses and debates about what constitutes an instrument or music. I wish to turn to the question of musical instruments in a brief discussion of organology. According to Mantle Hood, "organology is the science of musical instruments which should include not only the history and description of instruments, but equally important, the neglected aspects of the science of musical instruments, such as particular techniques of performance, musical function, decoration [as distinct from construction], and variety of socio-cultural considerations" (1971:124). Put in another way, the significant subject of organology, according to Andre Schaeffner (1946), is the enumeration, description, localization and history of even the least of the instruments used in all human civilizations and periods to produce tones or sounds either for purely aesthetic ends or solely for some religious, magical or practical purpose.

Nonetheless, organology basically considers and encompasses any device, object or apparatus designed by humans in order to produce a sound as a musical instrument. According to Alexander Buchner "a musical instrument is a source of intentionally produced sound, constructed and employed for musical production, objectively capable, by virtue of its acoustic properties, of participating in cultural standards of a given people at a specific historical period" (1956:14). Erich Von Hornbostel (1933) asserts that for the purposes of research everything must count as a musical instrument with which sound can be produced intentionally. Although, he went further to distinguish between musical instruments in the conventional sense and sound–producing instruments, Schaeffner questioned this kind of distinction by carefully pointing out these questions: "If an object can produce a sound, how do we recognize then that it is musical? What qualities, of what kind, cause it to be ranged with other musical instruments? (1936:9)" In his later thesis, Schaeffner, again, came up with answers to these brain-storming questions by affirming that "all musical instruments share a characteristic timbre, either for producing a sound or sounds of a definite pitch, or at least for providing material for noises produced successively in a time sequence, which may be described as musical sound" (1946:13).

Origin of the Ikolo

Pertaining the origin of the *Ikolo* sacred drum, Nzewi asserts that "the music style in which it figures originated in Aguleri – a farming/fishing Igbo community on *Omambala* River basin of South-Eastern Nigeria" (2000:25). According to Idigo, tradition tells us that:

Among the mahogany trees that grew along the forest area around the Anambra basin, there was a particular giant mahogany tree which had its roots mysteriously eaten up by ants. When it fell, it was discovered that ants had eaten deep into the trunk providing a deep hollow in the tree trunk. Each time Eri and his children went by the fallen tree, they knocked the trunk to find out if there was any animal hiding in the hollow. In one of such occasions, Eri was tempted to knock several times and as he did, the trunk emitted loud sound that travelled miles. Eri was highly impressed and got the children to cut the hollowed area and convey it to the settlement. From thenceforth, the *Ikolo* was born (2001:120).

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

Fidelis Idigo (2001:120) affirms that "Eri started by using the *Ikolo* as an idiophone to gather or summon meetings of *Eze*-in-council". He argues that "in later years, many sizes of *Ikolo* were carved from logs of mahogany tree. These different sizes and shapes emitted different sounds. The different melodious sounds in turn gave rise to its symbolic diverse uses. These include the use as an idiophone, the use for communicating with members of the settlement that travelled far into the forest for hunting expedition and farming, the use for announcing time for sacred worship" (Idigo, 2001:120-121). Nonetheless, through the institutions of royal ordination and ceremonial rituals and spirit manifestation, Aguleri reasserted her authority over other Igbo's in diaspora to "represent the headship of Igbo race" (Nnamah, 2002:9). Nnamah (2002:9) again asserts that "it is

also very vital to mention here that Aguleri is strategically located at the point of origin of Igbo land from where Igbo land spread further into the hinterland". He argues that the significance is that Aguleri as a town, represent the boundary of Igbo land from where Igbo land stretched eastwards to the rest of its heartland and equally, it is important to note that every major cultural expression in Igbo land in terms of arts, artifacts, symbolism, and names of different types and so on are found in Aguleri (Nnamah, 2002:9). This cultural expression is only typical of the cradle and for a boundary community it makes a stronger claim to originality (Nnamah, 2002:9). More so, till date, Aguleri has retained the original Igbo form of writing that is compared with the Egyptian hieroglyphics is another good point to claim the originality for boundary community and all these marks Aguleri identity (Nnamah, 2002:9) which McAdams (1988:18) refers to as a well "structured self-image". Neuman (1980:12) argues that ancient towns like Aguleri is "the birth place, ancestral home, and a historical centre of culture. Other areas, important as some have now become, are nevertheless derivative from tradition". Insofar as some of the areas deriving their art music from the great tradition of Aguleri became, themselves, "great centres for the dissemination of musical culture, though geographically distant from its original place and surrounded by different local traditions, other areas remained little centres of the great tradition" (Capwell, 1993:96).

Reutilization and the Sacredness of the Ikolo

Now, let us start with Richard Okafor's well illustrated description of the ritualisation of the artifact: In those days, it was not easy to award an *Ikolo* making contract because willing contractors were few. The first was the search for the tree. The second stage was the felling of the tree, the cutting to size and the seasoning. After that, followed the actual carving, the scooping, the digging, and the occasional sounding for the beginning of 'life'. Then, full sounding to get the tone acceptable to the community. Hence, came the final dedication. Some ritualistic insignia or symbols like human heads and community totems are often carved on to an *Ikolo* both for ritualistic and aesthetic symbolism (1998:183-184).

Buttressing this, James Eze asserts that "beyond these totems and profound meanings lies another oasis of symbolisms and unspoken communication" (2015:1). Ballard notes that "the great Ikolo was fashioned in olden days from a giant Iroko tree at the very spot where it was felled. Since those days it had lain in the same spot in the sun and in the rain. Its body was carved with men and pythons and little steps were cut on one side; without these the drummer could not climb to the top to beat it" (2006:1). Carole DeVale reminds her readers that sacred musical instruments like the Ikolo "are commonly anthromorphised and zoomorphised. This can be observed at many levels from the carving, sculpting or decoration of instruments with human or animal forms to the naming of their parts" (1989:100). Similarly, Roger Clarke asserted that "the hewing of a drum is considered an art, or even a closed profession. One who has not learned from his family will not attempt such a project" (1934:35). As such, Margaret Drewal argues that "despite great variation in form and medium and despite multiple shades of meanings, these projections share a basic principle of Igbo religious thought' (1977:43). She goes on to explain that in Igbo worldview "all organic matters as possessing a vital force [that] can be manipulated to regulate the quality of man's life" (Drewal, 1977:43). As a point of emphasis, it has been observed that the *Ikolo* drum as an indigenous and ritual technology has not been improved upon for centuries now due to the fact that there is a consequence of lack of artistic and aesthetic imagination among the drum carvers. Argueably, the implication of the presentation of the drum as unchanging artifacts of history and ritual is the representation of African Traditional Religion as fossillised in time and ritual history rather than a creative interface between the challenges of existence and human creativity and coming to terms or coping with these. Nonetheless, Ikolo as a sacred instrument and a talking drum is found worthy because it is actually based in Aguleri which houses Eri-Aka, the seat of origin of *Ikolo* (Idigo, 2001:123).

