INDIGENOUS NIGERIAN ORAL DRAMA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL REGULATION: A STUDY OF OGBLLO SECRET SOCIETY OF IDOMA

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Sacred Mockery and invective expel blight, death and evil.

Robert Eliot 1960

The Worshippers, by the nature of the Orisha, have the right to ridicule and, of course, they believe that it is good for the health of the society.

J. A. Adedeji 1967

This paper seeks to demonstrate that there is a fundamental element to rural institutions of leisure and recreation as a general pattern, which is that these institutions harbor within themselves organized anthropological and sociological control systems associated with the maintenance of ethics and morality, and in some extreme cases, the detection and prevention of crime.

The focus in this paper is on the study of entertainment and recreational elements of the Ogbillo Night Mask of the Idoma peoples of lower Benue of Nigeria with an excursion into the functionality of the institution. The Ogbillo Night Mask institution is a rural art of comic origin the premise of which is satire, and the aim of which is to correct.

The paper will highlight the medium, mode, approach, and techniques through which Ogbillo executes these set objectives. As an institution of fierce and vibrant verbal expression it will be shown that it employs comic sensibilities to satirize by passing ridiculous comment on social ills with the aim of correcting. We shall conclude by examining the intrinsic and extrinsic values of Ogbillo as an institution and its importance to national objectives.

Existence of Ogbillo Societies

Before the advent of the British colonial system of administration of justice, and subsequent to the establishment of a police
force, Nigerian nationalities possessed various indigenous institutions, both dramatic and non-dramatic societies, whose responsibilities were to maintain law and order. There is the humanistic and spiritual level, the visible and invisible. On the humanistic levels are dramatic societies with human beings as protagonists performing the function of upholding social morality. At this level, human beings interact with fellow human beings, and deviants are on the receiving end of social justice. Such deviants who behave contrary to societal expectations face varying degrees of punishment from such dramatic institutions. Some of the sanctions range from compulsory payment of fines to sacking the homes of the deviant, depending on the degree of offence. Social vices inherent in individuals, families, and the lineages, like theft, fighting, adultery, and stinginess, attract negative and satirical commentaries which are anthologized in the recreational institutions. Thus, the songs of such dramatic societies castigate and repudiate social ills for the society to see and correct itself. This is done through the deployment and utilization of comic sensibilities inherent in these societies. As we laugh, we bite deeper into human follies and foibles. For instance, the Ifoma-Otukpo Obide women's performing group is very observant and capable of ridiculing and insulting social deviants:

Umo Umo went to Tivland to steal
The Tivs nearly killed him
But he turned (shifted) it to the viper
Viper, the painful one
Does not know the foot (root) of this one.

Eimonye lives in a home in farmstead
Because of stinginess he lives in a home in the farmstead
Eimonye child of Ogwa lives in farmstead
Because of stinginess he lives in a home in the farmstead.
Eimonye lives in a home in the bush
Because of stinginess he lives in a home in the farmstead.

Amongst the traditional societies of the Tiv and the Hausa, and indeed in most Nigerian communities, are to be found dramatic institutions which through comic acts, satirize societal ills. The Tiv Kwah-hir social drama, for example, runs satiric commentaries on Tiv experiences in its repertoire with a view to correcting social ills. Indeed,
its satirical teeth bite so deep into Tiv political realities that it often faces
the wrath of political opponents by total prohibition.\textsuperscript{7}

At the spiritual and invisible level, the ancestors and gods of the
land play significant roles in uplifting and maintaining social ethics and
morality. Tamuno rightly observes:

This mystical link between the dead and living forces in both the
making and enforcement of Nigerian laws and customs, before
contact with Europeans, is of crucial importance. The fear of
breaking such laws and customs, involving dreadful punishment
by unseen and allegedly powerful elements in traditional
religion, provided an effective preventive factor.\textsuperscript{8}

This belief in the unseen is strengthened by the physical re­
enactments of ancestors in masquerade forms which are fundamental to
the existence of rural recreational or dramatic institutions. For example,
the Idoma Alekwafia ancestral masquerade comes out to enforce law
when the "law-breaking" is very serious.\textsuperscript{9} Similarly Tamuno reports,
"In Nsukka division of Iboland, for example, masked dancers,
purporting to represent spirit cult, Omabe were employed by the council
of elders whenever there was difficulty in enforcing law and order."\textsuperscript{10}
The masquerades of \textit{sekipan} practiced among Okrika, Akassa Ijos,
Nembe, Kalabari, and Ekpe in Calabar, Bende, and Arochukwu help to
maintain order.\textsuperscript{11}

