A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE *EBIRA CHAO* MASKING AND MASQUERADE TRADITIONS

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OCTOBER, 2018

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P14EVFA9013

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA,

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) IN ART HISTORY

DEPARTMENT OF FINE ART,

FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN,

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA, NIGERIA

OCTOBER, 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this Thesis titled: **A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE *EBIRA CHAO* MASKING AND MASQUERADE TRADITIONS** is a record of my original research work. It has never been presented elsewhere in any application for a degree. All quotations and information used and their sources are acknowledged by means of references.

……. …….

Lamidi Aduozava LAWAL **Date**

CERTIFICATION

The Thesis titled: **A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE *EBIRA CHAO* MASKING AND MASQUERADE TRADITIONS** written by Lamidi Aduozava LAWAL meets the regulations governing the award of the Doctor of Philosophy in Art History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and it is approved for its contributions to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my late parents- Chief Lasisi Ajonrin Lawal and Hajia Amina Oyemine Lawal.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From the depth of my heart, I appreciate God Almighty for being there for me. I sincerely acknowledge the efforts and contributions of my supervisors: Professor Ahmed Rufai Saliu, Dr. Gambo Giles Duniya and Dr. Aliyu Muhammad for their unflinching commitment to the success of this research work. I am very grateful to Prof. A.R. Saliu for his fatherly role and as my mentor who has made me to be successful in life. My thanks to Dr. (Mrs) Agada L.O. who served as chairperson in my seminar presentations, and as one of the internal examiners have enriched this research work with vital suggestions. I also thank Prof. P.O. Gushen and Prof. Dankyes for serving as internal examiners whose contributions have enriched this study. To Dr. Caleb Samuel in Art History Section, I say thank you for your contributions toward the successful completion of this research work. I thank all the *eku* custodians at *Ufa*, *Utua* and *Ugbogbo* Quarters, Igarra for the useful information they provided, which made this research successful. Also, I thank Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) for their financial support, and to the management of Federal Capital Territory College of Education, Zuba, Abuja, that granted me permission to embark on the programme and also accommodating me for the TETFUND sponsorship. I sincerely acknowledge and appreciate them. I thank my wife Nkiruka Blessing and our children: Michael Ozaveshe, Blessing Oizamisi, Famous Ofuje and Gift Oyemine-Ebube for their prayers and patience. To my siblings, I say thank you for your prayers and moral support. May God bless them richly, in Jesus name, Amen.

ABSTRACT

Masking and masquerade traditions are aspects of culture that are practised in Nigeria and Africa at large. Specifically, the *Ebira Chao* of Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area, Edo state, South-South, Nigeria, have rich masking and masquerade traditions that are geared towards meeting the needs of the people. There is a need to fill the gap that borders on the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* not being studied by previous researchers that carried out studies on the *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions, and that, there are conflicting claims that border on whether the traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao* or not. This study aimed at compiling historically, the changing traditions of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. It was also structured to trace and document the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions, classify and aesthetically describe the masks and masquerades, document objects that are associated with masking and masquerade traditions, and examine historically, the changing roles and functions of the different masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. For the fact that, the traditions are gradually going into extinction, and have not been studied and documented to serve as evidence of history justifies this study. In line with the objectives, research questions were asked. This study is significant because it will serve as relevant material that can be used to educate and inform the *Ebira Chao* also known as *Anetuno* on the masking and masquerade traditions. The scope of the study is delimited to the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* in Edo State. For the fact that there are masked and non-masked masquerades, this research is further delimited to the study of masked masquerades. Conceptual framework used for this study were drawn from the ideas of Babalola (1981), Ohiare (1988), Ki-Zerbo (1981) and Amankulor (1982). Some related literature were reviewed. Consequent upon the reviewed of literature, it was observed that, no discourse was made on the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. Qualitative method of research was used for the purpose of realizing the stated objectives. In line with that, purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents and Focus Group Discussion approach was used to tease out information from the *eku* custodians during fieldwork at Igarra in Edo State, while historical, descriptive and aesthetic approaches were used for data analysis. Sequel to this, the study has reconciled the age long conflicting claims that border on whether the masking and masquerade traditions are of the *Ebira Chao* origin by synthesizing the three different masking and masquerade historical accounts, and deduced that the masking and masquerade traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*. The study further classified the masks into anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and cloth-hood masks, based on their forms. Similarly, masquerades were classified into day and night masquerades, and were further typified as *eku Okise, eku Echichi, eku Idowo* and *eku Ishebe*. Some of the objects that are associated with the traditions are identified as *uto* (cowries), *ekaruvo* (strip of leather with a cowry that is worn on the upper arm), *ametutu* (a potted charmthat serves as spiritual antenna to masquerades), *izenyi* (cluster of small bell that are attached to a fabric that is worn by masquerades), *ireha* (cluster of small gong tied to a strip of fabric that is tied round the waist by masquerades), *asise* (feather), *oreyi* (mirror) and *ochuku* (bone) that are used for the purpose of fortifying and making masks and masquerades have the ideal nature of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades. The study also examined and documented the functions and roles of the masking and masquerade traditions in terms of therapeutic, economic, prophetic and divination, all-round success, social and entertainment, and funeral functions, while the changing roles

include; political usage and youth participation among others. In a nut-shell, this study has holistically documented the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. Based on the field report, the following findings were made in line with the stated objectives: that, the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* are indigenous to the people, masks are classified into anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and cloth-hood, while masquerades are classified into day and night masquerades, and are further typified into *eku Idowo*, e*ku Okise*, e*ku Echichi* and e*ku Ishebe*. The masks and masquerades aesthetics are internal and external aesthetics, and that, objects that are associated with the masking and masquerading are to give the masks and masquerades ideal qualities of mask or masquerade based on the *Ebira Chao* considers as qualities of masks or masquerade. The functions of masking and masquerade traditions include therapeutic, economic, prophetic and divination, all-round success, social and entertainment, and funeral functions. Some of the changing roles were noted to be in terms of prophetic and divination, politics and youth intrusion into masking and masquerade traditions Some of the recommendations made are that, a committee that will comprise of all the clan heads should be constituted to check-mate the intrusion of politicians in masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* to avoid slander and clannish crisis. Scholars in the sciences should carry out scientific studies on how the spiritual potentials that are inherent in the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* can be channeled towards technological advancement of the country (Nigeria).

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Culture, the total way of life of a people, is either material or non-material. It is most times, seen as a means of identifying people. The culture of a people can manifest in the form of material culture, for instance, festival, clothing, architecture, arts and food, while the non-material culture includes the belief, language and philosophy of the people. Nigeria as a nation is made up of people, societies and civilization of different and unique cultures and traditions. Through some of their cultural practices, some societal needs are met. Hence, Bayo (2010) asserts that, some of the traditional Nigerian arts, in three dimensional form, are utilized in different areas, like; social, sacred and secular purposes. For instance, masks, and utilitarian objects which may be anthropomorphic representations of gods, are produced and used to meet socio-cultural needs of communities, amongst other purposes.

The survival of cultural practices over some centuries, have become traditions that were sustained by the people, by handing down statements, beliefs, rules, customs or the likes, by words of mouth and practice from generation to generation. Examples of such traditions is the masking and masquerade traditions that are practised in most villages and towns in Africa for some specific purposes, which vary from one society to another. In traditional African society, masking is the act of using a mask to cover or disguise the face. In addition to that, Lomel (1970) affirms that, masquerade is more than mere disguise, for it gives expression to the bond between a group of people and their ancestors, and that, it is an embodiment of a tradition and a guarantee of the continuity of an order hallowed by tradition.

In some communities in Africa, masks are worn by individuals that are chosen by the ancestors through divination before there can be spiritual manifestation of the ancestral powers to meet societal needs. To corroborate this statement, Willett (1971) discloses that, "*chiwara* mask with graceful curves of a hyena, produced by the Bambara of Mali was used for land fertility and to boost agricultural produce. Such mask with basket helmet was usually worn by the youth during agrarian festival". In line with Willett (1971), Bayo (2010) asserts that, *"kponiugo* mask of the Senufo which is characterized with mouth like that of a warthog and the horn of a honey comb, is used to prevent soul stealers from operating in the community". In other words, it serves as a guardian spirit. The author further states that, *Dea* mask attached to grasses is of the Baga, and was used to protect the soul of the dead. Among the Yoruba, "the *gelede* masquerade pays tribute to the special powers of women known as "the mothers" who are believed to possess a spiritual life force *ase*, which is equal to that of the deity *orisa"* (Drewal, 1974). *Ase* itself, is a neutral force that is either negative nor positive. On this note, the mothers can use their special powers for both negative and positive purposes. The negative purpose of the mothers is expressed with the term *aje*, meaning witch.

The destructive mothers are most often thought to be involved in matters of infertility, impotency and the death of children because they are constantly angry, easily irritated and jealous of those who are too happy. Bayo (2010) further narrates that "the mothers, in their positive aspect, are regarded as calm, creative and protective progenitors". Similarly, among the Igbo, Aniakor (1982) describes the Igbo *Ijele* masquerade as an "elephant, the beautiful and expensive masquerade", the biggest masquerade in Igbo land, and as a leading spirit *(mwuo).* The fact is that, the size of *Ijele* masquerade is outstanding when

compared with other available masquerades throughout Igbo land. This highly placed *Ijele* masquerade comes out for display during *ofala* festival which takes place once in every seven years. It may be noted that, the *Ijele* masquerade is one of the masquerades with a large mask, therefore, constituting the key element in its masquerading tradition.

Background of the Study

The *Ebira* are noted for their rich cultures and traditions in Nigeria and they occupy a land mass of about 150km around the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue, in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to Ozigi (2004), "historically, *Ebira* speaking people belong to the Kwararafa or Apa group of people, of the middle belt region in Nigeria". They are specifically found in Kogi, Nassarawa and Edo states, and in the Federal Capital Territory (Saliu, 2010). Muhammad (2005) and Saliu (2010) assert that, there are "*Ebira Nya* in Koton Karfi in Kogi State, Toto and Umaisha in Nassarawa State as well as Abaji in Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, *Ebira Tao* in Okene, Kogi State and *Ebira Chao* in Igarra (*Etuno*), Edo State". The communities referred to as the *Ebira*, are bounded together as one, because of their cultural affinity and dialectical relationship. Each of these groups, speaks similar dialect of the language, though, they occupy different locations as a result of states creation and boundary adjustments, in the Nigerian political map. One other reason about their dispersed settlements is their migration activities.

The *Ebira* settlements are scattered over the numerous hills and mountains, which dominate the landscape of the region, and most of the earliest village settlements were located on the hill-tops, which are in some cases, rocky and serve as a defense against enemies (Muhammad, 2005) and (Salami, 2011). They are hardworking farmers who craved for more fertile lands for their farming operations. Though, succession disputes, oppression,

famine and epidemics are some other reasons for their series of migration. When they sojourned at Idah, under Igala hegemony, they were neither Igala nor speaking Igala dialect. On migration from Idah, the *Ebira Tao* settled at Opete before spreading to other areas, while the *Ebira Chao* proceeded to their present location called Etuno (Igarra) in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State, South-South, Nigeria.

The *Ebira* live in an organized society with a well structured traditional administrative system that was instituted by their ancestral fathers. For instance, in *Ebira Tao* group, the ancestral fathers who established the various settlements are: *Okovi, Agada, Eika, Adavi, Ihima* and *Eganyi* (Ozigi, 2004). Similarly, in *Ebira Chao*, the clans include: *Anonyete (Ezi Igu), Eshimozoko, Eziobe (Eziakuta* and *Eziodu), Anona, Eshinavaka, Eshinogu (Eziogu), Eshinagada, Andiba, Andede* and *Anoseri* (Muhammad, 2005). It is worthy of note that, the main clans are made up of *opopo* (sub-clans). According to Ozigi (2004), a clan can be described as a group of families descending from a common ancestor and who are closely or remotely related by blood. The clans are important in the socio-cultural and political life of the people. Clan consideration also plays an important part, in the appointment of a person(s) into certain position(s), land acquisition, contracting of marriages, to mention but a few. Though, in *Ebira* land, clannish sentiment or loyalty has been very strong, even up till now. Each clan has her own system or rules of selecting or choosing her leader, priest or chief. The method usually employed is that of gerontocracy (leadership by eldest). For the purpose of central leadership, *Oshinoyi* (paramount ruler) was appointed to oversee the general affairs of the society. Though, there have been some contentions on who should be the paramount ruler and who should not be.

Salami (2011) posits that, “every society of the world has certain characteristics which distinguish it from others”. Cultures may be similar, but are never quite the same. In the aspect of customs and traditions, the *Ebira* have areas of similarities and differences with other ethnic groups in the country. Prominent among the traditions of the *Ebira* is that of inheritance. Like in most other societies, inheritance is paternal. Male children inherit what their deceased father has left behind. In the past, the custom levirate involving the inheritance of wives *(oyi ku oza ogu* in *Ebira Tao*) or *(oki ku oza ogu in Ebira Chao*) by sons and brothers of a deceased man was widely practised. However, “the female children were not given much consideration, as they were regarded as outsiders, because they were going to be married into other families” (Muhammad, 2005 and Salami, 2011).

Traditional work-free day, which is observed once in a year, is observed by all. On such a day, no individual (indigene) is permitted to handle any working implement like; hoe and cutlass as a mark of honour to ancestors. Among the *Ebira*, different arts are practised. Example of this, is the decorative arts because of their quest for aesthetics. Some typical examples of their decorative arts include: cloth weaving, body, wall, pottery and mat decorations, wood carving and metal smithing (Saliu, 2010). The body decoration, *uru* and *ukokori* are popularly used.

Some other cultural festivals of the *Ebira* include; *irepa*, *echetete*, *ubete*, *ekuechi* and e*cheane*. Though, there are other festivals in Ebira land, a mention of these festivals is because they are related to the masking and masquerade traditions. The celebrations of these festivals are characterized with masquerade outings and displays according to cultural dictates of the *Ebira*. The masking and masquerade traditions are forms of ancestral worship, and it refers not only to the masks, but also the masquerader, who inherited some

powers from the ancestors, who are in the world of the dead. *Ebira* people believe that, the spirit of the dead transmigrates to any person wearing the *eku* (masquerade) costume and guides his actions (Ibrahim, 1976). However, this study focuses on the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* in Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area, Edo State, South-South, Nigeria.

Statement of the Problem

From time immemorial, the founding fathers of all the *Ebira*; *Ohiku Ebira* lived in an organized society that was characterised with well defined cultures and traditions, which were reflections of their lifestyles. To a great extent, they upheld the cultures and traditions jealously. Consequent upon this, they passed same practice from one generation to the other through oral tradition. Hence, a flow of undiluted transmitted pattern of life becomes imminent among the people (Muhammad, 2005). In present day, however, there are modifications and adultration in the cultural practices.

Sequel to that, there is a problem of historical origin of masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* because there are conflicting statements that borders on whether the traditions are indigenous or not. There is a need, therefore, to examine the historical survey of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. It is also important to state here, that, there is a phenomenon of the rich traditions going into extinction as a result of some of the custodians of *eku* embracing Christianity and Islam. Consequent upon their acceptance of the new faith, some of the masks shrines, *eku* costumes and related materials or objects, have been burnt by some of the custodians. Also, previous researchers like; Suleiman (1994) and Ododo (2009) focused their research on the masking tradition of the Ebira Tao in Okene, Okehi and Adavi Local Government Areas of Kogi State, thereby creating a

vacuum that will not allow a holistic knowledge of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. It is against this back-drop that this study was geared towards making a historical survey of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions which is an extraction of the *Ebira* ethnic group that has not been studied by previous researchers.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to compile historically, the changing nature of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions, while the objectives are to:

i. trace and document the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions,

ii. classify the different masks and masquerades,

iii. make a descriptive analysis of the different masks and masquerades,

iv document other objects that are associated with the masking and masquerade traditions, and their relevances.

v. examine historically, the changing roles and functions of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*.

Research Questions

The following research questions will lead to the realization of the stated objectives of the study:

i. What is the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?

ii. In what ways can the different masks and masquerades be classified?

iii. How can the different masks and masquerades be analysed ?

iv. What are the other objects that are associated with the masking and masquerade traditions and their relevance?

v. What are the historical changing roles and functions of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?

Justification of the Study

According to Oloidi in Saliu (1994), "if the art and culture of the people is not studied, it will lead to cultural stasis". Amongst the rich cultures and traditions of *Ebira* people are; cloth weaving, blacksmithing, wood-carving, decorative works, masking and masquerade traditions, to mention but a few. Ibrahim (1996) notes that," the arts of the *Ebira* are to meet the needs of the people". Studies have been done on *Ebira* cloth weaving and the decorative art of the *Ebira* by Saliu (1994) and (2000) respectively, while suleiman (1994) studied the *Ebira* masking tradition, related to *Ebira Tao* in Kogi State. From the foregoing, masking and masquerade traditions of the whole *Ebira* groups have not been completely studied or documented. The fact remains that, there exist some variations in the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Tao* and the *Ebira Chao*. The study of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Tao* alone will not give a holistic knowledge of the *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions. Therefore, it appears nothing has been done on the *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions. More so, there are many conflicting stories about the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, in terms of the origin. Some of the indigenes claim it is alien, while some other people say it is indigenous. A study like this is designed to resolve such conflicting claims, thus, a justification.

Previous researchers who studied masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira*, focused their studies on those of the *Ebira Tao* in Kogi State, for instance, Suleiman (1994) who studied the masking traditions of the *Ebira*, narrowed his scope of study to masking tradition of the *Ebira Tao*. This study is therefore, geared towards making a study of the masks and masquerades of the *Ebira Chao* in Edo State in terms of their origin, form, contextual essence and aesthetics. It is worthy of note that, the potency of a masquerade lies in the *enya resu* (head load), to which the mask is attached because it bears some charms that are made to fortify the masquerade. This makes the mask an essential part of a masquerade, without which the masquerade is incomplete. This study therefore, soughts to fill that gap, by studying the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* (*Etuno*) in Edo State before the traditions go into extinction, since the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Nya* (Kotonkarfi, Umaisha and Toto) in Kogi and Nassarawa states respectively, according to Ibrahim (1976), have gone into extinction, as they embraced the new faiths (Christianity and Islam). Based on preliminary findings, there is likelihood that, the same way, the Islamic and Christian factor has led to the extinction of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Nya*, the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* may also go into extinction as time progresses, if a study of this type is not done.

In line with the fore going, Ki-Zerbo (1981) purports that, there are inadequacy of the methodological approaches which have long been used in research on traditions in Africa. Hence, this study calls for a new and careful study of the two fold problem areas of historiography and cultural identity, which are united by links of reciprocity. Therefore, for any historical work of value to be realised, understanding of the cultural

history, paves the way for a great deal of further research on a variety of topics. The study the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions is not an exception, as it is excised from previous studies made on the *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions by previous researchers. It is important to note here that, by reason of the location of the *Ebira Chao*, her masking and masquerade traditions might have been influenced by the cultures of other neighbouring communities. Hence, the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* is not holistically the same with that of *Ebira Tao* in terms of the aesthetics and significance of the masks and masquerades. It is for this reason, amongst others that, this study is justified.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because modernity is gradually eroding valuable cultures and traditions in contemporary times. A case in point is masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Nya* extraction of the *Ebira* ethnic group that has been jettisoned for the new faith (Christianity and Islam). Presently, this aspect of their rich cultures and traditions cannot be studied or documented because it has gone into extinction. To prevent a re-occurrence of extinction of masking and masquerade traditions and its effect, studying and documenting the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, serves as a means of preserving this aspect of the cultures and traditions of the people peradventure the traditions eventually go into extinction.

This study serves as evidence of history, perhaps, in time to come that, such tradition ever existed, and it also serves as a relevant material that can be used to educate and inform the A*netuno* (people who speak *etuno* language) on the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. To buttress this statement, Roberts (1980) discloses that, written

documents and literature give understanding of the minds of human beings. The author added that, this study also filled the gap that has been left by previous researchers like; Suleiman(1994) and Ododo (2009) who focused their study on masks and masquerades of the *Ebira Tao* in Kogi State, as the masking amd masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* in Edo State are studied. It is believed that, this study revealed some historical details on the origin, form, aesthetics and functions of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. It further highlighted the aesthetic qualities and unravelled the mystical essence of the accessories to enable its readers to have visual appraisal of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades. This document will also serve as reference point for future researchers who may wish to do a research on a similar area.

Scope of the Study

The *Ebira*, an ethnic group in Nigeria comprises of the *Ebira Nya*, *Ebira Tao* and the *Ebira Chao*, and are blessed with numerous indigenous cultures and traditions. Out of the many cultures and traditions, the masking and masquerade traditions appear to be the most popular, but which have hardly been studied. For this reason, the scope of this study focuses on the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* in Edo State, South-South, Nigeria. For the fact, that, there are masked and non - masked masquerades, this research is delimited to the study of only the masked masquerades.

Limitation of the Study

Part of the limitations of the study is that, *eku Idowo* do-not appear on photograph. For this reason, a drawing of *eku Idowo* was done. Some of the *eku okise* have gone into extinction as a result of the death of the *eku* custodians. Hence, drawings were made and photographs were collected to support discussions.

Conceptual Framework

Masking and masquerade traditions are of diverse nature, in both their forms and content, and to study them, requires putting into consideration relevant views of some scholars, which are necessary in forming a conceptual frame for analysis in this study. Egonwa (2012) asserts that conceptual frame work consists of conceptualizing the framework and stating the rationale for the perspective from which a researcher is examining a research problem.

Three concepts have been identified as relevant to this research. The first concept is derived from the views of Babalola (1981) and Ohiare (1988) which advocates that art should be studied within its cultural context. Therefore, studying masking and masquerade traditions must be done based on the cultural background of the society, where such traditions exist. To this end, this concept becomes relevant in making historical findings of the origin and developments of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. Adequate visual documentation of the masks and masquerades was also achieved through the use of this concept. Ki-Zerbo (1981) further notes, that, there is need to avoid over-simplifications arising from a linear and restrictive conception of world history and to re-establish the true facts wherever necessary and possible by endeavouring to highlight historical data that gives a clearer picture of the evolution of the different peoples of Africa in their specific socio-cultural setting. Therefore, the researcher ensured that the historical study is done based on the understanding of the socio-cultural setting of the *Ebira Chao* and her masking and masquerade traditions.