Metamorphoses of the Ikolo to Uvie

The *Uvie* drum like every other work of art commands an entire vocabulary, centred on the specification of the aesthetic: a work of art is designed for, and / or has aesthetic properties and effects (Williams, 1981:122). Buttressing this further, De Maret (1994:183; 184) asserts that archaeologists prefer any other explanation of sacred instruments or artistic work like the *Uvie* sacred drum as "dues ex machine" – "it must be symbolic" or "it must be for ritualistic or symbolic purpose and adornment is regarded as a symbol of ethnic membership". Nonetheless, Horton (1963:112) argues that sacred drum like the *Uvie* "belies the easy and often-heard generalization that in traditional West African culture there was no such thing as Art for Art's sake". He posits that "its performance is intimately associated with religious activity and belief, here it is the religion that serves the art, rather than vice versa. It is possible that some studies of West African culture have not found art practiced for its own sake, simply because they have not looked for it in the right direction" (Horton, 1963:112). In Igbo custom and tradition, the *Uvie* decorative sequence can be described as a simple pattern that appears purely decorative which conveys a basic cosmological idea that is also the key to a profound philosophy called "the rising of the moon," it consists of a row of isosceles triangles arranged in such a way that

their bases form two parallel lines (MacGaffey, 2000:233-234), which serves as an instrument for securing the presence of a spirit, and not something produced as a work of art (Horton, 1963:112). During celebration like the *Ofala* festival, indigenous decoration is also part of the *Uvie* drum "making process as a sacred drum" (Adegbite, 1988:18), although, such features has their symbolisms as the case may be.

The *Uvie* as an indigenous material object symbolically mediate the relationship between spirituality and material culture, particularly those material objects use during such festivals like the *Ovala* festival (Hazzard-Donald, 2011:204). These features/items include: colours, feathers, natural white chalk (*nzu*), blood, alligator pepper and so on which "designates the invisible, magic-sacred force of all deity, of all animate objects, of all things" (Maupoil, 1943:334). These items, more than any other, has a close mediating relationship with ritual activity like the *Uvie* sacred drum (Hazzard-Donald, 2011:204) and "when such elements are fused, the result may well be something altogether new" (Turner, 1968:21).

According to Dike (1984:70) "these objects are royal because they belong to the King, but the King is royal because he has these objects". He argues that "if we consider the way objects are activated in ceremonies, it is possible to separate their aesthetic, political, and ritual power in theory, but it is impossible to do so in any specific concrete situation. African royal art, when seen in its ceremonial context, does not disdain aesthetic appeal, but its aesthetic is always motivated because they are basically intended to mystify, to horrify, to startle, to create aura and awe" (Dike, 1984:70-71). It is on this position that Nketia, (1962:2) argues that the research studies of semantics of African aesthetic judgment and appeal may proudly hold that for African, the beautiful, the terrifying and amazing are far enough closer than they are for European observers. Harnandez (2004:1479) asserts that "it is important to note that some of these elements can be reduced to either a spiritual or mundane dimension". Fozi (2007:180) argues that these material elements use in decorating sacred drum like the *Uvie* "are significant for enhancing its sacred quality, maintaining a sense of traditional continuity, producing the desired sound and consequently creating a superior instrument".

According to Wyatt MacGaffey (2000:246), the activation of musical instruments like the *Uvie* "were often exquisitely carved and converted into large drums works of art". To become a sacred and symbolic object, an ordinary *Uvie* drum must first be consecrated ritualistically by the most senior sacred traditional priest in the belief system of the Igbo by carefully following what Luc De Heusch (1994) refers to as a "cosmological code". This is done in order to imbue it with "godlike attributes" (Ohadike, 2007:2). Finally, the sacredness of such artifact, according to Durham, "lay in the fact that it conferred sacredness on whatever is marked with it" (2001:2). Behague (2006:94) argues that this force does not appear spontaneously; it must be transmitted and all objects, all beings or consecrated places can only become sacred through the acquisition of such supernatural power. Behague (2006:98) further suggests that a concrete example of consecration of such sacred drum like the *Uvie* would be the use of water in what he described as "baptism" of the drum. In order to be purified with water, in that situation, "the priest or priestess takes holy water, ..., and speaking entirely in the African tongue employed by the group in its rituals, blesses the drums while sprinkling them with sacred liquid" (Herskovits, 1966:189). Behague (2006:98) argues that in doing this, the drum becomes, therefore, the main vehicle of communication with the god and the baptismal ritual is placed under the sign of that god.

Although, in Aguleri cosmology, it is during the ritualization and activation of the *Uvie*, according to Mark Clatterbuck (2012), that its authority is acquired through the mediation of "transfer of spiritual medicine". Alongside with the ritual breaking of Kola-nuts [Cola Acuminata or Cola Nitida] and some alligator pepper [Aframanum], Nichols summarises the ritual as such: a "chicken is sacrificed and its blood and feathers are daubed on the instrument and it is fed with the fresh blood of animals with the belief that this will maintain its sonority" (Nicholls, 1988:199). Symbolically, the sticks are believed to be imbued with ancestral powers and the Uvie drum is fed in order to keep the spirits pleased (Obi, 2008:143). Equally significant is the fact that feathers are applied on the *Uvie* with the firm belief that they act as protective mechanism in rendering it powerful. In the ritual consecration of the *Uvie*, when the Kola-nut is broken, "the traditional part of the spirit [the radix] is given to the spirits while those present share the rest (Uzukwu, 1983). This is why Charles Ezekwugo (1992:85) asserts that "Kola-nut is used throughout Igbo land as Holy Communion and the Igbo use that to talk to God just as Christians use the Bible to talk to God or Muslims use Quran to do the same to Allah". This is done in order that the *Uvie* can "speak in deep-tongues, and the messages it convey may be shrouded in secrecy and only those that have been initiated into the ancestral cults can comprehend them" (Ohadike, 2007:3). Nabofa (1994:37) affirms that these kinds of rituals are rigidly and meticously followed so that they can retain their ancient, ritualistic and spiritual values as revealed and decreed by the divine in order to avoid sacrilege. For this reason, some Igbo ethnographers of the South-Eastern region of Nigeria concludes that Aguleri as an ancient kingdom for "so long is respected for clinging to the ways of their ancestors" irrespective of the fact that they embraced Christianity which encompasses civilization and modernization (Paredes, 1995:355). From this assertion, one can say tersely that Aguleri as an uncontaminated indigenous community in Igbo land that has embraced Christianity centuries ago has never alienated herself from traditional religion.

Uvie and Igbo religious worldview

In the thinking of the Igbo people using Aguleri community as a case study in this paper the mere mention of the *Uvie* signifies so many things. *Uvie* stands for authority and identity. It is an embodiment of status or class consciousness for the custodians of sacred positions. It guards the positions of the privileged in the community. *Uvie* means so many things to so many people, but basically it upholds the class of the initiates. In furtherance of this argument, Mr. James [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-six year old non-initiate, explains that:

It is for the respected individuals in the community that is why if a big personality who is an initiate dies in the community, the sound of the *Uvie* would be used to communicate his death and even during the person's burial ceremony the *Uvie* would be used.

From the above statement, it it may be observed that although the *Uvie* is used to sustain the positions of the privileged, it is also used to reinforce Igbo social identity through its use at funerals. What this means is that the *Uvie* sound serves as a link between the humans and the ancestral spirits living in the extraterrestrial realm for traditional worshippers. This is the reason why Steve Pinkerton idiomatically describes such sacred sound as "the sad sound of weeping bugles that announces the death of its founder" (2011:190). Nzewi (1987:90 & 91) affirms that the *Uvie* sacred music is specially designated for meritocratic men in the community, and in particular that its sound signifies the death and funerary events of a male person of achievement. Participant 04, Chief Nwave [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-four year old initiate affirms that:

The *Uvie* is used for burial ceremonies of title holders not only in Aguleri but also in the entire Igbo land. This marks it out as an instrument for the prestigious and men of achievements.