The practice of Ogbllo night drama or rural recreational society
upon which this paper is based is a well-known phenomenon in most
Idoma communities. Ogbllo is a sacred society which oversees all
human and natural activities in the land. Its primary objective is to
insult, expose, and publicly ridicule social ills. In Idoma communities
and elsewhere, where Ogbllo is absent, other sacred institutions which
correct through open insults exist. In Idom-Otukpo, Ogbllo and
Onyonkpo perform the same function through insults. Similarly, Egbllo
and Obagaida in Idoma Ugbogu are noted for their prolific insults.\textsuperscript{12}
The Abooga sacred society, noted for its outrageous harassment through
insults, is found in the Orokam district of Idoma.\textsuperscript{13} In Idoma-Agila, the
Able sacred night mask is acknowledged for its devastating insults. In
Idoma-Edumoga, Obagaidda performs a similar role of social regulation
through insults.\textsuperscript{14} The Akpa also have the Onyonkpo society.\textsuperscript{15} The
Idoma districts of Adoka and Ochekwu have both Onyonkpo and
Obagaida institutions respectively.\textsuperscript{16}

Outside Idoma land, various sacred societies perform similar
tasks for social cohesion by insults and public ridicule of social
deviants. In Igala land, Abule night mask is noted for publicly insulting
errant members of the society.\textsuperscript{17} Among the Base Nge people of Benue
state, two institutions noted for insulting people at will are Abure and Eri. In Yoruba, Adedeji similarly reports,

During the Egungun festival at Okemesi, the Atikpa, a nocturnal Egungun who indulges in tell-tales, is also remarkable for "portrait caricature," that is deliberate distortion of mannerism of certain individuals he used as target. Although he must not be seen by women, his calls at the door-step of the backyard of any house is a thrilling opportunity for banter.

From the Yoruba Iludun-Ekiti of Ondo State comes the strange report of an existing women's sacred society which is not seen by men. When they appear at night for performance, men run into hiding. It principally insults people and performs like the male Ogbllo, Onyonkpo, Obagaida, Abooga, Abile, Atikpa, Abure, and Eri of the peoples of Idoma, Yoruba, Igala, and Basa Nge. An informant who regarded the women's group as "anti-male" told this writer of his ordeal. He said he was surprised that there could be a women's sacred society which performs while the men folk are subjected, terrorized, and forced to hide behind their doors throughout the night.

Organizational Structure of Ogbllo

Ogbllo is organically structured for effective execution of its principal objective, which is the artistic exploitation of comic elements as a powerful instrument for releasing vexed insults and satirical commentaries on errant members of the society and society as a whole. The team of Ogbllo is made up of four powerful dramatic personae. The protagonist, who is also the eldest, is called "Odumoolike." He is also regarded as their father. Odumoolike is the master of them all in terms of ability to abuse and to bare the secrets and flaws of his victims. He is the one who knows the verbal matrix, formulae, nuances, techniques, and intricacies of the insults. "Emenye" occupies a secondary position. He is regarded as the child of "Oliko" or Odumooliko. Emonye insults but his bag of wits and insults is not as deep as that of Odumooliko. Before Ogbllo performs under the cover of night, the setting sun is generally greeted with preponderous laughter from Emonye. The laughter is a striking warning signal which indicates an impending performance of Ogbllo and is used to warn women to keep off.

The third persona, Odude, is principally in charge of Ogbllo songs. His basic function is to introduce songs at strategic points in the course of Ogbllo performance. The fourth persona is composed of the
"Ikpaipoliwele, children of Iwele. Iwele is a very tiny bird. Their function is to perform the chorus of the songs.\textsuperscript{21}

The Powers of Ogbllo

Women are not allowed to see Ogbllo. It has the mandate of the entire society to function and is thus regarded as a spiritual, societal, and democratic voice vested with the powers to insult any member of the society regardless of his social standing. No single sane member of the society nor the society as a whole can reply to Ogbllo with equal insults, nor can he contest the credibility of Ogbllo’s claims in its very devastating insults in any traditional modern court.