The third conceptual frame work is drawn from the idea of Amankulor (1982), which says, African aesthetics is technically displayed on the African artifacts, verbalized by the

African in his evaluation of objects of aesthetic experience in terms of its peculiar preferences of its owner community. Therefore, the aesthetic of *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions was studied based on its cultural context.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter is focused on review of related literature on masking and masquerade traditions. The review was done under the following sub-headings: (i) History of the *Ebira Chao* Origin and Location (ii) Concepts of Masks and Masquerades (iii) Masking and Masquerade Traditions of Varying Cultures (iv) Aesthetic Considerations in Masking and Masquerade Traditions

Origin and Location of the *Ebira Chao*

Every society has a source in terms of their origin and location. Similarly, the *Ebira Chao* is believed to have originated from a place. Ajayi (2010) posits that, "there were scanty and scarce written accounts of the origin of the *Ebira Chao* also called The Igarra before 1960". Though, the ancestral fathers of the people freely passed the accounts verbally from one generation to the other. The author further notes that, there are some shortcomings in the historical documentation because some vital links related to the historical information of the *Ebira Chao* were either lost or mixed up. Therefore, there exists different version of the origin of the *Ebira Chao* as observed in the works of Akerele (1962), Amune (1984), Muhammad (2005) and Ajayi (2010). The mix up is perhaps as a result of poor documentation.

Despite the slight differences in the historical account, there are similarities in the documentations made by the previous authors on the origin and location of the *Ebira Chao*. Igala land has been described as the cradle of the Igarra because they are the descendants of the union between the Igala and the Okpoto who co-inhabited the present day Igala land. According to Amune (1984), "the two ethnic groups: Igala and Okpoto intermarried, but

their descendants were discriminated against by those who saw themselves as either the pure Igala or Okpoto". The gradually emerging group (the Igarra) co-existed with their parents' groups for more than a century. To the surprise of the Igala and the Okpoto, the Igarra referred to as the *Ebira Chao* were uniquely blessed by God in terms of crop production (Ajayi , 2010). Despite the population and economic prowess of the Igarra, they were denied the customary, political and priviledges the Igala and the Okpoto enjoyed. Amune (1984) asserts that," in other to avoid further discrimination and dehumanization, the *Ebira Chao* decided to migrate into an area where they could feel free as first class citizens". The author further notes that, the *Ebira Tao* and the *Ebira Nya* whose cultures were identical with those of the *Ebira Chao*, were neighbours in Igala land. They too had similar experiences of being discriminated and denied some customary, political rights and priviledges. Ajayi (2010) argues that, "because of constant threats and harassment from the Igala, the three *Ebira* groups: *Ebira Nya*, *Ebira Tao* and *Ebira Chao* migrated northwards at the same time, about 618 years ago". In accordance with the dictates of the oracle (*eva*), the three groups later moved southwards as far as umaisha with Ariwo Ovejijo as the leader. The *Ebira Nya* decided to settle in the present sites of Oguma, Umaisha, Koton-Karfi and their environs.

The *Ebira Tao* and the *Ebira Chao* migrated southwards, as far as the present day Lokoja. Due to incessant *Fulani* / *Nupe* hostilities towards them, they were compelled to move further south as far as Ajaokuta. While at Ajaokuta, for some years, the *Ebira Chao* actively participated in the worship of a deity called '*idakoriko'*. The two groups further moved south-wards to *Okoro Une* (Okene). Sequel to this, the *Ebira Chao* migrated to their

present location called Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State, South-South, Nigeria.

Concept of Masks and Masquerades

A mask is simply an object used for covering of the face. According to Uzoagba (2001), "its purpose is to conceal the identity of the wearer who now regards himself as the representation of the spirit evoked by the mask from the crowd". By implication, masks represent the spirits of the dead ancestors and the protective spirits of a village or community. The use of masks, therefore, plays significant roles like; initiation, peace keeping, supervising activities, communal labour, entertainment to protection from thieves, criminals and other social offences. Africans believe that, their ancestors maintain contact with the supreme- being. Their spirits are invoked by the ethnic groups or families to bless them in all material activities. They are called upon to deliver the ethnic group's or the family's request to the supreme-being, to ensure fertility of the land, child birth, and to ensure good health and good luck. To this end, Uzoagba (2001) notes that, "masks are mostly used for dances to attract the invisible forces for the benefit of the ethnic groups or families".

Uzoagba (2001) further observes that, "masks are used in some communities, during planting season, worn to invoke the god of fertility for rain to make the crops grow". The spirits are in the same way invoked during harvest to give thanks to them. The author notes that, in order to make the spirit manifest itself through the masks, a great deal of effort and much careful staging is required. Masking tradition is a practice being conceptualized around the fact that, across cultures in Nigeria, and indeed Africa that, evidence abounds of masquerades that do not wear masks, but are expressly called masquerades (Ododo, 2009).

Some examples can be found in *Yorubaland*, such as the *Oloolu* of Ibadan and *Jenju* of Abeokuta. Others that exist in *Yoruba*-speaking areas of Nigeria include *Okelekele* masquerade of Ekinrin-Ade in Kogi State; *Melemuku* masquerade of Oyo town, *Atupa* of Ilora, both of Oyo State; *Olukotun* masquerade of Ede, *Komenle* of Agba and *Akereburu* of Owu all in Osun State (Ododo, 2009).

In supporting Ododo (2009), Carrol (2004) equivocally highlights that, "there are masks that are showcased independently without them being worn by a designated individual as chosen by an ancestor". The author further explains that, for the masks to meet some spiritual and societal needs, "they are imbued with some spiritual powers. Masks play essential roles in the life of the Africans and their communities". Boston (1977) notes that, "the most interesting features of the whole range of masquerades, is the obvious influence of masks and their varying decorations". Therefore, masks are characterized with different forms and qualities, depending on the culture to which it belongs. In some cultures, masks are painted after carving before they are worn, while they are not painted in some other cultures before they are worn. There is a clear indication, therefore, that, for some masks to be able to perform their purposive essence, it must be imbued with powers through the making of some incantations and pouring of libation on such masks. This literature has given this study a clue on the possible reason why the *enya resu eku* (headload of a masquerade) is imbued with some powers.

Based on Ododo (2001) statements on masquerading, masking tradition may involve one person or a team made up of instrument players, vocalist, dancers, masquerade advisers, and the masquerade itself. Most masquerades are covered from head to toe with some pieces of clothing or bamboo rafters and leaves or grasses. Consequent upon this, a wooden

mask is worn over the face. While Uzoagba ansd Olorukooba, (1991) note that “masks may be made in such a way that, they neither cover only the face nor enclose the head like a helmet; or they may be placed as a headdress upon the head”. The mask varies depending on the type of masquerade and the place of origin. Some masks are beautifully designed, intimidating or downright sinister, and that, most masks have some mystical powers. Generally, masks are believed to be connected to ancestral spirit and human worlds. Thus, the mystery surrounding masks is one of the key components of masking tradition. Masks are worn by masquerades during traditional celebration, funerals and festivals. “The level of apprehension and the expectations that await the appearance of a masquerade vary, depending on the type of mask and its potency” (Ododo, 2009). Sequel to this, the study examined why the masks and masquerades are made the way they are.

Based on the literature examined, masks are not only objects that are worn on the face for covering, because some masks are produced and kept in mask shrines for some other purposes that may be religious, social and therapeutic, to mention but a few. Consequent upon this, a mask can be said to mean a carved image that is characterized with some functions and some distortions that give it a unique appearance, and may be worn on the face.

Masking and Masquerade Traditions of Varying Cultures

In the West Coast of India, the Sea Monster mask is conceptualized around the stories about seafarers who are monsters of the deep: bringers of bad weather, capsizers and devourers of men. The *Yagim* is identified as a destroyer of whole tribes, a shark-like monster who lurk behind canoes, or the source of storms (Holm, 1987). This means that, masks are in some communities produced to serve specific purpose. In view of this, for

what purpose are the masks of the *Ebira Chao* made? The author further posits that, *Yagim's* face is massive and bold, with a grossly wide mouth with some other sea monsters, studded with cylindrical pegs representing sea anemones. Truncated conical orbs, deeply framed in angular sockets, are typical of turn-of –the century Kwakiutl sculptured face that is forcefully modelled to emphasise the strength of the destroying monster. The colouring style projects a mark of the flambouyant Kwakiutl art of the time. *Yagim* is characterised with some cosmetics like; red lip and nostrils, black eyes and eyebrows, and green sockets around white colour, Yellow and blue colours are also visible on the face as cosmetics. See fig. 1 for "Sea Monster Mask".



Fig. 1: “Sea Monster Mask of North West India”
Source: Holm (1987)

Another example of the north west of India people’s mask is the *Dzoonokwa* mask with hollow eyes under a heavy brow, bony face with strong, hooked nose, hollow cheeks and lips pushed forward. Holm (1987) posits that, the *Dzoonokwa* is archetypical monster giant of the northwest coast of India, sometimes described as an eater of human flesh or stealer of children, and it can also be the bestower of power and wealth. The painting of the mask is almost totally black with graphite paint, often with contrasting vermilion lips and cheeks, and sometimes the inner rim of the eyes. It is evident that a thick fringe of human hair falls

over the fore head and shaggy eyebrows and a hollowed mouth. This is a reflection of cosmetic application on masks, perhaps to enhance its aesthetics. This idea of cosmetics in masks will also be carefully considered where necessary in the study of masking and masquerade traditions of the Ebira Chao. According to Holm (1972), the *Dzoonokwa* corresponds to the legendary big-foot or squatch of the southern coast which differs from most of the other creatures of Kwakiutl mythology. See *Dzoonokwa* in fig. 2 for visual appraisal.

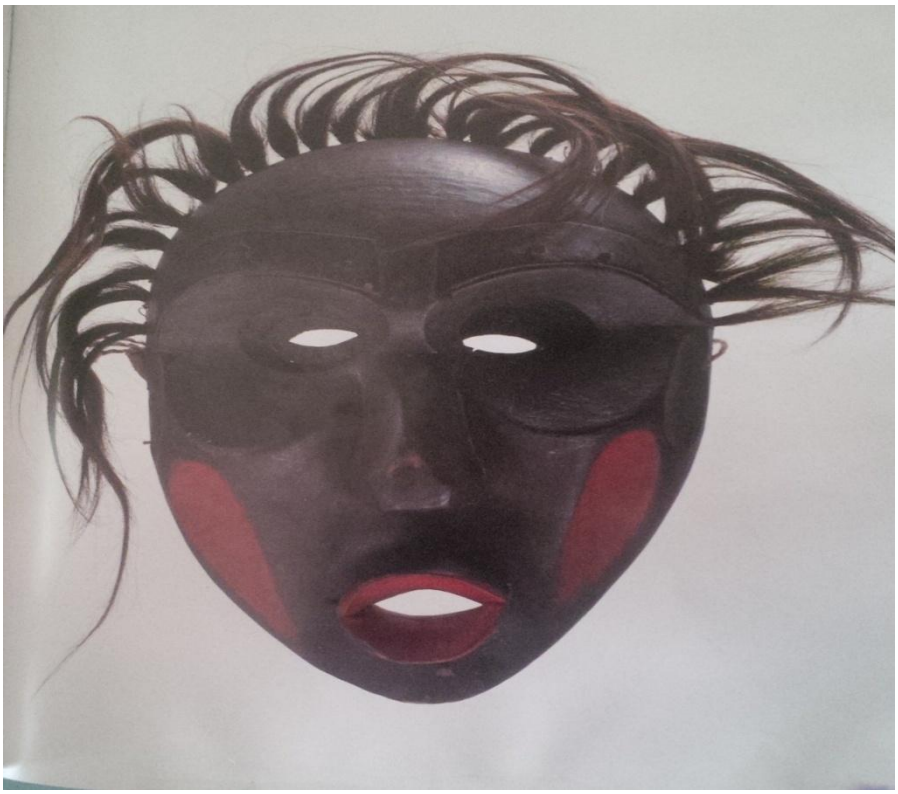


Fig. 2: "*Dzoonokwa* Mask of the India"
Source: Holm (1987)

"Among the *Tlingit*, Grizzly Bear Mask and the skin costume were considered the clan's most noble relics, and were given a prominent place in the funeral displays of each succeeding holder of the shakes title" (Conn, 1979). The mask is worn on important potlatch occasions and at times, apparently for entertainment. The mask is based on an

armature of wood skillfully and naturalistically carved. Holm (1987) adds that, the mask is characterised with stretched and secured raw skin of a bear which is tightly fitted on the mask with hard wood pegs. The mask is also characterised with iron dome eyes set inside the eye lids, the lips are copper, the teeth are opercula and bear's canines. The ears are covered with bear hide and appear rigidly positioned. Based on the review above, it is evident that, some masks are not made in only a medium but that, some accessories or objects are attached to them. Consequent upon this, therefore, the associated objects with the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions will be carefully observed and studied in terms of their appearance and significance on the masks and masquerades. See fig. 3 for Grizzly Bear Mask.



Fig. 3: "Grizzly Bear Mask of Tlingit"
Source: Holm (1987)

In Africa, the masking and masquerading are aspects of the most published and ubiquitous art phenomena. They feature in feast of passage, age grade socialization processes and burial ceremonies. A typical example of this, is the *Bobo Gge* and *Bundu* Masks. According to Egonwa (1996), throughout Africa, "the mask functions in the same broad cultural context as an instrument for the discharge of religious, executive and judicial duties or as an accoutrement in a recreational ensemble". Similarly, Willet (1971) discloses that, "among the *Bakota* and the *Balumbo* who live around the *Ogowe* river of the Congo, have similar stylistic features that are observable in their mask types". In the Guinea coast, the use of mask is not only observable in all the countries, but a particular cult is found in some countries, for instance, the *Poro* society found in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d'ivoire (Egonwa, 1996).

In these countries mentioned above, the purpose of the cults is the same. It is evident here, that, the social system and beliefs of every society influence the nature and functions that masks serve. In studying masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, the social system and beliefs of the people will be well understood. *Baule* masks combine animal and human features with sensitive and frontal dome, and attenuated face, elongated nose, arched eyes with emphasised lids. Their mouths are small and they have ornamental patterns all round the face (Keloid) as shown in Fig. 4

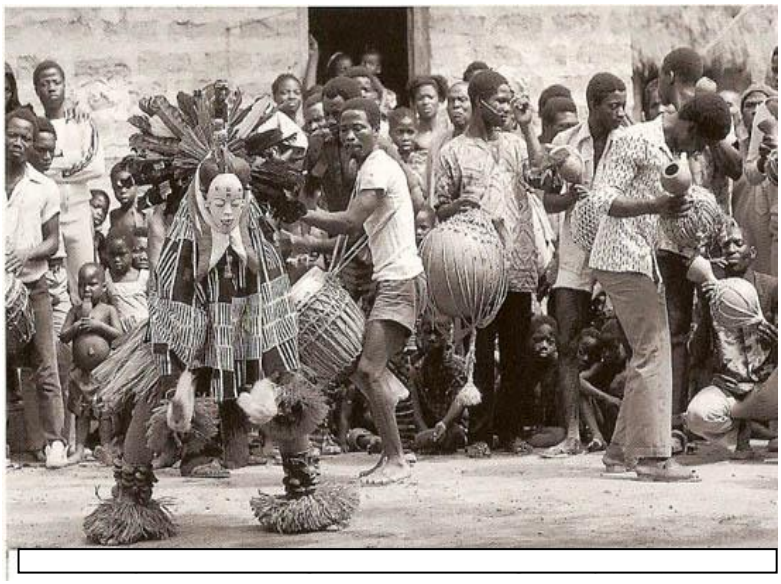


Fig. 4: "*Flali* Masquerade of the *Baule*"
Source: www.artwis.com/articles retrieved on 14/10/2016

According to Seiber and Walter in Okachi (2015), "the *Dandai* mask of Mali ordinarily presents itself as a non-celestial being". It has a head that stretches out into a snout that looks like a crocodile. It also has a few strands of beards below its jaw, bearing open its fangs just like a crocodile. The *Dandai* mask represents and symbolizes a legendary ancestor, and it speaks a secret language. The mask, when it is worn by a masquerader, it appears for the public to see when it is time for the male youth to be initiated into adulthood. Okachi (2015) further explains that, the masquerade captures the boys, and seems to chew and swallow them, keeping them in its body until it was time to be born again. It is important to note that, in reality, the youth so consumed were hidden under the mask's voluminous fiber skirt, and the blood dripping from the mouth of the masquerade is a fluid from kolanut being chewed by the masker. This is an obvious reflection of high technical intelligence in masking and masquerade traditions. Therefore, a look at the high

technical intelligence in the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions becomes important to look at in this study.

The masking and masquerade traditions of the *Senufo*, according to Bayo (2010), have the *Kponiugo* mask which represents a formal assemblage of the features of a warthog which is characterised with tusks, mouth and the teeth of a hyena, antelope horns and the representation of a chameleon. Uzoagba and Olorukooba, (1991) disclose that, the *Kponiugo* mask is a mythical being believed to protect the community from sorcerers and soul stealers. Apart from that, it is intended to re-enact the chaos before the world was put in order. It is obvious here, that masks are purposefully designed and produced to meet some needs of the societies where they are used. Also, it is said that, actual fire brand was fixed in the mouth of *kponiugo* mask during its night outing. This is where the term "fire spitter" was derived from. Egonwa (1996) describes the *Kponiugo* "as recalling the chaotic conditions of primordial universe". All masking and maquerading in the *Senufo* culture are performed by men, and are in general, used to express male's roles and initiation in the community. There are few exceptions, an example being masquerade directed at the women society of diviners. Art pieces used in these masks, however, have female imagery and some even have female – male imagery combinations.

Most female imagery in masquerade face masks are used to represent female sexuality and fertility. The female motif in the mask is symbolic to the roles of a male child to his society in relation to that of the female. Based on the review, there is no clear explanation on what makes female motif symbolic on masks, whereas, in some communities, females are forbidden in masking and masquerade traditions. Is the idea of Egonwa noticeable in the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades? Egonwa (1996) further notes that, the mask is used to

create a union or marriage to his society, and they vow to protect and perform diligently in the community, just as a woman to her husband. Gender complex in masking and masquerade traditions is a worrisome factor that has not been clearly treated by Egonwa (1986) and Uzoagba and Olorukooba (1991). In terms of the look of the mask, the design is meant to represent the roles of both men and women in the community. The dark colouring of the masquerade's mask is used to represent the danger and supernatural act the men do, such as ritual sacrificing and handling animal blood. Using animal blood in rituals is forbidden for women, since they are seen as life givers and abstainers. On the other hand, glossy black design of the mask is also associated with female beauty (See fig. 5 below) for *Kponiugo* mask.



Fig. 5: "*Kponiugo* Mask of the *Senufo*"
Source: www.artwis.com/articles Retrieved on 14/10/2016

In the Dogon territory, a period between the death of a man and the mourning ceremony which closes the funeral cycle is quite a long one. If the deceased had held an important

social or religious position, or had attended the *sigui* 60th birthday ceremonies in his own village or in the neighbouring region, then, after the first funeral with the *Kanaga* masquerade, the family will accumulate goods that can be exchanged to enable them organize a dance. This ritual preparation period for the departure of the deceased man's soul is considered dangerous for the deceased own family, and by extension, the whole village. The *Dogon* mask carving is in simplified form, and it is also used for *ganubire* dance in which the masquerade bends completely backwards while one of his partners stands before him to cover his neck and throat from being seen by on lookers. An example of such masks is the tower mask (*Kanaga*) in wood and painted decoratively (Uzoagba and Olorukooba, 1991). Similarly, the *Ebira Chao* masks are painted. This understanding gives a direction for the understanding of colour usage in masking and masquerade traditions.



Fig. 6: "*Kanaga* Mask of the *Dogon*"
Source: www.metmeseum.org Retrieved on 14/10/2016

Attached to *Kanaga* mask are some strands of grasses which are tightly arranged to look like a fan. At the jaw of the mask is an extension of a sizeable wooden pole that is intercepted with two horizontal wooden poles representing the hands and the legs respectively. “Numerous taboos are therefore enforced on them while the homeless soul roams through the village, hunting the various places he once frequented” (Uzoagba and Olorukooba, 1991). Therefore, masquerades are characterized with some rules that they abide by, in their outings. Are there rules that guide the outing and display of the *Ebira Chao* Masks? This study therefore, seeks answer to this question.

Chiwara masquerading is a tradition practised among *Bambara* people of Mali. Bayo (2010), reports that, “*Chiwara* is the name of their ancestor who taught them farming”. Considering the form of *Chiwara* mask produced in hard wood, is an antelope-like head form, made for attachment to the basket helmet during cultural dance and agrarian festival (Uzoagba and Olorukooba, 1991). The authours further state that, “the mask is worn by the youths and mimed the antelope during agrarian rites. It is worn by young men to dance like antelope during planting and harvesting times”. The authors note that, they believe that, the mask could control environment. The *Bambara* of Mali have complex social and religious life which is regulated by secret societies, the trustees of the ancient traditions. The cultural theory of creation inspired most of the *Bambara* mythology. See Fig. 7 for *Chiwara* masquerades. The act of masquerade holding sticks in their hands is related to those of the *Ebira Chao*. Though, there is no mention of the cultural significance on why the chiwara masquerades carry sticks in their hands. To this end, this study sought for answer to why masquerades of the *Ebira Chao* carry sticks in their hands during performance. in fig. 7, there is a cluster of the masquerades moving together, and behind the scene, are rocky

landscape that look like the place of abode where the masquerades of the *Ebira Chao* are either charged out of their *ireba* (place of abode for masquerades) for performance or retire into after performance.



Fig. 7 : "*Chiwara* Masquerades of the *Bambara*"
Source : www.artwis.com/articles Retrieved on 14/10/2016

The *Baga* of Guinea has a mask called *Nimba*, which is a costumed dance- mask used during the harvest season ceremony. According to Bayo (2010), the mask is characterized with two female breasts and a bird feature on the head. At the bottom of the mask worn over the face, are raffia threads attached, through which the masquerader could see. Nalah (2003) notes that the most important artworks of the *Baga* is the *Nimba* mask made of

wood with two large breasts. The author further describes it as the goddess of fertility which protects pregnant and nursing mothers. Based on the descriptions of *Baga* mask by Bayo (2010) and Nalah (2003), the idea of goddess in mask is vague because substantial discuss was not made to justify if goddess can be a custodian of mask(s). One other relevance of *Nimba* mask is that, it is worn during rice harvest by the *simo* society.



Fig. 8: "*Nimba* Masquerade of the *Baga*"
Source: www.metmeseum.org Retrieved on 14/10/2016

Similarly, Uzoagba and Olorukooba (1991) assert that, the mask is anthropomorphic with face stylized into a long triangle, while the front below the brow is represented as a single plane divided by long, straight and narrow nose. The style of carving is vigorous and dramatic. *Nimba* masks are installed in sacred groves near the village, and are supposed to protect the people against all evils. It is worthy of note that, *Nimba* masks sometimes consist of whole figures, but more often, of enormous female busts between one and two

meters high, and appear showy, striking and spectacular. Equally impressive through their size and complexity, are the 'Band' masks of the *Baga* and neighbouring communities. These large masks, combining human and animal features are worn horizontally on top of the head with a large fringe of fibre covering the body of the wearer. The mask combines a stylized human face, with sharp pointed nose and eyes, a jaw which is lengthened into a crocodile snout with teeth painted decoratively along the edge.