From the above, it would be noticed that the *Uvie* not only connects the Igbo with the dead ancestors but also connects the local communities with the Igbo society. Buttressing this further, Levinus Nwabughiogu (2013:1) ironically asserts that the Pan-Igbo group known as *Ohaneze Ndi Igbo* at its secretariat in Enugu State, Nigeria, used the *Uvie* sacred sound to salute and honour late Professor Chinua Achebe as a mark of last respect for their illustrious son before his burial. The *Uvie* sacred drum showers praises on the Royal family, the king and men of achievements and valor in the community – the living and the dead. The symbolic sounding of *Uvie*, thus, represents royalty, dignity and respect in all its facets in Igbo land (NTI, 1990). On the social and ethical authority of the *Uvie*, participant 06, Mr. Amuzia [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-five year old non-initiate, echoes that:

Uvie is the voice of the Igbo people. Its sound is used in satirical form in order to tell the evil doers to desist from their evil ways. The sound of the *Uvie* is used to praise or elate the well behaved in the community. Here, it has been observed that the sacred sound of the *Uvie* is used as an agent of social control in Aguleri community because it is during certain festivals that it is used to talk to, or chastise, individuals who are regarded as unethical or immoral in the community. Thus, the *Uvie* sacred sound provides an ethical code for the community. Joseph Omoregbe argues that sacred drum like the *Uvie* "provide guides for human conduct indicating certain things or certain ways of behaviour, which should be avoided and other things or ways of behaviour which should be adopted" (1993:62-63). Thus, Ade Adejumo goes on to remind his readers that by "reminding people of their responsibility to conform to the wishes of their society" (2013:44) the *Uvie* sacred drum, through its sacred sound, acts as a moral barometer for the Igbo. Maurice Bloch argues that "because of the calendrical nature of the ritual, this social order became part of temporal and astrological order. This theme of social order is repeated again and again during the ritual" (1987:278). Reaffirming this assertion, participant 07, Mr. Chinedu [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-seven year old non-initiate, asserts that: *Uvie* serves as a link that binds the entire community together. *Uvie* acts as a conduit that binds the King, the initiates, their ancestors and their deities together which no man can separate.

Here, one can say that the *Uvie* serves as the voice of the community because it is through the mediation of its sound that the community receives messages from their gods and ancestors. Further, the king and the *Uvie* are believed to be sources of mediation between the living and the dead, further reinforcing the coherence of Igbo religious and social identity. Toyin Falola asserts that such sacred sound as the *Uvie* is "serving as cultural agents to present Africans to Westerners while becoming a powerful tool to articulate the ideas of Pan Africanism that united blacks in different countries, also it received a wide affirmation as a socialist ideology based on long-established African values" (2003:35). It is on this position that Richard Okafor (1998:189) comments that "Igbo people turn instruments into metaphors for conveying their feelings and emotions and for giving oral spectrum description". Elsewhere, Victor Turner (1968) posits that such sacred musical instrument is regarded as a magnificent instrument for expressing and maintaining social ethical codes. Through its status among the Igbo people, the sacred sound of the *Uvie* is used to promote "social justice, peace, and strivings for harmonious coexistence" (Daniel, 2010:24). Kelly Askew (2006:15) describes such sacred sounds as "a silence that echoes loudly", while Peter Ekeh sees it as a symbolic object "which has become a primordial reservoir of moral obligations" (1975:100). Paul Berliner (1978:190) writing in the context of the *mbira* sacred drum that Igbo people believe that the *Uvie* drum is not just an instrument to them, "it is like their

Bible". Finally, Pinkerton asserts that "its unique transcendence is paradoxically grounded in an earthly embodiment, and the music is itself, somehow corporeal" (2011:191).

It is thus clear that the concept of ethics in traditional African society "is in living to avoid shame in any family or community" (Ekeke, 2013:13). According to Nzewi et al "the concept of encoding ethical lingual text on a music instrument derives from instituting authority voicing in a worldview that processes openly disseminated information for particular, cognitive audience" (2001:93). They argue that "the essence is in its imperative transcendental attributes, which empower it to coerce conformity in issues of societal engineering and human management" (Nzewi et al, 2001:93). This resonates with Chidester's (1992) argument that ultimately, indigenous ritual provides symbolic system that supports the authority of elders and initiates in a chosen community. Nabofa (1994:19) connected and interpreted these ethical values through the mediation of the *Uvie* sound with the understanding that wisdom belongs to the elders. Thus, he describes the sound of a sacred instrument as "the voice of the elders which invariably is the voice of wisdom". This sacred instrument on the one hand renders the authority of the king and elders beyond reproach, and on the other hand, it puts upon such elders a huge set of responsibilities and obligations to care for the rest of the community (Nabofa, 1994:14).

Iyorchia Ayu (1986:16) asserts that sacred sound like the *Uvie* is "the voice through himself and for himself; and despite the odds, must be prepared to stage the festival of the oppressed", Preservation and inscription of such a distinctive voice would signify the site of their own cultural differences and identity. Des Wilson, writing on traditional media in modern Africa, states that it is not uncommon to find "itinerant musical entertainment groups sing satirized songs, and generally criticize wrong doings of individuals in the society. Names of those being satirized or praised may be mentioned or descriptions of their physical or personality attributes, where they live, or what they do may form part of such songs" (1987:93). Michael Bourdillon, reflecting on the Southern African context, affirms that "dancers can jestingly criticize individual members of the community, or particular types of behaviour. Such dances perform similar functions of reinforcing societal values, as do initiation rites" (1990:325). On this ground, John Chernoff asserts that "in many African societies, someone with grievance may hire a song writer to prepare a song which states the problem: a song may exceed the boundaries of social property without giving undue offense, and at the same time, people attracted to the song will be more accessible to its argument and may help induce a miscreant to make amends" (1979:70-71). Sacred drums like that of the *Uvie*, according to Olupona, "relates to the social, historical, religious, and communal ideas and feelings of the people" (2000: xxxv).

The Uvie in Igbo Imagination Using Aguleri as an Igbo Identity Representation

This section would be dealing with the Igbo experiences and perspectives on the *Uvie* as a sacred drum using Aguleri community to represent Igbo identity. The reason why this is important is because its ritual is tied up with the *Ovala* festival that encompasses traditional religion, ritual, identity and symbolism. The broad categories of my interviews schedule include the origin of the *Ikolo*, and how it transformed to *Uvie*, the social and religious significance of the *Uvie* as well as its symbolic meaning for the Igbo identity. The data was collected through active participation and observation method. This followed the unstructured interviews that actually helped me during the ritual festival of the *Ovala* celebration.

The people I interviewed include the King, the ritual specialists, the *Uvie* sacred drummer, and ordinary Aguleri indigenes as well as some other initiates in Aguleri community who are polygamists. Also some of my participants are farmers, traders and Christian converts. The views expressed here are the result of the fieldwork conducted with some of my participants who were coded with different names in order that they would remain anonymized where certain questions that concern the *Uvie* were asked. Some of the questions include: Do you think that the *Uvie* is important for the Igbo people? What does it mean when the drummers say or use certain languages when playing the *Uvie*? How is the *Uvie* a mark of the Igbo identity? I was able to isolate three key social and religious functions or uses of the *Uvie* and this made my participant air their opinions.