The Functions of Ogbllo Society

It is pertinent at this point to attempt a brief analysis of the functional aspects of Ogbllo in traditional Idoma society. Ogbllo is the social eye that oversees all aspects of individual and social behavior. It is believed that no secret in the land passes without the knowledge of Ogbllo. Ogbllo therefore holds a public mirror, a mirror through which the society sees itself, whether it is beautiful or ugly, with the intention of amending itself. This powerful mirror which Ogbllo holds, magnifies for the public eye social excesses and evil in the land, an exposure which ridicules social deviants and demands that they change. It is on record that in the Idoma-Otukpo district, the emergence of Ogbllo in the recent past forced social deviants or criminals to abandon their activities as they were systematically exposed through Ogbllo insults.

Ogbllo has the mandate of the society to impose sanctions on social deviants, acting according to traditional provisions in order to correct and uphold social ethics and morality. In this manner, behaviors of individuals and the society in general are regulated by Ogbllo.\textsuperscript{22} For example, it is the custom of the Idoma people that when certain animals like the elephant, the leopard, or the hyena are killed, their vital parts are expected to be presented as homage to the king, council of elders, and the family head. Through these individuals, the killers of a great animal are made to undergo some ritualistic ceremonies involving the washing away from their faces the evil spirit "Ogwu." If this ceremony is not performed, and the cosmic order is disturbed, the resultant effect on the hunter (offender) is generally very devastating as he could subsequently run amok aided by the evil spirits of the hunt.\textsuperscript{23} Any hunter who fails to comply with this tradition is brought to account by Ogbllo.
such a situation is deployed by the council of elders who make bold attacks on such a defaulter until he has complied with the traditional provisions. Thus, Ogbllo is an instrument that regulates people's ways of life or tradition.

Another important function which Ogbllo performs is the settlement of disputes. Disputes between individuals, families, clans, and lineages attract Ogbllo performances for the restoration of peace and harmony. On the day of performance to settle disputes, Ogbllo has within itself a dynamic legal organ to cross-examine the quarreling sides. The proceeding is punctuated with very serious and realistic insults directed at either or both of the parties, or anyone it desires to insult. In the final analysis, apart from the fines which the guilty person has to pay, Ogbllo turns around and insults such a person "down to earth." It is on record in the recent past from the Upu village of Otlukpo that a woman who was found guilty, fined, and insulted by Ogbllo had to abandon her matrimonial home out of shame, since she could not withstand the insults and public ridicule. On this point Ode Agadagba, in an interview with this writer says that "if Ogbllo insulting a woman, she would go and hang."

The other function of Ogbllo society lies in its ability to insult in lucid and artistically expressive language using all its verbal matrix to arouse laughter. Ogbllo therefore has no words to toy with; anytime it opens its mouth to speak, it hurls insults upon insults: laughter and exclamations are equally insulting, and its songs cut to expose the bag of individual and societal inadequacies. The verbal attacks from Ogbllo bite deep into human realities. An analysis of the thematic content of Ogbllo's insults would indicate its sensitivity to and outright dislike for social vices which tend to destabilize social cohesion. Its insults, therefore, target immoral acts—adultery, theft, vanity, garrulity, greed, quarrels, prostitution, and other behaviors that are not in line with the people's way of life. Even natural deformities are not spared. Indeed, among the deformities, social evils, and immoral acts targeted, ugliness, along with theft, seems to be a major preoccupation of the Ogbllo society. Thieves are usually objects of ridicule through vehement verbal attacks. Names of such individuals are mentioned publicly. Adultery, too, attracts strong attacks from Ogbllo. Adultery in Idoma tradition is a serious matrimonial offence. The effect of an adulterous wife on her husband is a grave one indeed in Idoma tradition. If the adultery is not quickly detected, and appropriate cleansing ceremonies not conducted, it is believed that it could lead to the death of the husband, the wife herself, or any of their children. It is therefore understandable that Ogbllo society is desirous of persuading morally corrupt women to abandon the secret practice of infidelity or face the risk of instant divorce according to tradition.
Prostitutes easily fall victims to Ogbllo which indicates its disgust with immoral acts. Ogbllo ridicules the profession. Where the prostitute is unlucky enough to be ugly, she is regularly visited and revisited as a center for verbal attacks, the Ogbllo capitalizing on her inadequacies from an aesthetic perspective. Nagging and quarrelsome wives are cautioned through insults to keep calm. Physical deformity, which is not a man-controlled phenomenon, interests Ogbllo extensively as it probes into the physiology of the deformed.