The major mask of Liberia and cote d'Ivoire was the *Dan Ngere* mask carved out of wood. The mask which has almost the same appearance and form is used for different purposes. For instance, the masks are used as a channel of communication with their high god called *Zian*. Nalah (2003) observes that, "the masks of *Dan* have very smooth surface, while that of *Ngere* are not and that they are more of abstract. An example of such masks is the *Dea* mask used during circumcision". A headdress indicating beauty is worn with the *Dea* mask. Slightly above the fore head area of the mask, are some cowries used to decorate the mask, and it tappers down the cheek. The hollowed eyes spots are to create room for the masquerader to see through the mask during performance performance. Some *Dea* masks are used for preparing initiates into the *Poro* society and frightening away women and children from the initiation camp, while the other ones are worn while collecting food from the mothers of the youths. Similarly, some of the masks regarded as the low ones are used for entertaining those who have remained behind in the village while initiation lasted. Uzoagba (2001) discloses that, "the carving of the masks is idealized to look like a beautiful woman so as to make the masks pleasing and make the initiates happy". The author further notes that, the plane surfaces of the masks are slightly flexible to round off or soften the sharp edge. See *Dea* mask in fig. 9 below:



Fig. 9: "*Dea* Mask of the *Dan Ngere*"
www.african-art.net/information/art/2/name/the-role-of-masks retrieved on 15/10/2016

Bukinabe masks are mostly from the people of *Mossi* and *Bobo*. The *Mossi* masks are blade-shaped with a female figure on the surface, are worn by the military leaders or masters, whom they call *'Naba'* during the *wango r*ites. The *Bobo* and *Mossi* masks are made from wood, and that of the *Bobo* are painted. Uzoagba and Olorukooba (1991) posit that, *Bobo* masks are also used for agricultural rites. The authors observe that, some of the masks have circular or oval faces, almost completely flat, with stylized eyes in concentric circles, and diamond-shaped mouth with teeth, and the whole being a mass of polychrome and carved geometric pattern.

In most cases, the mask is surmounted by a carved and painted plank crest, similar to those of the *Mossi*, but broader. Uzoagba and Olorukooba (1991) also report that, the masks which came from the region of *Dioulasso*, were worn during sowing and harvest ceremonies. The masks have oval, abstract spirit faces, with no mouth or chin; the nose is represented by a ridge running down the centre of the front of its face and the eyes by a triangular or circular hole close to it on either side. The masks are decorated with carved and polychrome patterns. From the front, rise two slender antelope horns, curved if the mask is considered female and straight if it is considered male. Behind these, the mask face is crowned by a lofty being, or in the form of a long pierced plank decorated with geometrical designs similar to the storey *sigiri* mask of the Dogon (Uzoagba and Olorukooba, 1991). Since some of the *Ebira Chao* masks are fashioned from wood, the style of analysis from the reviewed literature has added to the researcher's understanding of forms and designs of masks. Hence, such approach will be adopted and used for the analysis and description of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades.

The *Temne* and *Mende* ethnic groups found in Sierra Leone, produce masks called *Mensere*. Nalah (2003) points that, the masks give protection to pregnant women and nursing mothers who are equally members of *Sand*e society. For instance, the *Bundu* mask is owned by the women of the *Mende* and *Temne*. However, the author further observes that, the *Fon* ethnic group in Dahomey used their masks for rituals and decoration of homes and palaces. The masks of the *Bamileke* are less forceful and have tortured forms which are characterized by a proliferation of volume in space. The most famous among them, is the *keaka* mask representing a forest spirit. The mask has four different faces which are in low relief and seen from all angles.

Among the *Yoruba*, is the e*gungun* masking and masquerade traditions. Babalola (2006), notes that, *egungun* in the broadest sense of the word, refers to all types of *Yoruba* masquerades or masks and costumed figures. When used in its more specific sense, *"egungun"* refers to the *Yoruba* masquerades connected with ancestor reverence, or to the ancestors themselves as a collective force. The singular form for an individual ancestor is *Egun*. The annual ceremony of the *egungun* is to honour the dead, and it serves as a means of assuring their ancestors of a place among the living. They believe that, the ancestors have the responsibility to compel the living to uphold the ethical standards of the past generations of their clan, town or family.

The e*gungun* are celebrated during festival known as *odun egungun*, and in family ritual through the *egungun* tradition. *Egungun* are known as one of the most awe-inspiring and fearful cult groups in *Yoruba* land. The author further notes that, the *egun* are a group of people who are specially trained to communicate with the dead, and that, this particular ability makes them the mediators between the ancestors of the community and the living. Therefore, an *egungun* festival is a serious occasion during which big masquerades impersonate the spirits of the dead, who are believed to reside in them while the dance is on. No wonder, these *egungun* are considered sacrosanct, and it is absolutely forbidden to touch them. The young boys wielding whips who surround the *egungun* are there to protect the onlookers from the charged and dangerous touch of the *egungun* (Beier, 1964). The masks are made of perforated fabrics with either vertical or horizontal lines as motif in the face. The transparent and perforated fabric is designed as such to enable the masquerade to see clearly. Flowers made of yarns are in some cases installed on the top of the mask to enhance its aesthetics. It is worthy of note that, the mask flows down as part of the

costume. The fabric that constitutes the mask appears to be sewn to the costume which makes it looks like an over-all wears.

Generally, *egugun* masks appear very simple and not distinct in terms of its design. See fig. 10 for *Egungun* ensemble. Furthermore, *Gelede* masquerade among the *Yoruba* pays tribute to the special powers of women known as "the mothers". The mothers are believed to possess a spiritual life force, *ase* which is equal to that of the deities *orisa*. *Ase* itself is a neutral force, and the mothers either use them negatively or positively. *Gelede* masquerades are traditionally prepared and presented in identified pairs, portraying males, females and animals (Drewal, 1974). The review highlights the essence and the force behind the *Gelede* mask. This implies that, some masks and masquerades are imbued with powers that made them become potent to serve the purpose they are created for. Consequent upon this review, the researcher made some findings about the force behind the *Ebira Chao* masks and if they actually meet the need for which they are intended. Furthermore, it gave the researcher a clue to make findings on whether there is masculine or feminine consideration in the classification of *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades.



Fig. 10: "*Egungun* Masquerades of the *Yoruba*"
Source: Nairaland. Com. Retrieved on 14/10/2016

Literarily, the word "*Eyo"* in Yoruba means rejoice in a plural sense. However, the word is also used to refer to the costumed dancers of the masquerades that come out during the festival called *Eyo*. The festival is held to escort the soul of the departed Lagos King or chief. Nalah (2003) posits that, "the *Eyo* masquerade is to usher in a new King", and that, there are two versions about the origin of the *Eyo* masquerade. The first version is that, *Eyo* masquerade is not original to Lagos Island but was introduced there sometimes around 1750 A.D. by two unnamed personalities from *Ibefun* and *Ijebu* communities in present day Ogun State. "Owing to the fascinating appeal, they succeeded in introducing it as part of interment rites of passage for the departing *Oba* at that time. That is, *Oba Ado* who was believed to have married from one of their cousins, *Olugbani"* (Bayo, 2010).

The second version of the origin of *Eyo* masquerade is that, the main deity Adamu *Orisha* originated from Ibefun just as *Eyo* masquerade came, as a result of the need to protect the

deity from the activities of hooligans who might seek to destroy or steal it. To this end, those who hold this view, say that, the traditional iconic staff of the masquerade known as *Opambata*, was invented as part of the regalia for the purpose of warding off undesirable elements (Nalah, 2003). To corroborate this statement, Bayo (2010) notes that, *Eyo* masquerade (Fig. 11) is usually dressed in white flowing gown with a hat that has veil, and holding an engraved staff called *Opambata.*



Fig. 11 : "*Eyo* Masquerade of Lagos"
Source: www.headtie.com/company/photoview.html retrieved on 14/10/2016

The masquerades are characterized with hats that are made of woven beads. The hats vary in terms of designs. While some have floral design, some others have concentric pattern. Round the edge of the hat, are attached dangling beads as aesthetic enhancer. The hat is worn over a net-kind of fabric that allows in flow of air for the masquerader to breath. The aesthetically chosen fabric used for the face covering, is in harmony with the costume and

the hat. From the reviewed literature, understanding of origin and source of any tradition is of great value. Hence, the reviewed literature has given a direction on the need to make findings about the origin and source of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. In studying this, there is a need to identify the fore-runners of the tradition and reasons for the practice.

Carlson (2005) states that, "masquerades play significant roles in the Calabar belief system, and that, the masquerades are diverse in nature, features and functions". They are regarded as communal possession of the society despite some role specification along the line of production and presentation of masquerade performance. The masking and masquerade traditions, in most communities in Calabar region, is durable and it's continuity over time made possible by family and communal inheritance of the art, craft, magic and culture of masquerade through generations. To this end, Carlson (2005) further explains that, masking and masquerade traditions have continued to be identified within the communities of Calabar in relation to ceremonies and festivals that relate to marriage, procreation, death, sacrifice, continuity, survival and conflict- spanning the entire cultural and religious universe of the people. It is clear that, masking and masquerade traditions are intended to meet societal needs. How such a tradition is used to realize societal ideals is however not extensively discussed. In studying the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions, there should be detailed findings and discussions on the significance of the traditions to the people and the society.

The *Ekpe* society of the Calabar region is often described as an ancient society in the Cross River basin with paramount responsibility for the administration and organization of the society. Its singular responsibility is governance functions, ranging from establishment or

formulation of societal norms through judicial means. The *Ekpe* society of Calabar region and its members were the leaders and directing minds of the community (Amankulor, 1982). The *Ekpe* or *Mgbe* society is wide spread through the Cross River basin, covering several ethnic groups from the *Efiks*, the *Qua –Ejegham* and *Efut* amongst others through to the variance in Igbo speaking areas known as the *Okonko*. The author further explains that, the origin of the *Ekpe* society is steeped in mystery with differing account which deepens its myths and secrecy. The *Qua*, claims to have introduced the *Mbge* (*Ekpe*) from Cameroun, from where original titles like; *Obong Mkpe Obong Mboko* and *Isung Mboko Obong Mboko* were derived.

In line with the discussions revolving round *Ekpe* masquerade, Adedeji (1987) emphasizes that, *Ekpe* masquerade in Calabar community, is an important manifestation of the spirit of the ancestors, which is not taken lightly by the society. The feature of the mask is likened to a puffed woven wool that is beautifully sewn with some of the wool threading out like a woven rug. The face of the mask has several lines or network of beads that are vertically positioned on the face to keep the face of the masquerader from being seen by on lookers. The upper part of the mask in beads shows some royalty as it is attached to the use of beads in the traditional society of the Akwa Ibom. Attached to the top of the mask is a lumped thread that has the appearance of a flower. For aesthetic reason, the masquerades are varied in terms of colour. While some of the masquerades are dark in colour, some others are brightly coloured.



Fig. 12: "*Ekpe* Masquerade of the *Efik*"
Source: anthillglobal.com/Tourism.asp. Retrieved on 19/10/2016

It is important to note that, there are other masquerades in the community with much spiritual and aesthetic relevance. The *Ekpo* mask is made from wood, and it has smooth finishing. The mask has some resemblance with the maiden mask of the Igbo in terms of its cosmetic which makes it more attractive to on-lookers. On the face of the anthropomorphic mask, are bright looking eyes painted with white colour around the holes through which the masquerade sees. A dark line that runs through the lower part of the nose and down the lower jaw is a representation of the kind of body and facial decorative style of the *Ibibio*. At the top of the mask is a piece of fabric that is used to conceal the head from being seen. The slightly dark horizontal lines in relief form represent the braided hair of a female. The philosophy surrounding the aesthetics of the mask and masquerade is the fact that, women

are characterized with ideal beauty (Carlson, 2005). An example of the masquerades is the *Ekpo* masquerade shown in Fig. 13.



Figure 13 : "*Ekpo* Masquerade of the *Ibibio*"
Source: anthillglobal.com/Tourism.asp. Retrieved on 19/10/2016

The masquerade is noted for its spiritual potency, as it is used to appease the gods of the land. It also serves as the local police with which law offenders are disciplined. One other function of the *Ekpo* masquerade is that, it is used for security purpose (Grahame, 2010). How is *Ekpo* masquerade used as a security device or as an agent that ensures safety of properties has not been clearly stated in the reviewed literature. Is it that, the *Ekpo*

masquerade is usually station at a point where properties are kept? The idea of using *Ekpo* masquerade as a local Police to arrest and punish law offenders is another interesting phenomena in masking tradition. Perhaps, this is the reason why stealing and robbery were not common in the past. As good as the presentation seems, the practice has not been exhaustively discussed by authours whose materials were reviewed.

Among the *Igbo* of Nigeria, is the *Ijele* masquerade which is regarded as the biggest masquerade in the sub–Saharan, Africa. The masquerade is used during the dry season to evoke fertility and a bountiful harvest. The said masquerade originated from Anambra state of Nigeria many centuries ago. Bayo (2010) posits that, it is believed that, "the *Aguleri* communities in Anambra state gave rise to *Ijele*. It was originally intended to intimidate and scare away the early missionaries as well as celebrate royalty and greatness in *Igbo* land". *Ijele* as a masquerade, is divided into three segments: upper, middle and lower segments. The upper segment is called *okpu ijele*, while the lower segment is called *akpakweru ijele* or *ogbanibe* and the centre is called *ekeogba* (python). I*jele* is about fifteen feet high, and it is built around the intricacy of multi colour bamboo sticks and canes in line with creative elements. "Due to its weight and size, out-door big house must be prepared for *Ijele* anywhere it will perform. It takes about hundred men to work for six months in preparation of *Ijele* costumes and house before an outing performance" (Aniakor, 1979). For visual appraisal of *Ijele* masquerade, see fig. 14



Fig. 14:" *Ijele* Masquerade of the *Igbo*"
Source : en.m.wikipedia.org. Retrieved on 19/10/2016

According to Aniakor (1979), *Ijele* mask is identified with different parts. For instance, *nne Ijele* meaning "mother of *Ijele"*. She is usually a beautiful lady masquerade that holds a big ox tail with a carved and enameled plate; it performs dance to fluent and soft music. The *Ijele* father called "*Onuku*" has a big face and dresses in chieftaincy regalia, while the *Ijele* police are usually six in number and their duty is to ensure that people do not encroach on *Ijele* father and mother. The *Ijele* Palm wine tapper accompanies *ijele* for the sole purpose of picking anything that drops as it performs. It is not really a masquerade but it plays a crucial role of loading *nne Ijele* with its symbolic powerful fan *akuke*. Once the *Ijele* loses sight of the fan and its carriers, it signifies danger. This is because *Ijele* moves when the fan carriers move and also stops when they stop. The masquerade has a special band group that entertains audience whenever it performs. It dances majestically to the royal band group

called and known as *Igba-Eze* royal band group or literally known as drums of the Kings popularly called "*akunecheni*". The musical instrument comprises of four drums, one *ogene, ubom, uyo, ekwe, oja-ufele* and *aja-oji* amongst others. The costume includes; *Ijele* mirror, which is mysterious and it sees any one with charms or destructive weapons through it. The reflective and aesthetically developed mirror magnets such a person to Ijele for punishment. The *Ijele* python signifies royal and mightiness of *Ijele*. The expensive fabric worn by *Ijele* is called *ododo*. The presence of a horse symbolizes majesty and greatness.

Amongst other significance of *Ijele* masquerade, is the fact, that, it performs at the burial ceremonies of the members of *Ijele* family and that of great and powerful kings or special men and women in Igbo land. Performance of *Ijele* gives people the opportunity to re-affirm their loyalty. Such affirmation comes in different ways. For example, for *Ijele* to dance with somebody and paying homage to a chief or a king shows ones total loyalty. This is simply interpreted to mean that, if *Ijele* can bow for that particular chief, who else cannot bow for such a person.

Within the *Igbo* extraction, there are other traditional masquerades called *Nmanwu*. Though, it differs from community to community, with diverse functions depending on the town or village from which the masquerade comes and the purpose it is intended. Basically, *Nmanwu* are of two categories; visible and invisible. The living dead are what the masquerade embodies. *Igbo* people believe that the dead don't really die, rather, they remain in a 'personal immortal state', and that, they reside somewhere between the earthly world and the spiritual world (Bayo, 2010).

Among the *Igala*, their masking tradition is geared towards proffering solutions to some of the societal needs. Similarly, the *Igala* use masks and masquerades as agent of social and political control. Some examples of such masquerades include: the *Ekwe, Ikelekwu – Afuma, Abule, Obajadaka, Olaganyi,Ogede,*and *Egwu – Afia*. Apart from the *Abule* and *Egwu – Afia*, the rest of the masquerades mentioned above are public flogging masquerades of erring or anti–social members of the society. It is also a practice for the *Egwu–Afia, the Abule, Ajamalede,* and the *Amuda* to publicly rebuke thieves, adulterers, the indolent and the haughty, by disclosing their names, cursing and warning them (Joseph, 2003). It is worthy to note that, the *Abule* masquerade is mainly for the protection of public properties and prevention of their misuse. The author further notes that, the Igala men hold the women folk in ideological bondage on matters concerning masquerades. This made it easy for men to have control over their wives.

The *Ekwe* masquerade, which is said to be the king and leader of all other masquerades, is worshiped like a god. The mask is drapped from head to foot, out of which appear the mouth and the crest-shaped nose, tabular eyes and the raffia fringe of the coat. At the bottom edge of the robe, are series of cast bronze radius with oval section sown, and a large lonzenge with triangles and helicoidal lines to decorate the umbilical zone. Other appliqué works attached to the robe are circles with helicoidal pattern decorated with triangles under the mouth as shown in fig. 15.

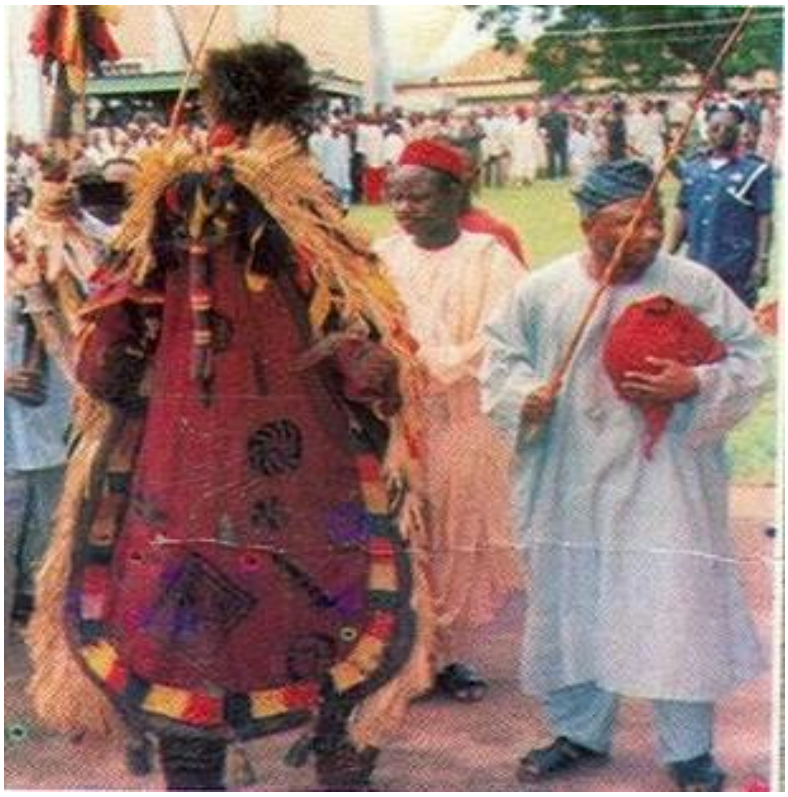


Figure 15:" *Ekwe* Masquerade of the *Igala*"
Source: odinani magazine, retrieved 20/02/2017

The *Ekwe* holds in his hand a brass staff with two janiform heads which are used to symbolically hit the *Attah* of *Igala* confirming and reinforcing the fact that, the *Ekwe* masquerade symbolizes the ritual and political authority of the king. Another good example is the *Odumado* masquerade which is regarded as a supporting masquerade to the *Attah's* royal authority.

To the *Ebira Tao*, it is believed that, masquerades (*eku*) are representative of the departed souls' spirits endowed with super-human qualities, and that, the masquerader in the *Eku* costume, while in action, becomes possessed by it. At this point, it could then act or speak through him. Thus, the moment the masquerader conceals himself within the costume, he is no longer regarded as a human-being, with limited power, rather, he becomes imbued with

spiritual powers and behaves like a spirit, speaks in a disguised voice and dances to the exciting rhythm of drums, flutes and songs (Leuzinger, 1972). The *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions have survived for over a century. To the *Ebira*, masquerades are believed to be the appearance of the souls of the departed ancestors in super human qualities, and the custodian of the *eku* is possessed by the spirit of the ancestor *(aneku)*. It is believed that, the *aneku*, which is the soul of the departed ancestor, acts and speaks through it. The *Ebira* ancestral worship, as a means of meeting the needs of the people, is a propelling force for the practice of masking and masquerade traditions that have formed some integral parts of their history. During the period of *eku* outing, it is believed that, the ancestors have chosen to visit their people. Masquerades are in different forms, and they serve different purposes in the society (Ododo, 2009).

Among the *Ebira Tao*, masquerades are classified into night and day masquerades. The day masquerades are further classified into big and small masquerades. Among these masquerades, there are some that are used for divination, averting evil, prophesy, burial ceremony, fighting battles and for entertainment. For instance, masquerades like; the *Adega and eku-Adiyaya*, to mention but a few, are versed in divination and prophesy. During *echane* and *ekuechi* festivals, they parade about and visit homes of their kinsmen. There, they rest and can be consulted by the sick and childless individuals for whom they prescribe appropriate sacrificial remedies and prophesies. Suleiman (1994) stresses that, "*onogidi-Kuroko* cures barren women". That is, women who always deliver stillborn and women who suffer miscarriages. Masquerade *(eku)* is held with fear by the *Ebira Tao* because it is imbued with powers, and whatever it says seems to carry weight. The fact remains that, it is also believed that "masquerades are intermediary between the living and the dead, when

they are charged out of their *ireba* by performing some sacrifices, and making some incantations, depending on the function and the underlying force or ancestor *(aneku)* behind them" (Salami, 2011). See fig. 16 for an *Ebira Tao* Masquerade.



Fig. 16: " *Eku Okise* of the *Ebira Tao* Masquerade"
Source: Ododo (2009)

Aesthetic Considerations of Masking and Masquerade Traditions

The word aesthetic is used to mean beauty in determining the quality of an artwork. Yunusa (2007) discloses that, there are two types of aesthetics; philosophical and psychological. Philosophical aesthetics is used to talk about artworks, while psychological aesthetics or aesthetic experience is the relationship between body and mind, events and certain responses which can be empirically examined through psychological investigation.