The general impression I got of my participant's feelings and responses to the interview questions and the inquiries about the functions of the *Uvie* was that the *Uvie* is important and acts as a link to the ancestors. Some believe that the *Uvie* is important because it portrays Igbo identity which upholds patriarchy due to the fact that women are not allowed to partake in the ritual dance of the *Uvie*. Some Igbo Christian converts, however, see it as satanic. Most people felt that it is important because it aids in ritual festivals. Nonetheless, people were excited about the functions of the *Uvie* because it made them happy, while some, especially women that are not initiated into the cult of the *Uvie* felt they were being marginalized.

Below are some of the general views expressed on the *Uvie*. According to participant 03, Chief A. B. Onyema [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-eight year old initiate:

Firstly, *Uvie* is the voice that speaks for the Igbo people. Secondly, *Uvie* is the voice of the ancestors and at the same time the voice of our deities.

From the above statement it can be seen that not only does the *Uvie* speak for the people, it also speaks to the people, thus it makes possible a two-way communication between the Igbo and their ancestors and deities. As we will see below participant 01 Chief Nweke [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-two year old initiate suggests that the *Uvie* is central in mediating relations between the Igbo and their deities and ancestors. He asserts that:

Without the sound or the music of the *Uvie*, we the Igbo people will not be able to commune or have communication with our ancestors and deities.

It is clear from the above comments that the *Uvie* serves a range of significant functions for the Igbo, which includes announcements; entertainment and summons. Joy Lo-Bamijoko (1987:22) posits that "musical instruments in Igbo music follow a hierarchical order". She argues that "in the hierarchical framework of Igbo musical instruments, all are not equal" (Lo-Bamijoko, 1987:22). *Uvie* as a sacred instrument is basically made sacred by the people of Igbo communities due to symbolic functions it plays such as social and ritual announcement.

The *Uvie* is regarded as a sacred instrument that not only connects the Igbo with their ancestors but also binds the entire community together to the extent that they share in the symbolism of the *Uvie*. Finally, through submitting to the symbolic authority of the instrument, the Igbo submit also to a particular Igbo religious worldview wherein the practices of communicating with and possession by ancestral spirits are common. Yet, inasmuch as the *Uvie* is used to mediate the Igbo religious world, it is also used to order and regulate the temporal world – the everyday and annual life-cycle of the community.

Social and Ritual Announcement

The participants indicated or reflected a view that the *Uvie* is primarily for social and ritual announcements. This view is also expressed elsewhere in Igbo literature and culture. For Dele Odunlami (2006:162), a close reading of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* reveals the use of indigenous idiophone as a source of ritual communication in Igbo land. Commenting on the use of Igbo sacred drumming, Ohadike (2007:3) asserts that "no one can afford to ignore its voice [sound] when it summons the community to assemble at the town-square, or to appear at the chief's palace'". Buttressing this point, participant 04, Chief Nwave [personal communication September, 2018] an eighty-four year old initiate affirms that:

Uvie is played whenever there is an emergency in the town for the indigenes to be alerted so that they can converge in the village square (*Amaeze*) for prompt decision/decisions to be taken.

Reinforcing what Chief Nwave introduces above, Participant 07, Mr. Chinedu [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-seven year old non-initiate asserts that: It is used as an authoritative voice in controlling and gathering the community.

In the same vein, participant 014, Mr. Peter [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-seven year old non-initiate notes that it is the unique sound of the *Uvie* that provokes the Aguleri to pay attention, and it is in this that its auditory authority lies. In particular he noted that:

The sound of the *Uvie* carries a very distinct aura... It makes the people to feel apprehensive, agitated and uncomfortable especially if there is no ceremony/festival on ground.

Basically, from these assertions it may be observed that the *Uvie* is used as a social agent for calling the attention of the community, especially during emergency situations. This is why Robert Gluck (2005:37) describes such sacred drum as the *Uvie* as the "sounds of a community", while Ohadike (2007:3) asserts that "the town crier's authority is issued from the power invested in the sacred drum". In this regard, participant 01, Chief Nweke [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-two year old initiate observes that:

When the *Uvie* is beaten, the indigenes would know that something great/serious must have happened.

Similarly, participant 010, Chief Ivediegwu [personal communication, September, 2018] a ninety-one year old initiate asserts that:

The sound of the *Uvie* is not beaten anyhow or at any time without reason/reasons.

From my participants' responses, it can be observed that, for the Aguleri, the *Uvie* is only sounded and beaten on occasions of great social or ritual significance. Reaffirming this assertion, James Agbogun (2011:2) posits that politically, the *Uvie* sacred drum is used "as a kind of provost, an authoritative voice, to keep order in community meetings". For David Garrioch, instruments such as the bell, or in this case, the *Uvie*, allows the villagers "to locate themselves in time and in space, making them part of an auditory community" (Garrioch, 2003:5).

From the comment below, it can be observed that the *Uvie* sacred drum, according to my participants, is about making and marking the Aguleri community, celebrating common identity and upholding the authority of the King as the head and custodian of tradition and culture. This is especially noted by participant 012, Mr. Jacob [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-five year old non-initiate who asserts that:

Uvie is used for announcement through the command of the King especially if he wants to do something or deliver certain important messages to his subjects.

Uvie, as an idiophone, normally uses hollowed-out tones, its communication method is by patterns, and one has to be schooled in the patterns of the *Uvie* language to be able to understand it "when they talk" (Lo-Bamijoko, 1987:22). Thus, not only is the *Uvie* sound unique but also the drummer is a special or a kind of sacred specialist endowed with the ability to play and interpret the sound of the drum. This sentiment is captured in the following assertions and expressions: Participant 07, Mr Chinedu [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-seven year old non-initiate explains that:

The uniqueness of Aguleri *Uvie* drummer entails simultaneous chanting and invocation of/praises of the ancestors and gods.

So far, it has been observed that the *Uvie* as a sacred drum of the Aguleri people is a communicative medium or link by which the community connects to its deities and ancestors. Not only does the *Uvie* have an auditory authority to call people together, its auditory authority extends to activating a bodily experience among the initiates whereby some overcome and perform ritual dance while others are possessed by ancestral spirit. As we can see below, participant 03, Chief Onyema [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-eighty year old initiate goes on to assert that:

Its aura makes people to develop eerie feelings because it is a dance for the sacred and prestige. In this wise, it is during this ritual dance that spirit possession occurs. It is this feature that makes the *Uvie* a mark of Aguleri identity.

