

Symbols and Symbolisms in Emu Medicine: A Panacea for the Advancement of Medical Technology in Nigeria

Kingsley I. Owete, PhD

Department of Religious and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Abstract

Advanced countries of the world evolved their technologies from within their cultural milieu which are shredded with symbols and symbolisms. It is the reinterpretation of such symbols and symbolisms that enabled such countries to modify or modernise their local technologies to advanced stages as we have them now. It is pertinent, therefore, to highlight the symbols and symbolisms of medicinal elements in Emu so as to provide a lead for Nigerian scientists to modify such symbols and symbolisms in order to promote the development of medical technology in Nigeria. The study reveals that the non-use of local languages in the teaching of science subjects in Nigerian schools is a major factor inhibiting the required reinterpretations. The study, therefore, recommends the use of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba in the teaching of science subjects at all levels of education in Nigeria.

Keywords: Symbolism, Indigenous Technology, Medicine, Incantations, *Emu* and *Ukwuani*

1. Introduction

A most formidable challenge facing Nigeria bothers on the issue of formulating and advancing her own technology suitable for her social cultural, political and economic milieu. Every technological breakthrough is a reflection of the environment from which it originates. As the people of a particular cultural milieu struggle to survive in their hostile environment, they apply their scientific knowledge cum insight into the forces of nature to provide practical skills and services required to exploit nature and material resources to meet the needs of the society. One of such needs is the preservation of life and promotion of security and good health. This need gave rise to indigenous medical technology. This study, therefore, is a description of the symbolism of the medicinal elements used in the preparation of productive medicine in *Emu*. This is enabling modern scientists use such analogies in the promotion of a Nigerian induced medical technology.

2. The *Emu* People

Emu is one of the six Ukwuaniclans in Ndokwa West Local Government Area of Delta State in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. It is above 100 kilometers by road away from Asaba, the capital of the state; 200 kilometres from Benin and about 60 Kilometres from Warri. The town is situated between latitude 5°38-4°2N and longitude 6°13-6°25 E of the Greenwich Meridian. The clan shares boundaries with Utagba-Ogbe (Kwale) on the North; Ozoro on the South; Abbi on the West; Ogume on the Sourthwest and Ashaka on the East. Its land area is approximately 44 square Kilommetres and spans about 36 kilometers along Abraka/Kwale Road. The clan with annual rainfall of about one metre lies mainly in the flat rain forest belt of Niger Delta and less than 100 metres above sea level. The climate is humid with mild temperature in the two distinct rainy and dry or harmattan seasons. Demographically, its population ranks amongst the highest in the local government area. The 1973 national census placed *Emu* as the ninth most thickly populated community in the Ndokwa region. Since then the population has increased many times over (Peas Associates 1992).

There have been diverse versions of locally circulated stories concerning the origin of the Emu people. One of the versions holds that, the founder of this Clan was a man called *Olor*. *Olor* and his wife, *Emu*, migrated from Onitsha, presumably following an alleged homicide that Olor committed. As the couple fled, they took with them the *Ofo* (the household god). The *Ofo* is of a great religious importance amongst the Igbo and it is always in the custody of the heir of the family of Clan. The heir is usually the eldest son of the family. The Onitsha people, who were very incensed by the disappearance of the *Ofo*, went after *Olor* and his wife to recover their god. *Olor* and *Emu* in escape crossed the river on a mysterious log. History holds that the log was later identified as an alligator. This miraculous escape that was wrought by the alligator made it a totem animal. It was henceforth associated with the religious practices of *Olor* and *Emu*.

Olor and his wife settled in Emu. The name of the settlement was thus derived from Olor's wife's name. They had two sons named Ikosa and Ebilige. While they were in Emu, some other people migrated from Isoko and Ndoshimili to join them. These were the Ogbolum family from Emevor in Isokoland and Umuodio family from Akarai in Ndoshimili. Oral tradition further says that Emu expanded with time following a population explosion in that settlement. This led to the funding of Emu-Obi-Ogo; Emu-Obodeti; Emu-Ebendo; Ekpu-Ikpe and Iyasele. The last two later integrated and became known as Emu-Iyasele (Ogolime 2001). Another version of the origin of the Emu people, posits that they migrated from Benin kingdom to settle in the place they are found today. The much that could be said is that Emu is a high breed of Edoid and Igboid extraditions. Most Emu people are large-scale farmers. Rubber and palm oil extraction have been the major source of income.