The functional aspect of Ogbllo would not be complete if no mention were made of its entertainment potential. Ogbllo as a comic institution deploys its comic sensibilities to the fullest advantage with a view to arousing laughter within the audience, thereby subjecting its victims to untold public ridicule. Its performance generally attracts a very large male following throughout the village because of its sharp wits. The audience enjoys or takes delight in listening to the public exposure of the secrets and ills of other members of the society.

Verbal Formulae

The following briefly indicate the verbal formulae or stylistic presentation by which Ogbllo insult poetry attempts to achieve its purpose:

Indirection is a powerful satirical device amply utilized by Ogbllo in its ridiculing attacks. In this situation, the person under attack is not mentioned except that Ogbllo, in very insulting and graphic language, describes all the known characters of the victim, thereby leaving the audience (which is generally informed) to mentally fix the character. This tactical approach arouses tremendous laughter in the audience.

Onomatopoeia features prominently in Ogbllo verbal performance. Here, the central characters being insulted have some aspects of their mannerisms mimicked verbally, such as their ways of talking, eating, and walking. Ogbllo resorts to utilization of onomatopoetic words to heighten the comic intensity in the insult and thereby enhance audience participation through laughter.

Incongruity is another device through which comedy generally thrives. Therefore Ogbllo as a rural comic cult uses a lot of this device. Expressively incongruous ideas generally released from the Ogbllo's verbal repertoire intensify comic episodes and the audience's laughter.
Diction is yet another device used by Ogbllo. Ogbllo's verbal strength lies in its vocabulary; its ingenuity resides in the descriptiveness of the insult, which is generally very pungent, creative, imagistic, and graphic. Thus, it is capable of expressing itself in appropriately insulting and ridiculing words to suit the person under attack. Comparisons with animals and objects are generally accurate. It is this creative ingenuity of Ogbllo that makes the performance always exciting and entertaining.

Songs are frequently utilized at strategic situations to heighten episodes of insults for dramatic effect. These songs, apart from their generally melodious rendition, are songs of grave insults. Thus, the songs attack and castigate the victims at whom they are directed. Odumoooliko's "killing" insults persistently and aggressively appear in the songs.

Repetition, as a device, uses comic acts that are repeatedly employed to arouse public laughter. Particularly comical statements are repeated with voice variation for effective and dramatic rendition.

Exaggeration is used by Ogbllo as a technique to effectively arouse the audience's sense of laughter. Here, what Ogbllo sees as insult (for example, bad character, ugliness, or deformity of the victim) are blown beyond natural and human proportions, thereby leaving the audience embroiled in tremendous laughter.

Laughing as a technique is used by Ogbllo to laugh at its victim at the same time as it unfurls insults upon the latter. Laughter is introduced by Emonye at the appropriate moment, especially when Odumoooliko's insult is very severe. Emonye's laughter is to add salt to wounds, as the laughter is meant to further ridicule the person under verbal attack.

Exclamation, a formulaic alert technique basically delivered in a blasting tone, is generally used to draw people's attention to certain extremities of human inadequacies. This technique heightens the audience's anxiety for impending serious insults.

Vocal manipulation as technique involves the manipulation by Ogbllo of its voice (high, low, or sharp) to achieve a particular comic effect. This technique is prominent in Ogbllo performances.

Simile is a predominant device frequently used in Ogbllo performances. Here actions, objects, issues, and ideas are related to
one another. The Idoma expression *Le bee* (-like) is frequently used. Accurate deployment of simile reactivates the audience's sense of laughter.

**Question and response**, a technique with a high sense of comic effect, is a deliberate strategy devised by Ogbllo to repeatedly ask questions on a particular instance and then pause for an answer. The gap between question and response is usually filled with audience laughter. The response (if it comes) and the manner of its rendition enhance the sense of humor of the audience which is already in the grips of laughter.

**Maledictions**, essentially used for purposes of chastising deviants, are exploited for their highly ironic effects. The audiences of Ogbllo are generally not hostile, in spite of Ogbllo's hostile posture towards them. Sometimes the audiences offer gifts to Ogbllo. But the words which usually accompany such donations are not all that flattering. In such situations, the Ogbllo in turn offers contemptuous prayers for the donor. For example, Ogbllo would address his benefactor as follows:

Go and breastfeed big flaming fire  
Lie on the rail line for the train  
To take you to his destination  
When you lie down today to sleep  
May you never wake up again  
Until the crooked fingers of ode  
Have brought out the loads  
In your womb.

These verbal formulae, properly utilized by Ogbllo, enable it achieve its primary objective. It castigates and repudiates social deviants through maximized exploitation of comic elements with the aim of correcting for the sustenance of societal norms, ethic, and morality.

