The Igbo ‘village square’, heritage and museum discourse: an ethnographic investigation

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ABSTRACT

Cultural heritage and associated discourses of preservation have become forces of global concern through international agencies such as UNESCO. This is especially true in Anglophone West Africa particularly Nigeria, where discourses of heritage are negotiated locally in relation to existing belief and value systems. This thesis explores this negotiation in the context of the Igbo village arena (or square) found at the heart of all Igbo villages. It examines the ontologies and epistemologies of 'Authorised Heritage Discuss' (AHD) and indigenous heritage conservation models in Nigeria focusing on inclusion and exclusion. The thesis further interrogates the interface between such indigenous models and global heritage discourses and practices. It uses ethnographic method that allowed a bottom-up enquiry with power-sharing possibilities.

The thesis found that other than having binaries in heritage conservation and management methods in Nigeria, there are conflicts around the knowledge domain. It shows that the divisions are products of power and discourse which are philosophical and political; philosophical because of the conceptual differences, and political because of the spatial representations and national ideology. Further to the findings is the fact that AHD uses the 'static perfection' approach to conservation against the people's psychological make up that favour unbroken continuity. The thesis also found a new way of seeing the indigenous/local community as a constituent of human and nonhuman 'beings'. Consequently, it recognises that heritage has a 'life' and lives in the same community with humans and other 'beings'.

Acknowledging the announcement of a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene and the new quests for finding alternative heritage conservation design that aligns with the ethical requirements of the time, the thesis suggests the **in-use** conservation paradigm. Arguments put forward to support **in-use** method emanates from what was found among the Igbo, the fact that heritage passes through the same life cycle of birth, living, death (that includes decay and decomposition) and re-birth, which AHD either denies or delays. The principles of **in-use** conservation approach encourage intensive and effective care for heritage in their living community to elongate and sustain the 'utilitarian values' of heritage envisioned in its 'birthing or production mission'. By so doing, the thesis concludes that heritage would make its contributions towards solving problems of the Anthropocene, one of which is climate change that threatens the lives of all 'beings' in the universe. It strongly argues that thinking about heritage in this sense would help us make informed decisions for the future of heritage in the Anthropocene.

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ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

ACHS – Association of Critical Heritage Studies

AHD – Authorised Heritage Discourse

AHRC – Arts and Humanities Research Council

ATR – African Traditional Religion

BA – Bachelor of Arts

EU – European Union

FESTAC – World black and African Festival of Arts and Culture

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

GPS – Global Positioning System

HRH – His Royal Highness

I-AHD – Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse

ICOM – International Council of Museums

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

IMC – International Meridian Conference

LGA – Local Government Council

MA – Master of Arts

NAGPRA – Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

NCMM – National Commission for Museums and Monuments (Nigeria)

NMMZ – National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

OCAM – Oku N'erere Catholic Adoration Ministry

ORS – Overseas Research Scholarship

SPAB – Society for the Protection of Ancient Building

TAP – Thesis Advisory Panel

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNN – University of Nigeria, Nsukka

WAC – World Archaeological Congress

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not been prior submitted for an academic award of this, or any other university. Where reference was made to the work of other authors, all sources are acknowledged as references. As such, responsibility for any errors is entirely mine.

Some contents of this thesis have been included in publications, some are under review for publication and others have been presented at conferences as follow.

Publication

1. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (2018). Hegemonic heritage and public exclusion in Nigeria: a search for inclusive and sustainable alternatives. *West African Journal of Archaeology* (WAJA), 48, 71 - 93.
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3. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (2018). Ancient village arenas remain a central force in Igbo life. Here's why. *The Conversation*, December 5.

Papers under Review for Publication

1. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (under review). Time-space politics and heritagisation in Africa: understanding where to begin decolonisation. Special issue, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.
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Conference Presentations

1. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (2019). *Igbo heritage ontologies in the Anthropocene: perspectives on epistemic reconciliation for heritage futures*. A poster presented at the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) University Forum Workshop organised by the UNESCO World Heritage Chair on Heritage Futures at Linnaeus University, Sweden in collaboration with the ICOMOS International and the University of Amsterdam held in Amsterdam, Netherlands, 11 – 14 June.
2. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (2018). *Time-Space politics and heritagisation in Africa: understanding where to begin decolonisation*. A paper presented at the 4th biannual

conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) held at the Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China, 1 – 6 September.

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4. Ugwuanyi, J. K. (2017). *Ethnography and the insider/outsider disparity – rethinking community engagement in heritage studies.* A paper presented at the workshop/conference organised by the Arts and Humanity Research Council (AHRC) and Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) UK chapter on 'Critical Heritage Priority Area' held at the British Academy, London, 4 – 6 October.
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DEDICATION

To my late parents, Pa Boniface Uroko Ugwuanyi-Okwo and Ma Monica Onoyima Ugwuanyi; late brother, Betrand Chikwado Ugwuanyi; and late aunt, Ma Eunice Ugwuanyi-Okwo. May you continue to rest with our ancestors.

Chapter One: Introduction - Thesis Conceived

1.0 Background

Perhaps, I should commence this writing with an explanation of what this thesis is about, and what it is not. First, the thesis is about why members of the indigenous/local public are not engaged in the national heritage management led by the National Authority. It is about why the local public is not interested in the ways and manners in which their heritage is being managed at the national level. The thesis isn't about why the approaches of the national heritage authority (e.g. National Commission for Museums and Monuments, NCMM) failed to engage members of the indigenous/local communities (majority of Nigerians, for instance). It is not about the failure of the political leadership towards ensuring that national heritage authority and its works matter to the public. If anyone is of the opinion that the government or its body that manages heritage has failed because it couldn't encourage indigenous/local public participation, such person(s) support the imposition of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) (see Smith 2006) on a people whose cultural conscience and knowledge domain counteract with the ontologies and epistemologies that established AHD. This thesis was conceived based on the misalignment, apathy and the tensions created with the continued application of the principles of AHD in the management of heritage in Nigeria in particular and post-contact societies in general. It interrogates the complexities surrounding it and provides insights into an indigenous heritage conservation method - the Igbo 'village square' – that could help to solve the problems of AHD.

Following the knowledge of the two approaches, the thesis makes useful contributions on their integration in such a way that would impress members of the indigenous/local public to begin to participate in national heritage management. Ethnographic methods were useful in accessing pieces of grassroots information that were helpful in the completion of the thesis.

One may be forced to wonder why Nigeria, the most 'populous black nation' on earth (Amao and Okeke-Uzodike 2015) has remained aloof on the 21st century discourse on 'social inclusion' that has penetrated the world's heritage discourses. Many Nigerians, especially those who speak publicly for indigenous culture, who are mostly found in the academia alongside few others who have access to the literature (see Ottemberg 2012) understand the problem, but they merely express and complain in their publications and at every opportunity (see Nzewunwa 1990). Some others, who live elements of an indigenous culture feel that it doesn't matter whether their voices are heard or not (Ottemberg 2012); they go about their daily businesses without bothering on how such exclusion affect their culture and survival. However,

the attitude is not entirely a consequence of their actions/inactions; they have been excluded in the heritage management in Nigeria from the processes that created national heritage in colonial times. At that time, colonial institutions obviated indigenous ways of preserving and appreciating heritage, thereby alienating the people from the very beginning, when the search for national narratives and identities commenced. Even when the heritage resources acquired and used in the processes are owned by the indigenous peoples of Nigeria, their consciousness and heritage philosophies were not considered.

Historically, formal interest in the study and preservation of archaeology and heritage assets in Nigeria date back to 1940s. Before then, many commissioned anthropologists, art historians, and missionaries have written fascinating stories about the great arts and culture of Nigeria (see Thomas 1910; Baseden 1921; Talbot 1926; Meek 1937; Jones 1939). Majority of their works aimed mostly at pacifying the interest of colonial governments on how best to rule Nigeria. But E. H. Duckworth and K. C. Murray of the Education Department had advised the colonial government to establish museums to keep Nigeria's endangered works of arts (Murray, 1939; 1942; Shaw 1969; Okita 1983). Consequently, the report of the Elliott Commission for Higher Education for West Africa favoured their opinion. It was followed by a memorandum written by A. J. Arkell, the Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in reaction to the report of the Elliott Commission. The memorandum helped to ground the formal foundation of the study and preservation of archaeology and heritage resources in Nigeria (Arkel, 1944; Shaw, 1969).These efforts gave birth to the first government unit in charge of heritage in 1943, the Nigeria Antiquities Service (later Federal Department of Antiquities), which was saddled with the responsibility of conducting research to suggest to the government how best to collect and preserve antiquities. The same year, Customs Ordinance No. 21 was promulgated to protect Nigerian antiquities from illegal sales and export. Ten years after, the first functional heritage management law, the Antiquities Ordinance No. 17 was enacted in 1953. Thenceforth, the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) (Smith 2006) or 'static perfection' approach (Murray 1942) and its characterised 'public exclusion' began. AHD enthroned exclusion of the indigenous/local public in three different ways. First, it removed patrimonial heritage from the original owners and made them national properties. Consequently, the new establishment distanced heritage from their relative contexts. Secondly, AHD secluded heritage from being part of their 'living communities' and placed them in isolated spaces like museums and gazetted monuments/sites. Thus, denying heritage the relationships they shared with members of the indigenous/local communities to serve the elite class. Thirdly, the management structures it created ignored the philosophies that produced,

used and managed heritage in the indigenous settings to favour alien and contested principles that made little or no sense to members of the local public.

Subsequently, heritage laws and policies were made, and research, preservation and museum establishments were carried out according to the directives of the National Authority. Also, departments of archaeology, anthropology and art history were later introduced into Nigerian universities in the 1960s. Teachings and research are undertaken based on the acceptable scientific approach as adopted elsewhere in the world, a system that has deepened local public exclusion in heritage conservation in the country.

The extent to which the public was excluded was heightened by the use of the term "discovery", or sometimes “accidental discovery” by both the colonial and many indigenous scholars working on conservation. The use of both descriptors in their writings imply that the indigenous people had no knowledge of the existence of such heritage resources, even when they interact with them in different ways and ‘places’ (Read 1996; Cresswell 2004). Many of the said ‘discoveries’ were taken away from the communities to the national museums, and discovered monuments were protected by laws that restrict community/public access. Such sharp division made heritage preservation a failed endeavour because the local public is neither involved nor interested. The gap created persisted throughout the colonial period and is being sustained today by legislation, professionalism, and foreign religious practices (e.g. Christianity and Islam).

In Igboland, Southeastern Nigeria, now the focus of this research, archaeological and heritage research started when Thurstan Shaw excavated Igbo-Ukwu between 1959 and 1960. This is said to have revealed for the first time the ‘prehistoric’ civilisation of the Igbo (see Shaw 1970, 1975, 1977). Within the same period, Donald D. Hartle surveyed many sites in Igboland and excavated the University of Nigeria farm at Nsukka and Ukpa rock shelter in Afikpo (see Hartle 1965, 1967, 1978). Both studies were relevant in claiming to be the first to expose the ancient heritage of the Igbo when it seemed there was no evidence of development in the past. That said, it was earlier observed that before Shaw and Hartle, many anthropologists, art historians and missionaries had collected and removed numerous works of arts of the Igbo as *'art of the primitive people*’, which they deposited in museums in Europe and America (Danford 1949; Lawal 1977; Shyllon 2011).

Later, archaeologists of Igbo origin started research on the archaeology and heritage of Igboland. Their works concentrated mainly on the Stone Ages, Early Settlement and Agricultural Periods and Metal Ages (see Anozie 1977, 1979; Chikwendu 1976; Okpoko 1979; Okafor 1984, 1992; Okafor and Phillips 1992; Ekechukwu 1988; Ibeanu 2000; Ezeadichie

2000; Itanyi 1990, 2012; Eze-Uzomaka 2007, 2009, 2010; Ikegwu 2014), with the aim of opening up a possible development sequence similar to that of Europe. These scholars worked effortlessly following the tenets of AHD, and their goals were not achieved and remained to be completed (McItosh and McItosh 1988; Ogundiran 2005, 2015). Few other pieces of research were carried out on museological studies and/or cultural resource management and public archaeology (see Andah 1985a, 1985b, 1990; Eze-Uzomaka 1996, 2000; Okpoko 2006 and few others). Interestingly, many of these researches never considered the views and philosophies of the indigenous/local communities. Apart from getting cultural information from the people in the form of ethnoarchaeology, none considered their ontological and epistemological approaches to heritage conservation. Again, none of the scholars has carried out extensive research on the indigenous heritage preservation, neither has any enquired into better ways to manage the public exclusion associated with the dogmatic approach being practised in the country.

However, Nigeria is signatory (one of the "States Parties") to many of the UNESCO's heritage conventions, not least, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which (to an extent) recognised in earnest the place of the local communities in heritage management (see UNESCO, 2003). Neither the heritage laws are reviewed to reflect this new call for inclusion, nor the professionals showing interest in local public involvement in research and result sharing. The inherited colonial laws and principles of research and result-sharing and conservation of heritage remain operational in the country. Meanwhile, indigenous heritage and museum models abound in Nigeria, and none have been critically explored. This thesis, therefore, maps the hegemonic heritage management processes in Nigeria and its consequences on the indigenous/local community participation. It examines indigenous heritage preservation models, particularly, the Igbo 'village square' and explores the interface between such indigenous models and global heritage discourses and practices. It further demonstrates how their integration could boost local public participation and visitor engagement to discourage exclusion in heritage management for a sustainable future of heritage. The thesis suggests '**in-use**' heritage conservation method that could manage 'living' heritage aside from the 'dying' ones that AHD principles favour. '**In-use**' technique is suggested because of the findings of the thesis and the recent calls for re-theorisation of heritage in the Anthropocene (see Harrison 2015; Solli et al. 2011).

1.1 Why Now? The Problematics

Heritage preservation as known in Nigeria today is a colonial invention that found solace in archaeological and anthropological researches and the establishment of museums - an ivory tower exclusively preserved for the elites (Andah 1990, 1997; Eze-uzomaka 2000; Aradeon 2002; Arinze 2002). Further explanations on the elitist nature of heritage management were offered by Chaterera and Nyawo (2013, 14), that "these places we call museums, designed as they were for foreigners and tourists and which claimed to present a cultural overview of the people, were constructed in style typical of official colonial palaces". Filane (2003) suggests that museums in Nigeria are a colonial invention established as an essential aspect of Western civilisation which needed to be transferred to Africa as part of the 'civilising mission'. These views are testimonies to the fact that conventional heritage preservation in Africa was not intended to serve the indigenous/local public. Even with good intentions to preserve history, museums are used by a narrower section of society and are seen by many to be elitist; "collections and displays are too scholarly (Eurocentric) in character and therefore discriminating in their presentation" (Eyo 1994). It is argued in this thesis that there exist(ed) indigenous heritage preservation methods, which appeal more to the local peoples of Nigeria. One would, therefore, ask: Why didn't the people continue with their approach, perhaps, expand and popularise it to serve a similar purpose or merge it with the AHD to produce more acceptable method(s)? The answer to this question is not far-fetched as the explanations also lie in the problems associated with the colonial strategies.

Schmidt and Mrozowski (2013, 16) in a statement that looks like a complete answer to the above question, points out that "colonialism often separated subjected people from their identities, taught them that they had no histories, and instilled in them the belief that any event before the coming of writing had no historical meaning". This expression casts minds back to the colonial tags on African peoples and cultures before the middle of the 20th century as "primitive", "barbaric", "uncivilised", and their religion "pagan", instruments of worship, "idol", "fetish" and so on (Rodney 1972; Chinwizu 1975). It was this mind-changing processes which took the form of gradual erasure of African culture that Obiechina (1990/91) called "the truncation of our collective consciousness". It took centre-stage throughout the colonial period, and in African's eagerness to become more Christians and Moslems than their original adherents, they have not only sustained it but have helped to deepen the ideology through inculturation and iconoclasm.

Nigeria's heritage professionals in academia and those practising have not helped to find a way to resolve the 'truncation of the collective consciousness' of the people. In approaching conservation, research, teaching and result sharing, they have shown little or no regard for the communities/public they researched and represented. Derefaka (2002, 55) observed that "in terms of methodology, at the level of fieldwork, analysis of artefacts and features, restoration, conservation and exhibition, as well as explanation and synthesis, archaeology in Nigeria is similar to archaeology elsewhere in Africa or indeed the world" (see also Nzewunwa 1990; Folorunso 2011). Evidently, many countries are reviewing this ideology for the inclusion of the local public to remain relevant. Apart from the adoption of ethnoarchaeology in research, and museum school visits organised by NCMM branches, professionals in Nigeria and most African countries have remained adamant.

Oram (2002) argues that the interest and projects of museums in Africa are generally described as 'antiquities', and the objects they collect are of archaeological, historical or ethnographic significance, whose study and conservation is an exclusive right of the archaeologists, historians and anthropologists respectively. However, Pikirayi (2011) argues that the increasing global challenges of underdevelopment, lack of access to basic amenities, poverty, conflict and violence paramount in Africa today deter members of the local communities from paying attention to any career, professionals/experts, or institutions/establishments that are not likely to benefit them (see also Eze-Uzomaka 2000; Gundu 2008; Agbelusi 2015). Also, Andah (1997, 15) had earlier observed that "a majority of museums as organised and run in most African countries serve more or less as the agent of underdevelopment rather than developing the good and virile aspects of the socio-cultural values and institutions of African people". With reference to National Museums in Nigeria, Bitiyong (1997, 157 & 161) expresses that "early museums were set up in response to the preservation and educational needs posed by archaeological findings". Using the National Museum of Jos, Nigeria as an example, he complained that "the visitors' book in the main gallery shows that expatriates are the main patrons of the exhibition"; therefore, upholding the view that Nigeria's local public have no interest in patronising museums. Although all levels of students visit museums, many elites and non-elites hardly do.

In the light of these problems, modern museum and heritage preservation model can no longer be sustained in their current state in Nigeria, especially now that the laws establishing them is inconsistent with demands for inclusion enshrined in international conventions, protocols and practices ratified by Nigeria (see Nwalimu 2009). Recent discourses on heritage preservation in Africa make reference to the indigenous models, which are believed to be more inclusive,

community engaging and rewarding to the local community/public needs (see Okpoko 2006; Kreps 2003, 2006; Filane 2003; Rowlands 2011; Pikirayi 2011). Regrettably, none of these writers has attempted an in-depth study of the indigenous approaches and on how they can become beneficial in our time. None advocates an alternative that is capable of face-lifting the conventional method from being exclusionary to become democratic for local public inclusion and participation. In this regard, a typical Igbo 'village square' is considered a museum-like space useful for preserving and presenting the heritage of the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria. This thesis thoroughly argues that its philosophical formations could create an alternative heritage preservation model. In line with this position, the arguments developed in the thesis revolve around the 'village square' and the concomitant heritage conservation perceptions held by the Igbo of Nigeria.

1.2 The 'Village Square'

The 'village square' is central to the settlement structure of all Igbo villages. It is called *Ilo/Iro, Otobo*, *Obodo, Ama*, *Ezi or Ọfụ* according to dialectal differences, but plays the same role as a centre for traditional museum practice and heritage preservation among the Igbo. It is the circus where Igbo cultural heritage, such as cultural dance, wrestling, religious worship, performance of the spirit being (masquerade) and other such performances play out. The village assembly, council of elders or youth meetings are also held there. The 'village square' is as well a virtual museum space where a village's heritage materials such as figurines, pottery, gong (wooden and metal), textile materials, cowries, shrines, house of the spirit being (masquerade) and paraphernalia, musical instruments and many other treasures are located (see Metuh 1973; Nwabueze 1984; Okolie 1992).

Although the changing times, due to 'globalisation', continue to deplete its place in Igbo villages, it is common to encounter a mention of its central position in the scores of ethnographic, historical, linguistic or archaeological studies on Igbo life and culture. It is viewed as a centre of unity (Anigbo 1996; Aniakor 1980); village assembly/meeting centre (Picton 1988; Oriji 1989; Ajaegbu 2014); theatre for ceremonies and performances of spirit beings (Achebe 1958; Nwabueze 1984; Okolie 1992; Ukaegbu 1996; Okafor 1998); village tabernacle/religious centre (Shelton 1971; Metuh 1973; Nsude 1987; Anizoba 2008); and as a place for judicial proceedings (Onyeozili and Ebbe 2012). Consequently, Okolie (1992:18) notes that "it is the theatre for the practicalisation, in all its ramifications, of [an] Igbo world view whether it is on socio-cultural, politico-religious, economic, educational or judicial levels.

It is the centre that holds all the communities together, without which things are bound to fall apart". So, it is a place for negotiation and re-negotiation of social institutions for the survival of the community.

No study has so far explored the role of this space as an indigenous museum space for heritage preservation and manifestation. The 'village square' has such architectural space for the storage, preservation and curation of cultural heritage with performative space for cultural dance, ritual, entertainment, sporting and recreation. Today, this arena is faced with the threat of extinction because of the modern approach to governance, religion, sporting, entertainment and judicial proceedings which originally took place in them with their associated materials being destroyed day after day.

It is important to note that this thesis chose to call the Igbo 'village square' 'village arena' instead. This choice was necessitated following the findings of the thesis, which shows that the space is the heart of Igbo culture, history and life.

1.3 History of the Study Region – The Igbo in Brief

Nigeria locates in the West of sub-Saharan Africa. The country is divided into majorly Christian and Muslim population in the south and northern regions respectively. The 2006 census placed the population at 140 million (National Population Commission 2006) with a shoot-up estimated at 170 million in 2013 (Moghalu 2013). There are more than 250 ethnic groups, the largest groups being the Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani and Igbo; others are Idoma, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Nupe, Tiv and so on (Okafor, Adeleke and Opara 2006). The Igbo, one of the three major ethnic groups in the country is the focal point of this study. However, the results of this thesis also have some implications on Nigeria, Africa and other post-contact societies.

Igboland is located in the southern part of Nigeria. The area lies between latitude 5-7 degrees north and longitude 6-8 degrees east and occupies a total landmass of about 15,800 square miles (Uchendu 1965; Ofomata 2002; Oriji 2011). It is one of the six geopolitical zones that make up Nigeria, administratively called the Southeast. It contains the states of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo with some of the people living in parts of Delta, Rivers and Cross River states in South-south geopolitical zone (see figure 1). Igbo population is placed around 16 million (NPC 2006), and about 35 million (Oriji 2011).

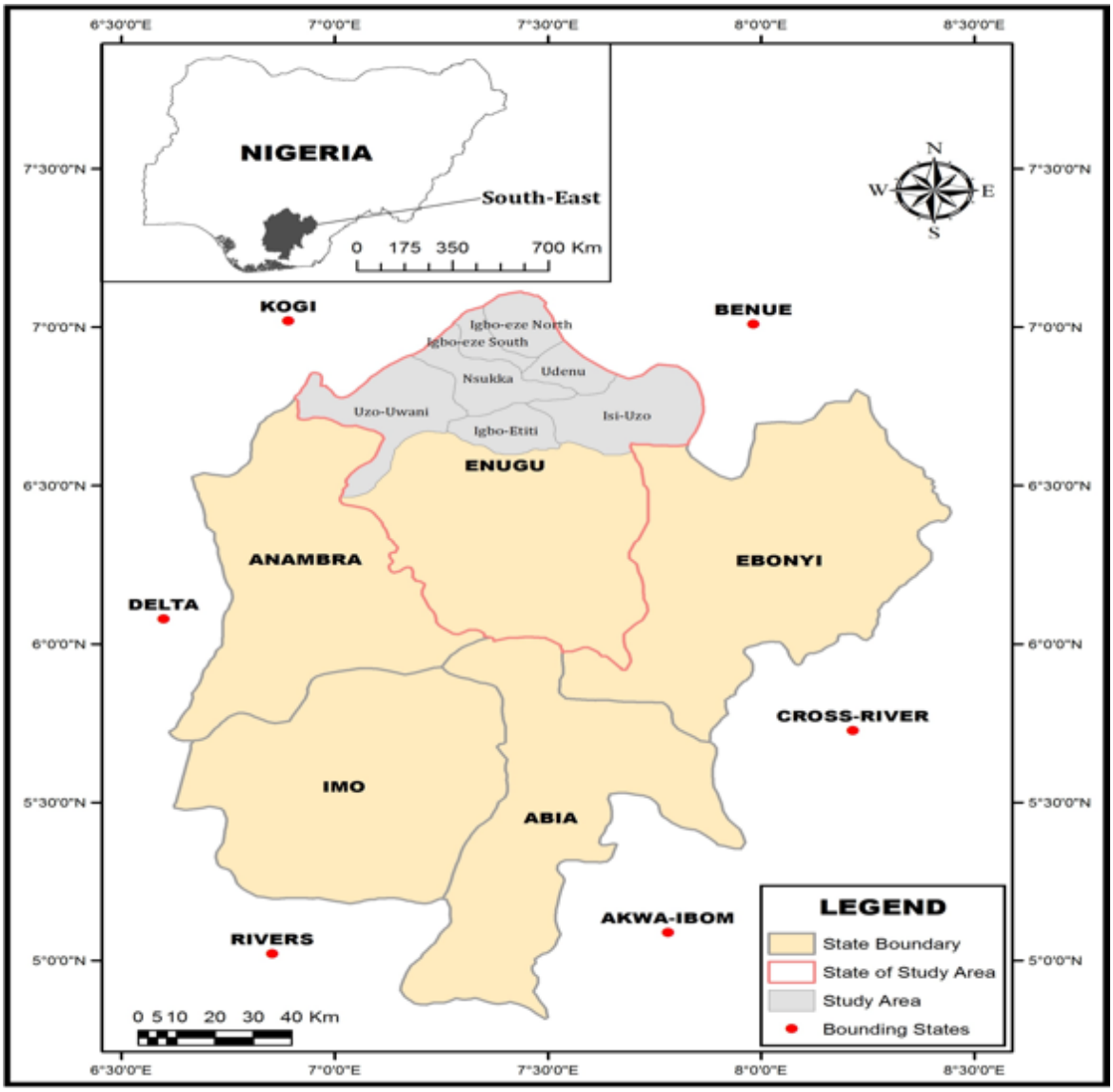


Figure 1: Map of southeast (core Igbo states) Nigeria showing the study region

Anthropologists, historians, linguists and archaeologists have searched for the origin and the primogeniture of the Igbo without reaching a consensus, given the complexity of the cultural history of the people. The search, which became pronounced during the colonial period, has continued to engage scholars of Igbo history till date. At any rate, scholars have established three schools of thought that are suggestive of their origin: (1) the autochthonous theory, (2) the Niger-Benue confluence theory, and (3) the theory of Jewish origin, also known as the oriental hypothesis. Autochthons postulate that the Igbo people are from nowhere other than the location they found themselves. This view has been supported with evidence of environmental change in the area over a long period of time (see Sowunmi, 1991), archaeological information (see Shaw 1970, 1977; Chikwendu 1976; Anozie 1979; Okpoko 1979; Okafor 1992; Okafor and Phillips 1992; Eze-Uzomaka 2009, 2010), and with the recent

ethnolinguistic approach (seeAcholonu 2005, 2009). With archaeological evidence, Hartle (1965) date Igbo culture to 2555 BC.

The Niger-Benue confluence theory is derived from the linguistic model of glottochronology and lexicostatistics. According to Greenberg (1963), who applied this technique to undertake a linguistic grouping of African societies, Igbo belong to the Kwa family within the Niger-Congo stock. Greenberg's glottochronology suggests that about 4,000 or 5,000 years ago, the Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Idoma, Igala, Igbira, Igede and Bassa were one linguistic group residing around the present Lokoja (the Niger-Benue confluence city) from where they dispersed. Applying linguistic methods, Manning (2005, 2006) and Webb (2005) suggest that the Igbo dates to 8,000 BC. Proponents of this model use lexical affinity between Igbo and other languages to support their position (see also Armstrong 1964).

The Jewish origin, otherwise known as the Oriental hypothesis, is derived from the Biblical trace of descent through Jacob to his son Gad and to Eri one of Gad's children (Gen. 46: 16). Apostles of this model argue that some cultural traits among the Igbo are found to be same among the Jews (see Equiano 1789; Jeffreys 1956; Basden 1966; Isichie 1976; Afigbo 1981; Onwuejiogwu 1981; Odinanwa 1987; Onyesoh 2000; Nwaezeigwe 2007).

Taking an eclectic position on the insights from the three school of thoughts imply that there are autochthonous Igbo, who were later joined by another group of peoples that now speak the same language. By sharing cultural similarities with the Jews, it is suggestive that there is a mixture of cultures – the autochthons, 'the Jews', and maybe, other indigenous peoples. It is these people whose culture radiates from the 'village square' that the evidences used here were generated. Their use of 'village square' as a circus for heritage preservation and manifestation provides a useful background for the discourse on indigenous heritage preservation model in Nigeria.

1.4 Points for Thesis Arguments

The arguments in this thesis are developed around four major points. First, it identifies the existence of hegemonic heritage management processes in Nigeria, which Smith (2006) had recognised as "Authorised Heritage Discourse" (AHD). This point establishes that colonialism is the means through which public exclusion in the heritage industry in Nigeria came, and it is presently sustained by the national discourses that privilege professional expert voices. Explicitly, AHD creates an avenue for the exploration of the decision-making processes in the identification, confirmation and management of heritage. It gave the opportunity to reveal who

holds power, knowledge and mandate to create/pronounce and manage heritage in Nigeria. This point highlights how heritage which was initially owned by the people (as patrimonial) was taken away to become national property. It opened an avenue to identify the actors and those that benefit from a process that excludes the people. Even when AHD has been variously countered for being exclusive and unsustainable, especially by the critical heritage scholars (see Smith 2006; Harrison 2010, 2013; Silverman 2011; Schofield 2014; Waterton 2009; Waterton and Watson 2015), it has remained the tool for heritage management in most countries of the world.

In an attempt to respond to the problems created by the hegemonic system, the next point examines the existence of an indigenous heritage preservation model in Nigeria. To this end, the Igbo 'village square' forms a good case. It is found that the indigenous model exist(ed) in Nigeria before the AHD was introduced, but it conveyed little or no meaning to the professional experts (foreigners) that brought the latter as a mono-model. Notwithstanding, the indigenous model appeals more to the local public than the AHD because they exist and are practical within specific localities; also, the terms and concepts used are more familiar to the people. Therefore, it was extensively examined, and useful principles derived to support the course of inclusion championed in this thesis.

The third point brought to fore colonialism and the spiritual fractures it had on the consciousness of the indigenous people. Following the establishment of the first and second points above, the question that is raised is: Why did the people allow AHD to override the indigenous approaches? The thesis was able to establish how and why this happened. It was not intentional; it is found that the processes were strategic, and in some cases, forceful. Again, nationalisation processes and the introduction of modern time and space altered the indigenous conceptualisations about the past, present and future. Additionally, the human was focused on as the only constituent of the community against the indigenous views that see non-humans as part of their living community. Long years of gradual indoctrination through efforts to maintain national narratives and identity played into the psychology of the indigenous people – a prepacked plan successfully executed with a shocking result that led Achebe (1958, 124-5) to exclaim: "The white man is clever…. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart". This third point represents how Achebe's metaphorical episode was made real in the lives of Nigerians, and Africans in general.

Fourthly, the thesis draws attention to the present need for public inclusion in heritage management in Nigeria, striking a balance between the hegemonic approach and the indigenous model. It explains how appreciation and inculcation of the indigenous knowledge systems into

the conservation of heritage would encourage public participation and visitor engagement to face-lift the failing AHD in Nigeria and elsewhere in the world. A critical position was considered to understand better ways to integrate both models to achieve democratic inclusion. Cosmopolitanism, cross-culture, hybridity, creolisation and glocalisation were explored, but glocalisation provided acceptable principles that support the kind of inclusion advocated. With a good understanding of the cultural conscience of the study group, the thesis suggested '**in-use**' conservation method. '**In-use**' tenets recognise the cultural programming of the indigenous peoples of Nigeria; it provides inclusive and sustainable alternative techniques for the future of heritage in the Anthropocene.

The arguments developed in this thesis stick to these four points, and a holistic understanding of them gave insights into the empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions of the thesis. A systematic view of the points made here advances the position that there exist public exclusion, apathy and sense of alienation in heritage preservation and management in Nigeria. And this is caused by the application of AHD despite the existence of the indigenous forms that appeal more to the people, which is capable of encouraging local public inclusion.

In order to develop the above arguments, this thesis attempts answers to the following questions:

- What are the reasons for the public exclusion and apathy in the museum and heritage preservation in Nigeria?
- How can heritage be preserved and presented in order to encourage public participation?
- What new or old principles, skills, strategies and technologies that are capable of raising awareness and public interest are available in the country?
- What kind of alternative (if any) is required to meet the current needs for inclusion, bottom-up approach, co-creation or co-design?

To provide answers to these questions, the thesis examines the inherent realities in heritage regulations and practices as well as the associated exclusion it displays. It identifies the possibilities of democratising heritage management processes in the country. Employing anthropological investigative approaches, it deconstructs the dominant hegemonic tenets and provides the understanding that heritage is a cultural process found at the centre of community life in Nigeria, Africa at large. The research is timely because it came at a time when the wave against the established dogma that privileged only professional experts to have total control over heritage conservation is being questioned across the globe. It joins in the calls for equitable voices and democratic inclusion in heritage preservation processes. At the moment, such

discursive endeavour has received little or no attention in Nigeria, a perspective that this thesis hopes to awaken in the country and elsewhere in the world.

1.5 Aims and Objectives

Broadly speaking, the thesis aims at examining the extent of inclusion and exclusion of the ontologies and epistemologies of modern and indigenous (Igbo 'village square') heritage conservation in Nigeria. It hopes to merge both so as to establish a method that is more democratic, inclusive and sustainable. The specific objectives are:

1. **To establish the existence of the prevalent (Western) and silent indigenous (for this purpose, Igbo 'village square') heritage preservation models in Nigeria.**

This first objective makes us understand that both models exist in Nigeria. By examining them, it gives insights into the philosophies and operational mechanisms of the two as obtained in Nigeria. The findings provide the platform for the discussion in the second objective below.

2. **To examine the indigenous/public perceptions of both models in relation to inclusion and exclusion.**

An understanding of how the local community/public perceive the AHD and the indigenous heritage preservation approaches was established. This objective helps in providing answers to questions like: What type of community/society is being studied? What do they perceive as heritage? How have they been involved or ignored in the mainstream heritage management process? The answers to these questions gave necessary insights that triggered the discussions about the third objective. Objective two contextualises inclusion and exclusion, and the operational techniques of both models are identified and interrogated by objective one.

3. **To contemplate the integration of both models as a middle-of-the-road option for realising democratic inclusion in heritage preservation in Nigeria.**

Utilising ideas inherent in the two models and the ways they include or exclude members of the indigenous/local communities, the thesis advocates a combination of the knowledge to achieve democratic inclusion, co-creation or co-design for sustainable heritage conservation. This objective allows us to appreciate and respect diversity; it makes us see that conservation effort is everyone's responsibility, and not necessarily that of the professional experts. In the real sense, heritage is to serve the general public and not a few elites. And in the Anthropocene, respect, recognition and inclusion of the diverse ideas of different groups in a living community (comprising human and nonhuman) are essential for the future of heritage.

1.6 Ethics and Methodology

In a bid to achieve the set objectives listed above, the thesis approached the study in a manner that allows access to grassroots information. The qualitative method applied, and it collected qualitative data. Following the involvement of human persons in the processes of data collection, the thesis adopted the University of York's Arts and Humanities ethics guidelines (see appendix 7) to ensure the protection and safety of all the participants.

Case study research strategy was used. In a nutshell, the Nsukka Igbo comprising Nsukka, Udenu, Igbo-Etiti, Isi-Uzo, Uzo-Uwani, Igbo-Eze North and Igbo-Eze South local government areas (LGA) in Enugu state, Southeastern Nigeria are covered. One village is purposively selected from each of the LGAs making a total of seven villages. The villages in order of the listed LGAs are Ebor Eha-alumona, Amegu Umundu, Useh Aku, Ogor Ikem, Umu-Obira Nkporogu, Onicha Enugu, and Amokpu Uhunowerre.

Ethnographic processes of sourcing information helped in the collection of the evidence used here. Ethnographic techniques considered very useful are field/participant observation, in-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion (FGD); these are complemented by the collection of documented records that gave further insights. Thirty-five (35) in-depth interviews and seven (7) FGDs were conducted. Field note was taken, interviews were tape-recorded, videos and photographs were gathered, and coordinates were collected for producing maps of heritage sites in the villages. Data analysis followed the reduction, display, verification and conclusion pattern to develop themes and categories to aid discussion and interpretation. As a result, data reduction and inductive methods of analysis were used.

1.7 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is conveyed in nine chapters. Chapter one introduces the thesis with brief exposition into the research questions, objectives and argumentations. Chapter two contains the literature review. The review touched on some conceptual issues that need clarifications for the purpose of the study. It takes on critical debates about colonial and postcolonial heritage conservation principles. Focusing on critical heritage studies paradigm, the chapter dissected the new discursive dimensions of heritage theorisation in the 21st century and identified the gap that the thesis bridges. Chapter three discusses heritage background in Nigeria in relation to the global debates. It presents the processes of heritage creation in the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods with particular insights into the institutions involved in the process and their relationship with the indigenous/local communities. Chapter four is the methodology. The

chapter defined the research scope, strategy, design, data collection and methods of analysis. Ethnography was applied, and the chapter gave a detailed description of the processes that collected and analysed data. An attempt was made to reflect on the encounters that helped or marred data collection and analysis, how the author's identities affected participants and their interactions with him.

In chapter five, the Igbo terms/concepts and philosophies of heritage, conservation, memory and identity, and how the Igbo generally perceive and preserve heritage were expressly explained. Also discussed are the Igbo time and space or contemporaneity and temporalities - how the Igbo understand past, present and future - and the way the knowledge are woven into culture and tradition. Again, it engages the means through which the past and present interact and the transmission pattern to the younger and future generations. Chapter six looks at how social structure, social processes, and social relations organise Igbo villages focusing on the village arena philosophies. It further shows the ways the Igbo survive(d) within the context of the village arena as it provides space for governance, religion, entertainment and judicial processes. Importantly, the chapter presents the human connectivity with the non-humans as 'equal' partners in the living community. Chapter seven discussed the specific case studies – the Igbo village arena – in heritage perspective. It delves into the history, philosophy, structure, contents, use and management of a typical Igbo village arena. The discussion in this chapter shows the similarities and differences among the village arena and the philosophical position of the Igbo about conservation. Finally, the syncretic pattern of indigenous and modern cultures, the dualities that exist and the tension and crisis emanating therein were also engaged. Chapter eight is the discussion chapter. It reconciles the literature with the data gotten from the field to understand areas of convergence and differences in relation to inclusion and exclusion. The chapter contemplates the blend of AHD and indigenous heritage preservation models to encourage democratic inclusion and sustainability in heritage conservation through public participation and engagement. Chapter nine summarises the thesis with a conclusion and insights into significant contributions of the thesis. It also highlights the implication of the thesis to future research and made recommendations. Other reflexive accounts of the fieldwork that are different from the ones already covered in chapter four are explored.

Having presented the bigger and clearer picture of the thesis, this chapter launches us into the thesis contents beginning with chapter two that makes sense of the atypical on the study subject.

Chapter Two: The Heritage We Know? Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Conceptualisation and theorisation of a phenomenon situate its meaning and understanding and shape the direction of enquiry, meaning-making, presentation and continuous contestation of the subject matter. Hence, as Waterton (2007) has stressed "the ways in which we talk, think and write about heritage issues matter. They matter because they influence, construct, reflect and constitute not only the ways in which we act, but how we identify and manage heritage in practice". It is during these processes that the power of a particular knowledge is exerted; it is a time when some of such knowledge are included while others are excluded. Concepts are generic, and they represent the ideas of the originator; such ideas are brought to public knowledge to be continuously contested, although without erasing in entirety the original meaning. After a longtime of contestations, such concepts transfuse to theory – a set of principles that guide the knowledge of a particular existent. This chapter traces this construction as it transforms cultural products into heritage. It further explores the discourses that revolve around heritage from a critical view which sees heritage as a cultural process.

The chapter examines the historical and meaning-making processes of heritage and other related concepts such as time and space, identity, museum, and tourism. It links these terms to landscape and place attachment, landscape and posthumanism and takes up ‘village square’, our case study, to further the understanding while reflecting on how discursive powers of discovery and interpretations give new meanings to space and material. The chapter, therefore, enquires into the contestations of the theoretical making of heritage with a specific focus on the patterning of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, it examines how internationalisation of these concepts frustrates the questioning of heritage principles as well as further investigates the models within which this questioning occurs. In the end, trans-national perspectives with specific references to instances from Africa dominates the discussions. It is hoped that chapter three as a continuum of this engagement with a focus on Nigeria will offer a specific state/national understanding.

2.0.1 Heritage and Preservation

The history of heritage and its preservation can be said to date back to the origins of humanity. Ancient traditional societies had ways of keeping, caring, reviving, re-inventing, appreciating and/or integrating the past into the present. Today, their approaches have seen ‘historical

hyping', a term used in the context of this enquiry to mean expert voices – interpretation - co-joined with alien attributes and professional expertise to construct hyped heritage. In this regard, Lowenthal (1985) writes that the idea of heritage is an 18th century invention whereas preservation evolved from antiquarian activities in the 19th century; thus, the 20th century saw a boom in heritage preservation. Many scholars accept this view (Walsh 1992; McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995; Bennett 1995; Lowental 1998; Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000), but others question the universality of such a historical stance (Harvey 2001; 2007; 2008; Smith 2006). Harvey opposes this generalisation, arguing that dating heritage to 18th or 19th century limits us from appreciating what heritage really means to diverse people of the earth. Heritage is produced by people according to their *contemporary concerns* and experiences (Harvey 2001 the emphasis is mine). By contemporary concerns, Harvey directly or indirectly refers to the idea of heritage preservation as a reoccurring phenomenon; and he limits his discourse to the 18th century enlightenment in Europe even as he fails to acknowledge other countries where heritage preservation had existed before the said period. His arguments fall within the propositions of the earliest heritage writers, mainly drawn from historians, architects and geographers who dominated the 18th-20th centuries history of heritage preservation. Consequently, he had called them 'heritage commentators. Heritage to them derives from what history could offer based on the extrapolations drawn from Europe and American philosophies about the past. It is no doubt, therefore, that these views have strongly shaped the meaning of heritage whose history is believed to have originated from modernity and the creation of modern nation-states in the Western world.

Another fundamental feature of the Euro-American modernist ideology of heritage is its characterisation as something to be aesthetically outstanding, physically, statically, nationally, and expertise-oriented (see Davison 1992; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Harrison 2010; 2013; Silverman 2011), what Smith (2006) called 'Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)', a model applied in the discussion chapter because of the way it summarises many of the ideas developed throughout this review. Emanating from critical gaze, AHD, she argues "focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity" (Smith 2006). Waterton (2013) characterised AHD as follows: (a) a tendency towards identification with the nation; (b) a fetishisation of the physical survivals of the past; (c) a belief in the privileged position of 'the expert', and; (d) an appeal to the artistic endeavours of the upper-classes. Smith argues that,

> heritage is a cultural process and social process; it is the experiences that may happen at sites or during the acting out of certain events; it is a process of remembering and memory making – of meditating cultural and social change, of negotiating and creating and recreating values, meanings, understandings and identity. Above all, heritage is an active, vibrant process of creating bonds through shared experiences and acts of creation (2006, 307).

In addition, heritage is perceived as an aspect of the leisure industry with an unprecedented economic output which relates its origin to the 20th century world economic restructuring to capitalism (Prentice 1993; Boniface and Fowler 1993; McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995; Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011). Nevertheless, the dating of heritage preservation and the characterisation would have come across as a result of the links established in the literature between history, antiquity, power, identity, and museum (Lowental 1985; 1996; Macdonald 2003; Harvey 2003; Dubuc 2011). But taking history and identity into consideration questions the European origin of heritage because both terms have been part and parcel of most societies before enlightenment brought modernity. John Urry and Jonas Larsen have argued that heritage involves a strong sense of lineage and inheritance with an identity-conferring status (2011). Culture whose by-product is heritage is the core of identity and any attempt to establish identity as a modern phenomenon through such linkage is more or less seeing culture as a modern product, an allusive and futile endeavour. The *heritage* to be linked with history and identity in such contexts is patrimonial and has little or nothing to do with the national heritage created through the interpretative powers of professional 'expert'. The argument is that relating patrimonial to the discursive heritage of nowadays confuses the meaning and history of contemporary heritage, and this has been one of the common strands of 'heritage commentators'. On the other side of the debate, the separation of antiquity from contemporary historiography and the isolation of these heritages (whether of antiquity or contemporary) into museum enclosures is of course part of today's idea of heritage.

We must not confuse patrimony (*heritage*) with contemporary heritage practice because there have been adjustments both in history and meaning. The patrimonial kind of heritage "was the property 'heirloom' which parents handed on to their children…" (Davison 2000). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) assert that "all *heritage* is someone's heritage, and someone determines that it exists" (emphasis is mine). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, heritage is a 'property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance', 'valued things as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations', and 'relating to things of historic or cultural value that are worthy of preservation'. At this level of definition, heritage is still a

private property and has not taken public ownership to project or assert states' sovereign identity. Locating heritage history within this context is just referring to most pre-modern societies where heritage is transmitted from father to son or ancestors to offspring as an authentic family treasure; the term "family" taken in this context to include both nuclear and extended forms.

However, there are places where heritage was mobilised as a symbol of state sovereignty to maintain powers and the authorities of aristocrats or of the 'democratic' states before and around the 18th century. Notable examples are the classical Egyptian, Greek and Roman Empires (Howard 2003; Harvey 2008; Smith 2006; Carman and Sorensen 2009). Carman and Sorensen (2009, 13) state that "the veneration of the past expressed in classical Greece or the explicit linkage between past and present seen in the Roman Empire, for example, shown through reuse of Greek monuments, is often presented as early evidence of an explicit valorisation of heritage". In Egypt, there are appointed guides who show visitors their ancient relics; there may have been little conservation, but there was certainly interpretation (Dewar 2000). Then, the past was perceived to have mythical quality and the remains were acquired as the personal possession of rising power. There was no concept of civic duty associated with these activities; it was a pure pleasure (Carman and Sorensen 2009). Of course, the civic duty question could be said of Europe, but Dewar's findings in Egypt where tours and interpretations were conducted proved otherwise.

These histories, gathered from Europe and Egypt, has dominated heritage literature; yet, it represents a relatively small number of the societies in the world whose heritage was used to maintain state sovereignty and power in the pre-modern era. In fact, Carman and Sorensen (2009) went further to divide the history of heritage into early approaches to heritage, valorisation and institutionalisation in the 19th century, expansion and consolidation in the 20th century, and the 21st century indigenous and non-Western heritage representations. Differentiating the periods before and after 19th century, they explain that heritage management and practices were "now carried out as part of institutional and public concerns and the concept of ownership changed. Rather than belonging to individuals, heritage became something that was deemed to be held in trust" (Carman and Sorensen 2009). Their insistence on the civility of heritage to have only emerged in the 18th or 19th century does not represent in any way a universal perspective. While agreeing with them that ownership changed from individual to public through legislation, it is also important to point out that many societies had the tradition of individual and public ownership of heritage resources at every point in time.

Critical heritage scholars must be mindful of how the universal history of heritage is approached in order to avoid the crisis of dividing heritage history into 'prehistory' and 'history' as found in archaeology; where history only began when the writing tradition was invented; in this case, when interest in writing about heritage began. And prehistory becomes any other period before writing – when heritage discourse was not in existence in literature and/or when it has not taken a professional stance in the academic world. In the case of archaeology, this has been proved to be a complication and misrepresentation of history in many societies, including those in Africa (Schmidt 1983; Andah 1990; Schmidth and Mzorowski 2013). To set the record straight, these authors argue that there was no clear separation between the past and the present in pre-colonial Africa. What existed was deep-past, the realm of the ancestors whose inspirations, wisdom and values guide the present. The acceptance of a Western heritage model was the beginning of the separation of the past from the present, where the past began to take the posture of a 'foreign country' as argued by Lowenthal (1985). Whether this is intentional or merely a case of oversight leaves one to wonder when the domination exerted through the power of knowledge in heritage discourse will end. An appreciation of history and practice of heritage in some countries other than Europe and Egypt will present us with an inclusive, encompassing and widely acceptable view, and would have an added value to the meaning and history of heritage in the world. It will also save us from plunging into a new debate on historical exclusion in heritage discourse in the future.

In Japan, the Ise Shrine that was mobilised to prove authenticity and the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage at the Nara Conference in 1994 dates to the 6th century (Nkagawa 2016; see also Tange, Kawazoe and Watanabe 1965). The Shrine legitimises the power and authority of the Emperor over the Japanese state. It has a civic duty it performs, and it was the duty of the people to reconstruct the house where the shrine is located after every 20 years. The 14th century Great Zimbabwe stood as the state's symbol of heritage to legitimise power and authority; and still, it was open to public service (Rodney 1972; Fontein 2006). Among the New Zealand Maori, the Marae that are traced to the history of indigenous Maori people whose settlement dates to the 13th century AD assumed civic roles. Hence, the people lived in lineage states where Marae was the symbol of the lineage authority (Hakiwai, 1999; McCarthy, 2007). Ogundiran (2005) observed that in Nigeria, bronze working technology contributed greatly to the survival of many kingdoms and its products were used to express wealth and political power in Nri (9th century AD), Ife (11th century AD), and Benin (13th century AD) kingdoms. In all the examples, the past was neither perceived as a "mythical

quality" nor be treated as "a realm, a lost time and state of grace" as held by Carman and Sorensen (2009). Heritage was seen as a cultural process found at the centre of the people's life, which shaped, and was being shaped by the people. In many of the places recorded above, the monarch stood as a custodian and used heritage to assert the sovereignty of the state where the central system of governance existed. In the case of democratic states like the Igbo of Southeast Nigeria, village heads, priests, councils of elders and many other groups or cultural committees like the *Esuoro* in Oron, *Onu-maa* or *Ọyima-Ọmabe* in the Nsukka area (see Nwakwo and Okafor, 2014), *Onkọkọ* and *Ekpe* societies in Ohafia and Calabar respectively managed heritage affairs and employed them as symbols for expressing group political sovereignty and identity. Fruzzetti and Ostor (1996) argue that civility was present in pre-colonial Africa. Drawing from Fallers's (1974) definition, they regarded civility as a balance of interests between rulers and ruled, with conditions of legitimacy and rights shared by and assented to by all: kings, chiefs, commoners, elders, lineages, families and states. Therefore, the civility of heritage and its public interest emanating from 19th century modernity is not a recent thing in many non-Western societies.

Some aspects of heritage in Africa may be serving ritual and religious purposes which at some point might exclude the public; yet, it has public duty to perform later. One does not forget the fact that these processes involve some level of stratification based on class, gender and age; but even when these stratifications are obvious, the civility of heritage is not denied. In such a context, heritage is created to cater for the needs of individuals and members of the indigenous/local communities. Class, sex and age are ways of seeking order for creation and proper management. A scenario we classified as 'Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse' (I-AHD) as a type of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) established by Smith (2006) (see chapter eight for details). The indigenous instances reaffirm John Schofield's assertions that "heritage is everywhere; heritage is for everyone; and we are all heritage experts. Landscape is heritage, heritage is landscape. And landscape, as we know, is everywhere" (Schofield 2014, 2). Providing expanded explanations, Hølleland and Skrede (2019, 1) argue that "we are not all experts in a narrow sense of the term. We need heritage experts, in the same way as we need other forms of expertise in modern society characterised by a division of labour". This expresses the fact that no one has the monopoly of heritage - either of the history or the meaning. People in other disciplines and at every corner of the earth have established the sense of heritage within their landscape and experiences from time immemorial, and heritage has always been with them (Lowenthal 1985; Howard 2003). Even though, most of these places and peoples lacked written records about their traditions of heritage preservation, oral

information (embedded in ethnography) and archaeological findings affirmed their existence and authenticity (Schmidt 1983; Andah 1985a; 1985b). One should be grateful to the West for introducing modern writing into these places; however, the psychological effects of writing tradition have defaced history in both the West and other parts of the world. Hence, almost everything we now know, including heritage, has begun from when writing was invented; history only begins when men take to writing (Newton 1922 in Muriuki 1990) as if man emerged at the very same time. What a historical hype?

Meanwhile, the history and meaning of heritage as a 'professional' practice could be restricted to 18th-20th centuries modernity in Europe. Professional is under contestation because craft profession existed in traditional African societies before the modern profession arrived (we shall return to this in chapter three). The craft professionals under different guilds were creating, conserving (restoring and maintaining), and at some point, managing heritage materials before the contact (see Baseden 1929; 1966; Boston 1960; Andah 1982; Nkwoh 1984; Nwabueze 1984; Cole 1988 inter alia). So, the modern professional practice in heritage relates to the European Enlightenment and not in sub-Saharan Africa and maybe other parts of the world like Asia, New Zealand and Australia. Aniakor (2011, 84) has argued that "between Igbo-Ukwu (9th century AD) and Ife (11th century AD), Europe was in the middle and dark ages, as the Teutons and Vikings roamed the wild, while a sophisticated culture of bronze working flourished in the forest hinterland of former eastern Nigeria" (see also Rodney 1972). Whether this was the case or not, one can, therefore, accept the European origination story if it stops at seeing heritage as a discourse emanating from modern professionalism which was completely a Western contribution. It is important nonetheless to examine, at this stage, the historical version that gave meaning to today's heritage. As we shall see, even when the definitions have been variously contested, heritage has remained as defined through the historical perceptions.

Heritage took new meaning when nationalism, industrialisation and professionalism surfaced in Europe (Jokilehto 1999). Nation states emerged with the quest to protect territorial boundaries (Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000); industrialisation became very common at the period, and it led to the destruction of monuments and landscape features (Byrne 1991). At the same time, professions with vested interests in the past like archaeology, architecture and history which provided technical expertise in the heritage management process had also emerged (Smith 2006, see also Thomas 2004). Carman and Sorensen (2009) believe that these factors made firm the foundation for conservation movements, the development of institutions such as museums and antiquities services, and the enactment of legal measures for heritage

preservation. Leading the conservation movement were the professionals who commenced public orientation on the civic duty to conserve the past, valorisation of that past, and the establishment of museums. Among them are archaeologists who were concerned with prehistoric artefacts and monuments; architects that focused on buildings and other structural edifices; and art historians and/or historians who kept interests on documenting information about the past (Bennett 1995). These groups determined the valuation pattern for heritage and lobbied for legislation to protect them. They continued to reconstruct history to suit heritage interests, a process we regard here as historical hyping that results in creating hyped heritage. It is historical hyping because the history was there and only become heritage when founded/discovered and interpreted by experts to be adored as national property. In this hyping process, experts create, promote and over promote hyped heritage with historical inventions full of bias to satisfy the state and feed the burgeoning 'tourist gaze' (see Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011 for details on 'tourist gaze'). In the hyped heritage, indigenous/local communities and their views are almost always excluded.

The efforts of these experts lead to the enactment of the 1807 chancellery recommendations in Demark; the 1830 Comite historique in France; the English Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882; and lately, the United States Antiquities Act of 1906; Regolamento of 1909 in Italy; and Oldenburg Monuments Protection Law of 1911 in Germany (Smith 2006; Waterton and Watson 2015; see also Choay 2001; Piorrier 2003). Many of such laws and policies have been established today at national and international arenas. However, the professionals in their various disciplines formed cliques and founded recognised organisations to help push further their views. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Building (SPAB) founded in 1877 in Britain (Harvey 2001) is one such notable organisation. These were attempts to ensure proper conservation of the past for the present and to hold heritage in trust for future generations, but within the states' interests and partly for the tourism industry. These principal objectives travelled across the globe through colonial expansion and imperialism (Byrne 1991; Ndoro 2003), and the practice of anthropology, art history and archaeology were the transportation modes.

One cannot claim to have explored in details the modern history of heritage in a global arena. The reason for the above brief is to provide for us the context that has shaped - and continues to shape - the meaning of heritage throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Twenty-first century history that brought the voices of indigenous and non-Western peoples into heritage discourse as led by trained heritage scholars and few practitioners under the aegis of 'critical heritage studies' have made commendable contributions. But the dogmatic principles which formed the

foundations are yet to be purged out completely, especially with the UN interests expressed through the activities of UNESCO, lead majorly by Euro-American nations – the hegemonic powers. Nevertheless, emerging heritage scholars now champion what could be regarded as critical heritage research, transdisciplinary in nature and devoid of a very deep archaeological, historical, architectural and geographical bias; although, almost all have solid career foundations on these disciplines (e.g. Carman 1996; 2002; Smith 1993; 2004; 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton and Watson 2010; 2015 inter alia). Discerned by their professional jargons, many of them have continued to develop and expand the philosophical underpinning of heritage studies. Meanwhile, Emma Waterton and late Steve Watson observed that there were publications that extensively addressed heritage issues in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s especially in such disciplines like museum studies, archaeology and tourism; a time they found to have sparked-off the proliferating interests in the past in academia, politics and the public arena (2015). But the concerns they identified were mostly a concentration on establishing that there is a heritage to be interpreted, preserved, and managed for tourists to visit and appreciate. Founding heritage in the academic arena also left us with the proliferation of what it should be called. Carman (2002) points out that it became known as Archaeological Heritage Management in many parts of Europe, and Cultural Resource Management or Public Archaeology in the USA. He also expressed the view that the Anglophone international discourse of heritage is very powerful processes because these views have been adopted globally. These to me are part of the reasons why the meaning of heritage has remained a puzzle, proving very difficult to decipher despite numerous discursive engagements by scholars.

At the instances of Western history of heritage, ‘commentators’ were the first sets of people to explain heritage and passed down what their thoughts are to the present. In *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), John Ruskin applauded the ‘conserve as found' ethics and attacked restoration (Ruskin 2007). This was re-echoed by Davison (2000) who expressed that "there is nothing that we have made or can hope to make, that is as valuable as what we inherited from the past". Writing from an architectural perspective, Ruskin saw heritage as a physical monumental edifice of aesthetic value passed down from past generations to the present which as a public duty must be preserved and transferred to the next generation unaltered {1849} (2007). This definition has many implications on what became known as heritage after him. First, the physicality, monumentality and aesthetic nature of heritage that takes on architecture; second, the civic responsibility of preservation placed on the public; and thirdly, the view that heritage is static and does not change. While the first and third points may be completely

attributed to him and his fellow ‘conserve as found' proponents, the second point that expressed preservation as a civic responsibility was practised in most societies before them. His time coincided with the period that saw the formation of professional conservation movements which made anthropologists, archaeologists and art historians develop interests in museum establishment (Carman and Sorensen 2009). The new interests were legislated by national governments, thereby enlisting heritage as a national property (Ndoro and Pwiti 2001). Colonialism became the means through which this ontology and epistemology of heritage spread from Europe to other parts of the world. John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sorensen borrowed their 19th century ‘civic duty’ connotation into heritage meaning and its preservation history (2009).

These terminologies originating from Europe were first adopted into international arenas when in 1907, the Hague Convention on *Laws and Customs of War on Land* provided for the protection of historic monuments during times of conflict. It defined historic monument as “buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals…” (Article 27). Similarly, article 1 of the 1935 Roerich Pact on the *Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments* by American states maintained that “historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions” must be avoided and protected during wars. Subsequently, the 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* explained cultural property to mean:

> (a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above….

This definition is significant because it was the first attempt to give heritage a universal value in principle, though, it simply used “every people” to say the same thing but failed to use the exact term (universal) in the definition. The three international documents were a response to the destruction and looting of monuments and works of arts in times of war (Blake 2000), but the documents had more concerns for the physical, aesthetic and monumental aspects of heritage. Earlier in 1931, the Congress of the Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments referred to as the Athens Charter had met to discuss conservation issues. The Charter became the beacon on which heritage took meaning in the *International Charter for*

the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter) adopted at the 2nd International Congress of the Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Venice in 1964. Extending the meaning of historic monument (heritage) beyond architecture, monuments and artworks, the Charter included in its definition "…the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time" (Article 1). The Venice Charter is very important because it entrenched Western heritage perspectives into international heritage and identity politics and led to the creation of ICOMOS in 1965; a body that continues to propagate the dogma. It also strengthened the sense of professionalism in the preservation and management of heritage (Smith 2006) and benchmarked the principles governing architectural conservation and restoration (Ahmad 2006). It became a foundational document for heritage definition after which many of its kind have since been produced by ICOMOS, UNESCO, and national and international governmental and non-governmental agencies (Smith 2006; for the list of ICOMOS and UNESCO documents, see Ahmad 2006, 293). Importantly, UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention* of 1972 and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* of 2003 deserve further examination. This is because of their wider acceptance and the additional dimensions they brought into the meaning of heritage.

In 1972, many countries of the world converged on Paris to adopt the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Utmost on the document is what should constitute heritage and how it will be protected. From this convention, heritage was divided into cultural and natural heritage. Cultural heritage is:

> **Monuments**: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
>
> **groups of buildings**: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
>
> **sites**: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. (Article 1)

Natural heritage is therefore:

> **Natural features** consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
>
> **geological and physiographical formations** and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
>
> **natural sites** or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. (Article 2)

Not only did this convention borrow from Western definitions of heritage but it became known as a most exclusive document serving their interests and needs. The division between cultural and natural heritage is deceptive when situated in places where culture and nature are intertwined (Meskell 2007; Vining et al. 2008). We are yet to see a 'pristine wilderness' (Wooley 2002; Boivin et al. 2016); if this statement is acceptable, the UNESCO separation of heritage into the cultural and natural needs to be challenged. Landscape is anthropogenic (Clark 2002), there is a fraught relationship between cultural and natural heritage. From her findings in Kruger National Park in South Africa, Meskell argues that 'nature trumps culture' (2009b). Thus, what is regarded as natural heritage is cultural heritage by human and nonhuman mediation, appreciation, dependence, or exploitation. Definitive use of the concepts of 'universal value' that culminated in setting up 'authenticity' as a criterion to measure it and the assertion that it must be sanctioned by professionals based on historical, aesthetic/artistic or scientific values are ingredients of Western perceptions (Smith 2006). But one wonders: how do 'universal' and 'authentic' heritage exist in a world characterised by 'particularism' or 'relativity' to territoriality and identity discourse? It could only happen when considered in line with the propelled historical hyping of the modern and postmodern ages.

Further to the debates generated by this definition offered in the World Heritage Convention document, the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* hoped to resolve the arguments in that of 1972 but it triggered another. It therefore established an aspect in heritage meaning by defining what it called 'intangible heritage', which is quite separate from the tangible, thus:

> the "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in

response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development (Article 2, No.1).

The intentions expressed in this definition are hoped to capture mostly the interests of non-Western countries whose heritage appears principally in intangible forms that were earlier silenced. Engelhardt (2007) in Llyod and Sokrithy (2013) argues that the disconnection of the tangible from the intangible is the worst thing that has happened to heritage. The separation of intangible from tangible is unfounded in most cultures (Mujeri 2004; Aikawa 2004). Mujeri further argued that "…the tangible can only be understood and interpreted through intangible…. And it provided the larger framework within which tangible heritage could take its shape and significance" (2004). Lowenthal (1985) had earlier stressed that the tangible past cannot stand on its own, but added that a past lacking relics seems too tenuous to be credible. Relics, he opined are mute; they require interpretation to voice their reliquary role. Thus, tangible cultural heritage is accommodated in people's lives through their intangible knowledge, feelings, memories and stories (Abu-Khafajah and Rababeh 2012). Harrison (2010) reiterates that for every object of tangible heritage there is also the intangible heritage that 'wraps' around it – the language we use to describe it, for example, or its place in social practice or religion. By this assertion, language is the end and the beginning of heritage, be it tangible or intangible; it communicates what is and what is not heritage. Heritage only becomes 'heritage' when it is recognised within a particular set of cultural and social values, which are themselves 'intangible' (Smith and Akagawa 2009). Therefore, there is no clear-cut separation between what is tangible and what is intangible in heritage and it is inappropriate to create two separate World Heritage Lists based on such definition.

Well, the trending definition of heritage is a clear expression of historical influence. UNESCO's definitions have been variously challenged by the critical heritage scholars who emerged in the 21st century. These scholars understand heritage as a cultural process that shapes the past for the present and which is being shaped by the present to be useful in the future (Harvey 2001; Carman 2002; Howard 2003; Smith 2004; 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Smith and Waterton 2009; Graham and Howard 2008; Silverman 2011; Schofield 2014; Waterton and Watson; 2010; 2015; Harrison 2010; 2013). Critical heritage studies mandate is to "critically

engage with the proposition that heritage studies need to be rebuilt from the ground up, which requires the 'ruthless criticism of everything existing'" (Smith 2012, 534); to "tackle the thorny issues those in the conservation profession are often reluctant to acknowledge" (Winter 2013, 533). Heritage according to the tenets is a cultural process, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings (Smith 2006). It should be considered as a 'verb' instead, and not a 'noun' (Harvey 2001). Contextually, "preservation – whether of objects, structures or traditions – is not a passive state, but an active intervention" (Basu and Modest 2015, 7).

To critical heritage scholars, heritage is more about particularism or relativism than the universal representation. Place context in their views explains heritage explicitly as against the universal connotation that has stifled heritage from the indigenous/local communities through the state and professional apparatus to universal ownership. The etic position they argue has taken dominance over the emic, a situation they believe should be the opposite. Understanding the context, or "vernacular systems" in which a resource makes sense, is also necessary because there can be a great difference between the "insider" (native or vernacular) views and those of the "outsider" (scholarly, official, professional, or elite) (Kreps 2003). Staiff, Bushell and Watson (2013) expressed that at the heart of the dialogic relationship between heritage places and people is the individual experience of heritage where generalities give way to particularities of geography, place and culture.

In sub-Sahara Africa, Morakinyo (2016) cited Witz et al. (2009) to postulate that "critical heritage studies perspective correctly views the objective of African heritage studies as a critical interrogation of the inherent power relations in heritage production and interpretation…by challenging the historical basis of the revivalist and disciplinary perspectives". But he regrets that the study of African heritage has taken critical direction without being situated in African philosophy. He notes that debates are done outside the context of African philosophy, and this is as a result of its methodological disciplinary origin. His position falls in line with what Eze (1997) had referred to as "the question of how to integrate the epistemological archival value of an African heritage philosophy that is largely oral and unwritten with the literate contemporary African philosophy". How accurate is Morakiyo's generalisation that critical heritage studies have commenced in Africa?

Archaeologists, anthropologists, architects, and art historians have extensively represented Africa's' heritage knowledge from their disciplinary perspectives. We acknowledge the contributions of these disciplines. However, it is essential to recognise that critical heritage study is a new terrain in Africa, especially in West Africa where the discipline of heritage

studies is relatively new. One has yet to see much work on the critical paradigm that encourages bottom-up instead of top-down approaches, one that privileges indigenous knowledge systems in the region. Apart from several works done around Southern Africa (e. g. Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Ndoro and Pwiti 2001; Ndoro 2003; Ndoro et al. 2009; Mujeri 2004; Jopela 2011; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Chirikure et al. 2010; Rasool 2010; Sinamai 2018, 2019), which currently bridges the gap between the state and local communities in scholarly writings, critical heritage research based on critical heritage theory is lacking in sub-Saharan Africa. It is common however to find postcolonial studies that debunked colonial conceptualisation of African culture and history. On this note, there are research works in West Africa whose objectives are not strictly visualised on critical heritage theory but produced results that reflect its tenets (Andah 1990, 1982, 1985a, 1985b; Okpoko 2006; Eyo 1994; Filane 2003; Basu 2008; 2012; Basu and Damodaran 2015; Rowlands 2011). Their publications made strong case for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and approaches to archaeology and heritage research and to recognise performances as heritage products. In the case of South Africa, Morakinyo's (2016) work does not focus on the characterisation of AHD, but a recognition that it exists, which is not very different from what most postcolonial archaeologists had found across the continent. Sequel to that, there has not been any sustained research focusing on the examination of AHD in sub-Saharan Africa.

Smith's (2006) AHD partly triggered the emergence of critical heritage studies. Having survived in heritage discourse for over a decade, the propositions in AHD are yet to be contested and/or rejected. It provides a useful theoretical entry point for investigation and serves as a heuristic device for international analysis (Ludwig 2016). What one sees are testimonies of its existence and operation in different countries of the world: in the United Kingdom (Waterton 2010; Cooper 2015; Ludwig 2016), United States (Harrison 2010), Sweden (Hogberg 2012), China (Wu 2014), Spain and France (cases from South European mountain areas, see del Mármol et al. 2016), and South Africa (Morakinyo 2016). Can we say that all the characteristics of AHD (see Waterton 2013), especially the expressed 'authorisation' and 'professionalism' are found only in the Western knowledge and practice of heritage? Why must we take such rigid position? Smith proposed memory, performance, identity, intangibility, dissonance and place as lenses through which we can appreciate heritage. Obviously, she ends up creating more dogmatic scenarios because these concepts are too complicated and compounded on their own. Why AHD holds truth to heritage experiences in most colonial nations of the world, we found some forms of authorised heritage within the indigenous processes of heritage management in Nigeria that share some attributes with

Western AHD; we call it Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD) (see chapter eight for details). Though, they differ in purpose and intent, but the 'authorisation' and 'professional' (non-Western) attributes of AHD are recognised.

While adopting the tenets of AHD, this work seeks to understand the place of convergence and differences between indigenous and Western heritage philosophies. Smith's characterisation makes it possible to decipher the extent to which AHD holds true to such countries where heritage has been used to exert power and legitimise the authorities of monarchs/leaders to exhibit state and/or communal identity. A critical examination of the views that seem opposing (the indigenous and Western heritage models) from the chosen case study area would enrich our understanding of where exclusion or inclusion began, before and after Smith. Before AHD was propounded, many scholars had recognised and challenged the existence of Western-hegemonic heritage knowledge and management processes and had made the point that heritage is a cultural process (see Cleere 1989; Byrne 1991; Andah 1982; 1990; Harvey 2001). Matter-of-factly, none explored the complexities of heritage which is obscured by the Western approach. Projected into the global space, AHD as an exclusionary discourse is wholly misaligned with international trends in heritage definitions (Ludwig 2016). However, it became legalised in the international arena, therefore, legitimatising its principles and lured nations into adopting and practising AHD. Smith (2006) argued that:

> By the 1970s, at least, it became possible to talk about and recognize a set of procedures and techniques, guided by national legislation and national and international charters, conventions and agreements, concerned with the preservation and management of a range of heritage sites and places.

Characterisation of AHD according to Smith was made conspicuous in UNESCO Conventions and ICOMOS Charters (some of which have been examined in the preceding pages), and the terms, 'universal value' and 'authenticity' are criteria for identifying and recognising heritage for national and international purposes (Smith 2006).

This brings us to the question of what heritage stands for with regards to identity and whether museums should continue to be seen as an institution that preserves heritage to represent identity, having been adjudged a creative arena for meeting the 'tourist gaze'. Also, if heritage drives tourism, shall we continue to see tourism as a product of the 20th century economic revolution or as just a leisure/recreational phenomenon that characterises all societies in the past and at present? When these issues are well addressed, then, we can begin to appreciate many heritage features in non-Western societies that have been side-lined and suffer from the continuous influence and dominance of Western-hegemonic heritage models. The Igbo 'village

square', our case study here, is one of such displaced and silenced heritage features. Should the Arena be dismissed as merely a 'village square' with the architectural meaning of 'village green', or is it more than a village square if seen beyond Western views? A correlated appreciation of time and space, heritage and identity, museum, tourism, and landscape, place attachment and posthumanism from a critical stance might give a clue. The social context which established 'village square' among the Igbo goes beyond the attributes of the 'village green' in Europe as we shall establish in this work. The study hopes to take heritage studies beyond archaeological and anthropological positions to the epistemologies of heritage studies to come in terms with present realities and from a critical standpoint. The work would not claim to give a complete examination of the core of African philosophy of heritage. Rather, it hopes to lay bare the connectedness of heritage to African cosmology through the examination of social relations exemplified in the Igbo 'village square'. It aims to contribute to the understanding of the ontologies of African heritage philosophies and find a way to place them side-by-side with present realities.

2.0.2 Time-Space Politics in Heritage Discourse

In the foregoing, it seems not contestable to say that after the enlightenment, all heritages and the associated practices that existed before the period became a 'past' distanced from the 'present', what Lowenthal (1985) explains "the past is a foreign country". The discovery of 'standard time' that aided simultaneous observation of societal events/activities based on seconds, minutes, and hours and the culmination of day, week, month and year in a sequential arrangement agrees with such separation. Andrew Hom had expressed that time and space politics is implicit in the discrete partitioning of the earth into self-contained units of the 'sovereign states or nations' (Hom 2010), governed under what later became the focal point of heritage discourses. Time and space politics brought about the privileging of few heritages within global space that now refers to a world heritage system legitimised with 'universal value'. Whereas these politics began from locating people and cultures in space, the invention of time helped to situate cultures according to time depth using Western development stratigraphy embedded in evolutionism (Mingnolo 2011; Lane 2005; Fabian 1983). The revelations in philosophy (David 2008; Callender 2011), psychology (Michon and Jackson 1985; Wearden 2016) and anthropology (Fabian 1983; Gell 1992; Munn 1992) that time and space apprehension influences human cognition, social relations and actions (Giddens 1981, 1991; Mölder, Øhrstrøm and Arstila 2016) are yet to be explored in contemporary heritage scholarship. My task in this regard is to seek to understand how such politics played into the

current global heritagisation, how this universal simultaneity of human activities denies and (mis)represents the cultural diversities of the world.

The religious epistemology that beckons the emulation of past lives of saints and good living for salvation on the last day set the standard for linear time reckoning. Walter Mignolo asserts that "narratives of beginning and end, from the creation to the final judgement, told in the sixteenth century in Christian Europe…" (2011, 162) laid the foundation for time politics. Christian observance of orderliness resulted in a standard view of time as belonging only to God, ciphered solely by scriptural revelation, and associated primarily with the 'afterlife' (Hom 2010 emphasis is mine). Meanwhile, the role of Christianity in space politics first appeared on the T-in-O map, which imprinted the division of the planet into three continents, each attributed to the three sons of Noah: Asia for Shem, Africa for Ham, and Japheth for Europe (Mignolo 2011). One would, however, conclude that the quest for salvation placed human activities in historical time perspective and space (geography) through the dispersal of human, the 'children of God'.

The Christian T-in-O map encouraged the inquisitive religious explorative travels, which was later hijacked in the eighteenth century by the capitalist bourgeoisie under what became "travel as science". Citing La Perouse (1967), Fabian (1983, 8) argues that "the modern navigators only have one objective when they describe the customs of new peoples: to complete the history of man". Giving great insight, Hom (2010) narrates how new technologies like a ship, rail/railroads and telegraphs helped in universalising time and territorial activities. He argues that "it made possible a cartographic comprehension of the world and thus underpinned the 'geographic imagination' necessary for intercontinental territorial sovereign delineation" (Hom 2010, 1161; see also Harvey 1990). At this point, talks on establishing a universal temporality through common time observance began.

The International Meridian Conference (IMC) proposed in 1884 a time zone system that covers the entire earth beginning from the prime meridian marked by the Greenwich Observatory in London (Landes 1983). Whether it was a mere coincidence or a coordinated plan, 1884 is the same year when Africa was officially located in space (regarding geography) with specific boundaries and distributed among European nations under the 'scramble for Africa' with interests on protectorates, colonies, and free-trade-areas (Michalopoulos and Papaioannuo 2011). Despite the arbitrariness of the delineation, independent Africa emerged with the boundaries. This contiguous territory constitutes what is within by homogenising the before and after of the content of this enclosure (Poulantzas 1978 in Alonso 1994). Thus, pasts that

cannot be incorporated are privatised and particularised, consigned to the margins of the national and denied a fully public voice (Alonso 1988).

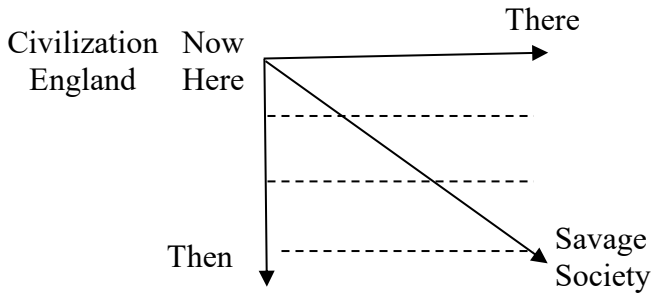


Figure 2: Illustration of modern time/space: distancing

Source: Fabian (1983:27)

The obvious implication of western standard time invention and the delineation of people into space in this sense is the deep-seated sensibility that there is unworthy past, the progressive present and a timely planned future full of hope and a better life. Thenceforth, the origin of linear historical time model was achieved through the measurement of progress from savagery through barbarism to civilisation; the evolutionist turns and the appropriation of the law of superposition in geology and archaeology (see figure 2). Paul Lane explained the resultant implication of this conjecture within archaeology thus,

> Archaeologists excavating Palaeolithic sites in Europe often turned to ethnographic literature on Africa hunter-gatherers, especially the Kalahari San, for "parallels" …. This form of analogical modelling is rooted in the deep-seated Western belief that hunter-gatherers like the San represent the timeless and essential qualities of humans as *biological beings*. As such, they are thought to live lives closely resembling those of ancient humans (2005, 25).

Bearing Lane's assertion in mind, Europeans located African heritage in time past to create room for acceptance of the heritage of a new 'civilisation', which is believed should constitute the present, thereby propagating the linear time model in the people's consciousness. It is important to note that time, much like language or money, is according to Johannes Fabian "a carrier of significance, a form through which we define the content of relationships between Self and the Other" (1983: ix). Consequently, the African "lives in another Time" (Fabian, 1983:27), a time in the past that needs to be upgraded.

Table 1: Benin calendar (expressed in Western calendar) illustrating the fixation of cultural activities. Source: Thomas (1924, 190)

Period	**Name and ritual**
March 18 – April 8	*Izure*
April 9 – 29	*Ehaora* (Worship of head)
April 30 – May 14 (?)	*Ukoviozuele* (= moon of the son of Ozuele)
May 15 July 31	*Oro*, which include:
June 1 – 15	*Egute*
August	*Ehedo*
September, October, November (?)	*Ugigu*
November	*Igwe*
December	*Agwe*
January – February	*Ehiexu* (worship of head)
February - March	*Agwesa, Igwogane*

Cultural relativist anthropology observed that life activities existing in its rhythms and spatial context (Durkheim [1954] 1912; Malinowski 1927; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Geertz 1973; Munn 1992), and with the view that such activities also exist in linear and cyclical time, which combine in many cases (Bloch 1977; Appandura 1981; Howe 1981; Schaepe et al. 2017). This combination creates the transitional movement of space from permanence to temporality, a characteristic of *Otobo* – the Igbo village arena. Not too long ago, the model of universal simultaneous linear time received much criticism and brought about the debate on cyclical time whose history preceded the former (see chapter four in Mignolo 2011). Schaepe et al. (2017, 509) defined cyclical time as a 'cyclical cosmos' – "a coherence in the world that one's experiences, knowing how one fits in the cosmos… one has a 'sense of place', knowing their history and traditions that connect with the past where they currently find themselves, not only in time (cosmos) but space (place)". The authors further explained cyclical time to mean 'being' – "the notion of an individual as having a more lasting sense of existence than the present moment, as having connections beyond oneself as an isolated individual" (p. 510). However, they differentiate this from the linear historical time termed 'becoming' – "the succession of changes in linear historical time, whereby one moment changes into or becomes the next, each often experienced as unconnected from the others" (Schaepe et al. 2017, 510). Thomas (1924) found similar fixation of event in time in Benin calendar (table 1); also, such finding among the Akamba, Gikuyu and Latuka peoples in Kenya prompted Mbiti (1969, 20-21) to conclude that "events govern the approximate reckoning of months".