Indigenous arts include basket weaving, metalwork and sculpture (*Okpu-Uzo*). They remain a socially tight-knit group. Community unions and clubs are the rule, even among those who have emigrated to North America, Europe, or Asia. The people are deeply religious: like other African societies (Mbiti 1969) they believe in the Supreme Being (*Chukwu*), pantheon of divinities, myriads of spirits, the ancestors (who play vital roles in their lives) and magic.

3. Conceptual Analysis

There is the use of symbols in language, herbs and prescriptions. In symbolism, the visible stands for the invisible, the material for the immaterial, the touchable for what cannot be held or sensed by sensory organs. A symbol is a visible, tangible or audible representation of some conception or of some spiritual or intellectual reality (Kayode 1975). Bell and Vogel (1963) describe symbol as "something that stands for, represents or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance) but by vague suggestion or by some conventional relation" (639). For Bevan (1962), "a symbol is a visible object or sound which stands for something which we already have direct knowledge of" (9). Radcliff-Brown (1970) considers symbols thus: "whatever has meaning is a symbol, the meaning being whatever is expressed by the symbol" (69). From the philosophical and psychological perspective, Whitehead (1960) says that, "The human mind is functioning symbolically when some components of its experience elicit consciousness and usage repeating other component of its experience" (6). Similarly, Langer (1960) states that, "Symbols are not proxy for their objects, but are vehicles for the conception of objects" (60).

In the discussion of symbols and symbolic language, certain confusion had arisen with the usage of another word, "sign". This word is similar to but different from the word "symbol". According to Fawcett (1970), "Signs are denotative; they stand for or point to a specific object, event or person ... signs are not intrinsic symbols; they have no built in resemblance with that which they signify" (14). On the contrary, symbols are full of meanings which could be far removed from the immediate object or thing, while signs point to a specific thing or object and carries a message that is immediately discernible. Symbolic meanings are situational or circumstantial, which according to Wilson (1971), could differ greatly according to people, even among the same language family (56). The meanings of signs are not ambiguous; they indicate specific messages which enable the reader to identify its meaning.

In discussing the ritual symbolism and meaning of the Emu people's ritual practices, from Turner's (1970) perspective, it is important to note that, when we talk about the meaning of a symbol, we must be careful to distinguish between at least three levels or fields of meaning. One must first distinguish between information given by ritual specialists and information given by laymen; that is between esoteric and natural interpretations. The second thing to be considered is the operational meaning in the symbolic act. The symbol is not in itself considered separate from other components of the ritual proceedings, since the structure and composition help to complete the symbolic meaning. Another issue to explore into is the positional meaning of the symbol. This influences the kind of interpretation given to a symbol relative to another. In looking out for a symbolic meaning, one has to ask questions, such as, "What occasion brought about a ritual performance? For, to a large extent, this occasion will not only shape the ritual performed, but that the end or purpose of such ritual will indicate the meaning of the symbols used" (Turner 1965). Against the presented background, the following sections examine the symbols used in productive medicinal rites in Emu as well as their meanings (116).

4. OgwuAfia-Okeawuli: Medicine for Trade

As Emu people became involved in market economy, they exchanged their agricultural products for money and the need to boost trade became necessary. Thus, according to our oral sources, in order to ensure good sales *OgwuAfia-Okeawuli* (medicine for trade) is used. The ingredients for the preparation of the Ogwu Afia-Okeawuli according to Chijioke Oshilim (1990) are as follows:

1. Effifiaalulunta (translation withheld by oral source)

Si Ejuani (head of a snake)
Nkpoezegu (white eagle feather)
Ebulugo (parrot feather)

5. Efeluche (sand from the entrance of the market)

6. *Ntu* (ashes from the hearth that have stayed overnight)