**Conclusion**

From the foregoing study of Ogbllo sacred society as a powerful institution which helps to check social excesses (and other related institutions in Nigeria with similar functions) the following statements can be made:

(i) Nigerian traditional societies possess basic indigenous institutions and organs for the maintenance of law and order,
thereby helping to uphold their traditions, and creating congenial atmosphere for national development.

(ii) Because of their inherent cultic nature and ancestral or spiritual attachments, such institutions are symbols of societal purity and sanity, and are therefore treated with a high sense of respect by the people.

(iii) The presence and impact of societies like Ogbilo institutions in the body politic of indigenous Nigerian political or administrative systems is a national phenomenon.

(iv) The outrageous and unreserved approach in which institutions like Ogbilo reproach their victims, regardless of their social status, is a genuine manifestation of the presence of a high degree of freedom of expression in our indigenous Nigerian society.

(v) In Nigerian indigenous societies, therefore, the law is for everyone, and it does not privilege anyone over others. Even the king is not above the law of the land, since he could easily fall prey to an institution such as Ogbilo.

(vi) Nigerian indigenous society is genuinely desirous of a clean and healthy society where evil and social vice are fought with the greatest opposition.

(vii) These sacred institutions operate with a high sense of sincerity and objectivity, and they are regarded as a supreme body which has a sense of judgement that is incontestable.

(viii) What makes our cultural and political set-up function in indigenous societies in Nigeria is the strong will of the people to make it work. The failure of their traditional system represents the obliteration of their cultural identity and existence as a corporate body, and is something they do not want to sacrifice.

(ix) Freedom of expression is synonymous with Nigerian society, and therefore as old as Nigerian society itself. Every Nigerian should be free to express his/her opinion without fear of molestation. It is therefore unacceptable and un-Nigerian for any Nigerian administration to regard constitutional provision for freedom of expression as an extraordinary luxury for Nigerian citizens.
At this point, it is pertinent to strongly suggest that while the modern Nigerian political system is on the track to finding its place in the international political order, it should not ignore the abundant political philosophies of its people and the provision of safety valves that emanate from Nigerian folklore. What this means is that Nigeria should find its own political ideologies that are in tune with the Nigerian indigenous political system.

What is required is for Nigerians to conduct more serious academic researches into the abundant folklore of the Nigerian nationalities and to harness such findings for national development. Government should give ample assistance to research scholars to aggressively document Nigerian folklore. While extensive literatures exist on many Nigerian nationalities, there are many more Nigerian nationalities whose folklore has yet to be appreciated. The government should therefore sponsor scholars irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, to conduct research and to document the folklore of those nationalities whose language, literature, and culture have not been properly documented. This is especially important considering the enormous threats which the cultures of these societies face daily due to the aggressive incursion of Western ways of life that try to undermine our own traditional values.

The Nigerian nation should therefore rise to protect its own culture, as a nation without culture is a nation adrift.

NOTES


5 Ibid.


7 See E. U. Enem, "The Kwagh-hir Theatre," in *Nigerian Magazine*, No. 120, 1976. Tiv Kwagh-hir was also said to have been prohibited by the very "sectional"
and unpopular defunct Benue Plateau State Government under the leadership of J. D. Gomwalk.

12Information from Ode Agadegba and Ltd. Robinson Gbo all from Ugbogbu district.
13My informant is Atabo Oko from Oko Orokam.
14Information from James Ochigbe from Ingle Edumoga.
15See Samson O. O. Amali, Onyonko (disc) (Night Mask), recorded at Royal enclosure of the king of Akpa, District of Idoma, Benue State of Nigeria. Published by Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, NCR No. 22, Emi Ltd., Lagos.
16My informants are Yakubu Eje and Godwin Egwa from both districts.
17My informant is Alex Maiyang, himself an Igala.
18Informant is Francis Abaya from Adum-Woiwo in Base Nge, Benue State.
20My informant, Atabo Oko, said he was "locked up" with his host chief P. O. Dada from dusk to dawn by the performance of the female group.
21Based on Odumu Onche Amali, "Research Interview on Idoma Ogbllo Night Mask," tape recorded in 1983. Otokpa Garuba Alogah of Upu-Otukpo was interviewed.
25Lines 70-71 in the appendix exaggerate the smallness of Onyanta's vagina.
26A detailed study of the Ogbllo performance techniques is being undertaken by this writer in a separate research due to be completed soon.