Psychologically, aesthetic experience occurs when a person is attending to, or being absorbed in something else (object or event) as an end in itself, rather than as a means to an end. Lowenfeld and Brittain (1975), posit that, aesthetic is an active perceptual process, an interaction between the individual object(s) or event(s) in which the organization of the object(s) or event(s) provides a stimulating harmonious and rhythmic experience. On the other hand, aesthetic experience is an experience that is valued for its own sake, be it listening, looking, tasting, performing or producing. Involvement in an aesthetic experience carries the desire to sustain, and feel the full impact of the moment for its own sake. In an aesthetic experience, one perceives the integral relationship between the form and content of an object or event. Such perception is what makes aesthetic experience different from other extrinsically valued experiences in everyday life. From the fore going, aesthetics is largely determined by what an individual or society considers as yardstick for measuring or determining an ideal beauty. Therefore, the concept of aesthetics can be said, to be multi-directional.

Okeke (2011) asserts that, the way in which the African perceives and visually interpretes the organic abstract elements of design that are part of his environment, defines and identifies his aesthetic outlook. He is taught the language of designing much the same way as the alphabets are taught in western schools. He is also taght how he can use motifs or symbols derived from nature, and man made objects around him to communicate his deeply felt ideas about objects and events. Contrary to this, Mount (1973) describes African art to be poor in aesthetics. This is perhaps, because the author had only the understanding of western criteria for determining beauty. Hence, his idea of aesthetics is lope-sided, because he had not considered African's perception of aesthetics, which is hinged on content and

contextual significance. On a different note, Robert (1980) aptly notes that, art in Africa has always been a part of the people's lives, manifest in every aspect of their working, playing and believing worlds. Yet, almost every general survey by art historian or ethnologist has been primarily devoted to the aesthetic appeal of the work of art or the peculiarities of its style and form through the detailed materials provided by anthropologists.

In a more articulate sense of valued judgments of African arts and cultural practices, Fosu (1986) debunks that, both the content and form are essential to the proper understanding of the function of artworks. Fosu further explains that, a piece of work expressed either in the abstract or in the realistic style with polished or rough finish and embellished with simple or intricate decorative designs, was appraised on the basis of the communicative symbolism unified within its physical type-form. Therefore, anything short of this challenging customary convention of aesthetical evaluation, nullified both the functional and aesthetical values of the work.

This is true of the masks worn by masquerades in Africa. They may not really appeal to one's sense of beauty because of deliberate distortions that were created for it to fulfill its essence. In an ideal perception of the African, masks worn by masquerades should be terrifying and weird. To this end, concern is more on the content overriding the European standard of aesthetics. The researcher opines that, determining or judging whether an artwork has aesthetic qualities or not, should be a function of how well the cultural background is understood. To make valued judgement of aesthetics that are inherent in African artworks and her traditions, detailed knowledge of forms, content, contextual, social and philosophical intents should be adequately considered. For the purpose of this

research, therefore, this understanding will aid this study in interpreting and documenting the aesthetics that are inherent in the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions.

Okeke (2011) notes that, folklore and folk knowledge are transmitted orally and they inculcate values. Therefore, these values inform, as well as condition the growing creative mind. The child observes details and perceives in their whole form the objects and concepts he seeks to represent. In the traditional setting, for example, body designs, objects on family altars and objects in shrines and festival occasion exhibit the visual designs and images that form part of the sub-conscious and conscious experience of life of young and old alike. In line with this view, Egonwa (1996) asserts that, hitherto the art of non-European people, traditional Africa, Oceanic and pre-Columbia America, were seen as stylistically exclusive within ethnic boundaries. This meant that traditional art had cross cultural significance and was meaningless outside its own ethnic group. These are evident in the masking and masquerade traditions of varying cultures in Africa and Nigeria in particular. To corroborate this statement, Willet (1971) reveals that, this was why, when an *Ebira* artist Amodu Ihiovi was asked to examine masks made by other African artists, he passed them as good but wished that some features (features seen in work from his immediate community) were added to make the work complete.

To this end, masks worn by masquerades reflect cultural standard or yardstick of their cultural aesthetics. This is why Roy (1977) says that, the *Igbo* prefer curve linear forms, or that the *Okpella* people prefer delicate ornamentation or symmetrical arrangement of elements. Creating aesthetics on art forms differ from one society to the other, depending on their contextual values. This is one of the reasons why there is stylistic variation in masking traditions. To this end, the interest and aesthetic criteria of the ethnic group is a

determining factor for what becomes the nature of their masking and masquerade traditions. This is why, Brain (1980) discloses that, some of the questions asked by the Africans in terms of their masking traditions are: How is the mask to be worn or the statue to be viewed? Is the mask smiling or grimacing? Moreover, the stylization of African masks is often so extreme that without instruction, it is difficult to understand the meaning unless one becomes intimate with the socio-symbolic system. Based on the foregoing, masks may perform multiple functions, changing their rank and meaning according to situation. A mask may entertain, frighten or promote fertility according to its social context.

Conclusion

Consequent upon the facts that were gathered from the reviewed literature, the concept of mask in Nigeria, Africa and in some other parts of the world like; Northwest Coast of India is hinged on socio-magical and religious demand of the societies, where the tradition is practised. Therefore, the contextual significance of masks, overrides every other consideration in masking and masquerading traditions. This understanding will give this study (A Historical Survey of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions) a direction, by unraveling the social, magical and religious essence that masks are produced for. Hence a mask can be fashioned from different media. Thus, the medium used to create a mask is not what makes it a mask, but the purpose and the application of it. Similarly, in some communities of Africa and Nigeria in particular, masks are worn on the face for performance, and sometimes used independently without being worn on the face.

From literature so-far reviewed, detailed study of the form of masks has not been done. Available information in the literature are the uses of it. Thus, this study intends to fill this gap that has been created by previous researchers. Therefore, it will engage in making

critical analysis of mask forms and their cosmetic, where it is evident, in addition to their historical and contextual significance. By this, the aesthetics of masks can better be unraveled. Since it was evidently noticed in the reviewed literature that, previous studies did not dwell on the aesthetics of masks, this study therefore, seeks to fill this gap by studying the aesthetics of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades. It was equally observed that, Mount (1973) erroneously posits that, African arts are poor in aesthetics. This is another gap that needs to be filled. Thus, this wrong impression will be corrected, through this study, by creating a better understanding of what aesthetics mean within the African context. This is because the concept of masks and masquerades varies according to the nature, sensitivity and history of the varying ethnic groups across the globe.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

In this chapter, the research design, sources of data, method of data collection and analysis are discussed. The essence of this structure is to enable the researcher have a reasonably hitch free fieldwork. Research design is the blue print that enables the investigator, to come up with strategies that will guide him or her in the various stages of the research. It is, in other words, described as a detailed outline of how an investigation will take place. Typically, it includes the research methods to be used, how data are to be collected, what instrument to be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means for analysing data collected.

Research Design

Adetoro (1986) argues that, it is appropriate for a researcher to examine the procedures used in previous studies to gain control of a research. Considering the focus of this study, a qualitative method, which embraces historical and descriptive approaches adopted and used by Saliu (1994), Osuala (2005), Duniya (2009) and Muhammad (2015) for a successful research, was used. To corroborate this statement, historical approach, according to Ndagi in Duniya (2009), deals with documentation, evaluation and explanation of events essentially for the purpose of gaining a better, clearer understanding of the present, and making a more reliable prediction of the future.

This study involved systematic, detailed description and explanation for phenomenon investigated rather than statistical procedures. Sambo (2005) asserts that, a qualitative research describes social phenomenon of events or things, so as to understand the effect that such events or things have on the lives of individuals, groups, societies, or cultures. To

corroborate this statement, Kothari (2010) posits that, qualitative research is concerned with qualitative phenomenon. The researcher employed this method to make a Historical Survey of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and masquerade Traditions, to make findings on the origin and types of the masks and masquerades.

Researching on a problem like masking and masquerade traditions requires historical approach to give a logical appraisal of the past and present phenomenon, as well as, predict the future direction. In line with this claim, Adetoro (1986) discloses that, historical research gives logical assessments of the past and present events, and predicts the future direction of the problem being studied. In justifying the need to adopt effective methods in visual arts research, Jari in Emmanuel (2015) contends that, new visual arts research methods which may differ slightly from, but complement methods employed by the social sciences, can achieve similar research objectives.

Pilot Study

Kothari (2010) posits that, the essence of conducting a pilot study is to, test instruments to ascertain if it will be effective in collecting the relevant information for a research. For this reason, a field trip was made to *Ufa* quarters, Igarra in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State where the masking tradition is practised, and *eku* custodians reside, to carry out a pilot study to ascertain the workability of the instruments designed for the research.

Sources of Data

The researcher used two main sources of data: primary and secondary sources. The primary source includes the *eku* custodians, *eku* relics and the masks to be studied. To corroborate this, Adetoro (1986) posits that, "primary source includes relics, documents, etcetera, which have direct physical relationship" with masking and masquerade traditions. The

secondary source includes relevant literature, published and unpublished materials, written on the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions, as well as, online materials gotten from the internet.

Methods of Data Collection

The technique used for data collection is fieldwork. Okpoko and Eze (2011) explain that fieldwork is a research exercise undertaken outside school, office, or laboratory setting, in order to gain knowledge, through direct contact and observation on the subject matter. Hence, the researcher moved from his base to the field for the purpose of collecting research data. To buttress the validity of fieldwork in a research, Duniya (2009) asserts that "only fieldwork could produce adequate documentation". Consequent upon this, the researcher depended largely on fieldwork as the basis for the investigation of facts, for the study. At the field, the researcher made close observation of the different masks and masquerades, took photographs of masks, masquerades and objects that are associated with the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. Since purposive sampling was used to generate population sampling, the researcher used Focus Group Discussion (F.G.D.) method of interview for teasing out information from the respondents. Thus, data were collected from the respondents (*eku* Custodians).

Population and Sampling

The targeted population sample for this study comprises of *Ebira Chao* people of Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State with special emphasis on the *eku* (masquerade) custodians resident in *Ufa*, *Utua* and *Ugbogbo* quarters. For the purpose of data collection, the researcher used purposive sampling to draw out the population for study. Hence, a total of twenty (20) *eku* custodians were used as the population for the

study, and were used in this study as primary source. It is important to note that, there are only twenty (20) *eku* custodians in Igarra (*Ebira Chao*). The rationale for the use of purposive sampling method is based on the fact that, it provided useful information on the subject under study. This is also in tandem with the opinion of Tongco in Samaila (2004) who argues that, "the purposive sampling technique, also called judgemental sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses". Kothari (2010) also argues that, deliberate sampling which is also known as purposive or non-probability sampling is a deliberate selection of particular units of the universe for constituting a sample, which represents the universe. Consequent upon this, it is a non-random technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants. In this case, the researcher decides what he needs and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the needed information based on acquired knowledge and experiences. Hence, *eku* custodians were purposively selected because they are the set of people that can give detailed and relevant information pertaining to masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*.

Research Instruments and Tools

For easy and successful data collection, the researcher used the following instruments and tools for gathering information that are relevant to the research work. The instruments used are: observation, interview and photographs, while the tools used are: tape recorder and digital camera

Observation: According to Kothari (2010), observation method of data collection implies the collection of information by way of investigating a phenomenon visually without interviewing the respondents. In this study, observatory process was utilized in studying

masks and masquerades at different places of their performances. Both the artistic elements and accessories inherent in the masks and masquerade were systematically observed and noted for analysis. Hence, the masks and masquerades were grouped based on their nature and category as fashioned by the custodians.

Interview: In interview, the researher followed an outlined order or procedures and sought for answers to a set of pre-conceived questions through focus group discussions with the *eku* custodians. Kothari (2010) posits that, this method of collecting data is usually carried out in a structured way where out-put depends upon the ability of the interviewer to a large extent. Since the researcher used purposive sampling and qualitative approach for data collection, Focus Group Discussion (F.G.D.) method of interview was used for teasing out relevant information from the respondents (*eku* custodians) the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions.

Photographs

Some photographs of *eku okise* masks that have gone into extinction were collected from some *eku* custodians to form part of the analysis and discussions

Tape Recorder: Interviews with the *eku* custodians of the *Ebira Chao* were recorded using a tape recorder. The idea behind the use of this media was to enable the researcher make room for adequate information collection. Consequent upon this, the collected information were transcribed and integrated into the main research.

Digital Camera: For the purpose of securing adequate materials for analysis, as well as acquire adequate knowledge of the masks and masquerades for visual appraisal, photographs of the masks and masquerades, their accessories and other associated objects were taken. The use of photographs was important because it enhanced adequate

documentation of some phenomena that were beyond verbal discussion. Art historians, authors and researchers have found the use of photographs very useful. For instance, Saliu (1994), Duniya (2009) and Okachi (2015) extensively used photographs as a medium for documenting events, objects and phenomenon in their successful research works at different times. A Samsung (16) pixels camera was used for taking photographs of the masks and masquerades of the *Ebira Chao*.

Methods of Data Analysis

Data collected during fieldwork were analyzed with the use of historical, descriptive and aesthetic approaches as used by Saliu (1994) and Okachi (2015). These approaches helped tremendously in the discussions, analysis and findings of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. In terms of descriptive analysis, the researcher classified the masks and masquerades, and subsequently discussed each of the masks and masquerades one after the other. Added to this, aesthetic approach was used to make a detailed analysis of the artistic and decorative qualities of the masks, masquerades and objects that are associated with the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. The historical approach was used in documenting dates that the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions started. To further justify the use of these approaches in analysing data, Adetoro (1986) recommends the appropriateness of combining these methods in research analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on the findings, analysis and discussion of data collected for this study: "A Historical Survey of The *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions". Thus, it is presented in eight parts: Concept of Ancestral Worship and the Origin of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions, Types and Aesthetic Description of Masks, Types and Aesthetic Description of Masquerades, General Aesthetic of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions, Objects that are Associated with the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions, Roles and Functions of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions, Changing Roles and Functions in the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions and Findings.

Concept of Ancestral Worship and Origin of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions

Masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* are based on ancestral worship, because *eku* (masquerade) is regarded as the spirit of their ancestor that comes to the supernatural world to visit its people on earth. Hence, their beliefs in a supreme being called *Adayi ebeba* or O*shiomoshi* (God) who lives in the sky as the host of the ancestors and visits the earth in the form of masquerade. In masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, the process involved in charging and outings of masquerades are strictly done, based on an established order in ancestral worship. Due to the supremacy of *Oshiomoshi* (God), it is believed that, *adayi ebeba* (our father above) has many attributes, which are shown in the praises and eulogy showered on him. Such as: "*ogederisha, ogodogodo anuvo zo metu, ojioza tu* and *ofu reku*". Sunday (O.I,, 2018) narrated that, the words are translated to mean God, whose abode is in heaven, He is the one that no person's hand can reach at,

the Deliverer and the one that gives victory. God is seen as the creator of all things. Hence, the visiting ancestors called *eku* (masquerades) are empowered by God to do so, with some blessings from above. To the *Ebira Chao*, next to God is the earth *ete* (earth) where the living dwells, and on which the ancestral spirit, called *eku* (masquerade), visits its people with some blessings. Therefore, *Oshiomoshi* is the father, while *ete* is the mother. Iviopa (O.I., 2017) aptly notes that, this does not however, suggest that they are husband and wife. The earth is simply mother of all, owner of bounty, the great one who makes great heaps, who feeds one, then, forces him to vomit it. The last attribute of the earth is that, it fattens man for its own consumption. The land fattens man by yielding crops to feed him. In the end, man dies and his remains are "eaten" by the earth.

Next in the eternal hierarchy, is *ori* (oracles and deities), followed by ancestral spirits of different clans. Therefore, *ori* is the third in the Trilogy. Some examples of *ori* are the *idakoriko, ori abasu, ori vokoto, ori nyama, ori baru, ori okute and ori osawu.* Therefore, presentation of kola, sacrifices and incantations are rendered in this order of trilogy*:* *oshiomoshi*, *ete* and *ori* during masking and masquerade festivals. According to Akuta (O.I., 2018), *Ori Osawu* is a typical example of the ancestors that visit its people in the form of *eku* (masquerade). Ancestral worship, therefore dominated the traditional religion of the *Ebira Chao* on arrival at their present location (*Igarra*). Some ancestral temples or shrines were established to serve as point of contact between the people and their ancestors. Families therefore built temples through which protection is sought. Examples are, the *inyama,* owned by the *Anonyete* (*Ezigu* family) and the *Okute* owned by the *Eshimozoko* family. At such temples, were periodic sacrifices offered, and libation poured to appease them, assuage the fear of evil or to wade off evil. In the same strength, the *eku*

(masquerade) cult played very significant roles in the *Ebira Chao* ancestral worship. They believe that, it is the ancestors that rose and returned to earth in the form of masquerades to commune with the living, offer advices, pass judgements and even enforce laws.

It is important to note that, the ancestral spirit in the form of *eku* (masquerade), visits its people during celebration of festivals and or events that necessitate masking and masquerade traditions. Some examples of such festivals and events that can necessitate outing of masquerade are: *Irepa* and *Ekuechi* festivals, and when an aged male or *eku* custodian dies. In line with the second conceptual framework drawn from the idea of Ki-Zerbo (1981), which states that, there is a need to avoid over-simplifications arising from linear and restrictive conception of world history, and to re-establish the true facts where necessary and possible by endeavouring to highlight historical data that gives a clearer picture of the people of Africa in their specific socio-cultural setting.

It is on this premise that, a trace and documentation of the historical origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions were done based on the uniqueness of the masks and masquerades, and their formation history in relation to date, custodian and the festivals or events that necessitate the traditions. Hence, the historical origins of the masking and masquerade traditions are explained chronologically in three different accounts with different masks and masquerades in the following order: *Idowo* Masking and Masquerade's History, *Irepa* Masking and Masquerade's History, and *Ekuechi* and *Echeane* Masking and Masquerade's History. It is important to note that, the three different masking and masquerade traditions are relevant to this study. To further buttress this statement, the first conceptual framework derived from Babalola (1981) and Ohiare (1988), which advocates that, art should be studied within its cultural context to avoid cultural stasis, is therefore

important to study the three different historical accounts of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions as follows:.

***Idowo* Masking and Masquerade:** The *Idowo* masking and masquerade's history is traced back to early 18th century A.D. with Osawu as the deity, and as a member of the *Eziobe* family of the *Ebira Chao*, he was disclosed to be a famous hunter, who migrated along with the people from the *Jukun*, *Kwararafa* kingdom to its present location in Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State, South–South, Nigeria. According to the *Akuta* of *Eziakuta* (O.I., 2017), it was at the death of *Osawu* that, the family saw him as a hero whose spirit should be revered and consulted for solutions to life challenges, ranging from ill-health, success, to protection of the people. Hence, *Idowo Osawu* became a deity manifested in the form of a masquerade, each time he was to visit his people, from a shrine that was built at *Okovoza* for him. The appearing and re-appearing of the masquerade became a tradition that is upheld by the following families that make up the *Eziobe* clan: *Eziakozi, Eziodu, Ezioga Eziakuta* and *Anoverewa*. Therefore, it is an established fact that, *Idowo* masking and masquerade tradition is of the *Ebira Chao* origin.

***Irepa* Masking and Masquerades:** *Irepa* related masking and masquerade tradition was derived from the age grade system. Connected to this, is *Aba* drum, which is a relic of the *Kwararafa* in *Jukun* Kingdom, which was brought and introduced to the *Ebira Chao*, Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo state, by a brave warrior and a hunter called Akpogumoza of the *Eziakuta Opoporiku* extraction of the *Eziobe* clan. The evidence of Akpogumoza's foot-print is on *iretoji* (black stone) that is located at the rocky side of the *Akovoza* axis. Akerele (O.I., 2017) explained that, the indigenes of the *Ebira Chao* introduced masking and masquerade traditions into the *Irepa* festival as a result of the political and social significance of the festival, as it relates to age group stratifications in

the town. Thus, *Ishebe* masquerade was introduced as a means of creating the presence of the ancestors to herald *Irepa* celebration. By this, it is believed that, the ancestors were involved in the said festival, which started in about 1789 A.D. During the festival, songs of victory of the *Kwararafa* kingdom are chanted. The festival is celebrated in every seven years for the up-grading of the *opoze* age group to the *azebani* age group, which is the highest age group of the *Ebira Chao*. The *Irepa* celebration follows *upe enu* (new yam festival) of the year it is celebrated. During this celebration, masquerades whose costumes are made from dried leaves of banana plant, strips of tree barks (*ochi avovoshi*) and jute threads are featured to entertain spectators. Therefore, Akerele (O.I., 2017) further posits that, the *Irepa* related masking and masquerade traditions which started in the 18th century A.D can also be said to be of the *Ebira Chao* origin.

***Ekuechi* and *Echeane* Masking and Masquerades:** The history of *Ekuechi* and *Echeane* masking and masquerades has been traced to be the great works of Ododo and Obaji. Oral source reveals that, the *eku* (masquerade) cult originated from Okehi (*Ohuoda*). It was further narrated that, Ododo of Okehi and Obaji of Eika were blood brothers, with Obaji as the elder brother. When Obaji fell sick and it was apparent that, he was going to die, Ododo felt that it was not proper for Obaji to be older than him in this world and also in the spirit world. Iviopa (O.I., 2017) narrates that, Ododo immediately went to see his sick brother, and with experience, he discovered that he would soon die. He felt cheated and bitter that Obaji, whom he has served well for many years, would be his senior in this world and in the spirit world. Though, it is customary for the younger one to serve his elder brother. Hence, Ododo was at the command and service of his elder brother (Obaji) even at his adulthood. On Ododo's return from his brother, he felt bad because he wanted Obaji to serve him in return, when they are transited to the world beyond. Consequent upon this, he

told his children that, he was going to die and he instructed them to quickly bring up his image in the form of a masquerade. In other words, Ododo reincarnated as a spirit and assumed the physical form of a masquerade.

He told his children to embody him in the masquerade form if he died, and that, he would be Obaji's senior in the hereafter and in masquerade matters. Ododo also threatened to curse his children if they failed to carry out his instruction when he is dead. He also made provision for the masquerade costume that the children should wear on him. Before he finally died, he instructed that, no woman should be allowed to come near the masquerade, and that, he would be visiting them annually. When Ododo died, Obaji quickly understood the trick of his younger brother and he instructed that, Ododo's death should not be announced. This was an attempt for him to die, so that, his death would be announced before people would get to know that Ododo was dead. However, Ododo's children refused Obaji's instruction, and announced their father's death all over Okehi that same night. There was beating of *anuva* and dance throughout the night, and was followed with *ogugu* dance which featured *Eku* (masquerade) as a means of honouring Ododo. This is how *Eku* Ododo and *Eku* Obaji came into existence.