Reflecting the implication of the linear time scale of these development on heritage, Carman and Sorensen (2009) divided heritage history into: (a) the early approaches to heritage, periods before 18th century, (b) valorisation of the past and institutional establishments in 19th century, (c) heritage management conceptualised, then, expansion and consolidation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries respectively, (d) the birth of heritage studies in the 1980s, and global legitimisation, and (e) the 21st century concern for indigenous and non-Western cultures, heritage of conflict and climate change. This historical antecedence is different from the experience in Africa. A noticeable feature is a kind of 'distancing' that occurred from specific phase of history to another, which Schmidt and Mrozowski (2013) argued that it does not apply in Africa; however, the sensibility was extensively used (see table 2).

In most places in Africa, events are woven in time, so, time is a shaper of heritage (see 5.1.1 and tables 1 & 4); but the influence is dependent upon the settings, thus, recognising the role of space. Based on the foregoing, the importation of standard time and space delineation into African consciousness caused what Schaepe et al. (2017) called "cultural stress", the senses of alienation and dislocation. This "cultural stress" removed heritage from the 'being' within cyclical cosmos to 'becoming' – the linear historical time.

The rupture that eventually separated the past from the present in Africa came at the instance of colonialism in late 19th and early 20th centuries. It began with the territorial jam-packing of the multiple peoples that live(d) in independent villages/communities into a homogenous entity of sovereign states (to be called countries) with little or no effort to recognise their differences. Specifically, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo have more than 250 indigenous peoples each, but only three (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) and four (Mongo, Luba, Kongo and Mangbetu-Azande) respectively have a dominant population that controls national affairs.

Table 2: Heritage timescale in sub-Saharan African legislations. Source: Adopted from Ndoro (2009)

S/No	Country	Time Scale
1	Gambia	Ethnographic -1937
2	Kenya	Antiquities -1895; objects of historical interest - 1800
3	Nigeria	Antiquities 1918
4	Seychelles	Ancient Monument 1900
5	South Africa	Structures- 60 years old; archaeological –100 years Old; and Military structures-75 years old
6	Sudan	Antiquity-1821; and human remains -1340 ad
7	Tanzania	Relic-1863; and Protected object 1940

8	Zambia	Ancient heritage-1924; and Relic-1924
9	Zimbabwe	Ancient workings-1890 Relic-1900

In fact, Sudan has over 200 indigenous groups; Ghana has more than 100; Tanzania 120; Kenya 70; Gabon 40; Liberia 17; South Africa has more than 10 and so on. That was how indigenous peoples occupying the area of Africa took different monolithic cultural construct that works to produce 'national heritage'; of course, this was done without the people's participation.

2.0.3 Heritage and Identity

The construction of heritage is the construction of identity (Lowenthal 1985; Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000; Smith 2004; 2006; Macdonald 2006; Hall 2007; Graham and Howard 2008; Llyod 2013; Sham 2015; Johnson 2015); however, not all identity markers are necessarily heritage (Howard, 2003; Graham and Howard, 2008). The cited authors cautioned that all heritages are identity, but not all identities are heritage; heritage is contested and sanctioned (authorised). In my opinion, what is more contested between the two if not identity? Well, the task here is to establish their places of convergence and incongruity in the interest of this study. Without diverting attention to the debate, we would want to go summarily with the view that all heritages are identity. Meanwhile, the discourse of identity in the context of heritage is mostly done with a focus on nationalism and internationalism, though, within the premise of geography, class, and politics. However, identity exists at individual, local/community, state, regional, national, and at international scales (see Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000; Howard 2003; McDowell 2008). Being specific to how this grouping affects heritage, Johnson (2000) observed that local communities reside close to archaeological and cultural resources. His observation is important to our discussion because heritage and identity take meaning from these localities before they begin to appear at state, regional, national, and later international levels as national or world heritage. Jeremy Paxman postulates that one must be able to speak, behave and exert English before he/she can claim to be English or British (1999). Questions of `who we are' is often intimately related to questions of `where we are' (Dixon and Durrheim 2000).

Identity situates people in their place, consciousness, and experience. Invariably, heritage becomes identity when expressed from the values and attachments held by members of the indigenous/local communities. These values and attachments reflect more in language. Perhaps, it is because cultures are so inescapably part of our lives argued Seddon (2011), that we find ourselves so readily reifying them with our language. Appiah (1992) has described

African identities based on language. He expressed that most Africans had always seen themselves as those people in that community or that village until they had to identify themselves as possessing a common identity embedded in language as a political necessity (Appiah 1992; see also Green 1964 on Igbo identity). Responding to the people who wish to see Africa as a unit of identity, Appiah (1992) cautioned that one should not forget the multifarious communities with their local customs and so many languages and cultures. Language in this context becomes the mirror through which people see themselves, and express group-self through the same. Anthony Giddens shows this when explaining how 'existential anxiety' constructs ontological security; he posits that "to come to know the meaning of the word 'table' is to get to what a table is used for, which implies also knowing how the use of a table differs from other functional objects, like a chair or a bench". Meanings he argues presuppose sets of reality as met within the daily experience. Identity in this line of thought is our capacity to keep a narrative going (1991), and narratives are coded in language.

If we accept language as the key that unlocks the coded constructs in heritage and identity, there are many implications, therefore, to what UNESCO and some heritage scholars see as heritage. First, it goes to prove that there is no such thing as 'universal value'. Secondly, there are no such separations between tangible and intangible or natural and cultural. Heritage is place-specific, it takes on local values and attachments. Yet, these values are expressed even when a heritage belonging to a particular locality is proclaimed a national or world heritage. Language belonging to the intangible heritage as explained by UNESCO makes all heritage intangible; hence, heritage is known and expressed intangibly. Hall (1997) cited in Graham (2002) argued that "it is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them - that we give them meaning". Because the concept of universal value is an illusion, we are yet to see a 'world building', a 'world cave', 'world settlement', 'world cathedral', 'world palace' and so on and so forth. What we have seen is Asante Traditional Building in Kumasi, Ghana; Škocjan Caves in the village of Škocjan in Slovenia; Durham Castle and Cathedral in Durham England, United Kingdom; the Surku Cultural Landscape in Madagali Adamawa, Nigeria; the Palace and Park of Fontainebleau in France and the host of others appearing in this manner and form. All these are world heritage sites and in specific landscapes whose meanings are locally derived. Cresswell (2004) had argued that to understand these 'visual images' (landscapes) is to address semiotics or the study of signs; and through the study of semiotics, populations learn about themselves and others, how they make and convey meanings and how they understand what happens in the world (see also Whelan 2005). With reference to Ferdinand de Saussure who expanded the semiotic model, Mason (2006) used its

tenets to explain how we understand heritage and identity with the help of language. He posits that language is an objective description of external reality and a social construct that is learned, negotiated and conditions the way in which we view reality.

It is implicit to observe that the heritage sites above bear the cultural conscience and the identity of the localities where they are found. Not only are they known based on place-identity but also by the language of the people conspicuously expressed in their names. The sites take the local names and values attached to them as a product of the people's identity which distinguishes them from anything universal. In this manner, "… heritage can be regarded as one form of the media used to convey identity messages" (Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000). If they were to become world heritage in name, value and attachments, we could as well have a 'world identity'. Though laughable as it may sound, that is what the proponents of world heritage with a universal value indirectly propose. The sites can only hold strong meaning to the people who share in their history, value and attachments. And one way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by a feeling that you belong to that place (Rose 1995; McDowell 2008). Consequently, we only begin to partake in such emotions when entangled with the quest for tourism experience. At this instance, one can quickly observe a new heritage and identity construct (Smith 2006). In the new construction, we begin to attach new values, even though not always acceptable by the original owners of the sites/monuments, they align because of the cash it puts into their pockets. But was it at this period, which is traced to the modern age that heritage experienced new values and attachment from visitors (tourists)? It is slippery to attempt to answer this question since tourism has existed in ancient times during festivals and performances. Towner (1988) has shown that there was organised elitist travel in the pre-modern era. Reflexively, it was neither envisaged at a global scale nor invoked in the more capital-oriented form as we notice nowadays. Nevertheless, it is in the shaping of this new heritage for national and international interests that experts exert their views and bias through interpretations that in most cases exclude local communities, tragedy that emanates from historical hyping.

With the creation of states and nationalism, identity moved from local community to the state, national and to international, and heritage followed this process even when the construction failed to completely stifle the place-specificity of heritage. Once I was first an Igbo man before becoming a Nigerian, then African and later an international figure, nothing removes the fact that my identity remains Igbo in all forms and nature. The June 2016 vote in the UK to leave the EU expressed this view better; even when Britain was the first to commence the construction of 'global identity' (if there is any such thing) through colonialism, and later

imperialism (Gosden 2001). Their votes explained the position of Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth (2000) where they insist that "the notion of Otherness is fundamental to representations of identity". Identity is exclusive and what British people did in that election signalled a process of return to this exclusivity that has always been a major feature of identity. It shows that no matter how globalised the world may become, identity consciousness based on the exclusion of the Others shall always prevail. If a world heritage must first be local, national and later international, we must accept that these are stages of heritage construction or stages of identity creation, which locates heritage within a cultural process that happens in a place specific manner as encapsulated in critical heritage discourse. It is important however to examine this national and world/universal valuation coming across through heritage commercialisation partly from museum to tourism and vice versa. This will help us to understand the complexity of heritage and identity construct that we are strongly holding as a universal property of mankind with a total exclusion of members of the local community, who are in many cases the owners of heritage and shapers of identity.

2.0.4 The Museum Turn

The emergence of museum coincided with the history of heritage during the 19th century modernisation and nationalism in Europe (Walsh 1992; Sande 1992). Like every other modern phenomenon, it got to other parts of the world through colonialism and imperialism (Byrne 2008). This period is not the first time interests in the collection of cultural materials were developed. Rather, it should be the first time when interests in the collection of cultural materials in public-national interests were first made, when the civility of museum commenced with explicit documentation of the process in literature. Juxtaposed with the similar scenario of heritage history, recent findings explain the naivety of this belief that it was only at this time that museum took on a civic role. Modern museums did but old forms of collection, storage and exhibition of valued and/or active cultural materials have been playing civic roles from time immemorial (Simpson 1996; Kreps 2003). Examples abound in the literature: *Marae* - lineage meeting house of Maori New Zealand and *haus tambaran* - spirit house among Abelam and Sepik River region in Papua New Guinea (Simpson 2007); collections in Shrine, palace, *Obu/Obị*-lineage palace among the Igbo in Nigeria (Okita 1982; Andah 1990); cave storage by Aboriginal Australians (Anderson 1990); *pusaka* among Indonesians (Kreps 2003) and host of others.

In a deeper historical sense, museum took its name after the Greek word '*muoseion'* that translates "temple of the Muses". The muses are the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne

(memory) representing deities in Greek mythology (Rentschler 2007), which provided space for reflections and spiritual inspirations to produce artworks (Sande 1992; Koster and Baumann 2007; Rentschler 2007). Theodore Anton Sande stakes that,

> To the ancients, it would appear that a museum would reasonably have been understood as a place where the muses act, an auditorium or an amphitheatre. There is nothing expressed or implied in the roles of the muses that even remotely suggests that they collect, conserve or display material things: the oral tradition and written words, ideas, yes; but objects, tangible evidence, no. Indeed, neither painting nor sculpture was identified as worthy of a separate muse (1992, 186).

His position reflects Bassey Andah's definition of pre-modern museum-like institutions in Africa thus:

> …it would seem that the museum was a temple as well as a forum – a vigorous meeting place where issues were discussed, where new breakthroughs in political crafting as well as domestic and industrial crafts were invented, tested and put into practice, and where those which stood the test of time were preserved, protected and improved as circumstances dictated (1997, 16).

Andah further argues that contemporary museums are divorced from African peoples' traditions of visioning and thinking, and ways of praying, designing, planning, speaking and doing things; of organizing socio-politically and of exploiting the natural resources of their environmental settings for economic and technological ends. These were achieved in palaces and commemoration centres, settlements of African kings and rulers, sacred groves, forests, shrine centres in compounds and larger settlement, market outposts (Andah 1997). Sande and Andah's positions are extrapolations from two distanced cultures in a geographically separated continents - Europe and Africa, the ideas removed museum from what it represents in recent time.

The conviviality between tangible and intangible heritage portrayed society as always in a state of flux. The 18th century industrial revolution in the West intensified this flux and the rapid development it brought was clearing landscape, destroying architectures, artefacts and things of historical values and many envisaged catastrophe (Carman and Sorense 2009). It therefore became important to find a way to save these things for the future, and the old order was altered, ushering in a new order. The distinction between the old and new is that the old forms were merely established to achieve cultural purpose and provided space for inspiration and innovation as a cultural process; the new form is specifically targeted at preservation for history and research, and for the future generation to enjoy while generating revenue to the regional or

national governments through tourism. In old form, materials, live performances and narratives are parts of the exhibitions for a particular cultural purpose to serve highly-valued interests for the progress and survival of society. New order brought the contemporary museum practice and its professionalism where the museum is adjudged a new way of preserving heritage and constructing national identity (Macdonald 2003) by exclusion of the indigenous/local community. Therefore, the redefinition of the old concept of museum became very necessary. In 1974, ICOM defines a museum as,

> a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment (Desvallees and Mairesse 2010, 57).

Sande (1992) in a reaction to this definition stressed that "nothing of this sort existed in the classical world, as far as we know, except, perhaps, at the Alexandria Library". He went on to argue that the Vatican Library was the major collector of manuscripts and artefacts in the Judeo-Christian era, but neither was it open for the public nor in the service of society; it was established for the nobility. One can therefore say that the above definition becomes the cornerstone on which history hyping that culminates into hyped heritage was founded. Although there were many other definitions later, the one adopted by ICOM in 2007 is the most recent. After UNESCO had included intangible heritage as a step towards inclusion, ICOM updated the definition of museum in a more complicated and contested manner. In 2007, it took the 1972 definition and added the clause "the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment" as expressed thus:

> a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment (Brown and Mairesse 2018, 526).

This addition is part of its bid to include and accommodate non-Western views. Like UNESCO from which it borrowed certain concepts, ICOM is expected to face much more criticism than envisaged. Unlike the ancient philosophies of museum, ICOM as the world's mouth-piece present museums as research focused arena for the educated, and by enjoyment, a tourist haven. A situation many see as a misplaced priority (Sande 1992; Eyo 1994; Filane 2003). Modernity and the capitalist economy lead to the universal commercialisation of museums for tourism revenue, which polarised its establishment and the ancient focus. Today, we almost have museums for everything. In the United Kingdom alone, there are over 2,500 museums

(Geoghegan 2010). Museum of this, the museum of that; and questions arise: how possible will it be to sustain this conservation of everything for a future that may/may not appreciate them? Morgan and Macdonald (2018) have acknowledged heritage profusion and argued for "de-growing museum collections"; DeSilvey (2017) raised the issues of "curated decay" and Holtorf (2015) stressed on "avoiding loss aversion". It is interesting to also notice that some of the heritage acquisitions we made are fast becoming "un-inherited past" (Sinamai 2019) in our time.

As argued under place attachment below, ancient people never strove to conserve everything. Abandonment or destruction was also a process of preservation and construction of new heritage and identity as they always show strong value and attachment for a once used space or object/monument (Ndoro 2005). Ruination in this sense was also a way of conservation. Virtually, all countries would want to have a share of the tourism revenue that continuously accrues from the spreading and sustained profusion in the establishment of museums, heritage sites and monuments. Search for uniqueness to be able to pull in tourists has bastardised the museum industry, and new forms of heritage and identity have continued to emerge in places and at a global scale (but not in the form of global heritage or global identity in reality). In this regard, Urry and Larsen (2011, 150) affirm that "…there is a changed conception of history with a decline in the strength of a given, uncontested national history, which national museums exemplify". It becomes obvious that the indigenous/local communities are not considered in any way in the national and global interests in museum establishment.

2.0.5 Tourism Domain

The history of tourism is divided into phases featuring pre-modern era, early Ground Tour, Classical and Romantic Grand Tours and postmodern Mass Tourism with little insight into the pre-modern era (see Boorstin1964; Towner 1995; Urry 2002; Lomine 2005; Urry and Larsen 2011; Light 2015). John Towner observed that organised travels occurred in ancient times, especially among the elites (1995). Urry and Larsen (2011) characterised these other phases thusly: Grand Tours by children of the noble class around late 17th century for purpose of eyewitness observation; Classical Ground Tour of the 19th century that was propelled by scenic attractions; and the 19th century Romantic Grand Tour which ushered in Mass Tourism in early 20th century. Visits to galleries, museums and high-cultural artefacts is a product of Classical Grand Tour.

Obtaining inspirations from Foucault's 'clinical gaze', Urry (2002) defined tourism based on 'tourist gaze'. The gaze he held is a socially organised and systematised tourism production; a

discursive determination of socially constructed seeing or 'scopic regime'. Various technologies, specifically photography, underpin the power of the visual gaze in tourism and a destination has to fulfil this gaze. Tourists pre-occupied with such gaze (imaginative pleasurable experiences) expect to see the re-creation of their own image at chosen destinations. Perceived in this sense, tourism products become subjective to the gaze. Boniface and Fowler (1993, 158) found that tourism "exploits the creative urge to give meaning, it demands meaning as its lubricant, it invents meaning by default and sometimes in cynicism". Creating meaning to fulfil tourism demands that come from established gaze also brings to mind Daniel Boorstin's theory of 'pseudo-event'. Boorstin in an explanation on how Americans were moving from authentic to inauthentic realities observed that,

> the modern American tourist now fills his experiences with pseudo-events. He has come to expect both more strangeness and more familiarity that the world naturally offers. He has come to believe that he can have a lifetime of adventure in two weeks and all the thrills of risking his life without any real risk at all. He expects that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order: that a nearby vacation spot can give him Old World charm, and also that if he chooses the right accommodations, he can have the comforts of home in the heart of Africa. Expecting that all this, he demands that it be supplied to him (1964).

Pseudo-events condition the destination areas to create tourism products (of which heritage is a major part) according to tourist needs. Tourists consume inauthentic products and through a packaged tour, they are shield from experiencing the authentic aura of the destination. Goodhall (1990) argue that place products need to be matched to holidaymakers. Facilities, services including performances and site histories are stage-managed by 'surrogate parents (travel agents, couriers, hotel managers) who relieve the tourists of their responsibilities and separate them from contacts with the local community (Turner and Ash 1975 cited in Urry and Larsen 2011). Expressing these views in another way, Engelhardt (2005) in Lloyd and Sokrithy (2013, 244) studied Angkor World Heritage Site and asserts,

> typical tourism promotional activities take the form in which complex cultural heritage is simplified, homogenized, packaged and in the end, trivialized for the quick and easy consumption of the tourist. Ironically, it is precisely the authentic traditional culture and customs that tourists, both domestic and foreign, expect to experience when they visit a heritage site. But instead of getting rich and authentic cultural insights and experiences, tourists get staged authenticity; instead of getting culture, they get kitsch.

In a similar manner, Gant (2014, 31) reported that in the site of Barcelona Gothic Quarter, “there are contradictory interests of social use in the narratives that have made it impossible to reach an agreement between history itself and history as a commodity… when consumers visit a theme park in the USA, they will experience reproductions and copies”. Tourism is in this scenario implicated in the creation of heritage and construction of identity according to the tenets of both ‘tourist gaze' and ‘pseudo-event'. Therefore, it fails to meet UNESCO's ‘authenticity' criterion as a benchmark for evaluating heritage. It portrays the complexity of heritage as a cultural process and exhibits how the Others become attached to what used to be an exclusive identity of the locale. What separates the Other from the locale are the different values held for the same heritage. In the next section, we examine how these values interact in heritage places. Tourism has, in essence, become a new propeller for historical hyping and production of hyped heritage. In all, it portrays heritage as a product of cultural process in society.

2.0.6 Place Attachment, Landscape and Posthuman (or Animistic) Thoughts

> Vancouver's journal reports the seemingly nonsensical movements of natives in their canoes in the sea around them. Rather than taking a direct line from point A to point B, the natives would take complicated routes that had no apparent logic. To the native canoeists, their movements made perfect sense as they read the sea as a set of places associated with particular spirits and particular dangers. While the colonialists looked at the sea and saw blank space, the natives saw place. (Cresswell 2004, 9).

There could exist two, three, four and more different attachments and values by varied persons to a particular place, artefact, or monument. Such value differences have influenced the conceptualisation of place attachment. According to Schroder (2008), terms such as a sense of place, community satisfaction, community sentiment, community ties, sentimental attachment, and place identity have been used to refer to place attachment. Cresswell's points above on colonial experience among Tlingit Indians is an exemplar of such collisions of separate attachments. Now and then, if these attachments and values were to be measured, that of the natives will always appear to be deeper and that of the ‘Others' will appear on the surface. While the natives attach physical (tangible) and spiritual (intangible) values; colonial sojourners attach physical (tangible) values only. But Macamo (2006) has written that there is a correlation between physical and intangible values in a landscape. Tim Cresswell adds that "to the explorers, the sea was empty space and the land full of potential places waiting to be mapped and named, but this was the mirror image of the Tlingit ‘sense of place" (2004, 10). In

a similar vein, Hidalgo and Hernadez (2001) assert that local communities are physically and socially attached to their place. Place attachment is the affective bond or link between people and specific places. This explains how heritage and identity are implicated in place attachment, and how humans and nonhumans are bounded in a living community – what is now referred to as posthumanism. An insight into the tenets of posthumanism would help us understand how the human is entangled with the landscape and its contents through attachment and mediated living.

Posthuman discourse coincides with the recognition of a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene, announced in the first decade of the 21st century (see Crutzen and Stoermer 2000; Zalasiewicz et al. 2008). Posthumanism engages the anthropocentric orientation of the world with a view that the attribution of 'human' exists beyond the Anthropocene (Hayles 1999; Wolfe 2009; Miah 2008). Scholars in this line of thoughts argue for the recognition of a relational ethics between human and nonhuman as they constitute 'beings' in the environment. But many indigenous peoples had/have recognised the need for a relational survival between environmental species, believing that 'without such understanding, the universe may appear incomplete' (Braidotti 2002; 2016). This relational behaviour was merely dismissed as 'animism' or 'totemism'. Edward Tylor who propounded the theory of animism in his 1871 book *Primitive Culture* dismissed the relationship between humans and nonhumans as primitive "belief in spiritual beings", which, according to him, was the beginning of all religions. Emile Durkheim expatiates Tylor's position, "for Tylor, this extension of animism was due to the particular mentality of the primitive, who, like an infant, cannot distinguish the animate and the inanimate" (in Garuba 2012, 1). But Harvey argues that "contemporary animists do not offer assertions about the origins, development and true nature of all religion, but a focused discussion about particular ways of being related to the world" (2005, 83). Whereas Tylor and his colleague anthropologists viewed the reverence 'humans' share with 'non-human' species as mere religious attitude of "belief in spiritual beings", contemporary scholarship argues that 'animism' has been found to be very helpful in "drawing attention to ontologies and epistemologies in which life is encountered in a wide community of persons only some of whom are human" (Harvey 2005, 81). This conclusion was reached after further studies among indigenous communities produced more convincing results than the views in classical animism (e.g. Bird-David 1999; Sillar 2009; Brightman et al. 2012). It is strongly expressed that posthumanism is another way of expressing animism. What differentiates both is the time and context of application. Animism emerged when the 'West' was building insights into the deep history of humanity through the analogy of the living conditions of the 'Other'.

Posthumanism, on the other hand, came at a time when humanity is looking for remedies towards the looming effects of climate change and technological encroachment. As a result, it revisits the mutual living condition among species that animist school earlier dismissed as 'primitive religion'.

Symmetric archaeology gives some useful insights into the kind of thinking that animism and/or posthumanism provokes; it notes the 'artificial separation' of human and nonhuman in a less radical way and recognises the mixture of ideas in them and their relationships that help in the archaeological enquiry (see Witmore 2007; Shanks 2007). Irrespective of the 'life' it ascribes to archaeological objects, symmetric archaeology also denies the nonhumans the ability to express themselves other than the way (professional) humans recognise (see Shank 2007, 590). Examining symmetry in heritage management, Schofield (2009, 112) argues that a symmetric approach would accommodate a heritage that concerns "the everyday, the everywhere and something for (and of) everybody". He tries to justify that heritage management should engage every 'being' and every interaction among them across space and time. If historical disciplines where heritage also belongs are premised on the past, present, and future being connected by a certain continuity of human experience (Chakrabaty 2009), then, Solli et al.'s (2011, 42) question, "whether global warming may cause environmental change of such a magnitude that sudden cultural ruptures are unavoidable" raises more concern for the future of heritage. Thus, the points in symmetric archaeology cannot be substituted for the current need to champion a new way of thinking about heritage in the age of Anthropocene. Even though Schofield's essay provided enabling ground, posthumanism currently stirs this interest more especially with the emergence of the new age of the earth, where human activities influence climate and environment.

Recognising the new historical epoch, the Anthropocene, Harrison (2015) draws attention to new thinking for the future of heritage. He proposed the recognition of "connectivity ontologies" between human and nonhuman, culture and nature (Harrison 2015, 27). Connectivity ontologies, he explained, are "modalities of becoming in which life and place combine to bind time and living beings into generations of continuities that work collaboratively to keep the past alive in the present and for the future" (Harrison 2015, 27). A group of archaeologists and heritage scholars responded earlier to the announcement of the Anthropocene age; they remarked that heritage ontologies and epistemologies will have to be renegotiated (Solli et al. 2011) to accommodate the complexities associated with the new age of the earth. For the renegotiation, the anthropocentric focus of both the traditional and critical heritage studies discourse about heritage being of 'humankind', a product of social and cultural

process (Smith 2006) or an outcome of narrative (Ankersmith 2009; Partner 2009) must be reconsidered.

Notwithstanding, Anthony Giddens's phenomenological study of ‘existential anxiety' suggests that one's ontology is that of the environment within which s/he was raised and nurtured (1991). What makes people stand out as being different from others is their ability to have an overall picture of themselves and their surrounding environment. Lewicka (2005) referenced Altman (1992) to have established that place attachment forms, maintains, and preserves identity and fosters individual, group, and cultural self-esteem, worth, and pride. Religion became one of the means for inculcating attachment into the people (Mazumder and Mazunder, 2004). Explaining this further, they observed that spiritual leaders and elders teach place ritual, evaluate artefacts, and expose people to significant places. Stories and myths, dramas and plays, songs and hymns all become important strategies in the teaching of place attachment and identity. Though we may feel uncomfortable with their generalisation, Schrodar (2008) has found that social relations based on family, friendship, and participation in community life are the major ties for attachment in New Zealand. Perhaps, Mazunder and Mazunder (2004) may be right because religion is one of the strongest bonds that sustain social relations. In this way, place attachment constructs identity on the one hand and creates heritage on the other, especially among specific people who are contiguous both in language and association.

More cases validate the spiritual dimension of place attachment and landscape. Chirikure et al. (2016) note that in South Africa, local versions of authenticity are rooted to a ‘ruinous’ state of monuments because taboos forbid the living from interfering with the resting places of ancestors. Abandonment in this sense becomes conservation in the philosophies of the natives. Tlingit Indians described by Cresswell above may also be observing this principle which seems nonsensical in the eyes of their visitors.

What can we say about visitors who are not in any way attached to a place based on rootedness? What informs their sense of attachment at the beginning? Our understanding of the levels of attachment shows that such alien groups usually hold similar attachments for these landscapes like that of tourists. These visitors travel with an imaginative attachment in the form of ‘gaze' that is always positive and interest specific. Natives leave in the landscape and stand to reap the associated long term positive and negative outcomes of their actions. Their deeper attachment is that of caution and that of the other is temporal. In the long run, both values and attachments may be creolised. Sustained tension and disagreement make it possible, but native values always take precedence because of the meaning it gave to the landscape. According to Chirikure and Pwiti (2008), the rock art cave site of Domboshava that has a venue used by San

people for rain making rituals was acquired by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) with limited access to members of the local community. This incident testifies to Meskell's (2009a) complain against cosmopolitan archaeology, she puts that the variegated nature of cosmopolitanism will produce a state where individual and community attachments to place are often sacrificed in the abstract framing of world heritage, transacted solely by and among nation states. In the case of Domboshava, having protested many times without any good results, members of the local community went ahead and defaced the rock paintings. Following this, they were given attention and the resolution reached produced a creolised and variegated forms of heritage and identity, where a Western heritage management model had to exist alongside an indigenous model. Opposing attachments in this case resolved to glocalisation. Without being extreme, the local attachments dominated hence the local name of the site and its ritual characteristics were retained. Variations may occur in some places and one side of the attachments will overpower the other. We examine below the example of a landscape with attachment and spirituality, the thesis case study.

2.0.7 Igbo 'Village Square' Redefined

> …the village square is considered not only [as] a place of initiations, judgements, sacrifices and decisions but a place of dancing for joys or sorrows, a place of revelations and divinations. Just as wisdom and inspiration are believed to derive from this source [,] so are progress or damnation; power and wealth. Human destinies are decided here because it is "*Ihu Chukwu*" (God on His Throne), presiding over the universe. Citizens are therefore required to know how to appease the gods or seek their favours. It is not without reason that this "centre" is a place of sacrifices meant for either expiation, purification, repentance, humble petitions or quest for pardon and recognition of the supreme will of the divinities (Okorie 1992, 14).

If place, according to Cresswell (2004) remains a space invested with meaning in the context of power, then, it becomes problematic to be referring to this important arena as just a 'village square' considering the origin and contextual meaning of this space. Squares have been variously discussed within theories of landscape, settlement and architecture and most of such studies have concentrated efforts on history, design, and community relationships. Paul Zucker in his *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green (1959)* theorised that square "create a gathering place for the people, humanizing them by mutual contact, providing them with a shelter against the haphazard traffic, and freeing them the tension of rushing through the web of streets" (1959, 1). Many will hastily say that 'providing a gathering place for the people'

could mean to serve any of those functions as defined by Okorie in the excerpt. But Paul Zucker was clear about what he meant; the square is like a lake that collects water from river channels, the streets that pierced into it being the rivers, and the square the lake (1959). Gathering space, he puts is to provide resting space for people moving through the streets, a kind of staging point for transiting members of a community. This locates square within the 'village green' which Shirley (1994) defined as a piece of common land or similar unenclosed land used in common with its owner situated within a settlement. Village green according to the Royal Commission on Common Land (1955-6) cited in Shirley (1994, 14-15) is,

> any place which has been allotted for the exercise or recreation of the inhabitants or a parish or defined locally under the terms of any local Act or inclosure award, any place which such inhabitants have a customary right to indulge in lawful sports and pastimes and in a rural parish any unenclosed space which is wholly or mainly surrounded by houses and their curtilages and which has been continuously and openly used by the inhabitants for all or any such purposes during a period of at least twenty years without protest or permission from the owner of the fee simple of the Lord of the Mayor.

Shirley rejects this definition on the grounds that it failed to recognise the grazing role of the village green in the ancient time. He declares that it is a space used in England as a place of recreation, the village well or stocks or a resource of grazing the oxen used to plough the open fields (1994). Zucker and Shirley agree that square or village green contributes to settlement/architectural design and provide space for recreational activities in Europe. Perhaps, village green could have had something to do with agriculture in England.

Being specific to the Igbo 'village square', Chike Aniakor argued that it provides the framework on which architectural threads of the village and/or town structure are woven (2002). His analysis of the square drew from the ontology of 'centre' and the design principle which links the centre structurally to the ritual, economic, social and ideological aspects of life. Evidently, it is a unifying space symbol with its concentration of symbolic items of collective conscience like war drums (see also Onuora 1990), shrines, village council house etc. (Aniako 1980). What differentiates Aniako's definition from Zucker is simple: beyond architectural analysis, he went on to relate the space to spirituality and cosmic theory. Yet, Okorie was more cosmic in this regard; it is from his work titled *The Igbo Village Square in Igbo Cosmology (*1992*)* that the excerpt above was extracted. In spite of that, another excerpt could help throw further insight into the meaning of the space:

> the village square connotes "*Ilo*", an "entrance", a "gate". It is the mystic gate located imaginarily at the equally mythical "level crossing" and meeting point of Heaven, the

> earth and the Hades. With the sky as a roof, earth as base…. This mystical "*Ilo*", ensures perpetual traffic, contacts, and exchanges between the gods, the spirits, the ancestors and the living…the village square serves not only as the gate but also a depository of the unifying community sanctuary and traditional symbols (masquerade house, initiation enclosure), it becomes a place of unusual communion between the visible and the invisible, the dead and the living, the gods and the mortals…most village feasts, rituals and ceremonies are held at the square (Okorie 1992, 13).

The above expression testifies that the Igbo are religious people, their relationship with providence permeates their social psychology of perceptions and their cosmic consciousness pierced their social relations. Opata and Apeh (2016) writing about *Ụzọ maa*, the pathways of the spirit in Otobo and the cosmic orientations of the monuments therein is noteworthy. Basden (1966, 150) observed that "all gatherings of importance, social, political and religious are held… Some are furnished with galleries…the seats rise in tiers and provide good accommodation for spectators watching wrestling or other display". Yet, he concluded that "*ilo*" corresponds to the English village green. These characteristics removed Igbo 'village square' from the concept of 'square' or 'village green'. Dismissing Igbo 'village square' as just a space for leisure or a traffic staging point like the village green undermines the local values and attachments of this great landscape. It may not have happened without the influence of modern heritage principles. Colonial scholars researching in Igbo land applied the monumental, aesthetic and nationalistic characteristics of heritage to judge the space. Being a space with such level of attachment and spirituality, it is expected that there should be found a cathedral or minster, but none was found. Therefore, it is no surprise that most indigenous scholars inherited the recreational definition without questions, and no one attempted an in-depth study, everything about the 'village square' is almost always mentioned in passing. Against this backdrop, this study would prefer to refer to this important space as 'village arena', which highlights its complex roles in Igbo culture rather than 'village square'.

What the arena shares in common with village green is twofold, giving the architectural design of the settlement and creating space for leisure. Still, the leisure here has little to do with the extent of performances that obtains in Igbo village arena, and the social relation, cosmic orientation and heritage management roles of the arena are yet to be critically investigated.

2.0.8 Heritage and Forgotten Places: Archaeological 'Discovery', Discourse and Power

So far, we have examined the concepts of heritage, museum, identity, landscape and place attachment and village square. We also looked at how places and landscapes become heritage

through historical hyping - interpretation. Yet, not all places with attachments are recognised as heritage. Some are seen as forgotten places or what archaeologists call ‘abandoned sites/settlements' which turns into heritage when ‘discovered' and interpreted by professional experts. Are these places really forgotten or abandoned? Our knowledge of place attachment shows that a place may not be in physical use, yet, efforts are locally made to preserve them because of local attachments and/or spiritual and historical importance. Why must it be ‘discovered' by a set of people in order to become a heritage? Was it not known before the discovery? If they are known, why not pronounced heritage within that knowledge context? Waterton (2010) has cautioned that "…there is no heritage *out there* waiting for our discovery, rather, traditional forms of heritage (sites, monuments, buildings) simply conform to a dominant way of seeing". What is this ‘dominant way of seeing'? What lessons can we learn from the subjective use of ‘discovery' by professionals?

These questions border on the discourse concerning the power of knowledge production; who has the authority to speak on a particular subject? Foucault (1969/1972) established that when something is said, concerns are more on who is saying it. What language is used and on whose authority was it said? What qualifies the speaker to speak on such an issue? The essence of these questions is to ascertain if what was told derives from a body of knowledge that he called ‘Discursive Formation'-several statements working together (see Penguin Dictionary of Sociology: Foucault in Hall 1992). Discourse according to Hall (1992) means a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a way of representing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. He further identified three features in Foucault's discourse: (1) discourse can be produced by many individuals in different institutional settings, (2) discourses are not closed systems, and (3) the statements within a discursive formation need not all be the same. Axiomatically, even when production of a particular discourse is carried out by any person at any place, there is always a point of departure; such points of departure are power driven. Considering this fact, Fairclough (1993) argued that discursive statements made by a person are traceable to the person's institution and position. According to Bove (1992) in Smith (2004), discourse, representations and constructions of knowledge, reveal forms of power that have effects upon the actions of others. Speaking in an unauthorised language, is in this sense, irrational. It alters the epistemology of knowledge construction and practice, the power-knowledge relations underlying forms of expertise and the relations of power underpinning dominant discourses (Smith 2006). Although the power embedded in discourse is open to contestation, opinions revolve around the discursive formation-point of departure. They either

add to, reduce or strengthen the formation, which explains the authoritative nature of discourse. How is heritage implicated in discourse and power?

Wiseman (2005) has enumerated that "archaeological and historical data are not merely neutral pieces of information; they are fundamentally fouled with political and neocolonial views and ideas". Earlier, Foucault (1969/1972) had opined that "discourse is not an innocent intersection of words and things". Representing the past and way of life of populations is an expression and a source of power (Bond and Gilliam 1994). In an introduction to a special issue of *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (vol. 18), Luis Silva and Mota Santos assert that power is generic to heritage; the created-nature of heritage requires some kind of authorisation (2012). Corresponding to this created-nature of heritage is discourse. Wu and Hou (2015) were right in their position that discourse shapes how heritage is identified, interpreted, valued, preserved and used. Consequently, Smith (2006) categorised discourse that constructs heritage into those focusing on management and conservation of heritage sites, places and objects, and those concerned with tourism and leisure. We have argued out both in the preceding pages, what is particularly important to us here is the first category; it is in the discourse of management and conservation that the concept of 'discovery' and interpretation are made obvious. 'Discovery' is a term used by archaeologists and more recently by heritage experts to depict the revelation of an 'unknown' heritage site, place or object.

The discursive constructs of 'discovery' were made popular during the Age of Discovery when European explorers discovered the New World, Africa and others (Washburn 1962; Edwards 1985) as if there were no people and that nothing was happening among the people living in those places. As a result, they came to 'see', to 'name' and to 'know' indigenous communities (Smith 2012). Goonatilake (1982) had also claimed that knowledge, technology and codes of social life of indigenous people were recorded in detail and were regarded as 'new discoveries'. Worthy to note is the discursive power that shaped archaeological and heritage knowledge at the time. Specifically, archaeology borrowed this discursive make-up and used 'abandonment' to establish its meaning within the body of knowledge that formed archaeology. 'Discovery' therefore became a way of finding abandoned sites, settlements, or objects; and once found, the discursive power is used to interpret the history to construct heritage and identity.

With the separation of history into 'prehistory' and 'history' and the recognition that writing is the line that divides both, this discursive power is documented and made absolute. In 1944, A. J. Arkell who was the Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan wrote to colonial researchers in West Africa to remind them about the need to achieve

knowledge dominance through archaeological and heritage research in West Africa. He wrote that:

> The political-minded African, with the mental instability of adolescence, is often dangerously impatient to try to attain in his own lifetime a utopia where freed from foreign restraint, he can enjoy unlimited power and wealth. The revelation that his land had a long time history, that it has in the past perhaps more than once been in the mainstream of civilisation before falling into the backwater in which it finds itself today, can undoubtedly give an educated African a sense of practical short-term standards – the main justification for facilitating archaeological research in Africa in these difficult days. I would indeed go further and say that it is a reason why such research *must* be carried out and its finding interpreted to the educated African before it is late. If it is delayed too long there is a danger of the African intelligentsia becoming irrevocably alienated from us, their foster-parents, whose duty it is to help them fit into that community of nations which alone offers hope for the future of civilisation.… I have already succeeded in so interesting some of the leading intelligentsia in Sudan…and I have no reason to think that there is any essential difference in mental make-up between West Africa and the Sudanese (Arkell, 1944, 149).

His position indicates how the discourse of archaeology and heritage was domesticated in West Africa with the motive of dominance through the power of knowledge production. Subsequently, the only way to get this achieved, according to Lydon and Rizvi (2010) "was to locate the Other in a lower stage, that of the not-so-human, prehistoric savage with the discourse of origin that created the divide between history and prehistory". Going further, they established that "whenever monuments were discovered in places where no monuments were expected due to evolutionist prejudices, they were automatically linked to superior, white populations which supposedly occupied the land before the arrival of their current inhabitants", or supported with the diffusionist paradigm, which conceived a very limited number of creative core areas from where cultural products spread all over the world (Harri 1968 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Subsequently, researches were carried out and contestations are still ongoing on the matter. Indigenous scholars have focused all their efforts on either expanding or refuting the discourses that laid the foundations and are yet to commission more critical enquiry into the life and culture of their own people. Most importantly, these researches follow the discursive formation of archaeology whose goals in Africa are envisaged in Arkell's work. Citing Bown (1988), Shaw (1989) had asked: to what extent should persons from one part of the world study the problems of another part of the world and prescribe their solutions? On this

note, we ask also, for how long shall the methodologies and theoretical philosophies of persons from one part of the world continue to explain and prescribe solutions to other people's problems in another part of the world?

Archaeology and heritage discourse in Africa are committed to measuring up to the prototype of the discursive formations established by their 'foster-parents', thereby silencing the views and voices as well as ignoring the needs and aspirations of the indigenous peoples. Silencing according to Peter Schmidt, may be influenced by theoretical perspectives, and occurs when scholars proffer views that do not fall within the mainstream of Western scholarship; or when those scholars who challenge well-established paradigms that took root during the colonial era and have held sway since are disregarded (2009). In fact, it can be argued that most of the archaeology conducted in Africa occurs within a colonial paradigm (Pikirayi and Schmidt 2016). Ucko (1990) also identified another type of silencing in Africa, which happened in structuring curricula used for teaching college and university students. But discourse as an open system gave an opportunity for contestation. Though 'discovery' still appears in archaeology or heritage discourses, contestations by majorly the indigenous scholars have weakened its earlier powers. The postcolonial turn that made great use of ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, ethnohistory, ethnolinguistic, ethnoscience and so on are ways through which such past discoveries and the meaning they conveyed began to take another discursive space.

Researches in Africa have decried this unstable nature of discourse. In his review of 'indigenous archaeology' in Africa, Lane (2011, 18) concludes that "archaeologists working on the African continent have developed a more critical gaze and have created the intellectual space for different voices to be heard…facilitating different modes of discourse". Between 1980 and 1990, many of late Basey Andah's works focused on 'cultural resource management in an African dimension' and provided new discursive formations in archaeology and heritage research in West Africa (e.g. Andah 1982; 1985a; 1985b; 1990). Being specific to South Africa, Rasool (2010) stressed that history 'from below' emerged as a counter-narrative to power and domination, seeking to incorporate subaltern, ordinary voices. Oral history, according to Eze-Uzomaka (2000), has been scientifically verified many times and have served as a proof of location for archaeological sites in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. Hassan (1999, 400) added that in Africa, "oral traditions bridge the gap between generations and enrich the present with ancestral voices that speak directly from one person to another". Also, the treatise by Joost Fontein on the 'Silence of Great Zimbabwe' is another such contestations that explain the production of new discourses within a discourse (see Fontein, 2006). Through counter-discourses, they revealed that physical abandonment of site, monument or object does not

necessarily mean out of use. Discovery assumes in this context another level of discourse, and heritage as a cultural practice is made explicit. In the new state, the power of ‘discovery' as a discourse is reduced because of the adoption of indigenous knowledge systems in interpretations. New discursive power is by extension created within the discursive formation of archaeological ‘discovery', and heritage is transformed to include (to an extent) the excluded groups. But the rate at which this inclusion engages the local community is yet another contestation within which this work is situated. It suffices to say that discourse is a tool for exclusion and at the same time a tool for resistance and/or seeking inclusion.

2.1 Unsettling Tragedy of Voice of Inclusion - The 21st Century Twist

At the beginning of the 21st century, the understanding of heritage changed. Heritage which was earlier discussed mainly in anthropology and archaeology started taking the posture of a discipline on its own. What Carman (2002) found to be Archaeological Heritage Management in Europe and Cultural Resource Management or Public Archaeology in the USA that was debated in those two disciplines is now known as ‘heritage studies', and later, ‘critical heritage studies'. The epistemological shift also influenced the philosophies and ontologies of heritage, and the discursive formation moved as well. Even though the voice of inclusion characterised late 20th century discourse of heritage in many non-Western societies, the dimension it took in the later century is far from expectation, yet, much has not been achieved especially in Africa. On a global scale, the demands for inclusion of indigenous/local communities in heritage management recorded early success with the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 in the US. Subsequently, the 2003 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Acts in Australia were recent breakthroughs on the struggle for inclusion. Earlier in the 1960s and 1970s, indigenous archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians in the world's former European colonies had started questioning traditional scholarship, and their concerns laid the foundation for postcolonial research in heritage studies. Primarily, their demands are for the inclusion of indigenous oral narratives in interpretation and the involvement of local community in heritage research and management processes (Ucko 1990). Gosden (2001) has observed that the struggle was most pressing in places with internal colonies – among Native Americans, Aboriginal Australians, and Maori in New Zealand. South Africa became the first country in Africa to pass a law that favours local community engagement in heritage management. After independence in 1994, South Africa enacted the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act in 1999 that recognised the powers of local communities in heritage management (Ndoro and Kiriama 2009). Although Nigeria,

Tanzania, Ghana, Zimbabwe and many other African countries had evolved postcolonial research approach of weaving local narratives into heritage interpretations, none has passed a law in that regard, which limits the applicability of inclusion.

The 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People gave more meaning to the struggle for inclusion in heritage management. Before then, the UNESCO's recognition of the needs to protect intangible heritage of mankind through the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage are seen as steps towards achieving inclusion. But to what extent have these helped to change the status quo. At the 2016 World Archaeological Congress (WAC-8) in Kyoto Japan, in session T08-Current Trends in Archaeological Heritage Preservation, a question was raised: Why does heritage legislation in all countries of the world share similar characteristics? This question sustained long debate. Some argued that it's because of the internationalisation of heritage through UNESCO and ICOMOS; others said it is because of the professional expert knowledge with common curricula that looks the same and are taught in higher institutions across the globe; and others were of the opinion that it was as a result of borrowing and contracting experts from one place to another, especially when bidding to include a site on the World Heritage List. The answers revealed what already exists in the literature (see Ucko 1990; Smith 2006; various articles in Ndoro et al. 2009). The points made are the major reasons why inclusion is difficult to achieve. Contemporary heritage management knowledge is guarded through institutionalisation and professional ego and pride, and experts do not want to lose it for any reason.

Even with the answers which portray an inclusive and globalising knowledge of heritage, there is yet exclusion in UNESCO activities. Meskell et al. (2015) have asked, how can World Heritage be understood as constituting a global patrimony that purports to showcase "outstanding universal value" when participation and power continue to be so imbalance? They found that there is an imbalance in the regional representation on the World Heritage Committee and in the World Heritage List. The first was justified with the view that the Committee was supposedly one of "experts," rather than regional representation and the second was based on the Euro-American domination of the history and ontologies of heritage as well as their role in crafting both UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention (Meskell et al. 2015). This was to change after Brazil's proposition in 2013 to reverse membership of the Committee to the quota system used in the six electoral groups in UNESCO and UNESCO's 'Cairns Decision' in 2001, which established that nomination of new sites to the World Heritage List should be one site per country per year. Despite these wonderful decisions, Meskell et al.

(2015, 462) regret that "Europe and North America continues to dominate World Heritage notwithstanding UNESCO's many efforts and initiatives such as the Global Strategy and upstreaming processes" (see also Donnachie 2010). Though designated as a 'priority' region, countries in Africa have been sidelined in World Heritage decisions (Breen 2007; Meskell et al. 2015). These are some of the tragedies of inclusion orchestrated by international politics and the dominant Western hegemony of heritage knowledge and history.

Moving from legislation to practice and from UNESCO politics to regional and country specificity, the 1981-86/7 'Te Maori' exhibition policies in New Zealand commenced complete approvals and contributions of the indigenous Maori people in the exhibition of their heritage (Mead 1983; McCarthy 2007). While a similar thing is going on among Native Americans, in sub-Saharan Africa, it took the form of museum school visits and outreach programmes (Eze-Uzomaka 2000). Yet, heritage management has remained the exclusive right of professionals secured by law, and heritage is held in museums in the interests of national government (Negri 2009). It is appropriated to uphold national identity.

In research, inclusion appeared in the form of 'community engagement'. Community/public archaeology and heritage claim to include indigenous people in heritage research in Africa (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Chirikure et al. 2010; Pikirayi 2011; Abungu 2016; Aleru and Adekola 2016; Davis and Sterner 2016 and so on). Thurstan Shaw's research in Igbo-Ukwu Southeast Nigeria, which corroborated oral narratives in the interpretation of findings would be regarded as the first inclusion approach in heritage research in sub-Sahara Africa (Schmidt 1983, 2014). Though he borrowed narratives from an indigenous historian (Anthony Onwuejegwu), it remains the earliest record of community engagement in that part of the world. More than a decade later, Bassey Andah, Omotoson Eluyemi, and Agbaje-Williams returned to Nigeria with an anthropological colouration of archaeological research. As indigenous people, they helped to solidify ethnoarchaeology in West Africa (Ogundiran 2015). Since after them, top-down ethnoarchaeology became the only approach that reflects inclusion in heritage research in West Africa. Then, museum outreach, school visit, weekend and holiday programmes emerged later as a brand of community engagement technique which also failed to achieve appropriate inclusion (Bitiyong 1997; Eze-Uzomaka 2000).

In a paper co-authored by Ashton Sinamai and me, an extensive review of these approaches across Africa was made and we found that what is referred to as community/public archaeology and heritage in Africa is ethnoarchaeology, practised in different forms and styles (Ugwuanyi and Sinamai 2016). We further identified three factors that characterised this inclusion rhetoric thus: (1) the integration of oral history/narratives into interpretation of archaeological remains,

(2) top-down approach, where professionals or experts make the lead decisions, and (3) employment of indigenous people to serve as labourers during excavation or tour guides to tourists, during cultural manifestation (at some point) and as security to help protect sites against looting or destruction (see figure 3).

From traditional archaeology, through ethnoarchaeology to the public and/or community archaeology and heritage in Africa, inclusion is in forms of assistance to experts, indigenous people as labourers and a source of information, and not necessarily involving the people in heritage management processes. With such trends, the voices of inclusion appear tricky, it explains how experts have hijacked the purpose of inclusion and propagated it to suit their interests (Beardslee 2016); adjustments are clearly driven by experts (Ludwig 2016). It is therefore no surprise then that in England, the quest for inclusivity according to Waterton (2007) operate at the level of rhetoric only, and rarely translates into reality.

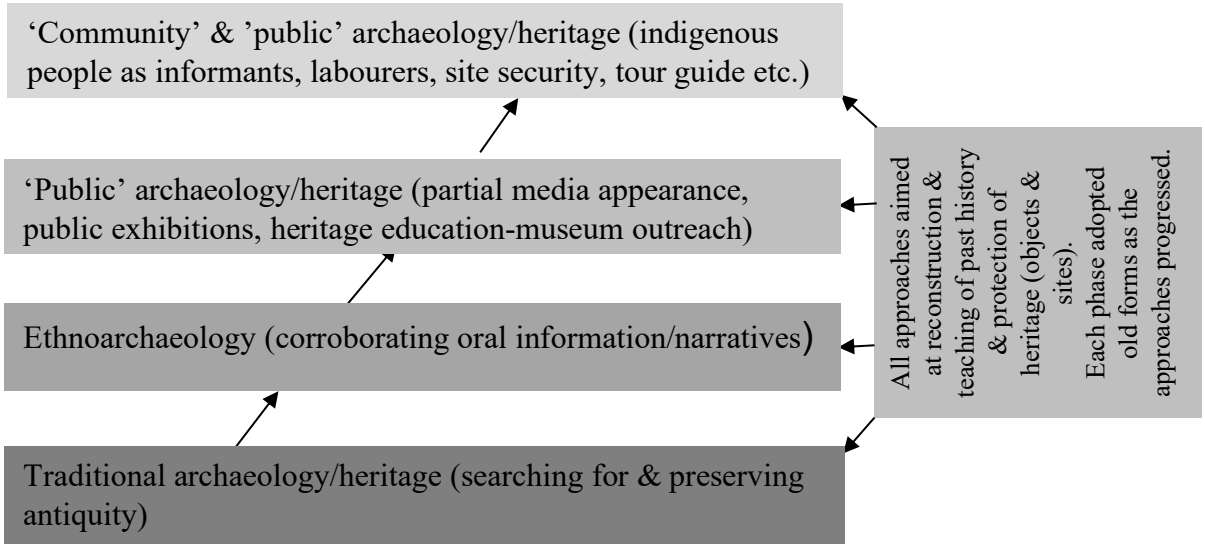


Figure 3: The developing pattern of local public/community engagement in archaeology & heritage practice in Africa

Source: Ugwuanyi & Sinamai (2016)

Just like the changes that present deceptive inclusion in Africa, the response in England, according to her, shows "a move away from the subjectivity and connotations caught up with the term 'heritage', towards what is presumed to be more inclusive termed 'the historic environment'" (Waterton 2007), and community engagement in many other places. The "sort of 'historic environment' on offer, hailed as the arbitrator of inclusion, was the result of a convenient, perhaps subconscious manipulation of a situation in which things – not in themselves capable of actively *being* racist, classicist or discriminatory were pushed forward as markers of inclusion" (Waterton 2010). A scenario that is the implicit work of discourse.

Predicated in this mirrored paradigm shift and the deceptive use of public and/or community engagement in Africa, inclusion has become an unsettling tragedy in heritage discourse in Africa and elsewhere in the world. Beyond discourse, it has remained an illusion in practical terms.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of travelling through heritage literature in this chapter is to establish an understanding of the debates around heritage to help us grapple with the relevance of this research. Grounding the study on the theorisation of heritage and its histories as well as the relativity to other concepts whose meanings and histories are rooted in heritage provides the opportunity to sieve out the loopholes that still exist. We have examined concepts and theorisation of heritage in time perspective. We have also looked at the dimensions that heritagisation took in the early 21st century, how societies forget and remember in different parts of the world. The atypical is the universalisation of heritage ontologies and epistemologies through the UNESCO policy that national governments implement. UNESCO policies contain a meaning-making pattern that emanated from Europe which differed to an extent from the way indigenous people's value and use heritage. Chapter three will form a continuum of this literature review, as it juxtaposes the views here in the context of heritage in Nigeria.

Chapter Three: Heritage Ontology, Institutional Framework and Laws in Nigeria

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the knowledge and practice of heritage in Nigeria. It builds on the discussions in chapter two but with specific interest on the heritage past and heritage present in the country. In chapter two, we looked at the heritage history and meaning-making, identity, museum, and tourism in the global arena. We also examined how time and space, landscape, place attachment and posthumanism, as well as discourse and the politics of knowledge production, play around heritage and identity. We further interrogated how indigenous/local communities are either included or excluded in these processes. This chapter pores over the discourses in chapter two to understand how they play out in Nigeria.

The chapter is presented according to the three phases of Nigeria's history: the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial (independent) Nigeria. These phases are significant because of the way they obscure more complex underlying continuity and transitions of heritage knowledge in the country. Most importantly, the historical phases of pre-colonialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism in Nigeria distorted a sense of heritage ontologies and epistemologies that prevailed in different communities. The pre-colonial phase is the period before Nigeria became a nation in 1914. The colonial phase is from 1914 to 1960, a time that Britain ruled. The postcolonial phase is from 1960 to the present when Nigerians took over the affairs of governance. Colonial regime coming after Islam and Christianity in the discussion does not imply that the latter ended before the former; it only means that they predate the official pronouncement of colonial Nigeria. Again, the colonial regime did not just start in 1914; the British regional administrative units - the Colony of Lagos, Southern and Northern Protectorates - predate the amalgamation. The chosen periods are mostly relevant for discussing heritage history - the primary purpose here.

Works of missionaries, anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians and historians are engaged here to represent the history of the heritage of the people occupying the space called Nigeria. Interestingly, the country's heritage industry experience similar problems found in literature in chapter two. There is, at the moment, a dichotomy between professional expert and non-expert, national and non-national heritage as well as natural and cultural and tangible and intangible heritage. Iconoclasm, urbanisation and the rising influence of 'globalisation' also affects heritage in today's Nigeria. This chapter made sense of heritage based on these complexities.

3.1 Pre-colonial Heritage in 'Nigeria'

The term pre-colonial is used here to refer to the period before the amalgamation of southern and northern protectorates that formed Nigeria in 1914. It is important to recognise that northern Nigeria has had Islamic religious influence that cleared indigenous Hausa (and other group's) cultures since the 14th century, before the colonial experience. Islamic culture and literature now dominate the region's history, thus, making it difficult to trace the cultures of many of the indigenous groups that originally occupied the location. We will do our best to present patches of information that exist in the literature about the region.

Nigeria is a country of over 250 indigenous peoples speaking over 400 languages. Not only were the people living in a cluster of the indigenous groups, but there were also aggregates of independent settlements in forms of family, lineage or clan, village, and town that separately managed their cultural, political, economic, religious and social affairs within which the sense of heritage manifested. One important factor that helped in the conceptualisation of heritage is the cosmological apprehension of the universe.

Explaining how the inseparable elements of the world are understood in villages in southern Nigeria, Talbot (1923, 20) wrote "the world is a vast organisation and all phenomena are set in motion, and controlled by hierarchies of beings, ranging in power and responsibility from the highest conceivable God down to the lowest rock elemental, each in strict subordinate to its superior". Talbot set out here to show the way knowledge of the earth's compartments influence heritage ontologies in Nigeria. Specifically, Drewal et al. (1989, 70) write that the "Yoruba conceive of the cosmos as consisting of two distinct yet inseparable realms - *aye* (the visible, tangible world of the living) and *orun* (the invisible, spiritual realm of the ancestors, gods, and spirit)". Inhabiting both spaces described are "the supreme being - *Olorun*, also known as *Olodumare* - the Lord of Heaven and the Creator. Some four hundred lesser gods and spirits, known individually and collectively as *orisha*…. These gods include the spirits of hills, rocks and rivers, and deified ancestors" (Ford 1951, 29; see also Eades 1980, 119; Olupọna 1993). In the same manner, there are for the Igbo "the sky above (*Elu Igwe*), the solid earth (*Ala*), and the underworld (*Ala-mmuo*).... the Supreme/Ultimate Being known by different names in various sub-cultural zones - *Chukwu*, *Chineke*, *Olisebuluwa*, *Obasi di n'elu* - and very powerful divinities such as *Anyanwu*, *Igwe*, *Amadioha/Kamalu* dwell in the high heaven" (Kalu 2002, 352-3; Ifesieh 1989, 21-41; Oriji 1989, 115). Again, "the Earth is the abode of men, also the Earth deity, *Ala*, some minor deities, patron spirits, nature spirits and cosmic forces. The ancestors, numerous other spirit and natural forces, some malevolent spirits live in the underworld" (Kalu 2002, 352-3). Following similar understanding, the Edo of Benin divides

the world into two, "*agbõ*, the actual visible world in which men live, and *ɛrĩvĩ* the invisible abode of numerous deities, spirits, and supernatural powers" (Bradbury and Lloyd 1957, 52). These supernatural beings and entities are further classified into four main groups: (1.) Deities who have never been incarnated as human beings; (2.) Spirits of the departed; (3.) Hero-deities associated with natural features of the environment; (4.) Personal spirits and powers" (Bradbury and Lloyd 1957). Among the traditional Hausa who are today referred to as *Magunzawa* because of their belief in traditional religion, Danfulani (1999, 420) observed that "the spirits, *iskoki*, and spirit possession, *bori*, dominate their worship and religion. This, however, does not in any way obliterate belief in God, *Ubangiji*, the mystical forces, deities and ancestors *maguzci*, the Hausa traditional religion". This Hausa religious perception that expresses a people's worldview was largely dominated by the Islamic cosmology long before colonialism. Other indigenous groups in Nigeria have similar and complex thoughts about the world, and it is the interactions among these beings in the spaces they inhabit that influence the production, use and management of heritage. These gods, deities or spirits have figurines, rites, festivals or ceremonies dedicated to them; some inhabit landforms, forests, hills, caves, and water bodies.

Apart from interacting to produce heritage, one other aspect of the above diverse but related cosmological understanding is that natural features (river, lake, forest, cave, rock shelter, tree, hill, mountain, animal etc.) are protected and preserved. Again, the preservation approach leads also to the preservation of other kinds of materials and species. In many of the sacred grove examined by Talbot (1923, 10) in southern Nigeria, he recorded the presence of:

> mats of plaited palm leaf, pot of water, seeds and parts of trees, shells, *voluta* and *fasciolaria*, a little hut, parts of fishes, skulls, and vertebrae of crocodiles, feathers of white birds and skulls and horns of bush beasts, holy stones or rocks in conjunction with pool, lake, or earth itself, a legendary python set to guard the waters, a leopard appointed to the same office by land, and a fish eagle hovering as protector in the clear air above (see also Dennet 1913).

The attitude to protect natural features are based on the belief that humans and nonhumans share 'life' and a living community; Talbot (1923, 10) added that "all of these last-named creatures are mysteriously linked with human beings". A way of life that was named animism during contact with the 'West' (Tylor 1913 [1871]; Durkheim 1912 [1995]; Harvey 2005; Bird-David 1999; Morrison 2013) but considered as posthumanism today (Hayles 1999; Wolfe 2009; Braidotti 2016; Sundberg 2013). Posthumanism is a "complex knowledge systems wherein animals, plants, and spirits are understood as beings who participate in the everyday

practices that bring worlds into being" (Sundberg 2013, 35). It is a "way of combining ethical values with the well-being of an enlarged sense of community, which includes one's territorial environmental inter-connections" (Braidotti 2016, 26). Going by these assertions and considering the pre-colonial world views represented above, it can be suggested that the pre-colonial worldviews of the indigenous peoples of Nigeria may have contributed to shaping the tenets of posthumanism. In the context of Nigeria, to understand these other beings and negotiate with them, the diviners bridge the communication gap. As such, divination is called *Ifa* in Yoruba (called the same name in Itsekiri), *Afa* in Igbo, *Idiong* in Ibibio, *Iha* in Benin, etc.

In the world of humans, governance, production of craft, health, death, feasting, and entertainment opens up ways of creating, using, exerting or appreciating heritage. But the connectivity between humans and nonhumans would influence the nature of the heritage created. The Yoruba (Pemberton and Afọlanyan 1996; Lloyd 1954), Benin (Osadolor 2001; Eisenhofer and Egharevba 1995), Igala (Boston 1962) and the Hausa/Fulani (Ochonu 2014; Lange 2012; Smith 1964) are known to have had aristocratic governance; only the Igbo had democracy (Nwosu 2002; Odoemene 1993; Uchendu 1965), and other minority groups also lived like the Igbo. While we need not overstress the pre-colonial governance of indigenous groups in Nigeria that are well known in the literature, there is need however to clarify shady areas of concerns. It's not known widely that the village governance similar but distinct from that of the Igbo also existed in the kingdoms in Nigeria. In Igala land, where the Attah is the king, Boston (1969, 30) reports that "Igala is divided into clans, and its political structure is based on a system in which clans perform political functions at either the central level, in the capital, or at the provincial level or at the local level in the districts. Each clan has its own traditions, and in each case, the tradition is partly concerned with justifying and validating the clan's political function".

On the same point, Brandbury and Lloyd (1957, 31) found that "village is the basic political unit of the Benin kingdom [...] it is the widest unit for age-grade organisation, the minimal land-holding unit, the smallest group which can have a hereditary chief, the smallest tribute unit, and also the co-operative unit for house building; most villages unite in worship of a common deity". The Oba of Benin is, in this context, an executive head of the kingdom, and probably the head chief of Benin city. Igala and Benin kingdoms are by this type of political structures, maintaining Southall's (1956, 250-2) kind of "pyramidal or federated kingdom". Communal heritage exists at all levels of the political engagements. The leaders would become authoritative in the management of heritage. What is more significant to this study about

governance and leadership among the indigenous peoples is the priesthood of palace, clan or village shrines, and the associated materials/sites/monuments or rites/festivals/ceremonies. Many of the kings or heads of villages maintain collections in their palace (e.g. Plankensteiner 2007) as well as in the shrines (e.g. see Murray 1942; Strother 2017) they control.

Production sites and workshops are littered all over Nigeria. In pre-colonial time, there was intensive pottery, iron, bronze and brass production among many indigenous communities in Nigeria. Others are wood and calabash carving, textile production, mart and basket weaving etc. In Benin, Thomas (1918, 1910) recorded the use of iron and brass, and pottery making. Bradbury and Lloyd (1957, 24) expressed that, "there were guilds of blacksmiths and brass-smiths, wood and ivory carvers (one group), leather workers, weavers of special embroidered cloths, drum-makers, locksmiths, etc." Members of the guilds are experts who jealously protect their knowledge. The Igbo smelted iron (Anozie 1979; Okafor 1992; Okafor and Phillips 1992; Eze-Uzomaka 2009); blacksmith (Neaher 1979; Njoku 2002); spin yarn and weaved cloth (Afigbo and Okeke 1985; Okagu 2012); door and mask carvings (Aniakor 1978; Neaher 1981). Igbo smelters and blacksmiths travelled far and near and would return home for an annual festival associated with their expertise.

Teeth-filling was recorded among the Ibibio (Talbot 1923) and Tiv (Bohannan and Bohannan 1953); the Anang are especially known for wood-carving and weaving (Ford and Jones 1950). Ford (1951, 8) explained that "weaving, dying, pottery and metalwork, have held their own remarkably well against European products" among the Yoruba. They also specialised in wood carving, calabash carving, bead and leather work" (see also Bascom 1969, 24). These industries according to Bascom (1969, 24) are "crafts whose techniques are known only to a small group of professionals and often protected as trade secrets by religious sanctions". This position corresponds with the point made in chapter two that indigenous professions thrived before the modern profession emerged in the 18th century. In fact, metal-working (blacksmithing in particular) was done in the pre-colonial time among (almost) all the indigenous groups in Nigeria. Products emanating from these craft industries are mobilised for use in every aspect of life. People with art and craft skills constitute authority in the process of heritage making. Guilds produced for the society at the instances of the kings and leaders (Ogundiran 2015). This is an authorised system that qualifies for Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD).

Festivals, rites, ceremonies and all other kinds of feasting formed a huge part of the people's ways of life. The mediated relationship between humans and nonhumans made it possible to feast and celebrate different beings at different times of the day, week, month or year. As such,

events repetitively occur in a cyclical form. Birth, growing/living, death and afterlife are all celebrated. Even, some craft industries are celebrated as well. During these festivities, spirit beings (what is generally, but erroneously, called masquerade) display, and many of the spirit beings also have their own festival. Spirit being is used here to explain how the Igbo perceive mask performance (see Onyeneke 1987; Read and Hufbauer 2005); it's not just masking or masquerade, the Igbo believe that they incarnate the ancestors. While we may avoid the litany of festivals, rites and ceremonies observed by different indigenous peoples in Nigeria during the period under review, let's take a brief look at a practice that set up miniature museums on the streets of the Anang and Ibibio communities.

Among the Ibibio people, Talbot (1923, 143) found that an "elaborate arbour-like erections, called *Ngwumaw* or *Ngwumu Ufak*, are raised as memorials to chiefs - and in some cases to 'big' women - in a prominent spot near the town, and are 'furnished' with the deceased's gun, matchet, cup and those articles most used by him in everyday life". The said structure is called *Nwomo* by Anang people, who erect it to "house the spirit of the dead to prevent them from wandering about in desolation; enable the deceased to pass into the spirit world with all the personal possession that would make him live a comfortable life beyond; re-integrate the spirit of the dead with the spirit world after second burial etc. [...] the personal belongings of the deceased are always kept in these monuments" (Ekefre 1992, 28). The contents of *Ngwumaw*/*Ngwumu Ufak* or *Nwomo* are not retrieved, they are left to decay and decompose into the earth after display (Talbot 1923). In a simple explanation, the human is to die with his/her properties.

There is the *Mbari* house in Owerri in Igboland. *Mbari* houses wonderful mud sculptures that represent different deities, experiences and encounters of the people; "*Mbari* is life", "*Mbari* is dance" (Cole 1969; 1982; see also Nwachukwu-Agbada 1991). More sculptures are added to the *Mbari* house annually and a festival is organised to open new additions. *Mbari* is memory making mud sculptures representing the cosmological encounters as well as the life experiences of the Owerri Igbo. By 1982, when Harbert Coley had an extensive study of the *Mbari*, massive sculptures in houses were already erected (see Beier 1963).

Before concluding this part of the chapter, it might be beneficial to briefly examine other ways through which pre-colonial Nigerians cared for heritage materials other than the natural features that are preserved through mediation, deification and sacredness. A review of a publication by the Surveyor of Antiquities in Nigeria (1946 - 1957), Kenneth C. Murray would provide insight into the kind of thinking Nigerians had about heritage materials at the time. Murray was until 1946 a British education officer posted to Nigeria. The title of the article we

are to review is "**Art in Nigeria: the Need for a Museum"** published in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 1942, Vol. 41, No. 165, page 241- 249. The review will give a contextual understanding of the subsequent discussions in this chapter and the concluding part of this thesis. Why the choice of Murray in this review? As we shall see soon, he played very significant roles in shaping the national heritage conservation approaches in Nigeria. This review will also help us to see that Murray had a clear and better understanding of the temperamental attitude of the indigenous peoples of Nigeria towards heritage prior to introducing the type of conservation policy operational in Nigeria today.

Murray gave a very interesting description of the features and state of the art and crafts in Nigeria. Some of the carvings he listed are masks, figurines, decorations, musical instruments, house posts, carved doors and panels, and domestic utensils (stool, mortar, pestle, spoon, cup, bowl, plate and comb). These works are the individual and public heritage materials used in events and normal daily chores. In the opening paragraph, he points out that Nigeria is one of the most interesting colonies in the British empire with best ancient 'Negro' art and craft developed beyond the 'primitive' or 'savage' stage. He regrets that these arts are understudied and almost unknown beyond the stories museums in Europe tell about them.

The tone with which Murray set out in his writing and the title of the article connotes a convincing gesture to make Britain invest in the preservation of art and craft in Nigeria. By impressing British people to develop attachment for the arts and crafts of indigenous peoples of Nigeria, Murray's actions expatiate the idea of 'tourist gaze' and explain how the Other gets attached to a value. Murray highlights that the fall in production of Benin bronze and art is a result of the decline in use among the people. Comparing this with the booming production of wood carving among the Igbo, he found that what sustains the Igbo carving is that they are still very relevant in "religion, recreation or local prestige, and shows many signs of vitality" (p. 242). Mark this very important reason that could make the people appreciate or abandon heritage; it is the issue of 'utilitarian value' that drive the 'vitality' of heritage in Nigeria. Murray felt that the sweeping influence of modern culture as a result of the "powerful external influence" may end the production of the beautiful and adorable arts and crafts of Nigeria in two generations to come (p. 244). This prediction was based on the 18th century transformation in Europe that brought about museums and modern heritage preservation. Obviously, the situation in Nigeria wasn't the same and the psychological perceptions of Nigerians receive little or no consideration in taking such stand. He notes a village, where both the Igbo and Ibibio produce the best-carved works as a possible hope for the future of indigenous arts and

craft in the country. However, no effort was made through the national heritage policy to sustain the production in these villages.

There are four factors identified in the work that encourages the disappearance of heritage: (1) migration to the urban areas to seek a living; (2) the decline of indigenous religion that highly utilised artworks; (3) reduced number of dances and performances that use much of the artworks; and (4) old men dominating young carvers, showing no sign of continuity. On the opposite, the people's access to land - "their ownership of it", clan prestige and the connection with home, and the returns from urban areas for Christmas (and other things) to engage in some dances that use carvings are the surviving mechanisms he recorded.

From the point of view of 'Western' conservation, Murray identified the flaws in the indigenous conservation approaches. First, he observed that ownership of material heritage is either individual or community-based. The community-owned ones are put under the care of a man or in the 'club' or community house. Even when leaders and indigenous experts possess the authority to order what to create in the form of I-AHD, the decisions are always in the public interest. In his words, "the individual or the society may make use of them for a few seasons and then tire of them and get a new one, or the owner may grow out of the mask and costume that was design to fit him…" (p. 245); the old one will be thrown away or be destroyed. Again, religious carvings are kept in the shrine, masks and headdresses are tied to the rafters or place in boxes or baskets; it could be exposed to the smoke of the household fire for safety. According to Murray, "a carving in a box or basket, if not examined periodically, may be destroyed by boring beetles, by termites or by rats. A man may take care of his carvings during his life, but his son may have no interest in them, and may leave them in his father's house which may eventually fall down…. Carvings kept in shrines are not necessarily cared for" (p. 245). He queried such behaviour when he wrote "to sell an old *Ikenga* - an Ibo carving that enshrines a man's soul - would be like selling its owner, while it's decay is considered no different from nor worse than the decay of the body of a dead man" (p. 245). With this instance, Murray admits that "a state of growth, decay and re-birth seems natural to Africans while a '**static perfection'** is not … the work can be replaced at any time by a new one" (p. 245). Here, Murray summarised the perceptions of Nigerians about heritage. His position explains how this attitude resonates with the posthuman thinking, which was already dismissed at the time as an act of animism - attributing human agency to the nonhuman, and Murray was unable to see beyond it. One more point he made is the possible failure of AHD that applies 'static perfection'.

He used the remaining pages of the article to write to impress the British government to invest in the conservation of the arts and crafts of Nigeria. In his concluding thoughts, he recognised that “there are not many Africans who will patronise a Museum” (p. 428). He, however, states that “as education spreads, the demand will grow”. Without considering the complex nature of Murray’s findings, museums were narrowly established with ‘Western’ heritage preservation principles characterised by what he had called ‘static perfection’. Basu (2012, 114) acknowledge Murray’s efforts towards museum establishment in West Africa but regret that their good intentions enthroned “a paternalism that did not question the appropriateness of the cultural institutions for which they lobbied”. With a prior insight into the feelings of Nigerians about heritage, museum establishment targeted British and European audiences. So, AHD got into Nigeria to serve the colonial audience with a hope to impress Nigerians in the future.

Forty-eight years later, a Nigerian expert in heritage conservation laments that “apart from the danger posed to antiquities by thefts and smuggling, there are also the problems of ignorance and apathy” (Ekechukwu 1990, 180). After fifty-eight years again, Eze-Uzomaka (2000, 69) reiterate "the concept of the museum as they are at present does not seem to be relevant to the local Nigerian public…. Since people simply do not relate to them, I feel that there is no need to continue to deny what is the reality". Clarifying what this ‘reality' is, she states in her concluding part that "objects which have been removed from their locality lose their social and religious meaning. As soon as objects are removed from their social context, they quickly lose their value" (p. 154). Following from the above reports coming many years after the critical analysis by Murray, it is sensible to say that the insights gained from Murray's discoveries were not considered when setting up heritage institutions in Nigeria. Paradoxically, Murray (1943, 155) advised that any beneficial reform in Nigeria will have to be “fitted into their life” ways to be productive. It could be that the AHD’s nationalistic, aesthetic, static, and expertise characteristics were placed above the indigenous sensibilities. In the coming pages, we shall see how these complexities played out during and after colonialism.

3.2 Punitive Expeditions and Heritage Future

From the 15th to 18th centuries, Nigeria's contact with the outside world was mutual and, in few cases, forceful. Kelly (1996, 687) observed that “interaction between Europeans and Africans for most of the first 400 years was based on a sort of equality, a relationship in which European traders were present with the permission of local African leaders and were always vulnerable to the will of local leaders. This was to change profoundly in the late 19th century with the advent of colonial rule”. But the contact had provided the means for deeper penetration and

invasion, which met resistance by local communities at the beginning of colonialism, thereby leading to several punitive expeditions. A punitive expedition is a military journey undertaken to punish people for refusing Western values (Carland, 1985; Ikime, 1977). It is undertaken as revenge or diplomatic pressure to persuade people to accept a view, an action Chinweizu (1978) termed "gunboat diplomacy" aimed at undermining the power and sovereignty of African states.

In Nigeria, it dates to the periods of intense trade contact between people in the Riverine areas and Britain in the late 19th century. The earliest approach at the beginning of colonialism was aimed at abolishing the slave trade to establish 'legitimate trade' (Chniweizu, 1978) and domesticate the Crown Colony among the people. Examples of the punitive expedition that took place at the time are in Lagos 1851, Ijebu 1892, Ebrohimi Warri 1894, Benin 1897, and Kabba and Bida 1898 (Carland 1985; Chinweizu 1978). In the first decade of the 20th century, interest changed from establishing 'legitimate trade' to seeking governance. Gaining access to and control of the territory required the introduction of new values. Consequently, punitive expedition became a means to enforce British values, and the action truncated the internal heritage ontologies. Colonial expansion led to the following punitive expeditions: Aro 1901, Gwandu 1901, Kanem-Bornu 1902, Bauchi 1902, Kano - Sokoto 1903, Igala 1903-1904, Awka 1906, Munchi 1906, Nsukka 1908, etc. (Carland 1978; Afigbo 1997). In the course of carrying out a punitive expedition, villages are raised down, human lives are lost, heritages are burnt and many looted. The implication on heritage is explicit in the 1897 Benin expedition stories (Husemann 2013; Berzock 2008; Home 1982). The more devastating impact is the local heritage practices and management structures it destroyed and the new values it introduced. Afigbo (1997) present the experience of Nsukka people after the punitive expedition,

> …when the British came, they struck fear into our people through indiscriminate shooting. When they defeat a village there arose the problem of how to negotiate peace. Our people were generally afraid to meet them and talk peace. Any brave man who volunteered and went to hear what they had to say was automatically made a chief. In this way many rascals became chiefs… (15).

What became the role of chiefs - warrant chiefs - in Nigeria is well known in the literature (Afigbo 1972; Njoku 2005). One other impact that these expeditions brought on heritage is the installation of leaders that lack knowledge of indigenous cultures. Afigbo (1997) further wrote that Captain R. M. Heron who ordered the burning down of villages in Nsukka in 1908 was nicknamed '*Otikpo Obodo*' (destroyer of a village) by the people; an expression that summarises the impact of such expeditions on indigenous settings. Ejidike and Izuakor (1992)

report a similar scenario after Awka expedition. The nearby village of Agulu was affected and the great *Haaba* deity was destroyed and the masks and other paraphernalia taken away. Another such record is the moves to destroy the great *Igwe-ka-ala* deity in Umunoha in 1903. In an effort to disempower the oracle that wielded many powers among villages in the area, British envoy burnt more than eleven villages allied to Umunoha to resist British invasion (Jackson 1975, 266); and of course, heritage materials were destroyed, and others looted. These expeditions contributed majorly to the shaping of Nigerian heritage values during colonialism. Its activities enriched European and American museums and homes with African - Nigerian - arts and crafts. Let's look at another important factor in the acculturation processes.