The *Uvie* sacred sound would be regarded as the pride, the epitome, an embodiment and the hall mark of Aguleri tradition and culture (Idigo, 2001:126). The *Uvie* sound is central to the lived experience of Aguleri social space and crucial to the mediation and negotiation of spiritual space. As a point of emphasis, in Aguleri cosmology, it is believed that the king and initiates represent the entire community. Therefore, for non-initiates, comprising ordinary Aguleri citizens and women, to access the spiritual potency of the sound of the *Uvie*, they rely soley on the initiates. The point here is that, the participants believe that the sacred space has both temporal dimensions – occupied by the living and a spiritual dimension – occupied by the living-dead. Nketia (1989:117) argues that the significance of such music like that of the *Uvie* during ritual occasion does not rely only on the symbolic interaction it generates, but also what it provides for the affirmation of communal values and the renewal of the bonds and sentiments that bind the community or the devotees of a god. Not minding the fact that the functions of the *Uvie* are believed to be significant especially to the initiates; some of my informants have some negative impressions concerning it. This sentiment is captured in the following assertions and expressions: Participant 08, Mrs. AveMaria [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-two year old lay Christian woman expressed ambivalence towards the use of *Uvie* in ancestor ritual:

In the area of belief system, the idol worshippers use the *Uvie* in worshipping their gods.

However, participant 09, Mrs. Nneka [personal communication, September, 2018] a sixty- six year old female sacred specialist had a more affirming view of *Uvie*. She said:

Uvie is used in worshipping/invoking the deities and the spirits of our ancestors that mediate between the people and their deities.

From the above, it may be observed that the *Uvie* is used as a mechanism for invoking the spirits of the deities and ancestors in the worldview of the Aguleri people. Vincent Mulago (1991:119) argues that through the mediation and manifestation of sacred sound like the *Uvie*, a community such as the Aguleri "understand a relationship in being and in life of each person with descendants, family, brothers, and sisters in the clan, with ancestors, and with God who is the ultimate source of all life". In line with this assertion, participant 011, Chief Ndigwe [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-nine year old initiate comments that:

Uvie's saliency among the *Agulerians* is informed by the fact that the music and sound of the Aguleri people's *Uvie* is essentially different from that of other Igbo people. *Uvie* drummer artistically drums the Aguleri *Uvie* with a view to produce a peculiar and desired sound that is synonymous with the Aguleri people.

From the perspectives of my participant, it has been observed that the symbolic functions of the *Uvie* as a comprehensive outfit encompasses ritual communication generally. By this, I mean that through social and ritual announcement the whole cosmological system is completely grasped, interpreted, decoded and disseminated, thereby making and marking Aguleri community as an auditory state in time and space in the Igbo sacred soundscape. As we can see below, participant 012, Mr. Jacob [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-five year old non-initiate observes that:

The sound of the *Uvie* is a means or method of communicating with the gods and ancestors through ritual performance of certain sacrifices and its religious dance. It connects the spirits of our ancestors in order to commune with the community people.

Again, the fact that the sound produced by the *Uvie* is believed to be special through the mediation of its booming sound which infects the initiates with spirit possession; ritual speaking of its voice in deep tones and its dance style which is somehow stylistic, can be attributed to its outstanding and remarkable qualities during the *Ovala* celebration, making it the mark of the Aguleri identity. While it brings people together for certain

announcements or statements by the King or a social emergency that pertains to social, religious and political reasons, it is also used to call the Aguleri for ritual gatherings.

Sustaining Igbo Ritual Order

The *Uvie* also serves as a mechanism for sustaining and maintaining Aguleri rituals. It accompanies most key rites of passage which means that without the sound of the *Uvie* no important ritual would take place in the community. In this regard, the participants discussed several vital rituals that pertain to the *Uvie* sound. Some referred to the use of the *Uvie* during a coronation, burial ceremonies for the initiated, the conferment of Chieftaincy titles and other designated festivals. The fact that the *Uvie* is used in sustaining Aguleri ritual order means that it actually supports the institution of patriarchy that encompasses only the King and other initiates in Aguleri custom and tradition. The ritual order of the *Uvie* sound is so paramount and very significance in Igbo cosmology especially in the minds of the Nri traditional elite, the *ozo* titled men during the coronation ceremony because it is during this period the "*Ufie* sacred music sound/played day and night for one year in the Kings palace" (Onwuejeogwu, 1981:114 & 87-88). This is captured by the observation of participant 018, Chief Arinze [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-two year old initiate that:

The *Uvie* is used during the period of initiations of the *Uvie* members like the *Ozo, Oba, Ogbuanyinya*, or when the community is performing burial ceremony of a well known personality in the town.

From the above, it has been observed that, on the one hand, the *Uvie* is used to denote privilege, and on the other hand, serves to uphold Aguleri social and ritual order. As indicated by several participants, without the sound of the *Uvie* no meaningful ritual would take place in the community and it is used for carrying out ritual ceremonies for designated individuals in the community. Similarly, participant 017, Chief Avuluoba [personal communication, September, 2018] a ninety year old initiate affirms that:

The *Uvie* symbolizes the voice that speaks for the people and at the same time, it acts as a link or conduit that binds the deities and the ancestors that protect the community together.

Here, the *Uvie* is seen to act as a bridge that connects the living and living-dead. This is because the sound of the *Uvie* is believed to be the mediating link between the deities, ancestors and the people. Michael Nabofa (1994:38), in his observation about the Urhobo people in the Niger Delta, argues that "it is within this world of classical and cultic sacred sound that the elements of traditional cultic and symbolic rituals have complete natural integration, much of African traditional sacred sound and ritual drama are religiously encapsulated in nature". Likewise, for the Aguleri people the *Uvie* is used to produce the aura of sacrality to validate the rituals and to invoke the ancestors, and through its mediating sound, to seek their favour. Also, the significant moment for this kind of ritual validation is during the Chieftaincy conferment titles and in this regard, conferment of Chieftaincy titles are regarded as a significant moment in the Aguleri ritual calendar. Reflecting on the use of the *Uvie* in this particular ritual, participant 08, Mrs. AveMaria [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-two year old lay Christian woman comments that:

Uvie is used during the initiation of the initiates. It is used for the conferment of chieftaincy titles like the *Oba*, *Ozo*, and for the burial of known personalities that are equally titled men in the community. It is also used for the celebration of *Ovala* festival. It is used during new yam festival.

Similarly, it has been observed that *Uvie* serves as an agent of ritual order. Participant 015, Mr. James [personal communication. September, 2018] a fifty-six year old non-initiate asserts that: *Uvie* is played distinctively on the day of coronation.

It is important to note that the *Uvie* as a sacred instrument is not just for any burial, but it is reserved specifically for funerary rites and rituals of the titled men in Aguleri community where its sound is artfully played. By this, it means that the *Uvie* marks their entry into the world and their exit into the next world of the ancestors.

The significant function of the *Uvie* as a medium of sustaining Aguleri ritual order is seriously tied to its liturgical functions especially insofar as its ritual significance is highly prized in Aguleri cosmology. The *Uvie* is used to support the privilege of the titled men, it ultimately serves to reinforce and validate the authority of the King. In this regard, the *Uvie* serves very much the same purpose as ancestor ritual among the Xhosa (Chidester 1992) or Bruce Lincoln's account of the Swazi *Incwala* as upholding the ritual authority of the Swazi king (Lincoln 1989). According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett & Brunner, the question is "who has the power to represent whom and to determine which representation is authoritative?" (1992:304). Similarly, Regina Bendix (1997:21) framed the concept of the study/discourse/discipline of folklore in terms of authenticity as an object while retaining the inherent value of the quest for the authentic. She replaces the question "what is authenticity? With "who needs authenticity and why?" and "how has authenticity been used?" (1997:21). In my view, *Uvie* music is basically a consummation of what Cooley (2006:79) refers to as "preservation and invention" of indigenous culture that is dynamic, which is consistently mediated in the realm of Aguleri heritage as the case may be. On the issue of authenticity, participant 012, Mr. Jacob [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-five year old non-initiate observes that:

When you look at the history of the *Ikolo*, it was King Onyekomeli Idigo who actually transformed its significant functionalities as it is today. No other family has that traditional right to keep the *Ikolo* which eventually transformed to *Uvie*.