7. *Nchaoji* (black native soap)8. *Ego ayakaise* (five cowries)

These items are put in a mortar and then pounded to a point where the ingredients could be moulded into a ball. During the pounding of the ingredients, the *dibie* (medicine practitioner) blesses the ingredients with *Nzu* (local white chalk) and recites the following incantations: *Kenebuogwuafia-okeawuliifeosommalu be ele bee onomieyusolegbaneifei, onyeosonomieniyabe-ele* which is *okeawuli* (i.e. medicine for trade). By this incantation, another trader's goods must not sell before yours when they sit around you, only you would sell. If your goods



are not sold, other people having their goods near you would not sell.

This incantation is recited simultaneously as the above listed ingredients are pounded in a mortar. These processed items are moulded into a ritual medicine soap with which the client baths with before going to the market. While bathing, the client is required to recite the same incantations that the *dibie* (medicine practitioner) uttered while preparing the soap.

It would be recalled that the purpose of this medicine is to increase profit for the client. It works for the user by attracting buyers/customers so as to increase sales. The ritual for this medicine, *Ogwuafiaokeawuli*, is performed by the *debie* himself and not the user. For these rites, the *dibie* first collects the requisite ingredients. Prominent among these ingredients are the head of a snake, white eagle feather, and the sand from entrance of a market place. In the *Emu*, the snake is known for the peculiar way it hunts for food. It stalks its victim and strikes swiftly. The victim is gripped by the mouth and swallowed by the snake. With this peculiar technique in hunting its prey, the snake is more at an advantage than other reptiles. To the *Emu* people, the eagle is a sacred bird that brings good fortune. It also symbolises courage, dexterity and posture. The colour white symbolises holiness, sacredness and prestige. Thus, the white eagle feather would bring honour to the user of the medicine for trade. The white eagle feather is also worn on the cap of some high ranking chiefs in the community. This feather, worn on another occasion by a titled man, would not only distinguish the person from the lower ranks of titled men of the community, but will indicate that the wearer is an important person, an achiever, successful and upright in character. The feather on the cap could also signify a person that has been favoured or blessed by the divinities and ancestors. All these symbolic meanings are presumed to be transferred to the client through the preparation.

The *Ejaonuose*, which is "sand got from the entrance of the market", is used in the ritual of *Ogwuafiaokeawuli*. It plays an important role in achieving the final goal of the medicine. The earth or sand symbolises the visible and the invisible forces, power and fertility. It also signifies the source of livelihood. In the Emu tradition, it is believed that the market place does not only serve a purpose for the living members of the community, but also for spirits and spiritual beings. Thus, this earth that the spirit beings must have treaded on has an affinity with the living persons. The spiritual essence of a potential customer, which has an affinity with the sand, is summoned towards the stall of the user of the *Ogwuafiaokeawuli*.

Another example of where the earth symbolizes the unity of the living and the dead is *ituyeejana aka* (throwing or giving sand into the hand). It signifies spiritual power. This spiritual procedure is performed when the giver of the sand, a *dibie*, puts grains of sand into the hands of the recipient of the medicine to symbolise the transfer of authority to perform a medicine. During this process, the *dibie* repeats the phrase, "Let this medicine work". This action signifies the presence of the spiritual world to the transaction or transference of the medicinal power. Sometimes, *ituyeejana aka* is used to swear to an oath as a proof of one's innocence to an alleged offence. It is also used in the early morning prayers of *Igondike*' (the fellowship with the ancestors). During this fellowship, the *Ofo* stick is used to hit the ground in order to affirm a point or to ask for blessings. All these indicate to the Emu people that, the earth is alive with the ancestors, as well as, the spiritual powers that witness their daily activities.

The incantations said over the pounding of the ingredients symbolise the accomplishment of the intended goal of the medicine. This is borne out of the belief that leaves, roots and barks are not only alive, but possess spiritual forces. When these forces are combined in the right proportion and prescription, their effectiveness is assured. The recital of the words of the incantations during the pounding of the medicinal ingredients is to give direction to the medicine. It is believed that the latent spiritual forces present in each of these unified ingredients, have spiritual ears and are awaiting instructions from the *dibie*. It is only at the time of pounding that the *dibie* must address these powers and instruct them with reference to their duties and functions.