3.3 Islam and Christianity

Just like the punitive expedition, Islam and Christianity destroyed (and continues to destroy) indigenous heritage, both in the physical and spiritual forms. The difference between the two is that punitive expedition is forceful and catastrophic, the destructions it brings are very immediate; Islam and Christianity (especially Christianity) are gradual, enduring and deceitful, but deadly in the outcome. The task here is to briefly explain the process of Islamisation and Christianisation that affect or favour heritage in Nigeria. However, there is less focus on Islamisation and its effects on indigenous cultures because long ago, Islam had successfully acculturated the people of northern Nigeria (Parrinder 1959; Adogame 2010). Majority of the people's cultural conscience at the moment is Islamic.

The religious background to heritage destruction derives from the actual position of Islam and Christianity, the two dominant (foreign) religions practised in Africa today. Islam abhors figural representation while Christianity condemns the same and sees it as anti-Christian (Eyo 1994; Fasuyi 1973), however, figural representation is essential in African culture and religion. Mbiti (1969) had argued that because all departments of life are permeated by the traditional religious attitude in Africa, there is hardly any formal demarcation between other institutions and religion (see also Aja 2002). Therefore, acceptance of Islam and Christianity means distancing or complete alienation from being involved in indigenous cultural practices. "Religious conversion has provided a central excuse for the destruction of indigenous social and religious structures. Indigenous belief systems regarding ancestral remains or sacred objects were dismissed as pagan superstitions and idolatrous practices, justifying their destructions or their removal to museums" (Sillar 2005, 76). In his explanation of the "indigenous strangers", Ugwu (2012) narrates how this process began as a subtle project by referencing Jordan (1949) who presented the story of an Irish churchman, Bishop Shanahan.

Shanahan helped in bringing the culture of southeastern Nigeria on its knees to colonial subjugation; "when he complained to the British authorities about his difficulties in winning converts to the Christian faith among the Igbo, they urged him to keep trying, assuring him that in years to come, the difficulty would be in finding anything that remained about the Igbo" (Ugwu 2012, 55). Events, according to Ugwu, has proved them right. It has also confirmed Steve Biko's position that:

> …we can immediately see the logic of placing the missionaries in the forefront of the colonisation process. A man who succeeds in making a group of people accept a foreign concept in which he is expert makes them perpetual students whose progress in the particular field can only be evaluated by him; the student must constantly turn to him for guidance and promotion. In being forced to accept the Anglo-Boer culture, the blacks have allowed themselves to be at the mercy of the white man and to have him as their eternal supervisor. Only he can tell us how good our performance is and instinctively each of us is at pains to please this powerful, all-knowing master (Stubbs, 1978).

Consequently, heritage objects/materials, places and practices are to be disposed of, abandoned or destroyed because of the new faith.

On the contrary, however, the museum and heritage preservation model presents a new way of appreciating those things, which had been condemned by foreign religions. Ekpo Eyo insightfully captured the confusion created by this scenario: "the objects which needed to be preserved in museums introduced by the colonial government were anti-Islam, anti-Christ, and even anti-colonial. The individual African was *and continues to be* confused because the museum institution became a contradiction" (Eyo 1994, 328 my emphasis). Characterising this complication, Strother states that "it can seem a paradox that frequently the same individuals were involved in both the destruction of shrines as well as the preservation of the artefacts associated with them through photographic documentation and/or museum collections" (2017, 25). Not only did this opposing practice create a spiritual imbalance on the people's understanding of heritage, but it also raised public apathy on the museum activities and distanced people from heritage preservation approach adopted in the country. The museum became an affliction on the image of many Nigerian Christians.

Islam and Christianity teach non-involvement in the cultural dance and performances identified by Murray (1942) to be important for the survival of heritage in Nigeria. Responding to issues

about participation in festivals and ceremonies by Catholics, the Catholic Bishop of Nsukka Diocese, Francis E. O. Okobo writes:

> Parishes are to look into the feasts and festivals celebrated in their area. Those of them that have parallels in the Catholic tradition is to be inculturated and celebrated. Care must be taken to make sure that all fetish elements are removed and that only the ones that are in agreement with the teaching of the Church survive. Those that have no parallels in the Catholic tradition, but which could be encouraged (e.g., new yam festival) are to be encouraged but must be purified of all fetish accompaniment (Okobo 2013, 25).

Following the way arts and crafts are used in festivals, dance and other ceremonies among the Igbo, the diocesan position here means the abandonment of indigenous cultural practices. Again, the communique written by the Bishop touched on the operations of the spirit beings and he cautioned:

> The effort is to be made by Parishes and Diocesan Inculturation Committees to preserve what is good and noble in these masquerades such as the artefacts, music, and noble ends of entertainment and discipline. The burning of religious artefacts by some overzealous Christians must be stopped. All such artefacts can only be taken with the due consent of their rightful owners. They are to be labelled with dates and necessary information e.g., its origin and history and kept in the Diocesan Museum for historical purposes (Okobo 2013, 23-24).

This stance replicates the kind of conservation principles that the national heritage policy in Nigeria encourages today. What differentiates both is the level of thoroughness applied in the implementation of the national policy that is unfounded in the so-called Diocesan Museum. Ugwuanyi, Agu and Uwgu (2014) established that the Diocesan Museum has been in existence since the year 2000. "It is a 'heritage dump' [...], beyond being conserved as exorcised objects, there was no attempt to document information about the materials" (Ugwunayi, Agu and Ugwu 2014, 22). The evangelisation activities of Oku N'erere Catholic Adoration Ministry (OCAM) often acquire cultural materials for the museum, neither is OCAM interested in the information about them nor exhibit the materials for public view (Ugwuanyi Agu and Ugwu 2014). Before the synod that brought about the Catholic position shown in the Bishop's communique, *Faith, Culture, and Individual Freedom* was a book written in response to the policy of the Diocese that was 'wrongly' implemented. The embattled author, Damian U. Opata wrote to reply a Catholic parish priest of a community in the Diocese who banned his parishioners from attending the author's parent's (father and mother) funeral ceremonies because "the funeral

ceremonies were being done in the traditional customary manner" (Opata 2011, 16). The disappointment expressed in the book is the extent of conflicting values that many communities in Nigeria face today, and it shows the extent to which such a crisis could negatively affect heritage.

An interesting finding on how Christianity twist local heritage narratives and appropriate same to itself in Nigeria was made by a scholar working on one of the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council's (AHRC) projects, *[Re:]Entanglements*. The project aims at "re-engaging with a remarkable ethnographic archive - including objects, photographs, sound recordings, botanical specimens, published work and fieldnotes - assembled by the colonial anthropologist, N. W. Thomas, in Southern Nigeria and Sierra Leone between 1909 and 1915" (see https://re-entanglements.net/about/). Reporting the findings on the project's social media page, George Agbo narrates the encounter:

> …At the location of *Mpuniyi* and *Ngelelikokwu* shrines is now SS Peter and Paul Catholic Parish [....] Hundred years ago, people flocked to *Mpuniyi* to seek success and protection. Today myriad Christian subjects go there not only for regular church programmes but for the popular adoration ministry where they pray for miracles. Behind the church building, there is [...] clean water cascading down the rock at various points, forming a stream called *Mmiri Olulu Mpuniyi*. The water fetched from the stream had healing power for the *Mpuniyi* worshipers 107 years ago. Today, in the vast space down the stream is the adoration ground where people come to pray even overnight and take from the stream the water of life and miracles ….(https://www.facebook.com/groups/reentanglements/?multi_permalinks=1968159980152910&notif_id=1548384358230544&notif_t=group_activity accessed 30 January 2019).

The case in this report appears like a perfect outcome of the kind of inculturation envisaged in the episcopal message of the Catholic Bishop of Nsukka when he expressed "those of them that have parallels in the Catholic tradition is to be inculturated and celebrated" (Okobo 2013, 25). The site of *Mpuniyi* shrine that attracted people for seeking success and protection is today serving the church as a space to seek miracles. Also, the healing water of *Mpuniyi* deity has turned holy water of life and miracles for the church. Advantageously, Igbo ontologies of heritage supports this change in form, pattern and style but retaining its narratives (see 5.0.1). The experiences with catholic church are additional to the activities of the Pentecostal variant of Christianity that destroy and burn heritage materials and sites on a daily basis (see Strother 2017). The wave of catastrophe that Pentecostalism brought upon heritage dates back to 1915

during the times of prophet Garrick Sokari Braide of Niger-Delta and his likes (see Talbot 1916). Over one hundred years, the destructive iconoclasm has continued unabated and the division it caused in the communities have persisted.

Individual salvation that Christianity preaches also destroys the collective consciousness that characterised indigenous communities, another way of life that sustained feasting together and having cultural dance and performance. Such teaching also distanced individuals from another, even, from the larger community of living that included the nonhumans. Let's turn now to the colonial period, even though, many of the activities in the pre-colonial times like punitive expedition and religious intolerance on indigenous cultures also survived into the colonial era. Paradoxically, Igbo heritage survives after suffering these annihilations; what sustained the *Mpuniy*i and *Ngelelikokwu* narratives and other examples in the coming chapters made them survive.

3.4 Nigeria Heritage in the Colonial Regime

Nigeria emerged after the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, where Britain secured the areas around River Niger as part of its share of Africa. On 10 January 1886, a royal charter was granted to the Royal Niger Company to help protect the interest of Britain in the new territory. Later, the Niger Coast Protectorate was established in 1893, and the Colony of Lagos in 1897. Both the colony and protectorate were merged in 1906 to become the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Meanwhile, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria had been established in 1900. So, the territory called Nigeria became a nation on 1 January 1914 after the British amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates.

It is important to remark that the name 'Nigeria' was not in existence before 1900. Flora Shaw, the then colonial correspondence of *The Times*, who later became the wife of the colonial Governor, Lord Frederick Lugard, suggested the name in 1900 and it was adopted. Perhaps, the coinage of the name 'Nigeria' was influenced by the aims of the British explorers, which according to Basden (1921, 17) took thirty-five years before they succeeded in "tracing the course of the great river" – the river Niger in 1830. However, some discussions among contemporary scholars in Africa have begun to contest this view. They are of the opinion that Niger Republic was actually named after the River Niger. And that Nigeria is actually coined from the term "Negro area", because the West Africa coast area, part of which is Nigeria today served as the largest source of black slaves; while slavery thrived, the Euro-American slave merchants believed that slaves from the Negro area were usually strong and muscular. Thus, the word 'Nigeria' came from either 'Niger' and 'area' or 'Negro area' to form 'Nigeria'. That

was how indigenous peoples occupying the area took a monolithic cultural construct that works to produce 'Nigerian heritage'; of course, this was done without the people's participation. The politics of time and space manifest here. Moving from village and town structures to wider territoriality involved encountering foreign and local cultures. It meant migrating from a familiar way of doing things to completely new ways; simply put, from one phase of historical narrative to another – a very immediate introduction of linear time.

The implication of the above historical background is that there was no national heritage in Nigeria before 1914. Many years after the pronouncement of amalgamation, heritages were still in the hands of the indigenous peoples in the families and villages. There was an urgent need for new narratives to help legitimise the amalgamation. This search for new narratives sets the background for what became known as the national heritage policy in Nigeria today. In the maiden Antiquities Report of 1946, Kenneth Murray expressed "one of the chief questions is whether there should be a central museum, in which the important objects will be concentrated, and small regional museums, with touring collections to serve provincial headquarters and educational centres" (Nigeria: *Annual Report of the Antiquities* 1946, 3). Murray's conjecture made clear that there was yet a decision about what becomes Nigeria's national heritage. This is coming three years after he had admonished the colonial government that any meaningful reformation in Nigeria will have to be "fitted into their lifeways" (Murray 1943, 155). Leading heritage industry, he had also discovered that "a state of growth, decay and re-birth seems more natural to Africans while a 'static perfection' is not" (Murray 1942, 345). Yet, he founded national heritage management on the principles of 'static perfection'. The remaining part of this chapter will journey through the events that developed Nigeria's national narratives that created national heritage.

3.4.1 The Role of Research - Anthropology, Art History, Archaeology

The documented works of traders, explorers (military, geographers), missionaries, colonial anthropologists and art historians formed the bedrock for the journey to the creation of national narrative for the new Nigerian nation. One of the best histories of anthropological input in Nigeria was documented by G. I. Jones, who himself was a colonial administrator, and who later became a professional anthropologist. Jones (1974) traced anthropological contributions to 1884 during which amateur anthropologists started writing about the culture of the indigenous peoples of Nigeria. Between 1884 to 1900, the works of traveller-ethnographers, first missionaries resident in many areas of Nigeria, military travellers on a colonial mission and ethnographic records of missions (e.g. CMS mission) stand to be counted. This "was

essentially a period professional anthropologist were learning what social anthropology was all about (Jones 1974, 280)".

In 1900, colonial administration commissioned anthropologists to carry out ethnographic fieldwork in its interest. Jones explained the purpose to include the "need to record for posterity the last vestiges of the primitive cultures which the twentieth century was about to engulf; then on the grounds of administrative convenience, the need for accurate information about the people whose territories were being organized into the districts, divisions, and provinces of the colonial empire" (1974, 282). Northcote W. Thomas was the first British commissioned anthropologist to arrive in Nigeria. He worked among the Edo of Benin, the Igbo and Igala, published his findings (Thomas 1910; 1918 and others) and made lots of collections that are housed in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. Colonial administrators also kept intelligence reports that become very useful in tracing heritage history in Nigeria. Later, Charles K. Meek worked in the north (and in the east) and Percy Amaury Talbot worked in the south. There were Rupert East and Laura and Paul Bohannan in Tiv land; Leo Frobenius and William Bascom among the Yoruba; and R. E. Bradbury in Benin. Others are Herbert Richmond Palmer in Jukun land (Charles Meek featured here too); Austin J. Shelton and M. D. W. Jeffreys among the Igbo; Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones covering southern part and so on. These are very few to mention.

While earlier missionaries demonised and discouraged Nigerians from making or using heritage materials, anthropologists were researching, collecting and transferring them to European and American museums. According to Oliodi (1986, 110-11), the missionary attitude saw a little change when in the 1920s, "mission schools, particularly those of the Roman Catholic Church, encouraged parents to have their children continue the craft tradition of their culture". This action he noted was important because "some parents who had earlier been persecuted for carving or creating what were considered "idols", could no longer encourage their children to continue the tradition of carving or producing even domestic objects" (p. 111). This was how art in its complex approach was added to the handcraft (what was later called craft or handwork) that was taught in schools since 1905. Art research advanced with the return of Aina Onabolu from London in 1922. He established art schools and wrote the colonial Education Department to request for a European art teacher in 1926; his request saw the coming of Kenneth C. Murray in 1927. Murray and Onabolu expanded the teaching and research on arts that helped to prepare the ground for the major works of heritage in Nigeria.

Working under the Education Department, Murray joined forces with E. H. Duckworth who was publishing about arts and crafts in the then *Nigeria Magazine*. Both education officers

embarked on the mission to encourage the colonial government on the need to save and preserve numerous works of arts in danger. Their campaign lead to the establishment of the Nigerian Department of Antiquities, and Murray was made the Surveyor of Antiquities in 1946 (Shaw 1969). The same year, a grant was approved by the colonial office for the keeper of the Department of Ethnography in the British Museum, H. J. Braunholtz to travel to West Africa to survey the state of antiquities and make recommendations on their preservation (Murray 1939). After the tour, Kenneth C. Murray expressed on the first publication of the Annual Report of the Antiquities that:

> the preliminary survey of Nigeria, which is not yet completed, has shown that there are a great number of objects that will have to be preserved…. These include drums, doors and posts of building, masks, metal objects, heirlooms of the Northern Emirs and historical ruins such as those of Surame in Sokoto Province. It would be hard to exaggerate the pace at which the destruction of Nigeria's antiquities goes forward, and trained staff is needed if these things are to be saved. For many of them, ten years from now will be too late (Nigeria: *Annual Report of the Antiquities*, 1946: 1).

Having encountered Bernard E. B. Fagg, the Assistant District Officer and a trained archaeologist that works in the tin mining in Jos, Murray also made case for recognition of archaeological research as part of the efforts towards conservation of heritage. Fagg by then had excavated Rop rock shelter in 1944 and has secured fund to excavate more sites around Nok valley in 1946. In the middle of 1947, Bernard Fagg was appointed Assistant Surveyor of Antiquities. Thus, archaeological research became positioned for planning heritage conservation in Nigeria. It is necessary to point out at this stage that anthropology, art history and archaeology played an important role in enthroning the modern heritage conservation in Nigeria. The focused interest in professional expertise in Nigeria's heritage management is a result of these foundational roles. Throughout the colonial regime, anthropology, archaeology and art history continued to research on culture and heritage of Nigeria. At the establishment of higher institutions in the 1960s, the three were introduced first as courses to take in history or culturally oriented departments and as full departments later. In the next section, we shall explore how these efforts lead to legislation that established museums.

3.4.2 Legislation and Museum Establishment

As a Surveyor of Antiquities, Kenneth Murray carried out several tours of Nigeria alongside his assistant, Bernard Fagg who was later recognised as the Government Archaeologist (Shaw

1969). Their purpose was to continue the survey of the state of antiquities in the country to be able to weave together a national narrative and to develop a conservation plan. At first, beginning in 1945, temporal measures were provided. In Jos, a storeroom was secured to keep the archaeological materials acquired by Fagg on Nok culture. A small room was provided by the Oba in Benin to house the collections made by the local historian, J. U. Egharevba. Two glass cases were stationed at Ife Council Hall to house the Ife bronzes and terra-cottas (Nigeria: *Annual Report of the Antiquities* 1946). With these palliative measures, Murray and Fagg continued with their survey and annual reports, both were also collecting artefacts from different parts of the country with a plan towards the establishment of 'Nigerian Museum'. Purchases were made, donations were received and excavation in Nok culture, Ife, and later Igbo Ukwu yielded many materials some of which were taken beyond the borders of Nigeria. In 1949, technical staff was first employed to help the Surveyor and his assistant carry out the job of the Department of Antiquities.

In 1953, the Antiquities Ordinance No. 17 was enacted to establish the Federal Department of Antiquities, and to provide legal backings for the conservation of heritage and archaeological excavation. With legislation in place, cultural materials are located in the past, categorised as antiquities and were to be kept in museums for research and enjoyment of mankind (Shyllon 1996). Ordinance 17 focused more on archaeological evidence and states that an object or monument would be recognised as antiquity if it has existed before 1918. This provision made clear the separation of history from what became prehistory. It created phases of history and made implicit the introduction of linear time. At this point, Kenneth Murray's well documented 'utilitarian value' of heritage was in this case overlooked, and heritage is to be removed from the community where they are useful to be enclosed in museums or be secluded by law from their utilitarian community. Eze-Uzomaka (2000, 34) list the museums established around this period to include Esie 1945, Jos 1952, Ile Ife 1954, Lagos 1957, Oron 1958 and Kano (Gidan Makama) 1960. Archaeological excavations continued in the north, west and east. On 1st October 1960, Nigerians took over governance from Britain, bringing the colonial regime to an end. One would expect a consolidation of the museum and heritage preservation policy and practice that considers the people's consciousness to correct the errors of colonialism. The following section explains why the situation remained the same.

3.5 Heritage in Independent Nigeria: Western Hegemony by and for the People

Professor Ekpo Eyo was the first Nigerian to head Federal Department of Antiquities in 1968. The Department carried on with its mandate to preserve antiquities and encourage

archaeological excavations. Universities were established and anthropology, archaeology and art history or applied art were introduced into the schools to help train the manpower required for the management and conservation of heritage in the country. The University of Ibadan and the University of Nigeria were nurtured by Cambridge and Michigan State Universities respectively. As the first premier universities in Nigeria to teach anthropology, art history and archaeology, their curriculum derives from both foreign institutions, hence, the continued development of professionals in Western ontologies and epistemologies of heritage (Andah 1997; Chikwendu 1997).

In 1977, Nigeria hosted the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77). This event showcased the cultural heritage of the people of Nigeria; it exposed the quality of Nigerian arts and crafts to the world. The resultant implication of FESTAC 77 was theft and illicit trafficking on Nigerian heritage thereby forcing the government to review heritage laws.

Accordingly, Antiquities Ordinance of 1953 was repealed with the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) Decree 77 of 1979. The Decree established NCMM and Ekpo Eyo remained the director until 1986. NCMM was a larger institution but there wasn't any noticeable change in the legal document, the objectives of the Antiquities Ordinance was carried forward:

> (a) to administer national museums, antiquities and monuments;
>
> (b) to establish and maintain national museums and other outlets for or in connection with, but not restricted only to the following, that is – (i) antiquities, (ii) science and technology, (iii) warfare, (iv) African, Black and other antiquities, (v) Arts and Crafts, (vi) Architecture, (vii) Natural history, and (viii) Educational services (NCMM Decree, section 3, a & b).

It also empowered the Commission to recommend to the component states to establish museums and to preserve antiquities and monuments; and to approve privately established museums. So, the only difference between the provisions of the Ordinance and the Decree is that the NCMM Decree established a robust institution and processes of heritage management in Nigeria. The Decree defined antiquity as:

> (a) any object of archaeological interest or land in which any such object was discovered or is believed to exist; or
>
> (b) any relic of early human settlement or colonisation; or
>
> (c) any work of art or craft work, including any statue; model, clay figure, figure cast or rust metal, carving, house post, door, ancestral figure, religious mask,

> staff, drum, bolt, ornament, utensil, weapon, armour, or craft work is of indigenous origin and – (i) was made or fashioned before the year 1918; or (ii) is of historical, artistic or scientific interest and is or has been used at any time in the performance and for purposes of any traditional ceremony, and in the case of any object or relic mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this section includes for the purposes of this Act any land adjacent thereto which in the opinion of the Commission, a State Government or, as for the purpose of maintaining the same or the amenities thereof or for providing or facilitating access thereto, or for the exercise of proper control or management with respect thereto (NCMM Decree, section 32).

Also, monument means any antiquity declared. The categorisation of heritage as antiquity made clear the division between the past and present with the benchmark of 1918 as the end of non-contemporary heritage and the beginning of contemporary ones. Even, archaeological and anthropological researches have shown and continue to show that there is continuity in the life of the people (Hartle 1965; Shaw 1977; Eze-Uzomaka 2000; Ikegwu 2014). These findings were ignored because heritages are already dismissed as an ancient treasure whose historical time is in the past. This position of the law is against the records on the sensibilities of the people of Nigeria about heritage (see Murray 1942; 1943).

Again, section 13 of the Decree provides that the power to identify antiquity with national importance is a prerogative of the Commission and the power to declare or revoke it lies with the President of Nigeria. There are negative outcomes of various sections of the law for a country constituted by many indigenous peoples like Nigeria. First, the most populated groups would normally use their cultural narratives to represent the entire country's 'national heritage' while that of the minor groups are silenced or ignored to the margins of the villages (the reason why the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, Benin and few other ethnic groups dominate Nigeria history). Another implication according to Said (1999) is the fluctuating policies and adoption of different values and narratives at different points in time for the nation. He argued that it comes as a result of the change in leadership that sees these ethnic groups coming and going in most country's governance. Such fluidity also impacts on the sustainability of 'national heritage' because what constitutes 'national heritage' in one regime may change in another. More so, ethnic bias could make a leader to refuse to pronounce other group's heritage as a 'national' property as stipulated in the law. It is rather interesting to know that since 1964 after the declaration of fifty-two monuments between 1956 and 1964 (Murray 1967), no national

monument has been declared. It shows the difficulties in the implementation of the provisions of the law in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria.

In section 19 of the Decree, only 'experts' identified by 'an archaeological or scientific society or institute of good repute' can be offered a permit to search for antiquity in Nigeria. Then, section 17 provided for the seizure of antiquity from the owner after compensation is paid, thereby enclosing such heritage and removing it from the 'normal' public use.

By the time Omotoso Eluyemi, Babatunde Agbaje Williams and Bassey Andah returned from their studies abroad in the 1970s, there was an engaging discussion about making heritage research and conservation very indigenous to include local public participation (Ogundiran 2015). While their contributions influenced research and brought about the application of ethnoarchaeological method and museum school visits, approach to conservation and management never changed. When Nigeria moved from military rule to democratic regime, the NCMM Decree 77 was simply converted to NCMM ACT (see appendix 3) without any alteration. Relying on the provisions of the Act, NCMM manages over seventeen national museums in Nigeria today.

Chapter summary

This chapter made sense of the ontologies and epistemologies of heritage in Nigeria in the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. There are three points to take from this chapter: (1) heritage is used and cared for by the pre-colonial peoples of Nigeria based on their 'utilitarian value', (2) the colonial regime isolate heritage from their utilitarian settings to create a national narrative, (3) heritage in postcolonial Nigeria continued with the principles set out during the colonial regime. The political context in which the three phases of heritage history occurred in Nigeria carry with them some complexities that critical heritage studies is interested in understanding. Additional to the literature engagement in chapter two, this chapter launches us into the findings from fieldwork to pin down the thesis argumentation. Before then, it is imperative to spell out the systematic approaches to data collection and analysis.

Chapter Four: Methodological Underpinning

4.0 Introduction

It is demonstrated in the preceding chapters that there are issues with the way heritage is conceptualised and managed in recent time. The identified problems are associated with how members of the indigenous/local communities are excluded in the nationality of heritage in Nigeria for example, and how such action alienate the local public who developed apathy for heritage conservation in their own country; thus, undermining the essence of inclusion that characterises the 21st century heritage discourses. The literature review recognised several efforts towards achieving inclusion, but most approaches are hijacked by the same 'professional experts' who seek to include members of the local community - evidence showing that the dominating top-down paradigm persists. Recognising from the literature the importance of bottom-up approach demands a proper research method that engages the issues from the grassroots. This chapter looks at the processes employed for data collection and analyses to help actualise the objectives of the study. It presents the research scope, approach and strategy as well as the sample, reliability and validity, the researcher's positionality and the issues around institutional ethics and implementation in the field. The chapter ended with the limitations occasioned by the method in use.

4.1 Research Scope

In an attempt to generate empirical evidence to develop theoretical bases for inclusive and sustainable heritage conservation approach in a heritage alienated and apathy ridden society like in Nigeria, this study investigates Western and non-Western heritage conservation models to understand their areas of convergence and difference concerning inclusion and exclusion. It sets out with the following objectives:

1. to establish the existence of the prevalent (Western) and silent indigenous (for this purpose, Igbo 'village square') heritage preservation models in Nigeria;
2. to examine the indigenous/public perceptions on both models in relation to inclusion and exclusion;
3. to contemplate the integration of both models as a middle-of-the-road option for realising democratic inclusion in heritage preservation in Nigeria.

Enquiry into the prevalent Western model was limited to a review of related literature where extensive discussion about this model has been made in chapters two and three, while the silent indigenous model involved field engagement in a society/community. Methodologically, the

study used the qualitative method; the rationale is to gain from its discovery, in-depth and holistic attributes. Ethnographic methods of data collection (observation, interview and Focus Group Discussion) was deemed effective in collecting data to meet the research objectives. The analysis was descriptive and interpretative.

4.2 Approach to the Research

In line with the research objectives, the qualitative research method is adjudged useful for the study. Mills (2014, 34) defined qualitative research as a "creative enterprise that aims to answer questions using rigorous, flexible, best-fit approaches". It uses the best-fit approaches (naturalistic) to examine phenomena in the "real world setting, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton 2001, 39). The 'best-fit approaches' according to Mills (2014) links methodology and themes of knowledge - positivism, critical, constructivism or interpretivism. Creswell (2014, 32) gave a broader definition,

> Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to social or human problems. The process of research involves emerging questions and problems, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data.

Qualitative research generates data from natural settings, and it is holistic but flexible in application. However, Martyn Hammersley identified three criticism: failing rigorously to operationalise concepts and to document measurable differences; being unable to rule out rival explanations through physical or statistical control; and failing to produce generalisable findings (2008, 30). Summarising the responses to these criticisms, Hammersley (2008, 31) provided three matching reactions as follows: (a) It is sometimes argued that qualitative work does not need to stand on its own, and if it is combined with quantitative work it can meet the requirements that lie behind these criticisms. (b) Alternatively, it may be argued that qualitative research has its ways of documenting differences, identifying causal relations, and producing theoretical generalisations. Therefore, the strategies associated with quantitative work are not relevant to it, and the criticisms do not apply. (c) It is often argued that these criticisms of qualitative inquiry misconceive the nature of social research since they derive from a positivistic paradigm that has been discredited and superseded. The use of the qualitative method for this study is based on its naturalistic, holistic and thorough approach identified in the literature (Patton 2001; Creswell 2014; Mills 2014), which provided the opportunity for a

deep and critical enquiry into an indigenous heritage model in a less formal and authorised setting.

4.3 Research Strategy and Design

Aligning with the qualitative method, case study strategy was decided. Case study strategy was deemed useful because of the "micro-macro link in social behaviour" (Gerring 2007, 1). John Gerring defined case study as "the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of cases (a population)" (2007, 20). This study relied on the scholarly agreement that research concentration on the smaller unit of a phenomenon illuminates the actual state of the larger group (Gerring 2007; Gillham 2000; Yin 2003; 2012; Hancock and Algozzine 2006; Woodside 2010). Consequently, the choice of the case study was based on specific characteristics. First, the existence of indigenous heritage conservation practices; secondly, the language familiarity that bridges communicative competence and guarantees research achievability. Following on these factors, the Igbo of southeast Nigeria was studied to enable us to gain a deeper understanding of the ontologies and epistemologies of heritage in Africa and a non-Western society. Particular interest was on trying to understand the ways that inclusion and exclusion of the indigenous/local public play out in heritage conservation. Interestingly, the Igbo are currently living with the dual (Western and indigenous) ontologies and epistemologies of heritage. However, the case study focuses on the insights from the indigenous approach. The Igbo live in a vast expanse of land spanning five component states in the Federation of Nigeria. Consequently, Enugu state is chosen from the five Igbo states and the Nsukka Igbo that live in seven out of the twenty-one local government areas in the state formed the basis for the case study.

In order not to mistaken research strategy with research design, Yin (2003; 2012) stressed the need to see case study as being different from a particular type of data collection. On this note, this work collected qualitative data. As a result, an ethnographic research design that involves a grassroots engagement applied. Ethnographic fieldwork centred on participant observation within a society or community is a defining characteristic of anthropology. Contextually, it is also currently used in other disciplines such as nursing, psychology, marketing, education, archaeology and so on. Because of this disciplinary interests, different types and uses of ethnography emerged. There is now critical ethnography, autoethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and recently, heritage ethnography, but all are founded on the principles of anthropological ethnography. Heritage ethnography is used in this study; I will return to this later.

Earlier approaches to ethnography hoped to present a scientifically valid result following a laydown procedure. Thus, ethnographic manuals were produced on how to conduct ethnography, what Naidoo (2012, 1) regarded as "a feature of positivism, the scientific approach that results can be tested, and the researcher is separate from the research". But scholars who understand ethnography from the naturalist stance argue that because it is interpretive which placed the interpreter's view as part of the process, it cannot, however, be verified by tests (Mackenzie 1994). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that it is more of exploration and analytical description of cultures and not testing of hypothesis. They explained that ethnography involves overt or covert participation in people's daily lives for an extended period. The purpose is to watch what happens, listen to what is said, and ask questions through informal and formal interviews; sometimes collecting documents and artefacts, gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that form the focus of inquiry (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 3). It is the study of the beliefs, social interactions, and behaviours of small societies, involving participation and observation over some time, and the interpretation of data collected (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Going by these meaning, ethnography is removed from the core of positivist principles. The reflexive attribute of ethnography locates it in interpretive paradigm, though, with the adoption of constructivism.

Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008, 512) stressed that "the central aim of ethnography is to provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as nature (that is, sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews". Put in another way, ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (Brewer 2000). Achieving Brewer's position entails embarking on fieldwork - a form of inquiry that requires a researcher to be immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group carrying out the research (Wolcott 1995); ethnography is fieldwork oriented. Considering the phenomenological and hermeneutic interpretative principles, David Fetterman argues that ethnography "involves telling 'credible, rigorous and authentic' stories from the perspective of local people and interpreting these stories in the context of people's daily lives and cultures" (2010, 1). It is interactive-inductive (O'Reilly 2012), data collection, analysis and interpretation are relational. Reflexivity which explains the interactional

relationship between the ethnographer, the research environment and participants is central in carrying out ethnography (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008).

Returning to the fact that ethnography is now applied in different disciplines and in a way that makes its application very useful in such context, this study uses ‘heritage ethnography’. Heritage ethnography “necessarily brackets heritage away from other cultural phenomena by maintaining its relationship with memory and history, even if in subtle, unexpected or liberating ways that break with the narrow definition of heritage as ‘the use of the past in the present'" (Andrews 2009, 140-41). Heritage ethnography consciously targets heritage as a ‘social experience', 'communicative practice', or ‘cultural process' – in short, something people ‘do' (Andrews 2009). The separation of heritage sectors from the local communities encouraged Charlotte Andrews to conclude that a focus on grassroots everyday and personal/community heritage without necessarily legitimising them against the conventional or state-oriented approach or separating them from their broader cultural structures is the goal of heritage ethnography. Developing heritage ethnography to her entails finding ways to explore heritage ‘in the wild'. But she cautioned, "those of us exploring such grassroots heritage need a better sense of what we are after, how we manage these data and then integrate the knowledge gained ‘back' into more mainstream heritage practice and discourse" (Andrews 2009, 144). Is it necessary to return the gained knowledge from heritage ethnography into the mainstream heritage discourse or the other way? Critical heritage scholars have challenged mainstream discourse.

Perhaps, Nick Dines’s critical ethnographies of heritage may present a balanced position for heritage ethnography. In his editorial in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Dines (2016) suggested that the ‘critical’ in critical heritage studies should be uncoupled to form critical ethnography of heritage studies to emphasise a shift from ‘object’ to ‘method’. This position demonstrates a methodological faith in the tenets of critical heritage discourse, a move away from the top down state and expert-driven knowledge of heritage to a bottom-up local heritage knowledge. He expressed “I do not want to suggest that a critical ethnography of cultural heritage should adhere to a set course of action" (Dines 2016, 86). Rather,

> It is as much about building culturally nuanced accounts of how forms of heritage come to be differently defined, enacted, governed, consumed and contested. It is about being equally competent in tracking the corollaries of celebratory rhetoric in everyday life (be this out on the street or inside some institutional setting), and probing taken-for-granted allegations about the iniquities of the heritage industry (Dines, 2016, 87).

Hence Dines's critical ethnography of heritage studies encourages ethnographic studies in all its forms; it is my view that what he propagates is called 'heritage ethnography'. A better approach would conjoin his opinions and that of Andrews to redirect heritage research in the light of current discourses, a position I applied in this study. So, heritage ethnography is not a complete move away from the principles of anthropological ethnography but a focused interest that serves heritage scholarship to encourage bottom-up paradigm to reflect grassroots perspectives on heritage discourse.

A major criticism against ethnography by natural scientists is based on interactional relationships. Brewer (2004, 318) expressed that "the natural science model of research, for example, does not permit the researcher to become a variable in the experiment yet ethnographers are not detached from the research but are themselves part of the study or by their obtrusive presence come to influence the field". Similar to this criticism is the position against ethnographic methods. The argument is that "methods that are unstructured, flexible and open-ended can appear to involve unsystematic data collection…" (Brewer 2004,518). But Devault (2006) has rebuffed these criticisms and posits that ethnography is thorough, broad and topic-oriented, a shift away from the scientific. Ethnography tracks all that is done, whether it is recognised or not, and by analysing the social relationships, the relevance of experiences can be highlighted (Naidoo 2012).

Attention is also drawn to the location or geographical position of the researcher to the researched during the study. Can one understand a social system from a location outside the study setting (in a geographical sense)? The answer is "no" when considered in line with the purpose of ethnography. Atkinson et al. (2001, 4) maintained that ethnography is founded on the "commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting based on (though not exclusively) participant observation". Participant observation gives ethnographers opportunities to gather practical insights into social practices that are normally "hidden" from the public gaze (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008; Waddington 2004; Kothari 2004). Also, Brewer (2004) identified in-depth interview, discourse analysis, personal document and vignettes, visual methods like video, photography and film, and the Internet as other media through which ethnographic goals can be achieved. This study concerns itself with participant observation/field observation, in-depth interview, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and the explanation on how they are used are contained in 4.5.1, 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 of this chapter.

Bernard (2006) identified three ways of carrying out an observation to include complete participation, participant observer, and complete observer. A participant observer, according

to Bernard (2006, 347), can be an insider who observes and records some aspects of life around them (in which case, they are 'observing participants'); or they can be outsiders who participate in some aspects of life around them and record what they can (in which case, they are 'participating observers'). Citing Burgess (1984), Weddington (2004, 154) explained observation by classifying it into four identity bearing approaches: (1) the *complete participant*, who operates covertly, concealing an intention to observe the setting; (2) the *participant-as-observer*, who forms relationships and participates in activities but makes no secret of an intention to observe events; (3) the *observer-as-participant*, who maintains only superficial contacts with the people being studied (for example, by asking them occasional questions); and (4) the *complete observer*, who merely stands back and 'eavesdrops' on the proceedings.

FGD and in-depth interview were also used to collect information. Berg (2006) states that interviews are conducted in a more conversational style and questions are answered in an order, which is more natural to the flow of general conversation. Flick (2009, 205) defined FGD as "interactional method that seeks to explore how issues are constructed or changed both through and in response to group dynamics and discussion". From the interactions between participants, a researcher can gain insight into the ways which meaning is made within the context of the group (Bloor et al. 2001). This group interactional approach is further strengthened with an in-depth interview. An in-depth or semi-structured interview is based on the use of an interview guide – a written list of questions and topics that needed to be covered in a particular order (Bernard 2006). The use of FGD and in-depth interview required a schedule of questions to be asked. An interview guide used for the study was prepared according to Kings's (2004,15) definitions by "listing topics which the interviewer should attempt to cover in the course of the interview, and suggesting probes which may be used to follow-up responses and elicit greater detail from participants" (see appendix 4).

4.4 Data Sample - Study Area

The study area follows the choice of case study to identify specific sites that can provide data to meet the research objectives. Purposive sampling techniques based on the researcher's "knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study" (Babbie 2010, 193) was applied, and seven villages were selected from a town in a local government area. Three factors influenced the choice of sites. First, the availability of relics and practices relating to the village arena as a model of heritage and museum discourse. Secondly, the availability of resource persons to participate in the research and those that will serve as key informants. All

the sites studied were chosen based on these two criteria. Thirdly, the socio-cultural and historical position of a village in the town.

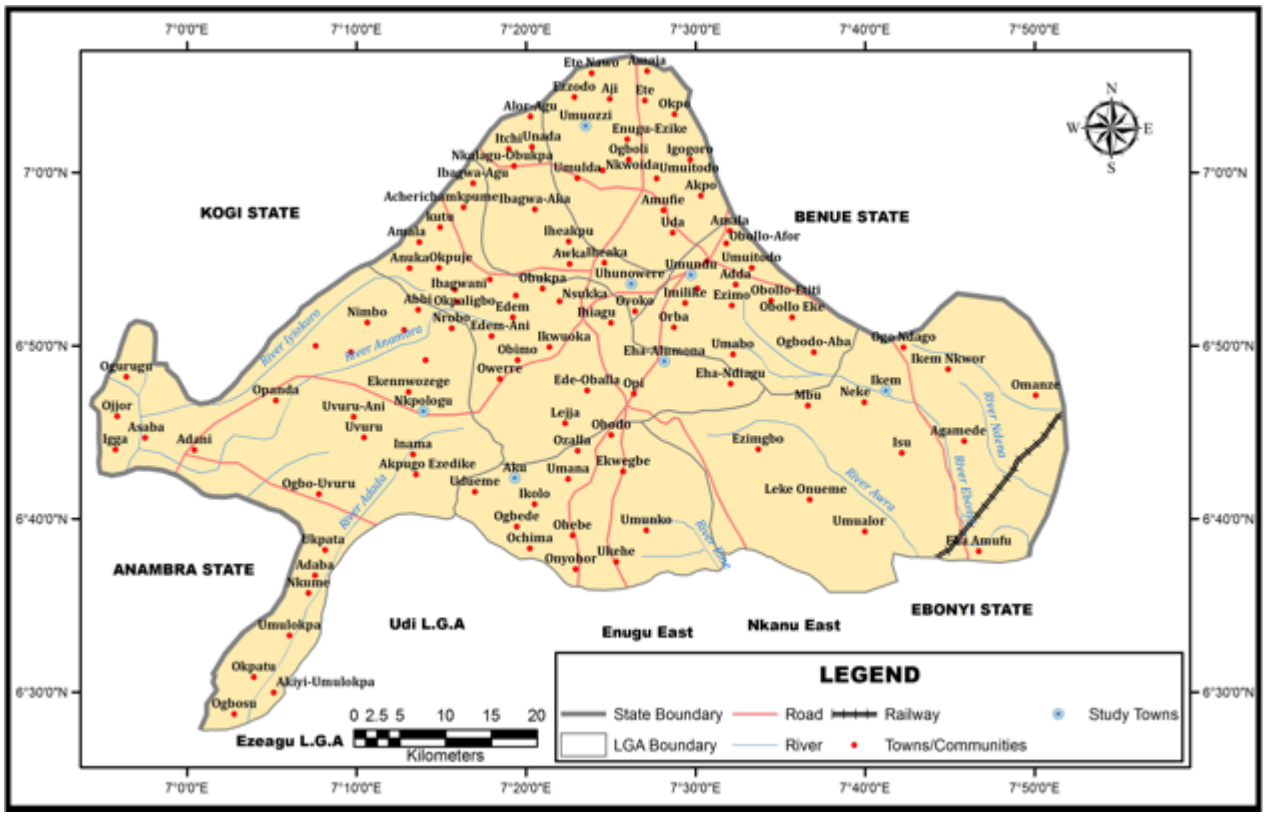


Figure 4: Map of Nsukka Igbo showing the towns/communities studied

The villages selected for the study are Ebor Eha-alumona for Nsukka local government area (LGA); Amegu Umundu for Udenu LGA; Useh Aku for Igbo-Etiti LGA; and Ogor Ikem for Isi-Uzo LGA. Others are Umu-Obira Nkporogu for Uzo-Uwani LGA; Onicha Enugu Ezike in Umuozzi for Igbo-Eze North LGA; and Amokpu Uhunowerre for Igbo-Eze South LGA (see figures 1 & 4). These areas are geographically contiguous, located at the northern border of south-eastern Nigeria, and they share common linguistic and cultural traits. The region is divided into three traditions of spirit beings: Igbo *Odo*, Igbo *Ọmabe*, and Igbo *Manwu*; reference will be continuously made to the sites about this categorisation. Again, the decision to pick at least one village from each of the local government areas was purposively made to ensure representation and spatial coverage of the case study region. Importantly, the term 'town' is used here to represent a confederal unit of villages. So, a 'town' is made up of independent villages connected by common ancestry or by socio-cultural interests. Every independent village has a village arena; thus, the village arena was primarily focused on as an

example of indigenous heritage model. Note that a study of the village arena entails a study of the entire village; hence, the arena radiates the general living among the people.

Thirty-five (35) persons, featuring five in each village were purposively selected to participate in the in-depth interviews. This number was decided following the stipulations by Kings (2004, 16) who posits that time and resources required to access participants, conduct interviews, transcribe and analyse them are enormous. His position was recognised in deciding the number of people to be interviewed to ensure timely delivery of the research. The study adopted the suggestions by Knodel (1993) and Morgan (1997) to decide on the number of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) sessions as well as the number of participants. Thus, one FGD comprising six participants was held in each of the seven villages; but this arrangement was partly altered (see 4.5.4) as one out of the many realities faced in the field. Two persons who participated in the FGD were also interviewed separately to help drive home the issues discussed during the FGD session. One of the reasons for the choice of people to participate in the interview and FGD was based on age and position in the village. Another is knowledge competence of the culture and history of the people especially on heritage and the village arena. Additionally, an attempt was made to represent all the lineages that make up a village to ensure that all perspectives are explored.

By age, older members of the village that are between 50 and 95 years of age believed to have in-depth knowledge and experience of heritage as well as the past and present state of the village arena was selected. Because of the current level of acculturation, this stratification was advantageous and made it possible to interact with people who have in one way or the other participated or still participating in the heritage management of the people. However, young people below the age limit also participated by being present at the site where observation was done or venue of an interview or FGD; while some merely observed, others made some contributions.

4.5 Techniques of Data Collection

The ethnographic techniques adopted for data collection are field observation or participant observation, in-depth interview, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Nine months (October 2016 - June 2017) was spent in the study area to carry out heritage ethnography. It is additional to more than three decades of my life experience as a member of the culture, where I was born and brought up.

The use of field note, tape recorder, photo and video camera aided the collection of information. Ethnographic techniques are complemented with data contained on documents and written

records. Coordinates were collected using GPS, and site maps containing the village arena and the location of heritage features are produced.

4.5.1 Accessing the Sites

Following the institutional health and safety procedures obtained (see appendix 7), arrival at the case study area required an immediate decision on accommodation and security. Knowing that Nsukka urban is more secured and locates at the centre of the chosen case study and that my wife and son were still living in a three-bed flat in Nsukka urban, I decided to operate from the family house. This decision was necessary because of my security and the limited fund to carry out the fieldwork. Again, I later understood that field engagements had to happen concurrently to meet with the date slated for ending the fieldwork. So, settling down in one or more of the villages was never an option to consider. Therefore, the family house was in an excellent location to operate from.

Obtaining access to the sites entails going through the "gatekeepers" according to Neuman (2007, 282). I visited the villages, found someone that lead me to the *Onyishi* (leader/ruler/oldest man in the village) to seek approval to carry out research; this was the process in Ogor, Useh, Umu-Obira, and Onicha Enugu. In other instances, a familiar person from a neighbouring village would introduce me to a friend who will then take me to the *Onyishi* (the experience in Amokpu and Amegu). In Ebor, I was able to go straight to the *Onyishi*'s house to obtain permission. Some of the people contacted in the first visits ended up becoming key informants like in Ogor, Useh, Umu-Obira and Onicha Enugu. In many of the sites, the key informants or the *Onyishi* had wanted to send me to seek approval from the Igwe of the community (constituted by more villages than the case study village). The Igwe is the government recognised traditional ruler whose position is (in many cases) different from the political structures of the villages. Some would want to summon the *Ọha* - council of elders - to introduce me and my mission. But after hearing the purpose of the research, they would conclude that the research interest is not within the *Igwe's* jurisdiction; that it is what any knowledgeable member of the village can respond to with ease. One of the many reasons why they wanted to involve the *Igwe* (HRH) or members of the *Ọha* is because the people link researchers with the state and the outside world. They would wish to have the Igwe who relate more with the government to attend to a researcher or involve *Ọha* to be aware of the presence of a representative of the state for an inclusive deliberation and decision.

After approval was obtained, the next task was to get myself entangled with the community life. The process happened faster in Useh, Umu-Obira and Onicha Enugu where I had the best

of experience mingling with the villagers. My earlier visit to Useh and Umu-Obira coincided with the period of Odo and Ogwudinama festivals respectively. During these festivals, I attended with a gallon of palm wine, ate, drank and cheered up the event; an approach that helped bring me closer to members of the village. However, Useh people had to consult *Afa* (divination) to check if my research will have any adverse effects on their community before approving the study. Onicha Enugu is my wife's village, and my father-in-law and mother-in-law were very helpful in connecting me to the *Onyishi* and members of the village.

Getting to connect with members of the village in other sites proved difficult and took a more extended time. In the beginning, I was received with contempt in Amegu, Ogor, Amokpu and Ebor. Even, until the end of the fieldwork, I was never allowed access to members of Ebor village (see 4.10). Once a good relationship was established and the research objectives well understood by the key informants, the criterion enumerated in 4.4 was applied in selecting participants for the in-depth interview and FGD. However, initial attempts to have the participants sign a written consent delayed interviews and FGDs until another means of securing unwritten permission was initiated (see 4.9).

4.5.2 Field/Participant Observation

Observation of heritage fabrics and performance in the village arena and those located outside the boundary of the arena but are linked to the activities carried out in it was done. Following Weddington's (2004) definitions above, I was both a participating observer and observer-participant in these settings. The first because I have lived my life experiencing the culture for more than three decades but with little interest in studying and documenting it in this critical form. Later, because during this study, I visited and made known to the people the purpose of my visit. However, heritage sites that had no ongoing activities around them during the research period were merely visited and observed by seeing, understanding their contents, and state of preservation. Key informants and other members of the village guided the visits. Open questions were asked, coordinates for mapping were collected, and photos were taken (where allowed).

4.5.3 In-depth Interview

Five persons were interviewed in each of the villages, making a total of 35 participants. However, the Ebor experience (see 4.10) made it difficult for me to carry out five interviews in Ebor village, thereby reducing the total number of interviews to 32, where only two persons have been interviewed before I was stopped from visiting the site. In-depth interviews were in

many cases conducted in groups of two or more; the level of familiarity among villagers made this possible.



Figure 5: In-depth interview in progress

At times, I would plan to interview two informants at a sitting because of their closeness and agreement to be available on the same day, time and venue. In some other occasions, I may have scheduled to interview one informant but will meet another person that was already listed for an interview at the location of the meeting, and the two will be interviewed at a sitting. In a few cases, other people who are not listed to be interviewed but are present when one is being conducted made contributions. The participation of uninvited person(s) was made possible because most interviews, especially with men, took place either in the arena, in another related space, or the house of the informant. But the experience was advantageous because it allowed different participants to interact among themselves and with a passer-by, each helping remember one thing or the other which would have remained uncovered.

4.5.4 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Following the "rule of thumb" suggested in the literature (Morgan 1997, 42-3), seven (7) FGDs comprising six persons were conducted. So, one FGD was organised in each village. Efforts to ensure gender representation brought to light a common trend about an aspect of heritage in Igboland. Certain aspects of heritage (mostly about the spirit being) cannot be discussed/disclosed by men in the presence of women. Not because the women do not know about them but “it is a taboo for a man to reveal such to a woman” (interview, OgorSO, 28 November 2016; UsehOA, 2 December 2016; ObiraSA, 21 December 2016). Therefore, FGDs were conducted in two separate sessions at some sites (Amegu and Amokpu), one for the men and the other for the women. Such separation limited the possibility of interactive opportunities

that could help mitigate bias associated with male ego in a patriarchal led society, where men are privileged with such exclusivity of expressing a particular heritage knowledge. The encounter also reduced the number of participants from six to three persons at each of the separate FGDs. In some places, however, some extra participants were not invited officially but participated by being present at the venue. Their participation increased the benchmarked number of participants in an FGD. The separation into male and female sessions was productive at the villages it occurred because it helped to cross-check the information gotten mostly from men considering that women hardly talked in other FGDs where they sat with men.



Figure 6: FGD in progress

Umu-Obira presented another scenario. Although women joined in the panel but immediately the question relating to what the people keep in the arena arose, men started murmuring, and the women realised that they were not meant to be present at that moment. So, they stood up and left the venue giving the excuse that it was time for them to go home to prepare lunch. A similar situation was encountered in Onicha Enugu. Women constituted the FGD, but we agreed at the beginning that the discussion about *Ọmabe* would be done with men after the general session. Subsequently, the two women that participated left to the backyard of the venue to allow men to discuss many of the issues relating to *Ọmabe* spirit being. Men and women were present in FGD in Ebor, however, before we got to talking about *Ọmabe*, the session ended abruptly because of some other factors (see 4.10) and was never reconvened. Separate FGD was carried out for men and women in Amokpu and Amegu because men frowned at sitting with women to discuss tradition. In Useh and Ogor, it was challenging to gather women to sit together in a group to discuss indigenous heritage. So, FGD was constituted by only men who never wanted to sit with women to discuss *omenal'* (culture). Notwithstanding, I was able to interview women separately as part of the in-depth interview.

In all the sites, the oldest person dominated the discussion during the sessions. When a question is asked, others will wait to hear first from the most aged person before speaking. Sometimes, they will either wait for him/her to speak or to give approval for anyone that has the information to speak. Women hardly talked while sitting with men in a session, except if a question was directed to them.

4.6 Data Analysis

Analysis of the qualitative data collected through observation, in-depth interview and FGD was guided by the model developed by Miles and Huberman (1994); it narratively follows their data reduction, display, verification and conclusion. Data reduction was made by going through the field note and listening to the tape records to sieve out the useful information; this process was done repeatedly by cross-checking, cleaning and/or adding information until a conclusion was reached. The case study strategy involved the use of inductive analytical approach according to Johnson (2004). Information gathered from the seven case studies are condensed into thematic categories (Boyatzis 1998) or coding (Neuman 2007) in a narrative form to help actualise the research objectives.

In both data reduction and inductive analytical approaches, Gillham's (2005, 122) ‘selective transcription' of the interviews and FGDs was done. Selective transcription means carrying out an initial full transcription of one or more recorded interviews to drive major categories where subsequent interviews merely add contents but little in the way of new categories (see appendix 5 and 6 for the transcription samples of FGD and in-depth interview respectively). For that reason, it was deemed useful considering also the number of interviews and FGDs conducted in this study and the time required to transcribe them. The approach listens to other recorded conversations and FGDs to gain new and further explanations to develop the category headings derived already and to transcribe the necessary additions. Reflexivity is done (see 8.0.5) to explain the extent of reliability and validity of the evidence presented here and the argumentations that followed.

Also, the interviews and FGDs were conducted in the Igbo language thereby requiring transcription before translating into the English language. Neuman (2007, 292) argues that "transcription of tape is expensive and not always accurate; they do not always convey subtle contextual meanings or mumbled words". Worse still, Nikander (2008), Kamler and Threadgold (2003) and Temple (1997) argue that many at times, translation reduce or misconstrue the contextual meaning of words or statements; in other cases, there might exist some words that have no matching explanation in the translated language.

Table 3: List of participants coded for anonymity.

The sign (*) means participants in both FGD and in-depth interview, and (?) means loss of record of interview

Ogor Ikem	**Useh Aku**	**Ebor Eha-alumona**	**Umu-Obira Nkporogu**	**Amegu Umundu**	**Onicha Enugu Ezike**	**Amokpu Uhunowerre**
FGD	**FGD**	**FGD**	**FGD**	**FGD**	**FGD**	**FGD**
*OgorSO	*UsehOA	*EborOU	*ObiraCE	**Men**	*OnichaRA	**Men**
OgorPE	UsehDA	EborEU	*ObiraSAs	AmeguOO	OnichaDO	*AmokpuPO
OgorHO	UsehNO	EborJU	ObiraAUm	*AmeguJU	OnichaLA	*AmokpuME
*OgorRO	UsehAO	EborCO	ObiraEO	*AmeguOM	*OnichaEU	AmokpuCU
OgorAA	*UsehPN	EborAE	ObiraAUf	**Women**	OnichaNU	**Women**
OgorCU	UsehCI1	EborRUf	ObiraEA	AmeguRU	OnichaMO	AmokpuMO
-	-	-	-	AmeguBU	-	AmokpuOE
-	-	-	-	AmeguOU	-	AmokpuEO
-	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**
-	UsehSA	EborOE	ObiraAA	AmeguKA	OnichaON	AmokpuEAm
-	UsehCA	EborDA	ObiraAE	AmeguCA	OnichaGU	-
-	-	EborRUm	-	-	OnichaCO	-
-	-	-	-	-	OnicahSE	-
-	-	-	-	-	OnichaPU	-
In-depth interview	**In-depth interview**	**In-depth interview**	**In-depth interview**	**In-depth interview**	**In-depth interview**	**In-depth interview**
*OgorSO	*UsehOA	*EborOU	*OboiraCE	*AmeguJU	OnichaIU1	*AmokpuPO
*OgorRO	*UsehPN	EborEO	*ObiraSAs	*AmeguOM	*OnichaRA	*AmokpuME
OgorON	UsehCE	-	ObiraCN	AmeguUU	*OnichaEU	AmokpuJU
OgorMU1	?UsehRO	-	ObiraME	AmeguGU	OnichaIU2	AmokpuOU
OgorMU2	UsehSI	-	ObiraSAj	AmeguFU	OnichaTU	AmokpuJA
-	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**	**Extra**
-	UsehSA	EborAE	ObiraJO	AmeguKA	OnichaPU	AmokpuMU
-	UsehCA	-	ObiraAE	-	-	AmokpuEAf
-	UsehOI	-	ObiraJI	-	-	-
-	UsehCI2	-	-	-	-	-

Kamler and Threadgold specifically drew attention to the relationship between language and power, and how translation helps to disempower people in the processes of knowledge production (2003). Translation could be problematic in a multi-language or dialectal society, where concepts might change in context and use (Filep 2009). These shortcomings were strongly noted and formed part of the reasons for not embarking on a full transcription of all

the recorded interviews and FGDs. Where necessary, quotes from the interviews are written in both Igbo (in the dialect of the informant) and English languages.

Participants in the in-depth interview and FGD were coded using initials and names of the village for identification instead of referring to their exert names (see table 3). The aim was to anonymise participants in line with the adopted institutional ethics. Consequently, contributions by participants are referenced with codes and cannot be traced to a person(s).

As data reduction, induction and display were done in chapters five, six and seven, they helped in concluding interpretation. The interpretation of findings was based on the developed thematic categories and the associated narratives.

4.7 Reliability and Validity

Nahid Golafshani argues that "reliability and validity are conceptualised as trustworthiness, rigour and quality in qualitative paradigm" (2003, 604). Reliability and validity of qualitative data are dependent on the researcher's ability to minimise bias and increase truthfulness with the help of triangulation (Denzin 1978). Triangulation is defined as “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller 2000, 126). It could be a triangulation of site, method, data collection techniques or the data itself.

This study did triangulation of sites, techniques of data collection and the information collected through various means and different techniques such as observation, interview and FGD, even, from documented records to help verify the reliability of the information acquired. In line with Benard’s (2006, 53) position that the "validity of data is tied to the validity of instruments"; these approaches helped to verify the information and the means through which they were gathered to validate them as the true representation of the observed variables within a social context. One interview guide was used for both the in-depth interview and FGD (see appendix 4); the purpose was to cross-check data from both sources. Then, the observation was further used to checkmate the information from both tools. Thus, repeated research in the study area with the above instruments would produce the same result as did in this study.

4.8 Researcher’s Positionality

It is expedient to present the researcher’s identities which in one way or the other influenced (positively or negatively) the research process, interpretation and results. Marriam et al. (2001, 411) have argued that “positionality is … determined by where one stands in relation to ‘the other'". Put differently, it is an individual's worldview and the position s/he has adopted about

a specific research task (Foote and Bartell 2011). Sikes (2004) posits that such worldview and position means ontological assumptions (the nature of social reality), epistemological assumptions (the nature of knowledge), and assumptions about human, nature and agency. Every knowledge is situated (Smith 1993 in Ganga and Scot 2006); therefore, "you have to position yourself somewhere to say anything at all" (Hall 1990, 18).

Who am I as an individual? Who am I to the researched and in the context of studying heritage in a traditional setting? Kezar (2002, 96) expressed that "…people have multiple overlapping identities. Thus, people make meaning from various aspects of their identity" Positionality discourse presents how the researcher's identity affect his/her intuitive ability to grasp and interpret data as well as the psychology it creates in other participants about the researcher and the research. The researcher's beliefs, political stance, cultural background (gender, race, class, socioeconomic status, educational background) are important variables that may affect the research process (Bourke 2014). Sequel to this, "knowledge is always partial, and representations of knowledge production through field research embody power relations…" (Sultana 2007, 382). With the researcher's privileged positions (physically, socially, politically, institutionally), power relation is not done on equal playing ground between him/her and the participants. Such is the meeting point of objectivity and subjectivity in social research.

Discussions around indigenous heritage in Igboland are mostly perceived to be relational to African Traditional Religion (ATR). However, I was born and raised a Christian in the research area. Hitherto, living all my life (over three decades) in a rural setting where I experienced heritage first hand as part of our culture. My maleness in a patriarchal society was advantageous for researching heritage owing to the limitations posed on women to certain aspects. I started studying and researching Igbo heritage in 2002 when I joined the Department of Archaeology and Tourism of the University of Nigeria for a diploma programme in Tourism and Museum Studies. Later, I studied for a BA and an MA in Archaeology and Tourism and took a teaching position in the same department and institution. In the course of pursuing a PhD programme, I became a student at the University of York in the United Kingdom. These are my identities; how did that affect this research?

My dual positions as a native - 'insider' - and a Christian as well as being a student-researcher based in a western institution presented me as a 'symbolic outsider' (Ugwu 2017) to the researched as well as helping to shape the research process and outcome. Being an effective member of the locality where I was raised guarantees me the deep cultural involvement and language familiarity required to produce a description of the social structure that creates and

preserves heritage from the native's point of view. That said, my training in heritage and museum studies over the years furnished me with the insight needed to conceptualise the place of the village arena and the associated materials/practices in the heritage and museum discourse. It was from the professional insight that I found that there is concern about inclusion and exclusion in heritage practice with a noticeable disconnect between the local communities that 'own' heritage and the state institutions that manage heritage. This research was conceived on this premise, and it is taken to be a fulfilment of an obligation as an indigenous heritage scholar. As a result, the in-betweenness of my identities locate me on what Lal (1996) explained, "while similar historical and political processes might locate me with my research participants, the 'native' can be the 'other' through a class privilege". I had an awareness of my nativity, class and educational opportunity, and was simultaneously operating as an insider, outsider, both and neither (Mullings 1999) throughout this research project. The impact my identities had on the research processes are further discussed on 8.0.5

4.9 Institutional Ethics Responsibility and Reflections from Field

The purpose of institutional ethics guidelines is to encourage knowledge production based on respect for all participants in research. Such instructions are believed to have considered 'all human' situations. However, empirical evidence shows that ethical guidelines are to be negotiated in the field where the challenges are confronted and not before the field. Sultana (2007, 374) has argued that "there is a critical disjuncture between aspects of everyday behaviour in the field and the University's institutional frameworks that aim to guide/enforce good ethical practice, as the conduct of fieldwork is always contextual, relational, embodied, and politicised". In a broader perspective, Farhana Sultana posits that,

> The challenges of implementing institutional ethics formalities in the settings of Global South are often very different from research contexts in the Global North, where issues such as literacy, access, and a sense of equality usually present fewer barriers, even if they may still be problematic. Also, if the researcher is from the Global South, in which case some of the access and relational aspects may be addressed, class and educational difference (i.e. material, social, political power differences) remain trenchant markers of difference, and often precondition exploitation in the research process (2007, 375).

Sultana's position made practical sense. This research is guided by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Guidelines of the University of York (see appendix 8), where I had to secure ethics approval before setting out for the field. In my application, I declared to abide by the ethical guidelines which includes, but not limited to ensuring anonymity, disseminating an

introduction/information leaflet (appendix 10) and the informed consent form (appendix 9) to all participants and getting the signed consent forms back. Both the consent form and information leaflet were to be circulated before the commencement of interviews. How did these play out in the field?

The information leaflet contains my identity as a PhD student in the UK. Earlier efforts to distribute it to participants posed three problems: (1) It made them perceive me as a wealthy researcher who has returned with pounds from Britain to do research. It is believed in this part of the world that anyone who has travelled to any country in the Global North must have made much fortune or wealth. And they expect to gain from such wealth especially when they think 'they are doing you a favour'. (2) It raised fears about my research because they hear that most of the stolen heritage materials in their locality find their way to the West. This thinking gave the impression that my mission was a clandestine means towards stealing their heritage and selling it to Europeans. For instance, I was approached by some individuals who wanted to know if I would buy cultural horn and elephant tusk in Umu-Obira. When I showed no interest, they disappeared and never surfaced again. (3) It helped to confirm people's views that I represented the state and the outside world. Based on this, they became curious about what they can instantly (in terms of gifts) gain from my research and at a long run from the government of Nigeria and that of the Global North where my university is based. In an attempt to renegotiate my ethical stance to progress in the field, I consulted with my supervisor and had to stop sharing the information leaflet. I started introducing myself first, as a staff from the University of Nigeria where I was still holding a teaching position to help overcome some of the problems encountered earlier. Most participants believed that I would help their children or relatives gain admission into that institution. However, where confidence is built, I would then present my other identities.

My understanding is that the menace of heritage looters, high rate of poverty, the gap between the haves and havenots, the exorbitant value of pounds and dollars in relation to the naira and the politics played around the admission of students into universities in Nigeria developed these sensibilities and created these problems.

Again, signing the 'consent form' bread suspicion among the participants. Most people declined to participate in the research earlier once I mention signing a document, not minding what it contained. Members of the local community preferred flexible non-written terms for the interview over strictly written conditions. People find attempts to get them to sign such documents a deceptive way of luring them into relinquishing their property rights to the researcher whom they believe represents the state and the outside world; or a way of selling or

betraying their people's values and belief systems. Signing a document is misunderstood as authorising the state to take over their heritage. Having realised the challenges this will pose to the research, I revert to unwritten consent at first contact and introduced written consent later, which participants also refused to sign. In Igbo tradition, acceptance of one's kola nut - *Ọji* (*Cola acuminata*) is an unwritten consent of a kind. The link between kola nut and social research among the Igbo is well captured in the literature (Ugwu 2017). Discussion of heritage (culture or tradition) with members of the local community in Igboland begins with a kola nut ritual. I would always present kola nut to the participants before the commencement of the interview. It is a norm that before the kola is broken, shared and chewed, the host must first understand why you came. If after explanation s/he decides not to accept your kola nut, it simply means that you are not welcomed, and your discussion or research project, in this case, is unacceptable. Therefore, acceptance of kola nut after I had introduced myself and the research meant acceptance to participate, and it served as unwritten consent. The socio-cultural processes of kola nut exchange and acceptance was ethically justifiable for securing permission within the Igbo cultural space and was utilised in this study.

While many participants were less concerned about anonymity, participants at Umu-Obira in Nkporogu requested that their names and pictures should be listed alongside what they said to appropriate them as custodians of culture. They also suggested that I should (if I have the capacity) present the voice and video records of interviews and activities on radio and TV programmes respectively. The attitudes of many participants at the festival of Odo spirit being in Useh also suggest their wish to be particularly named alongside the description of the performance. Many people came looking for me to ensure that I photographed them standing with their family masks. They would further request the inclusion of those pictures in the report and with the explanation that it belongs to them; the essence is to make sure that they are represented. Such requests, however, alters the anonymity principles approved for the study and it took me more than twenty minutes (in the case of Umu-Obira) to get them to understand the ethics on which the research operate.

Another ethical concern is the instruction contained in some funding applications about budgeting for incentives to research participants. In this kind of research that involves older adults, it is difficult to meet an elder or group of elders in Igboland to discuss culture without presenting a kola nut, which could also mean hot drink/wine or money even (Ugwu 2017; Eze 2003; Izugbara 2000). Researchers are perceived to be well rewarded by those who 'commissioned them' (Ugwu 2017), and once you try to engage the people for research, they will assume the position of 'doing you a favour' and think they should be well compensated.

A good example is my encounter in Ebor Eha-alumona. A participant told me in a FGD session that I am gathering information to keep growing academically and politically, which he claimed would add little or nothing to their life. According to him, I was supposed to provide much more merriment than the one carton (12 bottles) of Life lager beer I bought after they had complained about not being entertained.

Similarly, after presenting my kola nut and a bottle of wine at Amegu, members of the panel (in both sessions - men and women) had to specify from the onset that "*anahi agba aka ahu nwata eze*", literarily translated "you don't come empty-handed to see a baby's new teeth". This is an Igbo adage which signifies that 'one has to make (monetary, in this case) sacrifices in order to get something'. I cautioned them on the possibilities of short-changing their image making opportunities that came with research and encouraged them to always attend to researchers with an open mind. In the men's session, we argued for more than fifteen minutes and more than twenty minutes in the women's session. A similar scenario occurred during the session with women in Amokpu. In all, the demand stopped when I told them that I had in mind to appreciate their participation at the end of the session. Some members understood my position while others did not. Nonetheless, I was able to manage their feelings until the session ended. These scenarios are how I confronted the peculiarities that my research location presents as against the University of York's Arts and Humanities Ethics guidelines and that of some funding bodies.

4.10 Limitations

Local community members who care for heritage are afraid of overzealous Christians that threaten the existence of indigenous culture and tradition. There was a general feeling that my interest in knowing what the people keep in the village arena was to help iconoclasts locate their cultural heritage to destroy them later. With this assumption, Useh village had to cross-examine my mission through *Afa* divination. The village of Ebor Umabor in Eha-alumona had after permitting the research to go on for two weeks declined to give further access to information. This situation arose when in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) session, the question 'what do you keep in the village arena' was asked. The question ignited fears that I may have come to find out what cultural materials remain that will need to be destroyed by the iconoclasts. I tried to clarify on the mission of my study, but FGD dismissed to reconvene later. They hoped to seek clarifications on the purpose of my research from an *Afa* diviner. But we never met again; instead, I was told through a phone call that the *Onyishi* speaking on behalf of *Ọha* had asked me to stop visiting.

Apart from the fears of iconoclasm, another factor that must have led to this mistrust is the way they presented their history. There is a clan that is not regarded as part of Ebor ancestry but are seen as members of the larger Ebor village. Umugwu Ekwueme people still identify with Ebor as relatives. It happened that one man from Umuwgu, a member of *Ọha* was present during the FGD. When the history and ancestral tree of Ebor were presented, they were excluded. He demanded an explanation, and other participants sheepishly added his clan to the tree. After a heated argument, he was told that his people migrated from Akwa in the present Anambra state. Because they are craftsmen (blacksmiths), they were adopted into Ebor to be producing farm implements for the people (see 6.0.2 for more explanation). The said man is outspoken, and his presence affected the discussion. In essence, he was the person that requested a stop when I asked the above question that ended the session. My feeling is that he must have disagreed with other members of *Ọha* on my continuing with the research after I had left. Such disagreement would be the reason for asking me to stop the field visit.

I applied two strategies to secure the continuation of the research but all failed. First, I used *Onyishi*'s daughter who was more enlightened to let the father have a further understanding of the purpose of the study. The *Onyishi* said two important things when I visited to renegotiate. One, "nwa Arua Nwa-ugwuanyi (*a researcher who is from another village in Eha-alumona*) and others have come many times in the past to ask us these questions about *omenala* (*culture*), and we are yet to see any positive outcome". Two, "there is a way you will ask an elderly man the same question repeatedly, and he will start saying what he does not know; don't be offended, I will not say a word to you again" (observation, EborOU, 17 January 2017 emphasis is mine). Secondly, I found from my mother that her paternal grandmother came from Ebor village. I went and told the *Onyishi* about this in the presence of some members of *Ọha* hoping that it would help. They acknowledged the knowledge of this affinity, yet, they stood their ground. However, the *Onyishi* was neither ready to permit me to talk to other members of the village as their cultural head/leader, nor accept to take me around the arena for further clarification on some of the discussions we had, take photos or even collect coordinates for mapping. Each time I contacted another person to become a key informant, s/he would ask me to get permission from the *Onyishi* of the village. The encounter is an excellent example of what I have earlier termed Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD). Before the development, I had done two non-detailed individual interviews and the FGD that was done halfway.

In many villages, most people identify as Christians. Even where the village arena exists with some practices, those that are knowledgeable about the content and practices refused to discuss

it because of their Christian faith. Their refusal limited access to information and forced me to flee to another town like the changes from Neke to Ikem in Isi-Uzo LGA; Orba to Umundu in Udenu LGA; Umuiyida to Umuozzi Enugu Ezike in Igbo-Eze North LGA and Ibagwa to Uhunowerre in Igbo-Eze South LGA.

Again, daily engagements of most key informants never allowed their schedules tally with mine. I planned earlier to conclude research in a site before moving into another, and the fieldwork timetable was initially organised in line with this arrangement. Plans changed in the field because events happened concurrently at different locations. So, I had to move into many sites at the same time to ensure that I covered activities and complete the research within the approved period. It was a limitation especially at the beginning of the field visits because many days were lost, and some events were not observed in some sites as a result of the clash of practices and performances that are simultaneously taking place in two or more areas.

Highly ritualised objects are never photographed in their place of keeping, but the paraphernalia of the spirit beings can be pictured when it is ready to perform. I was denied access to certain highly ritualised activities (in Umu-Obira during the Ogwudinama festival, and Ikem during Odo festival). Notable deities and many monuments/shrines relating to gods and ancestors could not be photographed in many cases (examples of deities are Ogwudinama in Umu-Obira, Aja and Udele in Ebor).

The internal crisis between individuals and their allies in Ogor village had some limitations on the study. My key informant was deeply involved in the performance of Odo spirit being. When I arrived at his house on the day of the Odo festival, he introduced me to another person who would guide me in his absence. I was allowed access into *Uhamu* Odo (Odo grove) without a camera to observe where all the masks were prepared. When we came out of the *Uhamu* to the arena, I commenced filming and photographing mask performances and a young man approached me to find out if I had permission. I told him that I got approval, but my guide took offence and raised his voice at him. My guild's position was that the young man wouldn't have asked the question having seen that we came together. Both of them almost fought each other after which I was asked by one of the elders to stop filming and photographing. Attempts to resolve this issue failed as I was told that the camp of the young man who approached me in the first place was in crisis with the camp of my key informant. A situation I never envisaged as a 'symbolic outsider'. This division affected the entire research process in Ogor, though, with some positive outcome at the end.

Telecommunication was heavily relied on for scheduling interviews and FGDs. Poor network and fluctuating power supply to charge mobile phones in most villages was a notable limitation.

In many instances, I would have to visit sites several times to be able to schedule, cancel or reschedule (in the case of clash) interviews.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented clear and credible processes of acquiring and analysing information for this study. It showed how field engagement counteracts some of the theoretical assumptions about the steps towards data collection, which in turn influences the analysis. Most notable is how the complexities associated with doing ‘heritage ethnography’ and the immediate actions that are taken to resolve them. What is more interesting in the discussion is how the ‘authorised' attributes of AHD also exist in the methodological process in the form of ‘institutional ethics guidelines’. The encounters in the attempts to strictly implement those guidelines to do ‘good research' tried to blur the grassroots power-sharing that give meaning to the bottom-up approach of ‘heritage ethnography'. The chapter made the point that ‘heritage ethnography’ might require holding onto the ethics that matter to both the research cultural context and the researcher to attain inclusive discourse in heritage. In the following pages, we shall appreciate the usefulness of the methodological processes in gathering the required data for meeting the set objectives of this study.

Chapter Five: Igbo Ontologies of Heritage and Contemporaneity

5.0 Introducing Heritage, Conservation, Memory and Identity in Igbo Language

In chapters two and three, we looked at the global and national (with the Nigerian example) heritage ontologies and epistemologies. In chapter four, we streamlined the ways through which the information in this thesis are collected and analysed. Being the first chapter to discuss data acquired from the field, chapter five takes us through the understanding of Igbo concepts and philosophies of heritage, conservation, memory and identity. It further engages how the Igbo perceive past, present and future considering their cosmological formation of time and space. Even though there are no matching words for 'heritage' in the Igbo language, there are concepts, acts, and thoughts that reflect heritage ideologies in Igbo cosmology. What separates the Igbo understanding from taking a direct heritage interpretative meaning are their foundation in tradition and culture; thus, the Igbo concepts that communicate heritage are traditionally/culturally driven. The chapter presents the view that Igbo heritage knowledge embellishes the position of critical heritage scholarship that argues that heritage is socially constructed and not the intrinsic values of object, place or practice (Harrison 2013).

In West Africa, time plays a dominant role in managing heritage across space, thus, Igbo calendar is used in the management of heritage practices. As we shall see in this chapter, the entanglement between heritage and this calendar exists in a variegated and cyclical manner that makes time contemporaneous among the people.

5.0.1 *Omenani/Omenala/Omenal', Ọdinani/Ọdinala/Ọdinal', Ntọnani/Ntọala/Ntọal'*

It is difficult to find among the Igbo a word that means heritage in its Western sense. However, the definition of heritage by critical heritage scholars as a "cultural process" provides an alternative approach into the enquiry of what could constitute heritage among a people. From this perspective, some cultural terms in Igbo could confer heritage meaning. Such Igbo terms like *Omenani/Omenala/Omenal'*, *Ọdinani/Ọdinala/Ọdinal',* or *Ntọnani/Ntọala/Ntọal'* are taken in this context to communicate heritage, but their uses are found around cultural discourses. These three concepts can translate to 'culture' or 'tradition' and they are used interchangeably to refer to intergenerational knowledge systems, whether in concrete or philosophical forms. While *Omenani/Omenala/Omenal'* is acceptable practices and are activity oriented in some instances, *Ọdinani/Ọdinala/Ọdinal'* provokes the sense of established norm, *Ntọnani/Ntọala/Ntọal'* appears materialistic or monumental. *Omenani/Omenala/Omenal'* and *Ọdinani/Ọdinala/Ọdinal'* are sometimes taken to mean the same thing but in dialectal

differences between Igbo villages. *Omenal'*, *Ọdinal'*and *Ntọal'* are used in the study region and are preferably applied here. Excerpts from all the interview records show how these three concepts provide the context for appreciation of heritage in Igboland. Meanwhile, *Ntọal'* on the other hand lays emphasis on evidence of established *Omenal'*. *Omenal'* is "the cosmic order which keeps the world going and without which too, the very existence of nature and the world would be jeopardised including the welfare of the communities and all the beings who reside in it" (Nwala 1985, 61). It encompasses "the native law and custom, traditions, etiquette, and religious beliefs, and prescribes the ethics on which societal norms are based" (Duru 1983, 5). *Omenal'* is the "actual practice of the customs as they apply to any aspect of social and ritual life of the various communities in Igboland" (Nwala 1985, 60). Conceptualising *Omenal'* in ecophilosophy and politics, Densu (2018, 35) states that "it is the basis of morality and social justice. It provides context for negotiating conflict, making political decisions, managing ecosystem resources, educating children and adults". Therefore, *Omenal'* are the processes of actualising *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'* in Igbo universe.

Applying the term *Omenal'* in her explanations about how Christianity has affected the practice of *Odo* spirit beings, UsehSI explained that,

> *...maka ne ndụnụ neti Odo n'enweme ọgba, d'ke ọgba ndiọnwa, ọgba ndiọnwa, mọbụ ọgba ndiọnwa. Etiehe Odo etuahụ, ekpohemehe, nya bụ omenal'. Ajụhe ne ụmụhe echikweg' otobo, ne an'g ehekwe arụshi. Odo gabụ arụshi, hahaha! Ojen seyeme ụbọshi* (interview, 16 December 2016 narrated in the Aku version of Igbo language).
>
> Translation: ...those that carry out the practice of *Odo* spirit being are organised in age-grade systems, it creates different age-grade groups that organise the *Odo* festival, and they are divided in that manner. That is culture/tradition. Some have now stopped their children from taking the Otobo title, with claims that they have stopped idol worship. So, *Odo* has become an idol (she laughed), their act has destroyed Igbo days.