From the above assertion, it can be observed that beyond its ritual function, the *Ikolo* is also used to convey Aguleri sacred history, through its symbolism and place in Aguleri imagination, the royal, and sacred order is reinforced – "No other family has that traditional right to keep the *Ikolo*". It is on this ground that participant 014 Mr. Peter [personal communication, September, 2018] a forty five year old non-initiate comments that:

When the Ikolo is beaten early in the morning, the King and the entire people of Aguleri community wake up from sleep, this shows that it is a new day in order to hand them over to deities and gods of the land. From this we can infer that through sustaining the Aguleri ritual order on a daily basis, the *Ikolo* is symbolically reinforcing legitimacy and authority of the King, as well as the ritual privilege of the initiated or titled men. Obviously, musical communication in such ritual festivals like Ovala in Aguleri would happen as a means of passing message from human beings [the worshipper] to the gods in religious ritual festivals. It is a ritual ceremony or celebration of first fruits, when tribute is made to the ancestors and the authority of the King as primary guardian of the tradition is re-inscribed. Throughout the Ovala festival, the idea of privilege is acknowledged against the backdrop of the less privileged who depend of the fertility of the soils and the good fortune of the ancestors as well as that of the gods. The Aguleri community uses the Ovala festival as the high point of its annual ritual calendar during which time the initiated, through the mediating sound of the *Ikolo*, are in constant, ecstatic communication and communion with their deities. Thus, in this context, music through the sacred sound of the Ikolo is the permanent accompaniment for indigenous religious festivals, rites, and ceremonies. In support of this view, participant 019, Chief Ozomma [personal communication, September, 2018] a sixty year old initiate asserts that: Of all the festivals in our community, Ovala festival takes preeminence because every Aguleri man or woman either Christian or Traditional worshipper actually looks up to the colourful event.

However, it is on this note that *Ovala* festival is seen as a reconstituted ritual in Aguleri community because it is that period when the indigenes come from all walks of life in order to see their relatives and to share in the good fortunes of the community through the mediating sound of the *Uvie*. Interestingly, participant 07, Mr. Chinedu [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-seven year old non-initiate affirms that: *Ovala* festival is very important to our people because it is during that period that we have a singular opportunity to see our kiths and kins that leave in urban areas. Equally, it is during that period that we do have opportunity to see '*Nwagwu*' the jester masquerade and *Ijele* masquerade, the King of all the masquerades and to listen to the sound of the *Uvie*.

It is through the sound of the *Uvie* that people would get to know that festivals like the *Ovala* celebration is about taking place. It is also through the sound of the *Uvie* that various activities, secular or religious, are performed in the community and it is through it that the community is communicated. It is clear from these beliefs that the sound manifestation of sacred sounds like the *Uvie* as an indigenous talking drum has a much broader scope to the traditional society like the Aguleri people than the superficial meaning often attached to it, and that, "in those societies, the textual contents of music are not just mere words but have mystical potency and can be used in many practical ways to produce concrete observable results' (Adegbite, 1991:45). We have come to understand that from the questions about the *Ovala* festival which says: how is the *Uvie* a mark of the Aguleri identity? It has been discovered that it is during the *Ovala* celebration that spirit invocation do occur. As a point of emphasis, it is only the King and initiates that experience spirit invocation and spirit possession through the vibrating sound that emanates from the *Uvie*. This sentiment is captured in the following assertions and expressions: participant 011, Chief Adili ptember, 2018] [personal communication, San eighty-nine year old initiate and player of the *Uvie* comments that:

I physically play the *Uvie* drum but in spirit it is never me who drums the music. There are spirits that overtake me and inspire me to drum to the likeness of the Aguleri tradition and that of the ancestors. I can assure you that no one produces the *Uvie* music to infect the titled men without being possessed by the spirit that governs the *Uvie* music. It is with descent of the spirit of the *Uvie* upon the drummer that the initiates are infected with spirit possession while partaking in the ritual dance. *Agulerians* assumed that the sound of the *Uvie* is a physical manifestation of the voices of their ancestors and the spirits.

From the above, it can be seen that the drummer of the *Uvie* serves as a sacred specialist, the one who mediates between the sound of the *Uvie* and the initiates. It is through this person beating the sacred drum that the initiates are able to enter into an altered state of consciousness while dancing the ritual dance. The drummer of the *Uvie* assumes a critical ritual position in Aguleri sacred order. Also, it has been observed that even the drummer of the *Uvie* engages in a relationship with a tutelary spirit in order to attain excellence and at this level artistic performance requires spiritual possession. It is on these observations that one can say that the *Uvie* is a mechanism for upholding and sustaining the Aguleri ritual order, For the participants, this is maintained through

the use of the *Uvie* in rituals of conferment of Chieftaincy titles, coronation of the King, burial of dignitaries and designated ritual festivals.

Mediating Social Order and Social Relations

In Aguleri tradition, the sound of the *Uvie* sacred drum is seen as a symbolic object because it is a medium which the indigenous community uses to sanitize the ethical issues within the community. Thus, the *Uvie* acts as a mechanism for reprimanding and urging the devotees, especially the cruel, savage, and dishonest elements in the community, to lead a pure and chaste life in order to avoid the displeasure of the gods and goddesses. It is widely believed in Aguleri cosmology that the sacred sound of the *Uvie* is the voice of the ancestors that "communicate messages full of cultural meanings" (Nwauwa, 2007:xiiii). In this perspective, White Hylton (1995:47) refers to such ethical code of conducts as the "letters from our forefathers". Jeremy Montagu (2007:6), writing on the interpretations of such traditional ethics, affirms that "in African societies such sacred instrument can transform the voices into a deity". On the reaffirmation of ethical issues as it has to do with *Uvie* as a sacred object that sanctions, mediating social order and relations, participant 013, Mr. Paul [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-year old man, comments that:

If women are allowed to partake in the ritual dance, it is believed that it would not allow the *Uvie* to speak. It is believed that the goodwill messages we usually derive from the sound might cease because its potency has already been defiled.

It has been observed from the above that because it acts as an agent of social order and social relations, it speaks ritualistically in the Aguleiri worldview. Similarly, participant 05, Chief Nnaegbo [personal communication, September, 2018] a seventy-seven year old initiate, affirms that:

It is in this kind of social event that the drummer of the *Uvie* sarcastically uses certain linguistic innuendoes to jestingly criticizee the evil doers in the community by advising them to desist from their evil ways.