5. OgwuIsorluIbeMmalu: Medicine for Love

There are different types of medicine for love in Emu community. There are those medicines whose ends are to help an intending husband to secure the intended spouse's love and affection. There are those for single ladies to win the heart of a lover. Additionally, there exist various forms of medicine to gain the love of a woman against her will and for amorous men to copulate with women who will not be conscious of the act until the affair had been consummated. According to an informant, the commonest of this type is *OgwuisorluibeMmalu*. It is prepared with the following ingredients:

1. Efifiaodu-ngwele

2. Anu-ngweletukulu

3. Efifiakepunineebeigbeesuesuigbijele di

4. Ife ndeewugekoamuomubusa

5. Efifiaachachiigunu

6. Efeluche

(translation withheld by oral sources.) (translation withheld by oral sources.)

(leaves that have sprout where red ants

cluster)

(placenta of a goat)

(translation withheld by oral sources.)

(parrot feather)



7. Igoni (small padlock)

To prepare the portion, all these items, except the padlock, are thrown together in a mortar. They are then pounded until they become fine like powder. During the pounding process, *Nzu* is sprinkled into it while reciting the following verse: "Si elnuodisioyeyekim-nacho, Oyeyekim-nacho, niewemoyeye. Si efeluchekwomaliniikpoebuba. Si oyeye mnacho yabeluy'eka, (kpoefaoyeyeke).¹

The thread for plaiting of hair is used to tie the ingredients to the padlock. Then the man puts the medicine or ritual padlock in his pocket and visits the particular woman at her home. On getting there, he puts his hand into his pocket and opens the padlock. Then he addresses the woman thus, "I love you and I want you to be my friend and my lover; I want to marry you. So I want you to be my friend. You must have no objection." After saying these words, the man would press the padlock in his pocket to shut it. Then he walks back home. In the hours that follow, especially at the period before dawn, the woman would become increasingly restless, overpowered with the thought of the man who had told her she would be his lover. By dawn, she would no longer be able to bear the thought of not seeing the man who had told her that she would be his lover. She will pack her belongings and move over to co-habit with the man.

OgwulsorluobeMmalu (Medicine for Love) is used by an intended lover to attract someone's interest even against his/her will. Some of the prominent items that are included in the preparation that convey meaning are the leaves that sprout where red ants cluster, the placenta of a goat, and the feather of a parrot. These items are believed to be the essential ingredients, without which the ritual will not achieve its aim. The red ants signify aggressiveness, stubbornness and determination. The leaves that sprout where the red ants cluster indicate strength, ability to conquer amidst difficulties and oppositions. Thus, the leaves symbolise the triumph of the user over the unwilling and unbending strong will of the one whose love interest is sought. The symbolism of the placenta of a goat has been noted by Mbiti for the Gikuyu birth and childhood rituals. According to Mbiti, "the placenta and the umbilical cord are the symbols of a child's attachment to the mother, to womanhood" (Mbiti 1975). The placenta, therefore, symbolises a child's physical and spiritual lifelong attachment to the mother (113). Similarly, the placenta of a goat in this medicine signifies the kind of close relationship that would exist between the user of the medicine and the intended victim. It is presumed that since the close relationship has taken place spiritually, it must also exist in the physical. The parrot is peculiar among the other birds for certain reasons. The Emu people believe that the bird is one of the most attentive listeners; it is quick, smart and can imitate a voice or sound. The parrot also has the ability to survive under unfavourable conditions and can function as a messenger that bears accurate tales for the spirits. The parrot's feather in this medicine, therefore, symbolises the target's ability to grasp and imitate, by obeying the commands or request of the user. These commands must be spoken to the hearing of the target. The verbal expressions of the user's intentions to the target forms a vital part of this rite without it the ritual procedure is incomplete.