To her, the way the *Odo* tradition has been managed within an age grade system over the generations is an acceptable norm that endured before the new trend. If viewed from her position, the influence of Christianity is a breach of this established tradition. In fact, Igbo cultural/traditional material, site or practices discussed in this thesis are either regarded as *ife//ihe/iye Omenal'* or simply as *Omenal*'. Again, *iye Omenal*' is the physical or material manifestation of the culture/tradition, which could in another sense mean *Ntọal'*.

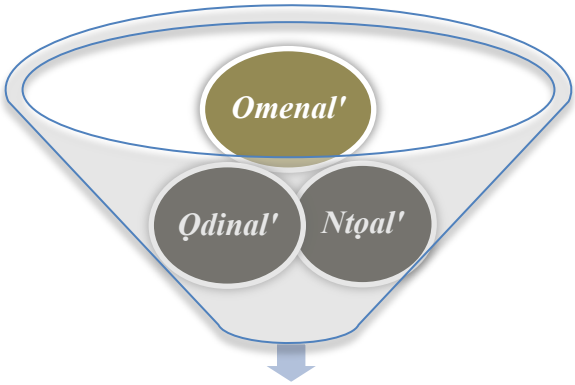


Figure 7: Diagram illustrating Igbo conceptions of heritage

A good example of *Ntọal'* are those things that are institutionalised and kept in places like the village arena or elsewhere in the village to remark a particular aspect of the tradition. Take for instance, when explaining how a village arena is established, EborDA told that,

> *Otobo d ge ashụa, nme ana eshu ashụa eshu. Nke mbụ bụ ne mụne onwo m amagwụọ mgbe Otobo Ugwu-Ebor d yiye yiye... Iye mer bụ ne Chukwu nyen' anyi eka, e shi nwuabe gbar' ụrụ Aja je shume, ss' Aja g nọọta nwabe letegren'he Otobo ha, wee shukobe…. Ana enwe iye an'atọ ne al'. I fụa ne Ore Edem wọshụa, ne atọr ntọal', mme Ore Edem hu ekpoleg' te nwọshụa. Te nwabe anyi nọ bụ ntọal' bụ atọr mer anyi ji nọr nwabe* (FGD, 12 December 2016 narrated in the Eha-alumona version of Igbo language).
>
> Translation: Otobo is like market and is established the same way. First, I know when Otobo Ugwu-Ebor was not regarded. But God helped us that we took *ụrụ* Aja deity (Aja's antidote) to establish the Otobo, Aja was asked to stay around and be watching over the Otobo - the village. There is always an established pronouncement or symbol. If you go to Ore Edem market, there is a pronouncement and/or symbol that established it, which made it survive until today. Even the place we are sitting now (referring to *Obu* - palace of Aja deity) is a symbol that established this Otobo, and that is why we are sitting here today.

The position stated above confirms the meaning of *Ntọal'*, and how it relates to the narratives about cultural/traditional materials, practices, and places represented in this work. *Ntọal'* is an identifiable material/monument, practice or place that remarks the existence of a particular tradition or cultural trait.

In my understanding of the thesis findings, there are differences between *Omenal'* on the one hand and *Ọdinal'* and *Ntọal'* on the other. Nwala (1985), Duru (1983) and Densu (2018) stressed how *Omenal'* is a manifestation of customs, norms or belief systems. It is "that which obtains in the land or the community, according to the custom and societal traditions of the community" (Nwala 1983, 58). In this way, *Ọdinal'* and *Ntọal'* are the Igbo customs, norms, values, and belief systems that manifest in *Omanal'*. They are pronouncements, statements, thoughts, symbols, or agreements that establish *Omenal'* within the Igbo cosmos. They help *Omanl'* to "guarantee reciprocal relationships between the individual, nature, and society" (Densu 2018, 36); therefore, *Omenal'* are "actions in accordance with the earth" (Kamalu 1998). The linkage between *Omenal'* and *Al'* here holds true to the meaning of *Al'* to Ndi Igbo (see 7.0.3).

Spontaneously, *Ọdinal'* and *Ntọal'* dwells in the cosmos of *Al'* - the 'mother earth', and *Omenal'* drives meaning from them. Consequently, *Ọdinal'* and *Ntọal'* are the core, the symbols, or the philosophies that create *Omenal'*. Therefore, *Omenal'* changes, take new forms, pattern and styles; *Omenal'* is dynamic while *Ọdinal'* and *Ntọal'* are static and hardly change, they live in the narratives and could manifest in whatever form or pattern now and in the future. An *Omenal'* could after a long time of existence graduate into *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'*. This is expressive when the Igbo say '*ihe gbar ahụa nee ọ gaa bụ omenal*'' meaning 'when something last for a year, it becomes a tradition'. This saying is mostly used in negative terms like '*ejihe gbar ahụa nee ọ gaa bụ omenal*'' meaning 'when evil lasts for a year, it becomes a tradition'. The point here is that as new experiences, encounters, and practices turn to *Omenal'* so do *Omenal'* turn to *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'* after a long time of existence, a time when it became woven into the thoughts, agreements, statements, pronouncements, and symbols that survive a people. These transitions and changing pattern explain how the Igbo practice adaptation, how changes occur, and the way new ideas get accepted into Igbo lifeways. This particular point is further pursued in 7.0.6 and 7.2 and in the discussion chapter.

To make *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'* and *Omenal'* to continue to survive, the Igbo apply *nchekwebe, ndokwebe, ndozi(ndozhi)/mmezi*, and *mmekwata/mmekwete* or *mmechite*. But to keep the memory of encounters, experiences, exploits, or any of the *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'* and *Omenal'* that got lost along the line of living, *ncheta/nchete* applies but *iye/ife/ihe ncheta/nchete* is culturally institutionalised for memorial. A known *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'* and *Omenal'* that belongs to a specific people is *ǹjiri mara* or *ọdibendi.* These concepts are further explored below.

5.0.2 *Nchekwebe, Ndokwebe, Ndozi(Ndozhi)/Mmezi, Mmekwata/Mmekwete or Mmechite*

Conservation is taken in this context to mean prevention and restoration. Preventive conservation is keeping objects, collections or monuments safe from harm or preventing their destruction; restoration, on the other hand, tries to bring damaged objects, abandoned sites or practices back to their original or normal condition (Okpoko and Ekechukwu 2006). Among the Igbo, *Nchekwebe* is protection, *Ndokwebe* is safekeeping, *Ndozi(Ndozhi)/Mmezi* is repairing, and *Mmekwata/Mmekwete or Mmechite* is retrieval, restoration, revival, replacement, or reactivation. In some Igbo communities, *Mmekwata/Mmekwete* could also mean repair. These concepts combine to define the English term 'conservation' in an Igbo cultural context. However, the way they are applied is different from how heritage conservation is understood in Europe and America and in contemporary Nigeria.

Conservation in contemporary Nigeria is carried out on materials, places and practices that are already or about to be separated from the everyday use to be managed by 'professional experts' as a historical archive for research and tourism, and in the interest of future generations. In contrast, the Igbo use these concepts to explain a conservation system aimed at sustaining the cultural or traditional uses of the material, place, or practice within their universe. Therefore, conservation in their context is conceived to maintain cultural or traditional continuity. Any material, site or practice that are not useful at a particular point in time is abandoned or discarded. However, such abandoned material, site or practice could in the future appear in divination, where the gods, deity or ancestor(s) request that their relevance is revived or reactivated (this point is explained in 5.1.3 and 7.0.6). In such situations, the material, site or practice will come to life again. This is why abandonment of heritage for the Igbo can equally mean preservation.

5.0.3 *Ncheta/Nchete, Iye/Ife/Ihe Ncheta/Nchete, Njirimara, and Ọdibendi*

Ncheta/Nchete is remembering/memory, *iye/ife/ihe ncheta/nchete* is memorabilia, and *njirimara* or *odibendi* is identity. *Ifu Diugwu Idu* and *Ọnụ Ugwu-Arege* in Umu-Obira and Ebor respectively are memorial shrines that commemorate the founding ancestors of the people. Whereas these terms link up heritage, memory and identity, in some cases, *ọdibendi* appears to also mean *Ọdinal'* or *Ntọal'*, hence, it is an established cultural trait that is recognisable about a particular people occupying a known space. It is also a yardstick for identifying differences in culture or tradition, what separates the heritage of a village from another across space. Many of the sites/monuments/materials and rites/festivals/ceremonies discussed in chapter seven are *iye/ife/ihe ncheta/nchete,* others are *njirimara* and/or *ọdibendi*.

5.0.4 *Nsọ* as a Technique for Preservation

Nsọ is construed here as ‘sacredness’, ‘holiness’, or ‘purity’. Ikenga-Metuh (1985, 4) argue that “*nsọ* is perceived in two different but related ways - one negative, and one positive”. On the negative side, *nsọ* means 'avoidance' or 'prohibition', what one must avoid, or what one is prohibited from doing. In a positive sense, it means 'holy'. He further explains that “the two senses of the word appear to be related because every holy thing - spirits, priests, shrines and so on - is surrounded by a set of prohibitions”. For preservation purposes, *Nsọ* is a myth used to prohibit people from partaking or getting involved in a rite, an event or area where they have no or little stake. The essence is to preserve the values and essence of such rite, event or area. A sacred event or space could become profane at a different time of the day, local week, month or year. In many instances, furled palm frond is used to symbolise or seclude what is *nsọ* (see figure 8).

The *Uhamu* in Useh and Ogor are sacred groves in the year of *Odo*. Even in the year of *Odo*, *Uhamu* only assumes sacredness after the furled palm fronds are cut and taken to the grove. It will remain sacred until the departure of *Odo* spirit when many of the materials used are buried in the forest. It is easy to decipher that the reason for the sacredness is to keep the knowledge of the *Odo* tradition within the initiates. In fact, people go into the grove to fetch firewood in the ordinary years in Useh. *The Ụlọ Odo* or *Ụlọ Nshi are* different, they are always sacred because *Odo* musical equipment and other paraphernalia are permanently located in the house. In Onicha Enugu in the past, Otobo is a sacred space on every *Orie* market day in the year of *Ọmabe*. It is sacred because *Ọmabe* rites, music and performance rehearsals are carried out on *Orie* market days. Women and uninitiated are prohibited from visiting or passing through Otobo on this day to avoid incurring sanctions.



Figure 8: An example of a space placed on *nsọ* during *Egba Eze*

5.1 The Contemporaneity of Culture/Heritage among the Igbo

5.1.1 'Igbo Calendar', Cultural Entanglement and Variegations in Time and Space

First, insights into the myths that established the Igbo Calendar as told in two different villages would provide the background into a deeper understanding of how time, space and heritage are interwoven. Second, the variegations recorded are evidence of the relativist and particularist paradigms that exist in critical heritage studies.

1. Ebor Eha-alumona

We did not come from anywhere; we emerged from the soil. That is why my father's (eponymous ancestor's) name is "Nwenye Al' Nwankwu Okeker' Uboshi" (literally translates Owner of self and earth, offspring of a palm tree, the creator of days). *As I was told, my father was here when four unknown persons carrying Ishi (*a type of basket*) came to visit him one evening. He welcomed and entertained them; he gave them dried skin of an animal to lie down and rest for the night. Because he was afraid of the unknown visitors, he could not sleep, he was awake. At a point, one of the visitors started calling another by name Eke and asked what was making noise in his/her Ishi. Eke answered that it was a rat. Again, the noise came from another Ishi, and one of them called Orie asked what was making noise in his/her Ishi, and Orie answered that it was a rat. Then, after a while, the noise was coming from another Ishi, and one of them called Aho to complain about the noise on his/her Ishi, and Aho answered that it was a rat as well. Finally, the rat entered the last Ishi to make a similar noise. One of them called Nkwo to tell him/her that the rat had got to his/her Ishi. From this conversation, my father came to know their names. In the morning, he woke up, came out and washed his face, hands and legs. He took Ọji (*kola nut - *Cola acuminata) and prayed thus:*

*Nwenye Al' Nwankwu Okeker' Uboshi bia wor' Ọji (*Owner of self and earth, offspring of a palm tree, the creator of days come and take kola nut*). Eke bia wor' Ọji (Eke* come and take kola nut*). Orie bia wor' Ọji (Orie* come and take kola nut*). Aho bia wor' Ọji (Aho* come and take kola nut*). Nkwo bia wor' Ọji (Nkwo* come and take kola nut*).*
*That is why we have Ọnu Eke (*shrine of Eke*), Ọnu Orie, Ọnu Aho and Ọnu Nkwo in the village arena. Our ancestor was the first person to give names to days in Igboland* (interview, EborOU, 7 December 2016).

Ebor has two *Onyishi* (eldest man/ruler), *Onyishi* Ebor and *Onyishi ahụa - Attama ahụa* (the priest of year). The first rules and serves as the priest of communal deities/shrines in Ebor. He

is the eldest man (by age) in the village. The later is the *Ọkpara* (the most senior man) in the family of the first son of their founding father, *Ụmụ Nwanwa*. He monitors the moon to count days and months to pronounce a new year. He also leads the ritual procession to *Ọgba Nzu n'ize agu* (which translates as 'the cave of kaolin in the grassy wilderness' or 'the cave of kaolin with a mark of a lion'), where they dig up kaolin as part of the annual purification ritual required to welcome a new year. The people explained that the kaolin chalk is distributed to some villages around Nsukka Igbo with further claims that it goes through Igala (in Kogi state) to Jukun (in some states in north-central Nigeria) to announce to them the arrival of a new year. From the announcement day, all other annual cultural activities in Ebor and the surrounding environs are to be planned according to the year's calendar. This process has endured in a cyclical progression over generations.

2. **Umu-Obira Nkporogu**

*According to my father, in the days of yore, Ogwudinama deity came to this town as a woman. At first, she had gone to another place where she requested that if they could determine her name, she would live among them. Those people couldn't, and she left. Later, she came to the house of one of our founding fathers, Diugwu Egbune, carrying Agbụgba (*a kind of calabash*). She told him that if he could say her name, she would live among his people. Diugwu Egbune tried but was unable to identify her name. The woman left but promised to visit again. Diugwu Egbune consulted a great dibia (*medicine man*) by name, Dimgbokwe from Obosi (in the present Anambra state) to prepare for him a medicine with which to identify the name of the woman when next she visits. Dimgbokwe came to Umu-Obira, prepared Ọgwụ* (medicine) *called Odiokara and planted Akpu (*silk cotton tree – *Ceiba pentandra) where the medicine was kept.*

When the woman visited again, she came with three other women, and all of them were carrying Agbụgba. At night, Dimgbokwe turned Odiokara into a rat and sent it to enter into one of the Agbụgba brought by the women. One person among the visitors heard a noise inside the Agbụgba and called Eke to ask her what was making noise in her Agbụgba. The rat moved to another Agbụgba, and the owner was called by the name Orie and was told about the same noise. It entered into another whose name was called as Aho, and it finally entered the last Agbụgba, and Nkwo was called to be informed that the same noise was coming from her Agbụgba. By this event, Diugwu Egbune was able to know the names of the four women. In the morning of the day their names were to be said, Diugwu Egbune came out and called their names: Eke, Orie, Aho, and Nkwo. Having heard their names mentioned, they honoured their

promise to settle in Umu-Obira, and the four later became what we know today as Ogwudinama deity. The Ogwu (short name of Ogwudinama deity) you see is made up of four women, and it is so powerful in the society. That was how our ancestors got the knowledge of the Igbo week (izu) days (ubochi) of Eke, Orie, Aho and Nkwo, [and this is also used to identify the market days]. *But Eke is the most senior of all. Activities in Ọnwa Iteg'na (*9th month of the Igbo calendar*), when we celebrate Ogwu festival follow this order. It starts on Eke Mpetempe, followed by Orie Chi, then Aho is iri Mmawu (*masking festival*), and Nkwo is the Ikorodo mask dancers' outing* (interview, ObiraSAj, 11 February 2017).

Dimgbokwe the *dibia* was deified, and the shrine and that of Odiọkara are located beside the Ogwu deity in Otobo Ogwu (Ogwu's village arena). It was told that Dimgbokwe serves as *dibia* (medicine man) to Ogwu while Odiọkara is the source of power for Ogwu.

The two related cases are similar to what has been reported in other parts of Igboland. In Nri (about 88.8kms south of Nsukka), Jeffreys (1956), Nwokoye (2008) and Okigbo (2015) found the same narrative with minor differences. It is very important to point out that 1300-1390 AD was set in Nri narrative as the date of invention of Igbo calendar during the reign of Eze Nrijiofor I of Nri Kingdom. Using evidence of pottery, archaeology dates the earliest cultural activity in the Nsukka area to 2555 BC (Hartle, 1965). Similarly, ironworking dates to the 5th century BC (Okafor and Phillips, 1992), and 9th century A.D for bronze around Nri (Shaw, 1977). The information published with these dates contains some cultural experience that utilised Igbo calendar, therefore, the knowledge of Igbo calendar was already known around Nsukka region before the 9th century AD and 1300-1390 AD. Meanwhile, the Umu-Obira account agrees with the Nri experience that the host sought assistance from a *dibia*, Umu-Obira identifies the visitors as women who spoke and not deaf and dumb people as presented in Nri. In contrast, the account in Ebor tells that the host did not seek assistance. Both Nri and Ebor accounts did not identify the gender of the visitors. In the same vein, both talked about the morning ritual of washing face, hands and legs, a practice that has endured. While the host performed the ritual in the Ebor account, the visitors did that in the Nri account.

All the myths in Ebor, Umu-obira and Nri ended in the founding of shrines or a deity whose survival still proves the heritage of the Igbo calendar among the people. These similar myths might change or take other forms in other villages among the Igbo considering the level of variations in cultural or heritage histories and management.

Thinking about the Igbo philosophy of time and space, Animalu (2011, 27) argues that "African curvilinear view depicts the world as an immortal regenerative cycle of birth, death and rebirth of all things in nature in which time – the 'African Time' – is cyclic and irreversible and is

measured by a biological clock impressed upon it from within by what Chinua Achebe called 'the baggage of irreducible inheritance of genes' and Wole Soyinka symbolized as 'creation snake spawn tail in mouth'". He further explained that "…space is organised in three compartments – the heavens above, the earth below it and the underworld beneath the earth – all conceived as contiguous and continuous, once more in a cyclical continuum" (Animalu 2011, 29). Though Opata (2002) had disagreed with Animalu on his philosophical space postulations, he buttressed that "time, space and God must be coeval. Time is perceived as deathless and timeless. Being timeless, it has a formal beginning but no end unless the universe comes to an end, or those who can talk about both time and universe cease to exist" (p.15). He had earlier expressed that space in Igbo could mean *ohele* (opening), *mbara*/*ilo* (arena/compound), *otobo*/*ama*/*obom* (village arena/open space), and *ebe* (place) (Opata 1998). But what seems more appropriate for our purpose here is Austine Shelton's explanation of Igbo village and village-group organisation. Shelton has written that,

> The largest grouping referred to by Nsukkans, aside from *uwa* ("world") is *mba* ("country") which is applied indefinitely to virtually any large area inhabited by single people. The next smaller unit is the *nkpulu* [sic], "heap," meaning a number of villages constituting what in English is called "town" …. Such a town or village-group is also called *ogbodo* [sic], although this term is used more extensively to mean "village" (Shelton 1971, 43).

"Nsukkans" mentioned above refers to the Nsukka Igbo whose dialect pronounces Shelton's "*nkpulu*" as '*nkpụrụ'* and "*ogbodo*" as '*obodo'*. Meanwhile, what differentiates space as a geographical delineation among the Igbo from the western approach is the lineage and cultural ties as well as the flexibility of membership removed from taking a strict sovereign status.

Time in Igbo is *oge,* which, if applied in specificity, means *mgbe*. *Oge* is seen as "period, duration, moment, or specificity of event occurrence" (Opata 1998; 2002). To Ifesieh (1989), a historical time exists among the Igbo, and it is brought about by referring to traditional landmarks "in the life of the community", such as cultural festivities and events. Contrasting the event-based time, Shelton (1971, 34) relies on Biblical time model and argued that time among the Igbo is categorised into "…the time of the dead, or the past and transcendent (*mgbe ndichie*) [for Nsukka Igbo, this should be written '*mgbe ndishi' or 'mgbe ochie'* – 'in the days of yore', though, may be correct in other parts of Igboland]; the time of the living; and the future, which is partly conceived as the time of the unborn progeny". Clarifying what chronological time means to the Igbo, Opata (1998, 19) argues that Igbo time "may correspond to the general universal division of time into the past, the present, and the future, but these are

not philosophically speaking autonomous entities or realities as they are understood in the western tradition. What gives existential reality and autonomy to these divisions are the events inscribed in them". He further observed that when they take such division, it assumes a metaphorical sense similar to *ụnya* (yesterday), *ta* (today), and *echi* (tomorrow). Mgbe, therefore, refers to a specific time when something happens, whereas *oge* can be used to express time in both abstract (pre-arranged scheme of existence) and specific (scheduled human activities) senses (Opata 2002). Nevertheless, most scholars discussing daily Igbo time measurements agree that natural rhythm observed from the sun, moon, stars, animals, and shadows are used. Life occupations such as palm wine tapping, farming, animal trapping, and marketing are also utilised (Opata 2002). But the adoption of a particular approach is a prerogative of the villages.

The supposed Igbo calendar is a symbolic means of time reckoning across Igbo villages, towns, and communities. Every village organises itself by their needs and resources, causing time and calendar observance to vary. Except where confederacy is agreed, Igbo villages are independent of one another as regards politics, economic and cultural organisation (Afigbo, 1997; Green, 1964) as well as in time and calendar management. Thus, a division of time and its realisation are community-specific (Opata, 2002). In a confederacy, independent villages organise their affairs, though, in recognition of the suitability to other members of the confederal arrangement. Dating may be centralised, but specific dates or times of cultural rites/events in most places follow an agreed order, according to seniority or by roles and position of the villages. As such, it affects indigenous heritage management system because the activities associated are found in the Igbo cyclical cosmos. This is different from the ruptured approach envisioned in the national policy for heritage management in Nigeria discussed in chapter three. The variegations are further presented in table 4. Note that day is *ụboshi/ụbochi*, week *izu*, month *ọnwa*, and year *ahụa/afọ*.

It should be recognised that when strictly followed (because there exist some exigencies requiring adjustments in many places), the Igbo calendar has four days in a week, seven weeks or 28 days in a month, 13 months, 91 weeks or 364 days in a year. So, cultural activities occur in the same month every year, and the events return annually following the cyclical cosmos principles similar to those described by Schaepe et al. (2017), except where two systems of calendars are run because of the culture of spirit being. In Useh Aku for instance, calendar calculation in an Odo year is different from that of standard years. The two calendar patterns re-occur annually or periodically with cultural rites/events experienced in the known months.

Table 4: Igbo months & the fixation of cultural rites/festivals in Igbo calendar

Name of Months	**Villages and names of months/rites/festivals wove in Igbo calendar**						
	Useh Aku	**Umu-Obira Nkporogu**	**Ogor Ikem**	**Amokpu Uhunowerre**	**Amegu Umundu**	**Ebor Eha-Alumona**	**Onicha Enugu Ezike**
Ọnwa Mbụ (1st month)	Odo spirit arriving (in the year of Odo)	Ika Ezugwu festival	?	Ipa mmanya ahụa	?	?	?
Ọnwa Ebọ (2nd month)	?	?	?	*Ọmabe spirit arriving (in the year of Ọmabe) *Abere rite/performance	Ọmabe spirit arriving (in the year of Ọmabe)	Akatakpa spirit arriving (yearly)	?
Ọnwa Etọ (3rd month)	Ọnwa Ọzọ	*Igọ Ụkwụ *Igọ Nna	Odo spirit arriving (in the year of Odo)	*Egba Eze (Akatakpa spirit being) * Igọ Chi	?	Shụajiọkụ or Eg'h (yam/Agric festival)	Ọmabe spirit arriving (in the year of Ọmabe)
Ọnwa Enọ (4th month)	?	Ikpa Iyi	?	?	?	Akatakpa spirit being depart (yearly)	Ọnwa Idenyi Ezugwu festival
Ọnwa Ise (5th month)	Odo spirit being depart (in the year of Odo)	*Iri Ji (yam festival) *Igbaa Arụa		Ọmabe rite	*Igọ Chi *Igọ Nna *Igọ Nne	Ọmabe spirit arriving (in the year of Ọmabe)	?
Ọnwa Ishi (6th month)	Shụajiọkụ (yam/Agric festival)	?	Ọnwa Mgbedike	Id'Mma (Ọmabe spirit departing in its year)	?	?	?
Ọnwa Esaa (7th month)	* Ọnwa Egọrigọ *Ahụrụm Aku festival	*Ibọ Ụzọ-maa *Oriri Ezechikwoke	*Igọ Nna *Igọ Nne	Igọ Nna	*Igọ Nna *Ije ne Eshụsha Ekwensu	*Ọnwa Ekaal' (Ekara Al' Eha-alumona) *Igọ Nna	Igọ Nna

					*Akatakpa spirit being arrive (yearly) *Nri Ọgwụ Abakpa		
Ọnwa Esatọ (8th month)	Ọnwa Ojiyi festival	?	?	*Ọnwa Uke-Uke Eguru and Uke Ọha (yam/agric festival) *Arua Ọnwa Esatọ	?	?	?
Ọnwa Iteg'na (9th month)	*Igọ Ụkwụ *Amah (month of peace)	Ọnwa Ogwudinama festival	?	Eja Okike	*Oriri Chukwu (for men) *Eja Ọkike	Ọmabe spirit being depart (in the year of Ọmabe)	Ọnwa Ogbobeogu festival
Ọnwa Iri (10th month)	Ọnwa Ama-ibute	?	?	Oriri Chukwu (for women)	Oriri Chukwu (for women)	*Ije ne Ọgba Nzụ *Isa-eha (Nzụ rite)	*Egba Chukwu *Ọkpa Oche *Abere spirit being
Ọnwa Iri ne Na (11th month)	Ọnwa Amah Nua (this becomes ọnwa mbụ in Odo year)	Ọnwa Ọkọtọ	?	*Oriri Chukwu (for men) *Ọnwa Ọmamariri	?	?	?
Ọnwa Iri ne Ebọ (12th month)	?	Ọnwa Idiaga	Ọr'raeshi (yam/Agric festival)	Ọnwa Ihọrihọ	?	?	?
Ọnwa Iri ne Etọ 13th month)	?	?	Ndi Okike	?	?	?	?

In agreement with the lunar calendar, the Igbo calendar counts from *ọnwa mbu* (1st month) to *ọnwa iri ne etọ* (13th month). Indeed, most villages have specific names for these months which are derived from particular cultural rites performed within the month (see table 4). For instance, *Ọnwa Esaa* (7th month) is *Ọnwa Ekaal'* in Ebor Eha-alumona because the *Ekaal'* festival is celebrated. *Ọnwa Esatọ* (8th month) is *Ọnwa Uke* in Amokpu Uhunowerre because the *Uke* festival is celebrated. *Ọnwa iteg'na* (9th month) is *Ọnwa Ogbobeogu* in Onicha-Enugu because the festival of the great *Ogbobeogu* deity is celebrated. *Ọnwa iri ne naa* (11th month) is *Ọnwa Ọkọtọ* in Umu-Obira Nkporogu, even though Umu-Obira village does not have any cultural rite, they observe the month because Ogba village that forms part of Nkporogu confederacy (within which their calendar is generated) performs the *Ọkọtọ* rite; and so on.

From the 10th to 13th months, some villages cancel one or more months and jump to start counting from the 1st month. Example, Useh begins their new year after the *ọnwa iri* (10th month) of the year that ushers in the year of Odo festival. Similarly, some observe any of the months with or without counting it as constituting part of the year. This scenario mostly occurs because the people attach more values to months that have cultural rites/activities and refer to months without events as *ọnwa g'ad'g' ad'* or *ehugehu,* meaning 'month that does not exist'.

More so, all the villages studied practice *ịmi ọnwa, iya ọnwa* or *ntigbu ọnwa*, meaning 'withdrawal or cancellation of month'. This action is taken when people do not have the resources required to perform or organise a particular cultural practice in a specific month. Another reason is when an abomination or sacrilege is committed, which demands land cleansing before a major cultural rite could take place. It can happen in any of the months in a year and the reason that was given cuts across villages. Evidently, Amokpu Uhunowerre was to celebrate *Egba Eze* (Akatakpa festival) in early April 2017 according to their observance of the Igbo calendar. However, Umu-agbo people who are trusted with the responsibility of counting the calendar hadn't the resources to perform the new year rite of *ivu mmanya ishi ahụa* (carrying palm wine for the new year) on time. For that reason, the *Egba Eze* festival was delayed until May 2017. Thus, the withdrawal of that month did not in any way change *ọnwa etọ* (3rd month) as the month of the Akatakpa festival, neither did it affect the counting process. What they did was to ignore the month in the counting and counted when it was held as *ọnwa etọ.* One can, therefore, say that this is how time in a cyclical cosmos functions to serve the people and not the people for a time; the rhythms of social activities when viewed from the relativist anthropologists' point of view. Given this dynamic calendrical approach, any of the

Igbo months in table 4 could change when matched with future months of March in the Western calendar.

Table 5: Table illustrating variations in the Igbo calendar among villages

S/N	Name of Village/Town	Months in Igbo calendar as at March 2017	Traditions of spirit beings (masquerade)
1.	Ebor Eha-alumona	*Ọnwa Esatọ* (8th month)	Igbo Ọmabe
2.	Amokpu Uhunowerre	*Ọnwa Mbụ* (1st month)	Igbo Ọmabe
3.	Umu-Obira Nkporogu	*Ọnwa Iri* ne naa (11th month)	Igbo Mmawu
4.	Useh Aku	*Ọnwa Ebo* (2th month)	Igbo Odo
5.	Amegu Umundu	*Ọnwa Enọ* (4th month)	Igbo Ọmabe
6.	Onicha-Enugu Enugu-Ezike	*Ọnwa Ebo* (2nd month)	Igbo Ọmabe
7.	Ogor Ikem	*Ọnwa Esaa* (7th month)	Igbo Odo & Ọmabe

Cultural rites/festivals have occurred in the manner demonstrated on the table 5 from generation to generation in a cyclical order with or without change. As we shall see below, the intergenerational transmission, from ancestors to offspring, and the spiritual entanglement between the living, ancestors and gods have helped to sustain these practices.

It is important to point out that Eha-alumona, Uhunowerre, Aku, Umundu, Umuozzi, Ikem, and Nkporogu are agreed confederal towns made up of independent villages. Even Umundu, Umuozzi and Uhunowerre are further involved in larger confederacies of Uduledem and Egaziobu, Ezikoba, and Eketeker respectively, where their yearly calendar is determined. These confederacies share common descent, culture or historical sameness. Consequently, the same cultural rites/activities may be observed by all members of the confederal town but in different weeks (*izu*) and months (*ọnwa*) following an agreed pattern.

5.1.2 Past, Present and Future in Igbo Cosmos

The Igbo conceptualise past, present and future as being coeval. Ancestral knowledge and events are told in the present as if they took place a few years back. However, a discussion about a deep past is in many occasions formulated in myths, legends, riddles, proverbs, or words of wisdom; they are made so practical and recent because physical materials, landscapes or places and trending practices are linked up in telling the stories. These strands of living evidence form an image of an extant society to members of the village. Take for instance, when EborOU was explaining about how the ancestral father of Ebor, *Nwenye Al' Nwankwu okeker ụbọshi* (owner of self and earth, offspring of a palm tree, the creator of days) received the unknown people whose coming introduced the Igbo calendar, he kept referring to the founding

father of Ebor with terms like "*Nnam*", meaning 'my father'. He also told in another discussion that "*mgbe Ezeokpaka shir' Nshi* (Nri) *je bia, ọ bụ Nna m ker'n obu*", meaning 'when Ezeokpaka came from Nshi, my father gave him land to settle'. The use of *'Nna m*' which simply means 'my father' is relational to the deep past, and its meaning and usage in many occasions go beyond one's immediate father to include ancient ancestors. The said *Nwenye Al' Nwankwu okeker ụbọchi* has begotten generations after generations before EborOU was born. His narratives take a contemporary context and are entangled with the deep past. Similarly, ObiraSAj started the story of how Umu-Obira got the knowledge of the Igbo calendar with "*Ge Nna m ji gwa m, Ogwudinama biar' ne udi Nwanyi*", this means 'according to my father, Ogwudinama deity came as a woman'. Throughout the interactions, when referring to the times of 'their father', both continued to apply the terms *'mgbe gbo/oge gbo*', meaning 'in the past'; *'mgbe ochie*', meaning 'in the years of yore'; and *'mgbe ndishi*', meaning 'in the time of ancient people'. These words confirm the use of 'my father' for the generational ancestors.

During a walk from the researcher's key informant's house to the house of *Onyishi* Ikem, OgorSO took the researcher on the history of Ikem. As he was telling the story, they got to one arena and he said,

> *Nonwe bụ Eke Agbonduru. Ọ bụ ohulonye n'achụ nta bụ ihe hụrụ nonwe. O nwer' ụkwụ Achi d'nonwe, ọ bia nọr nenya gbaa-gbue Abụdụ Enwe, d'ge nge-eji kor' anyi. O shi neri gbali chor munyi jere, s'nenya amagwọ ne munyi d'nsue mbe Abụdụ ji rute nonwe. Ọ chọr munyi rue, hụma Ebenyi, wee yachi ashi jee kuo ụmụnne ye - bụ nd'be anyi, ne nya ahụma nge anyi jekoebu… Eha nwoke ọbụ bụ Agbonduru, onye Ụmụ-Enyanwụ, Nd' behe bu ne mgbada nonwe* (interview, OgorSO, 28 November 2016 narrated in the Ikem version of Igbo language).
>
> Translation: Here is Eke Agbonduru. It was one hunter that founded here (referring to Ikem land). There was an *Achi* tree (*Brachystegia eurycoma*) around here, where he stood and shot a monkey, as we were told. He assumed that finding monkey here means there is a river around. He went looking for it and he found Ebonyi. He returned to tell his people, our people, that he has found a good place where we are going to live. The man's name is Agbonduru, he is from Ụmụ-Enyanwụ, his people live just there.

This narrative was given by someone who is many generations away from Agbonduru. However, he told it as if he experienced their migration to Ogor by the references he made to

specific locations of events and when he personalised the story by saying '...o *wee yachi ashi jee kuo umunne ye - bụ nd'be anyị, n'nya ahụma nge anyi jekoebu'* meaning 'he returned to tell his people, our people that he has found a good place where we are going to live'. The term '*Nd'be anyi'* which means 'our people' is a very important one, it's invoked to explain the entire people in their cosmos, and convey the sense of contemporaneity, relativity or particularity. According to Ingold (1993, 171), the Western Apache insist that "the stories they tell, far from putting a meaning upon the landscape, are intended to allow listeners to place themselves in *relation* to specific features of the landscape, in such a way that their meanings may be revealed or disclosed". When '*Nd'be anyi'* (our people) is used in this context, it represents the whole - the ancient, the present and the future - members of that village. So, "landscape tells - or rather is - a story. It enfolds the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation" (Ingold 1993, 152). Citing Polanyi (1964), Munn (1992, 114) reiterate that "past events may be momentarily 'out of focus', but they may be brought into 'focal awareness', as in narrative commentaries often evoked by topographic features". He further explained that "another kind of temporalization is then formed in which present activities become 'charged' with the ancestral past, and the ancestral past with the present" (p.114).

Again, in Onicha Enugu, OnichaEU told during a panel session that "*...ọ bụ Nna anyi Ogiri Ada wefuter' Al' Ọfụ Onicha Ogbo*" which translates 'it was our father, Ogiri Ada that gave us the land for the village arena of Onicha Ogbo' (FGD, OnichaEU, 09 March 2017). When further enquiry was made to ascertain if he was talking about his immediate father, he reiterated that "*Anyi nwe yabụ Al' ne Ọha, mane Ogiri Ada bụ Ọgerenyi - Onyishi - mgbe o wefutere*", meaning 'it was a collective land but Ogiri Ada was the eldest, who was ruling when the land was carved out'. The said Ogiri Ada is one of the ancient ancestors who was ruling at the time Onicha Ogbo gained independence to establish its own *Ọfụ*, an event that took place among a generation in the deep past. In an opening prayer - kola nut ritual - during an interview in Useh, UsehPN added "*...eha nna m bụ Ezike Ogbonne, Ezike Ogbonne bia wer' Ọji...*"; meaning 'my father's name is Ezike Ogbonne, Ezike Ogbonne come and take kola nut'. The said father is the direct child of the founding ancestor of Useh who lived in the deep past – generations before his immediate father was born. When asked about the history of Useh, he subsequently used '*Nna m*' to refer to Diugwu Iyoke - the founding ancestor of Useh. In fact, he continued to validate his information by either starting or ending any part of the story with "*Aji m ekwu g' nna m ji gwa m*" which translates 'I will tell it the same way my father told me'. In these instances, he was using '*Nna m*' to mean his founding ancestor(s) and his immediate father.

Yet, he gave historical credence to '*Nd'gboo*' (the ancient people) by arguing that the first people position of Useh and Umudikwu villages in Aku was the way the ancient people established.

In a similar experience, AmokpuPN directly narrated the process of establishing a village arena without recourse to a separation between the past and the present. In telling how a village arena is established, he told,

> *Ge eshi je shụ Otobo bụ ne abia, ne Al' nke g' joinr'* (mixing English and Igbo) *nwa, me Al' nke m joinr' nwa, ass' nehe ji e'nwe Otobo, a bọchamaa, gbushie ihelile d' ne nya, ss' ne onunwe gabụ Otobo. Ekpote mma lile bia shụme mbe ọbụ. Ọnụ maa obụ lile d'gbuhe te nwọshụa* (interview, 01 May 2017 narrated in the Uhunowerre version of Igbo language).
>
> Translation: How the Otobo was established is to say that your land joined here and mine joined there, and we said that we need to have an arena. The place (centre) is cleared and pronounced as Otobo. Deities are called upon and the shrines are established in it. All those shrines are still existing there until today.

He told this story just the way it was to be told by his lineage ancestor, Odobo, whose father was Amokpu, the son of Agbo, the founding father of Amokpu Agbo people. AmokpuPN attests that the arena was established before the man that gave birth to his great-grandfather was born. So, he is not even the third or fourth generation to those that established the Otobo, but he exists within the cosmos and told the story in that context.

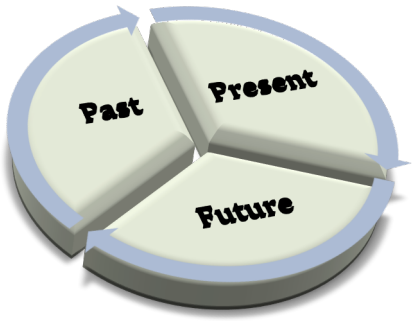


Figure 9: Past, present and future in Igbo cyclical continuum

The above examples explain Opata's (2002) submission that the use of past, present and future in Igbo appears in a metaphorical sense like the Igbo application of *Unya* (yesterday), *Ta* (today) and *Echi* (tomorrow). The use of the term '*Nna m gwar'm*' (my father told me) is

common among *Onyishi* and elderly people in villages. Consequently, the usage has something to do with the age or position. Meanwhile, the *Onyishi* and elderly people are the custodians of culture and tradition; they are regarded as the line that divides the living and the dead; they represent the ancestors on earth and their words are taken to mean that of the ancestors, and for the *Onyishi* in some cases, that of the gods. This is how the past is linked to the present and the future. Such links are evidenced in heritage, not in heritage as a dislocated product of the past but heritage as part of a cultural process in a cyclical continuum.

Some terms like '*mgbe gboo/oge gboo'* (in the days of yore/in time past)*, mgbeochie/mgbe ndiochie* (in the olden days/in the time of ancient people), or *mgbe nd' nnanna anyi ha* (in the time of our forebears) are used to refer to a deep past relating to the founding ancestors. In their application, the terms attempt to clarify an act, cultural rites/activities, values, or about a cultural material or monument instituted by the ancestors which exist in the Igbo universe. It is never applied in a sense that features the past as a separate entity different or slightly related to the present. Rather, that past forms part of the present and orders cultural behaviours and aspirations in the society. Acculturation or collective amnesia are the factors that could hamper this intergenerational knowledge. To retrieve, revive, rejuvenate or reactivate them demands an enquiry into the deep past to regain the knowledge from the ancestors and/or the gods, a service that divination provides.

5.1.3 Living and Communicating with the Past: *Afa/Eha* Divination in Igbo Life

We can decipher from the above that there is a mutual relationship between the past, present and future in Igbo life. Sometimes, memory, which is the loop that sustains the continuity, may suffer forgetfulness, confusion, or absence of person(s) with knowledge about the materials or practices. In other words, the empirically unsolvable cultural or heritage issues require divination. A heritage issue could become empirically unsolvable when it has spiritual and ancestral undertones, and when there is a need to dig into the deep past and distant future. Note that Igbo heritage exists mostly in values, beliefs and performative forms, memory is the key that unlocks it; if eluded by memory, it becomes an issue which *Afa* divination is used to redress. Such clarifications could be from God, patron spirits, ancestors, deities, unborn progeny or 'unknown being'; and this is where the *Afa* divination plays a dominant role in Igbo life. It also stands out during the counting of the Igbo calendar at the beginning of the year and in the scheduling and management of the yearly cultural activities in all the villages. *Afa* plays a significant role in the selection of leaders and priests whose positions are prominent in the culture and polity of Igbo villages.

Afa in the dialect of Nsukka Igbo is *Eha.* Some literature has detailed the ontologies of *Afa*/*Eha* divination among the Igbo (Umeh, 1999; Onwuejeogwu, 1997; Shelton, 1965), so, it will not be closely examined. My concern here, therefore, is to understand its significance in the creation and management of culture/heritage in Igboland. *Afa* divination plays a vital role in the traditional Igbo endeavour to explain, predict and control space-time events within the cosmos (Kalu 2002). *Afa* is cast in the making of most critical village decisions (Shelton 1965). We present here some narratives of how *Afa*/*Eha* divination is used for understanding cosmological arrangements of time-event relationships to manage heritage in Igbo villages.



Figure 10: A diviner & his student performing *Afa* divination

Extracts from Umu-Obira Nkporogu:

(1.) *In Ọnwa mbụ (*1st month*), Attama Ezugwu (*the priest of Ezugwu deity*) and all the heads of the lineages (Ọsha/Ọha* Nkporogu*) that make up* Nkporogu *assemble here in Umu-Obira, in Otobo Ifu (*a village arena*). Afa diviner is invited to help direct us accordingly in line with Omenal' and to determine the right course of action for the year we are entering. It is at this*

*event that we do ika Ezugwu (*pronouncement of Ezugwu festival*). So, ika Ezugwu marks the beginning of the year after which other Omenal' follow, and the calendar is observed from that day until the end of the year* (field observation, ObiraCE, 28 January 2017).

(2.) *Ogwudinama festival starts when Ọnwa Iteg'na (*9th month*) arrives. When it is two native weeks (izu nabọ) into the month, the eldest person among Attama Ogwu* (priest) *will on Orie day inform our people that Ogwu festival is about to commence. Afa diviner is consulted to find out from Ogwu deity what it requires from our people to continue to protect and prosper us. Whatever the Afa diviner says that Ogwu requests we provide and offer it on Orie Chi day* (FGD, ObiraAUm, 21 February 2017).

Extracts from Useh Aku:

(1.) *Counting of the calendar for Aku town is annually done by Ọha Useh and Nua (specifically with elders of Umudikwu lineage) villages. In the year preceding the year of Odo festival, we go to Nua to count, but in an ordinary year, Nua people will come to Useh to do the counting. An Afa diviner is invited, his role is to cross-check with the gods and the ancestors whether they also accept the calendar as counted and to help us schedule cultural events appropriately. It is at that venue that cultural rites/events for the year are scheduled with the help of Afa divination* (field observation, UsehOA, 11 April 2017).

(2.) *In the year of Odo, before we start the festival, we consult Afa diviner to find out from the ancestors who will first bear Nwanogwu (the two masks representing the ancestors of the two lineages – Ezike-anoke and Ezike-ogbenne that make up Useh) and Okikpe masks. The diviner also checks which dibia* (doctor or medicine man) *shall make the protective medicine that will be used on the display day; who will carry the medicine and which dibia will manage the weather to avoid rain* (interview, UsehPN, 3 January 2017).

(3). *Every year before the planting season, Ọha Useh invites an Afa diviner to find out from the gods who among us will commence cultivation on behalf of the people. This rite is part of Shụajiọkụ (agricultural rites especially to the yam spirit), and we do this because if the right person is chosen, we do have a bumper harvest at the end. When the person is determined, he will go to the farm area to make some yam heaps after which everyone can then commence farming for the year. It is taboo to start making yam heaps without consulting Afa diviner and the chosen person making the first heap* (field observation, UsehSA, 20 January 2017).

Extract from Onicha Enugu:

(1). *The priest of Ogbobogu deity is determined by the signs it gives to the person of its choice. But this choice is confirmed by Afa diviners who also use a type of divination called Ọdu to locate the house of the chosen person* (FGD, OnichaLA, 9 March 2017).

These few extracts give insight into how heritage in a cyclical society recreates itself annually/periodically. It also shows how *Afa* divination stands as a system loop that monitors and corrects errors that occur in cultural practices between the founding gods or ancestors and the living people. This indigenous heritage model has attributes of I-AHD, though different from Smith's (2006) AHD, a discussion to be explored in chapter eight. We shall see below the other means of transmitting cultural or heritage knowledge to the younger generations different from the divination. The only time divination applies is when such knowledge is under contestation, needs clarification, revival, re-activation or it has been lost by the living generation through acculturation or by collective amnesia. Outside these two factors, cultural knowledge is transferred from parents to children from generation to generation.

5.1.4 Transmitting Cultural/Heritage Knowledge to Children

Generally, Igbo children receive cultural knowledge through observation and practice. However, there are some informal vocational practices through which such knowledge is passed to the younger generations. Such vocational activities occur at both family and village or individual and institutional levels. At any level, children are allowed to handle crafts and cultural practices or performances with peers on their own. It takes the form of *Ishi nri ụmụ*, meaning 'cooking by children'; *Ụlọ Ụmụti*, meaning 'housing by kids'; *Nkwụ-ọha Ụmụti*, meaning 'palm wine tree for kids'; *Maa Ụmụti*, 'meaning spirit being for children'; *Ime-al' Ụmụti*, 'meaning children's farm' etc. One common observation about these informal vocations is that elders guide the children. Elders, in this sense, does not imply only the family members or relatives of the children, any elderly person in the village that comes in contact with the children during these endeavours could advise them on any identifiable error. In the past, a child in an Igbo village belongs to members of the village and parenting is a responsibility of any adult member of that community.

Ishi nri Ụmụ starts from cooking sands as food to picking remnants of foodstuff and cooking them within the same context. It also connects with the *Ulọ Ụmụti*. During communal works, like rebuilding or renovating individual houses in the past, children are invited to help clean the compound and observe the processes of building a house. This process emboldens the children to embark on the informal vocation of building *Ulọ Ụmụti*, a process where children assemble to build a house around the compound or in the village arena in resemblance of their family houses. At this informal vocational activity, a group of children share themselves into positions like in the family structure of father(s), mother(s), and children, and the thatch houses and rooms they build are shared following these sensibilities. Tasks are also shared based on

the position any child was occupying in that play and vocational ground. *Nkwụ-ọha Ụmụti* is a small palm tree on which children practice the art of palm wine tapping. In Onicha Enugu, where palm wine tapping was and (for some) still the economic mainstay, male children are allowed to practice the craft by taping tender palm trees under the guide of male adults.



Figure 11: A typical example of *Maa Ụmụti - Ndegbe*

Maa Ụmụti is children's practice of spirit being. In Amokpu, Amegu and Onicha Enugu, notable *Maa Ụmụti* is called *Ndegbe*. *Ndegbe* they told is the oldest and the *Onyishi* of all the spirit beings from where the knowledge of this aspect of the people's culture was derived. Participants in the research argued that the practice of spirit being was conceived from observing where children displayed the mask made with palm fronds - *Ndegbe.* After establishing the masking tradition, children were allowed to continue to learn practices and performance with *Ndegbe*. On the other hand, it is revered as the eldest of all the spirit beings having been found before others. Through this process, children are observed closely and those considered very skilful in the performance or mask dancing are arranged for initiation into the community's institution of the spirit being. In Useh, children are seen in the *Ụhamu* (Odo forest) learning how to design the Odo masks, and how to sound the Odo music.

Ime-al' Ụmụti is a cultivated farm by the children. Parents give to the children remnants of crop seedlings and allow them time to cultivate a portion of land close to the compound. While

the male ones among them clear and till the land, the female children help in planting the seeds and in weeding the farm. As a child starts from this process, he/she grow up to start helping the family in agricultural activities having been guided to acquire the required skills through the management of his/her *Ime-al' Ụmụti.*

As we shall see in chapter seven, women are the ones that sweep the village arena in many villages. Some communities divide the arena into portions and share it among the women married into the village to clean periodically. In many instances, women send their daughters to clean and sweep their potion, and this is another process of inculcating the values and knowledge of a community to the younger generations. These informal processes of learning by observation and practice acquaint children with the knowledge of their culture and heritage, thus, they grow up to become cultural/heritage experts within their space.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the Igbo knowledge of heritage, memory, identity and conservation are deservedly discussed. These conceptualisations are placed side by side with their understanding of the past, present and future, and the temporalities that manifest in materials, landscapes and practices. It enhanced our knowledge of the intangible-tangible bond and the ways they use one another to be meaningful.

Omenal', *ọdinal'* and *ntọal'* being the Igbo concepts of heritage gave meaning to Igbo temporalities, and the Igbo calendar placed heritage events in rhythms of life. Consequently, past, present and future exist in a cyclical continuum with some elements of linearity observable in the rhythms of events. This chapter uncovered the place of time and space (geography) politics in heritage making. It went further to prove the particularity or relativity nature of heritage. Hence, time, space (and its other contents) and people make up a 'living community' with each trumping the other. Their shared living and the epistemic undertone are transferred from one generation to another through informal vocation or education. And the Igbo divination knowledge, mode of transfer of knowledge to children, and the conservation approaches survive them through generations.

While this chapter examined the Igbo philosophical or cosmological thinking, the coming chapters (six and seven) present the practical evidence of those philosophies. Chapter six looked at the social formations and social processes through which heritage is made, and chapter seven used the village arena example to show the extent to which the physical outcome reflects the Igbo heritage principles.

Chapter Six: Village Arena, Social Relation and Social Processes

6.0 Introduction

Following from the Igbo concepts and philosophies of heritage discussed in chapter five, this chapter explores the social structure, social relations and social processes observable within the context of Otobo; and how it communicates the Igbo cosmology to represent Igbo philosophies of community engagements and collective survival. It begins with a discussion on Igbo democracy, how power and authority are distributed, but with checks and balances. It took up the procedures of how villages and towns are founded and how people get to belong by bringing to the table a particular knowledge or skill that contributes to the survival of the group. The procedures recorded also shows the pattern of heritage and identity creation, which helps to legitimise a sovereign village or town. Individual groups whose ancestors brought one or more heritage value or practice controls its affairs on behalf of others. The chapter further examined other forces of cohesion in forms of medical and pharmaceutical practices, religion and spirituality, respect for nonhuman species in the community, and the spatialisation of truth and justice to keep the polity in a sovereign and united community.

6.1 Igbo Democracy - Governance and Politics

It is established in chapter seven that the Igbo village arena is a symbol of an independent village, and that political sovereignty is recognisable through the village system. An independent village is constituted by lineages or clans under which families are found. A village that enjoys large population allows the lineages a quasi-independence to establish their own Otobo to meet and discuss their affairs. *Ọha* - general assembly - is the apex policy making institution. However, there are two categories of *Ọha*: the general assembly and the council of elders. *Ọha*, the council of elders is the regular meeting body that governs a village through family representation. *Ọha*, the general assembly is constituted when there is a need like war, a policy issue that is of public interest and so on. Till date, the general assembly meets in the arena. Although *Ọha* - the council of elders - makes laws, formulate policies and serve as the apex judicial council for village cases, *Ọha* - the village general assembly - is occasionally convened in the arena to deliberate on complex and reoccurring issues of public interest. It comprises all the adult members of a village. Note that in Umu-Obira and Ogor, for instance, the female ones are asked to stay in a compound close to the arena to respond to issues on invitation during a general assembly. The *Ọha* - council of elders - of the individual villages that form a town (a confederacy) collectively becomes the council of elders for such a town.

For instance, *Ọha* Useh combined with the *Ọha* of all the sixty-six villages in Aku to form *Ọha* Aku. Sometimes, villages that have high membership delegates some to represent them at the town council. There is the *Ndiomu-ọha*, constituted by the wives of members of *Ọha*. They used to be very powerful in checkmating the activities of *Ọha*, village policies associated with female folks and issues of public interest. Today, the powers of the *Ndiomu-ọha* are weakened. For clarity, a village comprises groups of people tracing descent to ancestors who lived in their current location, or to more distant towns and villages from which they emigrated. Exceptions include settlers adopted into the ancestry on the basis of good relationships or because they possessed a particular and useful skill or craft. These people maintain quasi-independence and have their own village arena but pay allegiance to the first settlers. Their origin/migration narratives are woven into that of the autochthons, requiring careful and sustained enquiry to uncover their differences. A town is a confederal arrangement with a cluster of villages that share descent and/or cultural interests.



Figure 12: The *Ọha* Umu-Obira in session during *Izu Amamgbokwe* in *Otobo Amamgbokwe*. Those sited to the right are members of *Ọha* and those to the left are the *Ofeke*

At the lineage level in Nsukka Igbo, *Onyishi* (what some other parts of Igbo call *Ọkpara*) and the male heads of every nuclear family constitute a council called *Ndishi* in some places. Following this system, a village is governed by a council of elders called *Ọha*, a patriarchal body constituted by the *Onyishi* or *Ndishi*, lineage representatives, title holders and priests of deities. In Amegu, for instance, *Ọha* is made up of the village and lineage *Onyishi* collectively called *Ndishi*; *Ọsiechara* (those whose age are next to each of the *Onyishi*); *Ekpuọha* (those whose age comes after the *Ọsiechara*); *Ndi Asọgwa* (appointed by each of the lineage *Onyishi* to attend *Ọha*; it's rotational, from one family to another); *Ndi Amah - Ozioko* (title holders);

and *Ndi Attama* (priests of communal deities). In Amokpu, it is constituted by *Ndishi* (Onyishi of all the lineages), *Ndiogbulado* (representatives of all the lineages), *Attama* (priests of the village deities), *Ndi Amah* (title holders), and the Igwe (His Royal Highness) of Uhunowerre who comes from Amokpu. However, every male head of a family can attend the meeting of *Ọha* in the arena; this set of people are called *Ofeke* in Ụmụ-Obira and Useh, and *Egial*' in Onicha Enugu. *Ọha* holds meetings in Otobo in Useh, Umu-Obira, Ogor, Amegu and Ebor; their meetings have been moved to the *Obu Oyishi* in Amokpu and Onicha Enugwu. It was told that *Ọha* people held meetings in the arena in both villages in the past but such factors like Christianity, settlement expansion, migration to urban areas and very importantly, the ageing status of the *Onyishi* that restrict his movement made the transition of meeting from the Otobo to *Obu* possible.

In Useh, *Nd'-chir-otobo* (those holding the title of Otobo), a particular age group that affords the title of Otobo comes third after the general assembly and the council of elders in the political echelon. Whereas the *Ọha* makes laws/policies, *Nd'-chir-otobo* implements them and ensures compliance through the delegation of other age grade groups. From time to time, recognised *Nd' Otuogbo* (age grade groups) are assigned to embark on project implementations for the entire village. Age grade groups are recognised at every festival year of *Odo* during which they sponsor and manage the festival. In the future, one of the age grade group takes up the Otobo title to become *Nd'-chir-otobo* when the previous group holding the title retires. This is one of the major ways through which the Otobo connects heritage with governance.

There is *Nd' iwu* in Ogor who are regarded as *Ọkpara Ọha*. *Nd' iwu* comprises appointed representatives of the lineages. *Eze iwu* presides over them. To ascend *Eze iwu* position with powers to prosecute offenders of the village laws, one has to be able to host a feast for the *Ọha*-council of elders, *Nd' iwu* and *Ọha* - general assembly - at different occasions. *Ụmụkwụ Ọha* played similar roles as did *Nd'-chir-otobo* and *Nd' iwu* in the past in Onicha Enugu. Today, the *Oche* system has taken over the role of *Ụmụkwụ Ọha*. Meanwhile, where *Ọmabe* institution exists, its embodied spirit helped to police villages in the past. Except in extreme situation, this role of *Ọmabe* is now a thing of the past, even though many are wishing that it is revived because of the corrupt practices of the modern law enforcement agencies.

The role of *Ụmụada* in village governance is well captured in the literature (Chukwu 2005; Okonjo 1981). However, the linkage between the *Ọnụ Ụmụada* in the arena, the *Ede - Onyishi Ụmụada* - and the compliance to the laws relating to sexual life in the village is less captured in literature. Like in Onicha Enugu and Useh, a woman that commits adultery will have to be cleansed through a ritual process in *Ọnụ Ụmụada*. With the understanding of the village

governance, the constitution of a village by different peoples or related people by bloodline is examined below.

6.2 Indigeneity or Identity? Becoming a People and Rights to Heritage

The term indigenous according to Dei (2016) is about "relations to Land and place" (see also UN 2007). He explained that "one is Indigenous to a place and Land that he/she deems to be a place of long-term occupancy (Dei 2015). In the Nsukka region of the Igbo, this right to land and the senses of place define who controls what based on migration, birth, innovation and war strength. By migration, emphasis is on the first to arrive and settle on the land; by birth, focus is on the ancestor(s) born in the land before or after others who have managed their survival over the years; by innovation, interest is on the person(s) that founded or brought a particular skill, knowledge or practice; and by war strength, focus is on the person(s) that led the war that brought the people to the land or who helped in conquering the enemies that troubled them in their place of settlement. These factors shape how the people of Nsukka Igbo understand indigeneity. It confers prerogative right(s) on people to have control over a particular cultural or heritage object/material, place or practice, which on the other hand constitute their identities. In the following examples, we shall examine the implications of the above factors on who takes what decision about many aspects of culture or heritage in different villages in the case study area.

In Aku town, Useh people are the first to settle on the land, and they received others into the area that is today inhabited by sixty-six (66) villages. Their position confers on them the status of *Onyishi* Aku (oldest/ruler/leader of Aku) and *Onyishi Ọzọ* Aku (head or leader of the title institution that contributes to the governance of Aku); *Attama* (priest) *Ojiyi* and *Ahụrụm* Aku deities, and *Ọnụ Al*' (shrine of the earth goddess). There is a claim that Useh people migrated from Nrobu - a town in the present Uzo-Uwani LGA. This claim is justified with the popular saying '*Useh Nne Nrobu'* which could translate 'Useh in Nrobu'. But the people reject this claim and interpret the saying to mean "Useh the mother of Nrobu" because 'Nne' also means 'mother' in another context. In further clarifications, the people posit that there is *Ọnụ Ojiyi* (shrine of *Ojiyi* deity) in Nrobu and that they preside over its affairs anytime they are present in Nrobu, which prove that Useh is the elder. The headship of *Ọzọ* title in Aku came to Useh through Ezike Ogbonne, the second son of Diugwu Iyoke (the ancestral father of Useh village). He got the knowledge of *Ọzọ* title from Nzue village in the present Udi LGA. These leadership positions/rights that Useh hold on behalf of Aku town are shared among the two lineages founded by the two sons of their ancestor, Ezike-Aloke (1st son) and Ezike Ogbonne (2nd son).

Thus, Ụmụ Ezike Aloke inherited the priesthood of great *Ojiyi* deity, and are the *Dikwu Odo* (priest of Odo spirit being) in Useh village. Ụmụ Ezike Ogbonne, on the other hand, inherited *Onyishi* Aku, who preside over *Ọnu Al'*, the priesthood of *Ahụrụm* Aku, *Onyishi Ọzọ* Aku and the *Ọkpaara Odo* (assistant priest of Odo spirit being) in Useh village.

However, Ụmụ-Dikwu lineage in the Nua village of Aku heads the institution of the renowned *Odo* spirit being in the entire Aku because their ancestor brought the spirit of *Odo* into the town. Useh and Ụmụ-Dikwu people manage and calculate Igbo calendar for Aku town. While the calculation rite is carried out in Useh in an ordinary year, it is done in Nua in the year of the festival of Odo spirit being. In the historical version of Aku that linked the origin of some quarters to one Njija from Nshi (Nri) who married Odobo, the daughter of Attah Igala (see Ezike and Ochiaka 2009), a man called Ezike was a farm labourer that Attah (the King of Igala) assigned to serve Odobo in her new marital home. Njija settled in Aku with Odobo and Ezike; then, Ezike founded the Ụmụ-Ezike Aku, and with his knowledge of farming, he introduced yam cultivation. Because yam is the head of all crops among the Igbo, this innovation earned Ụmụ-Ezike the position of the *Attama Shụajịọku* (priest of yam/agriculture deity) in Aku.

Umu-Obira is the political headquarters of Nkporogu town. Nkporogu is a confederacy organised in three quarters, Ekaibute, Ogba and Ejuona in order of seniority. Ekaibute holds the *Eze* Nkporogu (royal stool), Ogba is the *Onyishi* Nkporogu and Ejuona is the *Asọgwa* Nkporogu (information officer/messenger). Unlike in other parts of the study region where the *Onyishi* rules, the town is politically administered by the *Eze* from Ekaibute, Umu-obira village in particular. So, the rite of calculating Igbo calendar and scheduling of cultural rites/festivals are done in Otobo Ifu in Ụmụ-Obira village where the founding ancestor of the town, Nkporogu Diugwu Iduh settled.

Moving down to Umu-Obira village, in particular, Diugwu Egbunne is the *Onyishi* who administer land while Dimara within whose vicinity their founding ancestor settled holds the *Eze* Nkporogu. As *Onyishi*, Diugwu Egbunne presides of *Ọnụ Al*', other communal shrines and holds the head priest of the great *Ogwudinama* deity. However, there is a council of priests of *Ogwudinama* deity, constituted by all heads of every lineage; each member can preside over prayers and requests in *Ọnụ Ogwudinama* (shrine of *Ogwudinama* deity). Although the people are democratic in the distribution of positions and cultural rights, it is evident that they considered birth and migration factors in making those choices.

In Ikem, Ogor village is the *Onyishi* Ikem town. No matter the age of anyone in other larger villages (Ebia, Amudamu, Umuaram, Ikem Nkwo, Ugwuagbatu and Umuodmogwu) in Ikem, the oldest man in Ogor, even if he is the youngest among the elders of other villages is the

Onyishi Ikem Asokwa. Ogor people assume this position because Agbonduru, who is from Ụmụ-Enyanwu lineage founded the land for his relatives - Ikem people - to settle. With this singular act, Agbonduru secured the position of *Onyishi* Ikem for his people of Ogor. Additionally, very specific to his people is the staff of leadership held by the *Onyishi* Ụmụ-Enyanwu on behalf of Ikem people and a wooden seat that was permanently built for him in the central *Ọnọkọrọ/Ọnụ-Ugwunabo* (village arena), where he sits during the cultural, political, or religious meetings of *Ọha* Ikem.

Although Ogor assumed the positions above, the *Onyishi* Ogor cannot preside over prayers in *Ọnụ Al'* (shrine of the earth goddess) on behalf of Ikem like in some other towns in the region. In a prayer session in *Ọnụ Al'* that involve the entire Ikem, the presiding priest must be the eldest man from Ebia village. According to OgorSO (interview, 28 November 2016), "Ake and Nshama people (probably 'Ichama' in the present Benue state) settled here before we arrived. We fought wars with them, and they fled to settle somewhere in the present Benue state". The defeat of Ake and Nshama people according to explanations was made possible with the help of Ebia people, perhaps, as warriors or with some kind of powers. Consequently, there is a saying in Ikem that '*Ebia abiag, me Ogor anog*' (translating 'Ogor couldn't stay without the coming of Ebia'). Worthy to note is that the goddess of *Al'* in Igbo cosmology is associated with procreation and survival of all living things in the environment and assume the position of the "mother earth" (see Coley 1982; Ifesieh 1989). Thus, anyone in control of its affairs holds power. While the factor of the first arrival to land confer on Ogor village the rulership of *Onyishi* Ikem, strength in war or innovation positioned Ebia village as the priest of the earth goddess. The implication is that Ogor and Ebia villages must live in harmony for the healthy survival of Ikem Asokwa Alabere town.

Amokpu Uhunowerre, the cultural, political and religious headquarters of Uhunowerre town and Eketeker confederacy (formed by Uhunowerre, Ihakpu, Iheaka, and Ovoko towns) is another village with many rights to collective heritage of the group of villages that form those arrangements. Umu-Agbo claim primacy as original occupants among the three lineages that make up Amokpu (Umu-Agbo, Amauzu and Amegu). Thus, their village arena is the said headquarters. They have prerogative rights over the management of the Igbo calendar and scheduling of cultural rites/festivals. The *Onyishi* Umu-Agbo heads all the meetings of *Ọha* Uhunowerre and that of the confederacy. On the other hand, Amauzu people are said to be itinerant blacksmiths who settled later. They were assimilated into the cultural system, and because of their blacksmithing skill, they have rights over the blacksmithing technology, *Uke* festival and all other rites thereto. *Uke* (known in many villages in Igbo Nsukka as *Shuajiọkụ*)

is an agricultural/yam deity that embodies some rites and festival. Amauzu produces agricultural implements and is accorded the right to observe the *Uke* rite before other villages begin to do the same in *Nkweizu* (one Igbo week, 4 days).

The people of Umundu migrated to their current location from Nshama (probably the same 'Ichama' in Benue state) with few migrants from Mbu and Orba in the current Isi-Uzo and Udenu LGAs respectively. Recall that Nshama, as reflected in the narratives of Ikem, are a people that were living in Ikem land before they lost the location in a war to the people of Ikem and had to move to the Benue area. Ifuama is the first son of Umundu and Amegu became his own first son (whose children formed Amegu village) and inherited the position of *Ishi Al'* (head of the earth goddess) and *Onyishi* Umundu. As *Ishi Al'* and *Onyishi*, the village arena of Amegu is the political, religious and cultural headquarters of the fourteen villages of Umundu. Edumoga, whose children are now called Umumeri (taking from their great deity Ugwumeri) is the second son of Umundu. His wife Ashene brought the knowledge of smelting and smithing technology from Igala, her hometown to help sustain her children (see Uwguoke 2004). At death, Ashene was deified, and the headship and management of Ashene deity and that of the knowledge of iron working with the associated cultural rites remains the rights of her descendants - the Umumeri lineage.

On the other hand, Amorlu village heads the institution of the *Ọmabe* spirit being, which was used in the past as a law enforcement agent, but also played important roles in the socio-political, religious and recreational structures in Umundu. How they cling to this position was not explained. Allagbo-al' people manage the affairs of *Ekwensụ* deity (see Opata 2005 for the role it played among the Igbo). Very important to note is that *Ekwensụ* is instrumental in war and security of the town in the past, and its shrine in a grove, *Eshụshụa Ekwensụ* is visited by titled men as part of their installation process.

Ebor people of Eha-Alumona claim autochthonous, and they assume to be the eldest among all other members of Eha-Alumona (also known as Nkpụnatọ - three towns). In the past, *Ọha* Eha-Alumona or *Ọha* Nkpụnatọ held meetings in Otobo Ebor; this was to change when the system of justice instituted in their village arena started killing some members of *Ọha* who tried to truncate justice in the town through the decisions of that council. According to their belief, lies are not told in that arena and offender dies mysteriously. In sharing kola nut (*Cola acuminata*) in any gatherings of Eha-Alumona people, a man from Ebor who is present must take the first piece of kola nut before others, no matter their age. Noting the importance of kola nut in Igboland, he will perform the '*igọ ọji*' rite (prayers), which is normally done by the eldest person in Igbo tradition on behalf of others. There are *Ụkwụ Ọfọ/Ọhọ* (*Detarium Senegalese*)

in Ebor and *Ọnu Ọfọ/Ọhọ* (shrine of *Ọfọ/Ọhọ)* in the village arena. The role of *Ọfọ/Ọhọ* in Igbo culture cannot be overemphasised (see Ejizu 1987). The branch they get from the *Ọfọ/Ọhọ* tree is usually given to someone to be installed as *Onyishi* of a lineage, village or town, priest of a deity, Oracle or shrine and someone taking a traditional title. So, Ebor provides the *Ọfọ/Ọhọ* and perform the associated rites for many of the villages in Nkpụnatọ and beyond.

Within Ebor people themselves, the eldest man by age rules the land. He presides over *Ọnụ Al*', *Ọnụ Aja* deity etc. However, the counting of the Igbo calendar is done by the eldest man in direct descent from the first son of their founding father, *Nweye Al' Nwankwu Okeker Ubochi*. This person is called *Onyishi or Attama Ahụa* (leader/priest of year). *Onyishi Ahụa* announces new months and new year, and in consultation with *Onyishi* and *Ọha* Ebor, determines when a cultural rite/festival is to be held. The announcement of the new year goes beyond Ebor village; they dip up *Nzụ* (kaolin chalk) at the end of every year which they use during the new year ritual rite. Some pieces of the *Nzụ* will be sent to other villages in Eha-alumona and beyond to announce a new year. Due to their trusted relationship with Umu-Ezeokpaka whom they said their ancestor showed an area of land to settle, Ebor permits them to also go to obtain *Nzụ* from *Ọgba Nzụ* (cave) in *Izu nabọ* (two native weeks, eight days) after they had gone. By virtue of their autochthonous position, Ebor is the only people that can enter a location called *Ọnụ Agụ* (mouth of leopard) in the cave. While Ebor sends pieces of *Nzụ* beyond its boundaries, the other people only transmit some pieces of *Nzụ* to villages of Umu-Ezeokpaka in Eha-alumona.

There are the people of Umu-Ugwu, who are blacksmiths and they bear allegiance to Ebor village. Based on their smithing skills, they have control over agriculture, though, in consultation with the *Onyishi* Ebor. It is narrated that they were accepted to settle on the land and to be Ebor indigenes because of their knowledge of smithing; they have prerogative over smithing technology and all the rites thereto.

Onicha Enugu people form part of Ozzi town in Enugu-Ezike. Ozzi is the last son of Ezikoba (the founding father of Enugu-Ezike), he gave birth to Agbedọ Eriom among many other sons. Agbedọ Eriom fathered Ugwu Agbedọ (also known as Ugwu Attama), Ezeọcha and Ọkwọ-Agbedọ in order of seniority. It is the children of Ezeọcha and Ọkwọ-Agbedọ that moved to settle in the current location of Onicha Enugu. Ọkwọ-Agbedọ gave birth to Ossai Ụkwụaba and Agbedọaba; with Ezeọcha (whose people are called Onicha Ogbo), they formed the three lineages in Onicha Enugu. Umuagbedọ-Aba is the last among all, but their arena is the oldest and the cultural, political and religious centre. It holds all the collective heritage of the people

because the two other lineages left the lineage of the last born at their primary settlement to expand due to population growth.

Meanwhile, Onicha Enugu is regarded as *Obu-egu* (farm settlement). Even though they manage their cultural affairs, they pay somewhat political, cultural and religious allegiance to the ancestral home in Aguibeji, where rights of indigeneity are well stipulated. However, the oldest man by birth rules as the *Onyishi* of Onicha-Enugu in the context of *Obu-egu*. He is the priest of *Ọnụ Al'* (shrine of the earth goddess) and presides over all the meetings of *Ọha* Onicha Enugu. If he is the oldest person among Umu Agbedo Eriom, he must relocate to Aguibeji to hold the *Ọfọ* and *Arụa* (symbol of authority). At that level of larger complexities, Umu Ugwu-Attama is the head of the institution of *Ọmabe* spirit being whose role in Igbo societies in the past are enormous (Onyeneke 1987; 1993); "they tell us when the *Ọmabe* spirit will enter the village, when to perform whatever rite and when it departs back to the spirit world" (interview, OnichaIU, 16 March 2017).

In the seven sites explored above, one would understand how identity is constructed in the formation of indigeneity and how those processes confer rights to heritage among village groups in pre-contact societies, which survived into the post-contact period. Importantly, Amokpu and Ebor villages claim that they sprouted from the soil, which we could say gives a sense of amnesia to their origin. However, all other peoples that settled and share a common cultural interest migrated from one place or the other. Their migrations are movements from one Igbo area to another and could be largely grouped into what is regarded today as the 'indigenous Igbo', whose people formed the 'Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)' in 2012, struggling for self-determination. The self-determination course dates back to 1967 when the Igbo area was declared the Republic of Biafra. It led to a Civil War in Nigeria (1967 - 1970). The creation of IPOB followed the rising consciousness of the indigenous peoples across the globe about rootedness, attachment to the land and the declaration of the rights of indigenous peoples by the United Nation. But people of Umundu trace their migration to Benue State, an area that belongs currently to the Idoma and many other indigenous groups. However, they could be said to have moved out from Igboland in the first instance to the Benue area as reflected in Ikem narratives and migrated back later.

What can we learn from the Igbo experience of indigeneity or indigenousness and how the process creates heritage and confers identity? In the coming pages, insights into some attitudes and practices around the village arena would expatiate on how this indigeneity or identity connectivity coordinate social relations and processes in a mediated community.

6.3 Health and Pharmaceutics: the Igbo Cosmology of Medicine

A long time before the modern drug was discovered, smallpox, chickenpox and other diseases ravaged humanity. Indigenous peoples made efforts to manage and control these diseases. Their efforts appeared mostly in herbal and spiritual forms and endured until recently. Among the Igbo, such troubled disease requiring community attention include but not limited to *Akwụkwụ* (convulsion), *Erụbererụ* (measles), *Akrikpakpa/kitikpa* (chickenpox), *Ọkụ-ma* (smallpox) and *Iba* (malaria). *Iba* and *Akwụkwụ* or *Eshi-od'dọ* weren't transmittable, though, *Akwụkwụ* was given similar attention like *Ọkụ-ma* and *Akrikpakpa/kitikpa* due to the threat it presented. The rate at which *Erụbererụ*, *Ọkụ-ma* and *Akrikpakpa/kitikpa* circulate raised much more concern. In Nsukka Igbo for instance, physical and spiritual solutions are sorted leading to the invention of many herbal and spiritual remedies, whose practices and materiality survive in Igbo world. The interesting dimension is that most of the medical knowledge relating to these deadly diseases is community-driven; and some are applied in the form of immunisation. Appreciation of their approach and management will enhance our understanding of the cosmology of medicine among indigenous peoples and the way they encouraged social relations.

Prior to doing that, let's bear in mind Iwu's (2002, 584) assertion, that "Igbo pharmacon must be viewed as possessing two properties, the physical or organic and the psychic or spiritual". He went further to argue that "diagnosis is a twofold event; the organic cause of the sickness has to be established by careful examination and questioning by the healer; this is then followed by divination of the spiritual reason for the sickness" (p. 584; see also Ugwu 2019). It has to happen in that way "… since disease and misfortune in life are traced to disharmony or conflict in the spiritual dualism of the Igbo self" (Iwu 2002, 584). For the Igbo, apart from *Chukwu* (God), gods/deities and the spirit of the ancestors which according to narratives could harm or protect and ensure the healthy living of the communities, there are indigenous safety and medical measures that survive among the people. Villages and lineages had *Ọgwụ* (this could mean 'medicine', 'antidote' or 'charm' in this context) used during expansion wars and/or inter-village wars, some of which turned to health and safety apparatuses after the war. Also, the role of *Al'* in the healthy state of the village cannot be overemphasized. *Al'*, "the mother earth" synchronises live in human and non-human contents of the universe (Ifesieh, 1989). An offence committed against *Al'* is considered grievous and could stand against the principles that control agriculture, life on earth and even creative institution (Udechukwu 1978). Many other forces within the Igbo pantheon are perceived in this light (Iwu 2002), and healing could

only come through sacrifices, cleansing, confession or the application of physical treatment if an organic injury was diagnosed.



Figure 13: From left to right are pots of *Ụrụ* (antidote) of *Ojiyi* & *Idenyi Ezugwu* deities respectively

In a more practical sense, some deities like *Ojiyi* in Useh*, Ogwudinama* in Umu-Obira*, Odo Akụọlọ* in Ogor*, Aja* in Ebor and *Idenyi Ezugwu* in Onicha-Enugwu have pots in their shrine/palace containing consecrated palm oil, palm wine, water, or herbal concoction that is drunk to heal people from different ailments. It is usually called *Ụrụ* (this translates to 'antidote') in many villages. The medicine is used in critical health conditions associated with poison or based on revelation through divination that one is privileged by the deity to drink from its *Ụrụ* to receive healing. In this case, one has to believe to an extent in the powers of the deity to be able to receive healing through the administration of the *Ụrụ*. Beyond this believe oriented approach, there are more organised health practices with which the villages have battled specific diseases over time. Three encounters associated with *Erụbererụ* (measles), *Ọkụ-ma* (smallpox) and *Akrikpakpa/kitikpa* (chickenpox) are singled out from the villages of Useh, Ogor and Onicha Enugu for detailed discussion.

There is *Oshuru* Otobo in Useh, which translates to 'holder of Otobo', which by the meaning of Otobo could also mean 'holder of the village'. Many understand *Oshuru* to be a spiritual entity that holds members of the community together. One could get the sense from where this

view emanates; remember that *Oshuru* is one of the things that were collectively founded to establish Otobo Useh as a symbol of unity (see 7.0.1). Contrary to this opinion and in another role, *Oshuru* harbours an anti-convulsion drug that was administered to all the newborn babies in Useh in the past and to some children at present. It is difficult to understand whether *Oshuru* has been used as a spiritual symbol of unity and for regulating local immunisation since its establishment. The drug was/is administered through an organised indigenous immunisation process that took/takes place a few days after birth, when a child is taken to Otobo Useh to be immunised with the *Oshuru* drug. The drug is introduced into the body of the baby by opening the skin and introducing the powdered drug into the blood system. Annually, there is a rite to commemorate the founding of *Oshuru* as a symbol of unity. Thus, it has a physical medical use that mitigates the excesses of convulsion and other diseases, and a spiritual use as a holder of the village under a cosmos.