From the above assertion, it has been observed that the *Uvie* is used as a way to mediate social order and relations in some African traditional contexts. This is largely articulated through references to the power of the *Uvie* to purify, to heal and reprimand the Igbo community. However, the *Uvie* is not believed to be able to 'speak' ritualistically all the time and that its ritual capacity is always vulnerable to pollution by the uninitiated. Apart from its primarily sacral use, the *Uvie* drum is also used for dance entertainment and competitions, as well as in the sacred drumming state. It is on such occasions when it can speak in deep tones, mystically and metaphorically, which 'provide an elaboration of transgression in terms of negation and its connection with taboo' (Taussig, 1998:349). In reaffirming this assertion, participant 01, Chief Nweke [personal communication, September, 2018] an eighty-two year old initiate, comments that:

It is during *Ovala* festival that the drummer of the *Uvie* uses its sound alongside his songs to cajole and criticize those that are known in the community to be bad people and at the same time praises the good members of the community. Such bad people are cautioned through this means to desist from doing evil or face the wrath of the gods of the land.

From the above assertion, it has been suggested that the *Uvie* sound is used alongside its songs to cajole and criticize those that are known to be bad in the community. In this form, it is believed that it speaks in deep tones through the mediation of the drummer. Participant 06, Mr. Amuzia [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-five year old non-initiate, asserts that:

The sound of the *Uvie* is used with its songs to make jest of some of the members of the community that are evil doers. The drummer of the *Uvie* criticizes such people openly, asking them to turn to good.

From the above assertion, it can be seen that despite, and because of, its profound ritual significance, the *Uvie* is also afforded some ethical functions. Mr. Amuzia indicates above that the playing of the *Uvie* is also used as an opportunity to chastise initiates who are believed to behave unethically. In this sense the sacred drum does not only assume auditory authority among the Aguleri but is also significantly imbued with ethical authority. Reflecting on the significance of drumming and rhythmic song, dancing, and other designated symbolic functions, the drumming of the *Uvie* is considered to be the voice or influence of ancestral shades or other spirits that possess the sufferer and give the cure (Janzen, 1994). Janzen further argues that it is in this form that rituals like that of the *Uvie* drum of affliction "showed their inner workings and social contexts, their intricate ritual symbolism, therapeutic motivations, and societal support systems" (Janzen, 1994:162). Here, participant 08, Mrs. AveMaria [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-two old lay Christian woman, observes on the same issue, that:

The sound of the *Uvie* is sacrosanct. Its sound has the proclivity to enhance child bearing and to heal, if its laws are respected. Nonetheless, women who menstruate at any point in time are not allowed to come in contact with it, this is because its potency would be at the risk of defilement.

From the above assertions, it is clear that through the mediation of its potent speech, the *Uvie* is primarily regarded as a cultural and social agent which acts as a source of authority and the only guarantor of social order.

It has also been observed that it is during the *Ovala* festival that the *Uvie* is used to reprimand bad individuals in the community to live a good and moral life. In this regard, *Uvie* sacred drum is seen as an agent of ethics. In other words, participant 013, Mr. Paul [personal communication, September, 2018] a fifty-year old non-initiate, observes that:

The sound of the *Uvie* teaches us about many issues of life as it concerns social ethics about the community. It sound speaks of good things.

From the above assertion, it has been observed that the drummer of the *Uvie* sarcastically uses certain linguistic innuendoes to jestingly criticize the evil doers in the community by advising them to desist from their bad behaviours. It is through this method that ethical issues are addressed in order to have "a fruitful and a morally attuned society" (Sanneh, 1999:105). As a point of emphasis, by using the sound of the *Uvie* for mediating social order, it has been observed that in Aguleri community, the drummer of the *Uvie* is seen and accepted as a spokesman, who has the ability to get the attention of the ancestors easily through the mediation of the spirits. By this singular privilege, he is assumed to "possess a great amount of ritual esoteric knowledge; he is wealthy; ...he is accorded high prestige and enjoys charismatic appeal" (Guenther, 1975:163). Thus, the sound of the *Uvie* and simultaneous chanting of the *Uvie* drummer acts as a mechanism for keeping ethical code of conducts in Aguleri worldview.

Uvie Ritual Dance and Igbo festival like the Ovala

Now, let us imagine a world without any form of feast or festive occasions, in this case life would be too serious, solemn, empty, even boring and at the end life would be uninteresting to cope with (NTI, 1990:1). According to NTI (1990:1) again "throughout ages man has devised ways of expressing ideas, issues and emotions. Men have devised ways or methods of showing gratitude to their gods and ancestors for various reasons known to them and consequently commemorate such occasions. Such activities come in the form of feasts involving entertainment, and various forms of artistic performances and dance" Buttressing this further, Mowat (1989:54) affirms that "events meriting special celebration include initiations ceremonies, the naming of a child, the cutting of a child's hair, preparation for battle, the clearing of a garden, the harvest of certain crops, convalescence after an illness, and death, to name a few". She argues that "ceremonies, such as those where the sacred *Yurupary* musical instruments are displayed, must not be witnessed by women, who may retreat to the rear of the house while they take place" (Mowat, 1989:54-55). According to Wosien:

In dance ritual – and all early ritual is dance – man undertook to represent his god, celebrating and commemorating the god's measured movements in creation and the traces of his journey on earth. Man sets out to make present the divine actions at the beginning of time and, through practice repetition of the rite throughout millennia, to anticipate time's end. By dancing, out again and again the original Mystery of Creation, the dancer, as the interpreting medium and centre of the rite, is put in touch with the primal event, which, at the same time, transforms the dance into an act of self-realization, both aspects being necessary ingredients for the promotion of life, on the cosmic as well as on the individual plane (1992:13). Buttressing this further, Wosien again posits that:

As a symbolic expression of man's understanding of the world, dance ritual reveals a reality which transcends empirical reasoning and abstract cosmological speculation. At most times, for most peoples, it has been the central concern of their lives; from it have later emerged all the arts. Some instant or fragment of life, it was felt, some potency had to be arrested, the experience of it repeated and celebrated so as to have an established relationship to it, thereby solidifying the flux of life and giving it support. Ritual strengthens the growth of consciousness by providing it with a frame of reference. Dance ritual throughout the ages is a self-delineation of developing man; it promotes by analogy the leap beyond the confines of consciousness, and bridge the chasm between spontaneity and reflection (1992:14).

This is why DeVale (1989:98) affirms that music like the *Uvie* sacred sound belonging to the Aguleri people is played only on official occasions like the *Ovala* festival to ritually purify the village or otherwise safeguard it from possible misfortune and harm and it is equally essential to the efficacy of other seen and unseen problems which may be performed ritually in such as rites of passage. It is during this period according to Nzewi (1979:170) that "the incumbent principal religious officiant and his assistants set about procuring objects for the sacred rituals or ceremonies of the festival. It may be necessary to repair, renovate or rebuild the shrine house or temple or to prepare the shrine or temple grounds". *Uvie* sacred music/dance gives total abstract visual representation to significant moments in Aguleri community during *Ovala* festival and cultural history, while basically articulating esteemed values, nourishing and maintaining the Aguleri identity (Nnamah, 2002:8). According to NTI (1990:86) *Uvie* "the giant drum announces and greets important visitors in the palace of *Eze*, the Igbo traditional King. It plays the announcement music heralding a festival and showers praises on the Royal family, the King and men of achievements in the community". More so, this is very significant in the context of Aguleri social identity which make Nzewi, et.al (2001:96) to explain that "name-calling occurs whenever there is need to identify and particularly welcome a notable member of the public while an event-session is in