Further, just as a feather on the cap of a chief serves to distinguish his\her status, the parrot's feather distinguishes the user's request in the midst of other advances from other suitors, hence, the phrase in the incantation that says, "efelucheekweomaliniikpoebuba" (The parrot's feather is not difficult to be identified in the midst of other feathers). Lastly, the nzu (white chalk), which is sprinkled on the pounded ingredients signifies sacredness, holiness and prestige. The sprinkling of the nzu symbolises a sacred sealing of the medicine, that is the "amen" or "so shall it be."

6. OgwuAkonuche: Medicine for Memory

OgwuAkonuche is generally used to aid and enhance memory. In the olden days, it was the prerogative of the priests and medicine men to use Ogwuakonuche in their onerous task of preserving religious traditions, ritual incantations and numerous medicine prescriptions. Later on, it is used to commit to memory traditional songs, folklore like the Igele and Uponda. Recently, it is used by students and school children to pass examinations. In using Ogwuakonuche for examination purposes, it is imperative that the student must have studied. According to my oral source, Chijioke Oshilim (1990), the following ingredients are used in the preparation of this medicine:

1. *Nguta* (translation withheld by source)

2. *Onunuokpeteesa* (7 leaves of sugar cane)

3. Epelete (mouse) 4. Ntolo (a fish)

5. Ofuoseoji (one alligator pepper)6. Udeaku (palm kernel oil)

These ingredients are gathered into a mortar and pounded together until they turn into a pastry/liquid substance. The mixed substance is stored in a small bottle, *Akpintikili*, and is licked by the client on a daily basis. While being ingested, the client utters the following incantations: "Ife nmalifuamali, batanifunishi. Yabapushiwendende, ifemmalifuni, yabapushiniuche-m, Nodi, feli nu uchendende" (The thing that I have already learnt and understood; which has entered my head, must not leave my head at all, at all. What I have learnt, must never leave my brain. It must stay in my brain forever). At the time of the preparation, the incantation is not



recited. It is recited only when the client ingests the substance. An incision is also made on the forehead of the client into which the pastes is rubbed. *Akonuche* is believed to cure absent mindedness and poor memory. It is also suggested by the *dibie* that for examination purposes, the pen should be treated with the medicinal paste before going to write any examination.

According to Chukwudi Odalue (1990), ogwuakonuche is used to aid the retention of information. It helps the user to remember all that s\he has heard and understood. In the ritual processes, three symbolic ingredients in preparation of ogwuakonuche are a mouse, a small fish, and an alligator pepper. Among the Emu people, the mouse is considered one of the smallest but least forgetful animals in the animal kingdom. It is said that once the mouse had set a task for itself, it always remembers to execute it. It does not matter how enormous the task might be. Thus, it symbolises an unfailing memory, alertness, aptitude and wisdom to recount what one has committed to memory. The fish is ever present in the water and never escapes the fisherman's trap. Thus, it is used to symbolise constancy, strength and accuracy. These qualities by transference are imputed to the user. The alligator pepper, traditionally, is never absent or far from the kola nut. Its peppery flavour can never go unnoticed in the mouth. It, therefore, symbolises recognition, remembrance and continuity. In the ritual of Ogwuakonuche, the spiritual forces inherent in the ritual medicine must be activated when it is to be used. To do this, the user licks the medicinal paste and recites the incantation provided by the dibie. With these words, the powers within the medicine are activated and sent forth.

7. OgwuMmili: Rain Medicine

According to IdonorIsakpa (1990), the Emu people have two types of rain medicine; they are *Ogwuifemmili* (medicine to ward off rain) and *Ogwuidommili* (medicine to cause rainfall). *Ogwuifemmili* is used to prevent rainfall during important ceremonies such as burial ceremonies, while *Ogwuidommili* is used to cause rainfall. Rain medicine could be classified as productive medicine depending on the purpose for which the rain is solicited. *ogwuidommili* is rarely practiced in the community since the town is situated near the rain forest region and thus records abundant rainfall throughout the year. Naturally, *Ogwuifemmili* is the most widely used rain medicine in the community. The use of *OgwuIdommili* can be used both for productive and destructive purposes.