Figure 14: From left to right are buildings housing *Ọnụ Ibakwụ* & *Oshuru* respectively

In Ogor, there is *Ọnụ Ibakwụ* in *Ọnọkọrọ* Agbonduru (also called *Eke* Agbonduru). *Ibakwụ* is a medicine that cures chickenpox and smallpox. It was founded at a time in the past when both diseases were uncontrollably killing the people. The drug is a combination of different herbs acquired under a community knowledge; the herbs and the drugs produced are protected from being circularised. Sub-villages in Ogor has knowledge of one herb and this knowledge rests with the *Onyishi* (oldest person/ruler) or his designate who must also reveal such to his second in command to avoid losing it as a result of death. Annually, these representatives assemble in *Ọnụ Ibakwụ* to bring together the herbs and prepare them into a drug. Each of the participants has no knowledge of the herb being added to the pot in *Ọnụ Ibakwụ* by another. Evidently, this drug is spiritualised to make sure that people comply with what is required of them to use it. The door to the house is sprinkled with blood and feathers of fowl which gives the impression

that it is a shrine. Materials given in return for a cure are *Oke Ọkụkọ* (rooster) and *ji* (tubers of yam). Every member of the village is entitled to the use of the drug without prejudice. This is because the renewal of *Ibakwụ is* a rite performed by all members of the community, where everyone takes part in going to fetch the water that is used. On the occasion of contaminating smallpox or chickenpox, one makes a request to the person representing his/her sub-village to administer the drug. *Ọnụ Ibakwụ* is associated with a taboo. The taboo says that no member of Ogor or a settler is allowed to extract palm kernel oil within the living areas of the village. Such extraction can only be done in *Agụ* (farmland), and disobedience is met with serious sanctions because of the belief that it could destroy the efficacy of *Ibakwụ*.

There is a medical practice linked to the *Ogbobeogu* deity in Onicha Enugu. Every year in the past, a rite of '*idt'manụ ogbobeogu*' was organised by Onicha Enugu people. This involved the contribution of palm oil to the *Ogbobeoge* deity. The oil is poured into pots found in the house of *Ogbobeogu* in Otobo Agbedọaba. In the past, when this practice was performed, the elders did add some substance to the oil, which none of the participants in this research was able to remember, and a running procession was carried out to the boundaries of the village to ward-off communicable diseases such as smallpox, chickenpox, measles and possible evils that may enter the village. At each boundary, some oil was poured, pronouncements were made, and a shot of den gun sounded. Members of the village were also given the oil in a wrapped *Egbege* leaf which they hung at the entrance to their family compound. Each time a member of the family was going out, s/he dipped a finger into the oil in the wrapped *Egbege* leaf to rub on the forehead. The purpose was to protect the person from contagious diseases while away from home.

We can understand from the above examples that health and healing among the Igbo are physical as well as spiritual, requiring diagnosis and enquiry through divination with medical and spiritual applications to achieve healing. In those examples, spirituality is introduced to help protect the communal essence of medical knowledge, and to fulfil the healing of the dual self in Igbo cosmology. The herbal drugs are known but the production and use are spiritualised as part of a village's cosmic orientation. Again, the divination role is observable in the contributions of the deities to the healing process in the village; these deities formed part of the existential realities of the Igbo in the past and in many places at present.

Worthy to highlight is the principle of communal health as against individual health that permeates today's ontology of wellbeing. Temple (1959, 60) expressed that "the world of forces is held like a spider's web of which no single thread can be caused to vibrate without shaking the whole network". Then, Aja (2002, 30) observe that "an individual member's act or

behaviour influences the ontological order and consequently the whole community". So, everyone has to live for another to ensure the health and wellbeing of the community. This attitude is supported with the Igbo saying that '*Ofu nwa eka/aka rụta mmanu, ozuru ọha*' meaning 'when one finger gets oil, it spreads to others'. There is this common lamentation in the study area about how individual consciousness of nowadays exposed the society to different vices and diseases. For Useh people, this is against the promise of the *Ojiyi* deity that their land will continue to be in peace and good health if they can avoid bringing cassava into the land. Today, many members of Useh village believe that numerous diseases entered their community when *Akpụ* (cassava) made its way into the land. An abandoned building at a boundary between Useh and another village was where those that wished to eat any food prepared with *Akpụ* would go to do so. The failure to uphold this cosmic agreement, they believe, was what brought the damage to their 'collective self'. In this sense, the spiritual self of the indigenous people also needs immunity against spiritual damage. For Useh, the pact they entered with *Ojiyi* deity provided that immunity in the past. In the coming passage, another experience that explains the intricacies of community relations between humans and nonhumans – the posthumanist thoughts - within the context of the village arena are presented.

6.4 Igbo Acts and Thoughts on Posthumanism (or Animism?)

Katherine Hayles suggests in her book, *How We Become Posthumans* that the term posthuman incites terror and excites pleasure (1999). Explaining the terror it incites, she posits that "'post', with its dual connotation of superseding the human and coming after it, hints that the days of "the human" may be numbered" (1999, 283) as intelligent machines continue to dominate humans on the planet. The pleasure it incites she argues is that posthumanism open new ways of understanding what being human means today; "that the human occupies a new place in the universe, a universe now populated by what I am prepared to call nonhuman subjects" (Wolfe 2009, 47). Posthumanism engages the anthropocentric orientation of the world with a view that the attribution of 'human' exists beyond the Anthropocene. Miah (2008: 72) has argued that "the 'post' of posthumanism need not imply moving beyond humanness in some biological or evolutionary manner. Rather, the starting point should be an attempt to understand what has been omitted from an anthropocentric worldview". This omission produced the tension - anthropocentric versus non-anthropocentric dichotomies. However, Sundberg (2011, 321) contests that posthumanism is "a relational ontological approach framing the human and nonhuman as mutually constituted in and through social relations". It is a "complex knowledge systems wherein animals, plants, and spirits are understood as beings who participate in the

everyday practices that bring worlds into being" (Sundberg 2013, 35). Here, we shall see how this thinking manifests in Otobo and in the life of the Igbo.

Within the Igbo cosmos, this duality is difficult to distinguish if understood from the people's reverence for *Al'/Ani/Ala* exemplified in 7.0.3. The practice of *Ili Elọ*, which literally means 'burying of umbilical cord' connects human with the nonhuman. Each time a child is born among the Igbo in the past, the umbilical cord is cared for and monitored, whenever it falls off, the parents pick it and bury it under a tender tree, normally an economic tree: "palm tree, local peer tree (*ube*) breadfruit tree, local apple (*ụdara*) tree or plantain or banana tree" (Uchegbue 2010, 158). In the words of Uchendu (1965, 59), "the Igbo who cannot point to the burial place of his navel cord is not a *diala* - freeborn. A child whose navel cord was not buried is denied citizenship". One could understand how territoriality and belongingness manifest in the process of *Ili Elọ*, it gets one enmeshed in the living community. It shows that "human being share life with *Ala* (Earth), that we have our nature which is partly made of earth, and that our substance comes from the fruits of the earth and at death we rejoin in our bodies, the composition of earth whilst our soul joins our ancestors, who with the authority of *Ala* rule and govern the earth… (Ileogu 1974, 23). Put differently, it expresses an early oath-taking on behalf of a child to abide by the moral values, ethics and laws sanctioned by the *Al*'. It also symbolises an early dedication of the child to "the goddess of *Ala*, to the ancestors, and to the community, and symbolically admitted or introduced to the *Omenala* (tradition) of his people" (Uchegbue 2010, 159). In this ontology, the tree under which the umbilical cord is buried becomes a living witness to this oath and dedication as a member of the wider universe, where human and nonhuman are 'equal'. Let's take specific examples in the village arena to further understand this relational ontology.

In Useh Aku, an age-long *Ube* tree (*Canarium schweinfurthii*) in *Otobo* Useh - the village arena - is believed to be one of the routes through which children enter the village. In the past, a rite was performed for every newborn to appreciate the *Ube* tree for bringing forth a child into the earth. It is told that children are almost always around the tree, mostly to pick the seeds. The people narrate that there is hardly a time one will not find children under that particular *Ube* tree. Because a branch has never fallen on any of them, they have strong feelings that the tree love and harbour children. Consequently, women who are seeking for a child are sometimes revealed in divination to go to pray under the tree. Testimonies about many who have gone to pray - to ask - for children and have gotten children is common knowledge in the village. An adult member of the village submits that,

> In the days of yore, before the coming of *Oyibo* (this could mean 'modernity' or 'Whiteman'), when a child is born, the parents take a day-old chick to the arena and tie it on the Ube tree with a tender palm frond. Cooked food and wine are also taken along to the Otobo for prayers, thanksgiving and to have a communal meal. I performed this rite for this my child (she points to her son of c.11 years). I am not sure that people still do it today (UsehSI, interview, 16 December 2016).

She also revealed that there were sacred *Ujuru* (*Irvingia gabonensis*) and *Akpaka* (*Pentaclethra macrophylla*) trees (both are dead now) in the arena in the past. However, only those to whom any of the trees revealed itself through divination offer prayers to it.



Figure 15: From left to right are the *Ube* & *Ụdara Otobo* respectively

A *Ụdara* tree (*Chrysophyllum albidum*) in *Otobo* Amegu Umundu is said to represent the lives of the members of the village. According to many years of observation, AmeguJU (interview, 26 January 2017) told that "each time a branch of the tree falls, it's a signal for the death of a chief, a leader, a famous person, or a philanthropist in the village". Past *Onyishi* Amegu (ruler/leader, the oldest man in the village) have resisted attempts to cut down the tree. The most recent attempt was made in c.2004 during a rural electrification project in the community. The tree locates on the side where the wiring was to pass, a demand was made to cut down the tree but the *Onyishi* refused to approve it and reassured his people that such 'evil' (this refers

to cutting down the tree) against their ancestors would never happen in his reign. Also, *Igbudọcha* is a great and fearful deity in Amegu village whose shrine is simply a cluster of trees and grass.

In *Otobo Ogwu*, in the arena of the great *Ogwudinama* deity in Umu-Obira Nkporogu, a tree (unidentified species) is used to symbolise *Dimgbokwe* and another - an *Akpụ* (silk cotton tree – *Ceiba pentandra*) tree - for *Odiọkara*. What Dimgbokwu and *Odiọkara* stand for is already explained in chapter five. The *Dimgbokwe* tree is still standing, but the *Akpụ* tree lived, died, decayed, and decomposed into the earth to regenerate life. In this process of regenerating life, a sapling *Ọgbụ* (*Ficusthon ningii*) tree sprouted on the same location, and the people used it to replace the dead *Akpụ*, thus, bestowing on it the narratives of *Odiọkara* that the dead *Akpụ* was carrying while alive. It's interesting to note that both trees belong to the species categorized as 'life trees'.

In testimony to this ontological connectivity, the landscape of the village arena is consecrated for truth, justice and political sanity; and this dimension of the socio-political role of the Otobo is explored below.

6.5 Spatialisation of Truth - Landscape and Justice

Truth is relational to the question of reality. Science insists that truth must be verifiable, and this is against the psycho-spiritual ways of upholding truth among indigenous societies in the past. The issue of truth is here associated with the political and judicial roles of Otobo, where important decisions are made on the individual and community lives and destinies. 'Truth' is spatialised and built on ancestral consciousness about the landscape among the Igbo. Colonialism and modernisation truncated these establishments; however, where there has not been a return to the space, the people currently wish to start using them again and normally refer to their past experience in those space as 'the good old days when truth was 'sacred', *mgbe eziokwu bụ ndụ* - when truth is life.

The entire landscape of Otobo Amegu, Otobo Ebor, Otobo Umu-Agbo in Amokpu, Otobo Amamgbokwe in Umu-Obira, Ọnọkọrọ Ugwunabọ Ogor, and Otobo Uwani in Useh are sacred places that require participants to say only what they know or say what they were told by another. AmeguOM (interview, 26 January 2017) told a recent story (about three years ago) of a woman that came to bear witness before *Ọha* Umundu on a land dispute. She lied in favour of her invitee and on her way home, she received several slaps from unknown being. A few days later, she died. Elaborating on the fear that this landscape instils on the community, AmeguFU (interview, 28 May 2017) told that "sometimes in the past, *Ọha* Umundu moved

their meetings to Otobo Amorlu. They held meetings of the council there for many years before deciding to return to Otobo Amegu. Their return to Otobo Amegu was as a result of lies told in the political and judicial processes".

Otobo Ebor was the political headquarters of Eha-alumona town, *Ọha* Eha-lumona had their meetings in this arena in the past. "This Otobo stands for truth, if you are not known for truth, you don't attend meetings here. This is where Nkpụnatọ (Eha-alumona) come to take *Ọfọ*, a symbol of authority and righteousness" (FGD, EborEU, 12 December 2016). It is told that in c.1960s, many members of *Ọha* gradually stopped attending meetings in Otobo Ebor because some members who are proved to have twisted justice and told lies about the polity during meetings had died. Since that period, the council has stopped meeting in Otobo Ebor. "People prefer meeting in a location where they can tell lies to uphold injustice" (EborOU, interview, 6 December 2016).



Figure 16: *Ọhazuru Ọha Kwue* platform in Otobo Ogor

Uhunowerre people lay related claims to Otobo Umu-Agbo; the arena is sacred and people attending meetings in it must only say truths. Meanwhile, meetings are not held in the arena in recent time, it is relocated to the *Obu Oyishi* (palace of the *Onyishi*).

Otobo Amamgbokwe is a holy landscape known for truth. Otobo Amamgbokwe is used for an annual legislative meeting of *Ọsha/Ọha* Umu-Obira on the day of *Izu Amamgbokwe* (a yearly legislative session) during Ogwu festival in *ọnwa iteg'na*. At this gathering, the council of elders make and mitigate laws/policies of the land. On that day, heads of lineages assemble at a particular point carrying the *Ụkwụ Arụa* of their lineage (an ancestral symbol of authority) and a large bell. The head of a specific family leads the procession from that point to the Otobo

Amamgbokwe. The *Ụkwụ Arụa* are mounted in the arena as deliberations on laws/policies and other important matters of interest to the land begin. In the end, they will individually remove their *Ụkwụ Arụa* and the laws/policies and other issues will remain as agreed and cannot be negotiated until the next *ọnwa iteg'na* in the following year. They believe that the dead ancestors meet with the living elders on this day and at this venue, thereby sanctifying the venue that makes it abhor lies.

Ọnọkọrọ Ugwunabọ has *Ọnụ Ugwunabo* that sanctifies the space for truth. The entire Ikem hold political and judicial meetings in this venue because truth is assured. Cases that required the council of elders to take a critical decision on their own before the general public see them relocating to a small space in the Otobo called *Ọhazuru Ọha Kwue*. Here, members of the council of elders sit on the ground and each member maintains his sitting position until the end of the sub-meeting. At *Ọhazuru Ọha Kwue*, members of the council take a final position on a case or issue and return to inform the general assembly what they have decided.

Otobo Uwani is the oldest arena in Useh and it's not in use at the time of this research. Even when Useh people moved southeastwards to establish a new Otobo, they were still meeting in Otobo Uwani to maintain the polity and uphold justice. It is told that a time came when dubious people dominated the decision-making bodies of the village, they moved for the relocation of general assembly and council of elders' meetings to the new Otobo. Since then, meetings have not been held in Otobo Uwani and many elders regret that the injustices happening in their village is a result of that action. At the time of this research, the youths are pressuring the elders to return all the meetings to Otobo Uwani and their request is currently being considered and plans are underway to get it into the town union's constitution being drafted.

Chapter Summary

Social relations and social processes that produce, use and manage heritage are discussed in this chapter. Heritage is utilised to show how Igbo villages are formed and governed in a unity of purpose. The chapter also examined sets of procedure that established heritage and the degree to which power applied. Emphasis was largely on the leadership of heritage by different group of people that formed village settlements. However, such control of an aspect of heritage by one particular group or another is neutralised into the needs of the entire members of the village.

A village or a community is a constitution of many beings – humans and nonhumans, and the mutuality or connections they share are made conspicuous in the discussion. The chapter provoke thoughts about posthumanism, the degree to which the Igbo relate and share with other

‘beings’ in the environment, and the ways their mutual living shape the people’s universe especially in relation to birth, living, death and rebirth of all beings. We also got the sense of Igbo ideas on ‘authenticity’ of heritage from the narratives of the death of material culture and the subsequent transfer of associated stories onto another form, style or pattern of life. Although it is located in-between chapter five and seven, the chapter made clear the Igbo heritage philosophies in chapter five as well as launching us into more practical evidence of those ontologies in chapter seven.

Chapter Seven: The Village Arena in Heritage Perspective

7.0 Introduction

Building on the discussions in chapters five and six, this chapter presents the contents and context of the Igbo village arena. It engages the ways heritage defined in chapter five manifest in the arena through the social formation and social processes discussed in chapter six. It goes on to show how assimilation of new values could lead to crisis and division between humans on the one hand, and humans and nonhumans that lived in a mutual but mediated community on another.

The term *Onyishi* is variously used to refer to a ruler, a leader, the oldest man in a village/town and/or a priest among villages in Nsukka Igbo. Note also that spirit being is used here to refer to 'masquerade' because of what it really means to the Igbo (see 3.2). *Ọnụ*, *Ihu*, or *Ifu* means shrine or altar.

7.0.1 Philosophy and Processes of Establishment of Otobo

In understanding the foundational philosophies of the village arena, it will be useful to know what 'village arena' means to the people. First, a village among the Igbo is constituted by people or a group of people tracing descent to an ancestor who lived in their current location, or those tracing ancestry to the village or town from where they emigrated. Exceptions abound in villages where the first settlers received, settled and integrated/adopted other migrant people into their ancestry based on a good relationship, or because of those people's mastery of a particular skill/craft needed to exploit the environment. The examples of Amauzu and Umu-ugwu lineages/villages in Amokpu and Ebor respectively show that such people also maintain a quasi-independence, have their own *Otobo* but pay allegiance to the autochthons or first settlers. One binding attribute exists: their origin/migration narratives are woven into that of the autochthons and needed a careful and sustained enquiry to uncover their differences. These indigeneity complexities are unpacked in the discussions under 6.2.

The centralised term for the arena in the region, like in Aku, Nkporogu, Uhunowerre, and Eha-alumona is *Otobo*. However, it is called *Ọnọkọrọ* in Ikem, *Obodo* in Umundu, and *Ọfụ* in Enugu-Ezike; but these towns recognise that the arena is also called *Otobo*. The arena is defined as the "general compound of all members of the village" (interview, UsehOA, 2 December 2016; OnchaIU1 and OnichaEU, 16 March 2017; FGD, ObiraSAs, 21 January 2017), "where young people learn what they do not know about their history and tradition" (interview, AmokpuME, 18 May 2017).

It is the “meeting point for human and spirit, for the dead and for the living” (interview, UsehSI, 16 December 2016; AmokpuME, 18 May 2017), the “religious tabernacle of the people” (interview, OnichaRA, 17 March 2017; FGD agreement in the sessions in all the villages); “a place where communal cultural properties are kept, where important communal monuments are also located” (interview, OgorON, 28 November 2016).

Otobo is the “symbol of Nkpuru - an independent village” (interview, EborOU, 06 December 2016; AmokpuOU, 26 May 2017; AmokpuJA, 28 May, 2017; FGD in Ebor, 12 December 2016), a “centre of unity” (interview, ObiraSAj, 11 February 2017; OnichaRA, 17 March 2017), and a “leisure and recreational centre of the village” (interview, OnichaIU1, 16 March 2017; UsehPN, 03 January 2017). In the views of all the participants in the research, the village arena was in the past, and (in some places) at present, the centre for political, cultural, religious and economic meetings. It continues to provide space for cultural rite/festivals/ceremonies, and juridical proceedings. It is "our native court, a place where ‘*Itarigba*’ (meaning ‘strictly of a people tracing descent from a known ancestor’) meet to make laws/policies and resolve crises” (interview, AmokpuJU, 25 May 2017). In the words of OnichaIU2 (interview, 16 March 2017), “*Ọfụ* is the village”. His position agrees with those who see the arena as the symbol of an independent village.

The arena is the ‘Whole’ of the village, the heartbeat of the community. This core definition accounts for the reason for locating some important monuments outside the village arena, yet, they are regarded as being part of the arena. They also express the civic role of the arena, and the arena itself connotes a system that connects the ‘Whole’ - the village.

The process of establishing the village arena is in part secular and in another spiritual. It either begins when the people arrived on the land or when there is an expansion that leads to founding a new independent village. Either way, land acquisition is central to the establishment. Villages consider very useful a land located at the centre of all the lineage-settlements. If a collective land is found at the centre, such land is taken through the approval of *Onyishi* (ruler) and in agreement with the *Ọha* (council of elders). A situation where the land at the centre has been shared among members of the village, people whose lands are located around the place of choice donate part or all the parcel of land required to the village. In Onicha Enugu and Umu-Obira, for example, those who witnessed when people donated land to establish a village arena for an emerging independent village narrate that compensation was not given to the donor(s). Instead, the donor(s) feel honoured to have brought their land for collective use. Unlike these days when land is scarce, people had land in excess.

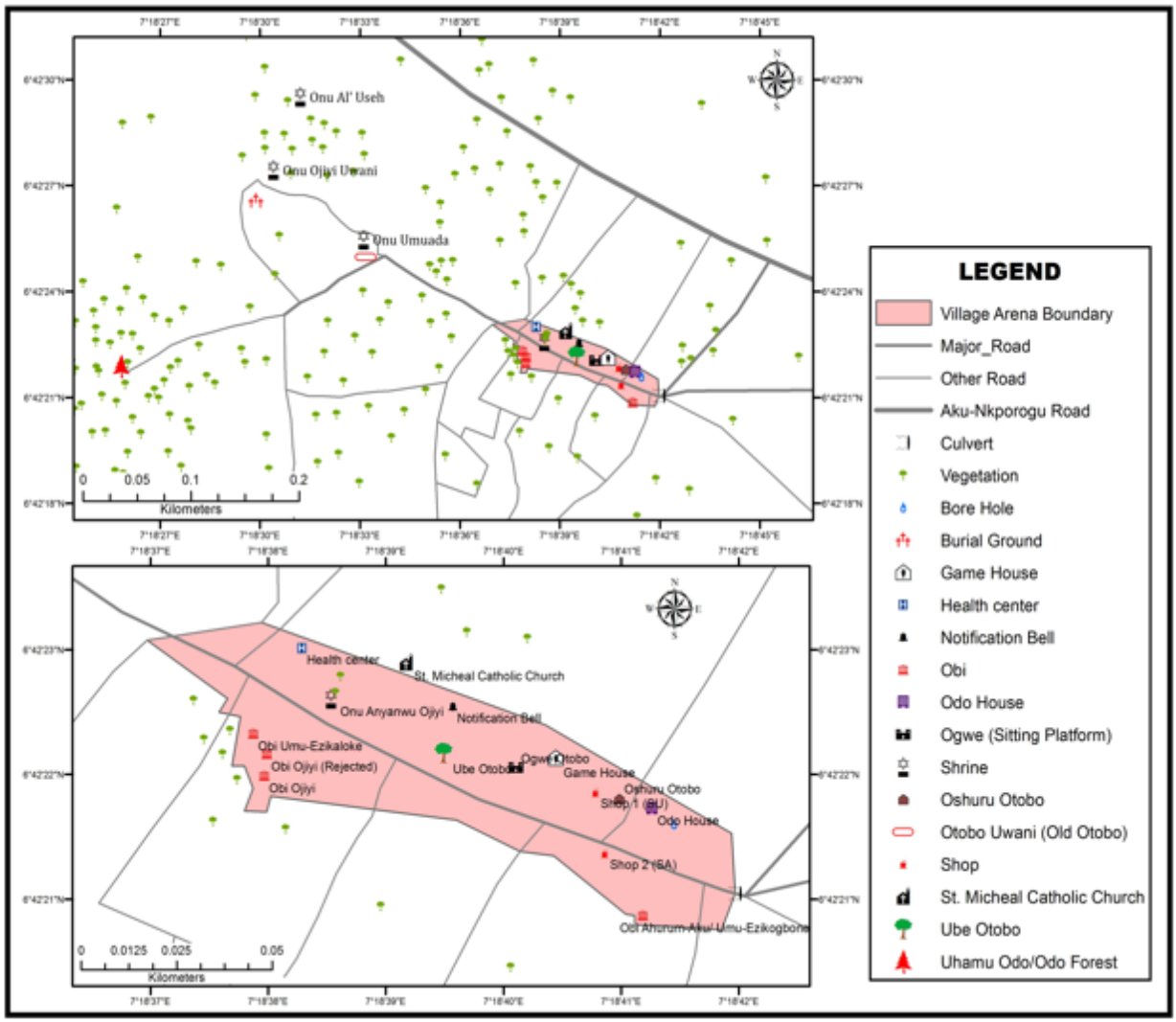


Figure 17: A map showing heritage sites & their connectivity to Otobo & Igbo lifeways

After clearing the land in Ikem for instance, the *Onyishi* in the company of the council of elders performs the ritual invocation and pronouncements that establishes the arena. This is followed by the founding of *Ọnụ Al'* (shrine of the earth goddess), *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke* (shrine of the sun of the supreme God) and deities like *Ogbobogu* in Onicha Enugu Ezike, *Aja* in Ebor Eha-alumona etc. whose presence are required for the unity, protection and progress of the community. Subsequently, communal shrines or altars are raised, cultural materials, and monuments are continuously acquired and kept in the arena. OnichaRA narrates the process in Onicha Enugu-Ezike during a panel session thusly:

> When we fought a war to occupy this land, we made a collective *Ọgwụ* (medicine) we used for the war. After securing the land as collective property, those our ancestors that fought the war mapped out a location at the centre where the Ọgwụ is kept. We have three village arenas in Onicha Enugu, and there are *Ọgwụ Ọfụ* in all of them (e.g.

Uhu/Ọnụ Ohebe for Onicha Ogbo; *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọnyi* for Umu Ossai; and *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọha* for Umu Agbedoaba). *Ọgwụ Ọfụ* is a security apparatus that protects the land from invaders. It is also a uniting phenomenon for the village, and we draw strength from them (FGD, 09 March 2017).



Figure 18: A landscape view of Otobo Amegu

In Useh, a uniting and protective *Ọgwụ* called *Oshuru* Otobo (this could loosely translate as 'holder of Otobo') is also founded during the establishment process. *Oshuru* by its meaning is believed to be binding members of the village together under a united front and to play a health-related role in the village (see further explanation under 6.0.3). For Umu-Obira, ObiraSAs described the process during the FGD session to the acceptance of all the participants as follow:

> How we got Otobo is that Ekwerukakwe gave birth to Diugwu, Dimara and Ezikaneke and each of them dispersed and settled separately when they grew. Later, they came together and agreed to establish a place where they could meet to discuss their affairs. It is this place they agreed to meet that is called Otobo. Listen, Otobo is communal property. Then, it is located in a communal land at the centre. Sometimes, a land belonging to one person but locates at the centre is cleared and used. The people will gather and the *Onyishi* takes a kola nut to pray to Ezechitoke to ask him to protect them as they use the space for socio-cultural, political, and economic meetings. A ritual tree called *Ọgbụ* (*Ficusthon ningii*) is planted, one to provide shade and another to mark the location of *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechikwoke*. *Ụlọ Otobo* (hall) is built (FGD, 21 January 2017).

In Ogor, the following process was described by OgorAA and OgorCU:

> It could be my personal land that locates where the village has agreed to establish the *Ọnọkọrọ.* The land is taken from me and pronounced *Ọnọkọrọ*. *Maa Ọha bụ Al'* (a deity belonging to all, that's the earth goddess) is the first monument to be situated in it. *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke* followed by the water shrine is established. Water is life and we migrated to this land because of the availability of water - the Ebonyi river. So, we set up *Ọnụ Ebonyi*, which locates somewhere close to the river but connects to the village cosmos that established the arena. Those that have *Ọgwụ Ọha* (medicine belonging to all) for protection also keep them in the Ọnọkọrọ. *Ụlọ Nshi* (house of the Odo spirit being) and *Agbụdụ* (sitting platform) are built. Other shrines or monuments could be added from time to time (FGD, 09 February 2017).

Related narratives given in Ebor and Amokpu are already covered in chapter five under 5.0.1 and 5.1.2 respectively. In all, the steps to establish a village arena starts with the securing land, setting up *Ọnụ Al'*, *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke*, building sitting platforms, building the house of the spirit beings, and continuously institutionalising and keeping cultural materials, monuments, shrines and so on.

Village arena is collectively established by independent villages in the Nsukka region to be used for the following activities.

1. To stand as a symbol of an independent village.
2. To provide space for keeping or locating shared cultural materials and monuments respectively.
3. To provide a venue for meetings, where laws/policies of the land are made and reviewed.
4. To serve as a civic space for inculcating values, ethics and traditions of the land.
5. To serve as a religious centre/tabernacle of the village.
6. To serve as a native court for the people, where cases are tried and judgments delivered.
7. To provide space for carrying out performances, festivals, ceremonies, initiations and all kinds of communal feasting.
8. To provide space for leisure, games and sporting activities.

In the past, all kinds of cases are heard and resolved in the arena either by the general assembly, a council of elders, or a committee in charge of a particular aspect of the tradition or the designates of the council of elders. Even though Igbo villages are no longer their own small republics, and fall under Nigeria's broader political system, Nigerian laws retained the customary rights of the indigenous peoples. Sequel to that provision, land cases, family and inter-family conflicts, marriage problems and minor crimes are heard, and judgments delivered

by the council of elders or their designates. Deriving from the discussion made in this passage, a classification of the village arena is attempted in the next section.

7.0.2 Types and Structure

There are two classifications of the Igbo village arena based on ownership and functions. According to ownership, there are those owned by the entire village and those that belong to the lineages that make up the village. Those public ones also confer identity to a specific lineage within which it is located but extend the same benefits and functions to the larger population in the village or where a confederacy exists. Village arenas found in this category also serve as the political, cultural and to an extent religious headquarters of the village or the confederacy. Examples under this category are Otobo Umu-Agbo in Amokpu Uhunowerre, Ọnọkọrọ Ugwunabọ/Ọnụ Ugwunabọ in Ogor Ikem, Otobo Ifu in Umu-Obira Nkporogu, Otobo Useh in Aku, and Otobo Amegu in Umundu. In Onicha Enugu, Ọfụ Umu-Agbedo Aba is the centre. Otobo Ebor is central to the village, serving all the lineages that make up Ebor as a collective entity. The arenas that serve only the lineages are found in Umu-Obira (Otobo Ugwuenechi, Ogbara, Amaozaka, Akpachi and Uwani); Ogor (Ọnọkọrọ Obegu, Umuezutu, Ogelewgu, Umu-Enyanwu 1 and Umu-Enyanwu 2 (*Ọnụ Ekwe*)); Amokpu (Otobo Amauzu and Amegu); and Onicha Enugu (Ọfụ Onicha Ogbo and Umu-Ossai).

Looking at categorisation by functions, all the village arenas mentioned in the first category above also belong here. Those with special functions are found mostly in Umu-obira, Useh, Onicha Enugu, then, Ọnọkọrọ Agbondụrụ in Ogor village. Otobo Ogwudinama (Ogwu in short form) and Otobo Amamgbokwe are dedicated arenas in Umu-Obira. The first is dedicated to the great deity of Ogwu which lead to locating other vital shrines like *Ọnụ Al*, *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke, Ọnụ Ụmụada, Dimgbokwe* and *Odiọkara* within the area. The latter is used for a one-off annual legislative meeting of the people. Otobo Uwani is the old arena of Useh people which started serving a special purpose after they expanded settlement and founded a new Otobo - the current Otobo Useh. Because they believe that lies are not told, and justice is not truncated for fear of their dead ancestors who also attend meetings in Otobo Uwani, they have continued to hold meetings in it until recently. However, it was observed during the fieldwork that efforts are made to enshrine in their proposed town union constitution a section that would return all their meetings to that arena. Arenas like Otobo Umu-Agbo, Ọnọkọrọ Ugwunabọ/Ọnụ Ugwunabo, Otobo Ifu, Otobo Ebor, Otobo Amegu, and Ọfụ Umu-Agbedo Aba were in the past and (to an extent) at present attended with such beliefs as found in Useh about Otobo Uwani.

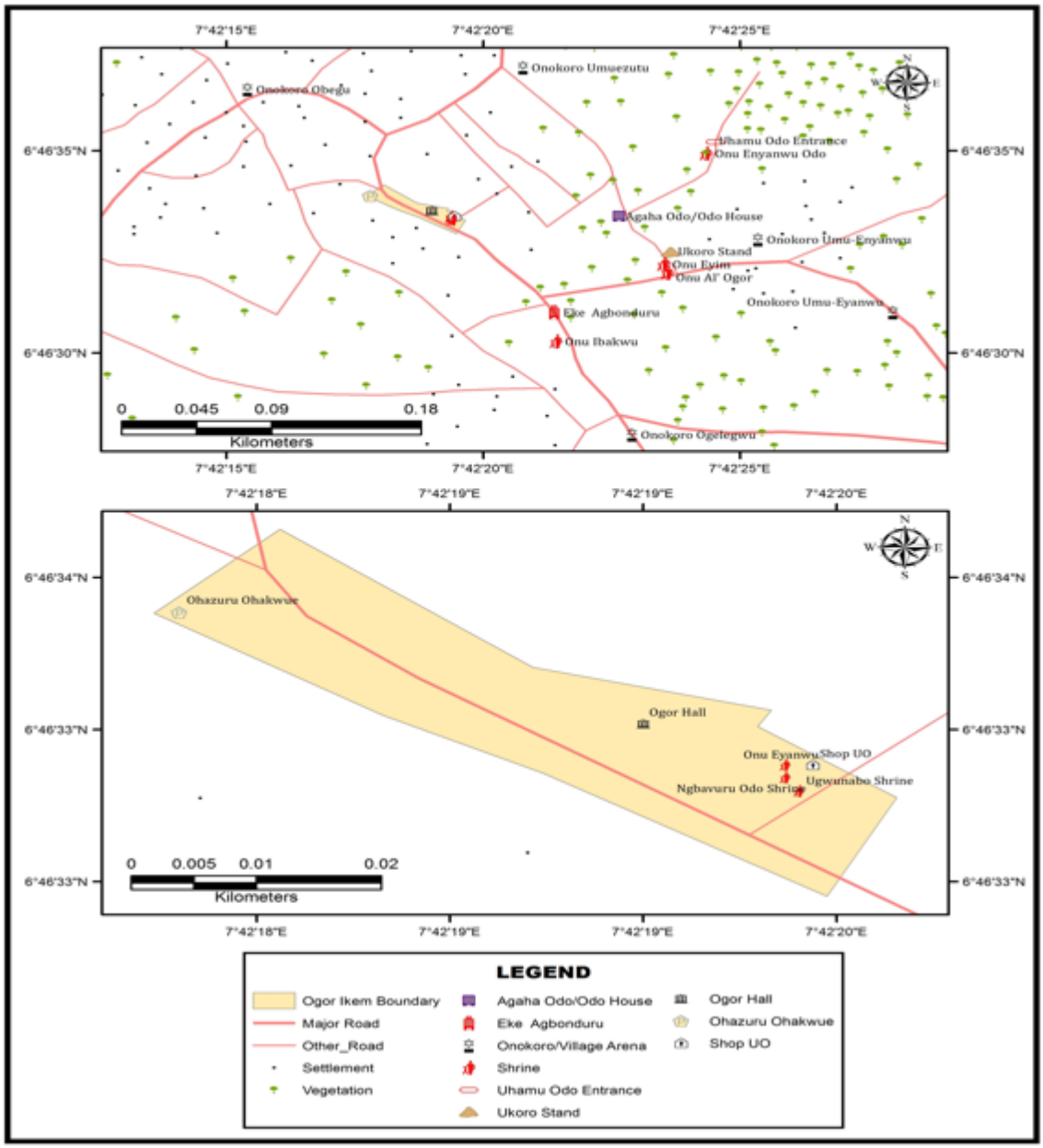


Figure 19: A map showing the distribution of Ọnọkọrọ & heritage sites in Ogor

Ụlọ Oche is a security and street courts spatially located in all the streets of Onicha Enugu, and Enugu-Ezike town in general. It is an extension or lower chamber of Ọfụ, where instant cases are resolved, where the vigilante group mount at night to watch the street against crime. *Ụlọ Oche* is a small house with a raised platform for sitting, a large bell (a repurposed car wheel-hub is used) and a lantern lit at night. Ọnọkọrọ Agbondụrụ marks the location where the man that brought Ikem people to their present settlement first arrived.

In summary, a village arena is established with the following objectives:

1. used for political/judicial meetings, where the gods and ancestors are believed to be present during meetings, and where one is expected not to tell lies to avoid being afflicted with death, an ailment or misfortune;
2. serve as the socio-cultural, political and religious headquarters of the village;
3. used for a one-off annual meeting to make and mitigate laws/policies of the land;
4. identify lineage units that make up an independent village;
5. dedicated to a deity for its activities and functions; and
6. used for relaxation and all sorts of traditional meeting/gathering whether social, cultural, political, economic or religious, or for events such as festivals/ceremonies, mask and musical performances, and sporting/gaming like wrestling competition.



Figure 20: A typical example of *Ụlọ Oche* in Onicha Enugu

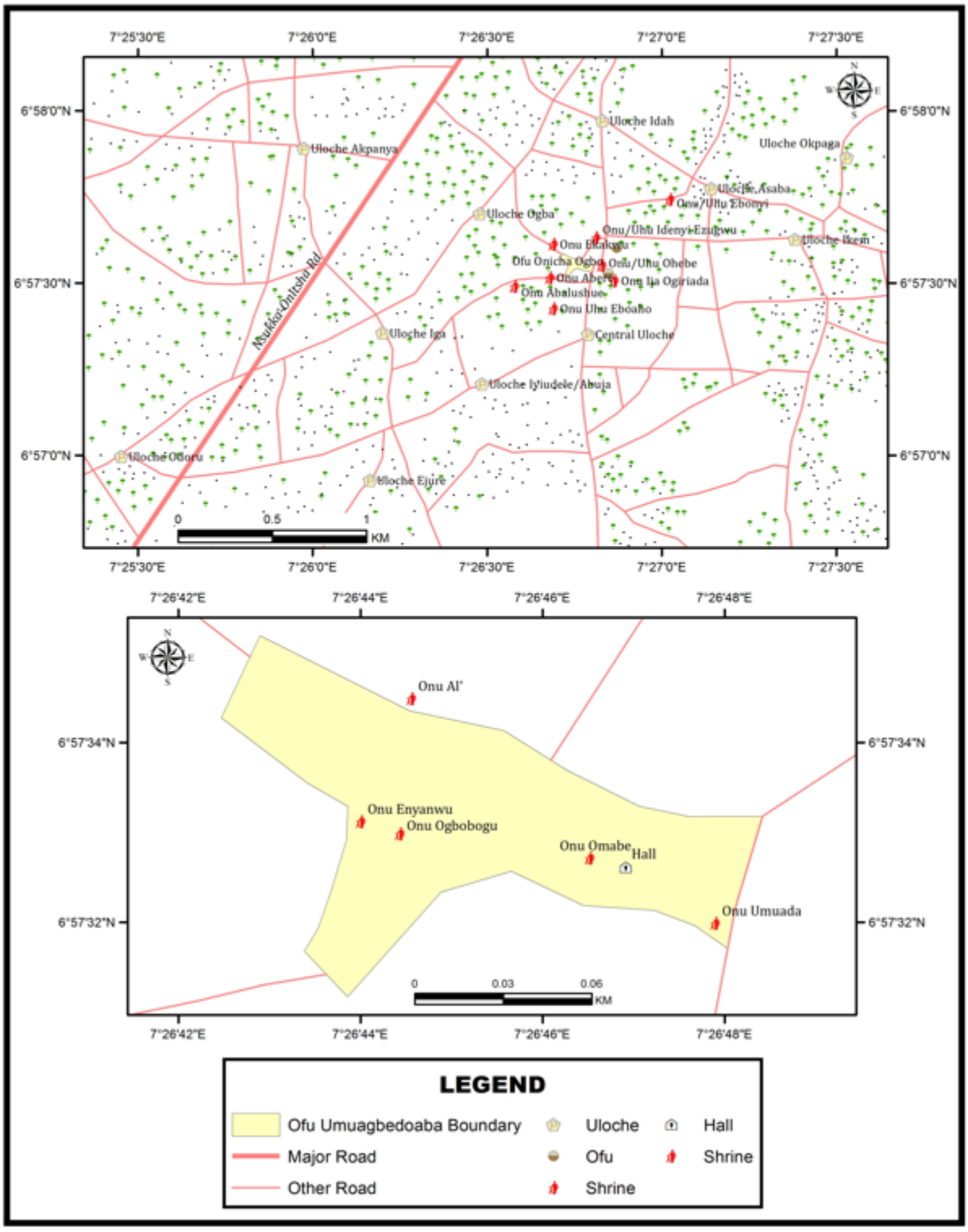


Figure 21: A map showing the distribution of *Ọfụ, Ụlọ Oche* & heritage sites in Onicha Enugu Ezike

The village arena has no specific structural pattern; it takes structure based on land availability and topography. Having discussed the philosophies behind the establishment of the arena and the typologies, let's examine some of the contents of the Otobo.

7.0.3 Sites, Monuments and Materials in the Arena across Villages

Enquiry into *iye Omenala/Omenani/Omenal'* in Otobo gives insight into the contextual meaning of the arena in Igbo society. The interest leads to a list of almost all the cultural sites, monuments and materials situated both within and outside the geographical boundary of the arena (see table 6). This is understandable from the philosophical foundation of the arena as 'the whole' of the village. Generally, *Ọnụ Al'* is located somewhere close to the arena, the reason for the location may be related to the grove around it that needs not be found in a place as open and cleared as the arena. Useh people argue that it is located outside the arena because of its sacred and ethical nature, which could be easily violated with the kind of events that happen in Otobo. It buttresses the point that *Al'* is too sacred, not everyone is worthy to see it at every point in time. Examples of other sites and monuments located in an extension to the Otobo in Ogor are *Ọnụ Eyịm*, *Ọnụ Ebonyi* (river), *Ukoro*, *Uhamu Odo* and the central *Agaha Odo/Ulọ Nshi*. *Obunyiko* (spring) is on top of the hills while *Shụajịọkụ* is on the route to the farm in Umu-Obira. Those ones outside the arena in Onicha Enugu are *Ọnụ Abere, Ọnụ Idenyi Ezugwu deity, Ọnụ Abalushue* and all the *Ọgwụ Ọfụ*. The maps show clearly all the sites and monuments outside the boundary of Otobo that are cosmically connected to it.

There are similar sites, monuments and materials found in all the studied village arenas in the region and there are ones that are very particular to villages. *Ọnụ Al', Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke,* and *Ọnụ Ụmuada* are significant features to behold in all the villages.



Figure 22: *Ọnụ Al'* in Ogor Ikem is secured in this house

In Igbo cosmos, *Ani, Ala, Ana or Al'* (in dialectal differences) is an entanglement of all the things that exist; the Nsukka Igbo call it *Al'*. It is the Igbo word for 'land 'or 'ground', which

is cosmologically referred to as the 'earth goddess', 'the mother of all things', "the mother earth" (Uchendu 1965; Ifesieh 1989; 1994; Coley 1982). Her sanctity is a responsibility of all species - human, animal, plant, or landforms and water bodies etc., hence, alteration of one of them could affect the healthy survival of the whole.

Corroborating ethnographic information with literature indicates that moral values, ethics of behaviour, and laws/policies of the land are believed to dwell in her cosmos; she controls fertility. She could be good or bad based on the people's ability to keep the laws of the land. Violation/desecration, what the Igbo call *arụ*, *iru nsọ Al'* or *imeru Al'* meaning 'taboo' or 'altering of the universe' spells doom for the people, the environment and its contents and requires cleansing or ritual placation to restore order (see Oriji 2007; Uchendu 1965; Meek 1937). *Al'* monitors marriages and expose adulterers to the public in Onicha Enugu, for instance. Being in good terms with *Al'* symbolises being at peace with procreation and living in a healthy society. OnichaRA and OnichaEU (interview, 17 March 2017) argue that,

> Any year we prayed in *Ọnụ Al'* and open it, members of the village that do evil, especially those that unjustly killed a man or woman dies (see also Meek 1937, 25), economic crops produce well, we have a bumper harvest, very many good things happen in this land. But, many *Onyishi* in the recent time has refused to do this right thing because they are afraid of chains of deaths that will follow and because they are not righteous themselves.

No one can order the opening of *Ọnụ Al'* in any village without the approval of *Onyishi* who sits in-between the living, the (dead) ancestors and gods. In places like in Onicha Enugu, many members of *Ọha* (council of elders) have been in conflict with the past and present *Onyishi* for not praying and opening the *Ọnụ Al'* as done in the past to heal the land, repair the environment, and prosper the people. Some *Onyishi* claimed they are now Christian converts who should not do any such thing, on the other hand, the position they occupy is a traditional one. Many elders believe, therefore, that the many degenerating human values and the dwindling agricultural output experienced in the region today are a result of the disobedience, misbehaviour, and evil doings against the ethics of life sanctioned by *Al'*, the procreator, "the mother earth".

Every village and town have an *Ihu/Ifu/Iru Al'* or *Ọnụ Al'*, this could mean 'the face of the earth', 'the beginning of the earth' or 'the altar of the earth goddess'. Even though there is no physical demarcation of the earth except where a body of water make one, each independent village refers to the earth goddess as their own, example, *Al'* Useh, *Al'* Umu-Obira, *Al'* Amegu and so on. This is a cosmic demarcation of the territorial features and conceptualization of the earth and the species that relate with the people in the living community. One significant feature

of *Ọnụ Al'* is a small groove with a cluster of tree species, the trees according to Ifesieh (1989) are planted during the founding of *Ihu/Ifu /Iru Al'* or *Ọnụ Al'*. There is a connection between this tree content of the *Ihu/Ifu /Iru Al'* or *Ọnụ Al'* and the practice of *Ili Elọ*, which literally means 'burying of umbilical cord' (see 6.4). Of course, it was regarded as an act of animism, which could be seen now as an act of posthumanism.



Figure 23: *Odegwo* in Dunoka Lejja that typify the described *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke*

Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke is the shrine of the sun of the supreme God; this supreme God is called *Ezechitoke* or *Chukwu*. Out of all the participants in my research, one person was able to narrate the myth that established *Ọnụ Enyanwụ*. AmokpuME opines that,

> The Igbo, Igara and all other people of the earth are one in the past. Then, they spoke the same language. The *Enyawụ* (sun) you look at is the messenger of *Chukwu* (God). Human's quest to be closer to *Chukwu* during prayers, where *Chukwu* can quickly receive their petitions made them conceive the idea of building a sand pyramid. They all agreed, and everyone assembled to commence work. It was said that as the sun passes each day, it sees them building the structure closer to the *Igwe* (sky) and returned to tell *Chukwu* that humans are making a structure to get to him. *Chukwu* told *Enyanwụ* that he knew what he would do to stop them, that when going out the next day, *Enyanwụ* should come to collect what it will throw at them in the work site. The next day, work had commenced when *Enyanwụ* threw what Chukwu gave him (his explanation

> makes it look like 'ray of light') on the people, and they all lost consciousness and sense of understanding their communication. All of the people started communicating in strange languages, and no one was able to hear another again. So, work stopped, and everyone dispersed in different directions. That was how different languages on 'earth', Igbo, Igara, Yoruba and so on were founded (interview, 18 May 2017).

Ọnụ Enyanwụ is a round-shaped kind of pyramid similar to what a colonial anthropologist found in Nsude in the present Udi LGA in the early 20th century. The structure of *Odegwo* (Opata and Apeh 2012; 2016) that are currently situated in Otobo Ugwu Dunoka Lejja, an ancient iron smelting village in Nsukka local government area is an excellent example of the structure of *Ọnụ Enyanwụ.* It has one rounded step with a protrusion pointing upwards, and a designed branch of (*Akpaa*) *Okpeye* tree (*Prosopis africana*) is placed on top of it. In contrast, Umundu people place *Mkpume* (stone) (interview, AmeguUU, 19 May 2017). Pointing at a little tree with a height of about 3.5 meters in front of us, AmokpuME told that the *Ọnụ Enyanwụ* in Otobo Umu-Agbo in the past was of the same height. Poor conservation allowed rain to destroy this structure, but there is a sacred tree that is currently planted in that location in Otobo Umu-Agbo, where they still offer prayers. Apart from the public ones in the arenas, every Igbo man had *Ọnụ Enyanwụ* in his compound in the past; great deities also had one dedicated to them. The ritual tree of *Ọgbu* is usually used to depict the position of *Ọnụ Enyanwụ.*

Ụmụada is the 'married' daughters of a village. *Ọnụ Ụmụada* is a shrine dedicated to these people and it helps to unite all of them into the village cosmos. The rite of passage from girlhood to adulthood (*ikpa iyi* in Umu-Obira and *Idu n' Amah* in Useh) and the final rite of passage after death (*igba ọba*) are performed around it. *Onyishi Ụmụada* (the oldest daughter of the land) who is also called *Ede* in some climes is the priest, and her final installation as *Onyishi Ụmụada* is performed in the shrine. The rites of *ikpa iyi* or *Idu n' Amah* and *igba ọba* are described in detail in 7.0.4. In some villages like in Umundu, the *Ede* manages the shrine but only a man can perform ritual supplication in it, this could be an adult male from the village. In the past and in some places at present, a theatrical sitting platform was/is constructed with logs of wood (see also Basden 1966, 150). This sitting platform is called *Ogwe* in Useh, Amaegu and Ebor; *Ogboro* in Umu-Obira; *Agbụdụ* in Ogor; and *Igọ* in Onicha Enugu. In recent time, many of these sitting structures are replaced with a raised platform, bench or plastic chairs. Where one is found, they are not maintained and lack a touch of arts described to be one of the characteristics in the past.



Figure 24: *Ọnụ Ụmụada* in Onicha Enugu

Ụlọ Maa is the more acceptable term for a house from where the embodied spirit beings emerge to perform in the arena; it is another central feature in the arena. The house is identified based on the type of the tradition of the spirit being that is operational in a village. It is called *Ụlọ Ọmabe* in Amokpu, Ebor and Onicha Enugu; *Ụlọ Odo* in Useh; *Agaha Odo* or *Ụlọ Nshi* in Ogor; and *Ụlọ Mmanwu* in Umu-Obira. Thus, *Odo*, *Ọmabe* and *Mmanwu* are embodied spirit beings. In most places, the house has become part of the village hall, where the paraphernalia and musical instruments of these embodied spirits beings are kept. Also, *Ụlọ Maa* is one of the features used in identifying an independent village in the past, and it's recently regarded (only known within the villages) as an administrative unit of governance for sharing welfare packages from state and local government councils. *Ọnụ Ọmabe, Ọnụ Abere*, and *Ụlọ Ọmabe* are the shrines of those spirit embodiments that dot village arenas in the areas where *Ọmabe* institution exist. *Uhamu Odo* and *Ekwụ/Eshụshụa Ọmabe* are sacred groves where the spirit embodiments of *Odo* and *Ọmabe* live; from there, the spirits enter the village and return. But *Ọmabe* goes through *Agụ* (farmland) to arrive in the year of its festival.

Whereas *Ọnụ Ọmabe* is located in the arena, *Ọnụ Odo* is found in the grove in Ogor. However, Useh people have no shrine for Odo; instead, prayers are made to the Odo embodied spirit at any location within the grove or anywhere the Odo spirit being was standing when such prayer is requested. *Ọnụ Ọmabe* contains a cluster of pots and pottery, ritual trees such as *Ogirishi* (*Newbouldia laevis*) and *Abushi* (*Baphia nitida*), different colours of threads of cloth, and (in some places) an old machete. *Ọnụ Odo* in Ikem is made up of a heap of sand, a ritual tree

(species unidentified) and some *awụ* (sacred feathers); there is also a *Ọnụ Enyanwụ Odo* at the entrance to the *Uhamu in Ogor*.



Figure 25: *Ụlọ Nshi* (*Odo*)*/Ụlọ Maa* in Ogor Ikem

The current *Uhamu Odo* in Ogor is recent, the old *Uhamu* is abandoned and the location is mapped for building a civic centre. The reason for relocating the sacred grove relates to modern development that encroaches into it; the Isi-Uzo local government headquarters is a few kilometres away from it. Therefore, a one-time sacred ground is turned profane. It is rather contradictory to know that these sacred forests also return to profanity in ordinary years other than the *Odo* or *Ọmabe* festival year of the local calendar. We will return to this point later.

Ọnụ Abere is the shrine of a spirit being that performs at nights. It reveals to society individual ways of living and exist only in the villages that practice *Ọmabe*. Whereas the villages call the shrine *Ọnụ Abere*, the spirit embodiment that performs at night is called *Ikpọnyị* in Amokpu, *Udele* in Ebor*, Onyekur'nye* in Amegu and *Nwa ideke* in Onicha Enugu.

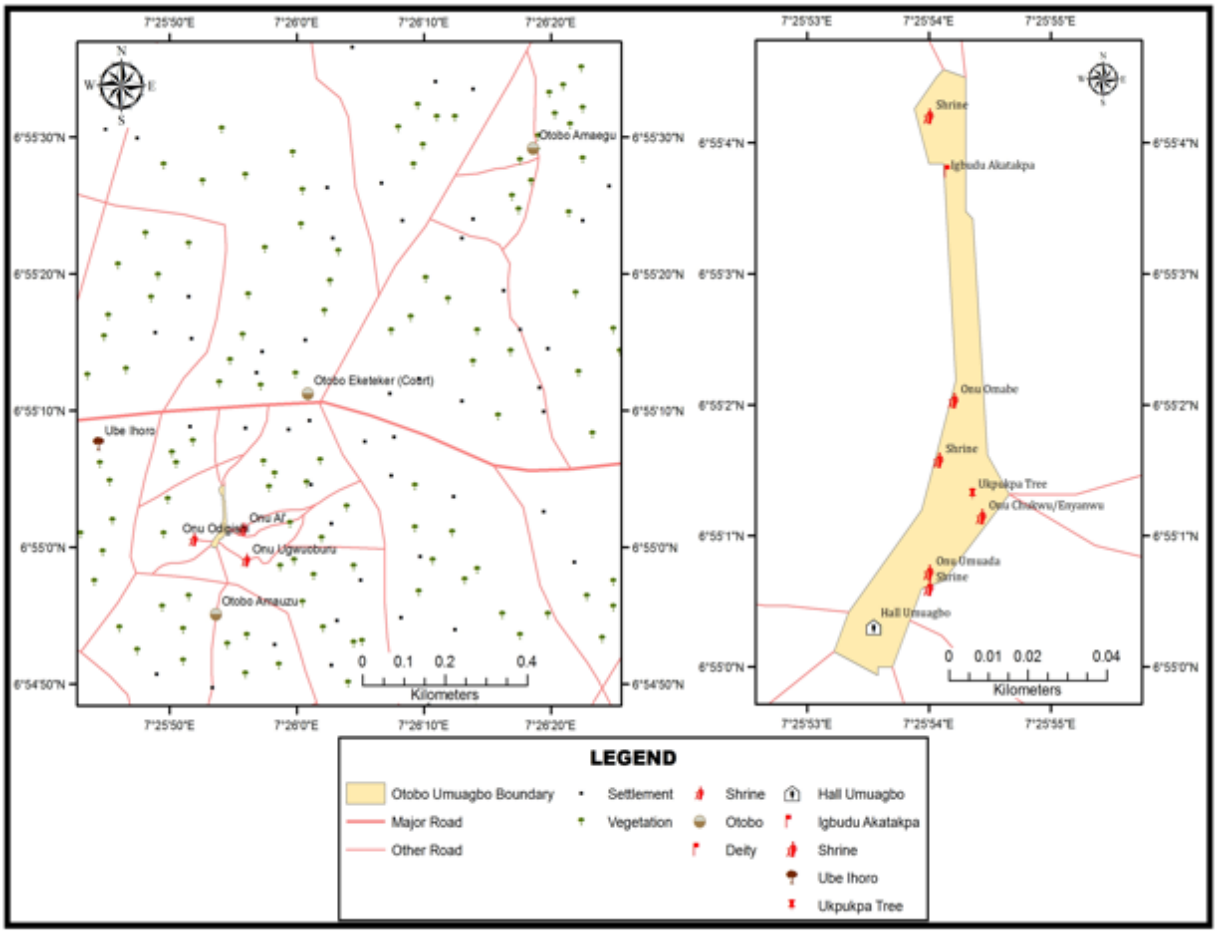


Figure 26: Site map of Amokpu showing Otobo & the contained sites/monuments

AmokpuPO narrates his encounter with *Ikpọnyị* thus:

> Just [a] few days ago when *Ikpọnyi* was performing, it passed beside my house, called me and I answered. It started by telling me that I am a drunkard; that I go to the market and return late every day because of my drinking attitude. I am lucky because if I were living a life that is considered very bad in society, it would have exposed me to the public. But friends were praising me after that encounter. *Ikpọnyi* told my neighbour that he is a troublemaker; that he should conclude his brother's funeral rites, avoid making trouble with people and stop sleeping about with different women (interview, 1 May 2017).

The night performance is aimed at exposing people that have bad and dubious attitudes and to appreciate those with positive behaviour. This performance involves a procession that sets out from the arena after some rites are carried out in *Ọnụ Abere*.

Shụajịọkụ is an agricultural and/or yam deity recognisable in the study area. Ogor people call it *Eyim* and Ebor refer to the rite performed in the shrine as *Igọ e'gg'* (*e'gg'* means 'hoe handle', *Igọ e'gg* literally means 'praying to the hoe'). *Ọnụ Shụajịọkụ* is temporarily set up annually to

perform the prayer rite for a new farm season in Otobo Useh and in yam barn of individuals in Ebor in the past. In Ogor, the shrine is sited outside the Otobo, and on the route to the farm in Umu-Obira. After the *Shụajiọkụ* rite is done in Useh, a man who was already determined through divination would have to go to a farm to cultivate a yam mound. It should have been revealed in divination that there will be bumper-harvest in that farm season if that particular person cultivates the land before anyone in the village. It forms part of the *Shụajiọkụ* rite in every farming season in Useh. In Onicha Enugu, members of the council of elders did cultivate yam for the Ogbobeogu deity in the past. The yam is harvested and used to fulfil the *Shụajiọkụ* rite.



Figure 27: *Obu Ojiyi* deity in Useh Aku, its contents & mask

Table 6: Sites, monuments and materials in different Arena (including those in extension but linked to the Arena through the Igbo cosmos)

	Names of village and contents						
S/No	**Useh Aku**	**Umu-Obira Nkporogu**	**Ogor Ikem**	**Amokpu Uhunowerre**	**Amegu Umundu**	**Ebor Eha-Alumona**	**Onicha Enugu-Ezike**
1	Ọnụ Al' (extension to Otobo Uwani)	Ifu Al'	Ọnụ Al' (in extension)	Ọnụ Al' (in extension)	Ọnụ Al' (in extension)	Ọnụ Al' (in extension)	Ọnụ Al' (in extension)
2	Ọnụ Enyanwụ	Ifu Enyanwụ Ezechikwoke	Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke	Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke	Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke	Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke	Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke
3	Ọnụ Ụmụada (in Otobo Uwani)	Ifu Ụmụada		Ọnụ Ụmụada	Ọnụ Ụmụada	Ọnụ Ụmụada	Ọnụ Ụmụada
4	Ogwe, also have sitting platforms in their halls	Ogboro (old sitting platform), now have plastic chairs in a hall	Agbụdụ (old sitting platform), also have sits in a hall	Ogwe (old sitting platform), now have sits in a hall	Ogwe (old sitting platform), now have sits in a hall	Ogwe, also have a hall with a sitting platform	Igọ (old sitting platform), have a hall with a sitting platform
5				Ọnụ Ọmabe	Ọnụ Ọmabe	Ọnụ Ọmabe	Ọnụ Ọmabe
6				Ọnụ Abere (Ịkpọnyi spirit being)	Ọnụ Abere	Ọnụ Abere (Udele spirit being)	Ọnụ Abere (Nwa Ideke spirit being)
7	Ụhamu Odo (extension)		Ụhamu Odo (extension)			Ekwụ/ Eshụshụa Ọmabe	Eshụshụa Ọmabe
8	Ụlọ Odo (containing Odo musical instruments)	Ụlọ Mmanwu (containing paraphernalia for Ekwe, Arigo, Akag', Igeri, Atụ, Ikorodo, Okotoko)	Agaha or Ụlọ Nshi Odo (central one containing Odo paraphernalia from the past to present)	Ụlọ Ọmabe		Ụlọ Ọmabe (a room in the hall containing Ọmabe paraphernalia)	Ụlọ Ọmabe (a room in the hall containing Ọmabe paraphernalia)
9	Ọnụ Shụajiọkụ (Agric/yam shrine, temporarily sited)	Ifu Shụajiọkụ (Agric/yam shrine on the route to farm)	Ọnụ Eyim (Agric/yam shrine, in extension)		Eshụshụa Ekwensụ (in extension)	Ọnụ Ọhọ	Ọnụ Shụajiọkụ (Agric/yam shrine)
10	Obu Ojiyi (has Obu-palace containing its paraphernalia & some Odo masks)	Ifu Diugwu Idu	Ọnụ Ibakwu	Oshu-Idenyi (for war)	Ọnụ Ojete	Ọnụ Aja (has Obu-palace and its contents)	Ụlọ Oche (lower chamber of Ọfụ in all the streets in Onicha Enugu)
11	Ọnụ Ahụrụm Aku	Ifu Ogwudinama	Ugwunabo shrine	Ọnụ Akatakpa (Igbudu Akatakpa)	Ọnụ Igbudọcha	Ọnụ Udele (has a house containing its paraphernalia)	Ọnụ Ogbobeogu (has a house containing its paraphernalia)

12	Oshuru Otobo	Ifu Dimgbokwe	Abede Musical instrument		Ọnụ Ngwu Amegu	Ọnụ Ugwu-Arege	Ọnụ Abalushe
13	A burial ground for Onyishis & titled men (Otobo Uwani)	Ifu Odiọkara	Ukoro (or Ikoro)	Obonyi (it's also part of the Ọmabe musical equipment)	Obonyi (part of Ọmabe musical equipment)	Obonyi (part of the Ọmabe musical equipment)	Ọnụ Ojete
14	Ube Otobo	Ifu Chị Ogwu	Chair for Onyishi Ụmụ Enyanwụ		Ọnụ Efụrụ	Ọnụ Ọnwụzenze (shrine for stars)	Ụhụ Idenyi Ezegwu deity (palace of the deity in extension)
15	Ụgbọ Eche (indigenous game), Draft game	Ụgbọ Eche (an indigenous game in the past)	Ụgbọ Eche (indigenous game)	Ụgbọ Eche (an indigenous game in the past)	Ụgbọ Eche (an indigenous game in the past)	Ụgbọ Eche (an indigenous game in the past)	Ụgbọ Eche (an indigenous game in the past)
16	Hall (Obu Ụmụ Ezike Aloke & Obu Ụmụ Ezike Ogbene)	Hall	Hall	Hall (a room containing paraphernalia for Ọmabe, Ekwe, Ekpe, Ogede)	Hall	Hall (a room containing paraphernalia for Ọmabe)	Hall (a room containing paraphernalia for Ọmabe)
17	Health centre	Ọmụ (public sharpening stone)	Ọmụ (public sharpening stone)		Ọnụ Ure	Shrine for market days: *Ọnụ Eke *Ọnụ Orie *Ọnụ Ahọ *Ọnụ Nkwọ	Ọgwụ Ọfụ: *Uhu/Ọnụ Ohebe in Ọfụ Ụmụ Ezocha *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọnyi in Ọfụ Ụmụ Ossai Ukwuaba *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọha in Ọfụ Ụmụ Agbedoaba)
18	Bore-whole and water taps	*Ifu Idenyi (Otobo Uwani) * Ifu Ibobo (Otobo Ogbara) * Oshuru Otobo (Otobo Ogbara)	*Mosquito Infesting shrine (for war in the past) *Al' Ad'g Mpawa (Onokoro Obegu) *Igbo-legrem-n'enya (Onokoro Obegu)?		Ọnụ Egwugwu	Ọnụ Mamema (shrine of all the unknown gods/deities)	* Ọnụ Ekakwụ & Izu Ekweogu (Ụmụ Asanya) *Ija Ogiriada & Agbụrụga (Onicha-ogbo)
19		Obuyiko (spring)	Ngbavuru Odo shrine		Ụdara Otobo		
20			Ọhazụrụ Ọha Kwue				
21	Two lock-up Shops		Two lock-up shops			One lock-up shop	

There are different deities that protect the people and are used for retributive justice in many village arenas. They include *Ojiyi* and *Ahurum Aku* in Useh; *Ogwudinama* (*Ogwu* in short form) in Umu-Obira; *Odo Akụọlọ* in Ogor; *Igbuduọcha* and *Ngwu* in Amegu; *Aja* and *Udele* in Ebor; and *Idenyi Ezugwu* in Onicha Enugu. Worthy of mentioning is the role of *Ahurum Aku* in marriage and sexual life of Useh people. In the past, every woman married into Useh village would be taken to the shrine of *Ahurum Aku* along with a small pot. After performing an initiation rite into Useh village, the pot is placed around the shrine by closing it on the ground. It was said that after this event, such a woman would have to avoid adultery because *Ahurum Aku* will expose her if she does.

Each of these deities mentioned above has one or more of the followings: a dedicated festival, a palace (locally called *Obu* or *Uhu*) or just a house containing its shrine and paraphernalia (see figure 27), or a piece of land and the associated economic trees that the priest enjoys. *Ogwudinama* has an arena of its own that contains other shrines and monuments. Ogwu shrine is a large mound of pots, potsherd, and stone; some of the pots contain 'healing water' used by the adherents. The palace of the deities could be a separate residential house around the shrine of the deity, where the chosen priest will go to live; when such is not obtainable, the priest operates from his personal house. It is usually a mini-museum containing treasures belonging to the deity, musical instruments, a sacred mask (where one exists), shrines containing artworks and many other features. Masks belonging to any of the deities embody its spirit to perform in the arena during the dedicated festival. For instance, *Ojiyi* has a mask that performs in its festival in *Ọnwa esatọ*, and *Odo Akụọlọ* has a mask that participates in *Odo* festival in *Ọnwa etọ*. All the deities have individual priests called *Attamah* except the *Ogwudinama* that has a council of priests, where all the *Onyishi* of lineages or members of *Ọsha/Ọha* are priests. There are several other shrines with one or more functions in the society that are located in the village arena in the region. Their functions may include but not limited to religion, protection, politics, *ụba ụmụ* (fertility or prosperous birthing), status, ancestral identity, unity, war assistance, or music (see table 6).

The known *Ikoro* in Igboland is called *Ukoro* in Ogor, *Obonyi* in Amokpu, Amegu, Ebor and Onicha Enugu, *Ushue* in Umu-Obira, and *Enne* in Useh. The *Ukoro* is located around the same site with the *Ọnụ Al'* Ogor and inside the halls where the *Ọmabe* paraphernalia are kept in other villages. *Ukoro* is a big hollowed-trunk of wood with some artistic touch used in Ogor to alert members of the village that war is coming, to notify them when an *Onyishi*, warrior, titled man or a great person dies. If one ignores the sound to attend to farm work, it's believed that crops planted in such a farm wouldn't produce. In some of the villages, *Obonyi* is part of the *Ọmabe*

musical instruments. The *Obonyi* music is danced during a funeral rite of an *Onyishi*, elderly people or during *Ọmabe* festival by warriors that have brought home one or more heads of the enemy from a war or by those that have killed lion, leopard, or python, people who have actually done great things relating to the safety and wellbeing of the village or exposition of unimaginable skills. Only this category of people dances and match the *Obonyi*, they use the dancing steps to demonstrate how they carried out the killing of the enemy or a predatory animal. In Umu-Obira, the music is danced to by members of *Ọsha/Ọha* and/or the priests of *Ogwu* during the *Ogwudinama* festival in *ọnwa itegina*.



Figure 28: *Ukoro* in Ogor Ikem

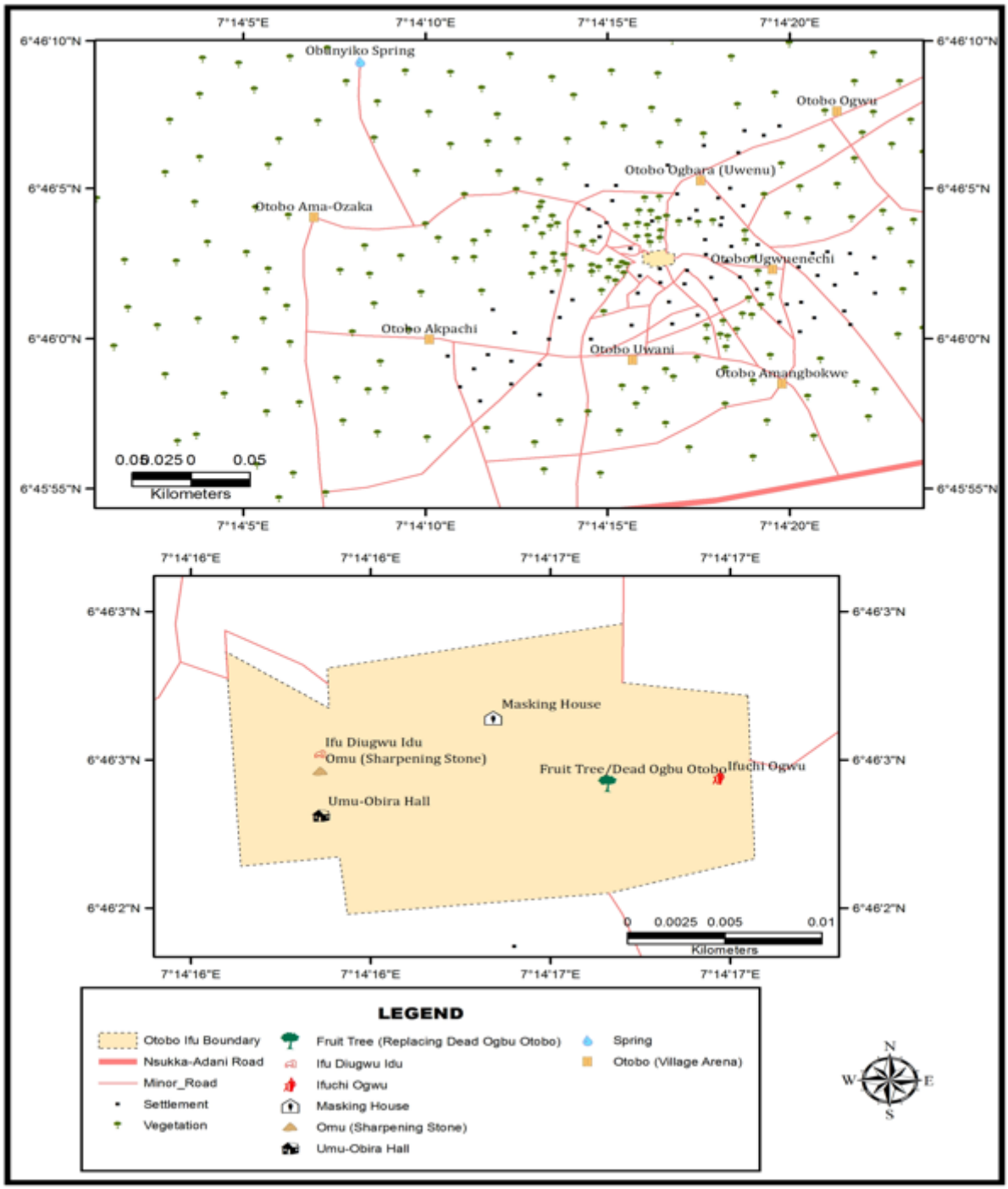


Figure 29: A map showing the distribution of Otobo & heritage sites/monuments in Umu-Obira

There is *Ugbọ eche* in every village arena. It is a type of game commonly played around the region by children and elders. The twelve-hole *Ugbọ eche* played by children is dug on the ground (carved on the wood in recent time) while the forty-hole type for elders is carved on the wood. It involves a mathematical calculation relating to gain and loss, it was said that children learn a lot about enterprise from playing it.

Having discussed many of the similar materials, sites and monuments found in all the village arenas, let's turn to specific contents of the village arena in the seven villages (see also table 6). Some of the contents are also explained in other sections of this chapter.



Figure 30: *Ugbọ eche* being played in Otobo Obegu Ogor

Ọmụ is a public sharpening stone situated in Otobo Ifu in Umu-Obira and *Ọnọkọrọ/Ọnụ Ugwunabọ* in Ogor. People come on daily bases to sharpen their farm implements like cutlass. There is *Ojete* in Amegu and Onicha Enugu. *Ojete* is a protective *Ọgwụ*. In the past (and in some places at present), infants that are yet to grow teeth are not carried-pass the arena without going to pray in *Ọnụ Ojete*; a small container of palm oil, day-old chick and kola nut are required for this prayer.

Eshụshụa Ekwensu is a small grove visited annually by *Ọha* Umundu in the past to execute a rite associated with *ọnwa esaa*; the grove is a venue for the final conferment of *Amah* title. In Ogor, *Ekwensu* is used to refer to those that achieved similar feet like the people that dance *Obonyi* music or those that put on *Awụ* (sacred feather), who must have made insurmountable achievement(s) in the village. Useh people call *Ekwensu* '*Ekwetu*' and UsehSI (interview, 16 December 2016) argued that *Ojiyi* deity is *Ekwetu*. According to her, gods, deity or beings that possess powers beyond humans are categorised as *Ekwetu*. As a result, any human that exhibit attitudes relating to the powers of such beings could be called *Ekwetu* (see Opata 2005 for details on *Ekwensu* in Igboland).

Abalushue is a very important shrine in Onicha Enugu that helps in the astrological study of moon appearance and calculation of local calendar. The shrine is located at the centre of a road, dividing the road into two passable routes. At every new moon, one side of the road is closed by the priest and the other is open for use. The priest keeps track of the number of times the

closing and opening occurred and use it to monitor when a year is completed. He makes this information available to the council of elders during the calculation of the local calendar at the beginning of every new year. In Ebor, there is the *Ọnụ Ọnwuzenze* - the shrine of the stars - which means that they had interest in understanding stars.

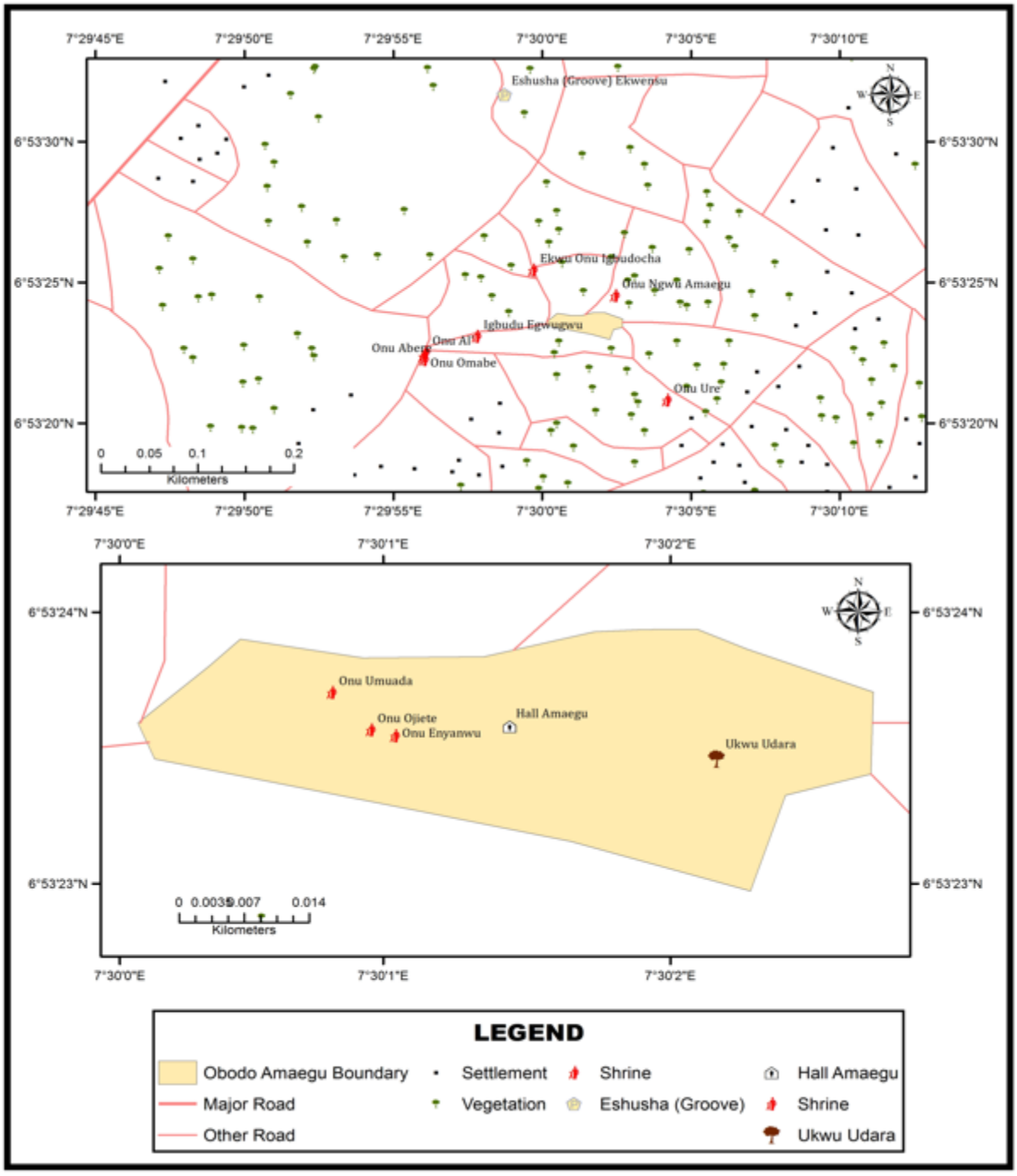


Figure 31: Otobo Amegu showing the distribution of sites & monuments

To Ebor people, all the unknown gods, deities or beings deserved recognition and reverence. Consequently, they instituted a shrine in the arena called *Ọnụ Maamema*. The shrine of

Maamema (literally meaning 'all gods, deities or beings') is an altar for praying to all the unknown gods, deities or beings that exist in the universe to protect or to pacify them to always work in the people's favour.

So far, we have briefly presented the tangible contents of the Otobo, even though, many of them are entangled with the intangible features, there is need to examine further the intangible contents that give meaning to the tangible ones.

7.0.4 Rites, Festivals or Ceremonies

The same way that some materials, monuments and sites are found in all/many of the arenas so do rites, festivals or ceremonies. The *Odo*, *Ọmabe*, *Akatakpa* and *Nmanwu* spirit beings display in the arena during their festivals (see table 4 for the list of festivals), and their paraphernalia is also kept in the Otobo. For clarity and coherence, the discussion here will be done according to villages. However, funeral rites are still carried out in all the Otobo at present, and wrestling competition is still organised in Otobo in Ogor and in the past in other village arenas. Villages or lineages institutionalise masks that carry out burial or funeral rites and/or entertainment (e.g. Ekwe and Ekpe in Amokpu) many of which are kept in Otobo. Also, married women who sweep and clean the Otobo are celebrated every year in an event called *Nri Otobo* in Ebor, *Ishuekwue Eziza* in Amokpu and *Edzi Obobo* in Amegu. Families that lack compound could use the arena to host marriage ceremonies or events of public interest. There are many of these rites, festivals or ceremonies relating to the sites/monuments/materials in all the villages but those experienced in the field or narrated during the interviews/FGP are presented here. Some others especially rites are described in the cause of discussing other uses of Otobo.