progress and as such, the normative full statement that identifies the arrival of a person who deserves to be publicly recognized''. Mbiti (1977:126) argues that rituals like the *Ovala* festival "generate a sense of certainty and familiarity. They provide continuity and unity among those who perform or attend them. In turn people find a degree of identity through this common observance and experience''. He affirms that through the ritual action and word, people feel able to exercise a certain amount of control over the invisible world and the forces of nature. In this way man feels himself to be not just a passive creature in the universe, but a creative agent (Mbiti, 1977:126). Ejizu (2002:121) posits that this particular Igbo ritual and traditional values are regularly re-enacted and rekindled in such liturgical celebration like *Ovala* festival which is usually a public celebration for all *bonafide* members of communities like the Aguleri and "this festival is celebrated to worship their ancestors' (Srivastava, 2007:328). Samovar et al (2009:109) argues that "by engaging in rituals, members not only recall and affirm important beliefs; they also feel spiritually connected to their religion, develop a sense of identity by increasing social bonds with those who share their views, and sense that their life has meaning and structure''. This annual festival involve wearing masks, dancing, feasting, making offerings, and sacrifices, praying, blessing people and general jubilation, while some of the most beautiful masks in Nigeria and other countries of Africa are made and used for festivals of this kind (Mbiti, 1977:136-137). According to Mbiti again:

Religious ceremonies are accompanied by rituals and ceremonies, and festivals are always accompanied by music and dancing. Music gives outlet to the emotional expression of the religious life, and it is a very powerful means of communication in African traditional life. It unites both the singing and dancing groups. Drums, flutes, rattle, whistle are all used as musical instruments. Wherever the African finds himself, his music and dance follows him. Through these, many religious ideas are retained and celebrated (1991:26).

From this perspective, Nketia (1963:4) opines that "for the African, music and life are inseparable, for there is music for many of the activities of everyday life as well as music whose verbal texts express the Africans attitude to life, his hopes and fears, his thoughts and beliefs". Nketia (1989:111) again classifies ritual festivals like the *Ovala* which "includes all organized activities that form an integral part of any occasion devoted to observances that follow a prescribed routine directed to some focus of worship or towards the achievement of some spiritual or religious end. The temporal boundaries of such occasions are usually marked by activities which begin and close the formal events". Cooley (2006:67) argues that festivals like the *Ovala* celebration is indeed an entertainment to some, perhaps most, but it functions as a ritual of singular importance to many, including the festival performers and the organizers. In the context of *Ovala* celebration, "drummers, singers, and dancers interact to create a common performance" (Polak, 2006:164). *Ovala* cultural performances are part of a larger ritual complex of drumming, dancing, and singing often associated with the *Uvie* sacred sound that is organized for the veneration of Aguleri deities and fallen heroes, no wonder Jones (1801:126) asserts that even the heathens, in their sacred festivals, retain the use of instrumental music like the *Uvie* sound. However, in playing such sacred drum like the *Uvie*, "the drummers have to meet the demands for a type of interaction quite different from that of the celebration context proper" (Polak, 2006:164).

According to Leonard Barret (1976:106-107) "the drummer is indispensable. It is he who sets the mood and controls the spirits that possess people; and it is he who controls the movements of the people under possession. The same is true Haitian Voodun. The drummers prepare the human bodies to receive the spirit; they are the mechanisms of control", "which help to create a favourable atmosphere for possession-trance to occur" (Laguerre, 1980:30). Insofar as the drummers in this sacred ritual festival has a similar position of authority, it is the drummers who are responsible for mediating between the ancestors and the participants, arousing or terminating states of trance with the mastery of rhythm and vitality of its touch (De Jong, 2010:204). Auboyer (2014:1) affirms that in such occasion like the Ovala festival, such ritual object like the Uvie would be used to compel the sacred or the divine realm to act or react in a way that is favourable to the participants or the ceremonies or to the persons or activities with which such rituals are concerned, or to prevent the transcendent realm from harming or endangering them. The characteristic quality of celebration music is to allow everybody to participate in the common performance with his or her individual contribution in the form of dancing, singing, or other activities (Knight, 1985:68 & 83; Charry, 2000:195,198). Through music, alongside other media such as art, dance, and literature, forms a site of expression and empowerment [sic] indigenous musicians are able to promote mainstream engagement with themes of indigeneity as part of cross-cultural strategies (Dibson & Dunbar-Hall, 2006:385-386). In celebration like the Ovala festival, "one can discern the history and life style of the people" (NTI, 1990:1) like the Aguleri. Adegbite affirms that:

At no other time can the unique position of drums in...religion be more appreciated than during the annual festivals of the...which often last for about a week. During that period, the whole community is thrown into a festive mood. The annual festival affords the opportunity to hear various types of music performed either vocally, with or without an instrumental accompaniment, or purely instrumentally. A byproduct of these various types of instrumental music is that it fuses the community into one unit, an individual whole. It should be noted in passing that ritual...music is performed exclusively by the devotees of...while on ceremonial occasions such as annual festivals, professional musicians who are usually non devotees may be engaged to play the

particular...ensemble. In such a situation, the drummers and more especially the master drummer, must have a great repertoire of the...He must know the...whose music he is playing very well, and he should be able to recite them on his drum when need arises (1988:23).

II. CONCLUSION

From my analysis of the Igbo beliefs and experiences of the *Uvie* I was able to identity two overarching themes; (1) *Uvie* in Igbo identity and ritual practice, and (2) *Uvie* as symbol for bolstering patriarchy. I found that Ig identity is intimately tied to the *Uvie* since it makes possible mediation between the living and the dead, as well as to the broader Igbo community, and upheld by a strict social hierarchy which holds the King (and the *Uvie*) at its epicentre. Igbo identity is further sustained through the symbolic decoration of the *Uvie* which serves to further, materially, the enactment and embodiment of unique Igbo symbolism (cola-nut, blood, chalk and feathers). Finally, my analysis reveals that the *Uvie* also reinforces Igbo religious identity through spirit invocation and possession activated by the sound and the vibrations of the *Uvie*. The auditory authority of the drum allows for the embodiment of ancestral spirits that connects contemporary Igbo with the forefathers and traditions.

However, while my analysis reveals the multi-layered authority of the *Uvie* (auditory, social, ethical and ritual), it is not without detractors. The authority of the *Uvie* operates, and is sustained within a highly regulated and insulated patriarchal system. While its uniqueness rests on it being coupled with the initiated (men), it simultaneously rests on the notion of women as defiling by virtue of the 'uncleanness' of their menstrual blood. Within the indigenous religious worldview, the alienated position of women is supposedly minimised by the elevated status given to the (post-menopausal) Queen Mother in relation to the *Ikolo* that metamorphosed into *Uvie*. However, despite the supposed vulnerability of the *Uvie's* ritual power, or potency, it is soundly insulated within the highly symbolic and ritual order which ultimately serve to sustain the privilege of initiated men.

Nonetheless, for the Igbo, the *Uvie* drum is perceived to be sacred and an object that is made sacrosanct by the community. This is why there are so many by-laws that guide and protect the *Uvie* and these are the main reasons why women are not allowed to partake in its ritual dance, which upholds the traditional patriarchy of the Igbo communities. However, despite the many limitations that can be levelled at the social and ritual function of the *Uvie* as symbol of patriarchy, it nevertheless, points us to new ways in which sound can be imagined in the production and mediation of the sacred in African indigenous religions.

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