Therefore, *ekuechi and echeane* festivals that embrace masking and masquerading were initiated as an annual festival to commemorate the great works of Ododo and Obaji. Musa (O.I., 2018) explained that, since *Ekuechi* is an all male affairs, *unehe* which comes up in the eve of *ekuechi* is designed to accommodate and satisfy the cultural thirst of the women folk. In the night of this *unehe* day, men and women come out in their colourful attire to watch the traditional *ikede* singers who mount the rostrum at different locations of the town to pour out melodious songs accompanied with beating of drums and dance. *Ekuechi*

festival comes up between the months of December and January every year, and it is celebrated in the sequential order starting from Okehi (*Ohuodo*) and followed by Eika, Adavi, Okengwe (including Okene and Ihima) and Eganyi in that order. It is pertinent to mention here that, when Okehi celebrates her *Ekuechi*, every other community in Ebira land (*Ebira Tao* and *Ebira Chao*) join in the celebration. This is a mark of honour given only to Okehi as the originator of the *eku* (masquerade) cult.

Information collected from Akuta (O.I., 2017) and Iviopa (O.I., 2018), revealed that, the practice of this rich tradition was introduced to the *Ebira Chao* by Okoro, Aboki, Omonowo and Ichau the custodians of the *Adagiri* masquerade, who were visitors to the *Eziakuta Opoporiku* extraction of the *Eziobe* clan of the *Ebira Chao* in Akoko-Edo Local Government area of Edo State in 1927. In line with an adage which says, *"avi ze ku inu kuo, do varu ukuo,"* this translates to mean that, when a leaf consistently remains in soapy water, it will turn into soap. Hence, as Okoro, Aboki, and Ichau lived with the *Ebira Chao* and practised the *eku* cult, some of the *Ebira Chao* bought into it and were enlisted. Today, *Ekuechi* and *Echeane* festivals that embrace *eku* cult have become part of the traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. Hence, the masking and masquerade traditions related to *Ekuechi* and *Echeane* that was introduced by Okoro, Aboki, Omonori and Ichau who were already absorbed as members of the *Eziobe* family of the *Ebira Chao*, can also be concluded to be of the *Ebira Chao* origin. This is also evident in the *ogugu* dance that features masquerades during final burial ceremony of a deceased adult among the *Ebira Chao*.

Types and Aesthetics of the *Ebira Chao* Masks

Masking tradition remains as one of the *Ebira Chao* important religious, ritual, and social activities. Though, the *Ebira Chao* masks are not used independently, but that, they are

worn on the face or head by masquerades. Amulets, charms, or other protective devices (animal fur, feathers, animal's teeth, or antlers) intensify the power of the mask. The *Ebira Chao* masks are typified based on how they are worn and their forms. Basically, the masks are typified into: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and cloth-hood masks. It is worthy of note that, some of the masks are anthropomorphic when they depict human form, it is zoomorphic when it portrays animal forms and hood-mask when the form is not definite in terms of form. Usman (O.I., 2017) disclosed that, the production of such masks were inspired by myth, the strength of the masks and the purpose it is meant to serve.

Anthropomorphic Masks

Anthropomorphic masks are masks that have facial features of human beings. In some cases, they depict human anatomical forms, either in realism or in abstract. Some examples of the *Ebira Chao* anthropomorphic masks are:

***Raba* Mask:** *Raba* mask is a type of mask that has the form of human face. It can be likened to the Igbo maiden spirit mask, but for the head load (*enyia resu eku*) that differentiates it from other masks of other societies. The *enyia resu eku* is where the power of the mask is imbued. Thus, the inner beauty of *Raba* is hinged in it. The *enyia resu Eku* is characterized with some calabashes and some enclosed sacrificial objects, in a sparsely decorated fabric made-bag, tied together with the calabashes. It is important to note that, the people believe that, the inner beauty of the mask determines its external beauty. This is so, because the sacrificial demands of the continuous display of the power, to prophesy and to carry out some other functions, like; healing and deliverance, characterize the inner aesthetic of *Raba* mask. Through divination, the *eku* ancestral spirit decides how the mask should look like. Therefore, to the ordinary man, the external appearance may not seem to be beautiful because of the sacrificial objects. The piece of white cloth on which the

calabashes and the concealed items are placed, symbolizes peace. It is simply one of the approved fabric material for *eku* cult by, the *eku* ancestral spirit. For visual appreciation, *Raba* mask is shown in plate I. the external aesthetics is depicted in the ugliness and the irregular arrangement of the objects that constitute the head-load. The contrasting colours of the costume that are enhanced by the palm leaves gives the mask a scary appearance. Accordind to Onimisi who gave the historical details of the mask, disclosed that, the masquerade existed between 1962 and 1985. The photograph showing raba mask is the only surviving evidence that such mask ever existed.

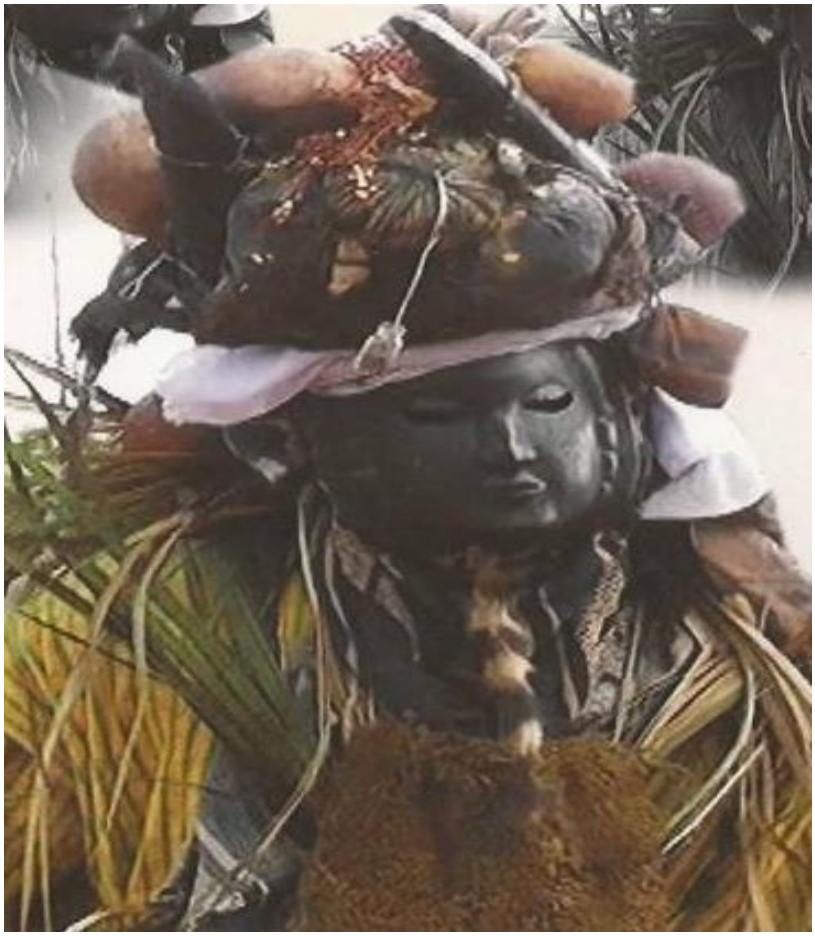


Plate I: *Raba* Mask,
Medium: Wood
Source: Ojo Onimisi (*Eku* Custodian), 5/1/2018

***Ovansa* Mask**

One other type of the *Ebira Chao* mask, is the one called *Ovansa* (Plate II). It is depicted in human form, with the mouth abstracted. The deliberately hollowed and abstracted mouth is to create an opening through which breathing in and out is made possible, while the ugly and terrifying appearance of the mask constitute part of its external aesthetics. The white patches on the face of the mask are the shell of sacrificed local fowl eggs, as demanded by the spirit. The projected part of the mask is the *enya resu* e*ku*. Note that, the *enya resu eku* is the part where the power of the mask is imbued. The connection between the mask and the *eku* ancestor is inherent in the *enya resu eku* (head load of a masquerade). The piece of white cloth which symbolises peace is tied round the mask as demanded by the ancestral spirit, while the red oil stain that creates yellow effect on the piece of white cloth is to calm every foreseen and unforeseen tensions that are envisaged through divination. The inner aesthetic of *Ovansa* mask is hinged on the contextual essence of the mask. It has the ability to prophesy and fore see evil that may befall people around it, and how to avert the fore seen evil. The ugly and terrifying appearance of the mask is enhanced with dark coloured blood of a sacrificed cock that was used to paint the face of the mask, as demanded by the *eku* cult spirit. Onimisi (O.I.) disclosed that, the mask was worn by the *Ovansa* masquerade that existed between 1976 and 1999 during performance, and that, this photograph is the only surviving evidence that such masquerade ever existed.



Plate II: *Ovansa* Mask
Medium:Wood
Source: Ojo Onimisi (*Eku* Custodian), 5/1/2018

***Ovurevu* Mask:** The word *ovurevu* means a fighter. Hence, the mask is so called because it is noted for fighting whenever it is charged out of its *ireba* (place of abode for a masquerade) for performance. Therefore, it forms part of the contextual aesthetics to the *Ebira Chao*, in the sense that, when the mask is worn, it can give victory to the wearer and the members of the group that own it. The mask was made with wood, and has two hollowed eye spots, to enable the wearer to see clearly. The mouth region is also slightly opened, to allow free flow of air in and out for the mask wearer. The head load (*enya resu* e*ku*), is characterized with some sacrificial objects like bones and small bell (*izenyi*). The

enya resu of *eku ovurevu* (head load of ovurevu mask) is wrapped with fabric that is creatively pleated into dome shape, and the tiny bell attached to it which creates pleasing sounds as the masquerade moves on, forms part of its external aesthetics. The symbolic and pointing nose that is vertically placed, gives the mask an abstracted form. The deliberate placement of the hollowed eye region makes the mask appears more weird and terrifying. The face of the mask is rough with texture that is conspicuously depicted as an impression that is created by the carver. The mask is worn on a green coloured velvet material to conceal the back view from being seen by spectators. Usman (O.I., 2017) has it that, the mask, when worn, empowers the wearer to see into the future. Consequent upon this, the wearer is spiritually empowered to prophesy to whoever comes in contact with it. See *Ovurevu* mask in plate III. The mask, according to Usman, existed between 1977 and 1984, and that, this photograph is the only evidence to show that a mask of this sort ever existed.



Plate III: *Ovurevu* Mask
Medium: Wood and Fabric
Source: Muhammed Usman (*Eku* Custodian), 5/1/2018

Zoomorphic Masks

Zoomorphic masks are also prominent among the different types of masks found among the *Ebira Chao*. These are masks that have the resemblance of one type of animal or the other. To the *Ebira Chao,* the ability to make a mask looks like an animal and not a human being is also considered as aesthetic. It is believed that, mask could assume the shape of anything, particularly an animal. One other intent of the act of producing mask to appear in the form of an animal is that, masks of this kind are more terrifying, when compared with other types of mask. Some examples of the *Ebira Chao* zoomorphic masks are: *Ura* and *Uye* masks shown in plates IV and V respectively.

***Ura* Mask:** As the name implies, the word *Ura* means "pig". So, the mask is made to have the form of a pig's mouth. The terrifying mask is characterized with pointed snout, like that of a pig, which is pierced at the upper part of the snout-like structure, to allow clarity of vision to whoever wears the mask. At the top of the mask, is the blood stained white fabric and creatively attached animal skin that is designed for the covering of the wearer. It is worn over multi coloured fabrics that are sparsely decorated. The reason for the name *Ura*, is to equate the power of the mask with that of the pig. Onimisi (O.I., 2018) disclosed that, for the fact that pig is regarded as a forceful animal, and whenever the mask is worn by its custodian, it manifests powers that no force or powers can withstand. This is also because no bullet or knife can penetrate into the body of the masquerade that wears the mask. As part of the aesthetics, the *eku Ura* is noted for its ability to bulldoze its way through any obstacle. Added to this, as part of its aesthetics, e*ku Ura* mimes the pig in its dance steps for entertainment. Usman (O.I., 2018) disclosed that, it existed between 1980 and 1988. The photograph was said to be the only available evidence that this type of mask and masquerade ever existed.



Plate IV: *Ura* Mask
Medium: Mixed Media
Source: Muhammed Usman (*Eku* Custodian), 5/1/2018

***Uye* Mask:** One other zoomorphic mask of the *Ebira Chao* is the *Uye* mask that has the shape of a wild cat. The making of the mask with animal skin and the ability to depict some details of wild cat features, gives the mask some aesthetic qualities. Usman (O.I., 2017) has it that, this mask was mainly used for entertainment. In a bid to make the mask to be more scary and terrifying, some bones of an animal were stucked on to the wide opened mouth as teeth in varying sizes. The wide opening ears that are attached close to the fore head, and the protruding forms that look like eyes, make the mask to be terrifying and give the mask a resemblance of a wild cat as shown in plate IV. According to Usman (O.I., 2018), Uye

mask existed between 1984 and 1997, and this photograph is the only surviving proof that this type of mask was used in the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*.



Plate V: *Uye* Mask
Medium: Animal Skin and Bones
Source: Muhammed Usmam (*Eku* Custodian), 5/1/2018

Cloth Hood Mask

Cloth hood mask is commonly used by *eku echichi*. It is made with fabric in different styles depending on the choice of the masquerade group. Some examples of such masks are the ones used by *eku Adokita* and *eku Onuvu* as shown in plates VI and VII.



Plate VI: *Adokita* Mask
Medium: Cloth and Cowries
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

Cloth hood mask of e*ku Adokita* shown in plate VI, is made of woven cloth called *ituba* and some *uto* (cowries). The woven cloth is in striped green colour on white background. It is sewn and worn over the head, in such a way that, the head of the wearer of the mask is concealed from public's view. To differentiate it from other sewn fabrics that are used for face covering, fourteen cowries are neatly arranged around each of the perforated areas, through which the masker can see. Similarly, the cloth hood mask of e*ku Onuvu* shown in plate VII, is made of woven cloth in varying stripes of red and white coloured yarns.

Attached to the *ituba* at the top, is a red coloured cap that is turbaned with white cloth. On the face of the mask, are two perforated holes rounded with some cowries, to serve as the point through which the wearer of the mask can see. Towards the jaw area is a knitted yarn meant for decorating the mask. The matched-colour gives the mask a unique look. It is mainly designed to entertain people during *ekuechi* festival.



Plate VII: *Onuvu* Mask
Medium: *Ituba* and *Uto*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

In a nut-shell, the aesthtetics of the *Ebira Chao* masks are rooted in their contextual significance, and the contextual essence implies the inner beauty. It is equally noted that,

the inner beauty of the masks over rides the external aesthetics. The fact is that, the people believe that the more the appearance of the masks appear terrifying, the more its aesthetics. Oral history has it that, the masks serve different purposes. For instance, *eku Raba*, *Ovansa*, and *Ura* masks can be used to make divination, prophesy and ward-off evil, while *eku Onuvu*, *Adokita* and *Uye* are noted for entertaining spectators during *ekuechi* festival. It is believed that, the appearing of masquerades that wear such masks is a representation of the *Ebira Chao* ancestors in the form of masquerades.

Types and Aesthetics of the *Ebira Chao* Masquerades

Among the *Ebira Chao*, masquerades are basically classified into *odu* (day) and *irafu* (night) masquerades. In other words, day masquerades are masked, while night masquerades can be masked or unmasked. Below are analysis and discussions on Day and Night masquerades.

Day Masquerades

Day masquerades are referred to as *eku odu*, because they perform only in the day time. Such masquerades are seen and enjoyed by both males and females members of the society. The bodies of the masquerades are completely masked to conceal their nakedness. Some examples of such masquerades are the ones called *eku Idowo, eku okise, eku Echichi* and e*ku Ishebe*.

***Eku Idowo*:** *Eku Idowo* is a unique masquerade because of its outstanding qualities. Acccording to Akuta (O.I., 2017), *Idowo* is, in other words, referred to, as *ori osawu* (a deity), and was a big hunter before it became a spirit that manifested itself in the form of a masquerade. It is owned by *Eziobe* clan, which comprises of *Eziakozi, Eziodu, Ezioga, Eziakuta* and *Anoverewa* families, as arranged in their order of seniority. It is the most senior male of the family that becomes the *Idowo*. Consequent upon this, he automatically

becomes the chief priest of the *Idowo* deity and *Idowo* masquerade custodian. It is important to note that, if the chief priest becomes very old, and cannot climb the *okovoza* rock where the deity and the masquerade dwell, he has the right to hand pick somebody to represent him in serving the deity, and performing the rituals that would herald the outing of the masquerade.

Idowo masquerade comes out only on *ube* or *ude* market days, when the chief priest or the custodian dies. This serves as a mark of regard and appreciation to the chief priest for serving the deity well, and for the spirit of the chief priest to rest in peace with the ancestors. See plate VIII for *eku Idowo* masquerade.



Plate VIII: *Eku Idowo*
Medium: Palm leaves
Drawn by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 10/1/2018.

Before it leaves the abode of the dead chief priest, the masquerade makes statements in the form of prophesies and divination. It showcases itself in a costume made with *adambara* (palm leaves) that are creatively and carefully woven together in segments, and flown over each other in an overlapping manner to conceal the segmented parts of the masquerade's body even when serious wind blows. The aesthetically arranged palm leaves, give the masquerade an appearance like the ornamental masquerade tree. As part of its external aesthetics, it has the potential to vary its height, and sways to any direction at will like the *Igunu* masquerades of the Tapa and Lagos. The difference between the *Idowo* masquerade and the latter ones is that, the costume of *Idowo* masquerade is made with leaves, while those of the *Igunu* masquerade are made with cloth. One would conclude therefore, that the *Idowo* masquerade is the *Ebira Chao* version of the *Igunu* masquerade. As part of its external aesthetics, the height of the *Idowo* masquerade which is usually between 1050cm and 1200cm tall and can also be reduced to about 120cm at will by the masquerade during performance. During display, each time it sways, the flown *adambara* (palm leaves) create feather –like effect.

The masquerade is usually followed by an estimated population of three thousand people, which comprises of both male and female. Akerele (O.I., 2017), noted that, it is a taboo for somebody to view *Idowo* masquerade from an elevated surface. Similarly, photographing and video filming the masquerade are regarded as abominable acts, and could lead to death, if the deity is not appeased. In fact, if it is snapped secretly, the camera could get damaged mysteriously, and the snapped image of *eku Idowo* would not appear. The choice of palm leaves as *Idowo* masquerade costume is as a result of the fact that, palm leaves in *Ebira Chao* culture, is associated with the spirit of the dead. Using palm leaves to build costume

for *idowo* masquerade was decided by Osawu (idowo ancestor). Also, the wearing of the costume fashioned with palm leaves is a representation of the ancestor or the dead visiting its people in the form of a masquerade.

The costume is usually woven on the very day that the masquerade will come out for performance. The activities start from as early as 4.00am at the *Idowo* shrine on the *okovoza* axis, which is a part of the rocky hill. The people, at such a time, go to the place with enough yams, red oil, ingredients and white cock. A deformed person, an adulterer, fornicator, thief and a man whose male child died at birth, are not permitted to be at the environment where the shrine is located. It is also a taboo for the people, who are to weave the *Idowo* costume to eat left-over food, drink water that was fetched the previous day or sleep with their wives. The coming down of the masquerade from its dwelling place, is usually led by the custodian who stays in front of the masquerade holding *inori ivio* (special stick). When the population becomes thick, however, he relocates to be behind the masquerade, to pick the fallen strips of *adambara* (palm leaves) from the *Idowo*. The reason is that, such *adambara* that falls from the masquerade can cause miscarriage for any pregnant woman in the crowd, who steps on it. If the chief priest or custodian who died is at *Utua* Quarters, the masquerade would come from its abode through *Ugbogbo* Quarters, and returns to its dwelling place through *Utua* Quarters vis a viz some of the popular songs for the *Idowo* which are:

	Translation
Ene fuavo… Eya fuavo ne…	**Who can dare it… We can dare it…**
Ene fuavo… Eya fuavo ne…	**Who can dare it… We can dare it…**
Ene fuavo… Eya fuavo ne…	**Who can dare it… We can dare it…**

Ene fuavo… Eya fuavo ne… **Who can dare it… We can dare it…**

Another typical song for the masquerade is;

Translation

Oye oye oye…adayi oye oye oye **He understands (3 times)…Our father understands**

Oye oye oye… adayi oye oye oye **He understands (3times)… Our father understands**

Oye oye oye… adayi oye oye oye **He understands (3 times)… Our father understands**

Oye oye oye… adayi oye oye oye **He understands (3 times)… Our father understands**

Other than the horns of an animal called *eya* (buffalo) that are used as instruments to create pleasant sounds for the masquerade, no other instrument(s) is/are used. The fact is that, *epani eya* (buffalo horns) are used because, it is one of the biggest animals the deceased was killing, when he was alive. Such horns are never exposed to public view, but are hidden in *agbada* (flowing cloth sewn for male) as they are used to create pleasant sounds.

The *Ebira Chao* do not attach much importance to the external aesthetics, but the contextual significance, as the aesthetics of the masquerade because masking and masquerade traditions are basically geared towards meeting societal needs.. The *Idowo* masquerade has the power to bless a barren woman who perhaps has been diagnosed by a medical practitioner with the gift of fruitfulness of the womb, by giving birth to healthy baby. Based on the information gathered from the Akuta of Eziakuta (O.I., 2018), people who are stagnated in their places of work, have received promotion as a result of consulting and appeasing the *Idowo*. More so, there are claims that, *Idowo* protects people from the torments of witches and wizards, and averts evil and danger from those who appease it. Due to its spiritual potency, it cannot be deceived. For instance, it is usually appeased with white cock, and if the person it has blessed or done something for, wants to thank the *Idowo*

with white cock without any spot of other colour and could not find such, but got the one that perhaps, has a small dot of other colour, and chooses to present it to the chief priest after removing that tiny spot from the cock, if the chief priest is presenting it to the *Idowo*, that little coloured spot will resurface on the body of the cock in its original colour, thereby revealing the secret, and have that person punished.

***Eku Okise*:** Wooden face masks that are either anthropomorphic or zoomorphic in form are worn by *eku okise,* to cover their faces. The types of masquerade that wear these types of masks are designated for great tasks, and are regarded as e*ku okise,* because they are noted for giving prophesies. During *ekuechi* festival, such masquerades visit people in their homes and pray for them. In some cases, if the masquerade sees any evil that is about to befall a family, it would repel it. This type of masquerade carries cane or stick only if it discovers that someone is sick in a particular home, it may slightly use the cane to beat the individual that is sick for him or her to get well. This is done as may be directed by the ancestors. Shakede (O.I., 2017) explained that, *eku okise* are highly fortified with some powers that enable them to see into the future. Hence, they are also noted for making divination and offering of prayers to people. Such masquerades are sometimes associated with the use of *ubaneto* (hand woven cloth noted for spiritual powers). The only existing *eku okise* is: *eku Ado Oseni* in plate IX.