Useh Aku

Odo and *Ojiyi* festivals, as well as *Amah* rite, are presented here. The *Odo* festival year is every two years. It starts with an invocation rite in Otobo Use in *ọnwa mbụ* (1st month) of the *Odo* year. Four weeks later, on *Eke* market day, a sound is made in the arena around 4pm to notify women and the uninitiated to stay indoors. *Dikwu* and *Ọkpara Odo* (chief and assistant priests) in the company of the *Ọha* – the council of elders - would enter the *Uhamu Odo* to invoke and pray to the spirit of *Odo*. While young men source for furled palm fronds used for designing the *Odo* masks, the elderly ones engage in *igba Eha Odo* (divination for *Odo*). An enquiry is made through divination to determine who will carry the *Ovuruzọ/Okipe Odo*, what *Odo* will ask the people to offer to it for the year, which rain management 'expert' will be consulted,

who will hold the protective *Ọgwụ* on the day of the festival and much other information. *Uhamu Odo* becomes sacred from the day the palm frond is cut and taken to the grove. The next day, *Orie* market day, men enter the *Uhamu* to prepare and design the masks. *Nwanogwu* and *Okikpe Odo* will display in the Arena on *Afọ* market day (a day after) to the amusement and charring of all members of the village and their invitees. *Okikpe* will make a tour of other villages in Aku the day that follows. After three weeks of the local calendar (12 days), another set of Odo called *Ọgada* will arrive. In one month (28 days), another set called *Obodike* will arrive. Each of the sets is designed differently, has its own musical composition and will have to display in the Otobo. Every year, they are designed and discarded; the designed masks also look alike from year to year because the knowledge is transferred from one generation to another.



Figure 32: *Okikpe Odo* performing in Otobo Ogor

The same day that *Obodike* arrived is *Ejeg' Oshigo* ceremony - all the *Okikpe Odo* in Aku town will visit Oshigo village arena to display. In the noon of the day that follows, Useh will play

host to other *Okikpe Odo* from Oshigo in Otobo Useh. After hosting other *Ọkikpe* in the morning and afternoon, at about 3pm, men assemble in the houses of the *Onyishi* of the smaller lineages to have a reunion meal. In the evening, around 5pm, groups of *Obodik*e Odo come to display in the arena after which the *ina-mbọ* rite begins. *Ina-mbọ* is a process where women bring coconut to the arena, give it to the elderly men from their family who will then transmit the same to the Odo. In turn, *Obodike Odo* feeds the crowd with those coconuts, hand-to-mouth in form of the church's holy communion. *Ọgada Odo* will continue to display and chase youths about in the arena and the entire village setting until the departure of Odo in *ọnwa ise* (5th month of the Igbo calendar). The final rite is performed in the *Uhamu* to end the Odo festival.

Ojiyi festival is celebrated in *ọnwa esatọ* by the entire Aku people. It involves the sixty-six villages in Aku because *Ojiyi* is owned by all but located in Useh and placed under the management of Useh people (see 6.2). The festival is a period when *Ojiyi* deity visits the sixty-six villages in Aku town to inspect the condition of its people. It also receives Aku people who wish to pay homage. *Ojiyi* spirit embodies its mask to display in Otobo Useh before embarking on the tour of villages in Aku.

Amah is the month of peace, when everyone in Useh must observe peace no matter any level of provocation. One significant event during this period is the *idu n'amah*, a rite of transition from childhood to adulthood/girlhood. Elderly women assemble all the girls whose ages are satisfactory for transition into adulthood at the *Ọnụ Amah* - the shrine of Amah – located in a hill. The girls wear *jigida* (rolls of ancient beads) only, apparently, they appear necked. However, men are placed on a house enclosure until the rite is concluded. When they finish with the prayers and some rite at the hill, the girls move in procession from the hill through the village streets to the arena where it ends.

Umu-Obira Nkporogu

One major and important festival in Umu-Obira is *ọnwa itegina* festival - *ọnwa Ogwudinama*. It starts when *ọnwa itegina* moon arrives. At *izu-nabọ* (two native weeks), the head of *Ogwu* priests will inform the people that it's time for *Ogwu* festival to begin. *Afa* diviner is consulted to find out from the gods and ancestors what they require from the people so as to continue to protect and prosper them. Whatever the *Afa* diviner finds, Umu-Obira people will do it to begin the festival process. The head of *Ogwu deity* is shaved on the same day that the diviner was consulted. What this signifies is to clear the deity of the filthy hair (in a cosmic sense, the filthy hair translates to Umu-Obira problems) it has carried for one year to look fresh and lively.

Whether the shaving is done spiritually or physically remained unknown to this research. On *Orie* market day, *Mmawu* is pronounced (*ika Mmanwu*); this is a process where the priests tell Umu-Obira people the requirements for the spirit beings to appear and be able to perform.

Igbu ekwụ Ogwu (cutting of palm fruit for *Ogwu*) on another *Orie* market day is the next phase. In the past, one is expected to finish processing palm fruit, from cooking to the extraction of the oil before dusk. The process is not allowed to last into dusk because it provokes the spirit of *Ogwudinama*. One is required to throw away the palm fruits or any of its products if s/he could not finish processing them before dusk. So, *Igbu ekwụ Ogwu* is associated with this law. It is also a taboo for anyone to enter any land belonging to Umu-Obira to cut down palm fruits on the day of *igbu ekwụ Ogwu*. Even, none of the priests would know how the palm fruits got from *igbu ekwụ Ogwu* are processed. They only come to know that the rite has finished when the sound of *ntiche agbụ* is made in the morning of *eke mpetempe*. The oil gotten from it is used for the *Ogwudinama* rites in Otobo *Ogwu*. On *eke mpetempe* day, no one in Umu-Obira shaves his/her hair except the priests who do it to look fresh, clean and holy (*inọ na nsọ*) just like the *Ogwu* deity that shaved earlier. The priests are shaved by a daughter from their lineage and not their wife.

Then, the *Orie Chi* follows. This is the day that all the priests go to clear and clean Otobo *Ogwu* and the routes through which they pass at night of that day to carry out some traditional rites in the grove around the location. It is a cosmic journey and members are attentive to hear when a request is made by another for a free passage to avoid colliding - a mistake that could cost a life, if not lives, in the village. They undergo the journey to cleanse and purify the land and make promises of gifts to the gods for future protection of the people. Between midnight and morning hours, they return home walking through a route created by their ancestors for the cleansing and purification purposes. At home, members of the family are waiting to receive them amidst jubilation and drinking for their safe return. To acquire more energy to survive the cosmic journey, the priests fast from the morning of *Orie Chi* day till they return the following morning. On returning, they bath, wear their best regalia and assemble in Otobo Ifu to dance to the music of *Ushue* (wooden gong) as part of the celebration of life and purity. After the *Ushue* dance, it is believed that the village is pure and normalised. Thus, feasting that feature performances by different spirit beings are observed throughout the *Afọ* market day. In two days to come, the *Izu Amamgbokwe* is held in Otobo Amamgbokwe. *Itechi akpukpọ* rite on *Orie* day marks the end of *Ọnwa Itegina* festival. Meanwhile, whoever died in the village within the period of *Ọnwa Itegina* festival is not buried until it ends. In fact, it is assumed that no one died because such death is regarded as a bad one.



Figure 33: *Ekwe* performing in Otobo Ugwuenechi Umu-obira

Ikpa iyi is another important rite in *ọnwa enọ*. Women gather, walk, and sing round Umu-Obira. They retire to their lineage Otobo to prepare for the next stage. At midnight, elderly women would walk to the river to perform some rites. They go along with young girls who have come of age to initiate them into womanhood. The girls will appear without wearing clothes. This festival is a rite of transition to womanhood, after which a girl is ripe for marriage. It is an opportunity to understand different age groups because people's age is made known to participants. When the initiation rituals are finished, the women return to the Otobo. Early in

the morning the next day, they visit the river to clean it. Each eldest woman leads the delegation of girls from their lineage and each of the girls will attend with twenty-three kola nuts. The kola nuts are handed over to the women priests (normally from Amaozaka lineage) that preside over the rituals. This festival is not performed anymore because of Christianity; the last set that did it was around 1980s-90s.

In *Ọnwa mbụ* (first month in the Igbo calendar), the Otobo Ifu hosts the *ika Ezugwu* rite – a pronouncement of the festival of the great *Ezugwu* deity. On this day, the Igbo calendar is calculated by the *Ọsha/Ọha/Idi Nkporogu* (council of elders) to mark the beginning of a new year. *Afa* diviner is kept around to seek clarifications on scheduling the year's events because cultural rites/ceremonies are planned at the beginning of every year during the meeting. A mini celebration takes place and prayers are made at the *Ifu Diugwu Idu* located on top of the settlement mound of the founding father - Diugwu Idu - of Nkporogu.

Ogor Ikem

Sounding of the sacred *Odo* music and an invocation rite in Ọnọkọrọ/Ọnụ Ugwunabọ in *ọnwa etọ* signals the arrival of *Odo* spirit being. *Ngbavuru Egba* Odo is the most revered and the first to arrive in the year of *Odo* festival locally called '*Nkiri Odo*'. Another ritual rite is to be performed in the farm area by the *Ụmụ-ọkpụkpụ* committee to make way for the arrival. *Ngbavuru Egba* emerges first at the *Ugwu Odo* (the hill of *Odo*), a landscape considered very sacred and holy. It is lead to the village arena by *Ede-awọgụ Odo* – its forerunner.

Although the arrival of *Ngbavuru Egba* is celebrated by the entire people of Ikem Asokwa, it initiates the arrival of other leading *Odo* of the villages that formed Ikem. OgorRO (interview, 18 January 2017) explained that *Ngbavuru Egba* happens to be the only such leading Odo in Ikem in the past. However, the increase in population and the establishment of more independent villages provided the ground for institutionalising leading *Odo* for each of other group of villages. There are, therefore, *Ọgadike* and *Ọbiar'-nnewute Odo* in Umu-aram, *Alụ* and *Ugwuogele Odo* in Ebia, *Akpaka Odo* in Amudamu, *Ngwuegba* and *Obodike Odo* in Ikem Nkwo, *Ụkwụ-anyigọha Odo* in Ugwuagbatu, and *Ọnọdụ-ọgerenyi* in Umu-odumogwu village. This group of Odo are currently in the same category with *Ngbavuru Egba* and each has a forerunner.

When the arrival of all the leading *Odo* has gone around Ikem, Ogor is still the first village to commence the arrival of *Igbara Odo* – the second category – from *Uhamu Odo*. The *Odo Akụọlọ* deity embodies its mask to perform during this period. It has to arrive before other

Igbara Odo will commence arrival, from one village group in Ogor to another, then, to the larger villages in Ikem. The festival ends with a ritual procession into the *Uhamu*.



Figure 34: *Igbara* Odo performing in Otobo Ogor

Ọr'raeshi is agricultural/yam festival/rite performed in the first month of the year. It starts with divination enquiry by *Nd'gọr Ji* after which they will take kola nut to *Ọha* Ogor to inform them that it's time for *Ọr'raeshi* festival. On *Ahọ/Afọ Ọr'raeshi* day, people offer sacrifice of different animals to the god of agriculture/yam and merry in their household; yam is stressed because it is the head of all crops. On *Eke* market day, *Nd'gọr Ji* meets with *Ọha* Ikem in Ọnọkọrọ/Ọnụ Ugwunabọ where the *Onyishi* Ogor will pray to the gods of agriculture/yam to protect the people from farm works and make them have a bumper harvest in the coming year. *Oyishi Ji* (the head/leader of *Nd'gọr Ji*) would go to the farm on the same day to perform a rite that would allow other members of the village to commence farm work for the year. He will till the land and make four yam mounds; without this rite, it's a crime for anyone in Ikem to commence farm work.

In three native weeks, on *Orie* market day, *Nd'gọr Ji* and *Nd' Ọha* assemble in the market space, *Ngele Ji* (yam music) sounds at the venue but only *Nd'gọr Ji* can dance to its rhythm. All the farmers in Ogor attend to display their yam from where the most prosperous farmers are selected according to the sizes of their yam and price it is sold. *Ogbuadla/M'ma ọrụ* (cutlass) is given to the first position, *Ọgụ ọrụ* (hoe) to the second position, and *Mpọma* (weeding hoe/cutlass) to the third position. The philosophy behind these prizes is that farmland will need to be cleared with a cutlass before a hoe is used to cultivate, then, weeding hoe/cutlass to weed the farm. As such, the farm implements are stratified - cutlass makes hoe useful and hoe makes weeding hoe/cutlass relevant in farming activities. Consequently, cutlass is the most

revered among all; this could be the reason why top members of *Ụmụ Odo* dance with a cutlass during *Okpoegba*. The next day, a wrestling competition called *Ote Ugo* is organised in the village arena in Ikem town to end *Ọr'raeshi* festival.

Amokpu Uhunowerre

Every four years, in *ọnwa ebọ* (the second month in the Igbo calendar), the *Ọmabe* spirit enters the village from *Agụ/Egg'* (farmland) to settle in and operate from the arena. Festivals associated with *Ọmabe* ranging from arrival, a rite in *ọnwa ise* (the fifth month in the Igbo calendar) to departure in *ọnwa ishi* (the sixth month) are done in the arena. The *Ọmabe* shrine, the musical instruments and all the paraphernalia are found in the Otobo. Types of *Ọmabe* spirit beings are *Oriọkpa, Igele, Agbeji, Edi Ogbenne*, and *Ugwuadana*. Many of them participate in the festival from the beginning to the end and others perform in one or more rites. The festival/rite of *Ọmabe* is well known in the literature (Onyeneke 1987; Ray and Shaw 1987).

Ọnwa etọ (the third month in the Igbo calendar) is the *Egba Eze* festival when *Akatakpa* performs. Within the festival period, a *ịkpụ Ebule* (ram) rite is organized in Otobo Eketeker. *Ikpụ Ebule* is the most popular ceremony in *Egba Eze*. It is marked with dancing performance, cane whipping and merriment. On that day, many of the *Akatapka* in Uhunowerre come to perform in Otobo Eketeker. Prizes such as an *Ebule* (ram) for the first position, an *Oke Ọkụkọ* (rooster) for the second position and some *Ji* (tubers of yam) for the third position are made available and distributed among the most beautiful and best performed *Akatakpa*. But because of the crisis caused by sharing these prizes in the past, it rotates annually from one village to another. A day following *ịkpụ Ebule* is the *Ụla Akatakpa* (the day that the *Akatakpa* spirit departs from Uhunowerre). *Ụla Akatakpa* is marked with a rite that sees all the *Akatakpa* in Uhunowerre place their whipping canes in *Ọnụ Akatakpa* (popularly called *Igbudu Akatakpa*) located in Otobo Umu-agbo. At night, the *Ndegbe* spirit being will arrive Uhunowerre. *Ndegbe* is the oldest and the eldest of all the spirit beings in Uhunowerre. Even though the mask is prepared, worn and led by children, all other spirit beings pay homage to it when they come in contact.

Ọnwa esatọ (the eighth month in the Igbo calendar) is the *Uke* (agricultural/new yam) festival. There is *Uke Eguru* (*Uke* for blacksmiths) and *Uke Ọha* (*Uke* for the general public). *Uke Eguru* is carried out by blacksmiths in Amauzu village before the general public would do the same after *Nkweizu* (one native week, four days). Amauzu has this privilege because they

produce agricultural implements. In the past, this festival involved a wrestling competition in the arena.



Figure 35: *Akatakpa* performing in Otobo Eketeker during *Ikpụ Ebule* rite in *Egba Eze*

Oriri Chukwu (celebration of the supreme God) is in *Ọnwa iri* (the tenth month in the Igbo calendar). On the appointed day, all members of the village bring food, meat and wine to the arena to feast together. During this festival, prayers are made at the shrines of *Ọnụ Enyanwụ Ezechitoke* and *Ọnụ Al'*. It is important to recognise that *Oriri Chukwu* is separately organized for men and women. *Ọnwa iri* is for the women and men celebrate in *Ọnwa iri ne na* (the eleventh month in the Igbo calendar).

Amegu Umundu

Igba-ọba is a common rite among the people of Nsukka Igbo and the narrative featured in Amokpu, Onicha Enugu and Amegu. *Igba-ọba* is a process of returning the spirit of a married daughter of a village to her land. It replaced the ancient practice of returning the corpse to a woman's maiden land. It is one of the rites of passage for women. In *ịgba-ọba*, the children of a dead woman arrange a *Ọba* (a small basket containing some money and materials that signify their mother's place in society) which they take amidst dancing to their mother's people. The *Ọba* is received by the first son of their mother's family. Some prayers are made in *Ọnụ Ụmụada* and the *Ọba* is hung around the shrine. The practice is gradually diminishing and faces extinction due to the influence of Christianity. However, there are some women who insist that the rite should be performed for them when they die.

Ebor Eha-alumona

Ekaal' or *Ekara Al' Eha-alumona* and *Igọ Nna* are rites undertaken in *ọnwa esaa* to uphold family unity and commemorate ancestors. The *Igọ Nna* (ancestral commemoration) is practised in all the villages in Nsukka Igbo in the past. But the *Ekaal'* rite is peculiar to villages in Eha-alumona. On the chosen day for the rite, all the daughters of Eha-alumona married to other villages within or outside the town visit their parents and the male ones who are not at home do come back for the rite. The women carry with them a fowl, yam and palm wine (the wine is not mandatory). People feast in the *Obu/Obi* (palace) *Onyishi* of their lineage. A day after, every head of a family takes their children around to teach them the geography of their land, especially the location of family lands, necessary features and boundaries.

Many of the festivals described here are organised in a theatrical manner that throws either the village arena or the entire village setting into phases of display and performances. In the coming section, the organised nature of one of the festivals observed in the villages, is presented in its dramatic or theatre forms.

7.0.5 Otobo as a Theatre

The Igbo theatre is a community project that sees every member contributing in one way or the other. Objects, human appearances and performance of all kinds are all parts of the exhibition and could be carried out by any member of the village when required; some ritualised aspects are left for those privileged by age, gender or status. The exhibition itself is part of everyday life with seasons for elaborate activities. Amankulor (1988, 37) opined that "the traditional Igbo drama and theatre featured within the context of the traditional communal festival which required preparation and participation by the community". He further expressed "the actors, masks, costumes, make-up, songs, dances, ululations, and even the booming of the cannons and guns afforded the spectators vibrant signals for symbolic and contextual understanding of a performance" (p.37). His findings are made manifest in the festivals organised in village arenas as demonstrated here. We should bear in mind that performance is managed in such a way that the actors are promoted to attract people to the venue before the performance commences. There are stages of withdrawal, break and continuation. The pattern of introducing and ending a session in some villages involves the introduction of a character or an activity that stir curiosity and another that would make spectators wish to live the venue respectively. Of many such dramatic/theatrical activities in Igbo Nsukka, the *Odo* festival in Useh is examined here for a clearer insight.

In Useh, *Odo* festival lasted for few local months and four different days are set aside for the theatrical performance in the village arena. In 2017, the first day (2 March 2017) was the arrival of *Ovuruzọ Odo* called *Ọkikpe*. As observed in 7.0.3, preparation commenced in the *Uhamu* days before the *Afọ* market day. Preceding the appearance of *Ọkikpe* is the arrival of *Nwanogwu Odo* that represents the two ancestors of the two lineages of Useh. *Nwanogwu* made its first but sacred appearance at 3.02pm. It moved to pass the arena to the *Ikpo Ehuru* (a location at the boundary between Useh and another village) to install the spirit of *Odo* in the land. While the designing of *Ọkikpe* continued, at about 4pm, the age-grade group that promotes the event for the year commenced singing and dancing from *Uhamu* through the Otobo to the streets of the village. Their song is an announcement that they have found beautiful and adorable *Odo*. This activity is to alert members of the village that *Ọkikpe* will soon appear to perform in the arena. As time went by, the number of persons in the arena keeps increasing. Close to half past four, the *Ọkikpe* moved from the grove to Otobo Uwani (old Otobo) and the promotional group intensified their efforts. A few minutes later, *Nwanugwu Odo* appeared in the arena to appetize the crowd with a performance. A number of cannon gun sounded to notify the people that the time has come for the main character to appear. By 5pm, the number of people in Otobo was close to five hundred. At 5.08pm, the *Ọkikpe Odo* moved into the crowd to the cheering, ululation and entertainment of everyone. The public display lasted with short breaks till 7pm, daylight faded, and darkness took over the Otobo.

Day two of the *Odo* performance theatre was on 14 March 2017. The researcher arrived at the venue by 8.47am but missed the display by the first (6.30am) and second (8.23am) groups of *Ọgada Odo*. It displays according to age grade groups starting from the younger generation upwards, and each *Odo* represents a lesser lineage group in Useh. So, *Otube* that performed by 6.30am is the youngest of all, their role is to visit the *Dikwu* and *Ọpkara* for a commencement rite, and to move into the village settlement to raise awareness. Closer to the time of display by any group, the age-grade group that promotes the event would run from *Uhamu* through the arena to the village streets singing and dancing. They are the link between the production group in *Uhamu* and the spectators in the arena and/or village; they know when a particular group is ready for display and would alert the village that another character(s) is about to perform. Again, each lineage joins in the promotion campaign by singing and dancing around when they become aware that it's the turn of their lineage *Odo* to perform. Two other groups performed at 10.16am and 11.59am respectively after which there was a long break. It was told that the break separates the younger generation of *Odo* from the older ones that displayed after the break.

From 12 noon to 3pm was considered too hot for the display and it was lunchtime as well, more reasons for the break. The break lasted for more than three and a half hours before another group displayed by 3.40pm; another by 4.57pm. Another group came along with two big and fearful type of *Odo* called *Ijere Odo* at 5.09pm. Whereas *Ọgada* is seen carrying bells and hand-fan, *Ijere* carries cutlass and whipping cane. Their appearance introduced some kind of disorder as they pursued other *Odo* and people around. *Ijere Odo* was retired into the *Ụlọ Odo* to enable the last group of *Ọgada* to perform. At 6.46pm, the final group displayed for few minutes after which the *Ijere Odo* re-emerged to disperse the spectators to end the day's activities. Notice the time gap between the group performances, it rallies around an hour plus, a time when spectators are allowed to discuss the performance, digest the feelings, take some drinks and be ready for another experience.



Figure 36: Different types of *Obodike Odo* that performed in Otobo as a theatre

(1) Ocheke (2) Lineage Obodike (3) Arima (4) Okweike (5) Imerekime

The event on day three, 11 April 2017 was managed in a similar way like the other days. Different groups of *Obodike Odo* performed between 8.12am and 10.38am. Each lineage *Obodike* is lead into the arena by *Ocheke* – young but beautiful *Odo*. Closer to the end of the

performance, *Arima* and *Okweike Odo* were introduced. *Arima* is incarnate of criminals and *Okweike* is incarnate of disabled people; however, *Okweike* also represent spirit beings that attend to difficult challenges. *Imerekime Odo*, a war and wrestling oriented *Odo* was introduced second to the last group of lineage *Obodike*; recall that *Ijere* was introduced at this stage the other day. *Imerekime* chased and wrestled with people; it waited for the last group to display before dispersing the spectators to end the performance. The following day, 12 April was the fourth day, the display was more of a rite of communality – eating together to reinforce unity. It starts with community meals in the lineage *Obu* and ends with *ina mbọ* rite, where *Obodike* feed members of the village in Otobo.

So far, we have examined the tangible and intangible features of the Otobo with an understanding of how both criss-cross one another. Curiously, one will like to know how the people managed and conserved these materials, sites, or monuments and the associated rites, festivals, ceremonies or meetings; this interest is satisfied in the coming section.

7.0.6 Heritage Management Bodies and Conservation Approaches

Management Bodies

In the Nsukka region of Igboland, the curatorial role is carried out by the *Onyishi* of a village or his designate, who does not only care for the materials but presides over all the social, religious, economic and political rite and activities taking place in the village arena. His powers are checked by the *Ọha* (council of elders) and other respectable members of the village, like *ndi nka* (experts in art and craft). Affairs of the communal deities and shrines located in the arena are managed on behalf of the community by the 'appointed' *Attama* (priest); the *Attama* are themselves members of *Ọha*. The priests are in many occasions selected through the process of *Afa* divination. Specifically, the *Onyishi* is the priest of *Ọnụ Al'* and *Ọnụ Enyanwu Ezechitoke* (or *Ọnụ Chukwu*, used interchangeably by some), therefore, he manages any associated material/site/monument. For many other cultural/heritage rites/festivals, practices, sites and/or monuments, villages set up committees that manage and preserve them; such committees report to the *Ọha* who represent the village.

In Useh for instance, *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* is an age grade committee that oversees the village arena and associated cultural heritage. Although the invention, repair, renovation or reconstruction of any cultural material or monument in the arena is a responsibility of all the members of the village, this group of people identify new needs or faults on materials/monuments or errors in practice, respond to them or report to the *Ọha* to approve conservation actions. For example, when the palace of Ojiyi was burnt down by one young man (who died after the act) in 1974,

Ọgba-nwe-otobo liaised with the *Ọha* to levy all members of the village an amount that was used to build a new palace for the deity. *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* is a particular age grade that took the Otobo title, they report to the *Ọha* Useh and take action to resolve, avert or mitigate issues threatening human life or culture/heritage. This group of people oversees the affairs of *Odo* spirit being in collaboration with the *Dikwu* (chief priest/leader) and *Ọkpaara* (assistant priest/leader) *Odo*. Damaged or destroyed *Odo* materials or any material/monuments in Otobo are repaired or replaced by members of the village who are experts (*onye* or *ndi nka*) in their own right. However, metallic objects are either taken to blacksmiths for repair or bought from the local markets. A particular *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* rules for years and is succeeded by a younger age grade that is able to take the Otobo title. In the case of *Odo*, *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* is assisted by the *Ụmụ Odo*, who follow and cheer the spirit beings. The priests of *Ojiyi* and *Ahurum Aku* manage the affairs of both deities. Of the seven villages studied, it is only in Useh that the Otobo title is taken. Though a collective title, its significance in the management and conservation of heritage cannot be overemphasised.

Unlike in Useh, Ogor has different committees that manage cultural heritage. *Ọha* is the apex body that oversees other committees. *Ọgba-maa-họr* is constituted by both men and women selected by the *Odo* spirit being to represent every lineage. They ensure save preservation of *Odo* materials and inspect the masks of the spirit being in *Uhamu* before they come to display in the public. They approve and disapprove the use of any mask built in the *Uhamu*, a role played by *Dikwu* and *Ọkpaara* in consultation with *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* in Useh. Disapproval could be a result of total disregard for known ethics of design. *Ọgba-maa-họr* also ensures the healthy survival of everything that exists in Ogor universe by consulting frequently *Afa* diviners to find out when something has gone wrong in the cosmic realm. The group consult diviners to ascertain deities that need placation before the arrival of *Odo* spirit. Not only that they embark on continuous research, but the committee also takes actions to solve identified problems after consulting with the council of elders.

The first ritual rite to be performed for the arrival of *Odo* spirit being is done by a committee called *Ụmụ-ọkpụkpụ* in Ọnọkọrọ/Ọnụ *Ugwunabọ* and in *Ọnụ Ogbodo-ọgụ* in the farm area. *Ọgba-maa-họr* takes after them and *Ụmụ Odo* ensures the smooth performance of the spirit being throughout the festival period. Only the members of *Umu-ogwuenyi* produce the sacred musical instruments of *Odo* and they are made up of *Ndi nka*. *Nd' iwu* also called *Ọkpara Ọha* manages laws/policies of Ogor and sanctions offenders. This group is headed by *Eze iwu* who presides over its affairs on behalf of the *Onyishi* Ogor; they report to the *Ọha* and take actions

as directed by the apex authority of the land. *Nd' gọr Ji* manages all issues related to agriculture and yam in Ogor village.

Ndi atama (council of priests) *Ogwudinama* deity manages Otobo Ogwu and all the material, site and monument of Ogwu, but with the supervision of *Ọsha/Ọha* Umu-Obira who are in charge of every Otobo and the people's heritage. *Mkpozi* and *Ọshakere Maa* are members of the *Ụmụ-maa* committee that manages the institution and the associated site/monument/material and practices or rites of *Ọmabe* spirit being in Onicha Enugwu. Members of this committee are appointed by the *Onyishi* of each of the three villages that make up the larger Onicha Enugwu. A similar committee is called *Onu-maa* (singular) or *Ndi-onu-maa* (plural) in Ebor. Their responsibility is to manage *Ọmabe* shrine, site, monuments or material, and to plan the arrival and departure festivals as directed and supervised by the *Ọha* through the *Onyishi*.

In exceptional cases, people with particular creative skills or indigenous experts called *Ndi* (plural) or *Onye* (singular) *Nka* (see Cole, 1982 for example) are contracted to invent/reinvent, repair, or renovate cultural/heritage materials/monuments. The *Ọha* (council of elders) presided by the *Onyishi* is to determine the nature of such conservation approach which will be communicated to members of the village. The decisions are taken in the interest of the village, though, with some evidence of indigenous AHD (I-AHD, a discussion to be pursued in chapter eight).

Periodically, women married into the village sweep and clean the arena, and in the past helped to revive the *Uli* mural paintings on the mud house where one is found. The case is different in Ogor, male children called *Nd' egu-ezshi* sweep the arena, and unmarried women sweep Otobo Useh.

Conservation Approaches

Some damaged materials belonging to *Ọmabe* and *Odo* spirit beings are either thrown into a sacred grove to decay and decompose or buried when it's not useful anymore. For *Odo*, the masks designed with furled palm frond are buried at the end of every *Odo* festival year and new ones are designed in another year. The burying according to participants is done for two reasons: so that women and uninitiated will not see their profane state in order to protect the value and sanctity of the practice, and because it could cause barrenness or unstoppable menstrual discharge to women that walk-over it.

Many of the shrines are abandoned from active use but the altars are left to continue to exist either unattended or being attended in secret like the experience in *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọha* in Umu-

Agbedoaba, Onicha Enugu. Here, the palace and the shrine of the deity are left in ruins for a long time turning the location into a grove. Efforts to collect coordinate for mapping helped reveal that people prayed in the shrine few days before we visited; evidence of fresh blood of animal, bone, tripod stand where cooking was done, and other items were observed.



Figure 37: *Ọnụ Eyim* (agriculture/yam shrine) in Ogor looking abandoned but it is in use

It was suggested that attending to abandoned shrines could be a result of revelation in divination that one's illness or problems will be resolved after offering sacrifice and praying in a particular deity's shrine. Therefore, an abandoned shrine could be totally revived through such revelation. Some of the shrines in many village arenas are currently not recognisable due to the level of ruination, yet, they exist in the people's narratives. Others are seen because of the 'life trees' that was planted to symbolise them. Even, there are claims that prayers are sometimes (with revelation from *Afa* divination) made to the deities on whose name a shrine was established. Shelton (1965; 1971) identified specific 'life trees' among the Nsukka Igbo to include *Ọgbụ* or *Alagbaa* (Ficus elastica) and *Echikeri* - supposedly pronounced *Echikara* - (*Spondias monbin*)". Such 'life trees' "can be cut down and chopped into pieces, then tossed on the earth, and the pieces will sprout and become trees" (1971, 65-8). Thus, the life trees hardly die without replicating itself.

Almost all the participants in the research would say, "*iye omenal' enweemeg' uru ọbar gabụ ntuwe nya ne i gote mọbu imete ọzọ jee tọchie*" meaning 'cultural materials that are not useful again is to be thrown away and a new one is bought or made to replace them'. UsehPN (interview, 3 January 2017) gave a clearer explanation, "*iye omenal' d' gee ekwa, ọkaa nka ge*

gaad'g mmekwete ne adtehaya chọgre nke ọhụ" meaning 'cultural material is like a cloth that when worn-out, it is to be thrown away while hoping to get a new one'. In spite of that, sacred musical materials of *Odo* that are not useful are kept in *Agaha Odo/Ụlọ Nshi* in Ogor. Also, the big metal gongs of *Ojiyi* deity used in the past are all kept in its palace in Otobo Useh. In the two examples, the purpose of keeping them is for easy replication in the production and/or buying a replacement to ensure the continuity of the sound it produces. EborOU (interview, 6 December 2016) revealed that "only materials like *Ọfọ*, *Ụkwụ Arụa*, *Ọtụshue/Ọdụ Atụ* or *Ngwu Eze/Ogiriga* are kept after losing their usefulness because of the generational transfer of authorities that they represent, but any other one is thrown away" when damaged/deteriorated.



Figure 38: *Uhu/Ọnụ Ebọha* patronised in secret after many years of abandonment

In Ogor still, the *Ukoro* and other wooden and metal gongs are treated to regain their original sound. OgorSO (field observation, 6 March 2017) told that a mixture of water and grinded goat dung is robbed all over the body of a gong. It is kept for some days before removing to check that the original sound was restored. Ekechukwu (1990, 184) found that "occasional rubbing of palm oil or chalk on the objects by the priests as part of the ritual process, especially during festivals ... prevent them from decay, damage or attach by insects". This finding was evident in Umu-Obira during the *Ọnwa Itegina* festival. The *Ụkwụ Arụa* with which the lineage heads attended the *izu amamgbokwe* is rubbed with a mixture of palm oil and unidentified substance. The people revealed that they rub the mixture to beautify the *Ụkwụ Arụa* and protect it from rust (because it's a metal object). A mixture of grinded alligator pepper (*Aframomum*

melegueta) and palm oil was used to rub on the body of *ụkpụkpa* string used for *Afa* divination in Useh. UsehOA (field observation, 20 January 2017) explained that if a string is repeatedly used, it loses strength and insight, and could give wrong information or take time to reveal one. Therefore, rubbing the mixture on the string and leaving it for some days helps the material regain strength and insight for a positive divination output.

It is easy to observe from the foregoing that major efforts are made to preserve materials, sites, and monuments that are useful within the cultural context. The utilitarian value drives conservation and help in the elongation of the utility of heritage. Let's turn to how the cultural materials/sites/monuments, values and practices are institutionalised, may be in the past and in recent times.

7.1 Localised Trafficking of Heritage Materials

There is a particular narrative about trafficked heritage material and values around some villages. In the two instances encountered, the materials trafficked are used by those that acquired them. Ogor Ikem was in the past known for only *Ọmabe* tradition and their neighbouring town of Neke is known for *Odo* tradition. According to OgorSO and OgorAA (FGD, 28 November 2016),

> almost all the time in the past, Neke people did terrorise us with their *Odo* spirit being when going to the farm. It happened for several occasions and we planned to get hold of the mask. We used our daughter married in Neke to spy on them to get details on how to get the mask. When we got the required information, the best hunter in Ogor was sent to hide on a tree at the location where the *Odo* normally attacks us. During the day, our people were passing to their farms and the *Odo* attacked again. The hunter shot it on the leg as revealed, it fell down, and we rushed and took the mask home. *Odo* is superior to the *Ọmabe* spirit being we use. So, we institutionalised it and started *Odo* traditional practices; this was how we became Igbo *Odo* and Igbo *Ọmabe* at the same time.

During the fieldwork, the researcher was only allowed into the *Uhamu Odo* on the condition that he is not from Neke. In an explanation, they claimed that his people of Eha-alumona and their people share the secret of spirit beings. If he had come from Neke and made the mistake of entering the *Uhamu*, he wouldn't have come out alive. This feeling was expressed by OgorRO during an interview with him on 18 January 2017. On this day, he was with his cousin who came from Neke. Even though the man is his cousin, OgorRO asked him to go to wait in another room. An enquiry was made to why he was asked to leave whereas his presence might

enrich the discussion. OgorRO exclaim, “no, he is my cousin, but I cannot be discussing *Omenal’* Ogor in his presence, except if you are not going to ask me anything about *Odo*”. Interestingly, he invited his said cousin to join him in the celebration of the festival of *Odo*. He can celebrate *Odo* festival with the cousin and others but would never discuss *Odo* related matters with him or in his presence.

At the preliminary stage of the fieldwork, when the choice of villages to study was made, a visit to Amojo village, Ohodo in Igbo-Etiti local government area revealed information about a crisis in the village between some Christians of the Anglican denomination and believers in the indigenous tradition. The Anglican group went to the village arena, burnt down shrines and monuments and looted an *Agaba* mask kept in the village hall. However, the group supporting tradition got information that they sold the *Agaba* mask to another community called Ekwuegbe in the same local government council. After an extensive enquiry, the pro-tradition group found that Ekwuegbe people bought the mask and are using it in their cultural practices. The Nigerian Police was notified about the crime; arrests were made, and the suspects were charged to a law court. At the time of the visit, the case was still in the law court and the researcher was advised to avoid engaging in a discussion about *Omenal’* while the crisis was ongoing, the reason for his relocation to another site.

The above experiences make one think twice about the restitution rhetoric that is entering the heritage discourse. Sarr and Savoy in their report to President Macron of France on restitution explain,

> it serves to remind us that the appropriation and enjoyment of an item that one restitute rest on a morally reprehensible act (rape, pillaging, spoliation, ruse, forced consent, etc.). In this case, *to restitute* aims to *re-institute* the cultural item to the legitimate owner for his legal use and enjoyment, as well as all the other prerogatives that the item confers (*usus*, *fructus*, and *abusus*). The implicit act of the *gesture* of restitution is very clearly the recognition of the illegitimacy of the property that one had previously claimed ownership of, no matter what the duration of time was (2018, 29).

A look at their position and the cases in the two villages above presents a complex understanding of the debate on restitution. Between the two-separate experience, France collected the materials under contestation from African countries and placed them to serve purposes other than what they were originally made to do. But the villagers acquired the materials and institutionalise them to continue to serve the same purpose, though in another territoriality. Should one also argue that Ogor or Ekwuegbe must return the institutionalised

materials to Neke and Ohodo respectively? One problem that may arise for the return in the case of Ogor is that Neke people have (probably) replaced the *Odo* mask and moved on. Thus, returning it may make no much sense to the people of Neke at this moment. While this particular encounter presents a good insight into the complexities around restitution debate, it calls for more critical and extensive research.

7.2 Syncretism and the Accommodation of New Cultures

At the creation of Nigeria, governance shifted, but the power to own and administer land in rural communities was noted in the constitution. Under customary law, ownership of village and family lands remained with the people; land sharing, usage and disputes are resolved within the village settings. Exceptions are lands acquired by the government under Land Use Act 1990, for overriding public interest. However, the government has to pay compensation or give employment consideration to members of the village whose land is taken under such need. Also, cases of suicide, high crime, and inter-community crises are handled by the police and other government institutions. This duality reduced the governing powers of villages that were originally organised from the village arena.

A significant number of members of the villages are Christians, others Muslim, thereby reducing the number of adherents of the Traditional African Religion (ATR) whose tabernacle situates normally in the arena. During the fieldwork, it was found that both the members of ATR and Christians took part in the festivals of the spirit beings in the village arena in Useh, Umu-Obira, Ogor and Amokpu. Their differences are mostly observed when some rites or prayers are made in the shrines. But participants in the research argued that many of the Christians also come to consult the gods of the land when they are in difficulty. Evidently, AmokpuPO (interview, 1 May 2017) stressed that "it is mostly the Christian youths that bear *Ọmabe* and *Akatakpa* masks in these days in Uhunowerre". He backed this by mentioning that "there was a time in the recent past when Christians protested against the performance of *Ọmabe* or *Akatakpa* on Sundays. They came out to unmask anyone they found on the street, of course, they succeed only to find out that the catechist's son wore the mask".

The level at which this syncretism occur is such that almost all the people interviewed would say *onwekwe nu onye Igbo na eje ezigbo Uka, okwa oshie ike hee achọba nd'omenal'* meaning 'is there any Igbo that is a real Christian, in fact, each time they face a difficult situation, they come to seek traditional solutions'. This position recalls the experience inside *Uhamu Odo* in Useh and Ogor. Many of the young men who were designing and struggling to bear the *Odo* masks are said to be Christians. In one occasion, one of the young men reminded another that

he was not supposed to enter the forest. He threatened to tell his pastor about his involvement in *Odo*. But the other quickly reminded him that he is also a man-servant in the Roman Catholic Church. Everyone laughed over it and continued with the work of designing the *Odo* mask, which one of the two later wore to dance in the village arena.



Figure 39: Inner view of a modern *Ulọ Otobo* in Useh showing sitting platform & evidence of use (on the wall) for study space

The globalising Igbo village arena is also taking form in its foundational principles of collective ownership, use and location of communal properties. It has transformed from having *Ulọ Otobo*, built with mud wall and grass/thatch roof to a modern hall built with stone or cement blocks and zinc roofing. The usual *Ogwe*, *Agbụdụ* or *Igọ* (sitting platforms) are now replaced with raised cemented platforms inside the modern halls in Useh, Ikem, Onicha Enugwu, and Ebor, and the use of plastic/bench chairs in Umu-Obira, Amegu and Amokpu or the combination of all/some of the sitting patterns in many of the villages. Also, there are indications that many of these modern halls are at some points used temporarily by nursery or primary schools before moving to a permanent location (e.g. Useh, Onicha Enugu and Amegu), evidence of use as a praying space for Christians or temporal site for a new church is conspicuous in Otobo Amegu. The community's health centre, borehole and water taps are located in Otobo Useh.

In the shrine of one of the deities listed earlier, one figurine was observed carrying a Christian bible and the other wearing a Roman Catholic rosary. The priest was asked to clarify the reason for the presence of Christian creed and sacramental in a traditional shrine, he responded and said, "the deity and the god in the bible are about the same person, *Ezechitoke* – God the creator". During kola nut rituals (prayers) at many of the interviews and FGDs, the elders ended

prayers with the saying “we pray through Jesus Christ our Lord”. This is a known Christina way of ending prayers. When asked to explain why they combine traditional and Christian prayers, most participants argue that all the prayers are made to *Ezechitoke* – God the creator and that the presence of Christians encourages them to be inclusive. In Onicha Enugu, a Christian *Onyishi* locked the *Aṛụa* that symbolises his position in a box (to be handed to another *Onyishi* when he dies) instead of keeping and performing daily rites pertaining to it. But he continues to enjoy all other privileges as a traditional leader of his people. As priests of communal shrines, many of the *Onyishi* delegate people to carry out rites and care for the shrines on their behalf.

Even, a Christian newspaper, Trumpet News had in its May 2017 publication proposed the Christianisation of the tradition of spirit beings (masquerade) in the region (see appendix 2). Again, Christian churches give traditional titles to their members in their process of inculturation, but traditionalists in Aku had responded through an open protest letter (see appendix 1) threatening to reciprocate with giving leaders of traditional institutions church titles if the act continues.



Figure 40: Two figurines in *Ọnụ Idenyi Ezugwu*, one carrying Christian bible & another wearing chaplet

In the past and currently in some places, under different circumstances, people were/are invited to a meeting in the arena by a town crier. Today, motor wheels are hung around some of the arena and these are struck to convene a meeting. A different sound means a meeting for different groups - the council of elders, general assembly, and youths. In Otobo Useh, a Catholic church is located at the boundary and the Catholics and traditionalists have lived in

harmony without crises. In fact, the church and Useh people use the same motor wheel to notify or remind people about a meeting or activities, but different sounds are used. These findings are the ways through which the Igbo attempt a combined application of the dual precincts of ATR and Christianity; a strategy for adopting and integrating new values into the core of its tradition. Even though both cultures exist in harmony in many aspects, especially in recent times, the following section presents some crisis that arose from the duality in different villages.

When asked the question if the people would welcome a collaborative museum and heritage conservation project in their village, some firmly rejected the idea of government intrusion; others would simply accept, pending the kind of conditions agreed. The first position was made by participants in Amokpu, Amegu and Ebor; the latter was echoed in Useh, Umu-Obira, Ogor and Onicha Enugu. In Umu-Obira, the following response was given:

> Your question is something that would require a long-term arrangement, where the entire people will have to be involved in the discussion and not just the few of us. So, discussion and negotiation can continue, and our people may agree after seeing the importance of having a museum in our Otobo. But we can never bring out all the materials we use for *Omenal'* because most of them are not for public viewing. Many of the heritage materials like *Arụa* and the associated bell cannot be kept for public viewing. People can come to watch us when we are performing cultural festival/rite, but not to come to see where we keep them (ObiraAUm, FGD, 21 January 2017).

His response reflects the understanding in Igbo heritage ontology - change is inevitable, but cultural change is a long-term project. What matters here is that acceptance is possible as shown in the Igbo ontologies of heritage, and the ways Christianity and/or modernity mediate with indigenous cultures.

7.3 The Crises of Cultural Duality in Igboland

On many occasions, the schedules of indigenous cultural practices clash with many aspects of the modern ways of living - the new religion and work life - as a result of the operation of the Igbo and Western calendars. In the past, this created many rivalries in the villages. Although the tension it raised still haunts the society, those on both sides of the divide try to negotiate the timing of events that may obstruct another. Even, many members of the villages have gradually adopted the duality into their consciousness. Thus, they participate in Christian and traditional activities and help to ensure that there is an understanding between the two different

time consciousness. Still, Christians sometimes disguise under this approach to enter and destroy indigenous practices. This was the case in Useh when those observing the indigenous culture were convinced by their Christian relatives to host a crusade in the village arena in 2003. On the last day of the crusade, the Christian youths colluded with the Catholic priest to destroy the shrine of *Ahurum Aku*; the priest took away the deity's mask but had to return it after a tensed engagement with prominent members of the village.

According to OgorSO (interview, 10 December 2016), about seven years ago, a Christian member refused to take part in the road clearing work done annually during *Or'raeshi* festival; and he was later joined by his other colleagues. As a norm, those that did not participate in the road clearing were fined, *Nd' iwu* were sent to collect the fine or seize one or more properties that is/are worth the fine pending when it is paid. The process of implementing this rule brewed misunderstanding, and this made some Christians to burn down shrines, monuments and cultural materials in many village arenas in Ogor. The case was in the law court for many years and created a rivalry between brothers, sisters, and friends. However, the then Catholic Bishop of Nsukka Diocese helped to get it resolved out of court by asking his Christian faithful, whom he said disobeyed the laws of their land to repair and revive the heritage materials, sites and monuments they destroyed. The same Bishop is said to have resolved another crisis involving Amegu village in Umundu, where a Catholic priest attempted to take more land other than what the village gave to the church. Again, during *Akatakpa* performance in 1994, one of the *Akatakpa* clashed with Christians that were returning from church service on a Sunday. A few days later, Christians mobilised with what they called 'Christian spirits/masks' and invaded the entire Umundu town in a scenario that looked like a war. Many were wounded and others took refuge in neighbouring towns, the involvement of security agents brought normalcy.

There was a time in recent past in Ebor when a crusade was held in a venue close to the Otobo. EborEA gave the account that the traditionalists got information about a plan to invade the village arena to destroy their heritage on the last day of the crusade. Traditionalists in Ebor mobilised, bought licensed guns and made sure that it never happened. In 1993, some Christian women in Onicha Enugu went to pick *Ujuru* (*Irvingia gabonensi*) fruits in Otobo on *Orie* market day; an act against the people's traditional policy that prohibits women from going to the arena on such days in the year of *Ọmabe*. The law is to help protect the activities of *Ọmabe* from women and uninitiated. The sanction they received from the council of elders brewed crisis that lasted for years. A Catholic priest brokered peace and the prohibition of going to pick *Ujuru* fruits on *Orie* market days in the year of *Ọmabe* was made to also cover other years.

The purpose of making it to apply to every other years is for the law to take general principle other than being a policy for *Ọmabe* institution.

In recent time, where necessary, many villages try to negotiate differences between the church, modernity and the tradition. This attitude has helped minimise the occurrence of these crises; however, the enmity caused by the past happenings still haunt many with relatives keeping a distance from one another.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have seen the creative processes of Otobo, what it means and why it is established in Igbo society. The types and their uses are also explored. For the purposes of heritage conservation, the chapter presents the contents and contexts of the arena, how materiality and immateriality are bounded in cultural practices that manifest in the arena. A very important aspect is the manner in which heritage conservation is carried out to survive the continuity of cultural narratives other than keeping the material or monumental evidence for the future. Narratives are valued more than the materiality that can be replaced at will. The chapter further traced the circulation pattern of heritage within the cultural area, how they are accepted and rejected. It ends the data presentation chapters and usher us into the discussion and conclusion chapters.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

8.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have dwelt on the many ways that heritage making has occurred after the Enlightenment in the 18th century, and the manner in which its principles were transferred to non-Western societies. We have also seen how heritage making processes among the Igbo manifest, especially the village arena, how they differ in principle and practice, and the manner the appropriation of heritage or nationalist purpose excludes (and includes) indigenous/local communities in Nigeria. This chapter takes up the thesis objectives to reflect on what others have written on this subject in the light of the findings of this thesis. To reiterate, my core objectives were:

(1) to establish the existence of the prevalent (Western) and silent indigenous (for this purpose, Igbo 'village square') heritage preservation models in Nigeria;

(2) to examine the indigenous/public perceptions on both models in relation to inclusion and exclusion; and

(3) to contemplate the integration of both models as a middle-of-the-road option for realizing democratic inclusion in heritage preservation in Nigeria.

While the first objective has been achieved already with some expositions into others, the second objective is pursued in this chapter by interrogating and exploring the literature review and field outcomes. The chapter tries to establish a common ground for integrating both heritage models to produce an inclusive and democratic approach that bridges the gap between authorised heritage institutions and indigenous/local communities. It goes further to exhibit how the new approach can encourage public participation, visitor engagement and democratic inclusion in heritage management in Nigeria in particular and in post-contact societies in general.

It is pertinent to re-establish the reasons why this thesis chose to refer to the Otobo as 'village arena' and not 'village square' known in the literature. First, we have seen the wholeness of the space in the life of the Igbo, its place in culture, politics, religion, economy and social life of the people. The way it helps to organise living community distinguishes it from the meaning and context of 'square' as conceptualised in the literature (Zucker 1959; Shirley 1994). Secondly, being a very significant landscape with revered attachments, regards and cosmic orientation (see also Okolie 1992; Aniakor 2002; Opata and Apeh 2016), the use of 'arena' provides more context and meaning. Thirdly, its role in engendering indigeneity or identity,

memory making and heritage management consciousness among the Igbo makes it different from the concept of a square.

That said, various contents of the literature chapters reveal the current global and local (Nigeria) debates on heritage, its management and/or conservation principles, and the relationship with identity, museum and tourism. Mainly, the issues raised revolves around the duality of heritage ontologies and epistemologies: nationality v non-nationality, particularity/relativity v universal, monumentality/physicality v narrativity, tangible v intangible, natural v cultural, static v cyclical continuum, and professional v indigenous/local experts. These binaries and the posed limitations, undemocratic/non-inclusive implications, and the apathy and tensions they created led to the emergence of critical heritage studies driven mostly by the theorisations of Smith's (2006) AHD. In this regard, the engagements here will centre on the principles of AHD that gave clearer insights into the complexities of contemporary heritage conservation in the context of those binaries.

As we recognised in 3.2 of chapter three, 4.10 of chapter four, 5.1.3 of chapter five and 7.0.6 of chapter seven, a particular type of AHD, the Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD) is recognised. Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD) is the exclusive empowerment of person(s) or group of individual(s) to decide on the creation, use, and management of cultural or heritage affairs of a people. The difference between I-AHD and Smith's (2006) AHD is the space consciousness, place attachment and spiritual entanglement between the drivers of I-AHD and other members of the village. According to Aja (2002: 32), "the village is a cooperative society, amongst whose member's interdependence is a *sine qua non*". He stressed that "an individual member's act or behaviour influences the ontological order and consequently the whole community [...] existence must be in relation with *others*" (p. 30). Although, the I-AHD exists, it must ensure the harmony of the ontological order. We will return to I-AHD later. Wherever AHD appears, it represents Laurajane Smith's original idea. The discussion will weave the indigenous heritage principles (exemplified in the village arena among the Igbo) with the AHD to measure their strengths and weaknesses towards the understanding of democratic inclusion in heritage management.

Because many posthuman behaviours are evidenced in the Igbo processes of conservation, its tenets are employed to help explain that inclusion could also mean the awareness that our living community contains other beings. It further argues for a need to engage these nonhuman species in the processes of finding inclusive and sustainable solutions to heritage management, especially in the Anthropocene epoch. The tenets of 'indigenous strangers' highlight the dangers facing heritage in Nigeria and other post-contact societies. But the Igbo concepts of

heritage brings to limelight the factors that make heritage endure in a value-tussle society like the one found in Nigeria, especially among the Igbo. Glocalisation is beckoned to exemplify the possibility of establishing a more inclusive and acceptable heritage conservation approach in a society with such value conflict.

8.1 Mapping the Divide: Western AHD and Indigenous Heritage Philosophies

Laurajane Smith's book *Uses of Heritage* (2006) propounded the theory of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD). Her logic is that contemporary heritage management is rooted in a discourse that privileges Western ontologies and epistemologies of heritage conservation. The belief that heritage is aesthetic, physical, static, monumental, and sanctioned by professional 'experts' to promote a national history characterised the 18th century 'conserve as found' ethos in Europe and have dominated heritage knowledge across the globe.

Organically, the nationality of heritage starts with a process of identity-making through the founding of a nation and the subsequent creation of national narratives. In that process, patrimonial heritages are frozen from the owners to become public national property. Nigeria got into this process following its creation in 1914 when it became necessary to establish a national narrative to create a national identity for the new nation. Paradoxically, it created two heritage ontologies that exist in different time and space: one is the national heritage of modern Nigeria; the other, pre-modern heritage practices that exist(ed) in the villages or local communities. The professional expert voice was prominent in the national narratives; a search for abandoned cultural materials were done and the discursive power of discovery applied to legitimise what was to become a national identity (see 2.0.8). It has merely concentrated heritage discourses around the search for common national identities to sustain the sovereign spaces such as Nigeria, for instance. Subsequently, it resulted in the creation of the said duality that undermines heritage patriotism in Nigeria (see also Fairweather 2007 for a similar view in Namibia). This action was against the situation on ground (see Murray 1942), where heritage was still part of a living community serving cultural, political, economic, religious and social roles.

The concept of 'abandonment' was used to explain 'discovery', thus, sites, monuments and materials that were believed to have lost their usefulness were acquired under this philosophy. However, 'abandonment' for the people of Nigeria didn't really mean total disregard. The transitional nature of Otobo, especially the findings on 7.0.6 proves that abandonment at a particular period does not mean abandonment at all time. What is abandoned at this hour, day,

week, month or year could in another hour, day, week, month, or year be useful for some or all the people.



Figure 41: *Ọfụ/Otobo* in Onicha Enugu looking abandoned but in active use

An 18th century shift into modernity that swept away monuments and heritage materials in Europe was envisaged for the emerging nation, thus, legitimising the importation of AHD, what Murray (1942, 245) called the "static perfection" of heritage. The village consciousness and the sensibility of the binary - what is 'ours' and what is 'theirs' - was also discovered (see Murray 1942; 1943) but received little attention. Taken that indigenous communities also use(d) group heritage to express sovereign identity like in the cases examined (see 2.0.1, 6.2, 7.0.1, 7.0.3 and 7.0.4), it was only possible if they share a common descent for the villages or pursue a common cultural interest for the confederal arrangements. In 6.2, independent Igbo villages and the confederations they formed also emerged through processes like the formation of Nigeria. However, togetherness and group identity were determined based on rootedness and what each group could contribute to the survival of the people. Migration, birth, innovation and war strength were the considered attributes for accepting to cohabit as one sovereign village or town. Birth and bloodline were the major determinants, thus, empowering the (dead) ancestors (see 5.1.3) who institutionalised *ọdịnal'* or *ntọal'* that manifest in *omenal*'.

Another important issue that relates to the concept of 'abandonment', which helps to explain 'discovery' is 'civic duty' of heritage. The manner in which the Igbo conceptualise heritage reflect the civility of heritage more than any approach. Even when they abandon and re-use heritage or allow it to die, the continuity ontology that makes a heritage to survive into the

future place it within the cultural cosmos, thereby, playing its civic roles at every phase of existence.

It was found in the literature that language and people's knowledge of their surrounding environment are central to heritage making processes. In practical terms, every Igbo village refers to *Al'* (the mother earth) as their own like *Al'* Useh, *Al'* Ebor, or *Al'* Umu-Obira (see 7.0.3), annual calendar and the fixture of cultural events varies (see 5.1.1), and ancestors whose realms set out *ọdịnal'* and *ntọal'* for *omenal'* to thrive differ from village to village. The Igbo homogenise the universe, so, the proclamation of the earth being their own means a cosmic demarcation of the territorial features and the conceptualisation of the earth, her contents and all species that relate with the people in their 'living community'. In the national establishment, new and alien (English) language was used and people with different languages that provided symmetric context between them and other beings in their environment were subjected to a monolithic cultural construct. What one sees in the national narrative is a disjuncture greeted with alienation and apathy where no particular indigenous group has any attachment to the national heritage.

Sabri and Olagoke (2019, 61) found that "ethnoreligious heterogeneity in Nigeria makes it difficult for the state to create a common cultural heritage that can overcome or reconcile differences". Beyond religion, ethnicity and cultural particularity or relativity contributes to the difficulty in establishing a common national narrative for the country. Those experiences become worse at the internationalisation of such heritage in a complex and multi-indigenous country like Nigeria. The universalisation expands ownership and agency or make others to get involved through 'tourist gaze'. Smith (2006) lamented that "this works to alienate a range of other social and cultural experiences and it has been no accident that the heritage phenomena has been criticized for absenting women, a range of ethnic and other community groups, indigenous communities, and working class and labour history". Although it also enriches their experience through the trans-border involvement, however, it creates tension and might begin the process of un-inheriting a heritage (see Sinamai 2019). At the instance of nationalisation or internationalisation, a good number of (very important) people are removed from being involved in the narrative. In other cases, the government cares little, the leadership of the country is generally not interested because the heritage does not represent the history of their indigenous group or for other reasons like dissonance or dark heritage whose histories are to be silenced, suppressed or avoided.

UNESCO, through ICOMOS, are the agencies that police the globalisation of this contemporary heritage ideology. Ratifying UNESCO or ICOMOS charters, conventions and

agreements by any national government means acceptance of implementation and practice of AHD. Colonialism and imperialism were the first mediums of transportation to many non-Western societies across the world (Byrne 2008; Ndoro 2003). Departing colonial powers often left a legacy of heritage legislation in the newly independent states that were not rejected and are strengthened and mobilised for conserving heritage in the name of national identity (Cleere 1989). Obviously, the heritage institution in Nigeria – NCMM – is one good example of the legacies of the departed colonial powers; it has failed woefully to sustain a national narrative that the people can be proud to relate with. It took after the colonial Antiquities Ordinance and survive by the replicating university programmes used in the training of professional experts that manage heritage in the country (see 3.1.4 and 3.5). The situation is self-inflicted for Nigeria because NCMM Decree/ACT was enacted by Nigerian leaders to establish NCMM to manage heritage. The Decree/ACT was a mere transfer of the Antiquities Ordinance; one must not also underrate the points made in a session at WAC-8 about the similarity of heritage laws in many countries of the world (see 2.1). Leveraging on colonial legacy, NCMM moves heritage materials to museums and secures sites/monuments by excluding them from the larger living community to serve the interest of a few.

Removal of cultural material from the context of use for the Igbo renders it useless and valueless. In the various cases on 7.0.6, a site, monument or material is left to ruin when lost its utility. Note also the complex nature of each site, monument or material described on 7.0.3. With these findings, the application of AHD in Nigeria seems to be a reductionist approach. The museum exhibition reduces the complex values of objects to a very narrow value, restricts objects, sites or monuments from their cultural utilitarian context as well as their meaning to fit into a single narrative accommodatable into the museum context. Waterton (2010) regrets that this one-dimensional understanding of heritage values has the potential to marginalise and/or discredit a plethora of unorthodox heritage that sits firmly outside of the grand or sanitised mainstream taxonomy of conservation planning typology. Exhibition of shrine in a museum is one good example of the reductionist application of AHD.

It is ambiguous to use few static objects to represent the vagaries of alters (*Ọnụ, Ifu, Iru* or *Ihu* as they are dialectally called across Igboland) that transverse Igbo landscape and universe. It is more worrisome to just set up a cluster of objects as a way to exhibit shrines in Igboland, for instance. If a shrine is to be understood as alter like Coley (1982) explained, at a mention, one expects to hear the pantheon to which the altar is dedicated. Not only are shrines different in content, context and use, their existence also goes beyond the physical presence to include narratives of the complexities of the living universe of the Igbo. Suffice it to say that exhibitions

in Western museums in Nigeria are incomplete; they are not the true representation of the histories and heritage of the indigenous peoples of Nigeria.

As shrines cannot be moved to the museum, as the museums cannot contain the vagaries of shrines, their contents and contexts (some of which may include natural features) that dot Igbo landscapes, villages and arenas provide a natural setting for the appreciation of Igbo history and heritage. Of course, museums are important in these instances, although they are more like a catalogue that provides brief information about a site, monument or practices to stir up interest to seek details. In a country with multi-indigenous groups like Nigeria, approach to national heritage management would do better in this regard, being a catalogue through which people look out to further explore the vagaries of sites/monuments/materials or rites/festivals/ceremonies in their living communities. In this case, this thesis suggests the application of '**in-use**' heritage management approach. We shall return to this point later.

AHD disrespect the indigenous/local values of heritage in Nigeria and threatens public participation and inclusion. We could observe from 5.0.4 that some heritage materials or location are sacred/holy/prohibited (*Nsọ*) from general public view at some point in time; we also note the sacred nature of the spirit beings (see 7.0.3 and 7.0.5). The activities of the spirit beings are hidden from women and the un-initiated, not because they do not know what is being done but to protect the essence (see 4.5.4). Museums disregard these principles and exhibit paraphernalia of the spirit beings, thus, making it valueless before the eyes of many indigenous/local public. Such disregard for indigenous principles caused the tension in Dombosheva in South Africa (see Chirikure and Pwiti 2008).

8.1.1 '**Authenticity**' **in Indigenous Ontologies**

The national and international focus on material, monuments and/or physicality of heritage as against the narratives alienate heritage meaning from their living community. And the indigenous people's knowledge of heritage exists more in the relativity of the materials/monuments and the narratives that landscape and language assure. Smith (2006) suggests that insights from concepts like memory, performance, identity, intangibility, dissonance and place would better serve as mirrors through which heritage can be critically viewed and understood. The case here speaks to how 'authenticity' is to be viewed; should authenticity be based on the physical features or the faith in the narratives and then, the material make up? Smith and Ralph (2019) in their article published in *The Conversation* in reaction to the recent fire incident at Notre Dame in France makes a similar point that the Igbo principles of conservation raise. In the article, the authors argue that a rebuilding of Notre Dame based

on the landscape position and associated narratives would present a wonderful replacement. It referred to the way Nara Document on Authenticity defined 'authenticity' to argue that "preserving the original materials used to create an object or building" was not the only way to assure authenticity.

In the case of the Igbo, the narratives are the *ọdịnal'* or *ntọal'* and the manifestation in objects or practices is *omenal'*. If *omenal'* is denied its substance by being completely removed from the context of *ọdịnal'* or *ntọal'* the way material culture appears in museums, it becomes very useless. However, *ọdịnal'* or *ntọal'* can manifest in another form of *omenal'*, yet, retaining its authenticity. This was why Murray (1942, 245) expressed that "to sell *Ikenga*- an Ibo carving that enshrines a man's soul - would be like selling its owner, while its decay is considered no different from nor worse than the decay of the body of a dead man". Murray did not consider that applying chemical substance to treat an *Ikenga* to retain the authenticity (in a Western sense), which might involve chemical impregnation could mean changing the cosmic nature, stature, content, and essence of the man's spirit inhabiting the object; a truncation of the 'birthing or production mission' of the *Ikenga*. These conscientious ways of seeing heritage by the Igbo put off national heritage from members of local communities.

In the Igbo cultural process, *nchekwebe*, *ndokwebe*, *ndozhi*, *mmekwete* or *mmechite* survives heritage in a cultural continuum. *Mmekwata/mmekwete* or *mmechite* (replacement in this case) responds very appropriately to the issues with the *Ikenga*. After a man has done his best to care and protect the *Ikenga* object from any form of damage, if it eventually got damaged and lost its utility, the principles of *mmekwata/mmekwete* or *mmechite* allows him to replace the object (see 5.0.2). This is how birth, death and rebirth play a significant role in the Igbo conservation philosophies; we will return to this point later. Examples of management and conservation approaches in 7.0.6, the annual rites, festivals and ceremonies in 7.0.4 as well as the informal vocations in 5.1.4 and the use of *nsọ* (sacredness/prohibition/holiness) discussed in 5.0.4 are not necessarily focused on keeping heritage out of utility to conserve their physical evidence but to ensure that their encompassed usefulness survive into the future.

Remembering (*ncheta/nchete*) or establishing memorabilia (*iye/ife/ihe ncheta/nchete*) are specifically about recounting an encounter, experience or exploits or happenings through cultural practices like the feast and performances presented in 7.0.4 and 7.0.5 respectively. The meaning of heritage from the literature is here subjected to check. What this narrativity approach portrays and the transfer of same from one material culture to another and from generation to another generation locates heritage meaning within cultural process. Therefore, the Igbo heritage knowledge supports critical heritage studies position that heritage is a

'cultural process' (Smith 2006); heritage is not 'passive' but 'active' (Basu and Modest 2015); it is a 'verb', not 'noun' (Harvey 2001).

8.1.2 Permanence, Temporality and the Rhythms of Life – A Continuity of Heritage

One could see from the discussions above that the tangible/material/physical and intangible/immaterial/values or belief systems are inseparably related. Otobo in itself is a landscape without meaning if not for the social, cultural, political and religious rites, festivals, meetings, and ceremonies that take place in them. The irrelevant nature of Otobo landscape and the material contents are observable in the transitional abandonment of the arena and/or the contents. While the majority of them are vibrant and active spaces, some examples are physically abandoned. Yet, in these abandoned arenas, prayers are continuously made in the shrines within them. Equally, the hosting of major festivals will often lead to re-activation of many of the monuments within the arenas. These are therefore fluid places, transitioning between states of abandonment and active use over time, but always characterized by uses that are transitory and ephemeral. The intangible/immaterial/values or belief systems are what make the arena and its contents to be continuously relevant in Igbo society (see 5.1.2). This is against the separated nature of tangible and intangible heritage in AHD that operates in Nigeria.

Time is important in the changing state of the Otobo. The multi-functionality of the village arena also renders the permanent physical place a transient place regarding the values and belief systems associated with it at different times of the day, week, month and year. Values attached to the arena itself have assumed a permanent position as a collective memory and identity in the hearts of the people. Yet, the activities that occur are temporary and cyclical. Touw (2006) argues that the 'intervals between successive cycles' define the position of the arena at any particular point in time. 'Time' is a very significant variable in the transient periods of such successive cycles. Rhythm also provides a helpful context for understanding the complexities of the arena, recalling Lefebvre's rhythm analysis and the central premise that 'everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm' (2004, 15). Despite fluidity and dynamism in the ways that we use space and the potential for disruption and destruction, "many rhythms offer consistency to place and landscape over time" (Edensor 2010, 3). Igbo cyclical time organizes all the events/rites that happen in the Igbo village arena in these contemporary perspectives (see table 4). They occur periodically and follow an established course.

A very interesting factor is how the people control the cyclical time and the rhythms of cultural activities discussed on 5.1.1. The *ntigbu*, *imi* or *iya ọnwa* (cancellation or withdrawal of month)

application and the recognition of a non-existing month (*ọnwa g' ad'g' ad'* or *ehukehu*) happens because of the absence of cultural resources required to organise a cultural event or the absence of any rite/festival/ceremony at a particular point in time. So, attention given to monuments and events in the arena is also framed by these same rhythms.

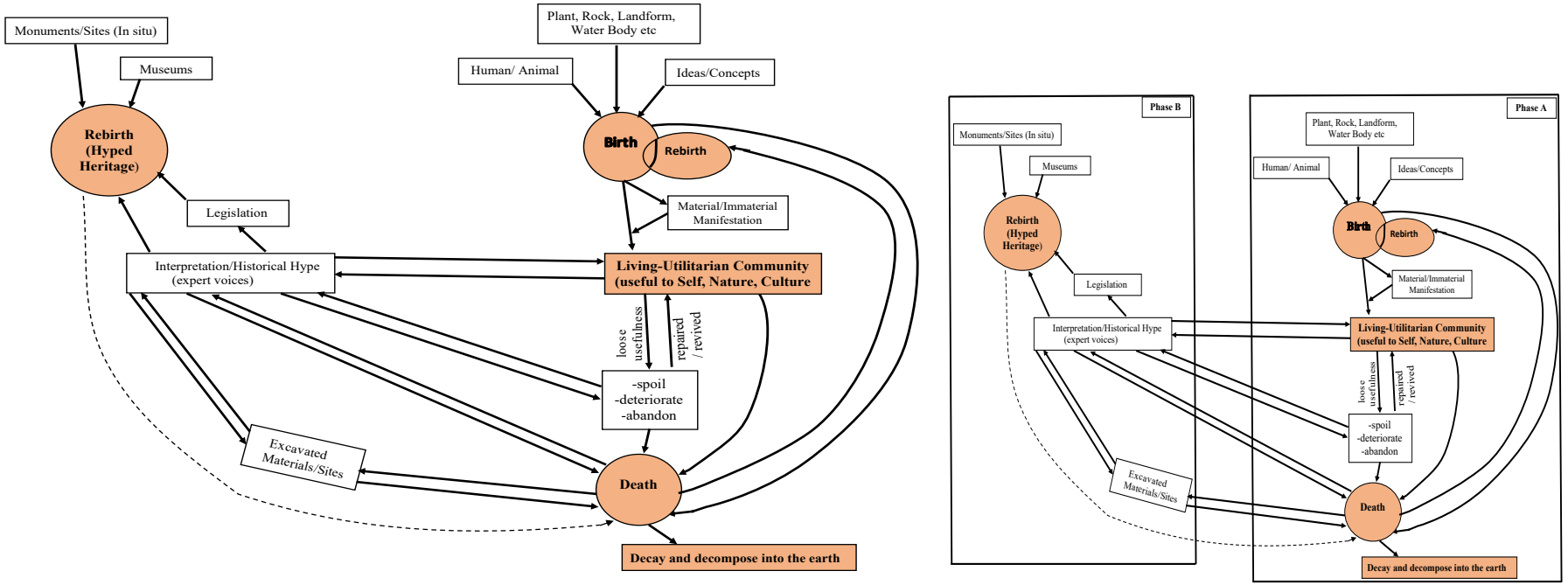
Although the space and its contents are physically fixed/permanent, the time of the event/rite occurrence is fixed in its rhythm, but temporary in nature. Take, for instance, the *Odo*, *Ojiyi* and *Amah* festivals in Useh; the *ika Ezugwu* rite, *ikpa iyi* ceremony and Ogwu festival in Umu-Obira; *Ọr'raeshi* and *Odo* festivals in Ogor; *ipa mmanya ahụa*, *egba eze, oriri Chukwu, Uke* and *Ọmabe* festivals in Amokpu; *Ekaal'* ceremony in Ebor and many others are temporarily carried out in the arena within the Igbo cyclical cosmos. What seems permanent about the rites/events is that they are found within the cyclical experience or rhythms of life which characterize the lives of the Igbo people (see 5.1.2). Here, linear time applies to Igbo culture through this rhythm of life. The experience of the periodic events that take place in the society occur periodically, thus, making them exist in linear time - braking from day to day, week to week, month to month or year to year depending on the determined frequency of occurrence.

Going by the cyclical contemporaneity as well as the temporality of the village arena based on the change in time of event occurrence, the landscape is a space where the intergenerational behaviour of the Igbo, from the ancient, through the present to the future manifest. Ingold (1993, 152) notes that "landscape tells – or rather is – a story. It enfolds the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation". Ingold's assertions presents Otobo like a history book containing the history of the Igbo from time immemorial through generations to the present, who are duty bound to hand same to future generations. Igbo life and experiences are buried in Otobo narratives and lore. The cyclical contemporaneity of the arena is well addressed throughout 5.1.1 - 5.1.4. Specifically, 5.1.2 expands our knowledge about the continuity of the indigenous histories and the manner in which the narratives are woven in landscape and material culture. Memorising revolves around membership of the village or culture and one's ability to express such membership as proven by many of the participants through the narratives they gave.

8.1.3 We are Heritage and Heritage is Us - Heritage as a Living 'Being'

One major point to take from the foregoing is that nature and culture are inseparable. This point brings to mind Meskell's (2009b, 91) position that "nature trumps culture". In their mutualism among the Igbo, not only trees (a living thing in this case) participate in the living community

in the case of *ili elọ*; *Al'*, the 'earth goddess', 'mother earth' is in a cosmic sense the centre of fertility for all that exists (see 6.4). More important to decipher is the human commitment to birth, living, death, and rebirth with trees standing to bear witness. It is safe to infer that the *Ube* Otobo and *Ụdara* Otobo in Useh and Amegu villages respectively are either trees under which the umbilical cord of the people's founding fathers was buried or one that was instituted at their death to symbolize their ancestral position. Such trees are living witness to the oath they took at birth (*ili elọ*) to become a member of the wider universe where humans and nonhumans are equal, where they share ethical responsibility to life. Whichever way, human agency is given to nonhumans with equal life and capacities. This connectivity is a true act of posthumanism (or animism) (see Hayles 1999; Wolfe 2009; Braidotti 2016), and at the same time, a heritage of the people.



Key

- **Phase A** is the natural settings of the life cycle of heritage. Every heritage came into existence to fulfil a particular purpose, what I call the 'birthing or production mission'. Humans, animals and other natural features move from birth to the living (utilitarian) community, but human ideas/concepts will have to manifest in object/material or practice before being introduced into the living community. Meanwhile, heritage could die at birth to move straight to the death place.
  In the living community, a heritage could die; it could lose usefulness when spoiled, deteriorated or abandoned. If it had died, it will automatically move to death stage; if spoiled, deteriorated or abandoned, it could be revived or repaired to regain usefulness and return to the living community. A dead heritage would decay and decompose into the earth to help regenerate other life. However, a dead heritage might as well get rebirth by 'reincarnation' or by a dead idea/concept coming to manifestation.
- **Phase B** is the conservation settings we create for heritage. As professionals, we truncate the movement of heritage at every stage in its natural life cycle, use interpretations - our voices, what I call 'historical hyping' to move heritage from the living community, spoiled/deteriorated/abandoned or death stages into another kind of rebirth, making them become 'hyped heritage'. We also open up the dead ones through excavation. Nationally, we use legislation to deny heritage the connection it has with its living community. Where national legislation did not work, we try to find a way to keep the heritage in the secluded environment that we create. The hyping stage is a place of contest; losing the contest would return the heritage back to any of the natural stage from where it was lifted to be contested and conserved for the future. But a successful contest would have the heritage placed in museums or as secluded monuments/sites, thus, alienating it from the larger living community where heritage mutually share things in common with other 'beings'. Recent findings (Hogberg et al. 2018) shows that there might be no future for those heritage; others (Morgan and Macdonald 2018; DeSilvery 2017; Holtorf 2015) encourages us to allow things to die; few (Sinamai 2019) prove that many of what we conserve might become uninherited. So, the heritage we conserve in this context will die one day just like the ones that dies in phase A of the cycle. Why not care more for a living heritage in the living community than a dying one?

Figure 42: The life cycle of a heritage

The manner in which ruination applied in the Igbo conservation ontology as reflected in the narratives of *Odiọkara* and its symbol - the dead *Akpụ* tree - is impressive (see 6.4). The tree was allowed to die; another species of tree replaced it and was made to carry on with the *Odiọkara* narrative. This explains a natural progression in the life cycle of the *Odiọkara* that the *Akpụ* tree symbolizes. It moved from birth to living and to death, then, decayed and decomposed and got rebirth – appearing in another form of life - the sapling *Ọgbụ* tree. There was no need to keep the *Akpụ* tree alive or standing to continue to hold the 'authentic' narrative of *Odiọkara*, that is if it did not receive the narratives from another tree(s). Similar to this action is the relocation of *Uhamu* Odo in Ogor village and the decision to use the old site for building civic centre. When the people perceived that the old *Uhamu* was no more conducive for Odo activities, a new site was ritualised to carry on with the narratives of *Uhamu* Odo. No efforts were made to secure and keep the space as a culture historical site that inhabited the Odo spirit in the past; rather, the narratives and practices of Odo that gives it relevance was threatened and needed to be transferred to another landscape. That is the exert meaning of 'authenticity' to the Igbo, the narratives will hardly die, it takes new form, pattern or style to continue to live (see various examples in 7.0.6).

For the continuity of *Odiọkara*, the tree was simply allowed to die to complete its life cycle of birth, death and rebirth that benefit the earth; a fulfilment that Shanks expressed "decay and ruin reveal the symmetry of people and things" (1998, 22). Presenting his work on 'the life of an artifact', Shanks argues that "raw material is taken and transformed according to conception of design, an artifact produced, distributed or exchanged, used, consumed and lost or discarded. It may be recycled, given new life" (1998,16). This position speaks to the generality of the Igbo conservation philosophies. In 7.0.6, it was found that a damaged, deteriorated or worn out cultural material is to be discarded to obtain a new one. Again, shrines can be abandoned and can be revived later even if the location and contents were destroyed or lost. In this approach, the Igbo let go of a dying heritage material but would make the associated narratives to continue to live in a similar but new material. In some cases, the material may take a new form, pattern or style like in the landscape narratives of *Mpuniyi* and *Ngelelikokwu* shrines (see 3.3); these cases are reflections of how *omenal'* takes new form, style or pattern to continue to express *ọdinal'* or *ntọal'* philosophies (see 5.0.1).

Following from the mutual living ontology of posthumanism that the Igbo conservation attitude expresses and Shanks's thoughts on 'the life of an artifact', this thesis would suggest that heritage has a 'life'; a life that is not biological, a life that is not professionally induced, a life that has its own kind of consciousness different from that of human, a 'utilitarian life'. The

utilitarian life of heritage is its usefulness to self, to nature and to culture from the period of birth, living, death and rebirth (figure 42). How can heritage be useful to self, nature and culture? Trees, for instance, provide oxygen for respiration, give us food, improve the quality of water, control soil erosion, enhance wildlife habitat and so on. It lives, dies and decays to enhance other 'life'. This usefulness of a tree serves the living community in which the tree is but one 'life' amongst many other 'lives'. It provides a service considered very useful to all – itself, nature and culture or humans (or people). Many heritage resources also serve their living community alive or dead. What is important is that the posthumanist mediation, what Harrison (2015) called 'connectivity ontology' makes their living progressive and continuous. Every site/monument/material has a 'birthing mission' or 'production mission' - the original purpose of its creation. Such mission is always aimed at serving human, nonhuman, culture, nature, or all of these. What matters to the Igbo is the 'birthing or production mission' of heritage; in other words, the 'utilitarian value'. Their conservation efforts are geared towards ensuring that heritage continues to serve the purpose on which it was originally made.