For balance, Ogwuifemmili could also be used for destructive purposes. For example, it is said that some time ago in the community, a renowned dibie from a neighbouring community was brought to prevent rain during the installment of the new OkpalaUku of the community. The period coincided with the planting season when yam seedlings have just been planted. The dibie as expected, prepared a powerful rain preventing medicine which he, unknown to the people, shot with bow and arrow (Utah) into a coconut tree. However, as soon as the ceremonies were successfully completed, the dibie left for his town and everybody expected the rain to begin. But there was no rainfall; after many market weeks, the yam seedlings and other crops in the farm began to wither. There was famine that year. Another diviner was called to explain the cause of the problem. The diviner told the community that the other dibie had a grievance against them and had planned to punish them by shooting the medicine into a coconut tree. The arrow containing the medicine was brought down from the tree and there was a sudden heavy rainfall. It is fervently believed in the Emu community that rain makers could spoil social occasions, burial ceremonies, and festivals out of jealously and bloated ego. In Emu, a dibie could possess the skill to make and ward off rain. But in most cases, the two aspect of the ritual are not usually practiced by one person. The following ingredients are used for preparing the Ogwuifemmili:

Ugba (small branch of oil beans tree)
Anwiliwa (translation withheld by oral source)

3. *Iddo* (colony of red ants)

4. *Ichite* (grass)5. *Uda* (spice)

6. *Nchete* (translation withheld by oral source)7. *Epia* (translation withheld by oral source)

The first items are tied together and hung atop a slow burning fire. The second set of items are tied together and hung atop the same slow burning fire. One piece of a three-lobed kola-nut is chewed in the mouth with some little quantity of local gin and intermittently spat at the tied items with the following words: "Mbububunchetendendeawulu; Mmiliswenuzoeya; Anwukumchoni, achonimmmili."

In the process of heating the tied items hanging on the top of the slow burning fire, a lot of smoke is produced. It is this smoke that is blown towards the direction of the town mentioned which the *dibie* wants the rain to fall. As the smoke is blown, the incantation is recited and the chewed kola-nut, with some gin, is spat at the items hanging on the top of the fire. During this period, the *dibie* must not drink water. He drinks only local gin; a negation of this rule is sure to render the medicine ineffective.

From the above rituals exists the idea of sympathetic medicine. The smoke that rises steadily from the burning wood is blown gradually as it rises towards the direction where the rain is commanded to fall instead of the community. It is believed that as the smoke is blown away so also the heavy rain cloud or rainfall will move



towards the same direction of the smoke. This in turn averts rain from falling in a particular place. Idonorlsakpa (1990) explains that this medicinal rite is used to ward off rainfalls that are disruptive to festive and ceremonial occasions. Among the various items used for the ritual are the red ants and the leaves of the oil bean tree. In the Emu community, the red ants are known for their ability to spread out rapidly to reform a colony when disturbed. Thus, the red ants symbolise order, rapidity, willingness to change positions and swiftness. The ants also represent a spiritual order of change with less obstruction or harm. The red ants differ from other ants like the giant black ants, in the sense that when the giant black ants are disturbed, they do not become aggressive or stubborn. The symbolism of the leaves of the oil bean tree is the opposite of that of the red ants. The leaves of the oil bean tree cannot be used to wrap or store food. These leaves are scattered on the ground symbolising disunity, disharmony, disorderliness and inability to stay together. As noted, the ingredients are tied together with the right proportion of other ingredients and hung on top of a low burning fire to produce cloud of smoke. Thus the symbolic power of these ingredients is transferred to the rain cloud. The incantations in this ritual give power and direction to the medicinal ingredients. The words in the incantation that say, "The ichite leaves can never grow on dead wood" describe the orderliness of nature and the impossibility of nature to go against its natural rhythm. Emu people believe that controlling the rain, for those who know how, is a natural process. Since the ichite leaves cannot grow on dead wood, it is believed that the rain cloud can never refuse to move. It must obey the medicine man's command.