***Eku Adoseni*:** *Eku Adoseni* is only surviving e*ku okise* of the *Ebira Chao* (plate IX). According to Onimisi (O.I., 2017), the masquerade came into existence since 1978 in *Ufa* quarters of Igarra. It is made of detachable *enya resu*. This is because the *enya resu* is worn over the cloth hood mask. At the top of it, are some sacrificial objects like; piece of white cloth, bones, alligator pepper, charms, animal blood and some cowries that are meant for the fortification of the masquerade against any evil occurrence, and to be able to fulfill its

obligations in terms of prophesying and praying for people it comes in contact with. The mask is worn on a sparsely decorated flowing gown, with some slit parts for easy movement. It is important to note here that, the flowing gown is not the original cloth for masquerade of the *Ebira Chao*. The fact is that, the custodian chooses this type of material for his masquerade because of western influence and lack of fund to purchase *ituba* from the weavers. The flowing gown covers the baggy trouser (*arumata*), while *ituba* is sewn into stocks and worn to cover the feet. Slightly above the feet are *ishavere* that are tied to each of the legs to create chattering sounds and awareness of the presence of the masquerade. Round each eye of the masquerade, are seven cowries that are arranged in circles. The use of seven cowries has spiritual significance in terms of looking into the future and power carriage by the masquerade as power is imbued in the cowries. The hand fan (*upepe*) held by the masquerade is used to fan the masquerader to have a feel of fresh air. Aesthetic consideration in this masquerade (*eku Adoseni*), is its ability to prophesy and pray for people with diverse problems and having their problems solved. A typical example of these is in the area of the masquerade praying and prophesying for a barren woman to be blessed with the fruit of the womb, and who, in the following season is blessed with a healthy baby or more. The costume of the masquerade is greatly influenced by the outcome of divination. Hence, the external aesthetic is hinged on the internal aesthetics (contextual significance) and divination dictates.



Plate IX: *Eku Adoseni*
Medium: Mixed Media
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

Eku Echichi

Eku echichi is another group of masquerades that are known for their theatrical performance in dancing. Unlike the *Ebira Tao, eku echihi* does not feature during the *echeane*, but during the *ekuechi* festival. These types of masquerades are usually many, because their outing involves little or no sacrifice to charge the masquerades from their *ireba* (Spiritual abode). They have varying costumes, and they do not wear carved masks.

During performance, each e*ku echichi* carries one or more sticks, with which it either threatens its spectators or flogs people whenever it feels like doing so. For the fact that, the supporters do not know who the masquerade may flog, every member of the supporters' group is ever ready to be the victim of the flogging. Members of the supporters' group are usually individuals that can chant songs boastfully. This is done as a way of arrogating regards and attraction of people to the masquerade. In some cases, each *eku echichi* claims supremacy, as they come in contact with each other during performance. This ego that exists in every *eku echichi*, has often been the root cause of the fight between one masquerade and the other. However, there are instances where two or more *eku echichi* co-exist during performance. This is possible when there is a bond between the custodians of the masquerades. In the light of this, the supporters are also bound to see each other as one. Hence, peace tends to reign between the masquerades. The following are some *eku echichi* and their aesthetic analysis.

***Eku Onuvu*:** *Eku Onuvu* came into existence in 1991, with Jimoh Okomayin at *Aribe* as its custodian. The masquerade (Plate X) is shown wearing locally woven cloth, sewn into inner and flowing gown. The cloth-hood mask is also sewn with the same woven fabric. The hues of the fabric are wide stripes of white and chocolate colours. The red cap worn by the masquerade is held tight to the head with a piece of white cloth. Round the eyes of the masquerade, are neatly arranged cowries in circles. The well planned colour combination, gives the masquerades some visual aesthetics. Added to that, is the theatrical aesthetics of the masquerade during performance as he dances to the lyrics of the flute as shown in plate X. The masquerade holds a stick with which he flogs people whenever it wishes, during performance. The name "*onuvu"* (mad person) is given to the masquerade because its actions cannot be predicted. This means that, the masquerade does exhibit characters that

are never expected, and always taking people by surprise. However, the entertaining aspect of the masquerade, overrides every other aspect of its qualities.

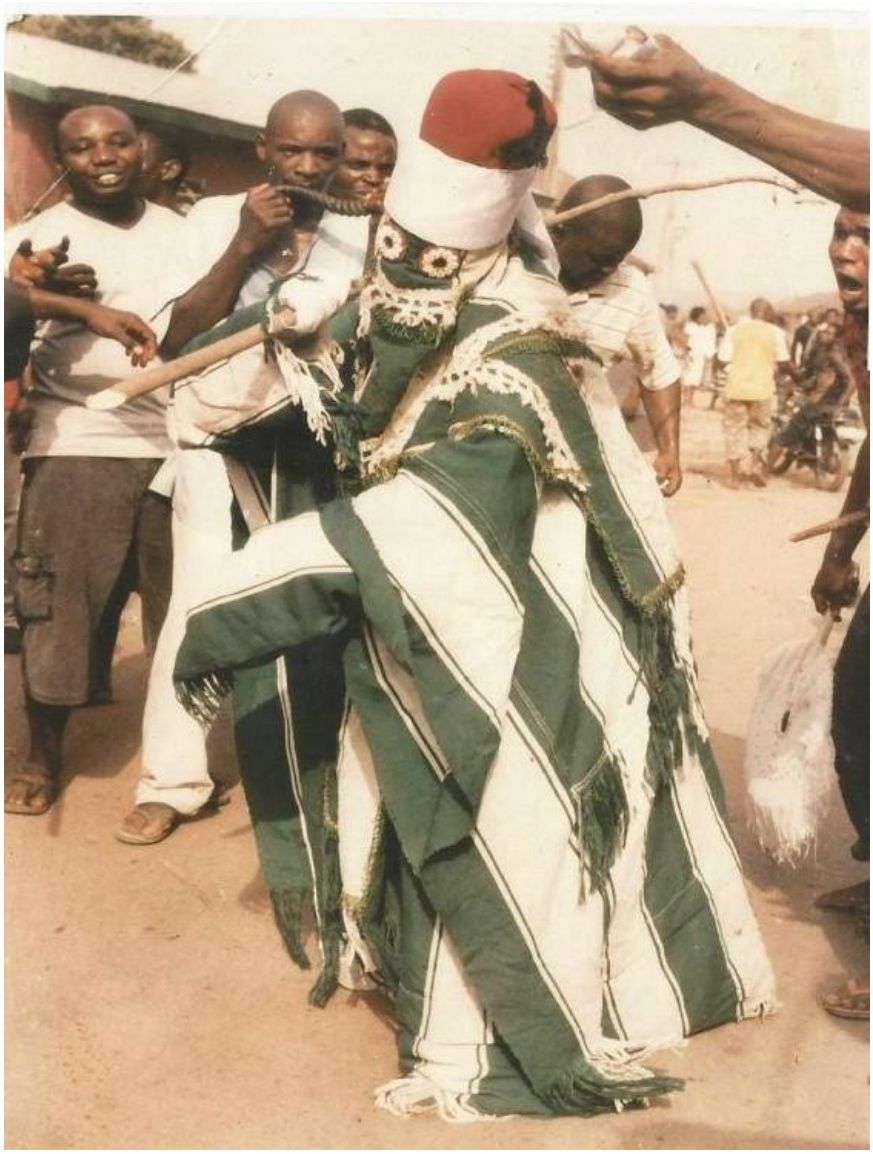


Plate X: *Eku Onuvu*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

***Eku Adokita*:** *Eku Adokita* is another type of e*ku echichi* that came into existence in 1982 through late Oni Afekhai Ukanah as the custodian. The vibrant nature of the masquerade, gave it much popularity. Later in 1983, the masquerade was associated with *evara* group

that was championed by Babatunde Akande, also known as Ofiege. The masquerade's ability to utilize wide space during performance while entertaining its spectators, is one of the reasons people regarded it as the "doctor" (adokita) of all other *eku echichi*. The masquerade pulls a crowd of about three thousand people during outings. Its dance steps to the rhythms of the drum beat, gong and flute, give its performance some theatrical aesthetics. *Eku Adokita*'s several costumes for performance are locally woven fabric in multiples of green and white stripes on a white background, which are the masquerade's preferred colours and design. The cowries that are arranged around the eyes, give it a terrifying look that makes it different from other fabrics that are used for face covering. Behind the masquerade, are its members carrying sticks for performance. In a similar manner to the way the masquerade flogs people, the members may at one time or the other flog one another. See *eku Adokita* and its members in plate XI shown below for visual appreciation. Like every other masquerade, *eku Adokita* has bullet and knife resistant powers that do not allow penetration of bullets or knife-cut when faced with opposition.



Plate XI: *Eku Adokita*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

***Eku Akamawu*:** *Eku Akamawu*, as the name implies, is noted for stubbornness, and doing what other masquerades do not dare. Due to its stubbornness, it is on record that, *eku Akamawu* has never gone on outing and fight not, even when announcement is made that, no masquerade should fight. The said masquerade came into existence in 1990, with one

Agbaja Eshovo Ukonga of *Ugbogbo* quarters as the custodian. The costume of the masquerade is a woven fabric, characterized with white, green and black stripes. The fabric is sewn into inner and overflowing gown. Round the eyes of the cloth-hood mask, are cowries that are neatly positioned to differentiate the cloth-hood mask, from other face covering materials. It is important to note that, the use of cowries in masking and masquerade traditions, play some significant roles in masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. Tied round each of the legs of the masquerade, are strips of *ishavere* to create some rattling sounds. In some cases, the masquerade controls the sound of the *ishavere* to rhyme with the rhythm of the drum beat and flute sounds.

Next to the masquerade, is a young man in similar attire with the masquerade, who serves as its errand boy, and acts as the mouth piece of the masquerade each time the masquerade wants to pass any information to his followers or spectators. Hence, whoever wants to give money to the masquerade, will give it to the man who will in turn keep it or put it in the masquerade's pocket, depending on the wish of the masquerade. In plate XII, is the masquerade and its members bearing sticks in their hands and ready for display. The posture of the *eku* reflects a moment of rest for the masquerade. The aesthetics of the masquerade is in the costume and theatrical qualities, in terms of the dance steps and chanting of songs boastfully when entertaining the spectators.



Plate XII: *Eku Akamawu*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018

***Eku Anipo*:** *Eku Anipo* was birthed into the e*ku* cult in 2002 by Sunday Nico Oseh of *Ufa* quarters as the custodian. The masquerade is noted for display of some spiritual powers. For instance, e*ku Anipo* has the potential to disappear from one place and re-appears in another place. It is also on record that, e*ku Anipo* has some "*odeshi"* (mystical powers) that can repel bullet or knife penetration into its body. Ojo (O.I., 2017) narrated that, the fame

of the masquerade came into lime light in 2003. when the masquerade was attacked by a team of mobile policemen at gun point. Despite the sporadic shooting of the policemen at the masquerade and its members, they were not hurt and no death was recorded. Also, despite the masquerade and its members were not carrying weapons but only sticks, an additional number of mobile policemen was dispatched to make arrest of the *eku* and its members. To the surprise of the spectators, e*ku Anipo* instructed its members to place their hands on its shoulders, while those that could not reach him were asked to put their hands on any member of the group that was already touching the masquerade. Having done this, the *eku Anipo* and its members disappeared into the thin air, and were later seen dancing on the rocky hill of about 2,400cm high. Consequent upon this mystery, the armed policemen took to their heels. In plate XIII, e*ku Anipo* is shown wearing mask, made of woven cloth that is typical of the *Ebira Chao*. Tied round the top of the mask, and slightly above the cowries, is a piece of white cloth which symbolises peace. The masquerade wears a woven cloth that is characterized with stripes of white, light blue and green colours, sewn into a flowing gown. Tied round each of the legs of the masquerade, are strips of *ishavere* that produce some chattering sounds, to create awareness of its presence. Sometimes, the masquerade controls it to produce sounds that rhyme with the rhythm of the drum beats, and create some forms of theatrical aesthetics during display, to entertain spectators.



Plate XIII: *Eku Anipo*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 8/1/2018.

***Eku Oganta*:** *Eku Oganta* shown in plate XIV, was formed in 2010 by Lucky Amunega also known as Oyegun. The masquerade, clothed in locally woven fabric that is fashioned in red, orange and white stripes, is known for display of some magical powers. For instance, it has the power of moving in between two or more people, without being seen doing so. Lucky (2017), sees this attribute as part of the aesthetics of the masquerade.

Consequent upon this, the masquerade can fight in an unseen battle. Round the eyes of the hood mask made of cloth, are some cowries indicating that it is a masquerade of the *Ebira Chao*. Around each of the legs of e*ku Oganta* are strips of *ishavere* for the purpose of arousing the attention of people. The theatrical aesthetics of the masquerade is in terms of dancing, as it entertains its spectators. On its head are some pieces of bones, egg shell and yolk, cowries and some stains of animal blood that was used for sacrifice and to charge the masquerade from its *ireba* (place of abode). Among the members, is a young man in the same attire with the masquerade, smashing an egg on the head of the masquerade while the other person on a squarting pose is mixing the concoction that were used to charge the masquerade from its ireba.



Plate XIV: *Eku Oganta*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 7/1/2018.

***Eku Ezu*:** *Eku Ezu* (Plate XV) was formed in 1994 with Kehinde Musa, also known as Kehinde Apoko, the custodian. The masquerade is pictured dressed in white, red and blue stripes flowing gown with a cloth-hood mask, fashioned from the same fabric. As part of its aesthetics, the lower part of the costume is fancifully left unherm. The eyes are beaded with some cowries in such a way that the masquerade can see through. Some of its henchmen are: late Atokunbo Ogbodo, Iviopa Yaya and Ishevo Ajakaiye. e*ku Ezu* is popularly known for unique dance steps displayed during entertainment.



Plate XV: *Eku Ezu*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 7/1/2018.

***Eku Ishebe*:** *Eku Ishebe* is *irepa* (highest age group festival) related masquerade whose costume is fashioned from natural fiber such as, dried banana leaves which are technically and creatively packaged together to conceal the wearer from being seen by the spectators. The leaves are creatively arranged to touch the ground for the purpose of creating awareness of the masquerade's presence. The technically and creatively arranged dried banana leaves create pleasing forms, as the leaves are drapered severally and rumbled into each other, also reveals some aesthetics. The masquerade entertains its spectators during performance. Iviopa (O.I., 2017) has it that, the choice of banana leaves as its costume is based on the philosophy of the ancestors, that, as people grow old, they get closer to their ancestors. Therefore, to celebrate the *azebani* (wealthy men in terms of experience) age group as highest title taking in Igarra, e*ku Ishebe* is expected to be naturally costumed to reflect the naturalness of the ancestral fathers. In some cases, the costume of the masquerade is made from back of trees called *ochi avovoshi*, and carefully peeled, washed and knitted together. Such costume looks like those of the *Ninzo* masquerade. Oral sources revealed that, the type of *eku ishebe* whose costume is made from *ochi avavoshi* has gone into extinction, and that, *ishebe* masquerade, whose costumes are made with banana leaves are the ones in existence till-date (Plates XVI-XVII).



Plate XVI: *Eku Ishebe Aviogede*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 24/8/2017



Plate XVII: *Eku Ishebe*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 27/8/2018.

The outing of *eku ishebe* is in every seven years during *Irepa* festival that, the *opoze* age group members are elevated to the highest strata of age group in Igarra. For the fact that the *Ebira Chao* believe in ancestral worship, the idea of masquerade display, during the festival was initiated. Based on information got through Akuta (O.I., 2018), the ancestral fathers who were represented in the masquerade spirit, kept the members of the age group from their infancy through the age groups (*Opa afauafu, Opa ozavashe, Opa obete oku,opa enenoku, Opa oga, Opa oze* and to *Opa azebani)* which is the highest age group. The belief of the people in the ideology that ancestors are spirits, and that, they should not be represented in human regalia like clothes, is the reason why e*ku Ishebe* costume is made of natural objects and fibers. To enable the masker to have control over his steps and movement, an adjustment is carefully made on the face area for proper visual clarity. Due to the dryness of the leaves, sounds are produced as the masquerade dances. The outing of e*ku Ishebe* gives a signal that *Irepa* celebration has started. Deliberate flow of the leafy costume on the ground, is to create awareness of the e*ku* movement. For the fact that, the masquerade entertains the people, its ability to dance to the admiration of its spectators, reveal some theatrical aesthetic qualities. This type of masquerade is specifically designed to entertain people on the eve of beating *aba* drums, to herald *Irepa* festival.

General Aesthetics of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions

Aesthetic consideration of masks and masquerades of the *Ebira Chao* are based on intrinsic and extrinsic notes. The intrinsic aesthetic, in other words, is referred to as the inner beauty, and it is based on contextual significance. Musa (O.I., 2018) narrated that, the inner beauty of a mask or masquerade is more important than the external aesthetics to the owner community. Thus, it is the internal aesthetics that influences the external aesthetics. This suffices to mean that, if one is good in the inside, there should be a reflection of it

outwardly. Hence, the belief that masks' and masquerades' aesthetics consideration perspective of the *Ebira Chao* does not agree with the European perspective or judgemental standard of aesthetic consideration. Therefore, the idea of colour, line, shape, form, proportion, balance, rhythm and harmony does not arise, in making value judgement of a mask or masquerade that is considered to be beautiful as emphasis is on the functions of the masquerades. The *Ebira Chao* believe that the ability to deviate from realism in mask production, forms part of the aesthetics. Hence, some of the masks are anthropomorphic and zoomorphic in form. In fact, deliberate efforts are made to make the masks appear terrifying and weird.

The inner aesthetics of the masks and masquerades is based on their contextual essence, that is, the cultural purpose for which the masks and masquerades are meant for. Based on information gathered from Onimisi (O.I., 2018), masking and masquerade traditions are not practiced for practising sake. Hence, the solutions it proffers to individual and societal needs are primarily considered as aesthetic of the masks and masquerades. The sacrifices or rituals demanded to make the inner aesthetics realistic, also determines what is seen on the external of the masks and masquerades, as shown in plate XIV. For instance, there are times when demands for the blood of animal(s) that was or were sacrificed are applied on the face of the masks and or costume before it is charged out of its *ireba* (place of abode). Ordinarily, one would think that, the mask or masquerade is dirty as a result of the animal blood that was splashed on it. Yet, it is considered as aesthetics, because it enables the masks and, or masquerades to discharge their function to individuals, families and the society at large. To further buttress this, Sunday (O.I., 2018) disclosed that, e*ku Anipo's* costume has never been washed since it joined the *eku cult*.

The essence of this is to make it potent and powerful enough to fulfil its mandate as a masquerade. Though, it may seem to be dirty and smelling to the spectators, but the beauty is in the power it pocesses. In some cases, bones, cowries, animal horns and feathers are attached to masks or masquerades to form part of the costume. Oral source also has it that, the way the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades appear, are greatly determined through divination and what is demanded to make the inner aesthetics realistic.

The theatrical and rhythmic dance steps of the masquerades to the rhythm of the drum beats as songs are rendered by the e*ku* group is another form of aesthetics in the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. This is applicable to e*ku odu* (Day masquerade) and e*ku rafu* (Night masquerade). The aesthetic qualities of the songs, lie in their free-flowing poetic contents and vibrant philosophical dimensions. Each song is capable of provoking several interpretations later after the masquerade had finished its performance. Therefore, in the bid to ensure that, many of these songs are understood, at least contextually, songs are repeated several times during performance. If "repetition embodies creativity" as opined by Drewal (1992), then, the monotonous nature of these songs could be considered as a creative and aesthetic design, in the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. Apart from establishing the festive mood of the event, music is also used uniquely, to provoke and challenge the singing masquerade into an all-consuming dance feat by the master drummer. The rhythmic patterns and tempo of the instruments are varied and orchestrated with hand clapping by the spectators, resulting in a vivacious excitement for the audience.

This is when everybody present is at their best, in dancing, as the dance jig of the singing masquerade instinctively stimulates others to express themselves in fanciful dance steps.

The dances, present an innate picture of a choreographed or rehearsed artistry. There could be as many as ten different movements variously expressed in groups and individually. It involves the jerking of shoulders up and down, inward and outward curving of the chest on which the jingling bells (*Izenyi*) are tied. Along with the twisting and wriggling of waist, loaded with layers of metal gongs (*ireha*)-the paraphernalia produce soft strident and hard melodious sounds respectively, but in strict rhythmical synchronization with the drumming dictates.

Objects Associated with the Masking and Masquerade Traditions

Some of the accessories associated with the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, are to make them have the qualities of what the *Ebira Chao* regard as ideal masquerade. For instance, a mask or masquerade is expected to be weird and terrifying. It is also expected that, a mask or masquerade should contain some life force that will differentiate it from human beings, though it depends on the purpose for which a particular masquerade is created. The following are objects that are associated with the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions: *Uto*, *ishavere*, *izenyi*, *ireha*, feathers, *ametutu*, *ekaruvo*, mirror and bones.

***Uto*:** Though, *uto* (cowries) were in the time past, used as a medium of exchange, it is believed to have some spiritual values, as it is used for consulting oracle and making divination by many Africans, *Ebira Chao* inclusive. In some cases, spiritual powers are imbued into cowries and used for protection against evil forces. Cowries are sometimes attached to a mask or costume of a masquerade, either for decoration or as a source of power to the masquerade. they are attached around the edge of the spots that are cut round to enable masquerade to see through, as it performs. The number of cowries on each eye spot on the costume, numbers from seven to fourteen, depending on the size of the eye

spots. Onimisi (O.I., 2017) posits that, the choice of using seven, nine and fourteen cowries, is because they are considered, as some of the perfect numbers in the cultural and spiritual practice. It is also believed that, cowries repel attack from witches and wizards. The attachment of cowries to create eyes openings, differentiates the masks from other forms of face covering. See plate XVIII for cowries.



Plate XVIII: *Uto*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 10/1/2018.

***Ishavere*:** *Ishavere* is a cone shaped tin sheet of metals, attached to yarn, laced together and tied round the lower part of the legs of the masquerade. It produces chattering sounds as the masquerade walks or dances to the rhythm of drums. Among the *Ebira Chao*, it is e*ku okise* and *eku echichi* that wear *ishavere*. See plate XIX for visual representation of *ishavere*.