At birth, heritage could die or proceed to the living – the utilitarian phase of life. While in the living community, it could spoil, deteriorate or be abandoned; from there, it would either die or get repaired or revived. Death at birth or during a living stage could see the heritage resurrected by replacement as in the case of the *Akpụ* tree that symbolizes *Odiọkara* in Umu-Obira; the various shrines that are abandoned, destroyed but revived later (see 7.0.3); or through a dead idea coming to manifestation. The posthumanist tenet of mutual living reflects more at the living or utilitarian stage, where all things that exist share some kind of ethical responsibilities to life. At death, they decay and decompose to regenerate the earth, thus, helping to complete the biocyle.

However, the conservation approach enthroned by the AHD delays this natural process. In our bid to protect and conserve heritage for the future, we make heritage bypass the stages of its life cycle and delays the death, decay and decomposition processes. On many occasions, we refuse heritage its living-utility and move them to live another life in the museums or in an enclosed state; through excavation and/or discovery, we also open up heritages that are already awaiting decay and decomposition. In other contexts, we may refuse heritage its living-utility, or (in the case of archaeological excavations) open up others that have already begun to 'decompose'. We use our expert voice – interpretation which we call 'historical hyping' - along with legislation to give heritage another kind of life, making it a 'hyped heritage'. The new life we give to heritage could also mean 'rebirth'. We divert heritage from moving through the life cycle and force things to 'die' (dwell in the past), stop them from going through the process of

decay and decomposition, instead, get them 'rebirth' to live another life in the present. Basu (2008, 234) argues that the processes through which museums acquire material culture "stripped objects of their power and agency and relegate them (and the societies they represented) to the 'traditional' world of the past". By so doing, we also deny the earth the power of regenerating beings, one of the major reasons why the ethics that posthumanism proposes is very important for heritage conservation in the Anthropocene.

In the kind of rebirth that we create, heritage is removed from the living community, enclosed from some sections or members of the community, and saved for the future. Our museums and conserved monuments, sites or landscapes are examples of heritage with new or another life. Adekola (2017, 638) reiterate that "museum is perceived as a sort of warehouse in which exhibits were deprived of their true essence in a totally inanimate setting". At such rebirth still, many of them serve another purpose different or closely related to their lives' mission. Considering the implications of our actions, one of which is climate change, we have always wondered how the future will receive them: a gift from us – the good custodians of history - or evidence of the calamity 'we' caused them with our actions/inactions, that is, if any of what we are conserving survives the Anthropocene. Some of the collections we hold dear for the future are in our time becoming "un-inherited past" (Sinamai 2019); this reality forces us to think seriously about the number of things we could hold in trust to survive into the future. It makes us think deeply about considering the Igbo conservation principles, and how their application would benefit the world of heritage discourse.

If we look back at Murray's (1942) findings 77 years ago, where "a man may take care of his carvings during his life, but his son may have no interest in them", we should also feel that such non-interest is possible among future generations. To this end, the efforts we put in caring for 'dead' heritage may look useless. Even, 'heritage profusion' is currently being questioned. It is gradually turning into "the crisis of accumulation" (Harrison 2013) and would go to prove that there might be "no future in archaeological heritage management" (Högberg et al. 2018). Scholars have suggested, "de-growing museums" (Morgan and Macdonald 2018), "curating decay" (DeSilvey 2017); and "avoiding loss aversion" (Holtorf 2015). The Igbo philosophies of conservation makes similar points in a more natural way that reduces the pains of losing valued treasures. Just like the inclusive gesture considered in the cases of indigenous people's agitation for the repatriation of their human remains (like the confrontations that led to NAGPRA), the Igbo conservation approach should make us reconsider the inclusion of nonhuman species whose delayed death, decay and decomposition suffer the earth; which in turn contribute to the climate change that threatens all of us in the Anthropocene.

8.1.4 Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD) Theorised

Interrogating the binary, indigenous/local experts v professional experts will further present a nuanced perspective on inclusion and exclusion as well as providing clearer understanding about John Schofield's statement to the fact that "we are all experts" (2014, 2). In spite of the fact that we also need 'heritage experts' the way we need other expertise (Hølleland and Skrede 2019) that might include indigenous/local experts. Schofield's position is a call for the recognition of those other experts whose knowledge would enhance the way we preserve and manage heritage in the 21st century. We flagged earlier that there exists Indigenous Authorised Heritage Discourse (I-AHD). It was thoroughly established in chapters three, four, five, six and seven that 'authorised heritage' is not exclusive to AHD. There exist in the indigenous heritage management structure some unquestionable authorities that got power to manage heritage through 'divine mandate', nomination or because they have informal or natural knowledge for instance.

The *Onyishi*, members of *Ọha* – the council of elders, the *Ụmụkwụ Ọha* in Onicha Enugu, *Ndi'chir-otobo* in Useh, and *Ọgba-maa-họr* and Ndi-*iwu* in Ogor are constituted authorities that manage the polity of the villages that includes the heritage of the people. Whereas members of *Ọha* and the committees are constituted in a representational arrangement (see 6.1), and because their roles exist in terms of checks and balances, the *Onyishi* has an overriding power to overrule their decisions. His unquestionable power is observable in the control over *Onụ Al'*. With the cosmological position of *Al'* among the Igbo, *Onyishi* performs in *Onụ Al'* the rites that heal the land to prosper the people and to regenerate the environment (see 7.0.3). Again, the Ebor encounter (see 4.10) says a lot about the authority of the *Onyishi* over indigenous culture and heritage. Even though there is a decentralised management of the many aspects of the people's heritage (see 6.1, 6.2, 7.0.6), the overriding power of the *Onyishi* in deciding how they are used is noteworthy.

The powers of *Dikwu* and *Ọkparaa* in consultation with the *Ọgba-nwe-otobo* to decide which Odo mask met the ethical standard to appear from *Uhamu*, which one to ban from coming out to perform is nothing far from authorised heritage. There is no canon for ethical standards, their decision is based on what they consider ethical from their individual artistic perspectives although driving from inter-generational experiences of the people. Additional to the powers of the *Onyishi* and the committees are that of the *Ndi* or *Onye nka* - the craft and art producers. With the formed guilds and the monopoly of production (see 3.2), their knowledge and expertise are authorised. The *Ọshakere* or *Onu-maa* and *Ụmụ-Ọkpụkpụ* or *Umu-ogwenyi* are

unquestionable in the way they carry out the management of *Ọmabe* and *Odo* heritage respectively.

Also, the powers of a particular person or group of person(s) to schedule cultural activities with the prerogatives to cancel or withdraw months are worthy of notice. Then, those experts that communicate with the ancestors, gods, or spirits through *Afa* divination to direct the affairs of a village are so powerful in their dealings (see 5.1.3). The people that order the *ntigbu*, *imi* or *iya ọnwa* and the diviners and priests that bridge the gap between the living, the dead (ancestors) and the gods are so authorised that they could alter the Igbo cosmological order to align with the individual or community interests to meet cultural needs.

From the gender perspective, the patriarchal authority and non-representation of women in *Ọha* and many of the committees that handle heritage management are so exclusive. Even though there are the *Ndiomu-ọha*, their powers are not comparable to that of *Ọha*; the application of their power is temporal because they only react to issues when it threatens the existence of the community.

Nevertheless, the difference between I-AHD and AHD is that the decisions of I-AHD are in major instances community-driven and encourage heritage to continue to live in its community. AHD, on the other hand, encloses heritage from their community and creates for them another living context and use for a particular class of people. Heritage in I-AHD plays their civic roles (construed here as their birthing or production mission) in the living communities and not in the kind of hyped spaces like in museums or enclosed sites. Even though each has attribute of 'authorised' characteristics, the I-AHD is based on community philosophies of collective survival (see Aja 2002), whereas the AHD is driven by individual-elitist logical thoughts that sits tightly on national and international principles aimed at commercialisation of heritage.

Interestingly, the authorised attributes of AHD were made conspicuous in the data collection process. The ethical policies of many institutions (including the one observed here) attempt to moderate the involvement of 'non-professional experts' so as to continue to marginalise them and empower the other. Implementation of those ethics brings to mind John Welch and Neal Ferris discuss of archaeology as an 'extractive industry' (2014), where we enter a community, extract their knowledge, process, appropriate and assume ownership. The use of heritage ethnography countered this classical approach. Reactions of participants in Umu-Obira and Useh (see 4.9) showed that our ethical responsibility to ensure anonymity to protect participants contrast with the wishes of the people. They wish to be named in order to be known as knowledge bearers in their communities. Their desire is in line with the recent quests for inclusion (Smith 2006), bottom-up approach (Pyburn 2018) or co-creation and co-design

(Aitken and Shackleton 2014) which this thesis strongly advocates. In the next section, we shall discuss the steps through which the players in AHD and I-AHD could come together, reconcile differences and establish a working collaboration for an inclusive and sustainable heritage conservation in post-contact societies and in the Anthropocene.

8.2 'Glocalisation' of the 'Indigenous Strangers': Concerns and Hope for Heritage Futures

The binaries in heritage ontologies and epistemologies, the duality of institution and methods of heritage conservation observed above require a critical but careful approach to integrate and achieve democratic inclusion. **'**Glocalisation' and 'indigenous strangers' are two loaded concepts with which we would engage inclusion in the context of a cosmopolitan people whose current thinking and ways of doing things signifies damnation, self-rejection and strange feelings about self (see Ugwu 2011). The concept of indigenous strangers speaks directly to the attritions on heritage ontologies caused by the noticeable disjuncture in the three phases of Nigeria history (see chapter three), attitude which Giddens (1991) called 'ontological insecurity'. Ugwu (2011) interrogated religion, language and general nomenclature of today's Nigerians and concludes that "what one observes is a desperate attempt to be like the Westerner" (p.59). However, he resents, "any society that fails to sustain its member's faith in its own ways might change in such a manner that it ceases to be itself and becomes only an extension, a shadow of the other group(s) with which it is in contact" (2011, 53). With the findings in this work, should we say that African societies fail(ed) to provide for its people? Ugwu might be right when his views are juxtaposed with the findings in chapter three.

But the Igbo concepts of heritage - *ọdinal'*, *ntọal'* and *omenal'* - (see 5.0.1) established opening for the accommodation of new forms, styles and patterns of heritage practice and use. The opening makes it possible for acceptance of new people and cultures (see 6.2) into a living space already occupied by others in a harmonious way that benefits all, yet, preserving the identities of the locale. Perhaps, the current generation of Igbo are unable to absorb and refract received cultures and identities as did their ancestors; this could be the reason for the crisis noted in chapter three and 7.3.

Set around the Igbo colonial encounters, Achebe's fictitious narrative about Ezeulu's son and the sacred python in his *Arrow of God* (1964) expatiates on how the changes that the Igbo heritage ontologies accept nowadays cause crisis like the cases examined in 7.3. Ezeulu the chief priest of *Ulu* in Umuaro village had sent his son, Oduche to learn the ways of Whiteman, his education and religion. His hope is to benefit from both sides of the cultures, especially

through his son from the European missionaries, and himself as a chief priest of the indigenous religion. Things turn opposite at the end of his political calculations; his son returns to imprison the sacred python that symbolises the gods of Umuaro over which he presides. The son's action brings crisis upon his household and the entire Umuaro, and peace and tranquillity eventually eluded them. The "share" Oduche brings home, rather than co-existing with others, attempts to stifle them out of existence (Olaniyan 2001). Oduche is in this sense an 'indigenous stranger'. Of course, he is from Umuaro, but has acquired different values, attachments and consciousness; he loses faith in the abilities of his people and becomes ontologically insecure in Umuaro. To feel secure entails asserting his new values and consciousness by attempting to destroy the ways of his people. The crisis in many of the villages in 7.3 practicalised Oduche's frustrations. Fighting to end cultural practices and flagrant disobedience of village laws that preserved heritage characterise the indigenous strangers. They are like Oduche that acquire new culture; they would rather get rid of the indigenous ways than remain alienated from the power structure that governs the village. To re-assert themselves into the power structure require the destruction of the old status. Recent syncretic harmony on 7.2 shows that there are moves towards a sustainable cohabitation. However, the rate at which differences are harmonised impact little or nothing on the public awareness and interest in Nigeria's national heritage. It happened because the national heritage management body is yet to realise the need to share power and knowledge with the indigenous/local communities to further strengthen its civic roles in the society to remain relevant.

The views expressed in the tenets of 'indigenous strangers' are not completely far from what has been discussed about heritage and cohabitation in recent time. Apologists of cosmopolitanism argue that "we are all citizens of the world who have responsibilities to others, regardless of political affiliation" (Meskell 2009a). To them, the world is intertwined in a web of association, relationships and share of belief and resources. Such is a type of the open arms with which Igbo heritage epistemologies welcome other ontologies that now threaten its inclusive features (see 5.0.1 and 7.2). Anthony Kwame Appiah who is the most popular proponent of cosmopolitanism submits that:

> There are two strands that intertwine in the notion of cosmopolitanism. One is the idea that we have obligation to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kin, or even the more formal ties of a *shared citizenship*. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn

> from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life. Whatever our obligations are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way (2006, xv my emphasis).

Placing Appiah's postulations side by side with the principles of AHD, what is crystal clear is that both are antithetical to the ethics of inclusion and 'shared citizenship'. It rather excludes the local public in the interest of the state and 'professional experts' (see 2.0.1), yet, Kenneth Murray choose AHD against indigenous heritage consciousness he personally examined (see 3.1). This is where the views of the proponents of indigenous strangers and cosmopolitanism got complicated. Cosmopolitanism for archaeology and heritage hopes to enthrone respect for the values, views and practices of all stakeholders; indigenous strangers argue that such respect is unfounded in Nigerian societies. Meskell (2009a) suggests that "archaeologists no longer have the license to "tell" people their past or adjudicate upon the "correct" ways of protecting or using heritage". Therefore, inclusion is the message of the cosmopolitan scholars. However, the inclusion they preach seems like the top-down model observed in the discourse of heritage (see 2.1). Inclusion can only be possible when there is equal playing ground. In indigenous strangers, it is argued that there are radical efforts by one side of the divide to dominate the other (see also the points in 3.2, 3.3 and 7.3). It stresses that respect for all stakeholders and/or all members of a living community is obviated when acceptance of other ontologies is forceful; the forcefulness could take the form of knowledge domination (see 2.0.8), act of war (see 3.2) or iconoclasm (see 3.3).

Even Appiah himself recognises this shortcoming when he writes that "cosmopolitanism can suggest an unpleasant posture of superiority towards the putative provincial" (2006, xiii), and he confesses that his writing is to rescue a renounced ideology. He also realises the desire for connection to 'originality' when he refers to Walter Benjamin's "aura" of the work of art, which has to do with its uniqueness, its singularity. Although, Appiah (2006) acknowledges that what cosmopolitanism wants to achieve is to remind us about "connection not *through* identity but *despite* difference". This connection through 'despite difference' is similar to the 'universal value' in the definitions of heritage, identity, museum, and tourism demands (see 2.0.1, 2.0.3, 2.0.4 and 2.0.5). The 'superiority towards the putative provincial' isolates the communalism that cosmopolitanism advocates (see 3.2 and 3.3). And the relativity or particularity ontologies that direct heritage knowledge among indigenous groups in Nigeria for instance (see 3.1, chapters 5 - 7) oppose, to an extent, the tenets of cosmopolitanism. In this way, it is not helpful in solving the concerns and conflicts of the indigenous strangers.

Similar postulations that look like cosmopolitanism are that of cross-culture, hybridity or creolisation. Proponents of cross-culture argue that cultural interchange or borrowing has been one of the ways through which cultures emerge (Michie 2014; Kreps 2003). Der Ver (2015) and Brah and Coombes (2000) raise some issues about hybridity and authenticity. Basing her judgements on the findings among Ngadjon and Ndebele peoples of Australia and Zimbabwe respectively, Long (2000) posits that creolisation freezes indigenous identities to produce hybrids with little or no noticeable binary. She made the point that creolisation brews tension especially in a colonised and multi-ethnic society like she identified between the Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe. Khondker (2005, 191) points out that "one can accept hybrid version that does not involve local elements". Consequently, cross-culture, hybridity and creolisation, just like the AHD share in the cosmopolitan problem of the 'superiority towards the putative provincial'. AHD adopts indigenous materials and narratives to establish national heritage. However, the use and context are so creolised or hybridised in a manner that does not consider indigenous ontologies. The implication is the feelings of strangeness exhibited by members of the local communities as found in the propositions of the indigenous strangers exemplified in 3.3 and 7.3. While we recognise the possible contributions of cosmopolitanism, cross-culture, hybridity and creolisation to this study, it is important to note that none of them addresses the issues raised around the 'superiority towards the putative provincial' that emboldens the AHD's top-down heritage management approaches in Nigeria in particular and post-contact societies in general. Therefore, the duality, exclusion, apathy and strangeness created by AHD in heritage conservation in Nigeria needs to be properly addressed.

Alternatively, glocalisation could provide solutions to the socio-psychological problems of the indigenous strangers to achieve inclusion and sustainable heritage conservation. The concept of glocalisation is gradually coming into focus in the global discourse of culture, human relations, association and survival. First, it was developed by sociologists to analyse the business world of production and marketing (Robertson 1995, 2012; Roudometof 2015a, 2015b, 2016). Glocalisation produces acceptable hybridity when a global culture is adopted by locale, modified with local ingredients and refracted into the globe. It is a careful way of blending local with the foreign, the old with the new, and not by throwing away or destroying own things in the belief that something better has been built elsewhere. Glocalisation is the "fusion of ideas and not blind imitation" (Khondker 2005, 192). Robertson (1995, 2015) is the foremost proponent of glocalisation; he argues that 'global' exist in 'local' and vice versa. However, Ritzer (2003) insists that 'global' and 'local' are mutually exclusive. At these instances, it could be said that glocalisation exist in the provisions of AHD. However, further

development emphasised how to address the problem of the 'superiority towards the putative provincial'. First, Robertson (1995, 29) raised the point about the quest for 'uniqueness' - "diversity sells". His concern is similar to Appiah's recognition of Walter Benjamin's "aura" of the work of art. Invariably, both authors speak for a sense of 'authenticity', which they felt is missing in their propositions. We can also recollect that 'authenticity' is heavily contested in the literature (see 2.0.1 - 2.0.6 and 3.1 - 3.3), and at the earlier discussions of this chapter, 'authenticity' is associated with faith in narrativity (see 8.1.1).

Victor Roudometof borrowed the wave refraction analytical tool used in the discourse of the power play in globalisation to argue that glocalisation would make sense if there is: (1) the ability of a locale to originate waves consistently and persistently across the world stage, (2) the ability of a locale to be wave-resistant, the ability to insulate itself from waves of 'undesirable' outside influences, and (3) the ability of a locale to modify or alter the waves that pass through it, a well-known and often evoked ability to cause mutations, alterations or fractures into whatever is introduced from 'outside' (2015a, 12). In a society with the dual ontologies and epistemologies of heritage like Nigeria, the second and third points are very useful. It would reconcile western and indigenous heritage practices with the possibility of achieving inclusion. The crisis in 7.3 is the evidence of wave-resistant and the syncretism in 7.2 proves the modification of the wave that comes from 'outside'. These tensions are happening across every aspects of cultural encounters, especially against the sweeping influence of Christianity. One may ask: in what ways can AHD mutate with indigenous heritage ontologies without generating tension? In the next section, an understanding of how glocalisation could occur by "including at least one or more components that address the local cultures, systems of values and practices" (Khondker 2005, 191) is established. It is argued that such approach will be successful when contextualised into the cultural settings - the living community.

8.3 The 'Living Community' and Adoption of 'In-Use' Conservation Paradigm

To understand the 'living community' of heritage, it is important at this point to refer back to the Igbo ideas on indigeneity, thoughts on posthumanism, contemporalities and temporalities. The clause 'becoming a people' was used here to explain how indigeneity and identities are formed in Igbo villages (6.2). The processes are complex but simple. Important questions which the 'autochthons' and/or migrating groups are interested in getting the answers are: What can you offer to our collective survival if we live together? Why must we accept you or your views? What innovation will you bring? These questions bother on how people migrate and

exchange knowledge, procreate, innovate, progress and provide security against external aggression. The thesis shows that a living community is formed when a group of migrating people are able to meet one or more factors, whose trusts are based on the followings: You are the first or last to arrive on the land; you were born here before or after others; with our skills, we can help you survive here; or we have the strength to protect you from invaders if we live together (see 6.2). Even when some of the villages can point to their ancestor(s), none of the towns or confederacy (made up of many villages) could lay claims to only one progenitor, but they share a common cultural interest, narratives and identity. How did they achieve this level of understanding?

The processes of formulation, ownership of collective heritage and possession of identity is intriguing. The principle is for each of the groups to control the management of whatever heritage they brought or invented. Such control must be in the interest of the whole people within the universe they created (see 5.1.2). That universe is therefore bestowed on the cosmos of *Al'* (the mother earth) whose ideology would continue to hold all 'beings' inhabiting the environment in a united cosmology (see 6.4). Consequently, good health or well-being also means making sure that human beings and nonhuman beings mutate and share a relationship to benefit from the exploits of the other (6.3). As time passes by, any 'being' that dies joins *Al'* to form the realms of the ancestors who in turn would continue to make their contributions to the community by speaking through the *Afa* divination (see 5.1.3). That is how a living community is established in Igbo cosmos. In this living community, inclusion is assured only when an incoming people(s) or culture(s) is not oppressive; this could be the reason for the sustained resistance by the Igbo against colonialism. Sequel to this sensibility, indigenous peoples would want a recognition that the living community is a coeval of *uya* (yesterday), *taa* (today) and *echi* (tomorrow). Put differently, a continuum from the past, through the present to the future (5.1.2) as assured through the mechanisms discussed in 5.1.3 and 5.1.4. By so doing, the community survives on the collective knowledge systems of those that are already living on the land, those that joined later or that will come to join in the future. It, therefore, respects the belief and values of all to maintain the community's well-being.

From the above explanations, living community in an indigenous sense asks no one when he/she arrived on the land; rather, it asks what one has to contribute, marks the need to respect one another, and a recognition that the ontologies and epistemologies of the first occupants provided the opportunities for others to emigrate. The question about long-term relations to land and place (according to Dei 2016) is not defined and can hardly exclude if appropriately situated in indigenous knowledge of the Igbo. Long-term occupancy could be fifty years, a

hundred years or any number of years. Following the Igbo understanding of a living community, a group that can culturally demonstrate their belongingness without suppressing the earlier occupants is considered member of a community. What the Igbo do is to include them in the cosmological formation of the community; a gradual process that takes time to pass through acceptance as *omenal'* to graduate into *ọdinal'* and/or *ntọal'* (see 5.0.1). The time it takes are phases of negotiation and renegotiation that will eventually produce a glocal form of the culture. This is after it is found acceptable by all members of the living community (human and nonhuman) before it is trapped in the cosmos of *Al'*.

With a good knowledge of the community where heritage lives and how the Igbo treat or handle heritage in their community, one has the opportunity to make informed judgements on how best to integrate AHD and indigenous heritage conservation models. This thesis suggests '**in-use**' conservation approach. The idea behind '**in-use**' conservation model stems from three important lessons in this thesis: (a) the Igbo ontologies of heritage (5.0.1), conservation (5.0.2 and 5.0.4) and the practical application therein (7.0.6), memory/memorabilia and identity (5.0.3). Incidentally, these Igbo conceptualisations see everything on earth to be passing through the life cycle of birth, living, death and rebirth. (b) The fact that the Igbo place much more value on the 'utility' or 'birthing/production mission' of heritage embedded on narrativity than the materiality that could die at any point in time. (c) The current global realities that relate to the complexities of Anthropocene epoch which gives credence to the ethics that posthumanism propagates.

The **in-use** conservation paradigm is to be defined as a process of identifying the 'birthing or production mission' of a heritage and working to keep them alive in their living communities to continue to serve utilitarian value(s). It is a way of binding the principles of AHD and indigenous heritage conservation models to appeal to all stakeholders. The birthing mission of a heritage is the original purpose of its creation/conception. In the **in-use** model, a national catalogue of heritage should be kept in the museums as a directory to the heritages in the living communities. Additionally, a highly significant practice and material/monument threatened by extinction should form part of the contents of the national museums; this is after every effort towards reviving the utilities in their living communities has failed. Other than to achieve inclusion and sustainability, the **in-use** paradigm will drive rural tourism, develop 'ontological security' (see Gidden 1991) that Igbo continuity attitude to heritage sanctions. It will instigate public participation in heritage management and would help the earth to continue to generate 'beings' in the Anthropocene.

Against the AHD's 'static perfection', the **in-use** method focuses on caring, repairing or replacing the material components of a heritage to make it to continue to live in its community. **In-use** approach hopes to elongate the utility of heritage, rather than waiting until it dies (cast in the past) before providing care in a secluded space. What should matter to conservators is the narratives, the ability to transfer narratives of a dying heritage onto another (similar or related) material, site or monument and allowing the old form to die, decay and decompose following the Igbo heritage ontologies and the posthuman ethics. The procedures that starts with the negotiation to accept an alien cultural form, pattern or style into *omenal'* from where it would move to the *ọdinal'* or *ntọal'* after acceptance by members of the indigenous living communities should be the basis of **in-use** methodology. In applying the principles of this model, we must admit that the living community is constituted by human and non-human beings both of which share a mutual relationship that benefit all. The new form, pattern or style to be introduced must not be antithetical to the ontologies that established the host culture. It must respect what is *Nsọ* (see 5.0.4) to help preserve the essence of that aspect of the people's heritage.

The management structure of the **in-use** tenet is to be based on the Igbo democracy (6.1) in association with the philosophies behind Otobo (7.0.1) and the processes of becoming a people (6.2). The representational strategy, the inclusion of leaders/heads of different aspects of heritage (e.g. *Attama*, *Dikwu Odo*) and indigenous/local heritage experts (*onye/ndi nka*) in *Ọha* should benefit **in-use** application. It should tap into the indigenous people's awareness of the relationship between heritage, power and governance, and the Otobo philosophy that connect members of the community into a shared history, experience and engagements (see chapters six and seven). Consequently, every indigenous group is to be identified and a national heritage committee of the indigenous groups constituted. The committee is to serve as mediators and linkage between the national heritage authority and the authorities of local communities as well as ensuring the representation and coverage of communities in the affairs of national heritage authority. In this integration paradigm, the mediators who are indigenous to the group they represent is to help reduce the concern raised in chapter four on how members of the indigenous/local communities perceive researchers – as the representatives of the government and/or the state. Care must be taken to recognise that the project is theirs and that they are the major stakeholders.

In the coming chapter, a summary of the thesis findings is made with a conclusion and recommendations for future researches. For the purpose of ethnography, the author had a

reflexivity towards the end of the chapter to explain how his identities played around the research objectives and outcome.

Chapter Nine: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

9.0 Summary of Thesis Findings and Conclusions

By examining the ontologies and epistemologies of AHD and indigenous heritage conservation models, this thesis has shown how the local public are included or excluded in their activities in Nigeria. It goes on to suggest an approach to integrate the two to help achieve democratic inclusion in heritage management in Nigeria in particular and post-contact societies in general. Professional heritage experts or scholars created knowledge binaries or duality that runs through an 'imaginary' division of global North and South. The dualities are generated out of contestations of the principles of AHD, and it appears to be a way to include than integrating the ideas to enrich its tenets. This point is recognisable in the creation of a dual list for UNESCO - tangible and intangible - as a way to include views of the indigenous societies whose heritage exist more in narratives. Additionally, the binaries (national v non-national, particular/relativity v universal, monumental/physical v narrative, natural v cultural, static v cyclical continuum, and professional v indigenous/local experts) are many such ways of recognising the 'imaginary' divide in knowledge production that legitimise AHD against other pieces of heritage knowledge that exist in many parts of the world. Consequently, it is either you are for AHD or you are the 'Other', whose heritage knowledge and practices live outside the mainstream establishment. Throughout this thesis, the struggles between the mainstream heritage practice and marginalised views are identified and interrogated.

Chapter one introduces the thesis argumentations. In chapter two, the historical antecedence of AHD's theorisations on heritage was deservedly examined. The positions are entangled with the meaning and histories of identity, museum, and tourism and these formulations got weaved into time-space politics in a way that made them linear and cyclical. Where heritage is better understood in cyclical time, AHD utilised the principles of 'abandonment' and 'discovery' to help situate them in a linear time stratum in agreement with the senses of the 18th century enlightenment that introduced industrialisation in Europe. In the 21st century, AHD was challenged by those who benefit from its propositions – professional experts - with little or no impact. Although the originators of AHD in Nigeria discovered that heritage conscience of the indigenous peoples relies on 'a state of growth, decay, and re-birth', they preferred to introduce AHD with the hope that the local public will appreciate it after they become educated. The complexities that their decision create and the implications are variously explored in chapter three. In trying to engage those complexes, the thesis points out that three phases of Nigeria history - pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial - approaches to heritage obscured the

underlying continuities and transitions that inform patrimonial heritage among indigenous groups. The methodological applications in chapter four allows us to investigate the multiple issues from the grassroots. In the process, the thesis also finds that institutional guidelines on conducting 'good research' express authority that obscure the knowledge and power-sharing attributes of the methods of data collection. Relaxing the guidelines to adopt acceptable ones made the collection of useful data possible; and chapters five, six and seven weave together the evidence collected.

Picking up and discussing Igbo terms for heritage, memory, identity and conservation in chapter five provides a new perspective about heritage. Opposite to the 'static perfection' of AHD, these Igbo concepts explain heritage to be progressive and contemporaneous. The finding opposes the AHD temporality that alienates national heritage from members of the indigenous/local communities. Strengthening the evidence is the connectivity that human and nonhuman members of a community share with their ancestors, specific environment or space. This connectivity is woven around the social formation, social practices, and social relations that are extensively discussed in chapter six. Accordingly, chapter seven uses practical examples to demonstrate the connectivity of many of the binaries created by AHD: the bonded state of nature and culture, tangible and intangible or materiality/monumentality and narrativity. It identifies the tension and feelings of strangeness and apathy by members of indigenous/local communities towards AHD through their actions against the activities of Christianity that came with it – one of the means it collected and have continued to acquire heritage materials. The three chapters (five, six and seven) give eloquent context for comprehending Murray's 'state of growth, decay and re-birth' that made us examine the life cycle of heritage and the implications it has for posthuman ethics.

It is found in this thesis that other than having binaries in the conservation and management methods, there are conflicts around the knowledge domain. It shows that the divisions are products of power and discourse. Examining an indigenous tenet – the Igbo village square – using ethnography that allowed a bottom-up enquiry with power-sharing possibilities, the thesis concludes that the problem of exclusion is also philosophical and political. It is philosophical because of the conceptual differences; it is also political because of the spatial representations and national ideology. The egoistic position of 'professional heritage experts' that work for the states distance them from the knowledge of the other, thus, making them feel strong about the knowledge they have as the only known way of preserving heritage. Eventually, they go about complaining that members of the local public are not participating in their activities. It is more like 'the danger of a single story'; they set the standard that

marginalise local public and bother less about how the other feel; yet, being the ones to complain. It is, therefore, an ‘information-deficit' problem that has been very useful in excluding people.

The thesis findings show that AHD places heritage in a time perspective that is alien to the indigenous communities that make up Nigeria; it uses the ‘static perfection approach' against the people's psychological make up that favour unbroken continuity. Even when there are elements of linearity, especially in the organisation of events, the rhythm of life that characterise them makes heritage exist in a cyclical continuum.

Further to the findings is a new way of seeing the indigenous/local community as a constituent of human and nonhuman ‘beings’. Therefore, it recognises that heritage has a ‘life' and lives in the same community with humans and other ‘beings'. Acknowledging the announcement of a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene and the new quests to find alternative heritage conservation design that aligns with the ethical requirements of the time (see Solli et al. 2011), the thesis suggests the ‘**in-use**' conservation paradigm.

Arguments put forward to support ‘**in-use**' method emanates from what was found among the Igbo, the fact that heritage passes through the same life cycle of birth, living, death (that includes decay and decomposition) and re-birth, which AHD either denies or delays. The principles of ‘**in-use**' conservation approach encourages intensive and effective care for heritage in their living community to elongate and sustain the utilitarian values of heritage envisioned in its birthing or production mission. As the thesis makes us understand, heritage lives in a community as a ‘being’ out of many other ‘beings’ in which humanity is one. ‘**In-use**' model makes us think about the life of heritage the way we feel about elongating the life of a human. By so doing, heritage would make its contributions towards solving problems of the Anthropocene, one of which is climate change that threatens the lives of all ‘beings’ in the universe.

The thesis concludes that adopting posthuman ethics into the ways we think about heritage conservation would make us reconsider the meaning of ‘authenticity' and ‘civic duty' of heritage. Igbo philosophies favour narratives and the associated context as providing the actual authenticity of a heritage. Against the AHD focus on materiality, Igbo principles argue that holding onto the narratives of dead heritage objects and the ability to transfer same to new forms of (similar) material best preserves the authenticity of heritage. Therefore, heritage achieves civic duty through their continuous existence and utility in a living community.

Posthumanism suggests that the anthropocentric bias of heritage being just for ‘humankind’ is no longer tenable. Heritage is of the earth, living among the community of ‘beings’, and should

belong to all. The thesis contests that a re-conceptualisation that sees heritage as a member of a living community, where human and heritage share the same faith of birth, living, death and rebirth is required. It is difficult to let go of many of the beautiful and desirable things we have made and continue to make. It is, however, unrealistic to think that we can save 'everything' about past and present experiences for the future. We have to let go of much heritage materials in the same way we let go of loved ones when they die. Posthumanism makes us know that our shared responsibilities in the living community (where heritage is a member) would mean accepting the life cycle of birth, mediated living, death (and eventual decay and decomposition) and rebirth, to regenerate the earth, and keep the cycle of life going. Thinking about heritage in this sense would help us make informed decisions for the future of heritage in the Anthropocene.

9.1 Recommendations for Future Research

This thesis studied the Igbo people out of more than 250 indigenous groups in Nigeria. We admit that the generalisations it made might not entirely represent the ontologies of these multiple groups. In spite of the fact that it relies on the case study research strategy of 'micro-macro links in social behaviour' (Gerring 2007) to make such generalisations, it is useful to suggest further enquiry into heritage conservation views of the different indigenous groups in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa and post-contact societies.

Looking back at what this thesis was about and what it isn't about draw attention to the possible directions that future research would take to enhance the findings and propositions made in this thesis. A research that samples the opinion of professional heritage experts in Nigeria or elsewhere in post-contact societies are required to provide deeper knowledge on how they will receive the ideas of inclusion as conceptualised in this thesis. Such a study will also need to find out how best to reduce professional ego in order to work out a sustainable collaboration that respects the opinions of all parties. A policy focused research is also required to help build into national policies of post-contact societies in Africa, for instance, a new definition of heritage that is inclusive of indigenous ontologies. The policy plan should introduce a system that recognises the heritage philosophies of local communities.

Another area of enquiry would be on practical projects to test run '**in-use**' model as a new form of conservation that glocalise techniques for the future of heritage in the Anthropocene. It would bring together the ontologies and epistemologies of AHD and indigenous heritage in a manner that appeal to all. Solli et al. (2011) and Harrison (2015) have respectively made a strong case for new research on heritage and posthumanism in the Anthropocene. As significant

findings here solidly anchor on the tenets of posthumanism, the thesis advocates further development of the line of thoughts it engaged. The Anthropocene threats and profusion asks for a re-conceptualisation of heritage for the future, as such, demanding a hands-on research commitment for a re-theorisation.

Apart from the research needed to improve on the thesis findings, there are important findings that this thesis did not pursue further because of context and space. The little results about local trafficking of heritage raises more questions for the raging restitution debates. As members of local communities also traffic cultural heritage within their spaces, to what extent can the restitution requests make a positive contribution? In a case where the trafficked materials are institutionalised into the local culture, and are still serving their birthing mission in that context, to what extent can we achieve restitution? How sure are we that the objects in Western museums have not been replaced by the owners who value it for the utility like the Igbo philosophies made us understand? Having been given a new life in another kind of living community, what implications will restitution have on the members of the old and new communities where the life of the heritage material transverse? There are many sides to the restitution debate that are not discussed. In line with these and other related questions, this thesis recommends a critical study to unravel the complexities of restitution.

The thesis also found some evidence on the mutual relationship among power, truth, landscape and justice. Taking into account the people's quests to return to some political landscapes, where truth is assured to uphold justice, which colonial systems truncated. The thesis suggests a detailed study to examine the contributions that the evidence would make to post-truth discourse.

9.2 Reflexivity

From the time the thesis idea was conceived through the literature engagement to the data collection, analysis and interpretation, my identities have impacted on the processes. Now that the research is concluded, "openness and honesty about my position and serious reflection on my responsibility as a researcher" (Davey and Liefooghe 2004, 180) would help to “judge the impact of these influences on the study” (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008, 513).

For clarity, I was born a male and raised a Christian in the study area, where cultural heritage engagements are regarded as pagan practices; where men have some cultural advantages over women and vice versa. I studied for an MA and a BA in Archaeology and Tourism and a Diploma in Tourism and Museum studies in a university within my birth environment. This PhD is carried out in a university in the United Kingdom, albeit conducting fieldwork in

Nigeria. I also hold a teaching and research position in the university where I studied for an undergraduate degree. In this research, the ethnographic approach was employed, and reflexivity allows assessing the character of the data, how it is affected by the sensitivity of the research settings, my identities and how they impacted on the quality of interactions that produced the evidence (see Weddington 2004). Some of the reflections already contain in 4.8 and 4.9; however, I will do my best to present such other influences on the interactions between myself, research settings and the participants without being repetitive.

It was mentioned in the methodology chapter that during my studentship at the University of Nigeria, I had exposure into the discourse of heritage and the manner in which the practice of AHD in Nigeria excludes members of the indigenous/local public. This thesis was conceived following that exposure as a protest towards the apathy and alienation in national heritage management in Nigeria. Therefore, some of my ideas in the thesis could have been influenced by my thoughts about such level of exclusion, especially as it concerns national heritage policy.

My imbibed Christian faith was at the centre of the thoughts about this research from the conception of the project to the fieldwork and analysis. In the beginning, I had much concern about how I would participate in activities that are considered 'pagan' adjudged with my Christian beliefs. During the fieldwork, I was always battling to understand some narratives, especially when they appeared 'mystic' or 'magical'. Amid all other narratives, the story about the origin of Igbo calendar in Ebor and Umu-Obira (see 5.1.1) wasn't interesting to me during the interviews; I was just waiting for the story to end. Later, I remembered the Catholic teachings about the mystery of the Virgin Mary – the pregnancy of Jesus Christ and the assumption of Mary into Haven - and decided to revisit those narratives. With deeper thoughts about the story, I made further enquiries into time and space management among the Igbo, and it helped in the subsequent development of the discussions on time-space politics in heritage discourse (see 2.0.2 and 8.1.2).

Operating from my family house in Nsukka was a threat to the fieldwork. Despite my wife's support, she was always uncomfortable about my participation in 'pagan' activities and continued contact with 'pagans'. In fact, many of my siblings regret how I studied a course that focuses on the study of 'paganism' and the associated fetish materials and practices. At several occasions, some of my friends made a mockery of the topic of my PhD and the discipline for being ancient and 'pagan' oriented. These encounters had a significant impact on the way I engaged with my study subjects who were already classified in my imagination as 'pagan' worshipers.

Arrival to the UK, where heritage is perceived to exist more on materiality, a physical/monumental edifice, designed landscapes and their likes almost made me rethink my research proposal. I was challenged on how to communicate research that concentrates on heritages that mostly exist in narratives and performance with little or no physical/material manifestation to a people with a strong view on gigantic physical and beautiful features. After reading Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage*, I got the sense of what I wanted to do, yet, I was continuously afraid of my UK audience, whom I believed would find it difficult to understand my thesis argumentation. My fears were close to reality when I noticed that fewer persons are interested in hearing my presentations at conferences/workshops organised in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. I felt disappointed with the research when, on the day I presented part of my findings to the departmental research forum. Unlike other presentations in the same forum that I participated in the past, where many people attended, mine received low attendance. Also, the way the research was received by many at the beginning of the analysis made me think that the information gathered from the field were so 'superstitious', unscientific and obsolete. These encounters and the associated sensitivities had greater effect on my psychology and may have had influence on the ways with which I communicated the evidence.

Being knowledgeable about AHD and indigenous heritage principles placed me in a struggling position. I was unable to allow my participants to flow freely during interviews without interference. During the interview processes, there was this urge to contribute because of my familiarity with what is being discussed. In some occasions, I did use my life experience and the ones I gained from other villages to drive home my questions or points. Sometimes, it would appear like I was persuading my participants. That was how my sense of indigeneity and professional knowledge influenced the interviews. In other contexts, placing myself as a 'symbolic outsider' during interviews and FGDs wasn't helpful. It was common to encounter at some points statements like: You are from Eha-alumona, so your people do it the same way we do; you should know what I am saying because Eha-alumona has similar culture (O*menal'*); you are asking as if you do not know about this, did you grow up in the city? We do the same thing the way your people do it, so, you should know what I am trying to say; and so on. These positions limited access to information; once any of those statements was made, the informant would stop explanation on the issue being discussed, believing that I should know better. In reality, however, I may/may not know some of the assumptions. Even when there are many similarities in cultural heritage knowledge among the people within the cultural zone, such assumptions limited insights into specific ways of cultural practices in different villages. Consequently, the attitude had some implications on the methodology. The claims that being

an ‘insider’ to the research locality is advantageous for acceptance into the community and would help in gaining deeper knowledge about the study subjects is not supported by these experiences.

Furthermore, members of the indigenous/local communities see researchers as an agent of the state, their response to the research was in some cases abridged by the reservations they have for the Nigeria state. Association of a researcher with the state made Umu-Obira people ask the question: How will this research bring government projects to develop their village? Additionally, each time key informants introduced me to their people, they would say that the government sent me. To many, researchers hold a strong position in society and can get government attention to the needs of the researched. Sequel to this presupposition, those that have lost trust in the state were not open to participate in the research. They argue that there is no need to continue to provide the state with information when there are no positive results to show for the ones provided in the past. Fieldwork in Ebor may have, among other reasons, suffered because of these thoughts. Even, some interviews weren’t carried out in details because some participants were not happy to sustain the discussion. There are those that confronted some of the participants to bring out the money that the government had brought to the village through me. Such people insist that few elders (especially the key informants) collected money from me and have refused to share it, thus, withdrawing their participation in any way. In many of these confrontations, the research aims suffered and would have affected the level or quality of information generated and used here.

9.3 Final Thoughts

The future of heritage is cloudy because of two important reasons: (1) If the current global warming "may cause environmental change of such a magnitude that sudden cultural ruptures are unavoidable", then, our efforts to conserve heritage with strong focus on materiality and human interests are unsustainable. (2) Also, if "a man may take care of his carvings during his life time, but his son may have no interest in them" at the father's death, and would leave them to ruin, our efforts to preserve the past and present experiences for the future in the hope that they will be accepted and appreciated by our unborn generation might be efforts in futility. The Igbo heritage conservation philosophies envisage this endangered future of heritage and employ the principles of *ọdinal'*, *ntọal'* and *omenal'* as a natural paradigm that helps to maintain continuity by holding onto context and narratives and de-accessioning material acquisitions to manage profusion. The effectiveness of the model is assured through the practice of *nchekwebe*

(protection), *ndokwebe* (safekeeping), *ndozi/mmezi* (repairing), and *mmekwata/mmekwete* or *mmechite* (retrieval, restoration, revival, or replacement).

The **in-use** propositions posited in this thesis allows us to adopt these Igbo paradigm into the contemporary conservation for inclusive and sustainable heritage of the earth. Consequently, if in future we are faced with any of these two concerns presented above, surviving 'beings' would in the case of ruptured cultures institutionalise and materialise the heritage that exists in their known narratives into whatever form, style or pattern available to them at the time. Again, a generation that finds our experiences uninteresting are at liberty to manifest their cosmological narratives in different forms of materiality. These possibilities are sustainable because values and philosophies are imbibed as ideological forms and are hardly erased or ruined as is the case with material things.

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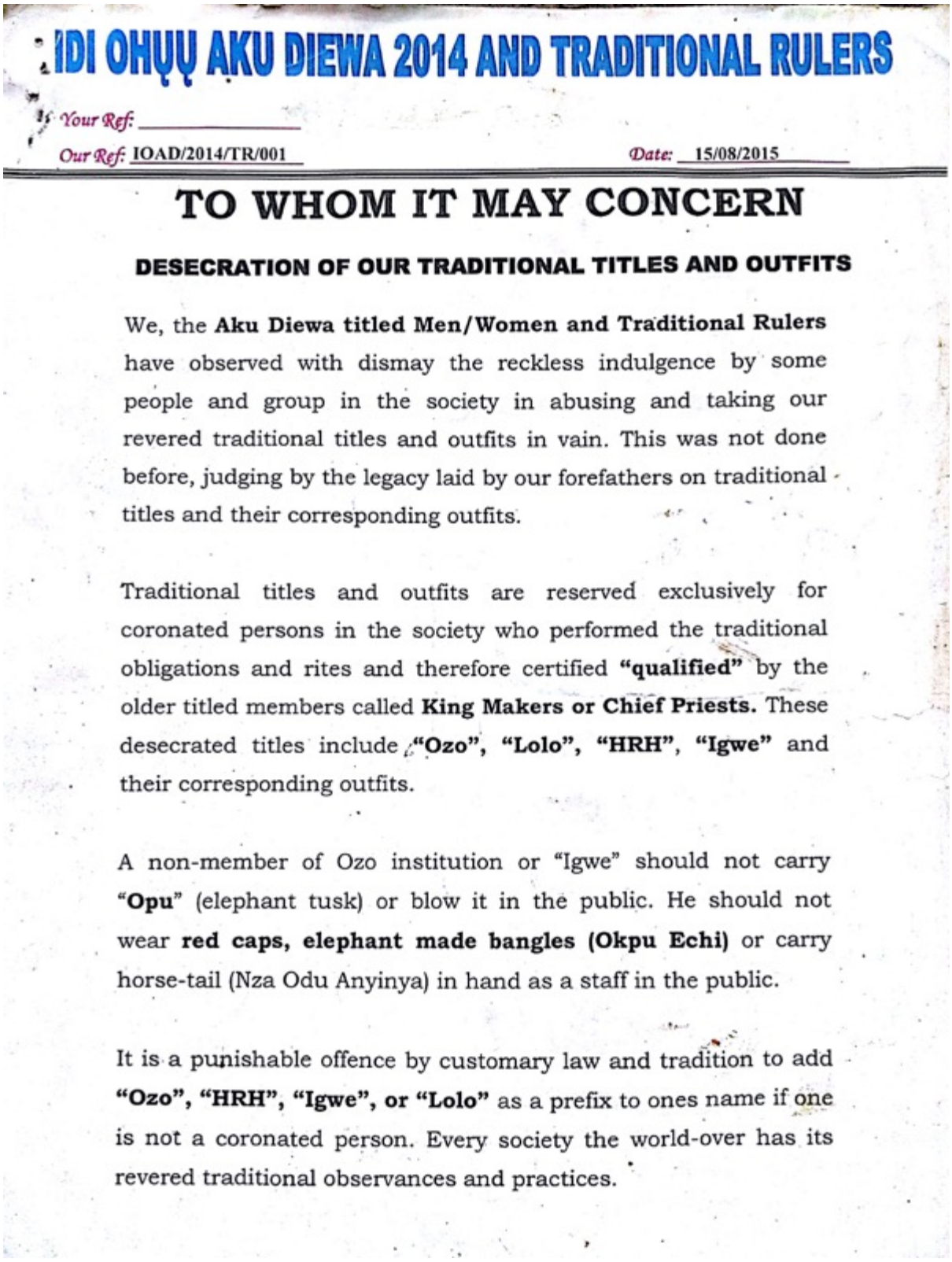
Appendices

Appendix 1: A heritage protest letter



IDI OHỤỤ AKU DIEWA 2014 AND TRADITIONAL RULERS

Your Ref: _____

Our Ref: IOAD/2014/TR/001 Date: 15/08/2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

DESECRATION OF OUR TRADITIONAL TITLES AND OUTFITS

We, the **Aku Diewa titled Men/Women and Traditional Rulers** have observed with dismay the reckless indulgence by some people and group in the society in abusing and taking our revered traditional titles and outfits in vain. This was not done before, judging by the legacy laid by our forefathers on traditional titles and their corresponding outfits.

Traditional titles and outfits are reserved exclusively for coronated persons in the society who performed the traditional obligations and rites and therefore certified **"qualified"** by the older titled members called **King Makers or Chief Priests.** These desecrated titles include **"Ozo", "Lolo", "HRH", "Igwe"** and their corresponding outfits.

A non-member of Ozo institution or "Igwe" should not carry "**Opu**" (elephant tusk) or blow it in the public. He should not wear **red caps, elephant made bangles (Okpu Echi)** or carry horse-tail (Nza Odu Anyinya) in hand as a staff in the public.

It is a punishable offence by customary law and tradition to add **"Ozo", "HRH", "Igwe", or "Lolo"** as a prefix to ones name if one is not a coronated person. Every society the world-over has its revered traditional observances and practices.

Nigeria as a multi-ethnicity nation has its diverse and related multiple traditions and observances. For example, in Northern Nigeria, the titles:- **"Emir", "Shehu" or "Alhaji"** etc. are reserved for the coronated persons. The matching outfits are also exclusively reserved for the coronated. There are other traditional things ordinary people cannot do in the public because they are forbidden by traditional laws. **But today, people flout these rules with impunity!**

The same thing applies to the West and Mid-western Nigeria. Nobody can add "Oba" as a prefix to his name unless he is coronated as such.

Also in the Eastern States such as Anambra, Ebonyi, Rivers etc. no ordinary (non-coronated) person can add **"Obi", "Owelle", "Onye Eze" or Amanaibo"** as a prefix to his name or put on red cap, or carry "Opu" (elephant tusk) or wear coronation bangles in a public outing.

The Present-Day Church is not exonerated from this charge! Nowadays, it is a common practice by church to give Chieftaincy coronation and titles to her congregation. Even the titles **"HRH" meant for the recognized Traditional Rulers is given to an infant in the church. (***See the attached copy***).**

Yet, traditional institutions do respect and reserve church ordination and titles for the church. Such titles as: **Reverend, Cannon, Deacon, Rev. Sister, Knight, Vicar, Bishop, Arch Bishop and Pope** are exclusively reserved for the church.

Traditional coronation/ordination does not abuse or take these titles and their corresponding outfits in vain. No traditional man wears the Bishop's cap or wears the sutan and hood or holds the Bishop's staff in private or public outing. The Reverend Fathers have their outfits which non-ordained persons are not allowed to wear, ***otherwise it will be tagged "impersonation"*** **Why does the church not give her ordination and titles to non-ordained persons in the church**?

Will it please the church to see and hear that the members of the traditional community go by the titles: **Rev. "Odomagana"** or **Bishop "Ojiyi Aku"** or "**Knight of Odo Achi"** etc.
What is good for the gander is good for the geese!

Let there be sanity in our cultural practices. Let there be order in our tradition and observances. Above all, let us give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's!

We, the under signed hereby ban the desecration of our traditional coronation and titles and their corresponding outfits henceforth in Aku and neightbouring communities.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

Attached is a copy an eye witness account of all we are saying.
Thanks



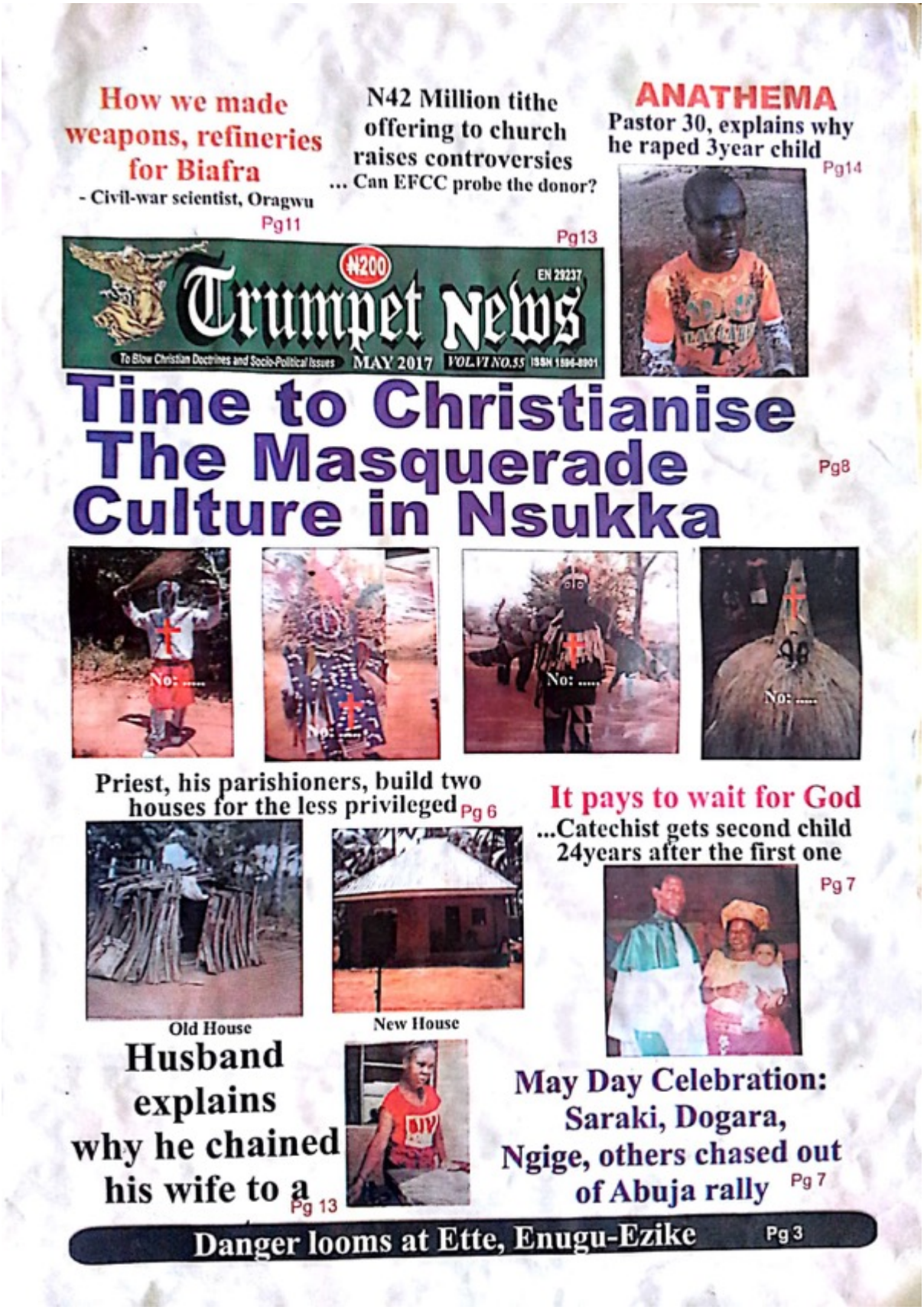
Congratulations

The family of **Late Ozo Madueshigune Abel Attah, I H.R.H, Igwe OCHENDO 1** of St. Gregory the Great Parish Aku, swiftly uses this rare opportunity to congratulate the entire Parishioners, the council and the amiable Parish priest, Rev. Fr. Christian Ani on the Maiden Parish Bazaar slated for 24th Dec. 2014.

It is awesome and praise worthy for our parish to have such a wonderful moment under the P.P. distinguished spiritual direction.

Igwe Ochendo Aninabuike Nwa U. Abel Attal.
Of St. Gregory the Great Parish

Appendix 2: A newspaper publication on Christianising heritage of the spirit being (masquerade)



Time to Christianize the Masquerade Culture in Nsukka is Overdue

Felix Ugwuanyi

It is now time for the culture of masquerades in Nsukka to be reformed consequent upon the history of their barbaric, crude, inhuman, and unchristian activities, which recently reared its ugly head again. It is a truism that the original concepts of masquerades for entertainment, maintaining law and order, competitions, protections etc is no more the norm. Hence, times without number, the havocs caused by masquerades, ranging from battering, stealing, raping, maiming, destruction of life and properties and death, have continued to populate the news.

Hitherto, masquerades were seen as deities, spirits and consequently, they came out at different cultural ceremonies of their respective spirits. As noted by Rev. Fr. Dr. Eva Chuma Nnamene, Director of Social Communication, Catholic Diocese of Nsukka in an open letter to Governor Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi and Enugu State Legislators, (Vol 5. No 4, April edition of Shepherd Newspaper).

"In the past these masquerades were seen as deities, spirits, and as such, they came out at different cultural ceremonies of their respective communities. When our society was more homogeneous, masquerades were celebrated by all. And in those days, in some communities, the masquerades were used as agents for the maintenance of law and order, and also to ensure proper organization of our cultural milieu. But that is no longer obtainable today.

The uses of masquerades have changed, and the system of masquerading has changed as well. Masquerading has become violent oriented, and create more problems than the services they rendered in the past. For instance, for decades now, masquerades in Nsukka cultural zone kill and maim innocent people. They waylay and rape women, and girls. They rob and extort money and goods from road users. And as such, each time they are out, majority of our people live in fears and worries. But because it is the blind-alley of our people, some Nsukka citizens do not see terrorism, rather they defend masquerading. This has denied us the decency of a civilized society. If all we bequeath to our society are fears and worries, then, violence, barbarism, and terrorism have become endemic in our society."

Furthermore, in Neke Isi Uzo LGA, the Odo cases have lingered in the courts for years. In Uda as well as in Amufie Igbo-Eze North LGA, the Akatakpa cases have lingered for years. In Ikolo Igbo-Etiti LGA, Odo invaded two homes beating up their two daughters, and the cases came went to court as well. In Nsukka, the home of University of Nigeria, the cases of people mercilessly beaten by Oriokpa are uncountable. In Ozalla Igbo-Etiti LGA there were cases that led to burning down of people's houses. True, the list can go on, and on. Then recently a Seminarian who went out to pay EEDC was nearly killed by Oriokpa along the main road

Thus, the need to reform and Christianize masquerades is imperative if the savagery and violence of masquerades will stop, and this calls for immediate action. The church as a mother should come into ensure proper organization of our cultural milieu. Yes, masquerades are our culture, no mincing words, even Christianity too is a culture. The two should go in pari-passu.

The stand of the Catholic Diocese of Nsukka on culture and masquerades can suffice for this. In its first Diocesan synod, with the theme, "Arise, let us move from here" (Mark 14:42), it stated thus, *"Culture is indispensable in the process of evangelization because the symbols with which messages can be communicated to the individuals are embedded in it and these individuals are deeply connected to a culture and influenced by it. Therefore, our Catholic faith in Nsukka Diocese cannot stand in isolation of our culture. The church has been making efforts to evangelize our culture and transform it in the light of the gospel."*

On masquerades, the Synod maintains that, masquerades in all their forms are symbols of African Traditional Religion and culture; they form a very compact system; the functions of masquerades in African tradition range from entertainment to maintenance of law and order in the society. However, some of the masquerades serve a purely religious purpose. The Catholic Church cherishes everything that is good in other religions (cf. Nostra Aetate no.2). Therefore, she appreciates and encourages the beauty in the art and music that have come down to us from this institution. She wishes that this precious heritage be preserved for future generations and for all humanity.

However, with the influence of urbanization, the traditional custodians of these institutions seem to have lost control of them. These venerable institutions have been hijacked by some young people who either do not understand the original purpose of the masquerade or deliberately use it as a cover for banditry and criminality to the detriment of the society. Hence, from time to time there are clashes between these masquerades and Christians. On this issue, we direct as follows: *effort is to be made by Parish and Diocesan Inculturation committees to preserve what is good and noble in these masquerades such as the artefacts, music, and noble ends of entertainment and discipline.*

HISTORY OF MASQUERADES IN NSUKKA

In tracing the history of the masquerades in Nsukka, the Bishop of Nsukka diocese, Most Rev Prof Godfrey Igwebuike Onah has said, and tightly so, that these masquerades came from Igala, Kogi State. According to him, they were introduced by Atta Igala whose power and influence reigned over Nsukka land prior to the influx of Western civilization. Bishop Onah maintains that even though these infiltrated masquerade cultures have so dominated our original Nsukka culture to the point of obsession, they are not perfect, and as such, should be erradicated from Nsukka land.

In a recent homily, Bishop Onah reemphasized that, "it is unfortunate that in this 21st Century, some youths in Nsukka area will cover their faces, block the roads, beat and extort money from people who are going about their legitimate businesses. The security agents should treat these criminals who hide under the guise of masquerades as a culture to harass and harm law-abiding citizens, as terrorists and cultists."

The Emeritus Catholic Bishop of Nsukka Most Rev. Dr. Francis Okobo spent most of his years in office fighting the ills of masquerading. In one of such battles at Ugwuoye, Nsukka ,he could have been badly wounded if not for his courageous spirit and strength. The Anglican Bishop of Nsukka, Bishop Aloysius Agbo (JP) has constantly held teachings against these nefarious underworld men in the name of masquerading.

DISCOVERIES WHY MASQUERADES CONTINUED TO CAUSE HAVOC UNCHECKED

Trumpet News made a travelogue and discovered that some highly placed personalities, some traditional rulers, powerful politicians and even high place Christians are behind the activities of masquerades for some selfish and ocultic reasons, consequently they keep quiet over their menace. In Nsukka for instance, it was an Ex. Senator that went and bailed out some Oriokpa masquerades that were arrested and detained at police station for maiming, extorting money and battering innocent people on the excuse that it is the culture. It was gathered that some of those detained were boys he used during his campaign.

Trumpet News was informed that some of these personalities are bad boys and to confront them is a threat to their life and the best is to over look or even give them some financial assistance. It was discovered that some highly place Christians, one a Knight even at Ibagwa-Aka Igbo-Eze South Local Government Area and another in Igbo-Eze North Local Government Area sometimes in the past, came home during the ceremonies of Akatakpa and Omeba festivals respectively to stage a competition for the best performed or well decorated masquerade to be won with N10,000.00.

Presently, it is an offence in Orba, Udenu LGA and Aku in Igbo-Etiti LGA for a girl to wear trouser during the outing of Akatakpa and Odo masquerades respectively following an order given by their traditional rulers, what has wearing trouser got to do with tradition.

FACTS IN ISSUE:

In the same open letter to Governor Ugwuanyi and Enugu State legislators, Rev. Fr. Dr. Nnamene further maintained, that from the 20th Century, most of the uses of masquerades in Nsukka land were overtaken by civilization, urbanization, Christianization, and even the ever evolving feat of science and technology. Besides, with the high influx of people from other parts of Nigeria, Nsukka land has become a heterogeneous, multi-cultural and multi-religious society. And these changes became magnified by the 21st Century. If we tell ourselves the truth, things are no longer the same. There is much advancement in our society today. Therefore, we must give room for necessary adjustments in masquerading in Nsukka land. This is paramount for the existence of a civil society.

Consequently, what is to be done is to reform, refocus masquerades and not necessarily to stop it. And to achieve this, Christianity has to come in, as it did with some cultural practices and norms in some communities in Nsukka.

For instance, in Umuopu, Enugu-Ezike, Igbo-Eze North Local Government Area of Enugu State, it was a taboo at a time to cry if someone dies on Afor market day that was reserved for their deity *"Ekwe"*. But with the coming of Christianity and civilization people now cry if someone dies on Afor market day. Beating of gong was also forbidden but people can beat gong now.

In Aji community also in Igbo-Eze North Local Government Area, there was one big traditional *"Ekwe"* gong which the strong people of Aji say great things they did of. It is called *"mba Obonyi"* which is the "Pronouncements of Great", mostly dangerous things which one has done or involved in, in the past, like killing someone, taking someone's land forcefully, eloping with someone's wife etc. Christianity came in and changed it for good.

It was Hon. David Atigwe, who bought a big Christian gong which the then Assistant parish priest, Rev. Fr. John Ugwu blessed at Umuoda village square. Now the *Mba Obonyi* is to pronounce the good things which one has done, like how many people one has sponsored in education, business, or paid hospital bills or built houses for freely. That is Christianity in action.

It can also be recalled that when the Bishop Emeritus, Most. Rev. Fr. Francis Okobo introduced the idea of two weeks for burial, and that wedding should take place before traditional marriage, many kicked against the policy and based their reasons on the fact that it goes against culture; however, many now have embraced the two ideas that the bishop brought and they are working well.

Hence, if we tell ourselves the truth and commit to it, we will realize that certain cultural practices beckon us to change the modus operandi of our masquerades. There are already signs and factors that will facilitate the reformation and Christianization of masquerades in Nsukka.

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Time to Christianize the Masquerade Culture in Nsukka is Overdue

Signs and steps that call for the reformation and Christianisation of masquerades in Nsukka

1) There is no more ritual initiation into masquerades before taking part in it. Consequently these non-initiatees cause a lot of problems as they do not respect any rules.
2) Nowadays 90% of masquerades are Christians as they bear names like; John, Fidelis, Matthew, Jonathan, etc when unmasked, contrarily to real masquerades that answer Odo, Ugwu, Omeje, Ugwuoke, Ozioko, Omeh etc.
3) The elders in council, the Oziokos', Ndiama etc are mostly Christians. Same is applicable to most traditional rulers and these are the custodians of the culture, and since they are baptized Christians, Christ will appear in their rules and regulations. Some of them interviewed supported having Christian masquerades if it can stop the violence and menace of the masquerades as it has gone out of control with them.
4) Parishes have centralized organs like MOD, Catholic Young Men Organization that will be the Christian Oriokpa, Akatakpa, Odeh, Omabe etc masquerades with a cross symbols on their dress carrying *"Omu"* palm leaves or broom entertaining people by dancing, storytelling etc.
5) They will be registered with either the parish catechist, MOD President in the parish or a task force that will be constituted for that given numbers and ID card and their costumes will be blessed by a priest. The masquerades will be followed by an unmasked person who collects money for him.
6) The design will be same in all parishes and violators will be reported to the task force.
7) Christian masquerades will pay homage to the Parish Priests, Catechist or Vice Chairman of the parish council.

Having read the thesis and antithesis, the synthesis goes to consider the implementation and implications. Before you shout and say it will not be practicable, know that in some parishes, it is already working and the first Catholic Diocesan Synod Nsukka encouraged it when it noted in Numbers 22 and 23 of their document thus, "Those parts of the diocese where Christian masquerade already exists are to continue with such practice since this will help us to diminish and possibly eliminate the exclusive cultic undertone of pagan masquerades. It will also help to keep alive the possibility of full inculturation of the masquerade" 23 In case of clashes between Christians and pagan masquerades, violence is to be least contemplated alternative. Instead, recourse is to be made to the law enforcement agents and to the civil courts".

The bottom line of all is what we say in Igbo parlance, *"Egbe bere ma Ugo bere"* i.e. let the kit perch and the Eagle perch. Beyond that as a Christian, one should not sit on the fence and watch his fellow Christian indulge in sin of what will lead him/her to destruction and then comes the concern of the Bishop Emeritus, Most Rev. Fr. Dr. F. E. Okobo which formed the title of his Lenten pastoral letter on Ash Wednesday, 12th February 1997 "WHERE IS YOUR BROTHER."

Time has come to take proactive action over masquerade culture in Nsukka. Take for instance supposing that the attacked Seminarian had died, what do we say? This is quite unfortunate and calls for action as the Bishop Emeritus commented in his booklet, "Unfortunately, many of our Christians shy away from their responsibility to confront the problems of injustice and oppression in our society. Apart from living exemplary lives, the laity has the obligation to fight against the entrenchment of evil in the society. This can be done by advocating honesty, truthfulness, justice and a sense of purpose, and by confronting injustice, corruption and nepotism, which like canker-worm have eaten deep into the bone marrow of Nigerian society.

BIG BROTHER NAIJA:

Where are our Lawyers and Human Right Activitist? Why have you people not taken legal action on this mundane, Sodom and Gomorrah displayed publicly in the Multi Choice network of DSTV and GO TV? Oh!, we miss you, the legal icon Late Gani. Had it been in your time, this will not happen.

As the aphorism has it, silence is consent, so you legal giants are keeping quit to such immorality show? As one of you Barrister Uche Omeje from the Lawyers Chamber, (Madona Ave Maria Chambers) Nsukka, Enugu State rightly visioned, "It has expanded from Big Brother Africa to Big Brother Naija. One hopes and prays that it will not come to having Big Brother Lagos or Nsukka etc. That is if religious bodies will not join to have Big Brothers Diocese A or B."

If you go through your Applications in you're Android phone, there are many Islamic Apps you will see, but those in core Islamic countries they are not hocked to Channel like DSTV or connected to Facebook, whatsapp, twitter etc. People that go to the Dubia emirate can testify to this.

Politics

Sheriff vs Makarfi: Supreme Court fixes May 25 to entertain PDP's appeal

The Supreme Court on Thursday fixed May 25 to hear application for the withdrawal of appeal filed against the National Chairman of the PDP, Ali Sheriff.

Ahmed Makarfi, Chairman of the National Caretaker Committee of PDP, had approached the apex court to challenge the affirmation of Mr. Sheriff as National Chairman of the party.

Justice Ibrahim Mohammed fixed the date after counsel to parties regularised their various court processes.

The News Agency of Nigeria reports that the two factions have laid claims to the national leadership of the party.

The inside later took parties to the Court of Appeal, Port Harcourt Division where Mr. Sheriff was affirmed as the authentic national chairman of the party. Dissatisfied with the appellate court's decision, the Makarfi-led faction approached the apex court seeking the upturning of the decision of the lower court.



However, Lateef Fagbemi, counsel to the first respondent (PDP) had challenged the ground upon which the Makarfi-faction appealed against the decision of the lower court.

His ground was that by virtue of the judgment of the Appeal Court, Mr. Makarfi no longer had any right to enter an appeal in the name of the party without Mr. Sheriff's consent.

"The issue is simple, the party is not interested in appealing against the national chairman of the party, so, we shall be withdrawing the pending appeal.

"So far, the judgment has not been set aside and no order for stay of execution has been obtained by Makarfi-led group. "There is a judgment of the Court of Appeal that recognised Sheriff as the authentic chairman of the party", he said.

Supporting the argument canvassed by Mr. Fagbemi, counsel to Mr. Sheriff, Akin Olujimi, said the court should decide the motion for withdrawal filed by PDP before entertaining any other appeals.

On his part, Wole Olanipekun, counsel to Mr. Makarfi submitted that the court reserved the right to approach the case from any direction.

According to him, the stage is now set for the case to kick-off as all the processes have been turned in.

He also said counsel to parties must reserve their energies by not making attempts to enter into the substantive matter.

(NAN)

EXCLUSIVE: How 'shady' companies bribed SGF Babachir Lawal to make billions from Boko Haram victims' fund

By: Hassan Adebayo

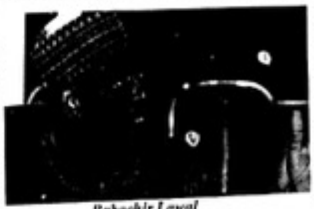
The Presidential Initiative for the North East (PINE) became a centre of misery entrepreneurship under the suspended Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir Lawal, with companies raking in, through fraudulent procurement process, billions of Naira and paying kickbacks to the embattled cabinet secretary, according to bank documents and the report of the Senate Committee on the Mounting Humanitarian Crisis in the North East.

PREMIUM TIMES had a rare access to the report which sums up the evidence the Senate submitted to the Yemi Osinbajo-led presidential investigative committee probing allegations of contract fraud and breach of due process against Mr. Lawal.

The report is due for presentation before the Senate this week.

PINE was established to help coordinate and lead efforts at rebuilding infrastructure and rehabilitate millions of victims of Boko Haram insurgency that has devastated Nigeria's North East. About 100,000 people have died since the insurgency began in 2009, according to official figures.

As shown in the Senate report with evidences of bank transactions as well as Central Bank of Nigeria, Corporate Affairs Commission and Bureau of Public Procurement documents Mr Lawal superintended the conversion of the agency to a criminal, and bizarre money making enterprise, awarding contracts to cronies whose firms did not pass the requirements set by law.



Babachir Lawal

Some of the beneficiaries paid parts of the proceeds of the contracts to Mr. Lawal's company and his private account in tranches. After receiving payments from PINE, at least five companies separately paid about N450 million to the Eco Bank account (1820018069) of Rholavision Engineering Limited owned by Mr.Lawal according to CAC and self-admission, and his private account (0005004417) with Diamond Bank, bank statements showed.

According to a CBN confirmation attached to the report, Mr. Lawal was still the signatory to the account of Rholavision until February 15, 2017 which shares the same Bank Verification Number with his personal account and 13 other accounts in commercial banks.

Between November 2015 and July 2016, the agency received over eight billion naira (N8,352,865,587), out of which N6.8 billion was expended on projects and N231.5 million on recurrent expenditures.

PINE, according to the report of the Senate committee, "awarded 39 contracts to various companies to carry out the removal of invasive plant species plants, rehabilitation/renovation works, food supplies, consultancy services and provision of shelter (supply of tarpaulin cabins) etc."

But the committee found that all the contracts were "awarded under the principle of

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Appendix 3: National Commission for Museums & Monuments Act (NCMM Act)

National Commission For Museums and Monuments Act
Chapter 242
Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990
Arrangement of Sections
Part I
Establishment of the Commission

1	Establishment of National Commission for Museums and Monuments.	2	Membership and tenure of office.	3	Functions of the Commission
4	Declaration of Nation Museums.	5	Director-General of the Commission.	6	Appointment of Secretary, Directors and other staff of the Commission.
7	Service in the Commission to be pension able				

Financial Provisions

8	Establishment of fund by the Commission	9	Power to accept gifts.	10	Borrowing powers, etc.
11	Annual estimates, accounts and audits.				

Part II
Declaration of Antiquities as National Monuments, etc.
National Monuments

12.	Special powers of the Commission	13	Steps towards declaration of antiquity as a national monument	14	Powers in relation to antiquity pending declaration as a national monument

15 Power to maintain other monuments
16 Public access to monuments
17 Compensation to monuments
18 Offences in relation to monuments

Excavations and Discoveries

19. Restrictions on excavations
20 Discovery of objects of archaeological

Part III

Prohibited Transfer

21. Ban on buying or selling of antiquities
22 Search without warrant by Police or Custom
23 Registration of antiquities.
24. Clearance permit
25 Restriction on export of antiquity
26 Compulsory purchase of antiquity
27 Interpretation of this Part

Part IV

Miscellaneous and Supplementary

28 Annual reports.
29 Staff regulation
30 Regulations
31 Repeals, etc., transitional and savings provisions
32 Interpretation
33 Short title



National Commission For Museums and Monuments Act

28th September 1979

An Act to provide for the dissolution of both the Antiquities Commission and the Federal Department of Antiquities and to create a Nation Commission for Museums and Monuments there from and other matters ancillary thereto.

Part I

Establishment of the Commission

1. (1) There us hereby established a body to be known as the National commission for Museums and Monuments (hereinafter in this Act referred to as "the Commission") which shall have the functions assigned to it by this Act.

(2) The Commission shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal and may use or be sued in its corporate name.

2. (1) The Commission shall consist of a Chairman to be appointed by the National Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the Minister and the following other members, that is—

(a) five persons to be appointed by the National Counsel of Ministers on the recommendation of the Minister, being persons who by reason of their ability, experience or specialised knowledge in -

(i) education,

(ii) culture,

(iii) natural history,

(iv) science and technology, and

(v) science,

are capable of making useful contributions to the work of the commission;

(b) nine representatives of the States to be appointed in rotation, so however that no State shall have more than one representative at any one time; and

(c) the Director-General.

(2) The Minister may appoint one of the members of the Commission referred to in paragraph (a) of subsection (1)of this section to be the Deputy Chairman of the Commission for such period as the Minister may determine, so however that a Deputy Chairman who ceases to be a member shall also cease to be Deputy Chairman.

(3) Subject to subsection (4) of this section, of this section, a person appointed as a member of the commission (not being an ex officio member) shall hold office for three years and shall be eligible for re-appointment for one further period of three years.

(4) The appointing authority may terminate the appointment of a member (not being an ex- officio member) on grounds of misbehaviour or inability to discharge the duties of his office by reason of physical or mental incapacity.

(5) The supplementary provisions contained in the First Schedule to this Act shall have effect with respect to the proceedings of the Commission and other matters therein mentioned.

3. (1) The functions of the Commission shall be—

(a) to administer national museums, antiquities and monuments;

(b) to establish and maintain national museums and other outlets for or in connection with, but not restricted only to the following, that is—

(i) antiquities,

(ii) science and technology,

(iii) warfare,

(iv) African, Black and other antiquities,

(v) Arts and crafts,

(vi) Architecture,

(vii) Natural history, and

(viii) Educational services;

(c) to make recommendations to any State Government of other person or authority concerning the establishment and management of museums and the preservation of antiquities and monuments, not being national museums or antiquities and monuments declared to be national antiquities and monuments; and

(d) to approve any museum, which is privately established and maintained, for the purposes of this Act and at any time withdraw such approval.

(2) For the purposes of the proper discharge of its functions under this Act, the commission—

(a) shall have power to acquire and dispose of any interests in land or other property; and

(b) may by agreement of the owner of any antiquity undertake or make arrangements for the maintenance of any such antiquity on such terms and conditions as may be approved by the Commission.

4. (1) The museums specified in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby declared to be national museums for purpose of this Act.

(2) The Minister may, as and when national museums are declared as prescribed by law, amend the Second Schedule to this Act accordingly.

Staff of the Commission

5. (1) There shall be an officer of the Commission to be known as the Director-General who shall be appointed by the National Council of Ministers on the nomination of the Commission.

(2) The Director-General shall be the chief executive of the Commission and shall hold office on such terms and conditions as may be specified in his letter of appointment or on such other terms and conditions as may be determined from time to time.

6. (1) There shall be appointed by the commission the following officers, that is-

(a) an Administrative secretary;

(b) a Director of Museums and Monuments; and

(c) a Director of Research and Training

(2) The Administrative Secretary shall be responsible to the Director-General for the day-to-day administration and for the finances of the Commission.

(3) The Director of Museums and Monuments shall be responsible to the Director-General for the upkeep and general maintenance of museums and monuments under the control or management of the Commission, and the collection of stock for such museums and identification of antiquities to be declared as monuments.

(4) The Director of Research and Training shall be responsible to the Director-General for co-ordinating research staff and research projects of the Commission and the collection of stock for such museums and identification of antiquities to be declared as monuments.

(5) There may be appointed from time to time by the Commission such other staff as may be required for the purposes of the efficient performance of the functions conferred on the Commission under or pursuant to this Act.