8. Conclusion

This study has provided a description of the symbols and symbolisms employed in the preparation of productive medicine in Emu. A proper understanding of these symbols and symbolisms would enable Nigerian scientists to modernise these medicines to meet the twenty–first century challenge of Nigeria. One of the challenges observed in this study is the unwillingness of the traditional medicine practitioners to reveal the botanical names or English names for most of the medicinal elements used in the preparation of these ritual medicines in Emu. This may not be unconnected to the problem of illiteracy and the lack of the use of native languages in the teaching of science subjects such as Chemistry, Biology and Physics in Nigerian schools. There is, therefore, the need to encourage the use of native languages in the teaching of these basic science subjects right from primary to post-secondary institutions in Nigeria. The duplicity of languages in Nigeria should not be seen as a barrier to the formulation of scientific language in Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba in the development of science and technology curriculum in the country.

References

Alana, E. O. (2000). "Aspects of Sorcery and Witchcraft in West Africa" in *West African Religious Traditions*, Ilega, D. I. (Ed.) Ado Ekiti: Hamaz Global Ventures.

Bascon, W. R. and Herskovits, O. (1959). *Continuity and Change in African Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baum, R. (1999). Shrines of Slave Trade. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bevan, E. (1962). Symbolism and Belief. London: Fontana Library.

Dhavamony, M. (1973). *The Phenomenology of Religion Documental Missionalia-7*. Rome: Gregorian University Press

Ejizu C. I. (1989). "Religion and Social Change.The Case of the Igbo of Nigeria." *NeueZeitschrift Fun Missionwissenschaft (NZM)*, VOL. 4, No. 2, pp. 112-120.

Eliade, M. (1961). Images and Symbols. London: Harvill Press.

Fawcett, T. (1970). The Symbolic Language of Religion. London: S. C. M. Press.

Field, M. J. (1937). Religion and Medicine of the Ga People. London: Oxford University Press.

Field, M. J. (1960). Search for Security: An Ethno Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana. London: Faber and Faber.

Firth, R. (1950). "Religious Belief and Personal Adjustment", *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, pp. 78-81.

Harwood, A. (1970). Witchcraft, Sorcery and Social Categories Among the Safwa. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Horton, R. (1962). "The Kalabari Word View: An Outline and Interpretation", Africa. Vol. 32, pp. 14-20.

Horton, R. (1971). "African Conversion". Africa, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 26-34.

Horton, R. (1980). Pattern of Though in Africa and the West. London: Cambridge University

Kayode, J. O. (1975). "Symbology with Particular Reference to the Religion of the Yoruba". University of Ibadan, Ph.D Thesis.

Langer, S. (1960). Philosophy in a New Key. Mass: Cambridge University Press.

Mbiti, J. S. (1969). African Religion and Philosophy London: Heinemann.

Mbiti, J. S. (1975). Introduction to African Religion. London: Heinemann.

Mume, J. O. (n.d). Traditional Medicine in Nigeria. Agbarho: JOM Curative Centre



Otubanjo, F. (1987). "Understanding Rituals". Orita Ibadan: Journal of Religious Studies XX/I June pp. 18-22.

Radecliffe-Brown (1952). Structure and Function in Primitive Society London: Cohen and West.

Rives, W. H. R. (1925). Medicine, Medicine and Religions. London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner and Co.

Sofowora, A. (1984). Medicinal Plants and Traditional Medicine in Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Turner, V. M. (1965). The Drums of Affiction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia: Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Turner, V. M. (1970). The Forest of Symbols: Aspect of Ndembu Ritual. London: Cornell University Press.

Ubrurhe, J. O. (2003). Urhobo Traditional Medicine. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Vetter, G. B. (1959). *Medicine and Religion: Their Psychological Nature, Origin and function*. London: Vision Press Limited.

Weber, H. (1948). Medicine: A Sociological Study. Stanford: California University Press.

Whitehead, A. N. (1960). Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, M. (1971). Religion and Transformation of Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Notes

¹ As it is now, it is a woman that I am looking for; it is a woman that I am looking for. I do not have a woman. It is true that the parrot feather is not difficult to find in the mist of other feathers. Let the woman I am looking for, come to me

² *Nchete* does not grow on wood at all. Let the rain fall in far distance; let the sky be cleared of the rain cloud. Let the sun shine continually. It is only sun I want, I do not want rain.