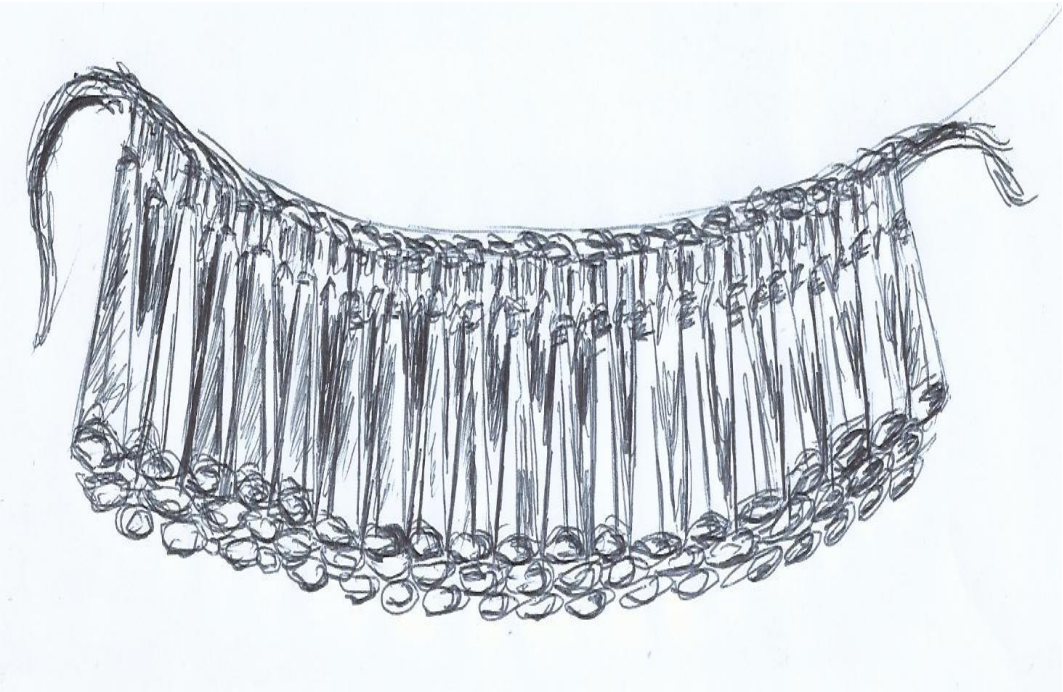


Plate XIX: *Ishavere*
Drawn by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 12/1/2018.

***Izenyi*:** *Izenyi* is a cluster of small bells that are attached to regalia that is worn over another costume by e*ku rafu* (Night masquerade). The *izenyi,* shown in plate XX, is worn around the chest and it makes jingling sounds that are skillfully controlled by the masquerade, to complement the rhythm of the beaten drums. Apart from the pleasurable sounds it makes, *Izenyi* is skillfully and creatively jingled by body movement of the masquerade. It also gives signal for on-coming danger, when the masquerade tries to make sounds with it and none of the bells is jingling. At that instance, spiritual consultations are made, and relevant sacrifices will be done. For the fact that, it is a taboo to take a photograph of izenyi, the researcher decided to make a visual representation of it in drawing to avoid experiencing the wrath of the gods of the land.

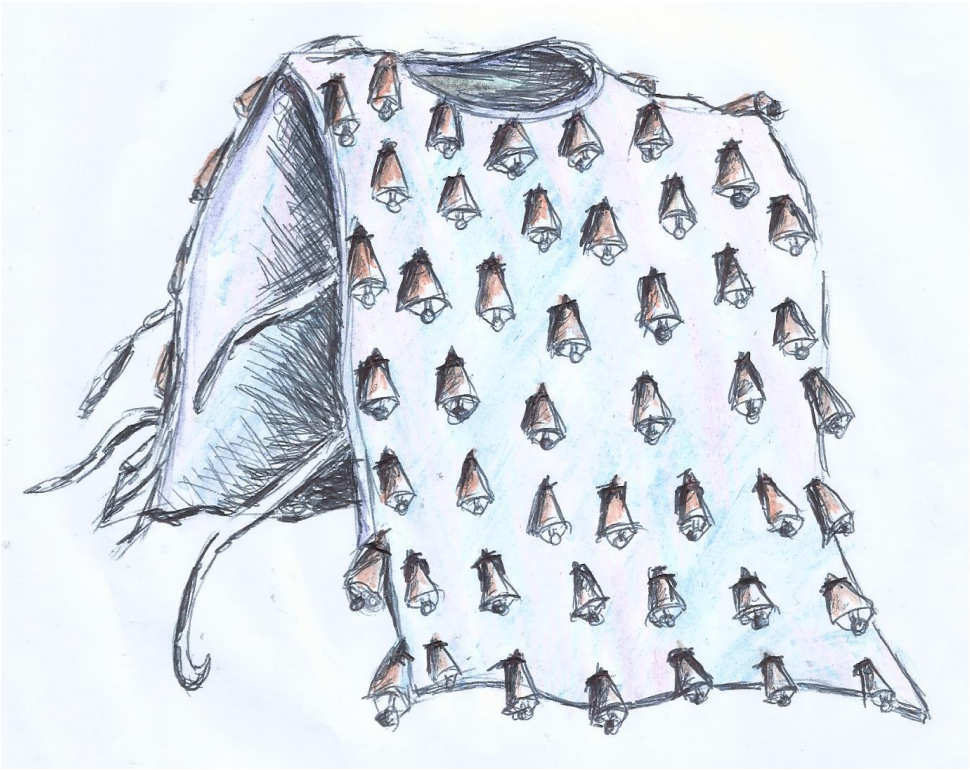


Plate XX: *Izenyi*
Drawn by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 10/1/2018.

***Ireha*:** *Ireha* is a cluster of gong-like metal objects that are tied to a fabric woven belt. The e*ku rafu* (Night masquerade) ties *Ireha* round its waist during performance. The essence of the *ireha*, shown in plate XXI, is to create co-pleasant sounds with *Izenyi* that complement the rhythm of the drums. Since it is a taboo to snap ireha, the researcher decided to make a visual representation of it in drawing.

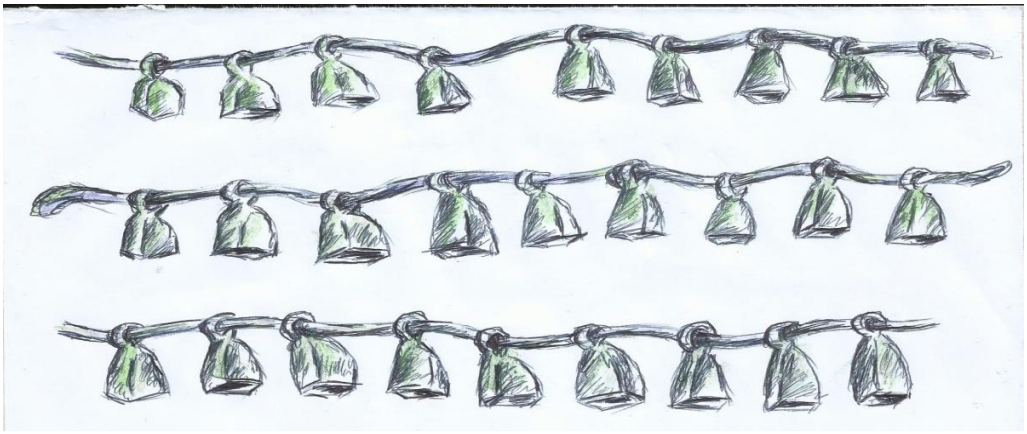


Plate XXI: *Ireha*
Drawn by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 10/1/2018.



Plate XXII: *Eku Rafu* in Full Costume of *Izenyi*, *Ireha* and *Ishavere*
Drawn by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 15/3/2018

Feathers: Among the *Ebira Chao*, there are three major feathers that are used in the masking and masquerade traditions. Such feathers include; the feathers from *oroko* (a kind of bird with bright red feathers used for royalty), *aja* (a jay bird whose special feature is two long feathers) and *omoko* (Parrot). Big masquerades attach aja feather to its *enya resu* (head-load) because of the uniqueness of the bird. It is believed that, it is not easy to catch the bird called *aja*. Similarly, the significance of *aja* to the masquerade is symbolic in terms of victory over enemies. It is important to note here that, women followers in masking and masquerade traditions attach *oroko* feather to their hair slightly above the ear. They are worn not for aesthetic purpose, but as a symbol for identification and to differentiate them from other women who are not *onoku* (a secrete women guild whose initiates can take part in masquerade activities that is a taboo to all other women). Musa (O.I., 2018) explains that, a female child that will be *onoku*, is determined by the circumstances surrounding her birth. For instance, if a female child is born and she is surrounded with *Izanke* (tiny red ants) where she is laid, it is established that, the child is going to be *onoku* (woman in masquerade).

***Ametutu*:** An *ametutu* (plate XXIII) is a compounded charm contained in a native pot, to serve as a security device to the *eku* (masquerade) and its members. It is capable of getting signal of dangers ahead, and warding off such dangers when relevant sacrifices are done. Sequel to this, no enemy or other spiritual powers can harm the *eku* and the members. *Ametutu* is characterized with some sacrificial objects that are concealed in a pot. Such objects include; colanut, egg and wool spinned by an aged woman that has reached menopus stage, and she can no-longer have sexual intercourse with man. Based on personal observation, a white cock was thrown on it, without being tied to it with a rope or string, the cock was magneted to it from about 10:00pm till 7:00am in the morning, when the

masquerade retired to its *ireba* (Spiritual abode). Thus, it is an indication of the spiritual potency of the *ametutu*. The hen shown in a squarting pose appears to have lost balance. It is worthy of note that, the pose of the hen is not a permanent one because it is not restricted to squarting. Though, it cannot go out of the ametutu despite it is not tied with rope or string to the *ametutu*. The use of white coloured hen and white fabric to wrap the potted charm suggests purity.



Plate XXIII: *Ametutu* (A potted Charm that serves as spiritual Antenna to masquerade)
Photograph by Lawal, Lamidi Aduozava, 4/1/2018.

***Ekaruvo*:** *Ekaruvo* in plate XXIV, is an object in the form of a strip of black leather that is creatively stitched and a cowry attached to it. The object is imbued with powers for

protection against gun shot, knife cuts, and for unusual strength for a masquerade to be able to over-power any attacker. In the past, that charm was imbued into the body through blood cut. In the present day masking and masquerade traditions, it is tied round the upper part of the hand.



Plate XXIV: *Ekaruvo* (A Strip of Black Leather with a Cowry Attached to it)
Photograph by Lawal, Lamidi Aduozava, 5/1/2018.

Mirror: In the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, mirror is, in some cases, attached to a mask or at the center of the hand fan that the masquerade holds. According to some informants, masquerade, through the mirror, can fore see what is to happen and how such danger or evil can be averted. In some cases, some masquerades make divination and give prophesy with the use of the mirror. This is common with *eku okise* (Fortune-teller masquerades) as they move from one house to another greeting people in the season of celebration.

Bones: Attachment of bones to *enya resu* (head-load) on masks, as shown in plates IX and XIII, is to portray the kind of animal that was sacrificed before the outing of the masquerade. This is done, especially when the oracle demands that, the custodian of a particular masquerade should attach a fragment of the bone of an animal that was sacrificed to the mask. Some examples of animals that are mostly sacrificed are: dog, cock, pigeon and a he or she goat.

Functions and Roles of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerades Traditions

The functions and roles of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, are explained under the following sub-headings: Therapeutic, Economic, Prophetic and divination, All-round success, Social and Entertainment, and Funeral functions.

Therapeutic Function: Masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* serve therapeutic function as some of the masquerades do proffer healings to some diseases and ailments. For instance, *eku Idowo* (plate VIII) and e*ku okise* (plate IX) are noted for healing barrenness of women and enabled them to get pregnant and give birth to babies. Therefore, women are often seen appeasing the *Idowo* and *okise* masquerades for this reason. Some women who deliver still-born babies or those who suffer miscarriages do make confession to the masquerades of whatever abominable crime they have committed, so that they could propitiate the spirits by whatever prescription the masquerades recommend for them. Based on the prayers being answered, the beneficiaries redeem their vows to the masquerades during the following annual outing of the *eku* (masquerade). On the other hand, if the women who have been blessed by the masquerades refused to redeem their vows, the spirit of the masquerades will trouble them, and they may experience some calamities or a return of already cured ailment. In addition to that, *eku Idowo* has the powers to heal the land for better yield of farm produce whenever there is a record of poor yield of farm produce. The

masquerade, when appeased, can make rain to fall in the community any year there is draught.

Economic Function: The *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions engender economic drive, because it encourages mass plantation of crops (yam, beans, corn, guinea corn, pepper, and vegetables) to be used during the *ekuechi* festival period when *eku echichi* and *eku okise* are charged out of their *ireba* for performance, as food for families and guests. This therefore, implies hard work on the part of the farmers, who see it as their responsibility to provide these food items for the whole land, at this crucial period. Thus, wealth sharing has become an enduring feature of this festival. This happens at several levels. First, farmers come home with their bumper harvest. Parts of these food items are shared among the people in the neighbour-hood. Thus, some farmers in the neighbour-hood receive gifts of crops they did not harvest. This means variety and plenty of food items are made available in the whole community for celebration. Secondly, the main actors of the festivals receive gifts from several households according to their performances and talents. It is also evident that, businesses thrive on a positive note in the community during such periods as there are plenty of people who come for the celebration. As a result of this, demand for goods and services are usually on the increase because of the population of people who come from far and near for the festival.

Prophetic and Divination Function: *Eku Okise* (fortune telling masquerades) is believed to possess power to see what mortal being cannot see. Terrible sickness caused by *opochi* (witchcraft) could be detected by the masquerades. Some of the masquerades sometimes, runs into compounds, destroying pots believed to contain magical substance prepared by witches. Through this discovery, the masquerades also save people who are already tagged for mysterious death by witches or may command sorcerers to release people that were

mysteriously captured by them. The e*ku Idowo* is one of the masquerades that protect people from witchcraft attacks. Whenever the masquerade is appeased, it can give protection against accident of any kind to people in the family who may wish to consult it. In a bid to giving protection to such a person or group of person(s), the spirit behind the masquerade may choose to boomerang the evil act on whoever is the attacker of its client. If this happens, the victim (the attacker) will be in pains in the same way he or she intends for the complainant and the consequence of the projected evil persists, until he or she confesses to people around. At this point, the masquerade may give some prescriptions of what to use, to appease the spirit before the person can be well or delivered from the wrath of the masquerade spirit.

All-round Success: Whenever e*ku okise* gets to a house on visit, anybody in that house is free to express his or her predicament to the e*ku okise*. For instance, *eku Raba* has the potential to prophesy into the life of an individual. Consequent upon the prophesying and prayers, some individual(s) have become successful in their businesses and careers, because the masquerade is believed to have removed the barrier from the person(s). Similarly, *eku Idowo* has been noted for this function, as people who have been stagnated in their places of work do consult it, and have been promoted in their places of work. There are instances where some evil forces were noted to be responsible for the misfortune of some people, and it took the intervention of e*ku Idowo* to liberate such people from experiencing such misfortune. Akuta (O.I., 2018) narrated that, such solutions provided by the *eku Idowo,* can only be permanent, if the recipient fulfils all his pledges to the masquerade. Contrary to this, the success may short-lived and the individual also suffers torment from the e*ku* for not fulfilling his or her part of the agreement.

Social and Entertainment Function: Sociologically, *ekuechi* and *irepa* related masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* serve a variety of social functions. For instance, scenes in the festivals mirror the society, and preserve its legends, as they serve as the core of their existence. In fact, they have become magnetic force, which attracts many *Ebira Chao* (*Anetuno*) to their roots, from all over the country and even beyond. If *Anetuno* goes home only once in a year or seven years, it is most likely for the purpose of participating in the masking and masquerade traditions festivals. In fact, people are known to have travelled from United States of America and other European countries to celebrate *ekuechi* and *irepa* festivals in the time past. It is also evident that, most men of the *Ebira Chao*, find wives to marry during these periods of celebration. Unifications of disintegrated families are also done during these periods, by settling quarrels that exist between individuals and families. This is because the period engenders togetherness and brotherhood, as it fosters ethnic cohesion among the people. *Eku echichi* generally functions in a way that, each of the *eku* carries one or more long and thick canes, parading about the village with a band of supporters to entertain spectators. Sometimes, the masquerade may turn on the supporters suddenly, and threatens to beat anyone who refuses to run away, and may decide to frighten the un-lookers. This theatrical display, adds to the social function in the form of entertainment. The festivals offer happiness and aura of blissful existence. It is characterized with free mixing of people, gaiety, a parade of latest apparels, special and sumptuous dishes. As part of the social function, some of the masquerades do sing to correct or publicise the ills of the society and those who committed such crime(s) are punished either by being asked to pay some fines or to perform some rituals as a means of chastising them.

Funeral Function: One other function of the masking and masquerade tradition is that, it enables the spirit of the dead, to rest well with the ancestors, hence a showcase of *ogugu* dance which features masquerades during a burial ceremony of the dead. In some cases, *eku rafu* may have to perform in the day time, by the grave yard when burying an aged man. Though, this is done by ensuring that, no female except *onoku* is permitted to be close to the scene when the *eku rafu* is performing. Similarly, *eku Idowo* also comes on to display if the chief priest of the deity dies. The essence of this, is to appreciate the chief priest for his meritorious service, and also to allow the spirit of the deceased chief priest to rest well with the ancestors.

Changing Functions and Roles of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions

As a result of the coming of the new faiths (Christianity and Islam) that are beginning to gain more ground and support of the people, masking and masquerade traditions are becoming unpopular. Hence, some of the roles and functions of the traditions have drastically changed from what it used to be, while some of the roles and functions have equally gone into extinction for some other reasons that were discussed below. The following are the changing roles and functions of the traditions.

Prophetic and Divination Functions: Due to the extinction of the use of wooden masks by the masquerades, *eku okise* has also gone into extinction. Hence, the prophetic and divination roles and functions of the *eku okise* is now absent from the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. Consequent upon this, the masking and masquerade traditions are now more of entertainment function, except for the *eku Idowo* that has not changed, in terms of its roles and functions. As a result of this, the roles *eku okise* plays in terms of making divination, prophetic utterance and ministering healing to

the sick and barren women, that *eku echichi* does not perform, has created a vaccum that *eku Idowo* cannot fill.

Politics in Masking and Masquerade Traditions: Politics in masking and masquerade traditions has altered some of the original roles and functions of this aspect of the *Ebira Chao* culture. In the present day *Ebira Chao*, politicians' influence on the *eku* cult with money, has watered down the dignity of the traditions, as some masquerades are used for their selfish interest to perpetuate evils. For instance, some politicians do give money to some masquerades to slander some political oponents for no just reason. A case in point is the 1982 episode, when *eku evara* was influenced against some important people, and they were slandered in songs. According to Onero (O.I., 2018), this resulted into a serious clash between some people and families. In fact, the clash almost resulted into tearing the community into factions. Thus, the contextual significance of the traditions in terms of unification of the society and resolving of family clashes are now a thing of the past. In fact, political influence in masking and masquerade traditions has resulted into several clannish crisis that claimed lives.

Youth in Masking and Masquerade Traditions: The original roles and functions of masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* have been distorted as a result of youth dominance in the *eku* cult. In the time past, *eku* cult was absolutely a reserved practice for the elders. This is because, the elders have better understanding of what the traditions are all about, and are more careful in complying with the norms and taboos involved. The reverse is the case, with youth these days in masking and masquerade traditions, because some of them who are hooligans, drug addicts and criminals are now dominantly involved in the practice of the traditions.

To this end, they have wrecked havoc in the bid to practising the traditions. Some of the noticeable ill practices include; extortion of money from passers-bye, cyclists and motorists. In some cases, masked youth have, out of wicked heart, attacked people whom they considered as their enemies. Their unruly behaviour has also being the cause of clannish crisis that has been on-going among the *Ebira Chao* till-date. It is also important to mention that, the practice of wearing wooden mask in masquerade tradition was destroyed by the youth, who now prefer only the cloth-hood mask to masks made of wood. With youths' increasing quest for power through the acquisition of charms for different purposes, evil is now on the increase. Iviopa (O.I., 2018) noted that, acquisition of charms that can resist the penetration of bullet(s) when shot with guns, and the ones that can also resist knife cuts, have made the youth to see *ekuechi* festival as a moment to test the efficacy and potency of such acquired charms on one another and even on innocent person(s). As a result of this, many lives have been lost, when such charms fail. This ugly trend has also bred several rivalry groups who fight each other, whenever their masquerades meet on the way, as they claim superiority over each other. It is important to note that, this phenomena, is alien to masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*.

Findings

In line with the stated objectives, the study revealed the following:

Objective 1: There are three historical accounts on the origin of the the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions based on the festivals that necessitate outing of masked masquerades. The historical accounts are; *Idowo*, *Irepa* and *Ekuechi* related masking and masquerades history. The study also resolved that, masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* is indigenous to the community because the founding fathers of the traditions are members of the community.

Objective 2: The masks are classified into Anthropomorphic, Zoomorphic, and Cloth-hood Masks. Some examples of anthropomorphic masks are; *Raba, Ovansa* and *Ovurevu* masks, while zoomorphic mask includes; *Ura* and *Uye* masks and cloth-hood masks are; *Adokita* and *Onuvu* masks. The masquerades are also classified into day and night masquerades. Day masquerades are further typified into: *eku Okise*, *eku Idowo, eku Echichi* and *eku Ishebe*. An example of *eku okise* is *eku Ado Oseni,* while *eku echichi* includes; *eku Oganta, eku Adokita, eku Akamawu, eku Onuvu, eku Ezu and eku Anipo* to mention but a few and *eku Ishebe*.

Objective 3: the aesthetics of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* is divided into internal and external aesthetics, and that, the inner aesthetic is contextual, while the external aesthetic is in terms of artistic and theatrical displays. Despite efforts are made by custodians to get colourful costume for the masquerade as part of its aesthetics, the internal aesthetic which is hinged on spiritual potency of the masquerades to be able to prophesy, heal, repel evil from the community, may require that blood of an animal that was sacrificed for the masquerade be poured on the costume. A case in point is the *eku Oganta* (plate XIV) undergoing charging out of its *ireba* (place of abode), as concocted liquid substance, blood of a cock and fowl eggs are smashed on its costume. The stains of the blood of an animal that was sacrificed and applied on the fabric of the masquerade can make it appear dirty and lacks aesthetic consequence to the spectator. This is a pointer to the fact that, the masquerade custodians are more interested in the inner aesthetics.