7. (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Pensions Act, it is hereby declared that service in the Commission shall be approved service for the purposes of that Act and accordingly, the employees of the Commission shall in respect of their service in the Commission be entitled to such pensions, gratuities and other retirement benefits as are enjoyed by Federation, so however that nothing in this section shall prevent the appointment of a person to any office in the Commission on terms which preclude the grant of a pension, gratuity or other retirement benefits in respect of that office.

(2) For the purpose of the application of the provisions of the Pensions Act in accordance with this section-

(a) Section 3(1)(a) and 21 of that Act shall have effect as if references therein to the Minister they were substituted references to the Commission; and

(b) the power under Sections 3(1)(b) and 4(2) of that Act shall be exercisable by the Commission and not by any other authority.

Financial Provisions

8. (1) The Commission shall establish and maintain a fund which shall be applied towards the promotion of the objective specified in this Act.

(2) There shall be paid and credited to the fund established pursuant to subsection (1) of this section-

(a) such sums as may be provided in each financial year to the Commission by the Federal Government;

(b) fees charged for services rendered by the Commission; and

(c) subject to section 9(2) of this Act, all sums accruing to the Commission by way of gifts testamentary disposition, endoement or contributions from philanthropic persons or organisations or otherwise howsoever.

9. (1) The commission may accept gifts of any antiquity, monument or museum or of any land, money, loan, building, work of art or other property connected with its functions under or pursuant to this Act upon such trusts and conditions, if any, as may be specified by the person or organisation making the gift.

(2) The Commission shall not accept any gift if the conditions attached by the person or organisation making the gift to the acceptance thereof are inconsistent with the functions of the Commission.

10. (1) The Commission may, with the consent of the Minister or in accordance with any general authority given in that behalf by the Federal Government, borrow by way of loan or overdraft from any source any sums required by the Commission for meeting its obligations and discharging its functions under this Act.

(2) The Commission may, subject to the provisions of the Act and the conditions of any trust created in respect of any property, invest all or any of its funds with the like consent or general authority.

(3) The Commission may invest any surplus funds of the Commission in such specified as may be approved by the Minister, so however that in respect of any securities specified in the Trustee Investments Act, no such consent shall be necessary.

11. (1) The Commission shall cause to be prepared not later than 31st December in each year, an estimate of the expenditure and income of the Commission during the next seceding financial year and when so prepared, it shall be submitted to the Minister for approval.

(2) The Commission shall cause to be kept proper accounts of the Commission and proper records in relation thereto and when certified by the proper records in relation thereto and when certified by the Commission such accounts shall be audited as provided in subsection (3) of this section.

(3) The accounts of the Commission shall be audited as soon as may be after end of each financial year by auditors appointed by the commission with the approval of the National Council of Ministers and the fees of the auditors and the expenses of the audit generally shall be paid from the funds of the Commission.

(4) Before appointing auditors as provided in subsection (3) of this section, the commission shall consult the Minister of Finance and Economic Development.

Part II

Declaration of Antiquities as National Monuments. Etc.

National Monuments

12. (1) For the purposes of the discharge of its functions under this Act, the Commission may-

(a) for the purpose of discovering antiquities in any area, carry out excavation with the knowledge of the State Government concerned;

(b) by agreement with the owner of any antiquity (other than a monument) undertake its maintenance or any other measures which the Commission would have power to undertake if such antiquity were a national monument;

(c) if the Commission considers it expedient that any antiquity (other than a monument) should be preserved in a museum, and with the knowledge of the State Government concerned, arrange for the purchase or loan of the antiquity and its removal to a national or other approved museum;

(d) enter upon any land where archaeological excavations or other operations are being carried on, and inspect same.

(2) The powers conferred on the Commission under this section may be exercised on its behalf by any person or authority authorised either generally or specially by the Commission in that behalf.

13. (1) The Commission may if it considers that any antiquity is in need of protection or preservation and ought in the national interest to be protected or preserved publish notices to that effect in the Federal Gazette and in the appropriate State Gazette and cause a copy of the notice to be served on the owner of the antiquity concerned and every such notice shall-

(a) specify the antiquity and the place where it is or is belived to be;

(b) state that it is intended to make an application to the President to declare the antiquity to be a national monument; and

(c) state that any objection to such declaration shall be lodged with the Commission within two months from the date of publication of the notice.

(2) The Commission shall in any case in which it is reasonably practicable so to do, cause a copy of any notice published under subsection (1) of this section to be posted in a conspicuous place on or near antiquity to which it relates and additional copies shall be sent to the local government in which the antiquity is located and the Secretary to the local government concerned shall post a copy of such notice in a conspicuous place in the principal office of such local government.

(3) From the date of publication of a notice under subsection (1) of this section, until the publication of an order by the President under subsection (5) of this section or if no such order is published until the expiry of three months thereafter, it shall be an offence to destroy, deface, alter, remove or excavate of to transfer the possession of the antiquity to which the notice related except with the permission in writing of the Commission:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be deemed to prohibit the doing by the holder of a mining title of any act in relation to any antiquity which is within the area to which the mining title relates if such act is authorised by the mining title and the holder has given the Commission at least one months' notice in writing of his intention to do such act.

(4) The commission shall within one month after the publication of a notice under subsection (1) of this section, submit to the President in such manner as may be prescribed, its application for the declaration as a national monument of the antiquity to which the notice relates.

(5) An application submitted under subsection (4) of this section shall be considered by the President together with any objections furnished in relation thereto and the President may with the prior approval of the National Council of Ministers by order published in the Federal gazette either declare the antiquity to which the application relates to be a national monument, or notify his refusal to do so:

Provided that no such declaration shall be made after the expiry of three months from the date of publication of the notice under subsection (1) of this section to which the application relates.

(6) An order made under subsection (5) of this section-

(a) may at any time be revoked by the President with the like consent where upon the antiquity to which it relates shall cease to be a national monument; and

(b) shall, unless and until it is revoked, be conclusive evidence of the fact that the antiquity to which it relates a national monument.

(7) Any person who contravenes the provisions of subsection (3) of this section shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine of N200 or imprisonment for six months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

14. Where a notice has been published in respect of antiquity under subsection (1) of section 13 of this Act, and the commission considers that it is necessary to take immediate steps for the protection or preservation of an antiquity, the Commission may if so authorised by the Governor of the State where the antiquity is, do all such things as it would have been entitled to do if the antiquity had been declared an national monument:

Provided that the Commission shall not, save with the consent of the owner of the antiquity, exercise the power conferred by this section at any time after the Commission has been informed that the President has refuse to declare the antiquity to be a national monument or, if the Commission has not been so informed, within three months of the publication of the notice aforesaid and the antiquity has not been so declared after the expiry of the said three months.

15. The Commission may with the consent of the owner of a monument, or if it appears to the Commission that the monument is in danger of decay, destruction or removal or damage from neglect or injudicious treatment, maintain such monument and may-

(a) have access at all reasonable time to the monument for the purpose of inspection it and doing such acts an may be required for maintenance thereof; and

(b) where practicable remove the monument or any part of it for the purposes of repair or protection for such period as may be agreed between the owner thereof and the Commission.

16. The public shall have access to a monument to such extent including where applicable the payment of such fees as may be provided in rules made by the Commission with the consent of the Minister.

17. (1) Where an antiquity has been declared to be a national monument as provided in this Act, the owner thereof shall be entitled to compensation for the value at the date of such declaration and thereafter any estate, right, title and interest in and to such antiquity shall be extinguished.

(2) In case of dispute as to the amount of compensation payable under this section such dispute shall be referred to a court of competent jurisdiction in the area concerned.

18. (1) Any person who, save as it is provided in this Act, wilfully destroys, defaces, alters, removes or excavates any monument, shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine of N1,000 or twice the value of such monument (whichever is higher) or to imprisonment for twelve months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

(2) Any person who without lawful authority destroys, defaces, alters or removes any notice, mark or sign, denoting any monument or any fence, covering or other thing erected or provided for the maintenance of a monument, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to fine or N500 or to imprisonment for six months or the both such and imprisonment.

(3) Nothing in the foregoing provisions of this section shall be construed as prohibiting the doing by the holder of a mining title of any act in relation to a monument or a thing

erected or provided for the maintenance of a monument which is within the area to which a mining title relates if-

(a) such act is authorised by the mining title; and

(b) the mining title was granted or become effective before the date on which the monument was so declared; and

(c) the holder has given the Commission at least three months' notice in writing of his intention to do such act.

Excavations and Discoveries

19. (1) No person shall by means of excavation or similar operations search for any antiquities unless authorised by permit issued by the Commission and with the consent of the Government of a State in whose territory the search is to carried out.

(2) The Commission shall before issuing a permit under this section satisfy itself that the applicant is competent by the permit was required and may in its discretion require to or other support of an archaeological or scientific society or institution of good repute.

(3) A permit issued under this section-

(a) may be made subject to such conditions as the Commission may think fit to impose;

(b) may at any time be revoked by the Commission without any reason being assigned;

(c) shall not of itself confer any right to enter upon any land without the consent of the holder or occupier of the land or of any other person entitled to grant such consent.

(4) Notwithstanding the issue of a permit under this section, the person to whom the permit was issued and all persons engaged in any excavation or other operations to which the permit relates shall, if so required by any person duly authorised in writing by the Commission, suspend such operations until notified by the Commission that they may be resumed.

(5) Any person who contravenes the provisions of subsection (1) or (4) of this section or fails to comply with any conditions of a permit granted to him under this section, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of N500 or to imprisonment for six months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

20. (1) Any person who discovers an object of archaeological interest in the course of operations permitted under section 19 of this Act shall, not later than seven days thereafter, give notice thereof to the Commission.

(2) Any person who discovers an object of archaeological interest otherwise than in the coure of operations mentioned in subsection (1) of this section shall, not later than seven days thereafter, give notice thereof together with particulars of the place and the circumstances of the discovery to the Commission and to the Secretary to the local government where such discovery is made or to such other person an may be prescribed.

(3) Any person who knowingly fails to comply with any of the foregoing provisions of this section shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of N500 or to imprisonment for six months or to both fine and imprisonment.

Part III
Prohibited Transfers

21. (1) No person shall-

(a) buy any antiquity unless he is an accredited agent; or

(b) sell any antiquity to any person other than an accredited agent.

(2) Any person who contravenes the provisions of this section shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction shall be liable to a fine of N2,000 or five times the value of the antiquity, whichever is the greater, or to imprisonment for three years, and the court imposing the fine or the imprisonment shall make an order for the forfeiture of the antiquity connected with the offence to the State.

22. (1) Any police officer may at any time search without warrant any person or the property of any person he reasonably suspects of-

(a) buying any antiquity while he is not an accredited agent; or

(b) selling any antiquity to a person who is not an accredited agent and he may seize anything he reasonably suspects to be an antiquity together with any container in which it is kept.

(2) Any officer of the Customs, Immigration and Prisons Services Board may at any time search without warrant anything intended to be exported from Nigeria if he reasonably believes that the thing intended to be exported from Nigeria contains any antiquity, and he may seize the thing he reasonably suspects to be an antiquity together with any container in which it is kept.

(3) Anything seized under subsection (1) or (2) of this section shall as soon as possible be taken before a magistrate who-

(a) in respect of seizure under subsection (1) of this section, shall make an order for the forfeiture of the thing seized together with any container in which it is kept to the State, if it is established that the thing seized is an antiquity and that it has been bought or sold contrary to the provisions of section 21 of this Act;

(b) in respect of seizure under subsection (2) of this section, shall make an order for the forfeiture of the thing seized together with any container in which it is kept to the antiquity and that no export permit in respect thereof has been issued by the Commission.

(4) A magistrate shall notwithstanding the provisions of any other enactment, have jurisdiction for the summary trial of any matter under this Part of this Act and may impose any fine, any sentence or any other penalty, provided by this Act.

(5) Any antiquity forfeited to the State under any of the provisions of this Part of this Act shall be kept in the custody of the Director-general and shall be disposed on in such a manner as the Commission may direct.

(6) Any person obstruction a police or an officer of the Customs, Immigration and Prisons Services Board in the performance of his duties under this Act shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of N1,000 or to imprisonment for three years.

23. (1) Any person who has an antiquity in his possession or under his control either before or after the commencement of this Act shall, if so demanded by an accredited agent, register the antiquity with accredited agent who may call upon him in person

between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. any day, except on work-free days, for that purpose.

(2) Any antiquity not so registered by a person who is in possession or control of it when an accredited agent has called upon him in person for the registration thereof shall be liable to seizure by a police officer, but the antiquity shall not be forfeited except on the order of a magistrate.

24. (1) Where a person is in any doubt as to whether or not an object in his possession is an antiquity, he may apply in person, or in writing, attaching the object in his possession or a photograph of it, to the Director-general, or any person authorised in writing by the Director-General, for the determination of the matter.

(2). Where the Director-General or the person authorised in writing by him, is satisfied that object in the possession of the applicant is not an antiquity, he may issue a permit (hereinafter call a "clearance permit") in respect of that object.

(3) A Clearance permit issued in respect of an object is not antiquity.

25. (1) Subject to the provisions of subsection (4) of this section and to any exceptions which may be prescribed, no antiquity shall be exported from Nigeria without a permit issued in that behalf by the Commission.

(2) An application for a permit under this section shall be made in such manner as may be prescribed.

(3) Before issuing a permit under this section in respect of an antiquity the Commission may cause the antiquity to be inspected and to be sealed.

(4) A permit under this section shall not be required for the export of an antiquity which has been lawfully imported into Nigeria, but if in any legal proceedings against any person in respect of a contravention of this section any question shall arise whether an antiquity has been lawfully imported into Nigeria the onus of proof thereof shall lie upon that person.

26. (1) Where any person has applied to the Commission for a permit to export any antiquity form Nigeria and the permit is refused, the Commission acting through an accredited agent may for a fair and reasonable local price compulsorily buy the antiquity form the applicant.

(2) Any person who is dissatisfied with the local price offered or paid for his antiquity by an accredited agent may, within thirty days of the offer or the payment, apply to the High Court having jurisdiction in the place where the offer or the payment was made to determine a fair and reasonable local price for his antiquity.

(3) Any application under subsection (2) of this section, shall be by summons and as in the Form set out in the Fourth Schedule to this Act.

(4) Any applicant for a permit under subsection (1) of this section, who intentionally destroys or damages the antiquity for which a permit to export from Nigeria has been refused, shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction shall be liable to a fine of N200 or to imprisonment for six months.

27. In this Part of this Act-

"export permit" means the permit issued under section 25 of this Act;

"the State" means the Government of the Federation;

"value" means the price for which an antiquity would be sold if it were offered for sale in an international art market.

Part IV
Miscellaneous and Supplementary

28. The Commission shall, not later than 30th June in each year, submit to the National Council of Ministers through the Minister a report on the activities of the Commission and its administration during the immediately preceding year and shall include in such report the audited accounts of the Commission.

29. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Commission may make staff regulations relating generally to the conditions of service of the employees of the Commission and, without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, such regulations may provide for-

(a) the appointment, promotion and disciplinary control (including dismissal) of employees of the Commission; and

(b) appeals by such employees against dismissal or other disciplinary measures, and until such regulations are made, any instruments relating to the conditions of officers in the public service of the Federation shall, with such modifications as may be necessary, be applicable to the employees of the commission.

(2) Staff regulations made under subsection (1) of this section shall not have effect until approved by the Minister; and when so approved they may not be published in the Federal *Gazette* but the Commission shall cause hem to be brought to the notice of all affected persons in such manner as it may, from time to time, determine.

30. Subject to the other provisions of this Act, the Minister with the approval of the National Council of Ministers, may make regulations generally for the purposes of this Act and the due administration thereof.

31. (1) The Antiquities Act and the Antiquities (Prohibited Transfers) Act are hereby repealed and the Antiquities (Amendment) Act is hereby consequentially repealed.

(2) The Antiquities Commission established under the aforementioned Act is hereby dissolved and notwithstanding the provisions of this section, the transitional and savings provisions in Part A of the Third Schedule to this Act shall have effect in relation to the assets and liabilities of the dissolved Commission and the other matters mentioned in the said Schedule.

(3) As from the date of commencement of this Act, the department of the Federal Department of Antiquities shall cease to exist and the transitional and savings provisions in Part B of the Third Schedule to this Act shall have effect in relation to the public officers in the dissolved Department, the assets and liabilities held by or on behalf of the Federal Government for any purpose in respect of which the said Schedule.

32. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires-

"accredited agent" means the Director-General or any employee of the Commission authorised in writing by the Commission or any person or body in any State authorised in writing by the Minister to act for the Commission in the State concerned;

"antiquity" means-

(a) any object of archaeological interest or land in which any such object was discovered or is believed to exist; or

(b) any relic of early human settlement or colonisation; or

(c) any work of art or craft work, including any statue; model, clay figure, figure cast or rust metal, carving, house post, door, ancestral figure, religious mask, staff, drum, bolt, ornament, utensil, weapon, armour, or craft work is of indigenous origin and -

(i) was made or fashioned before the year 1918; or

(ii) is of historical, artistic or scientific interest and is or has been used at any time in the performance and for purposes of any traditional ceremony,

and in the case of any object or relic mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this section includes for the purposes of this Act any land adjacent thereto which in the opinion of the Commission, a State Government or, as for the purpose of maintaining the same or the amenities thereof or for providing or facilitating access thereto, or for the exercise of proper control or management with respect thereto;

" approved museum" means a museum approved by the Commission under section 3 of this Act;

"the Commission" means the National Commission for Museums and Monuments established under section 1 of this Act;

"local government" means any local government council established by law in any State of the Federation;

"maintenance" in relation to an antiquity, includes the fencing, repairing and covering of any antiquity and the doing of any other act or thing which may be required for the purpose of repairing the antiquity or protecting it from decay or injury, and "maintain" shall be construed accordingly;

"the Minister" means the Minister charged with responsibility for antiquities, museums and national monuments;

"mining title" means any licence, right or lease granted under the provisions of the Minerals Act, the Quarries Act and the Petroleum Act or under the provisions of any other enactment regulating or authorising the wining of solid or other minerals;

"monument" or "national monument" means any antiquity declared to be such under section 13 of this Act;

"object" of archaeological interest" means-

(a) any fossil remains man or of animals found in association with man; or

(b) any side trace or ruin of an ancient habitation, working place, midden or scared place; or

(c) any cave or other natural shelter or engraving, drawing, painting, or inscription on rock or elsewhere; or

(d) any stone object or implement believed to have been used or produced by early man; or

(e) any ancient structure, erection, memorial, causeway, bridge, cairn, tumulus, grave, shrine, excavation, well, water tank, artificial hole, monolith, grove of stores, earthwork, wall, gateway or fortification; or

(f) any antique tool or object of metal, wood, stone, clay, leather, textile, basket wear of other material, which is (or are) of archaeological interest;

which is (or are) of archaeological interest;

"owner" includes a joint owner invested with powers of management in respect of an antiquity on behalf of himself and other joint owners and any agent or trustee exercising such powers and the attorney of any such person.

33. This Act may be cited as the National Commission for Museums and Monuments Act.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

A. The village under study and its history.
B. The 'Village Arena'
    a. History?
    b. Philosophical underpinning?
    c. Functions?
    d. Structure and fabrics?
    e. Maintenance and Management?
    f. What are the museum and heritage roles of Village Arena?
    g. Current state of the Arena?
C. Heritage in Igbo Perspective
    a. What does heritage mean in Igbo life?
    b. What are the institutions of heritage?
    c. Heritage and civic responsibility?
    d. Heritage past or heritage present?
    e. Relationship between heritage and the Village Arena?
D. Social structure and processes
    a. What are the social structures in Igboland?
    b. What are the social processes in Igboland?
    c. What are the interconnectivities between heritage, social structure and social processes with the Village Arena?
E. Tourism in Igbo Life
F. Relationships between the local community and heritage institutions in Nigeria.
G. Community peoples' feelings about integration of their model and that of western model.

Appendix 5: Transcribed sample of FGD

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) session in Umu-Obira Nkporogu held on 21 January 2017 (the interview was held in Igbo language and was translated into Englished and transcribed by the Author)

The session started with eight persons in attendance. Participants are ObiraCE, ObiraSAs, ObiraAUm, ObiraEO, ObiraAUf, and ObiraEA. Others (extras) are ObiraAA and ObiraOJ. The venue was Nkolo Dimara (family palace of Dimara), a founder of a lineage in Umu-Obira Nkporogu. It started with kola nut (*cola acuminata* and its equivalent) exchange between them and me. The owner of the venue (ObiraCE) brought a kola nut (*cola acuminata*), and I reciprocated with same but added a bottle of wine. His kola nut was used to perform cola nut rituals (prayers) by the eldest man (ObiraSAs) present. The ritual brought about a debate among participants. Kola nut ritual is a cultural rite through which the Igbo pray to their gods. It is supposed to be performed in Igbo language and line with Traditional African Religion (ATR). But ObiraSAs started it with Christian prayers before performing the real rite and even ended in a Christian manner. Dropping some particles of the kola, he held on the ground, a sign of ATR prayer. And the panel session went thus:

ObiraSA: Let's chew this kola nut in peace and good health in Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen. *Ezechitoke* Abiama we thank you; we call you to come and stay with us so that what this man has come to ask us about *Omenal'* (culture) will be well remembered and communicated to him. Head this discussion in Jesus Christian our Lord, Amen. (I saw him dropping some particles of the kola nut on the ground).

ObiraAUm: Osheru I think we are in *Omenal',* but you prayed in a church manner?

ObiraSAs: Yes, Christ our Lord is a baptism they did to *Ezechitoke*-God the creator

ObiraAUm: I didn't say *Ezechitoke*, you did the sign of the cross here, but you are a traditionalist?

ObiraSAs: The sign of cross I did is because Jesus Christ our Lord, the son of *Ezechitoke* was sent to suffer for the sins of Adam and Eve, is it not so?

ObiraAUm: Yes, but you suppose not add the other to another. We are in *Omenal'* and should be discussed based on that.

ObiraCU: …called ObiraAUm by name, there is something I want you to understand, you know that Ezechitoke is what we called.

ObiraAUm: My concern is the application of sign of cross where we are doing *Omenal'*.

ObiraSAs: Well, our visitor may be a Christian, and we have to respect that. No matter the type of prayer, it wouldn't stop us from telling him what we know about *Omenal'* today.

JKU (researcher): I have encountered this mix up on other sites, and I kept asking, why combining Christian and traditional prayers during kola nut rituals by both traditionalists and Christians? We are usually told that kola nut hears only Igbo language. After any such mixed prayer, I would ask, did the kola nut understand this prayer? The use of Jesus Christ during prayer is a recent thing to the Igbo, did kola nut recognize Jesus Christ through whom you have prayed to *Ezechitokike*? In all the sites, they argued that because of the presence of a visitor, there is need to recognize diversity to be inclusive as ObiraSAs has just done. This shows how tolerance the traditionalists could be, where they respect diversity. But this is what many thinks affected the indigenous culture because it allows for everything, which in turn started shaping and destroying its relevance.

However, this argument was truncated by the arrival of another participant, and we went into the introduction.

JKU: My name is John Kelechi Ugwuanyi. I am from Eha-alumona, and I teach in the Department of Archaeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. I teach and learn about *Omenal'* (tradition/heritage). I came to Umu-Obira because of a research project I am carrying out in Nsukka Igbo. I want to know how our people manage(d) their society based on Village Arena system now and in the past. I would want to know how they kept and protected common heritage in the Arena. It's role in the social structure and social processes. How it relates to the modern day living as regards social structure and social processes, management of heritage as opposed to the government museums and other approaches? I use different methods, group and individual interviews. I also observe practices/fabrics, map, tape record, film and take photographs. But all these are only when I am permitted to do so by you people. This is why I have come to discuss with you about your experiences and knowledge of the Arena and the associated fabrics and practices in Umu-Obira. When writing the outcome of our discussion, I will not write your name(s) against your contributions but will code it to help me during analysis and to avoid traces of who said what. I will also appreciate if we can restrict what we say to what we know, told or experienced without adding or romanticising.

After my introduction, the kola nut I brought was broken, shared and chewed. The bottle of wine I brought was opened and shared round. Now, each participant introduced self, and we went into discussing my research.

JKU: There is something that you revealed about the priesthood of Ogwu diety that struck me. Unlike in other parts of Nsukka Igbo where there is always one Attama (priest) for a deity, what is the reason for having more than one priest for Ogwu deity?

ObiraSAs: Yes, lineages that make up Umu-Obira have their Arua (ancestral symbol of authority). All heads (Onyishi) of the lineages holding that Arua is a priest of Ogwu. (all participants nodded to this contribution).

ObiraAUm: That is true, but men from this village or any *Ofeke* Umu-Obira can preside over prayers to Ogwu. But if it kills someone who defaulted and was caught by its vengeance, it is only the priests that could preside during the prayers and associated rituals. **ObiraCE** gave more clarification on this: Now that I am a priest, my son can go to pray before Ogwu shrine, but he cannot go to pray for a defaulter that suffer Ogwu's vengeance. It is only we, the priests that can do it on behalf of such person(s).

Note: Ofeke means non-priest or non-title holder

JKU: So, it kills?

General Response: Of course, it kills.

ObiraJO: People use it to seek justice where all efforts have failed. And others use it to look for their lost properties, even, go to ask Ogwu for what they desire – child, money, good health etc.

JKU: Does Ogwu have one shrine where prayers are done or do every lineage have a place where they do it?

ObiraAUm: Yes, there are its shrines in all the Village Arenas in Umu-Obira, though, the main shrine is located in Otobo Ogwu.

JKU: What is the history of Umu-Obira? How did they come about and to their present settlement?

ObiraSAs: Well, Diugwu Idu is the father of Nkporogu people. He lived here in Umu-Obira, specifically in Otobo Ifu where there is a shrine (*on top of his settlement mound*) to commemorate him.

JKU: If he is the father of Nkporogu town, how many children has he?

ObiraSAs: Nkporogu is into three: Ekaibute (eldest), Ogba, and Ejuona.

JKU: Under which of the three is Umu-Obira?

ObiraSAs: It is in Ekaibute. There are Umu-Obira (eldest), Oshiagu, Emebo, Dinamu, Araka, and Nkoshuani in Ekaibute in order of seniority.

JKU: How many lineages are in Umu-Obira?

ObiraCE: We have Uwenu and Uwani

JKU: I understand Uwenu and Uwani to mean uphill and downhill as a result of the geographical position of your place.

ObiraAUm: Umu-Obira is made up of three lineages.

ObiraSAs: The three are Diugwu (1st-eldest), Dimara (2nd), and Ezikaneke (3rd-last).

ObiraAUm: We are brothers, and we don't inter-marry. In fact, in this gathering, the three of us - pointing at ObiraSAs (from Diugwu), ObiraCE (from Dimara), and ObiraAUm (from Ezikaneke) represent the three lineages. As you can see, we are sitting according to seniority.

JKU: Do you sit like this during other meetings and in another venue?

ObiraAUm: Yes, even during traditional activities in Otobo, we sit in this order.

JKU: You said that Umu-Obira is holding the position of Eze (King) of Nkporogu, from which of the three lineages does it come from?

ObiraSAs: It is Dimara that holds it. Diugwu holds the position of Onyishi as the eldest and receive and perform kola nut rituals in the gathering of Umu-Obira

JKU: We are now into the next stage. Please, how did Otobo-Village Arena come about?

ObiraSAs: How we got Otobo is that Ekwerukakwe gave birth to Diugwu, Dimara and Ezikaneke and each of them dispersed and settled separately when they grew. Later, they came together and agreed to establish a place where they could meet to discuss their affairs. It is this place they agreed to meet that is called Otobo.

JKU: Who owns the land they used for this purpose?

ObiraCE: Somebody may own the land.

ObiraSAs: Listen, Otobo is communal property. Then, it is located in a communal land at the centre. Sometimes, a land belonging to one person but locates at the centre could be cleared and used.

JKU: After acquiring the land, what's next?

ObiraSAs: They will clear and build house-Ulo Otobo. Then, they will gather, and the Onyishi will pray with cola nut to *Ezechitoke* asking God to help and protect them as they use the location for socio-cultural, political, and economic meetings. An Ogbu (to find English & botanical name?) tree will be planted to grow and provide shade. (all participants nodded to this as fact).

JKU: Do women hold meetings in Otobo?

General Response: No.

ObiraSAs: Women can come when invited by men but not to have their meetings there.

JKU: Is there any traditional function that women carry out in Otobo?

ObiraAUf: Yes, women do 'Ikpa iyi' in Otobo.

JKU: What is 'Ikpa iyi'?

ObiraAUf: We have a river and 'Ikpa iyi' is a yearly festival during which we clean the river. It is done in Ọnwa Enọ (4th month in Igbo calendar).

JKU: River is not in Otobo I presume, so, what is the relationship?

ObiraAUf and ObiraEA (as narrated by both): A day to the 'Ikpa iyi', women gather and walk round Umu-Obira. Then, all the women will retire to their lineage Otobo to prepare for the next stage. At midnight, all the elderly women would hold a walking stick and walk to the river again to perform some rites. We go along with young girls who have come of age to initiate them into womanhood. The girls will appear without wearing cloths. This festival is a rite of transition to womanhood, after which a girl is taken to have grown and could be married. The age of the girls are made known during this festival. When we finish with the initiation rituals, we will all return to Otobo again. Early in the morning the next day, we will go back to the river to clean it. Each elderly woman in a lineage lead delegation of girls from their lineage and each girl will come with 23 cola nuts. There are women priests (normally from Amaozaka) that preside over the rituals; the cola nuts are handed over to them. This festival is not performed anymore because of Christianity. The last set that did it was around 1980s-90s.

JKU: Is there any other thing that women do in the Arena apart from Ikpa iyi?

ObiraAUf: No, except if men invite us to contribute to an issue or to enquire about something from us.

ObiraSAs: Another thing that women (Umuada) do in Otobo Ogwu in the past is that they go to sing and dance during Ọnwa Itegina (during Ogwu festival). If there is something that Ogwu deity requested from women, they would get it and go along with a man on that day to offer it, sing and pray.

ObiraAUm: They sing and pray to Ogwu to give them more children, prosperity and protect them from the unknown enemies.

JKU: What is Otobo?

ObiraCE & ObiraAA: Otobo is a place for all kinds of meeting.

ObiraAUm: Otobo is a uniting symbol of the village (re-echoed all participants).

ObiraSAs: Oyibo people would say 'it is a general house'-common compound.

General Response: Otobo is the location of the religious altar of the people.

ObiraAE: Otobo is a place where spirit beings (masquerade) perform, and people come to watch. Traditional marriage is sometimes held in Otobo.

ObiraSAs: Part of funeral rites are done in the Otobo. Take, for instance, the 'iti agdigbo' (a type of music) and the sharing of meat brought to complete a rite of passage for the dead is done there.

ObiraAUm: Let me explain, pig, goat and cow are killed to complete a rite of passage. It is in the Otobo that these animals are brought, handed to Ọha Umu-Obira who will kill and share the meat. It is only after this that the family can say they have completed the funeral rite of passage of the dead relative.

JKU: What are the festivals that are performed in Otobo?

ObiraAUm: Osheru over to you, talk (referring to ObiraSas).

Note: this is the attitude that makes the eldest person dominate the historical discussion, where they would first listen to him before contributing. However, in the case of conflict resolution, the eldest person talks last, when all participants have shared their ideas from where he concludes.

ObiraSAs: We do Ọnwa Itegina (9th month in Igbo calendar) festival in Otobo.

ObiraAUm: No, start from Ọnwa Asaa (7th month in Igbo calendar), when we do 'iti eshu ọkpa' in Otobo.

ObiraAE: We do Umu-Obira yam festival.

Note disagreement on a particular festival to start with.

JKU: Ok, what is done in Ọnwa Itegina?

ObiraSAs: It is on Ahọ/Afọ day that we have the spirit being performing during the Ọnwa Itegina. Different types of spirit beings do perform at different Otobo.

ObiraEO: *Ekwe* and *Arigo* masks perform.

ObiraAUm: It is in Ọnwa Itegina that we do Ogwudinama (a deity) festival as we are in the tradition now.

JKU: So, Ọnwa Itegina is Ogwudinama festival.

ObiraCE and ObiraAUm: Yes.

ObiraAUm (with all participants reminding him of events/rites he forgets): It starts when Ọnwa Itegina moon arrives. If the new moon becomes two native weeks (*izu nabo*) the counting begins, this our father (referring to ObiraSAs) on Orie market day will inform our people-*nwọku Ubọsi*. Afa diviner is consulted to find out from Ogwu deity what the gods require from our people to continue to protect and prosper us. Whatever the Afa diviner says Ogwu requests, we do it to begin the festival process. Then, Mmawu will be pronounced (*ika Mmanwu*), where the priests will tell Umu-Onbira people what is required for the masquerade performance. The same day that the Afa diviner was consulted, the head of Ogwu deity will be shaved. What this

signifies is to clear the deity of a long-time carriage of hair (that translates to Umu-Obira problems in a cosmic sense) so that it will be fresh and lively. The next rite is called 'Eke Mpetempe'. (**ObiraEO** reminded him that something is remaining).

ObiraSAs: Igbu Ekwu Ogwu (cutting of palm fruit for Ogwu) which was done yesterday.

ObiraAUm: Yes, in Umu-Obira in the past, one is expected to finish processing palm fruit (*the most lucrative economic crop among the Igbo*) from cooking to the extraction of the oil before dusk having commenced the process in the morning. The gods of Ogwudinama deity will be provoked if the processing goes into dusk. Therefore, one is to throw away the palm fruits or any of its products if s/he could not finish before dusk. That is the tradition of our people, though, it is associated with Ogwudinama deity, and that is why we perform the rite of 'Igbu Ekwu Ogwu'.

JKU: What is the importance of this aspect of the festival rite?

ObiraSAs: Well, like yesterday when the rite was performed, none of us know when the cooking of the palm fruit and the processing will take place because it is done when all have gone to bed. We only become aware that they have finished the process early in the morning when we hear a particular sound called '*ntiche agbu'*. The oil they got from it is used for the Ogwudinama rites/festival. The taboo became effective because it is associated with Ogwu.

ObiraAUm: After Eke Empetempe, the next is Orie Chi.

ObiraEO: But you should have explained to him that we do not shave on Eke Mpetempe day.

ObiraAUm (with all participants reminding him of events/rites he forgets): Yes, on Eke Mpetempe day, Umu-Obira people do not shave their hair. But all the priests will shave theirs to be fresh, clean and holy (*ino ne nso*) as do Ogwu deity. The priests are shaved by a daughter from their lineage and not their wife.

Then, the Orie Chi follows. It is on this day that we (priests of Ogwu) go to clear and clean Otobo Ogwu and the areas used for the traditional rites, this is done at night. There is an area where during the traditional rite, two persons do not meet, jam or collide, and one doesn't even look back. If they do, misfortune will befall them. So, it is cleared to have free passage for the priests who perform the rite. During this rites at this venue, members are attentive to hear when a request is made by another for a free passage because it is at night and without light. The priests of Ogwu (*remember that all lineages are represented*) make requests and promises to the gods on what his people want and what they will give in appreciation at this event. They perform cleansing and purification of the land on behalf of the people. Between midnight and morning hour, they return home walking through a route that has been established from time immemorial by their ancestors for this purpose. At home, members of the family will be waiting

to receive you amid jubilation and drinking that you returned safely. The priests do fasting from the morning of Orie Chi day till they return the following morning, on Aho/Afor day. That morning, all the priests will come out in Otobo Ifu and dance to 'Ushue' (wooden gong) music to celebrate their survival from the journey they made. After the Ushue dance, it is assumed that the society is now pure and everything had become normal.

Meanwhile, whoever dies during this period will not be buried. In fact, our people will assume that no one died. We regard such death as a bad one, and the burial must wait until Ogwudinama rites are completed. (*Note some argument among participants on whether it cut across Umu-Obira. But they agreed that it was observed by all Umu-Obira in the past. Only the advent of Christianity changed it, making only traditionalists to observe this sanction*).

OboraSAs: Another important festival is done in Onwa Ise (5th month of Igbo calendar). That is when we perform Arua (*ancestral symbol used as the staff of office by the eldest man in a lineage*) rites. We also have our new yam festival within this period. Also, new musical troupe come out to display for Umu-Obira people in Otobo.

ObiraAUm: We also do a night masquerade, Mmawu Akag' performs in Onwa Ise during new yam festival. Mmanwu Akag' is an entertainment masquerade and it could also perform in the day time during funeral rites of an Onyishi or a title holder.

JKU: I think we have exhausted the list of festivals. Please, what do you people keep in Otobo?

ObiraAUf: It's like we (women) have finished our contribution and needed to go home and cook.

ObiraAUm: Yes, it's time for women to go. At least, they have finished answering their questions. (Supported by all men present). *Note men's exclusivity in this area of heritage discourse among the people.*

ObiraSAs: But you people (referring to the women) did not tell him that you do 'Ogbo' in Otobo during Onwa Itegina when masquerades come out.

ObiraEA: Yes, we do it, but you people (referring to men) can explain that to him.

JKU: I am sorry to have raised this question in women's presence (the researcher apologising to men when women had left). I thought that you permit women presence in this type of discussion. Because in some other places, I am advised by the people to organise a session for men and women separately. But in Eha-alumona (my town), very elderly women can sit where such heritage issues are discussed, or have they (referring to the women participants) not attained that age?

ObiraCE: The women understand, and that is why they asked to be excused.

ObiraSAs: It is because the Ogbo (praising and appreciation) that they do is associated with masquerade that made them not to talk about it.

ObiraAUm: Meanwhile, we also observe what you explained about very elderly women, but these people with us have not attained the age. However, when masquerade performs during the burial rite of Eze Nkporogu, Onyishi or any of the priests of Ogwu, there is/are very elderly women who will be present. They watch everything but would never talk or tell anybody about it.

ObiraAE: Such women live in between the line that separates the living and the ancestors. Therefore, they are seen to have started interacting with the ancestors just like the elderly men. This is why they are allowed access to the knowledge of heritage only known by men.

ObiraAUm: About the question you asked, we keep masks in Otobo. Like the Ekwe, Arigo, Ikorodo masks and every other thing that are collectively owned are kept in Otobo.

JKU: What are those other things that are kept in Otobo?

ObiraAUm: There is Ifu Ogwu (shrine of Ogwu).

ObiraSAs: Ifu Umuada is also there.

ObiraAum: We have Ifu Ani that unit Umu-Obira people. If you go to Otobo Ogwu, we have the larger Ifu Ogwu unlike, the smaller ones in every Otobo. There are Ifu Dimgbokwe and Ifu Chikwoke Ogwu also. You people should assist me in remembering them now.

General Response: If you are getting it right, why should we then interrupt you?

ObiraJO: Ifu Eyanwu Ogwu is there.

ObiraCE: Ifu Odiokara.

JKU: What does Dimgbokwe do for you people?

ObiraCE: It assists Ogwu in its function. It brings together different gods under these other shrines with Ogwu.

ObiraSAs: Dimgbokwe is the dibia (an *Igbo term used in this context to mean seer, diviner and spiritual priest*) of Ogwu deity.

JKU: What is the function of Odiokara?

ObiraSas: Odiokara is an established protective shrine by the people. One could be asked by Afa Diviner to go and pray in Odiokarak to be healed or cleaned for a particular misfortune. S/he will go with a few days old chick, use a fresh palm frond and tie it on the tree of Odiokara with the head pointing down. The associated rituals are performed, and the person will be healed of the sickness.

JKU: Is there sit in the Otobo?

General Response: There is no sit in Otobo Ogwu, rather, there are stones on which we sit.

ObiraSAs: There are plastic chairs in other Otobo now.

JKU: Who is in charge of the management of Otobo?

ObiraAUm: Well, someone is appointed to hold the key to the hall of Otobo. However, in my lineage, one who becomes Ezikeanyi becomes the manager of the Otobo.

ObiraEO: Other Otobos are being managed by the Onyishi of the lineage.

JKU: What are the relationship between Otobo and religion, agriculture, health, governance, security, and sports/game?

ObiraAUm: The Ogwudinama deity is a protective deity and solves many health-related issues. It could also appear in Afa divination that Ogwu wants one to come and drink or bath with its water to be healed of illness. There are pots containing water in the shrine, and such people come to drink or take water from it. The water pots are not refilled by anybody in the village, but none of them has ever dried from time immemorial till today.

ObiraSAs (supported by ObiraAE, ObiraJO): In fact, Ogwu shrine is a cluster of pots and pot sherds.

ObiraSAs: There are some prosperous child shrines that our ancestors established in other Otobos. Uwenu people have Ibobo and Uwani have Idenyi in their various Otobo.

ObiraAUm (with clarification by many participants): In the past, there is a time when every member of the village comes to Otobo to cook and eat together. Prayers are made to gods in these shrines for prosperous procreation in Umu-Obira. Christianity stopped this practice.

JKU: What about Otobo and agriculture?

ObiraSAs: Our ancestors established Ifu Shuajioku (yam-oriented shrine) on the route to the farm area. There is a day before the commencement of farming every year that our people go to pray in that shrine to support the farming season. Then, in Onwa Eto (3rd month of Igbo calendar), individuals pray in their own personal Ifu Shuajioku for the same purpose.

JKU: What about security?

ObiraAUm: No other thing than Ogwu. This Ogwudinama protects both Umu-Obira people and outsiders. For instance, if someone stilled your property and refused to accept the accusation to return it, you can come to consult Ogwu to look for that your property. It could be used to seek justice where human efforts failed. And anybody from anywhere can do this.

ObiraAE: Onene masquerade is used for security.

ObiraAUm and ObiraSAs: Onene masquerade watch over the village especially the children to top them from doing bad things like going to toilet along the road or in cultivated land.

JKU: What kind of game/sport that takes place in Otobo?

General Response: There is Eche game in all Otobo especially in the past. It is played for leisure and recreation purpose.

JKU: Please, how many Otobo are in Umu-Obira?

ObiraAUm (with a contribution by other participants): We have Otobo Ifu (central meeting Arena), Otobo Ugwuelechi, Otobo Ogbara, Otobo Amozaka, Otobo Akpachi, Otobo Uwani, Otobo Ifu Ogwu, and Otobo Amamgbokwe.

JKU: Do you invite people to festivals?

General Response from three to four Participants: No, we don't.

Note strong disagreement by all other participants.

ObiraAum: If we are performing the traditional rites associated with any festival, we do not invite outsiders but only those people that are concerned. It has after effect on any other person that is not supposed to be present. For instance, there was this learned man in our village who was not supposed to be present during Ogwu traditional rites in Onwa Itegina. He insisted on participating in Ogwu rites to learn and write about it. Later, he became mad and was writing down everything he sees or hear on paper. When Afa diviners were consulted, his people was told that Ogwudinama deity had inflicted him with writing skills (beyond his control) having participated during his rite to write about its affairs without proper consultation and permission.

General Response: It is only during the feasts after the rites that we invite friends and well-wishers from anywhere. The feast day is the day that masquerades perform in the Otobo, and we go with our friends who have visited to watch the performance.

JKU: Are there shops in Otobo where people sale and buy during festivals?

ObiraAUm: No. But one can buy a drink and bring to drink in Otobo during the performance. The fact is that nobody has established a shop there, it is not against the rules to have one beside Otobo.

ObiraSAs: Well, some women bring some products like drinks, biscuits etc. to sale in Otobo.

JKU: Do you know what is called museum?

ObiraAUm: Yes, a place where government keep old things. I have been there once. You mean something like an archive.

ObiraSas (supported by obiraCE): It was here (referring to Nkolo (Obi) Dimara-the palace of Dimara, the venue of this session) that we had such a thing. I understand it as a place where ndi nka (artists) produce and keep different art works.

JKU (question meant for ObiraAUm): Is there any relationship between what you saw in the museum and what you do?

ObiraAum: Yes, in the past, there was this decorated Arua in my father's Nkolo that is sometimes brought out to be watched and appreciated.

JKU: But Arua is a cultural object that is still in use.

ObiraSAs: That Arua he is referring to is displayed to be watched and appreciated by only those who are in position, like Ogwu priests, Onyishi, Eze Nkpologu or other title holders. In fact the Osha (Oha) people. What I would say that relate to the museum in our Omenala (culture/heritage) are the art works that are displayed in different Nkolo (palaces) of different lineages in the past (*this was nodded to by all participants as fact*). People come to appreciate them like those art works that government display along streets/junctions in the cities. Also, the masquerades carry in their heads such art works, and they are appreciated during masquerade performance.

ObiraCE: there was also a cultural material called Aka that was in this Nkolo. This Aka is displayed outside during Onwa Asaa (7th month of Igbo calendar) to be watched and appreciated by people.

JKU: Are all these things mentioned used in cultural practices?

General Response: Yes.

JKU: But if government collect these your materials and take them to the museum, will you still like to use them for those cultural practices?

General Response: No. We cannot even allow the government to take them except through force. However, if they carry it, we will then have to produce and ritualised another material to replace the same role.

JKU: Do you keep old used heritage object for your children to appreciate?

General Response: No.

ObiraAUm: But like Ozara (cultural horn), some families have a hereditary one used for cultural rites, and it is handed over from generation to generation. If this tradition is rejected may be by a subsequent generation of the family, another person outside the family but from Umu-Obira can start using it. The fact is that they cannot discard or throw it away.

Note: Unknown member of the community who was drunk came into the venue. He listened for some minutes and started asking the elders whether I have given them money meant for Umu-Obira people. He queried why they are narrating all the traditions of Umu-Obira to me. However, his question was caricatured by participants. But I kept hearing this questions resonate from place to place throughout the research period in Umu-Obira. What saved me was that Oha/Osha (council of elders) Umu-Obira approved my research and had to ensure I complete it.

JKU: We have come a long way in this discussion. I thank every one of you for the patience and contribution. Please, is there anybody that would like to ask a question or make a remark?

ObiraSAs: From the day when you came to ObiraCE, he involved me, and we have been responding to your questions and requests. After doing our part, are you going to take this information from Umu-Obira to the government as the representative of Uzo-Uwani culture? If you do, what are we going to gain from it? (This question received support from other members).

JKU: The research may have a long-term contribution to you people and the Igboland at large. First, writing about a people is promoting them to the outside world. If you check very well, those people whose history and culture was first written mostly received the attention of government and other developmental agencies before others. That is the power of research. In the present day, most of our youths do not know this histories and culture. My research could be used to teach our children about our history and culture in higher institutions. Such teaching can as well lead to a developmental breakthrough in the future. Secondly, I have the passion to continue with this research to see if the history of Igbo people that revolve around Village Arena can be mapped and enlisted as national monument/heritage, with the possibility of becoming a world heritage site, if it worth it. This if achieved would create jobs and generate revenue through tourism to the localities where the sites are located

There is a question I skipped. **If government propose to build a mini-museum in Otobo Umu-Obira, are you people ready to bring out many of your cultural materials to display in it? Will you be readily available to perform the practices and performances you narrated here to visitors?**

ObiraAUm: Your question is something that will require a long-term arrangement, where the entire people will have to be involved in the discussion and not just a few of us here. So, discussion and negotiation can continue, and our people may agree after seeing the importance of having a museum in our Otobo. But we can never bring out all the materials we use for Omenal' because most of them are not for public viewing. Many of the heritage materials like Arua and the associated bell cannot be kept for public viewing. People can come to view us when we are doing the cultural rite but not to come and watch where we keep them.

JKU: My work is proposing to decentralize museum and get them close to the people. And Otobo as a place where common heritages are kept is a good location to site the museum.

ObiraSAs: What I want to request of you is that we would want what we have discussed throughout your interactions with us to be taken to TV and radio stations. We would like to

hear our names mentioned alongside the information we gave so that other people will hear about Umu-Obira culture. I great you.

ObiraCN (he just joined the session but participated in the in-depth interview): What he is saying is whether our people will appreciate if government build a hall where we shall bring out our heritage materials for public viewing. Well, we promise you that if such opportunity comes, our people will find a way to welcome and encourage it.

JKU (responding to the request made by ObiraSAs above): Please, I may not be able to do these things you requested now, but it may be possible in the future. Again, I will not add your names in any publication or reveal it to anybody; it may have some negative implications for you people, the participants. Let me use this opportunity to thank you for making out time to share your knowledge with me. Thank you.

End of the panel session.

Appendix 6: Transcribed sample of In-depth Interview

<u>In-depth interview with UsehPN & UsehCE in Useh Aku, 3 February 2017 (extra participants are UsehSA, UsehCA and UsehCI2)</u>

I planned to interview only UsehPN, though, I had in my plan to interview UsehCE separately, but UsehPN invited him as his relation whom he said is close to the government as a retired police officer. His thinking is that because I represent the state, the presence of his brother who is close to the state would guide what he says. Advantageously, his arrangement had helped me in two ways, (a) to make UsehCE available for me. UsehCE has been busy and we kept planning on when to interact; and (b) created an interactional opportunity for both key informants and the extra participants that came with him. UsehPN brought kola nut and I also offered mine.

JKU (Researcher on further introduction): My name is John Kelechi Ugwuanyi from Eha-alumona. I teach in University of Nigeria, Nsukka but also a PhD student. My PhD research is about *Omenala* (tradition/heritage). I would like to understand how Useh people managed their affairs through the Village Arena system now and in the past. How the village protected and managed their heritage. The relationship between heritages and the Arena. Who is in position of the management of the heritages? If it got damaged, how is it repaired? Generally, I would want to understand how Useh progressed through the Village Arena system. However, it is impossible to just enter into asking about the Arena without knowing the history of the people. That is where to begin if you are happy to participat. Thank you.

The kola nut was accepted, as the eldest man and the owner of the house (venue), he performed the kola nut ritual with the one he brought.

UsehPN: Ezechitoke Abiama-God the creator, you created heaven (*up*) and earth (*down*), you know everybody's want, and no one teaches you anything but you teach us everything. The good mind with which you came is what you will take home (*referring to me*). We, in whose home he visited should be blessed too, '*ojer'bonye ejegbule, me olakonu nkpumkpu asule*' (an idiomatic expression that prays to God for a blessing to both the visitor and the visited). Ezechitoke Abiama, you are the one who put words into our mouth. What you said of us is what we finally become. Useh is the eldest among villages in Aku. My father's name is Ezikogbene, Ezikogbene come and take kola nut. Al' Useh (earth gods of Useh) come and take kola nut. This man that came to my house, though he has not said what brought him, but when he does, let the gods of my ancestors help me to say what I know. Both the invited and the uninvited come and partake in this kola nut, but anything bad should not. Good things come

and take kola nut! Eyanwu Ezechitoke (the sun of God the creator) you have risen and now going down. …(some incantations I could not understand), we pray in the name of Chineke Abiama and in Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen. (I saw him dropping some particles of kola nut on the ground).

UsehCE: You are welcome. (Introduced self and UsehPN also did).

JKU: What is the history of Useh? Where did they come from?

UsehPN: I will tell it the way my ancestors told me. Useh is Useh Diugwu Iyoke.

JKU: How many children had he (Diugwu Iyoke)?

UsehPN: His children are Ezikogbene and Ezikanoke.

JKU: You mentioned in your prayer that Useh is the eldest village among other villages in Aku town. How comes?

UsehPN: Well, that is what our ancestors told us. It's not because we are more knowledgeable, powerful or even religious than others. However, Useh and Umudikwu are the aboriginal people in Aku, while others are somewhat migrants. There are such people in your town, Eha-alumona.

JKU: Yes, in Eha-alumona we have autochthons and we have migrants. But, where did Useh people come from?

UsehPN: There are people in Nroboh in Uzo Uwani who are called Useh ne Nroboh (they interpreted to mean Useh in Nroboh or Useh the mother of Nroboh because 'Ne' means mother in Igbo). They are our brothers who migrated from here to there. Ezike-okorocha is Useh Diugwu Iyoke, the Iyoke is the connecting ancestor between Nroboh and us. I will tell the way I was told.

UsehCE and UsehSA: He is asking to know where Useh came from/about.

UsehCE: I thought we are from Nroboh?

UsehPN: No, the Nroboh you hear moved from Useh. Iyoke Ezike-okorocha is the connecting ancestor and those at Nroboh moved from here.

JKU: Ok, is there any cultural practice that link you people with those of your brothers in Nroboh?

UsehPN: Yes, this Ojiyi that is here is also there. There are people who were chased away from here during wars and they are now leaving in Agbogashi (in Udi L.G.A). However, they know that they came from here, somewhere in Amakpu. This is the same way Nroboh people ran away from here to Nroboh when White man came and those of us that remain continued the ancestral tree.

UsehSA: What he is asking is whether there is anything that they come to do here or that we go to do there to show the relationship?

UsehPN: No, there is none. But they recognize that we are one, that Ezike-okorocha or Diugwu Iyoke is our collective ancestor.

JKU: But if your name is called Useh ne Nroboh, which means you may have come from there.

UsehSA: No, Useh ne Nroboh means Useh the mother of Nroboh.

UsehPN: No, they are run-away people.

UsehSA: But you said that there is shrine of Ojiyi deity in Nroboh (referring to UsehPN)

UsehPN (with supportive explanation by UsehCE): Yes, if any Useh man is present in Nroboh, he automatically becomes the temporal priest of Ojiyi and presides over it's activities. This simply shows that Useh is the elder and their ancestral home.

JKU: Thank you. Now we are out from history of Useh. Please, what is Otobo?

UsehCE, UsehPN and UsehSA: Otobo is the center of the village, where the people hold meetings.

JKU: What are the functions of Otobo?

UsehPN: Otobo is a place where peace is made.

UsehCE: It is a meeting place where the village affairs are discussed. You cannot come to UsehPN's house to discuss the general village affairs, no. It is also a native court where crisis are resolved.

UsehPN: It is a venue for collective ceremonies in Useh.

JKU: What kind of ceremonies please?

UsehPN: Funeral ceremony is done there.

UsehSA (with clarification by UsehCE and UsehPN): Apart from that, there is a funeral rite done for four days counting from the day one died. As you can notice, there are two Obi (family palaces) in that Otobo for the two lineages that make up Useh, each lineage does the funeral rite for their dead relative in their Obi.

UsehCE: It is also a place where people take leisure.

UsehSA: Odo and Ojiyi festivals are done in that Otobo. Children play in that Otobo.

UsehPN: In fact, everything that concerns Useh is done in that Otobo.

JKU: How did Otobo come about?

UsehPN: It is even in your father's land. Our ancestors came together and decided that that location is a place where they will be meeting to discuss their affairs, and they called it Otobo.

JKU: Is there anything they kept or established that assert/represent such collective decision?

UsehPN: There was an agreement that they should stop going to individual houses to discuss their collective affairs, such agreement lead to the establishment of Otobo.

JKU: Who brought the land where it is sited?

UsehPN: Everyone has a land where he cultivates. However, if Oha Obodo (village council or council of elders) say that a particular land is to be acquired in the public interest, then, the owner will release the land immediately because all the lands belong to the people and not any individual.

JKU: Let's say that land belong to one or two individuals, will they get another land in compensation?

UsehSA: No

UsehPN: Normally, in those days, many lands are collectively owned. So, the land used for Otobo must have come from a collective land.

JKU: Ok, thank you. What do you people keep in Otobo?

UsehCE: We have Ogwe (sitting platform).

UsehPN: Yes, there is Ogwe. Odo masking house where the Odo musical instruments are kept and sounded for Odo to dance. We have Oshuru Otobo, a protective and uniting shrine there. In the past and at present, a hen (for female child) or cock (for male child) is offered to Oshuru when a child is born in Useh. A ritual is performed and a protective medicine is administered on the child.

UsehCE: Oshuru units them according to their believe (responding as a Christian).

JKU: What other things are kept there?

UsehPN: There is Ahurumaku deity in that Otobo; Ahurumaku that saw (or discovered) all Aku people. It is owned by all Aku people and not only Useh. It protects the people and it is used for retribution of justice. People consult it to search for their property if stolen or to seek justice in the case of theft, abuse or overpowering(?).

UsehSA: It is a female deity (reechoed UsehCE).

UsehPN: We have Ojiyi deity in Otobo. It is for protection, security and retribution of justice. All Aku people own it but it is kept and managed by Useh people.

UsehSA: Ojiyi is kept here because we are Onyishi (eldest) Aku. It is only Useh that has no other deity among all the villages that make up Aku town apart from Ojiyi and Ahurumaku that is owned collectively.

UsehSA: There is Ube Otobo (to find the English & botanical names of Ube tree?).

UsehPN: Yes, Ube Otobo provides shade for meetings. We eat the seed. But there are people who said that the power that connects human being is in it. Nobody in this Useh knows when

it was planted, and no one can cut it, we cannot even permit anyone to do so. I know that you may have something similar in your Otobo also (referring to me). It brings children for us. If one is looking for a child, s/he may be told by Afa diviner to go and offer Useh people food and merriment and tie the Ube tree a cloth. The cloth meant here is a palm frond. On the day of such occasion, the Ube tree is tied with a palm frond and a small chicken that have not grown. After performing the required rituals with food on the tree, the rest of the food is shared and eaten by all that are present in the Otobo at the moment. It is believed that the person seeking for a child will get one after doing this.

UsehSA: Well, as a young person, I strongly believe this because there is no day that you will pass through the Otobo that you wouldn't see two or more children under the Ube tree.

Appendix 7: Health and safety risk assessment approval

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GENERAL RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

Section 1: Assessment Overview

Assessment Reference Number:	Version Control	

Name of Assessor	John Kelechi Ugwuanyi	**Date of Assessment**	06/04/2016
Description of Area / Procedure / Task being assessed	This is a PhD fieldwork research planned to take place in Enugu state, Southeast Nigeria, West Africa between 23 September 2016 and 27 June 2017 (9 months approximately). The methodology is ethnography and requires spending time within the local community to observe variables and conduct interviews.		
Location	Nsukka Igbo, Enugu State, South-east Nigeria		

Section 2: Persons Affected

Who might be affected by this work? (delete ✓ as applicable)	PhD student, Department of Archaeology John Kelechi Ugwuanyi	**Are any vulnerable groups affected?** (delete ✓ as applicable)	No	**How many people are affected?** (delete ✓ as applicable)	One (1)

Section 3: Review

Date for Next Review of this Document	Date Document Reviewed	Reviewed by (print name)	Signature

UNIVERSITY of York

Section 4: Risk Assessment

Risk Matrix

Hazard Severity Score		Likelihood		Probability / Severity	1	2	3
Negligible Injury or Damage	1	Unlikely	1	1	LOW	MEDIUM	MEDIUM
Minor Injury or Damage	2	May Happen	2	2	MEDIUM	MEDIUM	HIGH
Major Injury or Death	3	Almost Certain	3	3	MEDIUM	HIGH	HIGH

No.	Description of Hazard	Hazard Score	Initial Likelihood Score	Initial Risk	Controls	Residual Likelihood Score	Residual Risk
1	Death or injury resulting from road traffic accident	**3**	**2**	**M**	▪ Boarding cars/motor cycles that are in good condition with recommendation from the appropriate authorities is the right thing to do. ▪ Car safety rules will be highly observed. ▪ Avoid night trips/outings and frequent travels, yet being careful while going about the research.	**1**	**M**
2	Theft of valuable personal belongings such as passport, physical cash, credit card, laptop computer, camera, phone etc.	**2**	**1**	**H**	▪ Maintain vigilance and keep personal belongings in a safe place. ▪ Keep separate photocopies of all passport and travel documents and emergency contact details for the relevant embassy. ▪ No valuables to be left in vehicles overnight.	**1**	**M**
3	Unmanaged clash between Nigeria's security agents and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)	**2**	**1**	**M**	▪ Eastern Nigeria is the homeland of the IPOB members who have been protesting for self-government and release of their leader that was arrested by Nigeria's security agent in October 2015. They majorly carry out their protest in Anambra and Abia states, while the fieldwork is to take place in Enugu state. However, the researcher is to avoid being present at venues, arenas and/or places where IPOB is carrying out its activities.	**1**	**M**
4	Terrorism	**3**	**1**	**M**	▪ Terrorism is rated high in Nigeria, but aviva recognised that it exist in the north and riverine areas of southsouth regions, while the research is to take place in the southeast region. ▪ Situation to be monitored closely through media reports and U of	**1**	**L**

					York red24 alerts for possible spread to other regions.		
5	Kidnapping	**3**	**1**	**M**	▪ Kidnaping is rated high in Nigeria but happens majorly in the Niger Delta and Northern Nigeria where the menace of terrorism is ongoing, reports aviva. ▪ Southeast, especially Enugu state where the research is to be conducted is relatively save. ▪ The researcher is to be security conscious and careful.	**1**	**M**
6	Contraction of Hepatitis A, Hepatitis B, Typhoid, Yellow Fever, lassa fever, Polio, Meningococcal Meningitis.	3	1	M	• The researcher is to ensure that vaccinations are up to date by consulting his GP before travel. • Drink only clean water. • Wash cuts and grazes thoroughly and apply antiseptic cream. • Avoid contact with animals, especially bats, rodent, and if bitten, seek medical advice immediately.	1	L
7	Contraction of Malaria, Dengue Fever.	3	2	M	• Take anti-malarial drugs in consultation with my GP. • Mosquito bites to be avoided by covering up with clothing such as long sleeves and long trousers especially after sunset.	1	M
8	Diarrhoea and other related stomach upsets	2	2	M	• Clean water will be largely relied upon for drinking. • Anti-bacterial gel to be carried for hand washing. • Basic travel food hygiene guidelines to be followed - avoid salads etc. which may have been washed in dirty water. • Wash fruit thoroughly before eating, avoid apparently uncooked or partially cooked meat.	1	M
9	Violence/verbal aggression from host community	1	1	1	▪ This is unlikely to occur hence the researcher is familiar with society and culture, and speaks the local language. However, pre-arrangements will always take place before entering any community for fieldwork to avoid breeding tension.	1	L
10	Sickness and stress as a result of poor environment, food and water cleanliness	1	1	1	▪ To be very conscious of what to eat, the water to drink and the places to reside to avoid infection. ▪ To travel with medical supplies like paracetamol, pain killers etc.	1	L
19	Emergency procedure	• In case of medical emergency, contact University Travel Insurers Aviva: **+ 441243 621 066 Policy No. NUBT 0105** • Non-medical emergency assistance from Aviva: **+441243 621 416 Policy No. NUBT 0105**					

		• Red24 providing reassurance and practical advice in the event of incidents: **+44 (0)207 741 2074** • Nigeria Emergency numbers: **General emergency 767; Police 112; Road Safety Corps 122** • Enugu state Police emergency numbers: **+2348032003702, +2348038829086, +2348035045847, +2347039028351** • The research student will be covered by the UoY's travel insurance scheme on completion of the Travel Log. • There are large, well-appointed hospitals in Enugu, some of which are: o **Annunciation Specialist Hospital**, 27 Annunciation Hospital Road, Emene, Enugu state, Nigeria. Telephone: +2347065191237, +2348036663990, +2348082936219 o **The University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital**, Ituku-Ozalla Enugu, Enugu State, Nigeria. Telephone: +2347063350510, +2348037212250, +2348033424217, +2348033262503 o **Niger Foundation Hospital and Diagnostic Centre**, 5 Presidential Close, Independence Layout, Enugu State, Nigeria. Telephone: +2347065693009 • Embassies and Consulates: o **British High Commission Abuja**: 19 Torrens Close, Mississippi, Maitama Abuja, Nigeria. Email: PPAInformation.abuja@fco.gov.uk, Telephone: +234 (9) 4622200, Fax +234(9) 4622263 o **British Deputy High Commission Lagos**: Consular, and Visa Sections, 11 Walter Carrington Crescent, Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria. Email: consular.lagos@fco.gov.uk, Telephone: + 234 (1) 277 0780/0781/0782 • The researcher will carry a UK and Nigeria mobiles with roaming enabled for the UK line.

Section 5: Assessment Sign-Off

Assessor's Signature	***John Kelechi Ugwuanyi***	**Position**	**PhD student**
Print Name	**John Ugwuanyi**	**Date**	**06/04/2016**
Additional Comments	**The assessor was born in the area and have spent most part of his life (over three decades) growing up, studying and researching and he is used to the cultural and physical risks that working in such environments brings.**		

Assessment Agreed by	**John Schofield**	**Position**	**Head of Department**
Print Name	**JOHN SCHOFIELD**	**Date and Time**	**11 April 2016**
Additional Comments	**I have read this Risk Assessment and am satisfied that all risks have been addressed, however remote, and that all contingencies are in place to minimise their impact.**		

UNIVERSITY of York

Assessment Agreed by	**Denis Fowler**	**Position**	**Director, HSSD**
Print Name	**Denis Fowler**	**Date and Time**	**12 April 2016**
Additional Comments	**I have read this Risk Assessment and am satisfied that all risks have been addressed, however remote, and that all contingencies are in place to minimise their impact.**		

Section 6: Communication of Risk Assessment

I have read and understood the contents of this risk assessment.

Name	Date	Signature

Appendix 8: University of York's ethics application form

THE UNIVERSITY of York

Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee

Submission form

To be used for:

- Small scale evaluation & audit work
- Non-invasive research
- Not involving vulnerable groups e.g.
  - Children
  - Those with learning disabilities
  - People with mental impairment due to health or lifestyle
  - Those who are terminally ill
  - Recently bereaved
  - Those unable to consent to or understand the research
  - Where research concerns sensitive topics / illegal activities
  - Where deception is involved
  - Any research requiring a CRB check
- Following initial evaluation you may be required to submit a Full application to AHEC where ethical issues need more detailed consideration
- It is up to the researcher to determine which form to complete at the outset.
- NB If you are collecting data from NHS patients or staff, or Social Service users or staff, you will need to apply for approval through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS) at https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk/Signin.aspx
  - If you are a staff member please fill in the IRAS form NOT this one and send your completed IRAS form to AHEC for health and social services research.
  - Student applications for approval through IRAS should normally be pre-reviewed by department ethics committees or AHEC.

Completed forms should be sent to the AHEC Administrator as follows:

1. **one signed <u>hard</u> copy** (to Helen Jacobs, AHEC Administrator, Humanities Research Centre, Room BS/106 Berrick Saul Building, University of York, YO10 5DD), and
2. **one <u>electronic</u> copy** (email to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk).

Initial decisions will normally be made and communicated within two weeks of the Committee meeting. Details of committee meeting dates can be found on the AHEC web pages at: http://www.york.ac.uk/hrc/ahec

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY			
Case Reference Number:			
1st AHEC Reviewer:		2nd AHEC Reviewer:	3rd AHEC Reviewer:
Date received:		Date considered:	Date approved:
Compliance form signed? Y/N			

SUBMISSION FORM LITE

1a. Please provide the following details about the principal investigator at York

Name of Applicant:	John Kelechi Ugwuanyi
email address:	Jku500@york.ac.uk
Telephone:	07341651790
Staff/Student Status:	PhD Candidate

Dept/Centre or Unit:	Archaeology
Head of Department:	Prof. John Schofield
HoD email address:	john.schofield@york.ac.uk
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR email address:	

(if applicable)	

1b. Any other applicants (for collaborative research projects)

Name of Applicant:	
email address:	
Telephone:	
Staff/Student Status:	
Dept/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD email address:	
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR email address: (if applicable)	

Name of Applicant:	
email address:	
Telephone:	
Staff/Student Status:	
Department/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD email address:	
Head of Research Project: (if applicable)	
Head of Research Project email address: (if applicable)	

2. If you are a student please provide the following supervisory details for your project:

1st Supervisor	Prof. John Schofield
email address:	john.schofield@york.ac.uk
2nd Supervisor	
email address:	

3. Please provide the following details about your project:

Title of Project:	The Igbo 'Village Square', Heritage and Museum Discourse: An Ethnographic Investigation

Date of Submission to AHEC:	2 May 2016
Project Start Date:	23 September 2016
Duration:	9 Months
Funded Yes/No:	Yes (partly funded)
Funding Source:	Tweedie Exploration Fellowship, University of Edinburgh
External Ethics Board Jurisdictions:	N/A

4. Summary of research proposal

Aims and objectives of the research

Please outline the questions or hypotheses that will be examined in the research.

The research objectives are:

1. To establish the existence of the prevalent Western and silent indigenous (in this case, Igbo 'Village Square') heritage preservation models in Nigeria.
2. To examine the public perceptions on both models in relation to inclusion and exclusion.
3. To contemplate application of cross-cultural approaches to integrate the two models as a middle-of-the-road option for realizing democratic inclusion in heritage preservation in Nigeria.

Methods of data collection

Outline how the data will be collected from or about human subjects.

Ethnographic techniques will be employed to collect data for this study.

1. Observation of practices (where they still exist) will help to explore the present state of the village square.
2. In-depth interview will be conducted with older members (50-95 years) of the study area to gather oral information about the village square and heritage preservation perceptions of the Igbo of southeast Nigeria.
3. Focus Group Panel (FGP) will be organised to help strengthen and reconcile the information gathered during in-depth interview.
4. Cultural mapping will be used to identify and keep the inventories of cultural attributes found within the context of village square in the study area.

Recruitment of participants

How many participants will take part in the research? How will they be identified and invited to take part in the study? How will informed consent be obtained?

In-depth interviews will be conducted with forty-one (41) persons featuring five (5) in each village and six (6) to be sourced from among experts and workers in heritage institutions in Igboland. The choice of people to be interviewed is based on age and position in the village. Thus, older members of the village within the age of 50 and 95 believed to have in-depth knowledge and experience of the past and present state of the 'village square' will be approached. A Focus Group Panel (FGP) will also be conducted in each village, but only one Panel comprising six (6) persons in each will be organised. Participants in the Panel will be selected based on competence in the culture and history of the indigenous people especially on the 'village square'. However, one or two persons who took part in the in-depth interview may be part of the Panel with the certainty that the remaining four will be drawn from

outside the in-depth interviewee. Semi-structured interviews with open ended questions will be used for both the in-depth interview and FGP. Consequently, two different types of question will be used, one for interviewing the villagers and the other for experts and workers in the heritage institutions.

Participant information sheets and consent forms

Please attach (1) the project information sheet to be given to all participants and (2) the informed consent form. **(n.b. failure to submit these documents may delay the approval process.)**

i. Please confirm you have included the project information sheet to be given to all participants with your submission to AHEC. If this has not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

Yes

ii. Please confirm you have included all the relevant informed consent forms. If these have not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

Yes

iii. Are the results to be given as feedback or disseminated to your participants (if yes please specify when, in what form, and by what means)

No

Anonymity

In most instances the Committee expects that anonymity will be offered to research subjects. Please set out how you intend to ensure anonymity. If anonymity is not being offered please explain why this is the case.

For the purposes of data analysis and data sharing, anonymity will be granted to all the participants in the in-depth and/or focus group panel interviews.
Anonymity may not be guaranteed for the use of pictures snapped at any point during interview sessions. However, informants will be asked for their consent to be snapped such pictures and care will be taken to avoid any traceable information about the informants in the photographs anywhere the picture appears - in the thesis, conference paper and/or publications.

Data collection

All personal and sensitive data must be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. Please set out all the types of data you will be collecting (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, recordings)

i. Please detail type(s) of data.

Interview, recordings, photographs

ii. Where is the data to be collected and where will it be stored electronically? Please describe what protection there will be in relation to electronic storage?

I will write on field note, use tape recording and camera. At the end of every field trip, data collected on tape recorder and camera will be transfer to my laptop computer, which is locked with password.

iii. Where is the data to be stored in paper form? Please describe how this will be protected.

Data to be stored in paper form will be collected with codes and will avoid using any traceable information about the informants.

iv. At what point are you proposing to destroy the data, in relation to the duration of this project? And how?
This will be done in line with the University of York's data protection and management policy.
v. If you are sharing data with others outside your department, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected?
N/A
vi. If the data is to be exported outside the European Union, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected? **(Note: you must identify how you will comply with Data Protection Act 1998 requirements.)**
N/A

Perceived risks or ethical problems Please outline any anticipated risks or ethical problems that may adversely affect any of the participants, the researchers and or the university, and the steps that will be taken to address them. **(Note: all research involving human participants can have adverse effects.)**
i. Risks to participants (e.g. emotional distress, financial disclosure, physical harm, transfer of personal data, sensitive organisational information…)
Participants will be asked to share their views about heritage preservation in Nigeria, particularly in Igboland and their knowledge about 'village square' and the heritage preservation perceptions of the Igbo. Such personal views may receive personal abuse, but steps will be taken to ensure that information given will not be linked to individuals. Efforts will also be made to moderate individual abuses during panel sessions by fellow informant.
ii. Risks to researchers (e.g. personal safety, physical harm, emotional distress, risk of accusation of harm/impropriety, conflict of interest…)
Risks to researcher associated with this project are numerous and have been identified, assessed and approved by Health, Safety and Security Department of the University of York.
iii. University/institutional risks (e.g. adverse publicity, financial loss, data protection…)
Because the research is public-facing in nature, adverse publicity for the Department of Archaeology is possible.
iv. Financial conflicts of interest (e.g. perceived or actual with respect to direct payments, research funding, indirect sponsorship, board or organisational memberships, past associations, future potential benefits, other…)
N/A
v. Please draw the committee's attention to any other specific ethical issues this study raises.
N/A

5. Ethics checklist

Please confirm that all of the steps indicated below have been taken, or will be taken, with regards to the above named project submitted for ethical approval. If there are any items that you cannot confirm, or are not relevant to your project, please use the space provided below to explain.

Please tick if true, otherwise leave blank:

x	Informed consent will be sought from all research participants where appropriate
x	All data will be treated anonymously and stored in a secure place
x	All Relevant issues relating to Data Protection legislation have been considered (see http://www.york.ac.uk/recordsmanagement/dpa/) & the Data Protection office contacted (Dr Charles Fonge, Borthwick Institute, charles.fonge@york.ac.uk)
x	All quotes and other material obtained from participants will be anonymised in all reports/publications arising from the study where appropriate
x	All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/ psychological harm to project participants.
x	All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/mental harm to researchers
x	Participants have been made aware of and consent to all potential futures uses of the research and data
x	With respect to intellectual property Sue Final (University Intellectual Property Manager, **Ext#** 72 5154 email: sue.final@york.ac.uk) has been made aware of the research (if relevant).
x	There are no known conflicts of interest with respect to finance/funding
x	The research is approved by the Head of Department, Unit, Centre or School

Please explain in the space below, why any of the above items have not yet been confirmed:
N/A

6. Other comments

Are there any issues that you wish to draw to the Committee's attention (it is your responsibility to draw any ethical issues to AHEC that may be of perceived or actual interest)?

None

7. Submission Checklist for Applicants

Finally, please **sign** the form and ensure that **all of the indicated documents** below are sent both **electronically** to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk, and in **hard copy** to the AHEC Administrator, Helen Jacobs, Humanities Research Centre, Berrick Saul Building, University of York, YO10 5DD.

x	AHEC Application form
x	

Consent form for participants

[x] Information Sheet for participants

[x] AHEC Compliance form

8. Signed undertaking

Statement by applicant

In submitting this application I hereby confirm that there are **no actual or perceived conflicts of interest** with respect to this application (and associated research) other than those already declared.

Furthermore, I hereby undertake to ensure that the above named research project will meet the commitments in the checklist above. In conducting the project, the research team will be guided by the Social Research Association's/AHRC's/ESRC's ethical guidelines for research.

…….. (Signed Lead Researcher/Principal Investigator)
…….. (Date)

If applicant is a student:

Statement by supervisor

I have read all component elements of this application in detail and discussed them with the applicant, suggesting revision or improvements where appropriate. I am satisfied that all documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and professionalism of the applicant, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.

(Signed Supervisor)
2 May 2016 (Date)

If applicant is a member of academic staff:

Statement by Head of Research Project (where applicable) or Departmental Research Chair or Head of Department:

I have read through the application and the documentation that will be shared with external bodies, where this exists, and am satisfied that documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and professionalism of the project, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.

…….. (Signed)
.....(Print name)
.....(Role)
…….. (Date)

Appendix 9: Informed consent form

The Igbo 'Village Square', Heritage and Museum Discourse: An Ethnographic Investigation

By signing this form, you are providing informed consent for the use of your responses as research data.
This project has been granted ethics clearance by the University of York, Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee. You can contact hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk if you have any concerns.
Please read and answer every question.

	YES	NO
Do you understand what the project is about and what taking part involves?	☐	☐
Do you understand that you can leave the project at any time without giving a reason?	☐	☐
Do you understand that the information you share will be used to write a report and will be stored in a data repository?	☐	☐
Do you understand that your name will not be identified and that the information you share will not be given to anyone else?	☐	☐
Would you like a picture of you to be taken? If yes, do you understand that no information identifying you will be included under such picture if used anywhere?	☐	☐
Would you like to take part in the project?	☐	☐
If yes, is it OK to record your interview?	☐	☐

Name of respondent: …….....

Signature: …….. Date: ……...

Name of researcher: ……

Signature: …….. Date: ……...

Appendix 10: Introduction/information leaflet for participants



DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

…Can local communities/public participate in heritage preservation in Nigeria?…

The Igbo 'Village Square', Heritage and Museum Discourse: An Ethnographic Investigation

I am carrying out a research study to explore the indigenous and Western-hegemonic heritage preservation models in Nigeria and to examine the consequences of the latter on public/community participation. The study will investigate indigenous heritage preservation models particularly, the Igbo 'Village Square' and explore the interface between such indigenous models and global heritage discourses and practices and contemplates its integration with Western model to boost public participation, discourage exclusion and encourage inclusion in heritage creation and management.

Who is conducting this research?

John Kelechi Ugwuanyi is a PhD candidate at the University of York under the supervision of Prof. John Schofield of the university's Department of Archaeology. John's research interests have been on heritage and museological studies, public & postcolonial archaeology, cultural resource management, and Tourism having completed BA and MA degrees in Archaeology and Tourism at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Has this research been subject to ethical review?

This research project has been approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee at the University of York, chaired by Kate Giles. Please do contact the committee with any ethical concerns regarding this project hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk

More information?

For more information about being a participant in this research project, please do contact John at jku500@york.ac.uk for any questions about the project.

What would be my role as a participant?

You will be involved in an in-depth and/or focus group panel interview sessions. Your time commitment in any of the sessions will not exceed a period of two hours. The study will seek your views on issues of pubic exclusion occasioned by the Western-hegemonic heritage preservation model in Nigeria, and how its integration with indigenous models, in this case, the Igbo 'village square' which appeals more to the local communities will encourage

democratic inclusion. Also, your knowledge about the village square and the Igbo heritage preservation perceptions will be sorted.

Anonymity

The data that you provide (e.g. audio recordings of the interview and focus group discussion) will be stored by code number. Any identifying information will be removed. Your name will not be mentioned to others or published in any professional or academic reports. Pictures will be taken at some events. You will be asked for permission before any pictures of you are taken.

Storing and using your data

The information you provided will be stored on a password protected computer. The data will be included in a PhD dissertation, and may be referenced in workshops, conference presentations, journal articles and other forms of professional and academic research literature. Upon completion of this research project, the data will be stored and shared in accordance with University of York policies on data sharing. Do get in touch if you have any questions about the future use of your data.

Please keep this information sheet for your own records.

Yours sincerely

John Kelechi Ugwuanyi