Raba mask (plate I), sculpted in realism has human anatomical forms that are enhanced with a head-load of a combination of gourds and charms concealed in a sack of fabric that is sparsely decorated to make the mask appear terrifying. The touch of white colour on

which the head-load is placed, symbolizes peace. Similarly, *Ura* mask shown in plate IV has an elongated mouth that resembles the snout of a pig. The two black spots at the upper part of the snout represent its eyes. To make it scary, the mask is attached to the marbled leather in several folds which adds more beauty to it. The costume on which the mask is worn is characterized with different fabrics in varying colours and designs which add to the aesthetics of the mask. In the case of *eku echichi*, cowries are artistically arranged in two circles to create openings through which the masquerade can see through. An example of this is cloth-hood mask of *eku Adokita* (plate XI) in vertical and horizontal green coloured stripes, calculatedly disjointed with white colour on a white background. *Eku Ishebe* costume made with dry leaves of banana plant, creates some pleasing forms as a result of irregular folds that are overlapped. It is worthy of note that, the deliberate attempt to make the masks and masquerades ugly, constitute part of the external aesthetics. *Idowo* masquerade in plate VIII, the palm leaves in green colour that were used as the costume of *eku Idowo* signifies fruitfulness. Part of the external aesthetics of the masquerade is its ability to increase and reduce its height, and the movement of the palm leaves costume as it sways in different directions during performance.

In line with the masking and masquerade practice of the *Ebira Chao*, yellow colour signifies hope and aspiration, while the orange colour is associated with royalty and the green signifies fruitfulness. A touch of white colour on the costumes of the masquerades suggests peace. Therefore, the various colours and dimension on the masks and masquerade costumes add to the aesthetics of the masquerade dance in harmony with the rhythm of the melodious songs and drum beats. The aesthetic qualities of the songs lie in their free flowing poetic contents and vibrant philosophical dimensions. In the bid to ensure that,

many of these songs are understood, at least contextually, songs are repeated several times during masquerade performance. therefore, if "repetition embodies creativity" as opined by Drewal (1992), then, the repetition of the songs could be considered as a creative and aesthetic design in the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions.

Objective 4: The objects that are associated with masking and masquerade traditions are to make the masquerade have the ideal qualities of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades. It is important to note that, such objects are meant to aid the masker during performance. The objects include; *Uto, ametutu, ekaruvo, izenyi, ireha, ishavere, feather and* bones.

Objective 5: The functions of the masking and masquerade traditions include; therapeutic, economic, protection, prophetic, all-round success, social and entertainment, and funeral functions. While the changing roles are in the area of prophesy and divination, politics and youth participation in masking and masquerade traditions.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Suummary

This study titled: A Historical Survey of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions is presented in five chapters. In chapter one, a background of the study was done by looking at some cultural practices and cultural heritages that are related to masking and masquerade traditions of some communities in Africa. Specifically, the *Ebira* as an ethnic group in Nigeria was looked at in terms of their groupings and their historical origin. It was stated that, the *Ebira Nya*, *Ebira Tao* and *Ebira Chao* are one ethnic group in Nigeria that occupy a land mass of about 150km around the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue. They are found in Kogi, Nassarawa and Edo States, and in the Federal Capital Territory. To this end, emphasis was on the *Ebira Chao* in Edo State, South-South geo-political region of Nigeria in terms of their rich masking and masquerade traditions amongst others.

The statement of problem that necessitated this study was the conflicting claims on the historical origin of the masking and masquerade traditions of the people. It was also observed that, some of the rich cultures, particularly, that of the masking and masquerade traditions are gradually going into extinction. There was a need, therefore, to fill the vacuum that was created by previous researchers who carried out studies on the *Ebira* masking and masquerade traditions as they did not include the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* in their studies. Consequent upon this, the aim and objectives of this study were tailored towards tracing and documenting the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions, to classify the different masks and masquerades, make descriptive analysis of the different masks and masquerades, document the relevances of objects that are associated with the masking and masquerade traditions, and examine

historically, the changing roles and functions of different masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*. In line with the stated objectives, six research questions were asked.

The study was justified for the fact that, the masking and masquerades traditions of the *Ebira Nya* has gone into extinction, while that of the *Ebira Chao* is gradually going into extinction. Therefore, this study became necessary to avoid cultural stasis. Moreso, this research fills the gap created by previous researchers for instance, Suleiman (1994) and Ododo (2009), who studied the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira,* but narrowed the scope of their studies to that of the *Ebira Tao*. Hence, studying the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Tao* implies that, nothing has been done on the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions. There is also a need to reconcile the conflicting claims of the *Ebira Chao* in terms of the origin of the masking and masquerade traditions. The fact is that, some of the indigenes claim that the masking and masquerade traditions are alien, while others claim that the traditions are indigenous. This study becomes significant because, the documentation of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions serves as a means of preserving this aspect of the culture and traditions of the people. Hence, it serves as evidence of history that, this culture ever existed, if it eventually goes into extinction. To buttress this statement, Robert (1980) notes that written documents and literature give understanding of the minds of human beings. This study also helps to reconcile the conflicting claims on the historical origin of the traditions. Moreso, it further highlights the aesthetic qualities and unravels the mystical essence of the traditions to enable readers and the *Anetuno* (The *Ebira Chao*) to have visual appraisal of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades.

Out of the numerous cultures and traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, the scope of the study was delimited to the masking and masquerade traditions because they appear to be the most popular of all her cultures which has hardly been studied. For the fact that there are masked and unmasked masquerades, this study was further delimited to the study of masks and masked masquerades. Three conceptual frameworks were derived and used for the purpose of giving the research a direction. The first conceptual framework derived from Babalola (1981) and Ohiare (1988) advocates that art should be studied within its cultural context. Hence, the study of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* was done within the cultural context of the people, while the second conceptual framework was drawn from the idea of Ki-Zerbo (1981) which states that, there is a need to avoid over-simplifications arising from a linear and restrictive conception of world history to re-establish the true facts wherever necessary and possible, by endeavouring to highlight historical data that gives a clearer picture of the evolution of the different peoples of Africa in their specific socio-cultural setting.

This conceptual framework was used to make historical documentation of the masking and masquerade traditions holistically without any simplification in *Ugbogbo*, *Utua* and *Ufa* quarters of the *Ebira Chao* to tease out relevant information for this study. The third conceptual framework was drawn from the idea of Amankulor (1982) that African aesthetics is technically displayed on African artifacts, verbalized by the African in his evaluation of objects of aesthetic experience in terms of its peculiar preferences of its owner community. Hence, this cconceptual framework served as a guide to studying the aesthetics of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades based on the understanding of what the *Anetuno* (the *Ebira Chao*) consider as aesthetics in masks and masquerades. It is

important to note here that, the *Ebira Chao* believes that aesthetics is both intrinsic and extrinsic, but that beauty starts from the inside before it is reflected on the outside. Hence, the internal aesthetics of their masks and masquerades determine what should be the external aesthetics.

In chapter two of this study, review of related literature was done under the following sub-headings: History of the *Ebira Chao*, Concepts of Masks and Masquerades, Masking and Masquerade Traditions of Varying Cultures and Aesthetic Considerations in Masking and Masquerade Traditions. Among the reviewed literature are works of the following authours: Willet (1971), Mount (1973), Boston (1977), Aniakor (1979), Conn (1979), Holm (1987), Uzoagba and Olorukooba (1991), Suleiman (1994), Egonwa (1996), Uzoagba (2001), Carrol (2004), Ododo (2009), Bayo (2010), Ovayete (2013) and Okachi (2015) to mention but a few. In the review, there was no mention of the masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao*, and aesthetic considerations of masks and masquerades have not been adequately studied. Considering European concept of aesthetics, African arts lack aesthetics (Mount, 1973). This is a wrong notion, probably because the Europeans lack knowledge and understanding of the socio-cultural context of the arts of Africa. It is also evident in the review of related literature that historical study of the origin of any tradition is fundamental.

Chapter three of this research dealt with methodology and procedures. The used population and sampling for the study comprised of twenty *eku* (masquerade) custodians of the *Ebira Chao* who are residents in *Ugbogbo*, *Utua* and *Ufa* quarters, Igarra, Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State. Purposive sampling technique, also called judgemental sampling was used to attain qualitataive information. For the purpose of collecting

information and relics that are relevant to this study, twenty *eku* custodians of the *Ebira Chao*, who are resident in Igarra, served as primary sources of information, while published literature and internet materials serve as secondary sources. During the field work, Focus Group Discussion (F.G.D.) method of interview was used for teasing out information from the respondents in clusters of four people in each syndicate group. In the process of this, recording, observation and photography were also used. Historical, descriptive and aesthetic approaches used by Saliu (1994) and Okachi (2015) were adopted and used for analysing collected information and physical materials.

Analysis and Discussions constitute chapter four of this study. It is important to note here that findings, analysis and discussions made in this chapter revolve round the stated objectives for the study and to provide answers to the research questions. Three historical accounts on the historical origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions were got from the respondents. The three accounts represent three different masking and masquerade traditions namely: *Irepa*, *Idowo* and *Ekuechi* related masking and masquerade traditions. Two of the traditions were introduced into practice by indigenes,while that of the *ekuechi* related masking and masquerade traditions was introduced into the *Ebira Chao* community by Ichau, Okoro and Aboki who were indigenes of the *Ebira Tao* and were visitors to the Eziakuta family of the *Ebira Chao* community in 1927. Based on findings, it can be deduced that the masking and masquerade traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao* since the *Ebira Tao* and the *Ebira Chao* are one people, an acceptance of the practices of Ododo and Obaji in *Ebira* land as complements of the culture of the people.

The *Ebira Chao* masks were typified into; anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and cloth hood masks. As for the masquerades, they were typified into day and night masquerades.

Consequent upon this, the day masquerades are further discussed under the following sub-headings: *Eku Okise*, *Eku Echichi, Eku Idowo* and *Eku Ishebe*. In the course of the discussion, aesthetic analysis of the masks and masquerades were done. It is worthy of note, that the aesthetic qualities of the masks and masquerades were done based on the third conceptual frame work drawn from the idea of Amankulor (1982). They were studied with the understanding of what the owner community of the masks and masquerades considered as aesthetics. Based on the findings, there is internal and external aesthetics, and that the internal aesthetics determine what is seen on the outer parts of the masks and masquerades as aesthetics. Hence, emphasis is on the internal aesthetics which is directly connected with the manifestation of mystical powers of the masks and masquerades in order to serve the purpose they are meant for. It was also observed that, the common forms of the masks are basically in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms.

Some objects associated with masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* were identified as cowries, *izenyi, ireha, ishavere, ametutu, ekaruvo,* feathers and bones. The listed objects serve some spiritual and aesthetic functions. The general aesthetics of the masking and masquerade traditions were unravelled for more understanding of the aesthetic considerations of the owner society (*Ebira Chao*). The functions of the masking and masquerade traditions to the *Ebira Chao* were also discussed. Based on this discourse, the changing trends evident in the masking and masquerade traditions were also historically explained. Finally, the chapter five of this study consists of summary, conclusion, recommendations and contributions to knowledge.

Conclusion

This research titled: "A Historical Survey of the *Ebira Chao* Masking and Masquerade Traditions", was geared towards the realization of some objectives. Hence, as part of the objectives, the study has reconciled the conflicting claims about the histiorical origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions as detailed history of the different masking and masquerade traditions were documented, and that, based on the findings, it was deduced that the masking and masquerade traditions are of the *Ebira Chao* origin because the founding fathers of the traditions are members of the community. Masks amd masquerades were typified and their aesthetics explained for better understanding by the readers to know why the masks and masquerades were produced the way they are. The internal aesthetics, being responsible for the mystical performance of the masks and masquerades is of paramount significance to the *eku* custodians. The different objects that are associated with the masking and masquerade traditions are meant to aid the performance of the masquerades to meet the needs of the owner society. Such needs met through the masking and masquerade traditions include; therapeutic, economic, prophetic and divination, all-round success, social and entertainment, and funeral functions. Amidst these functions of the masking and masquerade traditions, are some changes that are imminent in the traditions. Such changes identified are in aspects of prophetic declaration and divination, politics and youths in masking and masquerade traditions. Consequently, these changing roles, have given the traditions a negative image. It is important to state that the image of the traditions can be restored if all the stake holders in the community (*Ebira Chao*) will take their stands in ensuring hitch-free celebrations of the masking and masquerade traditions.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, analysis and discussions, the following recommendations are made:

(i) A committee that will comprise of all the clan heads should be constituted be constituted by the *oshinoyi* (paramount ruler) to check-mate the intrusion of politicians in masking and masquerade traditions of the *Ebira Chao* to avoid slander and clannish crisis.

(ii) Youths should be properly groomed by older and more experienced *eku* custodians before becoming masquerade custodians to avoid malpractice of the traditions.

(iii) Efforts should be made by *eku* custodians to translate their spiritual potentials into cultural science that could enhance the advancement of the community and Nigeria at large.

(iv) Future researchers can make comparative study of the *Ebira Chao* and *Ebira Tao* masking and masquerade traditions to establish their similarities and dissimilarities.

(v) Scholars in the sciences are encouraged to carry out scientific studies on how the powers inherent in masking and masquerade traditions can be used for checking insurgency and insecurity in the country Nigeria..

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Appendix I

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Department of Fine Arts,
Faculty of Environmental Design,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.
02/09/2017.

Dear Respondent,

This structured interview is purely for academic purpose in partial fulfillment for the award of Ph.D. in Art History. Please, kindly respond to the items on this document. Your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used for the purpose of a research titled: **A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE *EBIRA CHAO* MASKING AND MASQUERADE TRADITIONS** only.

Thanks

Yours Faithfully,

Lamidi Aduozava LAWAL

Instructions

This questionnaire is divided into two sections (A and B).

Section A

Respondent's Personal Data

Name:……..

Occupation:……..

Sex: Male…….. Female……

Qualification:……...

Age:……

Section B.

Questions:

1. What is the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?
2. Do the different masking and masquerade traditions have the same historical origin?
3. How can the different masks and masquerades be classified?
4. What are the *eku* costumes made of?
5. Why are the costumes made the way they are?
6. What materials are the masks made of?
7. Why are the masks made the way they are?

8. What do you consider as beauty in the masking and masquerade traditions?
9. What are the cultural values of the following accessories that are associated with masks and masquerades? (i) Bones (ii) Feathers (iii) *uto* (iv) *Ekaruvo* (v) *Ametutu* (vi) *Ireha* (vii) *Izenyi* (viii) *Ishavere*
10. What are the functions and roles of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions
11. What are the changing roles and functions of the different masking and masquerade traditions?
12. What are the causes of such changes?

THANKS

Appendix II

Transcribed Focus Group Discussion with *Eku* Custodians at Igarra in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State, South-South, Nigeria.

Researcher: Has masking and masquerade traditions any connection with ancestral worship?

Eku Custodians: Yes. It is because masking and masquerade traditions herald the visit of the ancestors to the *Ebira Chao*. In addition to that, masquerades are regarded as the spirit of the ancestors, and that, some ancestors like Osawu has been manifested into masquerade called *Idowo.*

Researcher: Thank you. What is the origin of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?

Eku Custodians: The history of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions is a long story.

Researcher: Are the masking and masquerade traditions having the same historical account?

Eku Custodians: No

Researcher: How?

Eku Custodians: It is because there are three different masking and masquerade traditions that are practiced by the *Ebira Chao*, and each of these traditions has its history.

Researcher: Please, can you narrate the three different masking and masquerade historical accounts?

Eku Custodians: Yes. The first historical account is the one that is related to *Idowo* masking and masquerade traditions which is dated back to early 18th century A.D. It is about Osawu who was a great hunter and a member of the Eziobe family. As a hero, he was transformed into a masquerade at death, to be consulted for solutions to life challenges.

Researcher: Based on your explanation, would you consider Idowo masking and masquerade traditions to be indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*?

Eku Custodians: Yes, Idowo masking and masquerade traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*.

Researcher: What is the second historical account of the masking and masquerade traditions?

Eku Custodians: The second historical account of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions is that of *Irepa* related masking and masquerade traditions. *Irepa* related masking and masquerade traditions were derived from the age grade system that has been dated back to 1789 A.D. the masking and masquerade traditions are for entertainment of spectators during *Irepa* festival.

Researcher: Do you mean that *Irepa* related masking and masquerade traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*?

Eku Custodians: Yes

Researcher: Please, explain the third historical account of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions.

Eku Custodians: The third masking and masquerade traditions history is that of *ekuechi* and *echeane*, and can be traced to the great works of Ododo of Okehi and Obaji of Eika.

Researcher: How was it introduced to the *Ebira Chao*?

Eku Custodians: The practice of *ekuechi* and *echeane* masking and masquerade tradition was introduced to the *Ebira Chao* by Okoro, Aboki, Omonowo and Ichau who were the custodians of *eku Adagiri* at *Ugbogbo* Quarters, Igarra, and were naturalized members of the *Eziobe Eziajuta Opoporiku* extraction of the *Eziobe* clan of the *Ebira Chao* in 1927.

Researcher: Are *ekuechi* and *echeane* masking and masquerade traditions indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*?

Eku Custodians: *Avi zeku inukuo, do varukuo* (if a leaf stays too long in soapy water, it will become soap). For the fact that, Okoro, Aboki, Okoro and Ichau were already absorbed as members of the *Eziakuta* family, before they introduced the traditions to the *Ebira Chao*, *ekuechi* and *echeane* become a version of *ekuechi* and *echeane* of the *Ebira Tao*. Therefore, the traditions are indigenous to the *Ebira Chao*. It is important to note that, the *Ebira Tao* and the *Chao* are one.

Researcher: How do you classify the different masks?

Eku Custodians: Masks are classified based on their appearances

Researcher: Please, list the common forms of the masks

Eku Custodians: the common forms of the *Ebira Chao* masks are; anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and cloth-hood masks.

Researcher: Thank you sir. Please, can you list some examples of such mask forms?

Eku Custodian: some examples of anthropomorphic mask are; *Raba, Ovurevu* and *Ovansa* masks, while that of zoomorphic mask are; *Ura* and *Uye* masks, and the examples of cloth-hood mask are; Adokita and Onuvu masks to mention but a few.

Researcher: How do you classify the different masquerades?

Eku Custodians: Basically, masquerades are classified into day and night masquerades. Day masquerades are typified into *eku okise, eku echichi, eku Idowo* and *eku Ishebe*.

Researcher: Please, give a list of *eku odu (*day masquerades).

Eku Custodian: For eku okise, the only surviving eku is *eku Adoseni*, while *eku echichi* are as follows: *eku Anipo, eku Onuvu, eku adokita,eku Akamawu, eku Oganta, eku Ogazi,* and *eku Osankoro* to mention but a few. *Eku Ishebe* and *eku Idowo* are other forms of *eku odu*.

Researcher: What do you consider as aesthetics in the masks and masquerades?

Eku Custodians: The beauty of the *Ebira Chao* masks and masquerades is in their abilities to display spiritual powers to heal, bless, prophesy, and in their costumes, songs and dance.

Researcher: Is that all?

Eku Custodians: the beauty of the masks and masquerades is also in how terrifying they are to the spectators.

Researcher: Do you consider colour in the choice of materials to be used as costumes?

Eku Custodians: Yes, but that, the internal beauty that is determined through divination overrides the place of colour aesthetics.

Researcher: Please, can you throw more light on this?

Eku Custodians: If through divination, there is a need to pour blood of sacrificed animal on the costume, it will be done, no matter how beautiful the costume may be.

Researcher: Do you attach any meaning to colour?

Eku Custodians: Yes. *Ovivi* (yellow) suggests gaiety and aspiration, onore (*red*) suggests danger and *ovuovu* (white) signifies peace and purity.

Researcher: What are the objects that are associated with masking and masquerade traditions?

Eku Custodians: Objects that are associated with masking and masquerade traditions are: *uto* (cowries), *ekaruvo* (strip of leather in the form of bangle), *ametutu* (potted charm for spiritual for spiritual signal), *izenyi* (cluster of small bell), *ishavere* (cluster of tiny conical shaped metals), cluster of small gong), *asise* (feather), *oreyi* (mirror) and *ochuku* (bones).

Researcher: What are the relevances of the objects?

Eku Custodians: The objects are to make masks and masquerades have the ideal nature of what the *Ebira Chao* considers as masks and masquerades. Some of the objects are for decorative purpose and for spiritual fortification, while some of the objects like; *izenyi*, *ishavere* and *ireha* are to enhance *eku's* theatrical performance.

Researcher: What are the functions and roles of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?

Eku Custodians: The functions and roles of masking and masquerade tradition of the *Ebira Chao* are: therapeutic, economic, prophetic and divination, social and entertainment, and funeral functions.

Researcher: What are the changing roles and functions of the *Ebira Chao* masking and masquerade traditions?

Eku Custodians: Divination and prophesying of masquerades to the people during ekuechi and echeane festival are no longer part of the traditions because eku okise are gradually going into extinction as a result of youth dominance in the practice of the traditions. Some masked youth have been reported to have been harassing girls and extorting money from motorists. Also, some politicians have hijacked some masquerades and used them to slander their political opponents.

Appendix III

Fieldwork Photographs of Masking and Masquerade Traditions of the *Ebira Chao*



Plate XXV: Researcher and *eku Anipo* Custodians
Photograph by Alfred Egure, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXVI: A Cross Section of *eku* Spectators
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXVII: *Eku* Performance at *Orere*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXVIII: A Crsoss Section of *eku Ogazi* and Members
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018



Plate XXIX: *Eku Asigiri* During Performance
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXX: *Eku Asigiri* in a Resting Mood
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXI:A Cross Section of *eku* Performance at *Orere*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXII: A Moment of Rest for *eku Idu*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018



Plate XXXIII: Members of *eku Unomi* During Display
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018



Plate XXXIV: A Cross Section of Drummers
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXV: A Member Carrying *eku Unomi* Stool
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXVI: A Member of the Group Posed to be Floged
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXVII: A Cross Section of People being Pursued by *eku*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXVIII: *Eku* Flogging Some People
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XXXIX: *Eku Osankoro* crowded with People
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XL: *Eku Osankoro* ready for Theatrical Dance
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XLI: *Eku Ogazi Ugbogbo* in a Greeting Pose to Elders at *Orere*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XLII: An *Onoku* in White Apparel following *eku Uzomi* Group
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 6/1/2018.



Plate XLIII: A Member of *eku Osankoro* Carrying the *eku* Stool
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava,6/1/2018.



Plate XLIV: *Ireba* (Shrine) for Masquerades
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 4/1/2018.



Plate XLV: A Cross Section of *Ireba* (Shrine)
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 4/1/2018.



Plate XLVI: Researcher and *eku Adoseni*
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 27/8/2018.



Plate XLVII: A Cross Section of *Ogugu* for Late Pa Suru Ojene Oseh
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduoava, 27/8/2018



Plate XLVIII: *Eku Adokita* in *Ogugu* Dance
Photograph by Lawal Lamidi Aduozava, 27/8/2017

Appendix IV

Publication:

Lawal, L.A., Saliu, A.R. and Duniya, G.G. (2018). Historical Origin of the Ebira Chao Masking and Masquerade Traditions. *Maiduguri Journal of Arts and Design (MAIDJAD)* Vol. III pp. 107-111